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Rethinking land access governance in Global South Cities

Understanding the dynamics and contentions of land
access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban
areas of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Abstract

The governance of land access is recognised as vital for peri-urban growth and development in the Global South Cities because it is important for accommodating urban expansion. Peri-urban areas attract multiple actors with diverging and conflicting interests and needs, contributing to land access dynamics and contentions. However, the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms has yet to be understood.

This thesis aims to conceptualise the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Global South cities by providing a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon. Dar es Salaam was used as a case study, and embedded mixed methods were employed.

Grounded on the new institutionalisms and social network theories, this research concurs that marketisation and commodification of land, increased population and rapid urbanisation contribute to land access and governance challenges. Findings uncover that actors with varying interests and needs applying different land access processes and governance mechanisms have also contributed to the challenges. It is also revealed that actors engaged in land access and governance encounter multiple challenges, which may emanate from policy, technical or financial aspects. The peri-urban context accommodates competing and conflicting formal and informal land access processes. Consequently, land access and governance in peri-urban areas is dynamic and contentious. This research proposes a new analytical tool for investigation and theoretical understanding of the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms.

Keywords: Land access governance, informal institutions, actors, processes, peri-urban

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Ikisiri

Utawala katika upataji ardhi ni jambo muhimu kwa matumizi endelevu ya ardhi pembezoni mwa miji na maendeleo kwa ujumla kwa sababu ni muhimu kwa upanuzi wa miji. Maeneo ya pembezoni ya miji huvutia wadau wengi wenye raghba na mahitaji tofauti ambayo huchangia mabadiliko ya matumizi/umiliki na migogoro. Hata hivyo, mabadiliko, migogoro na hasa michakato ya upataji ardhi na mifumo ya usimamizi katika maeneo ya pembezoni mwa miji haijafanyiwa tafiti wa kutosha.

Tasnifu hii inalenga kufafanua hali ya mabadiliko na migogoro ya mchakato wa upataji ardhi na mifumo ya usimamizi katika maeneo ya pembezoni mwa majiji ya dunia ya kusini. Kwa kutumia kiunzi cha nadharia cha kuelewa hali hiyo utafiti huu ulitumia maeneo ya pembezoni mwa Jiji la Dar es Salaam kama uchunguzi kifani na mbinu mseto zilitumika.

Kwa kuegemea nadharia ya mifumo mipya na ya mtandao wa mahusiano ya kijamii, utafiti huu ulibaini kuwa ubidhaishaji wa ardhi, kukua kwa idadi ya watu, na ukuaji kasi wa miji vinachangia katika changamoto za upataji ardhi na usimamizi. Utafiti huu umebaini kuwa wadau wenye raghba na mahitaji mbalimbali yanayototafautiana wanatumia michakato tofauti-tofauti ya kupata ardhi na mifumo ya usimamizi imechangia katika changamoto hizo. Pia, ilidhihirika kuwa wadau wanaojihusisha katika upataji na usimamizi wa ardhi wanakabiliwa na changamoto mbalimbali, ambazo zinatokana na sera, vipengele vya kiufundi au kifedha. Mukadha wa pembezoni mwa mji unavutia michakato rasmi na isiyo rasmi kinzani ya upataji ardhi, na kusababisha upataji wa ardhi na usimamizi kubadilika na kuongeza migogoro. Utafiti huu ulipendekeza dhana mpya ya uchanganuzi kwa ajili ya kuchunguza na kuelewa nadharia ya migogoro na mchakato wa upataji ardhi.

Maneno Muhimu: Utawala wa upatikanaji wa ardhi, mifumo isiyo rasmi, wadau, michakato, pembezoni mwa mji

Anuani ya Mwandishi: Said Nuhu, Chuo Kikuu cha Kilimo cha Uswidi, Idara ya Maendeleo ya Vijiji na Miji, S. L. P 7012, 750 07, Uppsala, Sweden

Prologue

My research interest in land access and governance started way back in 2011, when I was searching for a topic for my Master Thesis. Prior to that, the idea developed before I had visited the city of Dar es Salaam. I had been hearing many stories about the city and its people from my village mates, who had previously visited the city. They would come back to the village full of prestige; with changed accents, dressing styles, different hair styles, walking styles and demeanor. Some people would take pictures and come to show us the places in Dar es Salaam they had visited. The pictures taken would only show good areas and neighborhoods of the city. This aroused my curiosity to visit Dar es Salaam from an early age. When I completed advanced secondary school, I was employed in my brother's company as a Transport Officer, which provided me an opportunity to visit Dar es Salaam a number of times. During, my first trip we moved from Singida to Dar es Salaam, which was a long trip for me on a very rough road. Unfortunately, we arrived in Dar es Salaam at midnight and went back the same day. Therefore, I missed the chance of observing the city I had been yearning to see.

In 2007, I got another chance to visit Dar es Salaam after I had been selected to join the University of Dar es Salaam for my undergraduate studies. This time, I explored the city because I met my colleagues and friends who were familiar with the city. I started to observe things that were different from what I had heard from my village mates. I visited both urban and peri-urban areas and observed informality in the city. The settlements were not organised and some of the streets were impassable. This was an eye opener for me that triggered many thoughts in my mind. I wondered what was the cause of unplanned settlements in the city. It also raised questions in my mind as to whether this was associated with poverty, or poor leadership.

In my mind back then thought that this problem was a result of how people accessed land and who was responsible for the process.

My friends and I, in my undergraduate studies, started having ambitions of acquiring land using our stipend. I had thought that land was expensive in the city, but my friends brought to my attention that the amount of money one had, determined the location where land could be bought. They were referring to places far from the city, which I did not know then were termed as “peri-urban areas” in the land discipline. I did not manage to buy land then, but two of my friends succeeded. One of them had been assisted by his other friend to identify land for sale, while the second one was linked to the sellers by his family members. This clicked in my mind and I started to notice that accessing land in peri-urban areas was not uniform.

When I started my master program in 2011, I had the idea of studying land matters. I wanted to answer questions that had been building up in my mind from the first time I witnessed informality in the city. That is how I ended up developing a topic on the governance of land access in Dar es Salaam City. I investigated formal land access and particularly corruption in this process. My intention was to find out the cause of the existence of informality in the land sector in Dar es Salaam City. Then I realised that the formal land access was prone to corruption free and incapable of meeting the demand for land. Notably, in my master thesis I was limited to the formal land access, while other access processes were not covered.

In 2014, I joined Ardhi University as an Assistant Research Fellow. Still my intention was to know more about the causes and status of the informality in the land sector or land governance in general. In 2016, I joined the PhD programme sponsored by SIDA, which enabled me to investigate land access matters. This provided an opportunity for me to delve deeper into land governance, particularly in peri-urban areas. During my PhD studies, I managed to buy two plots of land informally, but I used different processes for each. For the first plot, I was connected to the land seller by my friend, while for the second one (in the same peri-urban area of Dar es Salaam), I was linked by a colleague at work to a broker who connected me to the seller. In the first plot purchase, I did not pay any commission to anybody, but in the second one I parted with a brokerage fee. This taught me another lesson: even within the informality there are different ways of accessing land. My curiosity and interest to understand land governance grew.

While I had made a lump sum payment in the first purchase of my plot, in the second one I paid in instalments. In the first land transaction, I used local community leaders to endorse the documentation of the sale agreements. In the second transaction, I used both local community leaders and lawyers for documentation of my holding rights. My first plot of land was invaded by land trespassers and I was informed by the neighbours. Although both pieces of land were accessed informally but I had to embark on the regularisation process. My personal experience has thus been a rich source of learning and un-learning land access and governance and embedded contentions and dynamics in the access processes in peri-urban areas.

Dedication

With great love, this dissertation is whole heartedly dedicated to my mother, Mrs Kinaghua Shughuru Mfinanga, and to my brothers and sisters.

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List of publications

This thesis is based on the work contained in the following papers, referred to by Roman numerals in the text:

- I. Nuhu, S. (2019). Peri-urban land governance in developing countries: understanding the role, interaction and power relation among actors in Tanzania. *Urban Forum*, 30 (1), pp. 1-16.
- II. Nuhu, S. (2019). Land-access systems in peri-urban areas in Tanzania: perspectives from actors. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, 11 (2), pp. 189-202.
- III. Nuhu, S. and Kombe, W. J. (2020). Experiences of private firms in delivering land services in peri-urban areas in Tanzania. *International Planning Studies*, pp. 1-16.

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The contribution of Said Nuhu to the papers included in this thesis is as follows:

- I. I am the sole author of this article.
- II. I am the sole author of this article.
- III. I developed the research design of this paper, collected the data and conducted empirical work. Kombe, W. J. was responsible for literature review, particularly in Section 1 and 2 of the paper.

1. Introduction

Access to land is significant for inclusive cities and sustainable urban development (Adam, 2019; Arjjumend & Seid, 2018; Cartwright et al., 2018; Titz & Chiotha, 2019). This is as enshrined in the Sustainable Development Goal No. 11 and particularly Target 11.3 (inclusive cities and urbanisation) and 11.A (strong national and regional development planning). This is critical for socio-cultural and economic development in most African communities where land is an essential resource (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Access to land is the process by which an individual gets the ability and/or gains the rights to use land whether temporarily or permanently, for either production, leisure or other social purposes (Ahene, 2009; IFAD, 2008; Moyo, 2017; Quan, 2006). It may also refer to the availability and affordability of land, as well as guarantee of tenure security (Moyo, 2017; Nkurunziza, 2008). Land can be accessed either formally, informally or through customary processes (Quan, 2006; Wehrmann, 2008). The processes of land access refer to the steps or channels one may go through in order to have the right of use the land. The formal process is guided by policies, laws and regulations, while the informal and customary processes are determined by socially shared norms and values (Kombe & Kreibich, 2000, 2001; Wehrmann, 2008). Socially shared norms and values are standard expectations expressed by actors through behaviour and actions. The formal and informal, as well as customary processes are often interlinked and can operate in many different ways. This constitutes the dynamism in land access processes, but may also give rise to contentions when the formal, informal and customary land access processes are interlinked.

Land access and governance is a phenomenon attracting considerable critical attention in the literature on peri-urban areas of the Global South, due to its significance. It is noted that land as a scarce resource, its access and

governance has encountered various challenges, which include rapid urbanisation and increase of socio-economic activities (Adam, 2014c, 2014d, 2016; Smit, 2018), inefficiency and ineffectiveness of formal land access and governance (Kironde, 2009; Nuhu, 2013; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017; Stina, Amelia, & Joshua, 2018; UN-Habitat, 2010b) and overlapping of formal, informal and customary land access processes (Kombe & Kreibich, 2000; Wehrmann, 2008). State monopoly over land and the state's influence on land use disputes and evictions (Adam, 2014d; Kombe, 2010a, 2010c; Msangi, 2011) as well as land appropriation (Kamala, 2006; Liberti, 2013; Sadiki & Ramutsindela, 2002) have been documented. Land marketisation and inequitable land markets (Kironde, 2000; UN-Habitat, 2010b), land use changes and conflicts (Kleemann et al., 2017; Kombe, 2010b; Lombard, 2016) have also been noted as hindering land access and governance. The aforementioned challenges may contribute to the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms in various ways.

In the case of Africa, land in major cities is transforming to cater for different land demands and needs. These include building of commercial and residential houses, as well as demand for construction of physical infrastructures for health, education and roads (Adam, 2014d; Ricci, 2012, 2015; Steel, Abukashawa, & Hussein, 2020). This has given rise to rapid changes, which have contributed to unregulated land access processes, particularly seen in most peri-urban areas of Sub-Saharan African countries (Adam, 2014d; Mbiba & Huchzermeyer, 2002; Steel et al., 2020). Peri-urban areas refer to areas that have both urban and rural characteristics (Iaquinta & Drescher, 2000; Msangi, 2011). These areas are continuously changing and thus dynamic, which influences and determines access to land.

Peri-urban areas in the African context attract the participation of multiple actors in the land access processes. These include land seekers, land sellers, land administrators, land service providers, utility service providers and land rights activists (see also Adam, 2020; Smit, 2018). These actors have diverging interests and needs. Some actors are interested in profit-making through the provision of land-related services, others through land transactions. Whereas some are engaged in implementation of land laws and regulations, others participate in land advocacy activities (see also Adam, 2020; Stina et al., 2018). Depending on their interests, actors may be categorised into rule makers, rule takers, rule enforcers and/or facilitators.

This determines how land access processes and embedded governance mechanisms occur in a dynamic area in contentious procedures with multiple actors. Governance mechanisms encompass all processes (e.g. formal, informal and customary) of governing land. The process may be influenced by actors' interests and needs thus determining land access.

Land access in peri-urban areas of cities like Dar es Salaam is contentious. This is aggravated by the actors, varying powers, roles, relationships and diverging interests (see Adam, 2020; Stina et al., 2018), which has implications for land access processes and governance mechanisms. For instance, actors in peri-urban areas negotiate for land access rights with controversial, competing and conflicting interests and needs in land access processes and governance (see also Mbiba & Huchzermeyer, 2002). Access rights constitute permission to use land for different activities. Sometimes two parties (actors) using the same process but with different interests and needs may oppose each other. This manifests through competing and conflicting claimants of land and leads to an increase in land-related disputes in peri-urban settings (see Kombe, 2010a; Kombe, 2010b; Lombard, 2016). The disputes also manifest through actors' multiple land use and access rights. This is because some actors may acquire land for public interest, attracting rejection and protest from other actors protecting their access rights (see Kombe, 2010c; Msangi, 2011). Other actors may also use their political or financial influence to occupy land that has already been accessed, without considering the access rights of others. In other cases, actors may invade hazardous and vacant land in peri-urban areas. These contentious situations are predominant in peri-urban areas. Thus, the presence of multiple actors in peri-urban areas with divergent interests leads to competition, clashes, disputes and conflict of interests, which contributes to land access disagreements.

Land access contentions may also emanate from different factors and attributes. Land grabbing for instance is discussed as a strategy for mega infrastructure development, revealing new colonialist tendencies and mechanisms (Liberti, 2013; Neimark, Toulmin, & Batterbury, 2018; Steel, Van Noorloos, & Otsuki, 2019). Individual greed for land acquisition, which alienates the vulnerable from accessing land, as well commodification or marketisation of urban land (Kironde, 2000; Manji, 2006; Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Wiegratz, 2016) has increased the cost of land for some people.

Multiple land management systems including private, public and mixed (Obeng-Odoom, 2012; Smit, 2018) contribute to complex land access processes and governance mechanisms. This also denies individuals access to land when private land becomes public or vice versa, and may lead to protests and clashes. The multiplicity of land management systems is worthwhile where systems and actors are coordinated and regulated to fill the land supply and demand gap. Notably, scholars have not given more attention to the fact that transformations are driven by actors with different roles and relationships. In this regard, the multiplicity of actors within multiple land management systems cannot be exonerated from land access contentions in peri-urban areas.

The contentious nature of land access processes leads to dynamic land access processes and governance mechanisms. By ‘dynamic(s)’ or ‘dynamism’ it is implied that the land access processes and governance mechanisms are constantly changing. Firstly, the dynamic nature of land access in peri-urban areas may be influenced by the fact that the informally accessed land may be transformed into formally owned land through formalisation, or the formally accessed land may be found in informal land markets (see Andreasen, MCGranaHan, Kyessi, & Kombe, 2020; Kessy, 2005; Kusiluka & Chiwambo, 2018; Magigi & Majani, 2006), or institutional and policy changes may be effected in the land sector (Pedersen, 2010, 2014). Secondly, informal actors may engage in formal land access and informal actors may also engage in the formal land access process. Hence actors’ actions are also dynamic because these actors can engage in both land access processes and governance mechanisms independently or concurrently (Rakodi & Leduka, 2004). Finally, dynamics may result from the competing or complementary overlap of formal, informal and customary land access processes. The interplay between formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms may thus contribute to the changing and controversial nature of land access in peri-urban areas.

The dynamics and contentions in the land access processes and governance mechanisms are mutually inclusive. Contestation may arise between two or more actors over access to land, which leads to disagreements (Kombe, 2010c). After resolutions of these contestations, an actor with access rights may emerge and this depicts the possibility of evolution or change in user access and/or rights. The changes may be established as new initiatives or strategies to address or mitigate contentions.

On the other hand, the dynamic nature of land access processes may also lead to contentions (Kombe, 2010a, 2010c; Van Asperen, 2014). This may occur when other actors try to change the status of access rights, violate the access rights of others or invade vacant land. This depicts how land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas are complex and unique, particularly in cities of the Global South.

This section has provided an overview of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban Dar es Salaam, introducing their inherent dynamic and contentious nature. This dynamic and contentious nature, which is characteristic of peri-urban areas in the cities of the Global South, has not been adequately described and conceptualised in the literature. This thesis will redress this shortcoming. To this end, it will both report the results of empirical research into land, actors and processes of land access and governance of peri-urban Dar es Salaam, as well as provide a more adequate understanding of the observed dynamism and contentions through conceptual work. The next section provides the necessary background information on land access processes in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam City. In Section 1.2, the knowledge gap in the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in the context of peri-urban areas is explained. Section 1.3 presents three key issues, including the research problem, aim and questions that guided this research. Section 1.4 provides a discussion of the studies done in peri-urban Tanzania in relation to the research questions. The final section (Section 1.5) stipulates the structure and organisation of this thesis.

1.1 Land access and governance as a dynamic and contentious process: the case of peri-urban areas in Dar es Salaam

Land access and governance in peri-urban Dar es Salaam is dynamic and contentious, just like in other cities in the Global South. Dar es Salaam, as the main commercial city in Tanzania, has been experiencing rapid population growth (see Figure 1) and geographical expansion (Collier & Jones, 2016; Mbuya, 2017; Ricci, 2015). This has led to a high demand for land for different socio-economic activities in peri-urban area (Stina et al., 2018). As a result of expanding activities an increasing number of actors have emerged (as described in Section 1), engaging in establishing project

controlling land and city development, holding or occupying land and selling land in addition to other activities. There are sometimes tensions among these actors, for instance competition between the state and social groups (e.g. the land buyers and sellers), or between social groups themselves. The former emerges when land has been expropriated without proper compensation (Kombe, 2010c; Msangi, 2011), while the latter occurs when there are land invasions, fraud or mistrust among actors. There have also been tensions between land service providers (private sector and real estate developers) and communities (Barbere & Ramadhani, 2018). These arise when land in the community has been used without following the legal process. These tensions have been reflected in Tanzania's land access processes, which combine the formal, informal or customary land access processes in which actors are engaged. As described below, these processes often operate simultaneously and sometimes interdependently (Kombe & Kreibich, 2000).

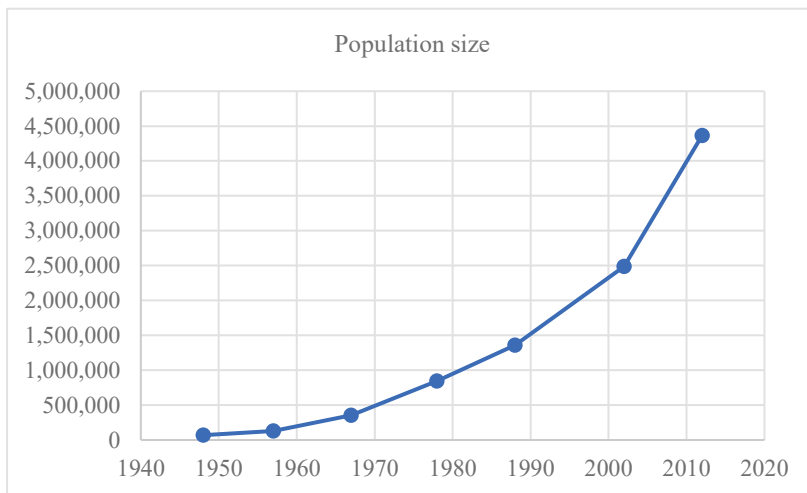


Figure 1. Trend of population growth in Dar es Salaam (1948-2012).
Source: URT (2012).

1.1.1 Formal land access processes

Formal land access processes differ depending on national land tenure systems. All land in Tanzania is owned by the state, similar to Ethiopia (see also Adam, 2014d; Msangi, 2011), while in other countries of Sub-Saharan

Africa such as Kenya and Uganda, any person can have a guarantee of ownership of land using different forms of access rights (see also Onguny & Gillies, 2019; Pedersen et al., 2012). However, in Tanzania the government can grant rights of occupancy of land and derivative rights (see URT, 1977, 1995). In the formal land access process, land in Tanzania can be accessed or governed through granted rights of occupancy, occupancy under letter of offer and derivative rights (Deininger, Selod, & Burns, 2011; Ricci, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2010a).

In granted rights of occupancy, landholders get the rights of occupancy from the government for surveyed land for up to 99 years. According to the Land Act 1999, granted rights of occupancy are obtained through an individual application (URT, 1999). The process of accessing land requires one to pass through different offices, such as the Local Government Authority and Ministry of Lands. Secondly, land can be accessed through ‘occupancy under letter of offer’ granted by the Commissioner for Lands to the applicant. Thirdly, land can be accessed through derivative rights, which are also referred to as a residential licence. According to the Land Act of 1999, this provides “the right to occupy land in non-hazardous land, land reserved for public utilities and surveyed land, urban or peri-urban area for the period of time for which residential licence has been granted” (URT, 1999:82). These rights are granted by the Local Government Authorities in urban areas for temporary occupations before a fully recognised tenure is granted. They are provided as a ‘stop-gap’ for addressing informal land access in both urban and peri-urban areas in Tanzania (Tenga, 2015). This type of right is granted for less than six months and does not exceed two years, but may be renewed for a similar term (UN-Habitat, 2010a; URT, 1999). As shown within the formal land access process, land may be accessed by following different systems, depending on the nature of occupancy that meets the actors’ interests and needs, implying that land access and governance may be dynamic.

There are multiple actors with varying interests and needs engaging in the formal land access processes. The main actors include the government and its agencies, the private sector, landholders and local community leaders. The government and its agencies are interested in managing, administering and regulating the formal land access processes, while the private sector is involved in maximising profit through provisioning land access services (Stina et al., 2018). Landholders are interested in protecting their access

rights and the local community leaders are engaged in witnessing land transactions and solving land-related disputes. However, the land transactions are determined by the governance mechanisms utilised by the actors (Adam, 2014a). Furthermore, in the formal land access process, the state is responsible for providing the rights for access to land and its development (Kombe, 2010b; Kombe & Kreibich, 2001; URT, 1999). The state has also been given a mandate to revoke the rights of occupancy, if the occupier does not abide by the laws and regulations related to land (Kombe, 2010b). This creates contention between the state and other actors.

Actors in the formal land access processes may have overlapping and complementary roles. This emanates from differences in power, authority and interests driven from existing laws and policies (Kironde, 2009; Massoi & Norman, 2010), and may lead to conflicts. For instance, the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities may run different land projects within the same geographical location without coordination. The Ministry may also establish land related projects, without engaging the municipal land office, though the land is under the municipality (Stinal et al, 2013). Both the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authority have the power to regulate land use, allocate land and control development. In some respect, this creates reluctance on the part of Local Governments Authorities who may depend too much on the Ministry of Lands for any land related activities (Kironde, 2009). The private sector, especially investors in peri-urban areas, may use their economic power to isolate or exploit vulnerable groups, due to lack of transparency, which is characteristic of the land sector in Tanzania (see also Nuhu, 2013; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017). Overlapping roles may result in the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of actors in implementing their duties in regards to peri-urban land access processes (Massoi and Norman, 2010). Actors are engaged in multiple roles, which could lead to conflicts of interest while meeting the demands from diverse roles. This contributes to contentions in formal land access and governance.

The formal land processes are characterised by ambiguities. Landholders, for instance, have the right to use land but they do not own it. This is because land in Tanzania is owned and governed through or vested in the presidency on behalf of all citizens (URT, 1967, 1995, 1999). This raises a lot of questions and creates confusion and contentions as someone may hold user rights of land, but does not own the land, and yet legally possesses the land (Shivji, 1996). Conceptualising formal access, Ribot and Peluso (2003) note

that ambiguities within legal or formal access is common. The government and its agencies may sometimes use ambiguities for discretionary decisions regardless of the impact (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). In this regard, the president may use vested power to claim land for public use with private interests or a hidden agenda. Notably, in Tanzania there is no provision for judicial arbitration, and if contested, the president's rule overrides any other rules. The formal land access process described above contributes to the conflicting nature of land access processes, manifesting increased land use disputes, evictions, displacement and unfairness in the land sector (Kombe, 2010b; Stina et al., 2018).

1.1.2 Informal land access processes

Informal land is accessed in various ways outside the formal processes. These include informal purchasing and/or renting, inheriting, gifting, invasion of public spaces and hazardous areas, as well as illegal subdivision of land (Adam, 2014a; Nkurunziza, 2008; Olajide, 2010). Informal land transactions in peri-urban areas are based on the willingness of sellers and buyers. Access rights are protected by the buyers, sometimes with the cooperation of sellers and other actors such as agents (brokers), local community leaders and neighbours. Although the existence of informal land access is acknowledged in legal and policy documents in Tanzania, the process is not guided by formal laws, rules and regulations (Kombe & Kreibich, 2001; UN-Habitat, 2010a). Acknowledging informal processes contributes to the presence of informal and formal governance in the land sector. Hence, two parallel governance mechanisms may bring about contentions.

Informal land access processes are dominant in peri-urban areas. In Dar es Salaam it is estimated that eighty percent of land is accessed and governed informally (Sheuya & Burra, 2016; Stina et al., 2018). This is higher than Kampala in Uganda, which is seventy-two percent (Richmond, Myers, & Namuli, 2018) and approximately sixty percent in Nairobi, Kenya (Githira, 2016). Informal land access processes are more common because they are utilised by people from low, middle and high incomes (Rasmussen, 2013; Stina et al., 2018). This shows that peri-urban areas are highly competitive, which may lay the foundation for clashes.

The dominance of informal land access processes is attributed to various factors. The failure of the formal land access process is one of the

fundamental factors that influences the utilisation of informal processes as an alternative (Van Asperen, 2014). This has contributed to inadequacies in the formal supply of planned and surveyed plots, bureaucratic procedures and high costs of services (Adam, 2014a; Bah, Faye, & Geh, 2018; Ghebru & Okumo, 2016; Nkurunziza, 2007, 2008). Other reasons include inadequate financial and human resources, poor technology and modernised planning systems, as well as weak or lacking governance to manage land use transformations (Bah et al., 2018; Haase, 2014; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017; Wehrmann, 2008). Informal options are also preferred due to inefficient and ineffective formal land access processes linked to unfairness and malpractice (Nuhu, 2013; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017). This encourages a number of people to favor informal options for accessing land.

There are various actors engaging or participating in informal land access processes. The main actors include land sellers and buyers engaging in land transactions, agents (such as brokers, neighbours and friends) participating in the authorisation or endorsement of land transactions. They may also contribute to the provision of information on the availability of land. Local community leaders participate in the informal land access process by endorsing land transactions (Kombe & Kreibich, 2001). However, actors' participation or engagement in informal land transactions are determined by levels of trust and relationships with one another. Actors may also change their roles depending on the interests, needs and relationships with other actors. In other instances, even the government and its agencies (formal actors), may sometimes participate in informal land access processes, for instance through engaging in solving land disputes and the endorsement of informal land transactions (Kombe & Kreibich, 2000; Lupala, 2002). This indicates how the informal land access process is ever-changing as the relationships of participating actors may sometime change.

1.1.3 Customary land access processes

Customary land access processes are based on traditional norms and values. These norms and values may belong to indigenous or native communities of peri-urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2010a; Wehrmann, 2008). Community norms and values, in regard to customary land, were regarded as non-dynamic in customary land, and customary land access processes were assumed not to change. Kironde (2000) called this a 'misleading conceptualisation' because customary land access processes have been changing. The dynamism and

evolution of these processes has increased in recent times due to the strengthening of the market economy emanating from the neo-liberal policies in Tanzania since the 1980s. In peri-urban areas, for instance, customary land has been transformed into quasi-customary or informal land, implying that customary land access processes have also been changing. Quasi-customary land access process is the process whereby landholders have accessed land from holders of customary land largely through non-customary modes, such as willing sellers and willing buyers (Durand-Lasserve, 2005; Kombe, 2005; Msangi, 2011; Wehrmann, 2008). Through the market economy, peri-urban dwellers engage freely in selling or parceling their land informally, including inherited land. Hence customary land may transform into informal land. Sometimes it is not easy to differentiate customary from informal land access processes because they both may reveal the same characteristics. The similarity between informal and customary land access is weak documentation of access rights, while the difference is that social protection in informal land may not be guaranteed.

Both informal and customary land access processes and governing mechanisms are faced with various challenges. These include inconsistencies in registered information, which sometimes is difficult to gather, and inaccuracies in plot boundaries and demarcations (Bah et al., 2018). The informal land access process is particularly challenged by mistrust between the buyers, sellers and agents. Fraud and vulnerability among others factors also contribute to mistrust in the informal land access process (Nkurunziza, 2007; Olajide, 2010). These challenges in both customary and informal land access processes have contributed to the increase of land-related disputes when landholders may need to pursue land access rights, particularly when land is confiscated or acquired by the government for public interest (Bah et al., 2018; Kombe, 2017; Msangi, 2011).

In the customary land access process, the same piece of land may be allocated to numerous users. As noted, all land in Tanzania is under the authority of the state, therefore the state can declare or claim its ownership at any time for public use, while the communities may believe they have holding rights under the customary process (Mark, 2013). The state may also allocate the same customary land with numerous users to other users. This may give rise to disputes, where the users with customary access rights feel disrespected that they have to share land with users whom they may not share the same values and norms. Consequently, these actions may be contested

by actors whose access rights are violated. The government, whose actions may have led to these contentions, may intervene to mediate and mitigate.

Various initiatives are taken by the government in order to address the challenges emanating from both informal and customary land access processes. These include establishing land-related projects (see Kironde, 2015; Magigi, 2013; Msangi, 2011; Oates, Gillard, Sudmant, & Gouldson, 2020) and encouraging the participation of the private sector in land-related activities (see Barbere & Ramadhani, 2018; Yamungu, 2019), which include facilitating the formalisation of the informally accessed land. The private sector emerged as an important actor, due to policy and legal changes enacted to bridge the gap in the public sector regarding the provision of public services, including land access services, which were constrained by both human and financial resource inadequacies (Makundi, 2017). Despite the private sector's participation, the demand for land access services is still high (Kasala & Burra, 2016; Stina et al., 2018). Therefore, the informal land access process has remained active in peri-urban areas, since it enables people to access land who otherwise would not be able to through the formal process (Lamba, 2005). Nonetheless, the private sector has also faced both policy and technical challenges in the provision of land-related services.

To sum up, in peri-urban Dar es Salaam, the coexistence of formal, informal and customary land access processes has contributed to overlapping rights, contradictory rules and competing authorities. Informally accessed land may transform into formally held land through a regularisation processes, while formally accessed land may end up in informal markets. This situation creates a dynamic relationship among the land access actors, which has sometimes been a source of contention in peri-urban areas.

1.2 Knowledge gap in understanding the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance in peri-urban areas

A large and growing body of literature has investigated land access and governance in the Global South. When investigating and analysing formal, informal and customary processes (see Section 1.1), two concepts are recurrent in the literature: land access and governance. Reviewing the literature on land access and governance reveals that both concepts are used in a myriad of ways and have multiple meanings. It is not the purpose of this

research to challenge the established understandings, their premises or to introduce new theories. Rather, the intention is to combine the two concepts to provide an adequate conceptual analysis of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban contexts of the Global South, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

There are many studies linking land access and governance. Studies have shown how land access is a governance issue (Chauveau, Colin, Jacob, Delville, & Le Meur, 2006; Cotula, Toulmin, & Quan, 2006; FAO, 2002; Palmer, Fricaska, & Wehrmann, 2009). In the literature, it has also been recognised that land access and governance are important for inclusive cities and sustainable urban development in the Global South (Cartwright et al., 2018; Serageldin, 2016; Titz & Chiotha, 2019). Despite these vital contributions in the literature, there is little attention to the application and implication of combining the concepts ‘land access’ and ‘governance’. This is realised more so, when investigating and conceptualising the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in Sub-Saharan peri-urban areas. Literature has captured some components of these dynamics and contentions *empirically*, such as multiple actors with varying interests (Adam, 2020; Smit, 2018; Stina et al., 2018), the operation of formal and informal land rights (e.g. Adam, 2014d; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000; Wehrmann, 2008), corruption in formal land access (Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017), peri-urban land markets (e.g. Kironde, 2000; Twarabamenye & Nyandwi, 2012), informal land access and security of rights (e.g. Nkurunziza, 2007) and peri-urban transformation (e.g. Steel et al., 2020; Stina et al., 2018). However, these aspects have been mainly studied separately. This has limited a comprehensive understanding of the two concepts, particularly with regards to peri-urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa.

As a concept for analysis or theorisation, ‘land access’ is used in many different ways depending on the particular setting and/or activities. For instance, Quan’s (2006) conceptualisation of land access is based on issues, trends, linkages and policy options in rural settings, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America. His conceptualisation has influenced a vast body of literature and his ideas are used intensively in academic discussions on land access and governance (see Adedayo, 2018; Clover & Eriksen, 2009; Lawal & Adekunle, 2018; Moyo, 2017; Oladehinde, Olayiwola, & Popoola, 2018). Quan’s conceptual ideas provide

a relatively appropriate understanding of land access in *rural* settings. This focus however means, that the study leaves out the dynamics and contentions that are unique for *peri-urban* areas. For example, the regularisation of informally accessed land and the participation of actors in both formal and informal land access processes is important. Quan himself noted that his conceptualisation does not intend to go beyond those details. He also recognises that his conceptual ideas cannot be generalised for many different contexts. This means that Quan's ideas need to be adopted if they are to be applied to understanding the situation in peri-urban Dar es Salaam.

In addition, a great deal of previous research into land access has focused on specific settings and activities. Land access, for instance, has been analysed in relation to the urban or rural poor (see also Brown-Luthango, 2010; Cotula et al., 2006; Kironde, 1995; Kombe, 2010c; Trivelli, 1986), affiliations with informal land markets (Magni, 2001), facilitating the business environment in urban areas (Stebek, 2015) and in connection to residential and commercial housing provisions in urban settings (see Adedayo, 2018). Other studies have highlighted land access in relation to transparency, tenure security (Ahene, 2009), youth or small holders, access to land for agricultural activities in rural and peri-urban areas (Cerrada-Serra, Colombo, Ortiz-Miranda, & Grando, 2018; Deininger, Savastano, & Xia, 2017; Kidido & Bugri, 2020) or contributions to housing delivery (Gbadegesin, Van der Heijden, & Boelhouwer, 2016; Lawal & Adekunle, 2018) and the capacity (financial or authority) of actors (FAO, 2006; Moyo, 2017). Agreeably, the prepositions in the literature are important factors for accessing land. However, they are *content* and *context* specific in regard to the thematic focus and setting. They may not be applicable in peri-urban areas of cities in Sub-Saharan Africa where multiple land access processes are operational.

It is crucial to take into consideration content and context specification when analysing a phenomenon. As Shatkin (2007) suggests, it is important to consider that cities in the Global South are different from those of the Global North when analysing a phenomenon. Shatkin cautions that failure to make this differentiation may have implications for both theory and practice. Most theories and practices, including new intuitionism, were conceptualised based on the Global North (Obeng-Odoom, 2020; Schneider & Nega, 2016). Suitability and relevance given the variances in different regions remains a debate, that will be discussed further in Section 2.3. Land

access processes and governance mechanisms, for that matter, cannot be generalised. In this regard, it is important to rethink what has been written in the literature. This may facilitate the understanding of circumstances inherent in peri-urban Dar es Salaam so as to adopt and adapt processes that may be appropriate and relevant to the context.

In regards to land access, several studies have used ‘governance’ as a concept and theory for understanding land and its access in the peri-urban areas of the Global South. For instance, several review studies of land governance have been undertaken (Dadashpoor & Somayeh, 2019; Deininger, Hilhorst, & Songwe, 2014; Kironde, 2009; Mbiba & Huchzermeyer, 2002). However, these studies fall short of providing empirical evidence on the nature of land access and governance in peri-urban areas. In the reviewed studies, other scholars use the global governance assessment framework, which does not adequately portray the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms of peri-urban areas. The framework provides a global perspective, which may not be accurate for specific countries.

Furthermore, ‘governance’ has been conceptualised to understand land through ‘land governance’. In these studies, land is analysed with little attention to access and the consideration of varying contexts (for instance Deininger et al., 2014; Hoeggel & Ott, 2012; Mattsson & Mansberger, 2017; Palmer et al., 2009; Van Leeuwen, Van de Kerkhof, & Van Leynseele, 2018). Other studies focus on the linkages between urban transformation or urbanisation and land governance (Adam, 2014d; Steel et al., 2020), land governance and periodic land reforms and changes (Kjaer, 2017; Van Leeuwen et al., 2018), land access changes and governance (Chauveau et al., 2006), land access for low- and middle-income people through the partnership governance model (Chitengi, 2020), as well as tracking trends and changes through land governance (Cotula, Anseeuw, & Baldinelli, 2019). These studies do not show the dynamic and contentious processes described in Section 1 and 1.1, which involve multiple actors, their diverse and often conflicting interests and the strategies utilised to attain such benefits. The studies fail to show how actors operate within the formal and informal processes, or how actors use the governance mechanisms of these processes, their weaknesses or strengths.

However, it is important to note that ‘governance’ is a contested concept. There is a large volume of published studies debating the conceptualisation of governance (see Bevir, 2012; Guhan, 1998; Kjaer, 2011; Mayntz, 2003) and

its application (see Chhotray & Stoker, 2008; Mbuh, 2016; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017). Nonetheless, many scholars when studying and investigating land access or governance in peri-urban areas in the Global South, have been influenced by the universal understanding of governance, which links governance and democracy (Deininger et al., 2014; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017). This perception overlooks the uniqueness of individual countries or entities. In addition, the idea is more applicable in the context of efficient and effective formal systems. Reacting to this, Fukuyama (2013) notes it is ideal to link democracy and governance concepts in theory, but not in practice because governance can be practiced by both democratic and undemocratic governments. Therefore, this may require new theoretical lenses to investigate and understand land access and governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. This research tries to take into consideration various concerns raised when conceptualising the studied phenomenon based on context determined by various factors in peri-urban areas, rather than universal yardsticks.

Furthermore, different dynamics and contentions have been investigated empirically through different lenses in peri-urban settings in Sub-Saharan Africa and other countries in the Global South. The literature has highlighted land use dynamics in relation to poverty and rural-urban migration and the implication for urban sprawl (Dutta, 2012b; Kombe, 2005), dynamic peri-urban land markets and the contribution to changes in property regimes, land tenure systems and land use change (Magigi & Drescher, 2010; Wehrmann, 2008; Wolff, Mdemu, & Lakes, 2021), spatiotemporal patterns for the nature of land in peri-urban areas (see Dutta, 2012a; Goel, 2011) and the dynamics and implications for building healthy cities through regional planning (Chirisa, 2010). Peri-urban areas have also been conceptualised based on their geographical location (see Adell, 1999; Fazal, 2013; Salem, 2015; Shaw, van Vliet, & Verburg, 2020) and contentiousness in connection to multi-lateral and bilateral development agencies (Mbiba & Huchzermeyer, 2002). These studies do not consider the theoretical conceptualisation of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas that are crucial for understanding the inherent dynamics and contentions. As Varkey (2018) cautions, in peri-urban areas, land is contested and sometimes hard to access, while at other times it is simple to access. Land in peri-urban areas is multifunctional, multidimensional and has different connotations in regards to values as perceived by different actors. This contributes to complex processes that define access rights. Therefore, it is vital for the conceptualisation

of land access and governance to be more specific and reflect the context and the processes utilised by the actors.

In this thesis, it is suggested that the combination of ‘land access’ and ‘governance’ for conceptualising land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of the global south cities is fundamental for three reasons. Firstly, peri-urban areas are unique because they are ever-changing and land access and governance is characterised by the participation of multiple actors with different interests and needs, utilising multiple land access processes. This uniqueness contributes to distinct land access and governance mechanisms, which require adequate concepts that allow us to conceptualise this uniqueness. Secondly, the combination of the two concepts may also raise important critical questions regarding the multiple uses of land in peri-urban areas for different socio-economic and political activities. Lastly, the combination of the concepts of land access and governance may contribute towards understanding the diversity of actors’ participation, either in one or both land access processes. Therefore, the combination of the two concepts contribute to rethinking land access and governance through the development of new theoretical knowledge. This will contribute to the understanding and conceptualising of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance in peri-urban areas of Sub-Saharan African cities.

1.3 Research problem, aim and questions

Peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms in Sub-Saharan Africa are dynamic and contentious. This is because multiple actors with varying interests are engaged in both formal and informal land access processes, either simultaneously and/or independently or in a competitive manner, which sometimes contributes to disputes and clashes. The situation is made worse by the fact that within informal land access, there are processes that promote mistrust and fraud. This makes the governance of land access in peri-urban areas of Sub-Saharan Africa in general, and in Dar es Salaam in particular, distinct. As discussed in Section 1.2, the existing literature on land access and governance focuses particularly on content- and context-specific activities, while its dynamic and contentious nature has not been given adequate attention. More recent attention has focused on the dynamic and contentions nature of peri-urban landscapes in general, while

the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance has not been conceptualised. There are relatively few studies focusing on the undercurrents of the formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms, as well as the interlinking of the two.

Accordingly, this research aims to explore and conceptualise the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms present in the peri-urban areas of Dar es Salam. In doing so, it attempts to examine the actors' roles and relationships, processes and challenges in the governance of land access in the Global South, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The research aim was realised based on discussing a series of empirical and theoretical questions, as shown below. An abductive research process, where the research moved iteratively from the empirical investigation of the case to the theoretical work and back, is used as the research strategy (see Section 3.1). Peri-urban regions of Dar es Salaam were used as a case study area to define the theoretical paradigm in order to illuminate the core discussions in the land access and governance phenomena. The empirical research questions have been mostly answered in this thesis' articles, while the cover story focuses more on the theoretical research question. Figure 2 shows how the questions contributed to the compiled articles as part of this thesis and the cover story. Theories were used for analysing the empirical data, in order to provide a better understanding and explanation, but also facilitated answering the theoretical research question. More explanation and the applicability of the theories can be seen in Chapter 2. Details of the relationship between the two types of research questions are provided below, after presenting each set of questions.

The empirical research questions (ERQs) were posed to explore land access processes and related governance mechanisms. Accordingly, the questions focused on identifying how actors, their roles and relationships contribute to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access. The questions were also posed in order to explore the challenges facing actors in the land access process or in seeking land access-related services. The three ERQs of the thesis include:

ERQ1 – Who are the key actors in land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas in Dar es Salaam?

ERQ2 – How does the interplay between formal and informal land access processes contribute to the dynamics and contentions in land access and governance?

ERQ3 – What challenges are actors in the land access service provision facing attributed to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access?

The theoretical research question (TRQ) focuses on the conceptualisation of land access processes and governance mechanisms in Dar es Salaam, reflecting peri-urban areas in Sab-Saharan Africa with similar characteristics.

TRQ – How can the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam be conceptualised?

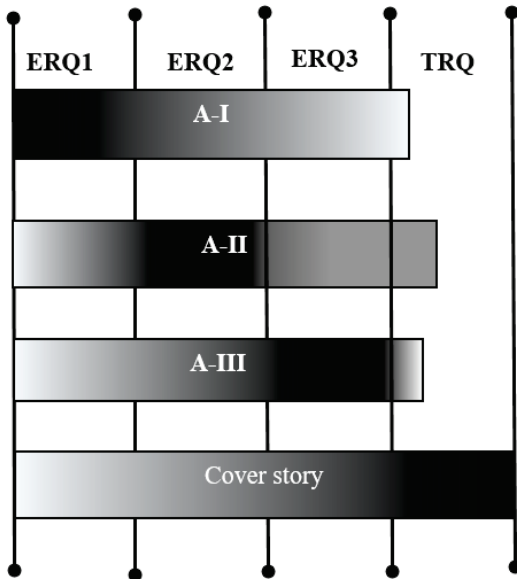


Figure 2. Contribution of research questions to articles and cover story (CS). The rows in the figure portray colour saturation in regard to how strongly each article relates to the research question(s).

1.4 Discussion of previous studies on land access and governance in peri-urban areas in Tanzania

Reviewing different studies, which have addressed land access and governance issues in Tanzania is vital. This enables the acknowledged research gaps in line with the research questions underpinning this thesis. It also facilitates the recognition of the applied theoretical framework by the reviewed studies in this research.

Several studies have investigated land access and governance processes in the context of peri-urban areas in Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam in particular. Some of the studies have focused on actors, processes and land ownership (see Kironde, 2009, 2015; Kombe, 2005; Lupala, 2002, 2008; Msangi, 2011; Nuhu, 2013; Smit, 2018; Stina et al., 2018). However, in these studies, neither the key role of the actors nor their influence on the interplay between the existing land access processes has adequately been examined. The relationships, contradictions and reconciliations between formal and informal land management and governance systems has also been underscored (Kironde, 1995; Kombe, 1995; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000, 2001; Mwaihuti, 2018; Wehrmann, 2008). What is lacking in these studies is an understanding of the interplay between formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms and implications to peri-urban land governance in Tanzania.

Based on his idea of ‘dead capital’, De Soto (2001) argues that most of the property in the Global South, and land in particular, is not illegally owned because it is recognised by local bodies. De Soto stresses that this implies that land is under extra-legal circumstances (see De Soto, 2001). De Soto’s idea has given rise to a new wave of literature on land governance, which is focused on the formalisation processes in peri-urban Dar es Salaam (Andreasen et al., 2020; Briggs, 2011; Kusiluka & Chiwambo, 2018; Kyessi & Tumpale, 2013). These scholars advocate for land formalisation processes and applaud the government’s efforts towards the same. However, the studies do not delve much into the contribution and participation of the other actors such as the private sector, in facilitating the formalisation process in peri-urban Tanzania. The private sector has been discussed in relation to its participation in land readjustment (Barbere & Ramadhani, 2018), in providing serviced land (Kasala & Burra, 2016; Makundi, 2017), engaging in real estate (Ayubu, 2017) and providing rental housing (Komu, 2013).

A considerable amount of literature has also been published and provides both an empirical and theoretical analysis of the dynamics of the urban economies in Tanzania. Some have conceptualised the urban economy, the influence of the colonial system on urban transformations and market economy through liberalisation in the land sector, the housing markets, urban livelihoods and social dynamics, as well as the advantages of the informal economy (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2006; Briggs & Mwamfupe, 2000; Bryceson, 1993, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2011; Steiler, 2018; Tripp, 1989, 1997). These studies do not analyse the contribution of actors to urban economies or informality and its impact on the dynamics and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms.

Some studies have been informed by the idea of new institutionalism (for example Kombe, 2005; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000, 2001; Wehrmann, 2008), but have not applied it in regards to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas. Other studies have used governance and/or public choice theory (for example Kironde, 2015, 2016; Nuhu, 2013; Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017; Smit, 2018) and livelihood framework (see Msangi, 2011). As explained in Section 1.2 most scholars link governance and democracy but still governance as a concept and framework has been and is debatable. In this research, governance as a concept has been analysed in relation to land access. Public choice was not found appropriate because actors and land access processes have been analysed based on their interests and needs, rather than influenced by the public.

This research is informed by the new institutionalism and social network theories (see Chapter 2), despite the limitations stipulated in Section 2.3. This emanates from the fact that institutions are models of the economy as they provide structure and procedures for the way things should or should not be done (Ali & Krammer, 2016; Obeng-Odoom & Bromley, 2020; Redek & Susjan, 2005). In supporting this, Obeng-Odoom and Bromley (2020:42) note that, “If you do not understand economic institutions (rules) you cannot possibly understand resource use and resource policy”. Notably Obeng-Odoom has been a profound critic of the new institutionalism but still finds it relevant in some aspects. Agreeably, to understand land as a resource, it is imperative to examine the institutions, particularly in relation to the contentions and dynamics in peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms, which other studies have avoided.

1.5 Thesis structure

The overall structure of the thesis takes the form of six chapters. Chapter I provides a general introduction to the research topic: an overview of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam, the research gaps and problem, as well as the aim and research questions of the thesis. Chapter 2 is concerned with the theoretical framework that has been applied in investigating and understanding the empirical findings. Chapter 3 is concerned with the methodology employed for this research and research strategy and with both the sources and methods of empirical data collection. Chapter 4 presents summaries of the three articles, which have been developed to contribute towards the aim of the research and their relation to each other. Chapter 5 offers and discusses the empirical findings of the research, focusing on the three empirical research questions. The final chapter (Chapter 6), provides and describes the analytical tool that can be used for the investigation and conceptualisation of the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms, based on the provided theoretical research question. The chapter also provides a general conclusion of the research, the theoretical contribution of the research, as well as its limitations.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 An overview

This chapter presents and discusses the theoretical perspectives that have been applied in this research. Following the abductive reasoning and iterative process of this research (see Section 1.3 and 3.1), the chapter provides the basis for explaining and discussing how the theory was used in relation to the empirical work. The main theoretical ideas used for understanding the empirical data are 1) institutions as both formal and informal rules, norms and values in land access and governance, 2) markets as an institutional arena for land access and governance, and 3) networks as an important component in understanding actors and their relationships in land access and governance. As explained below these ideas are grounded in new institutionalism and social network theories.

Ideas from new institutionalism and social network theories have been used by scholars over the years in a bid to establish a comprehensive understanding of land access and/or governance. The theories have been used to understand changes in land access and governance (see Chauveau et al., 2006), such as land formalisation and regularisation processes, exploring and examining land access and resettlement projects (see Reddy, Smyth, & Steyn, 2017), establishing the improvement and challenges for the governance of land tenure (see Davies et al., 2016) and/or understanding the structure and processes of an intra-government relationships and actors in governance of peri-urban areas (see Mendez-Lemus, Vieyra, & Poncela, 2017). Following the above-mentioned studies, in this research the two theories were used to establish the operation of land access processes, and understand actors' relationships and links within the processes, which

influence the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance in peri-urban areas.

In this research, the two theories are seen as complementing each other. Based on the understanding of institutions as “the rules of the game” (North, 1990:3), new institutionalism is used as a way to investigate the formal and informal regulations, norms, procedures and values that operate and shape land access and governance (Adam, 2014d; Nkurunziza, 2008). New institutionalism approaches markets as an institutional arena influencing the rules of the game. This facilitates understanding the transactional costs and economic nature of land access processes (Kironde, 2000; Twarabamenye & Nyandwi, 2012; Wehrmann, 2008). As mentioned in Section 1 and 1.1, actors, their interests, roles and relationships also play an important role in shaping land access processes.

The new institutionalism theory may not, in most cases, be discussed in isolation from the social networks theory. Initially, the research idea was informed by new intuitionism, but through the abductive process, the social network theory was adapted after the realisation that this would cement the emerging ideas. Notably, some strands of new institutionalism, such as sociological institutionalism, acknowledge the importance of actors and their interactions (DiMaggio & Powell, 2004; Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2013). New institutionalists often use social network theory to explain networks of individuals (for example Ansell, 2006; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008), hence the two theories are interlinked. The social network theory was used in this research to establish the relationships and links between and among actors and their influence on land access processes and governance mechanisms. Each of these theories and their applicability in this research will be explained in the next sections.

The chapter begins with Section 2.1, describing how institutions were understood and used in facilitating the understanding of the formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas. Section 2.2 follows, explaining how markets, as an institutional arena in land access and governance, were used to understand the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas. Section 2.3 provides a critical reflection of new institutionalism as the dominant approach was used to understand the empirical findings in this research. The final section (Section 2.4) provides an overview of networks as

determinants of the relationships and interactions of actors in land access processes and governance mechanisms and their implications.

2.2 Institutions in land access processes and governance mechanisms

2.2.1 Facets of institutions and land access and governance

In the literature, there is no consensus about what institutions mean as a concept. There is an endless debate about understanding institutions (see Friel, 2017; Guy, 2019; Neil, 2001). In some literature, institutions mean both formal and informal rules, norms and values (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; De Soysa & Jutting, 2007; Hall & Soskice, 2001; Hall & Taylor, 1996; North, 1991), while in others, institutions have been understood as an integrated system of rules and networks that structure social interactions and relationships (Beteille, 2009; Hodgson, 2015; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008) and the rules that enable actors to make decisions (De Cian et al., 2020; Riker, 1982). Besides the disagreement on the definitions Neil (2001) adds that there is also a lack of consensus on how institutions develop. Agreeably, since there is no universality in norms, values, or laws and also the fact that these institutions evolve, it is problematic to stick to a definite meaning as this might transcend time and space. Regardless of the differences in definitions and the reproduction of institutions, the mentioned ideas have contributed to the literature on institutions in land access and governance.

In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, literature has stressed the importance of institutions in land access and governance in peri-urban areas (for example Adam, 2014a; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000; Nkurunziza, 2008; Quaye, 2014; Rakodi & Leduka, 2004; Toulmin, 2009). Building on the idea from North (1990) of institutions as the rules of the game, studies further noted that institutions may act as both enablers and/or restrictors to actors' behaviors, while facilitating land transactions, as well as regulating relations and interactions between the transacting parties (see Adam, 2014b). Institutions as enablers may determine how decisions can be made to benefit the actors and control their actions (Ostrom, 1999), while restrictors may require actors to follow the established measures and standards (Czech, 2014; Doellgast & Marsden, 2019; Grafstein, 1988). Institutions produce both positive and negative outcomes for actors (Leftwich & Sen, 2010). For

instance, the land policies and laws may require bureaucratic procedures for land formalisation, which may be enablers to some actors, while for others they may be restrictors (see URT, 1999, 2007).

In this thesis, the term institution is used to refer to formal and informal rules, norms and values that guide actors while accessing or governing land. Institutions are not the same as organisations (North, 1990). They are socially structured and determine what the norm is in regards to actions and behaviours of the actors and other associations of belonging (see also Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2013) and they evolve over time, through actors actions (Giddens, 1984; March & Olsen, 2006). The formal institutions comprise the written constitution, laws, policies and other legislative acts, while the informal institutions include socially shared norms and values that shape thoughts and actors' behaviours enforced outside authorised systems (Leftwich & Sen, 2010; North, 1990; Winiecki, 2001). Formal and informal institutions can be competing, complementary or overlapping in land access and governance.

Institutions are made by actors and are evolving. North (1990) cautions that when formal institutions evolve, the transition may be in favour of actors who are more dominant. It remains unclear how informal norms and values evolve, and the role of culture remains questionable under new institutionalism, (more explanation has been made in Section 2.3 see also Lowmpes, 1996; Obeng-Odoom, 2020). This research, however, does not focus on the transitions. It is cautious that this may be critical for land access and governance because land access processes have to adapt to the transitions. The next section provides further explanations how both formal and informal institutions influence and determine land access and governance in peri-urban areas.

2.2.2 Formal institutions in the land access and governance

Formal institutions influence decision-making processes. Decisions taken are enforced by official agencies or entities, such as ministries, courts and police at different levels (De Soysa & Jutting, 2007; Matthews, 2019). Formal institutions enable the identification of public officials and their responsibilities and as Matthews (2019) noted, these guide daily practices for officials engaging in activities related to governance. Therefore, it is important to understand formal institutions in this research because they define what actors ought to do or not do.

Formal institutions are structured and organised. They underline the governing system of land access through providing terms, conditions and procedures in the land sector and its governing systems. They determine the behaviour and actions of the participating actors. For instance, in Tanzania the formal institutions provide and determine the process and steps that one needs to follow to access formal land and also defines who qualifies for access rights (see Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017; URT, 1967, 1977; URT, 1999, 2007). While making decisions about the steps, conditions and actions on land access and governance, participating actors are expected to adhere to formal institutions. In order to implement and attain the required conditions and procedures, the formal institutions provide arrangements, resources and capabilities for actors to act and fulfil their responsibilities (March & Olsen, 2006; Voss, 2001). Actors, especially public officials engaged in land access and governance, are expected to observe, adhere and protect the established formal institutions and comply with the standards. In this regard, formal institutions may limit the participation of some actors who may not be able to subscribe to the procedures. For instance, landholders may fail to formalise their informally accessed land, failing to meet the condition of the formal procedures.

Formal institutions affect the authority, roles and relationships of actors. In Tanzania, formal institutions specify who can make decisions, modify land-related policies, laws and land development programmes or revoke access rights (URT, 1967, 1999). This includes vested authority in the respective actors and government bodies to exercise over land access decisions. For instance, the constitution and other land-related policies in Tanzania, provide the president with vested power over land on behalf of all citizens (see also Section 1.1). Similarly, the formal institutions determine how collective decisions can be made or influenced by the identified actors (URT, 1999, 2007). In addition, they provide a structure and dictate the nature of relationships between and among actors. In the land access and governance, the most considered formal structures that determine the relationships among actors reflect the established formal institutions.

Enforcement measures are vital in formal institutions. This enables assessing the effectiveness of formal institutions (Kaufmann, Hooghiemstra, & Feeney, 2018; Ribot & Peluso, 2003), that govern land access. Kaufmann et al. (2018) caution that the enforcement of the established formal institutions differs from country to country, influenced by two factors: i) the

availability of resources and ii) the enforcement mechanisms. Actors engaged in the enforcement of formal institutions, such as courts, therefore could be hindered if those two factors are not taken into account. Kaufmann et al. (2018) note that when Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes, Shleifer, and Vishny (1998) coined the expression ‘formal institutions enforcement’, it was in reference to rich countries, which have sufficient resources and enforcement mechanisms. Some studies in Sub-Saharan Africa have proven this by indicating how the formal institutions have failed in the land sector, due to insufficient resources (see Josefsson & Aberg, 2005; Kauzeni, Kikula, Mohamed, Lyimo, & Dalal-Clayton, 1993; Kironde, 2009; Massoi & Norman, 2010). Arguably, this could explain the significant role of the informal institutions in the land sector in most cities of the Global South.

Focusing on peri-urban Dar es Salaam, the formal institutions are taken as an analytical component used to investigate and understand the operation of formal land access processes, governance mechanisms and inadequacies. The next section provides an analysis of the informal institutions and their influence on informal land access and governance in peri-urban areas.

2.2.3 Informal institutions in the land access and governance

Informal institutions facilitate the understanding of informal land access and governance. A growing body of research on peri-urban areas of Sub-Saharan African cities suggests that the ‘rules of the game’ that determine land access and governance are informal (for example Adam, 2014a, 2014b, 2014d; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000, 2001; Wehrmann, 2008). These institutions are not written nor enforced by the laws and officials, but they are created, communicated and known equally by the actors applying them (Azari & Smith, 2012; Helmke & Levitsky, 2004; North, 2005). Ostrom (2005) refers to this as ‘rules in force’ while De Soysa and Jutting (2007) refer to it as ‘rules in operation’. Informal institutions influence land access decision-making processes by actors. It is therefore important to understand how informal institutions enable actors to attain their land-related interests and needs.

Informal institutions are significant for land transactions in peri-urban areas. Through socially shared norms and values, they facilitate the availability of land-related information, negotiation of land transactions, plot demarcations and the documentation of the access rights among actors, particularly in the informal land access and governance as explained in Section 1.1.2 (see also Lupala, 2008). They also enable actors’ interactions

to accomplish their interests and needs when the formal institutions fail (Kombe & Kreibich, 2001; Nkurunziza, 2007, 2008; Rakodi & Leduka, 2004). Formal institutions facilitate informal land supply through the subdivision of plots, cost reductions and dispute resolutions (see also Adam, 2014d; Casson, Della Giusta, & Kambhampati, 2010; Kombe & Kreibich, 2001; Rakodi et al., 2005). In this regard, informal institutions are not independent as they have to be supported by formal institutions. Thus, formal institutions are imperative to understanding the operation of social shared norms and values and influence informal land access and governance.

Enforcement of the informal institutions vary. This is because the norms and values are largely self-enforced and subject to the agreement and obligation of the parties or actors involved in the process (De Soysa & Jutting, 2007; Jepperson, 1991; Parlevliet, 2007). These norms and values may emerge based on long and conflicting processes that institutionalise them and are enforced by the participating actors in the land sector (Adam, 2014d; Casson et al., 2010; Kombe & Kreibich, 2001; Rakodi & Leduka, 2004). The enforcement is determined by the interests and needs of the participating actors, which differ from case to case (Adam, 2014a, 2014d).

In the informal institutions, trust plays an important role as a social system. Rakodi and Leduka (2004) note that trust is useful in understanding informal land transactions where the parties are (or get to be) familiar with each other's behaviour and their social environment (see also Adam, 2014a, 2014d). As a social system, each participating party in informal land access is engaged in the transaction because they are familiar with each other (Buskens, 1998; Wuthnow, 2004). For instance, landholders may have holding evidence, which has been witnessed by fellow friends based on trust. Trust may determine the nature of land transactions, payment arrangements, etc. In this respect, trust comprises social systems that determine the actors' relationships and facilitate actors to meet their expectations (see also Cofta, 2007; Coleman, 1988; Jones, 2002; Six, Zimmeren van, Popa, & Frison, 2015).

Subsequent to Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995) perspective, trust has two sides: trustor or host and trustee or client, which are also eminent in land access. In the land access processes and governance mechanisms, it implies that one party (trustor) may or must trust another party (trustee). The positions are not permanent and change from one transaction to another. An individual or actor can belong to any part (trustor or trustee) or can take both roles in principle, depending on the nature of agreement and land transaction.

For instance, a broker can be trustor to land sellers, while being a trustee to land buyers. From this perspective, trust in land access processes may sometimes provide protection for one party or both, concerning land transactions and occupations. Additionally, trust may exist between individual(s) (landholder) and the government authorities and its agencies, lawyers, and/or local community leaders. However, lack of trust may lead to disputes or denial of access rights. Although trust is seemingly an overriding aspect of informal institutions, one can also argue that the idea of ensuring ethics and integrity, as predestined in informal institutions, is also influenced by trust.

In this thesis, the informal institutions have been used in the investigation and conceptualisation of informal land access processes and governance mechanisms. Informal institution components, such as social shared norms and values, trust was particularly used diagnostically to analyse its influence on land access and governance, as well as the interactions and relationships between actors. The next section analyses markets as an institutional arena and their influence on land access in peri-urban Dar es Salaam.

2.3 Market as an institutional arena in land access

Markets are an important aspect in the institutional arena, determining land access. It is important to understand the market as a yardstick in land access processes. This is because land markets (transactions) have become key mechanisms for accessing land (Haule & Kilonzo, 2018; Kombe & Kreibich, 2000, 2001; Stina et al., 2018). In this thesis, markets refer to the systems, procedures and social relations where two parties or more engage in land transactions or land-related services. Through markets, actors in the land access process interact in order to achieve mutual benefits, but are not necessarily equal because each actor participates differently, driven by their own interests (see also Kironde, 2000; Wehrmann, 2008). Markets as institutions determine and govern the transaction costs (e.g. price, money and time) based on supply and demand (Friedman, 1993). They also enable the transfer of rights and enforcement in a competitive manner (Menard, 1995; Richter, 2008). In this thesis, transaction costs refer to the expenses incurred when buying or selling a good (transfer of ownership) or accessing land-related services. It may also include the costs of running a firm's economic system (Williamson, 1979, 1986) dealing with the provision of land services.

In his article “Transaction cost theory: past, present and future” Rindfleisch (2019) suggests that the core idea of markets is transaction costs (see also Anderson & Coughlan, 1987). This is because price, money and time have greater impacts on markets. The market is also influenced by willing buyers and sellers, determined by negotiations and agreements about the nature and type of land transactions (Kombe, 2005). In attaining their interests and needs through markets, actors may engage in competition, which impacts transaction cost reduction, bargaining power and the availability of land-related information (Gough & Yankson, 2000; Kombe, 2005).

In land access processes, markets as social arrangements, may be either formal or informal. As Stiglitz (2017:4) noted, “markets do not exist in a vacuum” because they operate under specific criterion (see also Ebner, 2008; Gough & Yankson, 2000). For instance, land in peri-urban Dar es Salaam is made available through markets (either formal or informal) despite the land being under the state mandate (Briggs, 2011; Kironde, 2000; Masanja, 2003). Given the increasing competition among actors in the land access process in general, and the commoditisation and marketisation of land in particular, even the customary land (see Section 1.1) may be influenced by markets in peri-urban areas of most Sub-Saharan cities (see also Gough & Yankson, 2000; Kironde, 2000; Wehrmann, 2008). Thus, markets may influence diversities in land access processes.

Markets determine the price of resources, such as land or services, through supply and demand (Gallagher, Mastrogiorgio, & Petracca, 2019; Leet, Odorzynski, Suiter, VanFossen, & Michael Watts, 2003). The supply and demand of land in the market facilitates exchanges and transactions (Adam, 2014d; Brayan, 2010). The demand for peri-urban land is driven by competition, because it is important for accommodating urban expansion (Adam, 2014d). For instance, the price of the land may be influenced by the number of individuals who want to buy the same single plot of land. The individuals who fail to compete may exit and those who manage may buy the land. This portrays a distinct feature of peri-urban land access, where it is easy for an actor to enter or exit, influenced by their own interests, needs and the process utilised for accessing land (Kironde, 2000; Wehrmann, 2008).

Traditionally, it has been argued that the supply of land is affected by various factors. These include access rights, land access regulations, titling and registration, land acquisition for public interests and fiscal power (e.g. Kironde, 2000; Payne, 1996). Kironde (2000) claims that these are the policy

instruments that determine the supply of land in the markets in most cities of the Global South. He cautions that the market may exclude people from accessing land, if prices or transaction costs are too high, a situation called 'market exclusion' by Saren, Parsons, and Goulding (2019). As reflected in most Sub-Saharan cities, due to high demand for land, communal land as well as public spaces have been either privatised or formalised, depriving access to some people that cannot afford the cost of land on the market. This situation is referred to as the 'tragedy of the commons' (Obeng-Odoom, 2018). However, this is still debatable by some scholars, arguing that common property is vulnerable to exploitation by selfish users and advocates for transformation processes regardless of the tragedy on the commons (Ostrom et al., 2002). In this situation, markets may deter other actors from accessing land. For instance, actors may engage in informal markets after failing to compete in formal markets due to financial constraints.

Through markets, competition may also provide an opportunity for bargaining power. The bargaining power and competition may be determined by the social structure of the market. In this perspective, social structure refers to structure or relationships between actors (Richter, 2008). More specifically, markets underline the environment in which the managing actors may engage in bargaining influenced by their contractual arrangements (Ebner, 2008; Nicita & Vatiéro, 2007). According to Nicita and Vatiéro (2007), bargaining power is important in markets as it enables parties to interact and exchange goods or services. Land prices or transactions are the major issue that engage actors in bargaining processes. This is because the price and the mode of transaction for the land in peri-urban areas may sometimes be determined by the negotiation between two (buyers and sellers) or three (buyers, sellers and brokers) parties. As revealed by Nee (1998), the transaction or exchange in the market is determined by the opportunity to agree to transact between the parties. Inadequate bargaining power may result in the exclusion of some actors from the land market.

Markets and information are critical for institutions. It is cautioned that the availability of information, or lack of it, may influence land access decisions in the market. If the buyer and seller do not have adequate information, it may result to what McMillan (2008) termed a 'lemons market'. This may lead actors, especially the buyers, to get low quality services or goods and sometimes they may be unwilling to engage in transactions or may pay less for quality goods, while the sellers may lose and get what was not expected.

Scholars Geoffrey (2008), McMillan (2008) and Valentinov (2008) note that price information, but also non-price information, is required in markets. For instance, land buyers may visit plots or land, which they want to buy in order to get other information. They may also rely on information gotten from the brokers or other agents connected to land sellers.

In this thesis, markets as an institutional analytical concept have been used to investigate the nature and characteristics of land transactions. How markets influence the bargaining power between the transacting parties, their influence on actors' behaviour and the availability of land-related information in peri-urban areas was also investigated. This has facilitated an understanding of how buyers and sellers make decisions through supply and demand and the contribution to the dynamics and contentions of land access and governance in peri-urban areas. The next section provides the limitation of the application of new institutionalism as a framework for understanding land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas in most of the Global South cities.

2.4 Limitations of new institutionalism in analysing land access and governance

In analysing land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas in the Global South, and Tanzania in particular, new institutionalism has some limitations. Scholars have noted that new institutionalism focuses on property rights and the formalisation of informal land, as spear headed by the global organisations and development partners, such as the World Bank and IMF (Obeng-Odoom, 2013; Schneider & Nega, 2016). The idea of property rights has had many proponents, but most outstanding has been De Soto's views on the formalisation of land to access collateral and other benefits (Obeng-Odoom, 2013). Disregarding De Soto's views, the idea of property rights fails to recognise nations are diverse and are constantly transitioning. New institutionalism tends to focus on formal institutions as instruments that confer statutory, recognisable property rights and thus form transactions of property rights. This is not quite correct in the context of peri-urban areas where most transactions are not through the formal protocols and structures.

New institutionalism fails to recognise the linkage between the formal and informal institutions. For instance, informal buyers may seek court of

law (formal) to resolve conflicts, which informal institutions have failed to address. This makes new institutionalism deficient in terms of articulating land access and governance in peri-urban areas of the rapidly urbanising, predominantly informal cities of the Global South.

New institutionalism may not consider the dimensions in space and time of different communities. In this regard, it may not be relevant at all times or in all places. Evidence suggests that in application of property rights in Sub-Saharan Africa, vulnerable groups of people may be deprived of access rights, disrupting their livelihoods (see Obeng-Odoom, 2013; Platteau, 1996; Schneider & Nega, 2016). This emanates from the fact that Sub-Saharan African countries are characterised by complex land access processes and governance mechanisms, as well as ownership systems, where at the same time government and its agencies are inefficient and ineffective (Wehrmann, 2008).

From a different perspective, it is also mentioned that in societies where property rights are lacking, the efficiency of the economic system may also be lacking. New institutionalism highlights that transaction costs may rise if property rights are not well-established, which may discourage exchanges (Milonakis & Meramveliotakis, 2013). Notably, because informal processes are prevalent, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, the notion of property rights may not be applicable in the transaction costs of resource exchange or allocation.

New institutionalism disrespects culture as important in economic development and resource access (see Obeng-Odoom, 2020; Schneider & Nega, 2016; Tauheed, 2008). In the Sub-Saharan African context, culture has a strong influence on land access and governance. Some tribes believe that land should be accessed and governed by what Schneider and Nega (2016) call 'sons of the village'. Therefore, land in other communities as well as family or individuals are still a part of the identity and social status, while providing both economic and social security (Platteau, 1996). This explains the rejection of market forces and commoditisation of land that have been witnessed in some Sub-Saharan African countries. This is fueled by the perception that property rights create uncertainty about access rights for some individuals, and have sometimes led to disputes (Kombe, 2010c; Msangi, 2011; Schneider & Nega, 2016).

Markets, as advocated by new institutionalism, do not take into consideration the inequalities between societies, in regards to access of resources such as land. Furthermore, in societies where social justice and

policies are insufficient, if access to land is left to the forces of supply and demand this may deprive some vulnerable groups of access rights and sources of livelihoods (Obeng-Odoom, 2020; Schneider & Nega, 2016). As Obeng-Odoom (2020) argues, the existence of intergroup inequalities in poor regions and in other areas where racial sentiments prevail, strategies such as land reform in a bid to improve economic growth, have not benefited Africa as imagined (see also Darity & Triplett, 2008). For instance, some people may be excluded in the formalisation processes because of financial constraints as formalisation is driven by market forces.

Scholars have highlighted that new institutionalism does not function effectively especially neopatrimonialism practices (for example Mkandawire, 2015; Von Soest, 2010). Neopatrimonialism has been referred to as a situation whereby people in positions of authority, because of their status, use public resources to win favour or gain loyalty from the community or the public (Mkandawire, 2015; Von Soest, 2010). In this view, it implies that the people making such decisions do not use institutions or they use the prevalence of both the formal and informal institutions to bend the rules in formal processes in their favour. As noted new institutionalism lacks a framework of operation in the face of capitalism and market transactions (Mkandawire, 2015). For instance, some land transactions are based on trust and relationships. This kind of neopatrimonialism does not provide a bureaucratic system for participants (Mkandawire, 2015).

New institutionalism requires and assumes a fairly well-functioning governance system, including government that is willing, committed and has the capacity to enforce the rule of law, but this is not always the case in the Global South and Tanzania in particular. Despite the limitations of new institutionalism, the theory is still relevant as a framework in this research. Institutions are important in land access processes and governance mechanisms in four broad channels in determining; the operation of both formal and informal land access and governance; the transaction costs and land market in the marketisation and commoditisation of land, the level of trust and transaction processes, and the degree to which actors can cooperate and engage in social relationships. The next section highlights the influence of networks as another determinant of actors' relationships in land access and governance.

2.5 Network as an important component of actors relations in land access and governance

Social networks have appeared as a key model in analysing and understanding the networks or relationships between actors. As explained previously, this is because the new institutionalism theory emphasises the analysis and understanding of the networks between organisations, rather than networks and relationships between individuals or actors (for example Lovseth, 2000; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Ohanyan, 2012). Institutionalists have perceived networks as an institution that determines the patterns of actors' behaviors and their interactions. In enhancing the exchange between actors, the social networks theory's ideas are applied (for example Ansell, 2006; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008). Additionally, new institutionalism considers networks as informal institutions (see Ansell, 2006; Lovseth, 2000). In some scenarios, networks among actors in land access and governance may be determined by formal institutions.

In this research, social network theory facilitates the analysis and understanding of the actors' relationships and linkages. Networks can be understood in various ways, giving different insights into relationships and linkages among actors in the land access processes and in governance mechanisms. These include networks as a set of social actors, nodes and relationships. Networks as a set of social actors (see also Kenis & Oerlemans, 2007; Vera & Schupp, 2006), determine the social interactions and relationships between actors in land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas. As a set of nodes, networks (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011) enable to understand the linkage of actors when attaining their land-related interests and needs. Networks as a set of relationships (Ansell, 2006; Kadushin, 2012; Ohanyan, 2012; Schmid, 2007) determine the way two or more actors are connected in attaining their land interests and needs. Notably, this research acknowledges the relationships between actors may constrain or facilitate actors' actions or define the actors' interests and needs (Vera & Schupp, 2006).

Social ties are an important focal point of network analysis. This is because actors are linked or enter into relationships and interactions through established ties, particularly in informal and customary land access processes (see Adam, 2014d; Lourenco-Lindell, 2002; Meagher, 2010; Sylvere & Emmanuel, 2016; Twarabamenye & Nyandwi, 2012). The behavior of actors in peri-urban land access processes can be influenced or shaped by other actors

(Twarabamenye & Nyandwi, 2012). In this perspective, the behaviour of an individual actor depends largely on the ties where an actor is apt or connected (Vera & Schupp, 2006). Success or failure of an actor or community, in general in land access, has close relationships with the surrounding environments (Lourenco-Lindell, 2002). The ties and relations an actor holds determine the capacity to act in society, although these may be dynamic and can influence one another (Bozzo & Franceschet, 2013; Vera & Schupp, 2006).

Similarly, in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, networks have emerged as an important analytical concept for analysing the relationships between actors in urban areas (see Halfani, 1994; Lourenco-Lindell, 2002; Rakodi, 1997). In this research, network as a concept has been used for analysing the linkage and relationships between actors, which are influenced by land-related agendas. The next section elaborates on how social interactions or relationships in ties and nodes may, through established networks, determine connectivity, positions, power and resources.

2.5.1 Connectivity within a network of actors in land access and governance

Connectivity plays a significant role in shaping the interactions and connections between and among actors in networks. Within land access and governance, connectivity between actors can be referred to as the linkage between actors within the networks. According to Vera and Schupp (2006) and Bozzo and Franceschet (2013), the linkage between actors can be examined through the frequency and distance between the connection among them. Hence, there are central and peripheral actors based on the number of direct and indirect connections, particularly in the informal land access process. Three ideas explaining network integration measurement, according to Vera and Schupp (2006) are picked as follows:

- *Closeness* refers to the number of steps in connectivity between actors;
- *Betweenness* refers to the centrality of particular actors that act as bridges for other actors within various sections of the network; and
- *Connectivity* indicates the number of ties that can be avoided in order to disengage different parts of a network.

In land access processes, closeness can be determined by the number of steps an actor goes through to access land, by using actors or close associates. A land buyer, for instance, can use his/her close friend(s), relative(s),

acquaintance(s) or workmate(s) to access land. The number of steps an actor may take to reach out and engage with another actor determines how close the relationship is. The fewer the steps, the closer the relationship. Actors who connect everybody in the network are referred to as having ‘high closeness’ (Castells, 2011). Betweenness may be witnessed where an actor may have significant influence within a network, because they have information on potential buyers or sellers or both. Therefore, if that actor disconnects from the network, the other actors will be affected. For instance, if there is a land dispute that requires a broker or witness in the land transaction who may have left the area, locating them is a problem. Actors who are more interlinked, or who linked other actors outside the network, are referred to as having ‘high betweenness’ (Castells, 2011). Notably, brokers in Tanzania enjoy both status (high betweenness and high closeness) because they can connect with land buyers, land sellers, local community leaders and other actors.

In land access processes, connectivity constitutes the number of social ties, which actors may need to remove in order to disconnect within different parts of networks, which may limit other actors in attaining their land-related interests and needs. For instance, if a land buyer eliminates brokers already contacted and deals directly with the land sellers. In this regard, the broker is deprived of the commission, which is the foundation of his/her land-related interest.

In this thesis, ‘closeness, betweenness and connectivity’ have been used to analyse how actors’ interactions and how the relationships forged determine land access and governance. They have also been used to understand how actors’ patterns and interactions are determined and the implications for land transactions and nature of payment. The next section discusses position as an important component in networks in land access processes and governance mechanisms.

2.5.2 Position of actors in the network in land access and governance

Within a network, actors have positions and these determine the interactions and interrelations between them in land access and governance in peri-urban areas. Position, as used in this thesis, refers to the existence of an actor in a set of relations with other actors in a network (Burt, 1976). The position is a place where an actor is located within a network, which can be weak or strong and is determined by existing structure (Burt, 1976; Pazi, 2014). By

virtue of work, position can also be referred to as the duties or responsibilities that one has in regards to their work place title, whether informal or formal. In informal land access processes, the position of actors often changes due to varying land-related interests and needs. In relation to this, Snehota and Hakansson (1995:272) note:

Actors are constantly looking for opportunities to improve their positions in relation to important counterparts and are therefore looking for opportunities to create changes in the relationships.

This can be seen, for example, when brokers change from being agents to witnessing land transaction, if the witnessing processes has commission. Notably, this position may be temporal and change constantly. Such position changes also imply that networks are dynamic and continuously changing.

Actors' position in a network influences their connectivity to other actors by reducing or increasing the distance between them. Actors can position themselves in favourable positions in a network in order to attain benefits or to implement their responsibilities (Snehota & Hakansson, 1995). For instance, brokers can have a position linking the land sellers and buyers, while at the same time, an agent can change and be a witness of the land transaction between the two.

Position is used in this thesis to understand how it influences the interactions and relationships of actors in land access processes and governance mechanisms. Thus, in order to understand network dynamism in land access, it is imperative to recognise the role of actors' power and resources, which is explained in the next section.

2.5.3 Power and resources in a network in land access and governance

Power and resources have influence on the relationship between and among actors in land access and governance in peri-urban areas. This can also be found in the literature in this context (for example Adam, 2020; Kironde, 2009; Msale-Kweka, 2017; Smit, 2018; Stina et al., 2018). However, the notion of power is a theoretical minefield, which is quite complex. This research does not dive deep into a theoretical discussion of power, but analyses, the role of power in determining land access through established networks among actors. Castells (2011), refers to power as the authority held by different actors in a network, or in society. In the land sector in Tanzania,

power may be usurped through political, economic or traditional positions, which enable actors to determine access, distribution and management of land (Msale-Kweka, 2017). The status of some actors implies that they may be more powerful than others, and therefore they may be dominant in decision-making within the network. For instance, in any established network in land access and/or land governance in peri-urban areas, where the government is among the actors, it is always dominant because of the inherent power and resources it has.

The dominance of actors in the networks can be determined by the resources the actors possess. Resources in this perspective refer to capital, land, social respect and intellectual knowledge (Pazi, 2014). These resources can be visible or invisible, tangible or intangible (Lenney & Easton, 2009). If an actor has more financial power, land holdings or social respect within the network, it implies that they may have more influence within the established network. Cenk (2012) reasons that power can be measured by an actors' capacity to control resources, thereby making other actors vulnerable. Thus, with the participation of different actors in order to achieve common goals in land access, power is sometimes used to mobilise resources and influence actors' decision-making.

However, the relationship or interaction between actors may be undermined by the resources and power the actors hold in a network. For example, landholders/sellers and buyers seem to have more power to decide the price for land transactions in networks because one may be a holder of the land, while the other may have power because of money. In this thesis, power and resources have been used to understand how they influence relationships between and among actors in the networks. Power and resources have also been used to understand how they determine the status of actors and influence land access processes and governance mechanisms.

In this chapter, two theories compose the framework from which various concepts were borrowed. Applicability in understanding the empirical findings is explained. Concepts borrowed include formal and informal institutions, markets and networks. Within these concepts, there are other supporting concepts, which were used for better understanding land access processes and governance mechanisms, as was deemed necessary. Focusing on the formal and informal land access processes, the idea of formal and informal institutions has been used to examine how these operate and influence land access and governance in peri-urban areas. Markets as an institutional arena have been

used to explain how land transactions, prices, as well as supply and demand are influenced and contribute to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms. Focusing on actors' participation in land access and governance, the concept of network has been used to examine the actors' relationships and implication for land access and governance dynamics and contentions. The next chapter presents the research strategy and process, as well as methods used to collect data.

3. Methodology

3.1 An overview

This chapter outlines and provides a detailed description of the research methods that were followed and implemented in this research. It provides information on how empirical and theoretical findings were collected through the adopted research strategy. The purpose of this chapter is to explain how the research methodology adopted facilitated answering the research questions, in regards to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban Dar es Salaam.

This chapter is composed of seven sections and begins by discussing the specific research strategy that the research adopted and the reasons why the strategy was implemented (Section 3.1). It also contextualises the research approach through background information on how the research design was adopted (Section 3.2). It presents the process undertaken for the selection of study areas (Section 3.3) and provides details for the sampling procedures and selection of the participants (Section 3.4). It further explains the sources and methods that were used for data collection (Section 3.5) and is followed by a description of how data in this research was analysed (Section 3.6). The final section (Section 3.7) explains the experiences and challenges encountered in the field during this research and how they were addressed.

3.2 Research strategy: An abductive reasoning and iterative process

A research strategy comprises an overall process (step-by-step plan) that the research underwent, which is suitable for its purpose and facilitates the researcher in answering the established research questions (Johannesson & Perjons, 2014). In this research, an abductive reasoning and iterative research process were chosen because the research was open to gaining new insights that could shape and change the direction and contribution of the research. This was intended to provide the opportunity to change or reshape the research aim after the empirical investigation of the studied phenomenon.

Abductive reasoning was found suitable because it is premised on the application of both inductive and deductive reasoning. This was done to bridge the gap of the weaknesses and inadequacies of both inductive and deductive reasoning. Whereas both inductive and deductive reasoning are premised on observation of the phenomenon, they differ in generation of theories. Inductive reasoning leads to the generation of new theories, while deductive reasoning is applied to test theories (Heit, 2007; Rainbolt & Dwyer, 2014). In this research, neither was a new theory developed nor tested, but already existing theories (new institutionalism and social network theories) were used to make a critical analysis of the phenomena under investigation (see Chapter 2). Additionally, while performing inductive reasoning, use of qualitative data is critical. In deductive reasoning, qualitative data lays a foundation for analysis (Heit, 2007; Rainbolt & Dwyer, 2014). In this research, both qualitative and quantitative data (see Section 3.2) was collected to complement the weakness of each approach. Therefore, the abductive reasoning that utilises both inductive and deductive reasoning was deemed appropriate for this research.

As indicated in Figure 3, abductive reasoning means that the overall research process undertaken was cyclical in nature (see also Awuzie & McDermott, 2017; David, 2007; Magnani, 2009). The research process moved iteratively between the theoretical, the case (see Section 3.3) and the empirical. Iterative implies that the incorporation of new insights was made from what was learned at each step of the research process, and how it contributed towards influencing the subsequent steps and decisions in the research. Thus, through a back and forth process, the research engaged a deep investigation and analysis of the studied phenomenon while drawing meaning and developing ideas that shaped and provided the direction of this

research (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). In the iteration process, the emerging empirical and theoretical findings were captured and used to shape and improve the research direction in order to gain more understanding of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms.

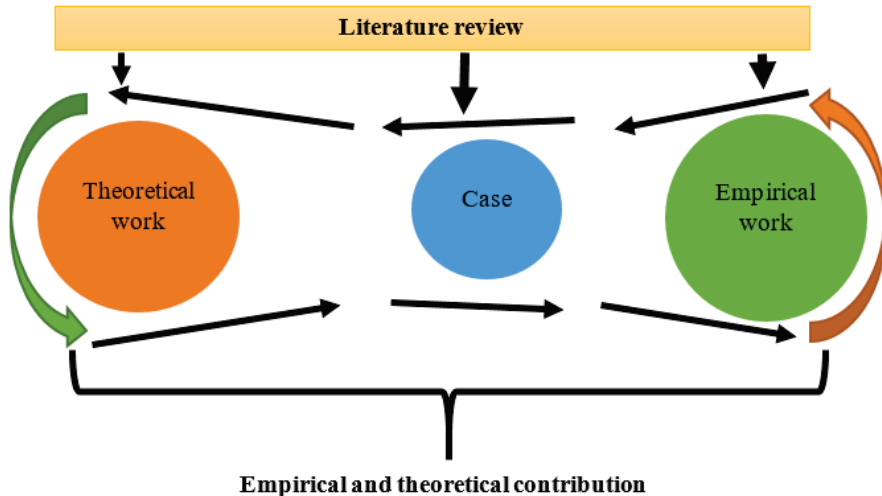


Figure 3. An abductive and iterative process.

In this process, the research starts with the puzzle of land access and governance and the research process explores and seeks an understanding of this puzzle. This emanates from the fact that in the research process a puzzle may emerge when a researcher encounters an empirical phenomenon that cannot be explained by the existing range of theories (Ramirez, 2009; Walton, 2014). Through an abductive process, this research engages in finding the best ways of investigating and conceptualising the puzzle (see Chapter 6). In this process the research combines both empirical and theoretical works, which undergoes into two phases (see Figure 4). In establishing the research focus in the beginning (phase one), the research focused on the empirical part while being iterative. Theoretical ideas were also used (see Chapter 2). In the second half of the research (the writing of the cover story), focus was more on the theoretical work, on conceptualising land access processes and governance mechanisms. The research was also still abductive, checking the theoretical ideas against the background of the facts.

Abductive and iterative research processes were facilitated by visiting and revisiting the empirical findings and connecting these with the emerging theoretical insights, leading to the refinement of the research focus (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Kovacs & Spens, 2005). Following abductive reasoning, the research aim was thus refined (see Figure 4). Taking peri-urban Dar es Salaam as the case (see Section 3.3), the research aim was refined from both empirical and theoretical contributions. As indicated in Section 1.2 and the abductive process of this research, it was found that the literature had not managed to provide a conceptual understanding of the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms. This realisation and identification paved the way for this research to come up with both empirical and theoretical contributions, in land access and governance reflecting the peri-urban context of Sub-Saharan Africa. The next section provides a research design that facilitates the abductive reasoning process of this research.

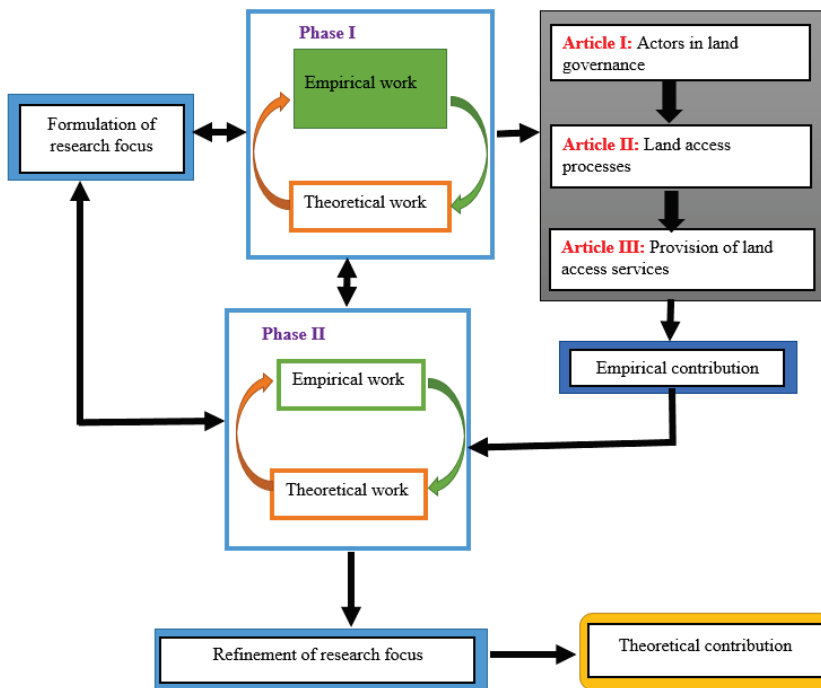


Figure 4. Research process reflecting the research strategy.

3.3 Case study research design

A case study research design was used to capture the complexities of the phenomenon, with abductive reasoning and a reflective iterative process. This approach allows to gain a detailed and in-depth understanding of the topic under investigation. A case study refers to an inquiry that focuses on understanding, or investigating, a process of a particular phenomenon (Woodside, 2010). Land access and governance is a complex phenomenon and real life event as explained in Section 1. Hence, a case study was suitable in this research as advocated by scholars (for example Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009). The use of a case study enables focus on a specific context and allows an interactive cycle of discussions, as well as in-depth investigation and analysis, as opposed to large samples (David, 2007; Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this view, the peri-urban context is the focus of this research (see Section 3.3). The research design enables a very broad phenomenon to be narrowed down into a researchable topic and facilitates the analysis of the applicability of the theories in the real world (Gillham, 2000). The topic under this research was an outcome from narrowing down the research topic, which emanated from the broad stated topic in Section 3.2 and the application of ideas from the theoretical work.

Furthermore, the case study research design allows application of quantitative and qualitative research (Stake, 1995). This research engaged mixed method research design, where a complementary quantitative study is embedded within a largely qualitative study (Creswell & Clark, 2011, 2018; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). This research preferred analytical over statistical generalisation because of the need to evaluate and assess facts and data provided by respondents and to be able to identify relevant information free from stereotypes, biases and prejudices. The researcher was looking out for critical ideas that would be vital in informing the new critical tool for land access processes and governance mechanisms (see Chapter 6).

In the conceptualisation of a phenomena, this design allows the prioritisation of qualitative data, while quantitative data plays a significant role in expanding the ideas of the former (Creswell & Clark, 2011). Complementary quantitative data in this research was interpreted qualitatively. The case study and embedded mixed methods were used for data collection and analysis in order to provide understanding of the breadth and depth of the topic (Creswell & Clark, 2011, 2018; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014), where some

quantitative data were used in order to interpret the reality. This idea is supported by Yin (2006) and Creswell and Clark (2018) in that, in the application of mixed methods, one method will be used to complement the other. In this research, the potential strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches were drawn. This enabled the interpretation of data that facilitated the conceptualisation of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms. With regard to the embedded mixed methods, Creswell and Clark (2011:90-93) note that:

[...] the researcher combines the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data within a traditional quantitative research design or qualitative research design.... The collection and analysis of the secondary data set may occur before, during, and/or after the implementation of the data collection and analysis procedures traditionally associated with the larger design... in an embedded mixed methods case study, the researcher collects and analyzes both quantitative and qualitative data to examine a case.

In this vein, the embedded mixed methods provide an opportunity for a new direction for the research in the process of analysis and interpretation of data. Ontologically, the design engages the reality as noted by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:18) in that it recognises “the existence and importance of the natural or physical world as well as the emergent social and psychological world”. In seeking to understand the reality, the embedded mixed methods enable the use of multiple sources of evidence (Creswell & Clark, 2011; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), which is also applied in this research (see Section 3.5).

In general, embedded mixed methods enable the exploration of diverse actors’ perspectives towards land access processes, networking and relationships that exist among them. A qualitative approach facilitated understanding how actors make sense of their experiences of reality: the reality of accessing land, of providing land access services, and implementing land-related policy, laws, programmes and projects. The quantitative approach enabled the collection of data on land access information, land holding evidence and other factors that motivate landholders to access land in peri-urban areas. As explained above, the quantitative data was interpreted qualitatively. The next section provides a description and the reasons underpinning the selection of peri-urban Dar es Salaam as the study area.

3.4 Selection of peri-urban areas as a case study

Selection of a case (study areas) is one of the critical stages in the research process and case study design in general. A case in this research is both intrinsic and instrumental. As noted by Stake, a case can be both intrinsic and instrumental or one of the two (Stake, 1994, 1995). The case in this research is intrinsic, because land access processes and governance mechanisms is a subject of interest. The research is not focused on the understanding of land access and governance in general, but on the land access process and how actors shape these processes. The case is instrumental because the selection of peri-urban areas is critical to researching the peculiarities of this context in order to deeply understand land access processes and governance mechanisms. Such peculiarities include contentious land transformations and sub-divisions. A case therefore has been used for a better and more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Grandy, 2010, 2012; Stake, 1995), in this specific context.

In this research, the selection of the case study areas as an instrument was driven by various criteria. Theoretical foundations of this research and the characteristics of the case itself, as noted by Patton (1987), contributed to the selection of the study area following these criteria; (i) information-rich cases where a researcher could undertake an in-depth analysis of the topic under investigation; (ii) an area representative enough from which a sample could be drawn or selected; (iii) availability and accessibility to data, which can facilitate an adequate response to research questions and (iv) a peri-urban area where there are extensive land development trends, parceling and transactions. Combining the mentioned criteria, the peri-urban area of Dar es Salaam was selected purposively. As explained in Section 1.1, Dar es Salaam City is experiencing high population growth rates and it has rapid urban sprawl compared to other cities in Tanzania (Mkalawa & Haixiao, 2014; URT, 2014). The city is ranked the ninth fastest growing city in the world, and the third fastest growing city in Africa after Bamako (Mali), and Lagos (Nigeria).

The average/gross population density in Dar es Salaam is 3100 persons per square kilometer (Collier & Jones, 2016; Worldpopulationreview, 2018) and in the central business district it is 20,000 per square kilometer (Collier & Jones, 2016; URT, 2014). The inner/central part of the city is extremely congested. Consequently, due to rapid population growth, the area is facing increasing competition, especially in peri-urban areas and increasing socio-economic activities have accentuated demand for land (Mkalawa & Haixiao,

2014). Demand for serviced land is also quite high as indicated in Figure 5 (see also Kasala & Burra, 2016). As explained in Section 1.1, delivery of formal land has lagged far behind the demand, leading to land seekers (including home/landholders) to seek land in the informal areas. This has also attracted multiple actors in the land sector. The peri-urban area of Dar es Salaam was chosen as a suitable case study for this research because of the high demand for land, which arises from the increasing population. Hence, it is an area depicting dynamic land use development and activities as well as diverse actors. It is an information rich case because of its cosmopolitan nature where diversities in the populations are observed. Different residents use different ways of accessing land and therefore this can enable collection of diverse ideas. Different and conflicting actors with diverse perspectives in regard to land access are also operating in peri-urban Dar es Salaam.

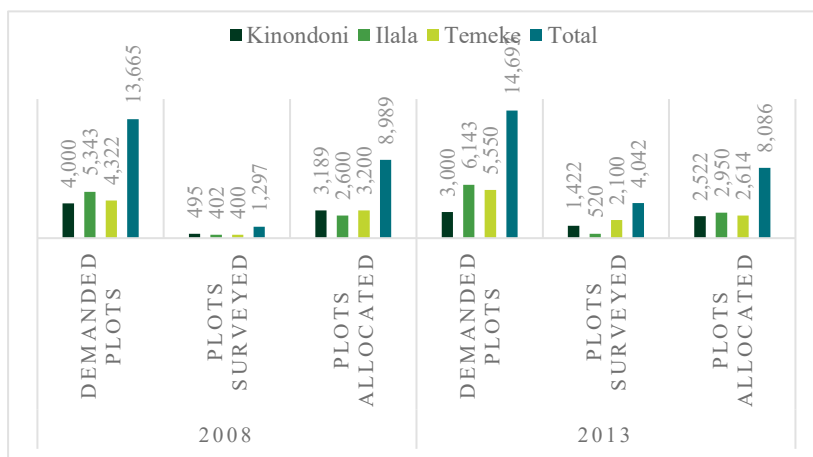


Figure 5. Demand versus supply of plots in Dar es Salaam City 2008-2013. Source: URT (2014), modified by the researcher.

Selection of the study sites

The sites were selected from the two municipalities based on the National Population Census of 2012, which indicates Kinondoni as the most populous municipality in Dar es Salaam City (URT, 2012), with Ubungu exhibiting similar characteristics because it was divided from Kinondoni Municipality (see the map of the location of study sites in Paper II pp. 5). The peri-urban areas of these two municipalities have attracted many people of varying

social and economic backgrounds, primarily because of the strategic locations. These include two highways, which run through the two municipalities, namely Bagamoyo Road and Morogoro Road, which dissect the two municipalities of Kinondoni and Ubungo from south to north and east to west respectively. Three peri urban sites within two municipalities of Dar es Salaam City were selected purposively. These include Madala in Wazo Ward in Kinondoni Municipality, Goba and Muungano in Goba Ward in Ubungo Municipality. These sites exhibit relevant characteristics such as dominance of informal land access and vibrant land parceling and transactions. The sites are also in a strategic geographical location that attracts land seekers from the city center and many other places in Tanzania. In recent years, these sites have also undergone extreme transformation from woodland and agricultural land to housing areas. The rural land development characteristics, such as agriculture, are more or less disappearing. Landholders in these areas hold varying land sizes of land. Because of the high transformation in the selected areas, dynamism is also reflected. The next section explains how the studied population was selected and participated in this research.

3.5 Sampling of study participants

Purposive and random sampling was used in this research to select the respondents and participants. Purposive sampling was used because it helps the researcher to “select (or recruit) participants who have experienced the central phenomenon or key concept being explored in the study” (Creswell & Clark, 2018:181). Random sampling in this research provides equal chance of each respondents to be selected in the studied population (see also Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In this research a total of one hundred and thirty-six ($n=136$) constitute a sample size (the population) which are categorised into three groups. The first group constitutes ninety ($n=90$) respondents engaged in household questionnaire; the second group are twenty ($n=20$), key informants and eleven ($n=11$) participants from sitting landholders who were both engaged in the in-depth interviews; and the third group are fifteen ($n=15$) participants that were involved in the focus group discussions (see also Section 3.6). The sampling procedures for the respondents and participants are explained below.

Respondents were selected based on the sample frame. The sample frame includes all resident landholders' in the study area and excluded the non-sitting landholders, which is in accordance to what Stake (1999) proposes, that it is important to maximise what we want to learn. Selection was done by the researcher with support from local community leaders as noted by Fryer (2017:1659), "engaging recruiters who are known to potential participants can help recruitment". The local community leaders therefore were consulted because they know by name and geographical location almost all the sitting landholders in their respective areas. There were no available statistics regarding the population of sitting landholders in the areas, therefore, approximation of the study sample was done following Krishnaswami and Ranganatham (2005) proposal that, a sample size of less than 10% should be considered in highly populated areas. The selected peri-urban areas are relatively densely populated, as is the case with most areas where land access is through the informal system. Therefore, ninety (90) respondents with different socio-economic characteristics participated in the household questionnaires as indicated in Table 1. These characteristics enabled the establishment of the capacity to afford land or access to land, awareness about land issues as well as to establish social strata of landholders in peri-urban areas. This facilitated the understanding of land dynamics and the contentious nature of peri-urban land access and governance.

At the household level, respondents were given a chance to select who would participate in the research based on knowledge how their plot of land had been accessed. In some households where the researcher found all family members, household members sometimes selected the head of the household (male), while in others, the female partner would be selected. The latter would be selected if she was the one holding land or who had participated in the land access processes. In yet other homesteads, especially where parents were aged and illiterate, children would be requested by their parents to respond to the questions. In this scenario, the researcher would first check whether the land access processes were understood by the respondent before proceeding with the exercise. In the female headed households and households where landholders were single, the women would be interviewed.

Forty-six ($n=46$) participants were selected purposively based on experience, knowledge, position and expertise. These included seventeen officials ($n=20$) as a group of key informants. One officer ($n=1$) from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Developments responsible for

supervising the execution of land related development activities, because the office has periodical reports and information on land activities, such as land use transformation and disputes, as well as master plan was selected. Two ($n=2$) officials from the Local Government Authority in the two municipalities were selected. The selected officials are those involved in land issues, supervising private firms' activities and developing or implementing laws and by-laws. Three officials ($n=3$) were selected from three private firms. The selected officials were in charge of land service provision activities and processes. The selected private firms were based on the experience and time spent in providing land-related services, as well as implementing some of the project during this research in peri-urban Dar es Salaam, particularly at the selected sites. Nine ($n=9$) local community leaders were selected based on their positions both at wards and the sub-wards levels within the selected peri-urban sites. They were selected because of their influence and active participation in land matters within their areas of influence. Two officials ($n=2$) designated to deal with land issues were selected from civil society organisations engaged in the land activism and advocacy. Three brokers ($n=3$) who had more than two years of experience in the land brokering activities were selected and these were identified from street posters and brokers' sites.

Furthermore, sitting landholders with big and small plots ($n=9$), as well as those bypassed by the land planning and surveying project ($n=2$) were selected, in order to get insights on the processes of land access in regard to the area and size of land. Views from sitting landholders bypassed by the land planning and surveying project were vital to speak with regarding circumstance that had led to this omission. The selection was done with the help of the local community leaders, because they knew sitting landholders and their status. Lastly, fifteen ($n=15$) sitting landholders were selected purposively and participated in three focus group discussions (five participants in each group). One group discussion was held in each selected study site (see Section 3.4). Participants in these selected groups included only those members who had utilised land planning and surveying services. The next section explains the methods used to collect data from the selected participants.

Table 1. Respondents characteristics presented in number.

Age	Sex		Education	Marital status		Occupational			
	M	F							
20-30	9	56	34	Primary	53	Single	10	Self	70
31-40	29			Secondary	14	Married	69	Government	10
41-50	27			Diploma/degree	17	Divorced	1	Private	4
50+	25			Others	6	Widow	7	Retire	6
Total	90	56	34	Total	90	Widower	3		
						Total	90	Total	90

3.6 Data collection methods

A variety of methods were employed to collect empirical data. Bearing in mind the case study design used in this research as previously explained, a combination of techniques as noted by Yin (2009), would permit handling a variety of evidence. These include interviews, household questionnaires, focus group discussions and document analysis. The techniques were used to complement each other taking into consideration that each has weaknesses and strengths.

3.6.1 Face-to-face in-depth interviews

Face-to-face in-depth interviews have traditionally been employed for qualitative data collection and are considered “one of the most important sources of case study information” (Yin, 2009:106). In this research, face-to-face in-depth interviews were held to allow interactions between the interviewers and interviewees and enable the generation of reliable information. This reflected upon the proposed advantages of employing interviews that involve learning from the participants’ gestures and personal responses while explaining their personal and past experiences (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). This may enable the collection of more authentic information or enable the researchers to identify suspicious information by observing participants’ physical reactions. The participants’ explanation of how the real world is may suggest new constructs of ideas or study direction (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell & Clark, 2018; Patton, 2002), as this research was based on finding the reality. Patton (2002:340) points out:

We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. ...The fact is that we cannot observe feeling, thought and intentions. We cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time...we cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world.

Following Patton's ideas implies that interviews are more open-ended. This enables the researcher to engage in the real world of the phenomenon under investigation (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001; Yin, 2014).

In this research, semi-structured interviews were specifically used to guide the researcher in the interview process when conducting conversations with participants (see Appendix II). The semi-structured approach was used as it provides the researcher the ability to probe for additional information on matters related to the phenomenon under investigation. It also offers effective flexibility for a researcher in the interview process, while the researcher focuses on gathering all the information that is needed to answer the research questions. Questions were designed in an open way, to allow the opportunity for receiving extra information during the interview. The questions were also designed in a friendly manner to allow probing and cooperation from participants, as Yin (2009) recommends.

Through semi-structure interviews with different actors (see below), data in regards to processes, actors and experiences of accessing land were collected. Issues related to interaction, power and power relations among actors was also captured. Brokers were asked how they facilitate and coordinate land seekers and sellers, challenges encountered and how they interact with other actors, especially local community leaders who expedite land transactions. Private firm officials who deal with the provision of planning and land surveying services were among those asked to explain procedures employed in the provision of land-related services and explain the coordination mechanisms with other actors and challenges encountered.

Government officials were asked about policy-related issues, challenges of land service provision implementation, coordination with other stakeholders and anticipated strategies for alleviating existing obstacles. Civil society officials were questioned regarding the processes they underwent in advocacy and activism in land-related activities, challenges tackled, coordination with fellow actors and achievements witnessed. Local community leaders were probed about issues regarding land parcelling in their area, interactions with actors involved, challenges experienced and how

they are solved. The holders of small and large plots of land were questioned about how they accessed land, challenges encountered and the nature of relationships with the actors they met during the process of accessing their land. Landholders that had been skipped during the land planning and surveying process were asked questions related to why they had been skipped.

Language and time were also fundamental in the interviews. Kiswahili was used in the interviews, then translated to English later. Answers from the participants were written in Kiswahili and then later translated into English. Translation was done by the principle researcher without engaging a third party. The main reason for translation by the researcher was to check the consistency and avoid misconception. While translating, the researcher was keen not to lose, misinterpret or miss the original meaning within the context. Kiswahili was also used in order to facilitate free interaction and relationships between participants and the researcher. Before the interviews, preparation was done to understand how the questions could be asked without distorting the meaning. The interview sessions lasted between 30 minutes and one hour and were conducted at the participants' place of work or residence. Participants were also briefed about the research and the possible time the exercise would take before interviews. Convenient spaces for conducting the interviews, as discussed by Dialsingh (2011) and Oltmann (2016), were considered by the interviewer and interviewee in order to avoid disruption from other official or home activities.

Information acquired through interviews re-affirmed the information from household questionnaire regarding land access and challenges in land service provision. Some of the information such as land related policies that was not generated in the questionnaire was gotten from interviews.

3.6.2 Household questionnaire

Scholars of research methods have pointed out that household questionnaires are suitable when a researcher wants to establish the attitudes and opinions of a certain population through a representative sample so as to obtain an overall clear picture of the real world (Creswell, 2014; Fowler, 2013; Lavrakas, 2008). Use of questionnaires is a systematic way to find information in a research about the social process, its development and variation. In this research, the land access process is regarded as a social process, which changes periodically depending on the actors' interests and needs. The research used household questionnaires to gain deep insights into the

opinions of landholders utilising informal land access processes. This is because the informal process differs from case to case in terms of transaction, protection of access rights and documentation.

The design of the questionnaire was based on socio-economic characteristics, the process of accessing land utilised by the respondents, reasons for purchasing land in the area of study, main actors contacted in the process of accessing land and the respondents' opinions and views towards the actors they engaged with. Also, the decision-making procedures, including power relationships, were explored in order to analyse implications. Information related to the period of residence in peri-urban areas and reasons for choosing peri-urban areas were also discussed in the questions. This enabled the establishment of the linkages between the simplicity and complexity of land access and the supporting reasons for purchasing land in peri-urban areas. Questions related to the process used by respondents and the participating actors were positioned in both closed and open questions. This helped obtain landholding evidence among respondents and the level of interaction and trust among actors. The aim was to establish the nature of networks established between actors and their influence in land access processes. The land-related disputes mechanism, resolution, land parcelling process, as well as the nature of protecting tenure security under the informal accessed land was also established.

Both closed and open-ended questions were used (see Appendix I). Closed questions were used in order to limit the respondents in providing their answers and enable the researcher to engage a large number of respondents. Open-ended questions, which were used less frequently, enabled the researcher to collect detailed explanations from the respondents, which enriched the qualitative information gathered. Open-ended questions were established in order to provide space for respondents to provide their own answers, based on their experiences with land access processes. Open-ended questions were also posed in order to provide an alternative for the respondents to give answers without limitation from the researcher (Angelsen & Lund, 2011). This was provided in the category of 'others' within the established questions. In this research, the results from the open-ended questions were also used to confirm or validate the results from the close-ended questions, as proposed by Creswell and Clark (2018). This is because the quantitative information was interpreted qualitatively, as explained in Section 3.2.

A structured written questionnaire was administered to the sitting landholders by one member of the research team, while the other colleague focused on making observations of gestures and attitudes that would provide relevant interpretations of the information gathered. The questionnaires were administered by the researcher(s) in Kiswahili because most of the respondents were fluent in the language, but also this enabled probing and observation of expressions that enrich the information gathered. Questionnaires were administered in the respondents' household during weekends because on weekdays it was not possible to find respondents at home as they would be going to work.

The research team was comprised of five people, headed by the principle researcher in ownership of this thesis. In the selection of the research team members, the criteria, as stipulated by Fryer (2017), was followed. Researchers were chosen that had experience in research and familiarity with the phenomenon. Four members were recruited using a direct method of selection and received training on data collection techniques and ethics prior to the field research. This was to ensure the understanding of the research content and familiarise them with the research tools. After the completion of the day's research activities, the principle researcher held meetings with the team where field responses were reviewed to check for accuracy.

3.6.3 Focus group discussions

In this research, focus group discussions were considered for multiple reasons. It was important that participants freely shared their experiences, provided their perceptions, opinions and ideas about private firms' participation in the formalisation process. This was in line with Morgan (1996), who recommends focus group discussions as ideal for gathering data from people with similar experiences and backgrounds, to engage in discussing a certain topic. The research team wanted to engage participants in a fulfilling discussion on the formalisation of land and the participation of private firms, which would provide the opportunity to raise collective views. This information was not captured by interview nor by the household questionnaire, because the targeted population differed. This was useful in identifying, or eliciting, multiple meanings from the participants in order to better understand the topic under investigation (Creswell & Clark, 2018), in regards to private firms' activities. Focus group discussions were also conducted to triangulate information collected using other techniques, regarding the participation and formalisation processes.

The participants in the group discussions were also questioned whether the formalisation of land is/will benefit them as well as their awareness of private firm participation. They were also asked to describe what had happened when they participated in the formalisation process and challenges they had encountered. These questions in the discussions were intended to establish the status quo regarding community engagement in the formalisation process, challenges and benefits as part of understanding land access and governance in peri-urban areas.

The discussions were directed by the interview guide (see Appendix III). In the discussions, participants were allocated alphabetical letters, as an identity while contributing to the discussions. This was done by the researcher in order to obtain the contributions of each participant, but also to enable a fair contribution of views from all participants. During the discussions, insights from participants were taken collectively as participants contributed or engaged in discussions based on their experience, interpretation and evaluation of the ideas raised by other participants (Clavering & McLaughlin, 2007; Romm, 2017). This implies that insights from the participants were used in generalising and understanding the real situation about the topic. Free interaction enabled participants to focus on the discussion. Participants were given a chance to ask the researcher any questions related to the topic for clarification. This was seen as stimulating discussions within the group. The principle researcher was assisted by one of the team members in the discussions. While the researcher hosted the discussion, the team member would note the views expressed.

3.6.4 Documents analysis

Document analysis was part of complementary information collected from other methods, such as interviews and focus group discussions. The method facilitated access and analysis of information from electronic and printed media, books, reports and journal articles. In addition, specific attention was given to legal and policy documents related to formal land access processes. These include the Tanzania Constitution of 1977, the Local Government Urban Authorities Act of 1982; the National Land Policy of 1995, the National Human Settlement Development Policy of 2000, the Land Act of 1999, and the Urban Planning Act of 2007. The analysis of the documents was done in order to establish the status quo of land access and governance, as noted by Bowen (2009). These documents gave insights into the

procedures and processes applicable in the formal land access process. This also enabled the retrieval of information regarding the power and authority within which formal actors exercise their mandate.

The background information of the transformation of land access and governance were also obtained through document analysis. This was done with the intention of tracking the changes or reforms, which have been happening in the land sector in Tanzania. Document analysis also facilitated the preparation of the interview guide, especially in matters related to the formal land access process. The next section provides a description of how the collected data was interpreted and analysed.

3.7 Data analysis

In this research, qualitative data was analysed through content analysis, where the interpretation and comparison of narratives were dissected according to the magnitude of views and opinions (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Leung & Chung, 2019). In the first step, the analysis process started by arranging the data – as the data were largely unstructured. The arrangement was done according to emerging themes and sub-themes. Comparison and contrast of sub-themes was performed in order to identify the similarities and differences that could facilitate the formulation of themes. Some related themes and sub-themes were combined in order to ease interpretation and explanation. Notably, the relationship of the sub-themes was discovered either during data collection, in the coding process or analysis. To arrive at themes and sub-themes, the collected data was categorised into small segments of basic familiar units, carrying specific meaning. In the second step, emerging themes were coded in order to compress the large information into small segments. Each segment was given a code or label that reflected the key idea embedded in the question. Developed categories reflect the aim of this research and underpinning research questions. Researcher interpretation of empirical data and theories also facilitated the development of themes and sub-themes. In the last step data were validated to avoid flawed data. The validation was done throughout the research process through checking the accuracy of research techniques and its reliability.

The data collected through document analysis was also analysed through thematic analysis. In the analysis, the patterns within the documents were recognised and the emerging themes categorised and used for analysis. This

was enhanced through reading and re-reading of the specific articles, sections and sub-sections within the relevant documents. The emerging themes were coded and categorised based on the information in line with the data collected from other techniques. Through this process the empirical data was developed and provides additional meaning for understanding the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms.

Quantitative data related to landholding evidence, motivating factors and satisfaction of the landholders with land accesses governance in peri-urban areas was analysed qualitatively. This was done in order to understand how landholders make sense of real situations in the processes they went through in accessing their land. However, this was done after the application of Microsoft Excel 2013 program to generate statistical information in regard to land access information, utilised institutions and processes. The sections and sub-sections in Chapter 5 and 6 were derived from the emerging issues gathered during data analysis. The next section explains the general field experiences encountered during this research.

3.8 Field experiences and challenges

The research process and field work for this research were not without challenges. One of the challenges encountered concerns the reluctance of landholders to participate in the research. This is because the research was conducted during the period when the government was pushing for property taxes among landholders, regardless of whether registered or not. During this period, all land development activities, whether formal or informal, required permission from the local authorities, especially at the ward and sub-ward levels. Therefore, some landholders linked the research with the government initiatives. They thought that their land details would be recorded and integrated in the land tax collection register. Some of the respondents' reactions during the interview processes were negative. The research team tried to provide clarification about the research, making some of the respondents and participants cooperative, while others remained obstinate. Other landholders were picked to replace the adamant ones. Therefore, this did not affect the findings of this in any way.

Another challenge was suspicion of the research team, which was received from some participants by both public and private sector officials,

who misunderstood our research as an investigation based on their daily schedule activities. Despite the fact that introduction letters had been forwarded to respective authorities, the research team was still treated with suspicion. Many interviewees believed that the interviewers were on a mission to spy and investigate the implementation of government guidelines on land and land tax evasion. In addressing this, the principle researcher took extra time to explain and provide identification of the research team members before engaging in any research activities.

The final limitation in this research was the expectation by the respondents that they would be rewarded (paid allowance) for their time. This may be associated with the situation referred to as 'research fatigue' among respondents (Clark, 2008). Research fatigue may originate from repeated interactions and inter activities between researchers and local communities, as well as data collection procedures without providing solutions to their problems or feedback. Smith (2013) cautions on the attitude of researchers taking for granted information from communities as available for extraction, appropriation and distribution in what is referred to as the 'colonising of knowledge'. Taking into consideration Smith's concern, the research team engaged in explaining to both respondents and participants, that this research was purely for academic purposes and did not have a budget for allowances. Participants who were only willing to provide information after being paid were requested to leave, and those that stayed were free to leave at any time during the research sessions. The research team was also considerate not to take a long time in the sessions, which could have demotivated the participants.

In this chapter, the methodological approaches employed in this research were provided. This enabled the explanation of the data collection process, data presentation and analysis in order to achieve the aim of this research. The next chapter presents a summary of the complied articles of this thesis.

4. Article summaries

4.1 An Overview

This chapter provides summaries from the three articles in this thesis. As indicated in Section 1.3, findings from the empirical research questions have been presented and discussed in the three compiled articles in this thesis. Theoretical ideas (as described in Chapter 2) have also been used to provide a better understanding of the presented and discussed findings in the articles. It is important to note that there are points of convergence as well as overlaps in regards to the methods and theoretical ideas used in the three articles. The chapter begins by providing a general overview of the articles (Section 4.1), while Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 present summaries of the three articles in relation to the aim of this research. The final section (Section 4.5) provides a summary of the contribution of the three articles in attaining the aim of the research.

4.2 Overview of the articles underpinning this thesis

Article I is a review article established in order to provide a broad picture and overview of land governance in peri-urban areas in developing countries and in Tanzania in particular. This article establishes the status quo of the participating actors in land governance, their roles and relationships. The article was developed with the idea of starting a discussion about understanding the actors participating in land governance, their conflicting interests and implication to land governance. The participation of multiple actors with conflicting interests and needs is part of the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access and governance. Policy, legal

and relevant documents were reviewed in order to understand how key actors and land access processes operate. The article opened up the direction of the research for further investigation.

Article I is linked to other articles by providing areas for further research, which facilitated the development of Article II and III. In the conclusion of Article I, it was recommended that understanding the actors' opinions and views towards peri-urban land governance was critical. It was stressed that this would enhance and provide lessons for land governance in general. Therefore, Article II analysed and discussed the actors' opinions and views towards land access and governance in peri-urban Tanzania. The research in Article II not only enabled the understanding of actors' views, but also the participation of actors in formal and informal land access processes. The role and participation of the private sector was also highlighted in the article as an important actor in land access activities. As the engagement of the private sector contributes to land access dynamics, Article II recommends identifying the challenges facing the private sector engaged in facilitating formalisation of informally accessed land by providing land planning and survey services. This is a dynamic process in peri-urban areas. In Article III, the challenges faced by the private sector were analysed in the perspective of peri-urban areas. The opportunities for the engagement of private firms in facilitating formalisation was also underscored in Article III. Thus, the aim of this article was to reveal challenges and provide opportunities for the private sector in providing land access services.

4.3 Article I: Peri-urban land governance in developing countries: understanding the role, interaction and power relation among actors in Tanzania

Article I, aimed at identifying key actors, their roles, interactions and power relations in peri-urban land governance in developing countries and Tanzania in particular. This article was based on document reviews of published and unpublished materials, as well as government reports. It provided an overview of land governance in peri-urban areas in Tanzania, generated from reviewing a number of authors on the subject matter and related reports. Unregulated and opaque informal land markets, building in hazardous areas, fraud and land-use disputes are mentioned as some of the governance challenges that affect access to land in the peri-urban areas of Tanzania.

Different actors involved in peri-urban land governance and their roles are discussed. These include the government and its agencies, the private sector, civil society organisations, development partners, private landholders and local communities. It emerged that the roles and nature of interaction among actors were in one way or another influenced by power, authority and interests. The article provided an extensive discussion of how, when and where various actors interact in land related matters. Overlapping mandates, varying interests and inequalities in power among different actors are depictive of the prevalence of land access and the governance dynamics and contentiousness, as well as a source of land use disputes in peri-urban areas of Tanzania.

The article showed how institutions (both formal and informal) determine the roles, power and power relations among actors in the peri-urban land governance (see also Section 2.1). It also indicated that through institutions, the governance of land is beyond the government, where different networks of actors are established and determine the actors' relationships and interactions in order to achieve the land-related interests and needs.

The article concludes that the existing legal and policy framework creates room for clashes between actors, rather than providing a supportive environment for the equal participation of all actors. To improve land governance in the peri-urban areas of Tanzania, the article stressed the coordination and integration of actors, as well as public participation.

In this article two ideas were established. Firstly, is that the multiplicity of actors with diverse and conflicting land-related interests and needs are engaged in land governance in peri-urban areas. This contributes to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas. Secondly, is that the roles, interactions, power and power relations among actors is also contentious, emanating from the institutions utilised by the actors. The two ideas provided an opportunity for better understanding the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms where multiple actors with diverse interests and needs utilised different institutions (e.g. formal or informal institutions) to access land. The two ideas contribute to the aim of this research and are further explained in Chapter 5.

4.4 Article II: Land-access systems in peri-urban areas in Tanzania: perspectives from actors

This article set the course to amplify the viewpoints of actors operating in the complex arrangements of accessing land in peri-urban areas in Tanzania. It acknowledges the existence of the plurality of land access systems in peri-urban areas, that include the formal, informal and customary, which are driven by various actors. The plurality of land access systems has historical roots from the indigenous, colonial and post-colonial systems, which have contributed to the current land access systems and governance in Dar es Salaam (see also Bryceson, 2010). However, it is important to note that Article II concentrates on the formal and informal land access systems and less on the customary because it has been largely transformed due to the marketisation of land (see Section 1.1). The article identifies actors involved in the land access processes in peri-urban areas of Tanzania that include individuals, groups, associations or organisations that are able to exhibit the capacity to make and undertake decisions.

Theoretical ideas, such as formal and informal institutions, and its determinant to formal and informal land access processes, are discussed in order to emphasise and understand the significance of land access and governance in peri-urban areas of Tanzania (see Section 2.1). The article also shows how networks between and among actors are important in accessing land in peri-urban areas (see Section 2.3). Interactions between institutions and actors may shape and determine the evolution of access to land. Subsequently, the article adopted a case study strategy where two wards (Goba and Wazo Wards) in peri-urban Dar es Salaam were selected.

Findings indicated that perspectives from the actors have been divided into four categories, which includes simplicity and complexity, land tenure security, land-use disputes and emergency service delivery responses. Actors' perspectives on simplicity and complexity relied on the contrast and comparison of financial implications, bureaucracy and time within the dual (formal and informal) land access processes. It was noted that the formal land access processes were time consuming and expensive because of complex and bureaucratic procedures. Actors also acknowledged that the formal land access process enable residents to attain security of tenure over their land through acquisition of legal documentation of holding, compared to the informal system, where actors acquire no legal documentation of holding. It is reported that actors perceive that land disputes are predominant in

informally accessed land. In the emergency service delivery responses, the actors' perspectives were clear that the two systems differed due to variances in accessibility. Actors concurred that informal areas were facing poor infrastructure development, which hinders easy accessibility and thus limits quick responses of delivery of emergence services.

The article concluded that actors' perspectives are based on the strengths and weakness of each land access system. Both land access systems, though marred with challenges, pose eminent opportunities. Actors' views and opinions exposed that the formal system is complex due to difficult procedures, while the informal is simple and operates under a free environment of actors' interaction in the decision-making process. Therefore, the weakness of the formal system could be complemented by the strengths of the informal systems, and vice versa. Despite the operation of the two systems, it was noted that the informal system remains dominant amidst multiple challenges. Actors' participation in each system (or both), emanates from the actors' interests and needs. Recommendations and areas for further research are provided, which include the establishment of collaborative arrangements between the two systems. Public-private partnership is recommended for strengthening collaborative initiatives. The importance of establishing regulatory measures to strengthen the informal land access processes is discussed. Conducting research on the specific challenges faced by actors, such as private firms, was recommended as an area for further research in this article, because of their pivotal role in the land sector.

In this article two ideas were established. Firstly, formal and informal land access systems may overlap, contradict and compete in one way or another in the land access processes and governance mechanisms. This is because an actor may engage in one or both land access processes and be influenced by the strengthens or challenges of each. This shows the dynamism and contentiousness within land access processes in peri-urban areas. Secondly, formal actors may engage in the informal land access process, while the informal actors may engage in the formal land access process, which portrays the dynamic nature of land access and governance in peri-urban areas. The two ideas enable a better understanding of the dynamic and contentious relations between the formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms, which are further explained in Chapter 5.

4.5 Article III: Experiences of private firms in delivering land services in peri-urban areas in Tanzania

This article was developed to recommend further research after the second publication. The aim of the article was therefore to explore the experiences of private firms in providing land planning and surveying services in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam. Private firms are participating in facilitating the regularisation of the informally accessed land. A case study is used as a methodological approach to explore the challenges and opportunities for the participation of private firms in conducting their activities. Through this approach, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were implemented. Participants in the research were selected from private firms, Local Government Authorities, the Ministry of Lands, local-level administration, and local communities. Document analysis was conducted in order to understand the operations of private firms and the environment in which they operate, in the process of providing land planning and surveying services in peri-urban areas.

In this article, findings revealed that private firms are faced with various challenges in the provisioning of land planning and surveying services in peri-urban areas. These include procedural complexities, political interference, delays in payment for services as well as misunderstandings between private firms and landholders in planning processes. Regardless of the challenges, private firms play a vital role in facilitating the formalisation of the informally accessed land, enabling landholders to possess title deeds. Landholders can use these titles for socio-economic development as a guarantee for accessing financial services. It is noted that private firms have also provided employment opportunities and built the skills of professionals in land-related matters. Without doubt, they have also contributed to generating income for individuals as well as the government.

This article concludes that for effective peri-urban land access, policy and institutions need to be strengthened to achieve the desired goals. It is also important to improve the coordination and working environment among key actors in land service provision (e.g. between private firms, community and the public sector). This will bring congruence and facilitate the improvement of peri-urban land access in general.

In this article two ideas were established. Firstly, that informally accessed land, being dynamic, can transform into formal land through formalisation. In this process actors may engage in the land transformation in order to attain

their land-related interests and needs. Secondly, the status of governance of land depends on the strengths of institutions, particularly the formal institutions. This is because the provision of land access services by actors, such as private firms, are determined by formal institutions. The two ideas have established the challenges of the formal institutions that guide the actors in attaining their land-related interests and needs, as part of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas.

4.6 Comprehension of the articles

This chapter presents a summary of the three compiled articles for this thesis. In each of the articles, the derived aim, theoretical background, findings and conclusions are provided. Table 2 offers an illustration of the starting point, the adopted methodological approach and the employed theoretical ideas that were used in understanding the particular topic that drove the developed articles. The table also provides the general findings and contributions.

Applying the empirical and theoretical work underpinning this research as mainstreamed in the three articles, shows that land access processes and governance mechanisms are dynamic and antagonistic. This is because of the existence of multiple actors with varying and conflicting roles. The overlapping, competing and contradictions of formal and informal land access processes, as well as the transformation of the informally accessed land also complicates the situation. Land access processes and governance are dynamic, contentious and unique. Thus, understanding the distinctive characteristics of the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms is fundamental. This has been further explained and discussed in the next chapter, based on the empirical and theoretical works.

Table 2. The Synthesis of articles

Note: Italicised text are the ideas used to explain further the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms in Chapter 5, and some emerged as components in the theoretical contribution of this thesis as indicated in Chapter 6.

Article	Starting point	Method	Theory	Findings and contribution
I	Establishment of the status quo of land governance in peri-urban areas of the Global South cities	Desk review	<p><i>Formal and informal institutions</i> and its determinants to actors' roles, interaction, power and power relations.</p> <p><i>Governance as an institution</i> that operate beyond government and determine <i>relationships or networks</i> between actors and their interactions.</p>	<p>Land governance is influenced by multiple actors with conflicting interests and motives.</p> <p><i>Relationships</i> and <i>coordination</i> between and among actors is affected by power, authority and resource.</p> <p>Limitations in the land related legal and policy issues affects actors' participation as well.</p> <p>Establishing <i>actors; and their roles</i> is fundamental for understanding actors' contribution towards land access dynamics and contention in peri-urban areas.</p>
II	Establishment of the prevalent land access processes in peri-urban areas.	Case study design; in-depth interviews; household questionnaire; and document analysis.	<p><i>Formal and informal institutions</i> and its influence on land access and governance.</p> <p><i>Networks or relationships</i> between among actors and its influence to decision making on land access.</p> <p>An analysis of peri-urban land and its implications.</p> <p>Social determinant of <i>trust</i> in land transaction.</p>	<p><i>Formal and informal land access processes are competing or complementing</i> each other.</p> <p>Despite the challenges of the informal land access, it remains predominant because of multiple factors including the ability to bridge the gap of high demand for planned and surveyed land that the formal public sector has failed to meet.</p> <p><i>Customary land access process</i> slightly prevails in peri-urban areas, while competing and conflicting with formal or informal processes.</p> <p>Some actors participate in both <i>formal and informal land access process</i> which escalate more land governance dynamics.</p> <p>Identifying land access processes enables to establish the dynamism in the land governance mechanisms that has to reflect the varying processes.</p>
III	Establishment of the experience that actors engaged in the provision of land access services.	Case study design; in-depth interviews; focus group discussion; and document analysis.	<p><i>Formal and informal market</i> and its influence to land governance and land formalisation.</p>	<p>Private firms have been fundamental in providing land access services in peri-urban areas and enhance the formalisation of informal accessed land.</p> <p>The private firms are faced both <i>legal, policy and technical challenges</i> in providing land access services in peri-urban areas most emanated from the complexity and inadequacies of <i>formal institutions</i>.</p> <p>Understanding the contribution of actors such as the private firms in facilitating formalisation is critical because it facilitate the acknowledge/ment of the dynamisms and contentiousness of the processes.</p>

5. Analysis and discussion of empirical findings

5.1 An overview

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the major findings based on the empirical research questions stated in Section 1.3. The main intention of this chapter is to draw together the empirical work and various theoretical ideas presented in Chapter 2, following the abductive and interactive reflective process of this research. Notably, this research focuses more on the informal land access processes and governance mechanisms, because it is the dominant process of accessing land in peri-urban Dar es Salaam and other cities in the Global South. The first section in this chapter includes a discussion of the findings related to the key actors, their roles and the implication of their relationships in land access and governance in order to answer the ERQ1. Section 5.2 discusses the significant findings of the interplay between the formal and informal land processes and its contribution to land access and governance dynamics and contentions in order to respond to ERQ2. The final section (Section 5.3) draws on some challenges emanating from the stated nature of dynamics and contentions in ERQ1 and ERQ2, faced by actors engaged in the provision of land access services in peri-urban areas in order to answer ERQ3.

5.2 ERQ1– Who are the key actors in land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas in Dar es Salaam?

There are different actors with varying roles engaging in land access and governance. Some of the actors are rule enforcers, rule makers, rule takers and facilitators. These actors may engage in either formal or informal land access or governance, or in both. In the formal land access process, key actors include the government/state and its agencies, the private sector, local community leaders and communities (see Article I, pp. 5-9 and Article II, pp. 6-8). Actors in the informal land access processes constitute private individuals (landholders, land sellers, buyers, friends and neighbours), brokers, and local community leaders. The formal actors play vital roles of policy establishment and supervision, preparing land development plans, settling land use disputes and raising land-related awareness. The informal actors play fundamental roles of witnessing land transactions, settling land use disputes, providing information to the formal actors and protecting tenure security. In the section below, a description of these actors with a focus on how formal and informal institutions influence their roles, relationships and resources is given. The relationship between and among actors is also highlighted.

The government and its agencies interact as rule makers, enforcers and facilitators while implementing various roles. In the formal land access process, the government and its agencies initiate and implement policies, laws and regulations in the land sector as rule makers. As rule enforcers, they enforce actors such as individuals, communities and the private sector to adhere to the established rules guiding land access and governance. As facilitator, the government and its agencies may enable communities to achieve their land-related interests and needs, for example, by initiating regularisation processes in informal areas. In implementing the regulatory mandate as per the formal institutions, the government and its agencies cooperate and interlink in many ways. For instance, the Ministry of Lands cooperates with other government agencies such as Local Government Authorities, law enforcement bodies, local community leaders and communities like those stipulated in Article I (pp. 6-7). This research observes that the government, particularly the Ministry of Land as mandated in the policy and laws (see URT, 1967, 1995; URT, 1999, 2007), oversees land administration, management and development activities. In doing so,

the Ministry interacts with various actors engaged in land activities. Theoretically, in any established relationships among actors in the formal land access process, the Ministry of Lands is dominant.

Government agencies particularly Local Government Authorities, work closely with the Ministry of Lands and play various roles (see Article I, pp. 6, 10 and Article II, pp. 6-7). The Local Government Authority is a mandated planning government body, while the Ministry of Lands is an administrator. However, the Ministry of Lands may sometimes engage in planning activities, as witnessed in peri-urban areas. Yet, planning activities should be initiated by Local Government authorities. In other circumstances, the state, through Ministry of Lands, may sometimes acquire land in peri-urban areas to open land for public use, without prior consultation with other actors such as the landholders as noted also by Kombe (2010a), Kombe (2010b) and Msangi (2011). The roles and relationships between the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities are sometimes dynamic, as the former may play the roles of the latter, which may change the nature of relationship.

Local community leaders play a vital role and have close relationships with other actors in formal land access and governance (Article I, p. 7, Article II, p. 7 and Article III, p. 5). These leaders are engaged in land-related activities at the grassroots level in their areas of jurisdiction. Among other roles, local community leaders may engage in supporting and facilitating land acquisition by the state, the endorsement of land-related development, disseminating information relating to state or other actors' activities, such as the private sector and Local Government Authorities. In addition, local community leaders may engage in solving land use disputes and witnessing land transactions between the land sellers and buyers as discussed in Article I (p. 7) and Article II (p. 7). Local community leaders are key actors in formal land access because they interact with almost all actors in facilitating the accomplishment of land-related interests and needs.

Some roles played by the local community leaders in formal land access and governance are not legally mandated. For instance, in the endorsement of land development activities, local community leaders are not legally authorised, but they participate because of their native presence in the community. They may operate informally under formal institutions. This scenario presents the dynamics inherent in land access.

The private sector is recognised in this thesis as an important actor in the formal land access process (Article I, pp. 7-8, 10-11, Article II, pp. 6-7, and

the entire Article III). The private sector provides land-related services such as planning and surveying, property development, witnessing of or endorsing land transactions as well as facilitating regularisation of informally accessed land in peri-urban areas, among other services (Article I, p. 7, the entire Article III). In implementing these activities, the close allies are the government, local community leaders and landholders. The collaboration with government is fundamental because the private sector cannot accomplish the activities without the endorsement or permission from the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities. In some cases, the private sector and the government endure good relationships and may work in partnership to provide land-related services to the community, such as land planning and surveying. In other cases, the private sector and government may be in conflict over land-related actions. For instance, when the private sector violates the land access rights of communities during regularisation processes, the government comes in to protect the people. The private sector may sometimes also collaborate with local community leaders while engaging in land-related activities benefiting the community, or with individuals without involving local community leaders. The private sector also engages with landholders as central actors in the formal land access processes. The relationship is determined by land services, which the former may offer the latter (Article I, pp.7-8, see also the entire Article III).

In the formal land access process, other actors such as development partners and civil societies are significant as land rights advocates and facilitators (see Article I, pp. 8-9). Development partners may engage with government to facilitate the reform of land-related matters in order to ensure equal access to land for peri-urban dwellers. Sometimes development partners may play the role of building the capacity of government and civil societies through offering technical support in matters related to land development, land-related policies and administration procedures. Civil societies as actors quite often lobby the government to consider the land rights of vulnerable groups. Sensitisation programmes may also be conducted by civil societies in collaboration with other actors, such as the media (Article II, p. 7). This research finds that civil society may have a contentious relationship with other actors particularly the government and the private sector (Article I, p. 12). The government, for instance, may acquire land from the community without proper compensation procedures and civil society may engage in empowering the effected community to seek

justice, which may create dissatisfaction from the government. Notably, civil society and development partners may sometimes work in collaboration to pursue their interests, especially in capacity building and advocacy activities. This in line with the theoretical ideas that actors with the same interests and needs may have stronger relationships than those with different interests (see Section 2.3).

In a nutshell, this research reveals four main findings with regard to the roles of key actors and relationships in formal land access processes and governance. Firstly, it is noted that the government and its agencies are dominant and therefore may influence relationships created with other actors, as well as land-related decisions. Secondly, some actors may have multiple roles mandated by formal institutions, which may contribute to inefficiency and ineffectiveness in formal land access and governance. Thirdly, some actors may have good relationships, while others may be contentious and influenced by divergent and sometimes conflicting interests, often reflected in actions. Finally, due to the dynamic nature of actors' roles, an actor without a legal mandate may engage in formal land access. Therefore, the actors' roles and their relationships may influence and determine formal land access governed by formal institutions. The discussion that follows is about the key actors engaged in the informal land access process and governance mechanisms.

In informal land access and governance, there exists multiple actors with varying roles and relationships, which differ from case to case. As started in the beginning of this section, the key actors engaged in the informal land access processes include private individuals (landholders, land sellers, buyers, friends and neighbours), brokers, and local community leaders (see Article II, p. 7 and Article II, pp. 7-8). Some of these actors may also engage in the formal land access process, but the explanation below focuses on the roles and relationships in the informal land access processes and governance mechanisms. It should be remembered that the actors in the informal land access process operate outside the legal procedures.

Landholders play an important role in protecting land-related access rights, albeit being informal in the communities in peri-urban areas (Article I, pp. 9-10 and Article II, pp. 7-8). Landholders collaborate with neighbours, relatives and local community leaders, brokers, and sometimes with government bodies, civil society and the private sector. Neighbours, relatives, brokers and local community leaders are consulted mostly in matters related to the protection of land from encroachment and trespassing,

land use dispute resolutions and the witnessing of land transaction between landholders and buyers (Article II, p. 7 and 10-11). Landholders may engage with Local Government Authorities when they encounter land-related issues that the local community leadership may not be able to solve. They may contact civil society to seek advocacy for the violation of their rights. Landholders are central actors in the informal land access process because they interlink with several other actors. The relationships created by landholders with other actors is, however, influenced by common interests and needs.

Land buyers and sellers are mutually inclusive as central actors in informal land access and governance. These actors determine the nature and process of land transactions. As shown in Article II (p. 7), land buyers in the informal land access process are interested in buying cheap land, either for construction in peri-urban areas or for speculation. Land sellers may be interested in selling their land in order to get money for other activities. Both land sellers and buyers are interacting with brokers and local community leaders. For instance, when a land seller wants to sell land, brokers may be consulted, and also when the land buyers want to buy land, brokers' services may be sought to identify the land of their choice easily. In other instances, the buyer may collaborate with the brokers to determine the price offered for buying land. The land seller, if desperate for money, may oblige the offer provided, which may not be worth the value of the land in demand. In informal land transactions, the relationships among actors demonstrates that buyers are vulnerable and powerless. Ultimately, some peri-urban dwellers may be denied access to land. This may also affect the status of land access and governance if some actors are powerless.

Brokers are important actors in informal land access because they play multiple roles (Article I, p. 8 and Article II, p. 7). Brokers may have information on the availability of plots, and therefore connect land buyers and land sellers. A commission may be charged for the roles played and paid by either buyer, seller or both depending on the terms of negotiation. Contrary, in countries where brokers have education qualification and are more professional, like the United States, the burden of fees is born by the consumer (Barker, 2008; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). In Sub-Saharan Africa, most agents are neither formally trained in brokerage services nor licensed and do not have official physical contact address, but their service fees are normally higher than licensed professionals (Obeng-Odoom, 2011). More

so, in Tanzania brokers are socially established in their areas of operation and may get recommendations for their services from family members and other acquaintances. This is similar to what Obeng-Odoom (2011) attests to in Ghana—that brokers live on what he refers to as a ‘camaraderie relationship’, which ensures that the brokers are ethical in their business to maintain a clientele base and recommendations from the community.

Brokers may also direct land buyers and sellers where to endorse the concluded land transaction, while at other times they may act as witnesses in land transactions. The connectivity of brokers with other actors is determined by the roles played by brokers in different scenarios in the land access process. The brokers’ decisions to participate in multiple roles may be influenced by knowledge or the desire to get more resources from the transacting parties. The character of a broker and information about land is significant in the accomplishment of a land transaction. Therefore, the role of brokers and their relationships with other actors is fundamental in informal land access and governance.

Friends, relatives and neighbours may play the same roles as brokers, because they can connect their friends, relatives or neighbours with land sellers or land buyers (Article II, pp. 6-10). Distinctive from brokers, this category of informal actors may demand commission for services offered in land transactions, while in other instances, they may just volunteer influence from their closeness with the land seekers or buyers. The roles of friends, relatives and neighbours also depict the concept of betweenness, whereby some actors may influence other actors whom they are physically or socially connected with, to make land transaction decisions. Because of trust and close relationships with the family members, relatives may also engage in the land inheritance process (customary or informal land) as witnesses. Due to trust, neighbours may also play a witnessing role in land transactions where customary land is being transformed to informal land. Land deals can also be facilitated by friends, relatives and neighbours because of close relationships and trust with land sellers and buyers.

Local community leaders are also key actors who play a vital role in informal land access and have close relationships with actors. These leaders are predominantly consulted by peri-urban dwellers (e.g. land sellers and buyers) on land-related matters because of their grassroots presence. Local community leaders witness land transactions, engage in solving land use disputes and initiate land formalisation processes within their areas of

jurisdiction (Article I, p. 7, Article II, pp. 7-8 and Article III, pp. 4-5). Local community leaders are central actors in the informal land access process because of their proximity to the communities as central administrators and some level of trust that community members have in them. In their working relationship, local community leaders may contact other government bodies when they fail to solve land use disputes within their locality, as part of the dispute resolution path. Local community leaders also link communities with other actors, such as government bodies, civil society and the private sector in informal land-related matters. For instance, these actors usually alert local community leaders to mobilise community members for public hearings, sensitisation meetings and resource mobilisation for land-related activities, such as land acquisition, land regularisation, land development and civic education. The centrality of local community leaders' mandates that they interact with both formal and informal actors and yet, formal and informal land access processes are divergent and conflicting. Since local community leaders are central in communities, their relationships with other actors and the roles they play have significant influence on informal land access processes and governance mechanisms.

These findings provide three distinct ideas with regard to the roles of key actors and their relationships in informal land access processes and governance mechanisms. Firstly, actors' roles and their relationships in informal land access and governance are not only dynamic, but their nature of dynamism is unique. Their roles may sometimes interchange and are not systematic, relationships are haphazard or temporal. Secondly, different actors may play the same roles, especially in facilitating land transactions and the governance of land access influenced by the closeness or relationships with other actors. Finally, the behavior or action of one actor in the network may sometimes have implications for other actors. Therefore, the achievement or failure of an actor within a network may be determined by either the weakness or strength of established relationships between actors.

In general, the findings in this section suggest that key actors, their roles and relationships are interdependent. The illustration in both formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms demonstrates that the actorhood of the actors and relationships are determined by the utilised institutions (formal, informal or both). The findings also show that institutions may act as enablers or barriers for actors' roles and relationships. This may determine the nature and process of land access and governance.

Actors mandates and authority emerges as an important aspect that impacts the actors' roles, creating good or contentions relationships between actors in land access processes. Due to the dynamic nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms, formal actors may create a relationship with informal actors and vice versa. This is further illustrated in relation to ERQ2 discussed below.

5.3 ERQ2 – How does the interplay between formal and informal land access processes contribute to the dynamics and contentions in land access and governance?

Formal and informal land access processes — through actors' participation — interplay in different ways and levels under different circumstances as indicate in Article II, pp. 6-8 and also as revealed by other scholars (Kombe & Kreibich, 2000; Twarabamenye & Nyandwi, 2012). In peri-urban areas, the interplay between formal and informal land access processes may be witnessed through complementing, competing, accommodating or substituting each other. The following paragraphs explain these scenarios and how they contribute to the contentious and dynamic nature of land access and governance in peri-urban Dar es Salaam.

Complementary interactions between formal and informal land access processes may be encountered where one process fills the gap left by the other. In land access and governance, this may be seen when informal land access processes are guided or protected by formal institutions or when the formal land access process engages informal institutions to complete land transactions. For instance, in peri-urban areas, land buyers operating under informal processes may mobilise resources to formalise land (see Article II, p. 3, and Article III, pp. 8-9). In another scenario, landholders in need of selling formal land may consult informal institutions to execute the transaction informally. Because of inadequacies in the informal processes, a formal process may be sought, while due to the bureaucracies in the formal processes, informal processes may prevail. The weaknesses in one process gives room to the other for complimentary actions. Thus, complimentary interaction of formal and informal land access processes influences the dynamic relationship between the two processes.

Competitive interactions occur between informal and formal land access processes. This form of interaction is seen where both formal and informal processes struggle to exist in the same geographical space. Informal activities may emerge and compete with formal processes because they may provide a conducive environment for actors to attain their land interests and needs. Due to this, the informal processes may either dominate the formal processes or informality may operate within the formal process. For instance, in peri-urban areas, private firms may mobilise the community for formalisation processes, while at the same time other actors, especially brokers, entice land seekers to opt for informal processes, convincing them that they are not as costly or as time consuming as the formal process. As shown in Article III (pp. 10-11) some landholders are bypassed by the private firms in the regularisation processes because of the competitive nature between the formal and informal land access process. In this case, the government, especially local community leaders, may blame the landholders who avoided the formalisation process.

Accommodating interaction is observed where both informal and formal land access processes prevail in peri-urban areas and coexist smoothly. Actors participating in the two different land access processes collaborate and interlink. For instance, Article II (p. 9) shows that landholders who had accessed land using informal processes engaged formal processes (e.g using lawyers) to ensure that their land transaction was binding. It was also revealed that in the event of land use disputes, landholders from informally accessed land were utilising the legal structures such as courts of law, ward tribunals and police to solve disputes (see Article II, pp. 10-11). In another scenario, land disputes regarding formally accessed land are resolved through the participation of actors such as neighbours, relatives and others. Mutual coexistence between formal and informal processes sometimes violates formal rules in order for the two processes to accommodate each other. This reflects the dynamism of land access and governance in peri-urban areas whereby flexibility in the formal institutions is observed.

Substitute interaction between the formal and informal land access processes occur where one process replaces the other to achieve the same goal. Formal land access processes can utilise the informal processes, and vice versa, depending on the objective of the actor. An example may include a scenario where a landholder who had gone through the formal land access process may resort to informal social interactions, such as

neighbours or relatives to solve emerging land use disputes instead of using formal institutions (see also Section 1.1). Similarly, land may be accessed informally, but when a land dispute arises the buyer/seller may opt for formal dispute resolution procedures. This sometimes creates complications where the plaintiff may be required to present landholding evidence, which may not be available. Consequently, unscrupulous personalities may exploit this situation to grab land from other individuals. Notably, the failure of the formal processes to meet the land access needs of the peri-urban dwellers has encouraged informal processes to substitute for people who need to access land.

These findings provide three distinct ideas with regard to the interplay between formal and informal land access processes and their contribution to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance. Firstly, it is observed that the discussed scenarios operate within the same geographic areas in varying contexts, but their interactions are influenced by the actors needs and interests. Secondly, it is complex to establish yardsticks between the scenarios or from one scenario to the other. For instance, substituting may appear complementary in some cases but competing in others. Thus, the dynamic and contention contributions of the interplay between the formal and informal land access process may be complex. Thirdly, the interplay between formal and informal land access processes may lead to contentions in scenarios where the access rights of actors are violated. The interaction between formal and informal land access may sometimes lead to significant challenges for some actors participating in land access processes as discussed in ERQ3.

5.4 ERQ3 – What challenges are actors in the land access service provision facing attributed to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access?

Actors engaged in land access service provisions through facilitating the formalisation of informally accessed land in peri-urban areas, particularly the private sector, are faced with various challenges. The challenges have direct or indirect links with the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms. In this research, four main challenges were identified and are explained below.

Firstly, the legal challenges. The private sector is constrained by procedural matters in the provision of land access services, which are not user-friendly because they are time consuming and have financial implications (Article II, p. 9). Additionally, more time is spent accomplishing the procedural requirements in the land sector (Article III, pp. 7-8). For instance, in facilitating the land regularisation processes, private firms need to follow-up with different offices and departments, which may take time for a decision to be made. Notably, the follow-up process is legally mandated as enshrined in URT (1999) and URT (2007). As noted in Article II, p. 9, Article III, pp. 5 and 7 and Nuhu and Mpambije (2017), the laws demand private firms to follow seven systematic steps to accomplish regularisation processes, handled by different officials and departments in different locations (Article II, p. 9, Article III, pp. 5 and 7 see also Nuhu & Mpambije, 2017; URT, 1999, 2007).

Additionally, private firms are also provided with guidelines from Local Government Authorities and sometimes local community leaders. Sometimes decision outcomes from procedural requirements may contradict the guidelines from another authority. This, in line with the idea of Ribot and Peluso (2003), indicates that ambiguities within the formal institutions are frequent. For instance, local community leaders in consultation with landholders may establish service fees for planning and surveying services that are different from what the government may have decided. This is considered common law and policy made by the government and is contradictory, creating room for overlaps and unnecessary procedures as also revealed by Massoi and Norman (2010). In such cases, the private sector has to engage both actors to foster agreement, which is time consuming. This puts the private sector in a dilemma whereby the landholders are demanding quick service yet the government is adamant about procedural requirements. This affects the implementation plan of private firms; as other activities may be on hold waiting for endorsement from government authorities.

Secondly, the private sector is affected by the roles of multiple actors, whose varying responsibilities and interests may sometimes overlap and contradict (see Article III, pp. 7-8). The land access services provision engages actors, such as landholders, Local Government Authorities and the Ministry of Lands, where each actor has independent interests, preferences and options. Private firms, for instance, are interested in profit-making, while the government is interested in serving the public's interest. Landholders, on the other hand, wish the timely access of title deeds regardless of the

challenges faced during the process. The private sector may sometime receive conflicting orders and direction from both the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities, despite legal and policy provisions for operation. As indicated in Article I (p. 10) and discussed in Section 5.1, both the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities play similar roles in relation to regulating land use and controlling the development of land. Therefore, sometimes the private sector might get orders from both government bodies, which are conflicting.

Thirdly, power imbalances and the misuse of authority also constrains the private sector in the provision of land access services. The Ministry of Lands has more autonomy in land-related matters compared to the other actors, such as Local Government Authorities and the regional secretariat. The Ministry of Lands may utilise this autonomy regardless of consequences for other actors, such as those in the private sector. As indicated in Article III (pp. 7-8), the government dominates land decisions regarding land planning and surveying services without considering private firms as key actors. For instance, the Ministry of Lands may effect changes in the regularisation planning scheme without consulting the private sector, or other actors, because of the vested power of decision-making in the land sector. The power imbalances may sometimes lead to the misuse of authority, whereby politics may overshadow policy and legal requirements. Politicians have, for instance, been forcing or influencing the private sector to integrate political interests in planning schemes (see Article III, p. 8). Due to power imbalances, the private sector may not be able to implement all activities without disruption from dominant actors in the network.

Fourthly, inadequate awareness and readiness of communities about services provided by the private firms is also a challenge for the private sector in providing land access services (see Article III, pp. 9-10). For instance, Article III (pp. 8-9) indicates that landholders may sometimes delay paying for services provided by the private sector because of little awareness of the processes involved. This may lead to stalling activities or time lags in the planning process, affecting the private sector activities but also the landholders and government in general. Notably, awareness and readiness to participate in land access service activities allow for better management and monitoring of the entire project by the involved actors.

These findings provide two distinct ideas with regards to the challenges attributed to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access, faced by

actors in land access service provision. Firstly, the private sector has been hindered by existing laws and regulations in providing land access services. Secondly, the dynamic nature of the established relationships between some actors and the private sector seems to be influenced by varying roles and power imbalances between the actors. The two ideas indicate that challenges facing the private sector are related to policy, legal and technical issues. In general, these can be called ‘governance challenges’ facing the land sector in peri-urban areas in Tanzania and the rest of the Global South cities (see Article III, pp. 14-15).

In general, the findings presented and discussed in this chapter have demonstrated that the roles and relationships between and among actors are determined and influenced by the institutions utilised. It is also revealed that the interaction between formal and informal land access processes and governance mechanisms is not only complex, but also unavoidable due to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam. Additionally, the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance has not only been influenced by governance challenges, but also complex governance procedures in the land sector. This analysis provides an opportunity for reflections on how the dynamics and contentions of land access processes and governance mechanisms could be conceptualised. This could facilitate strategies towards targets of good governance and role of law, strong and competitive economy among others. The land sector is a potential sector that contributes towards a strong economy. Taking into consideration the desire of the government of Tanzania to shift the economy in the middle income status by 2025, dynamics and contentions in land access processes and governance mechanisms may pose some impediments in meeting such expectation. Building on Section 1.3, Chapter 5 thus provides the foundation to engage in providing a conceptual understating of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms based on TRQ (Chapter 6).

6. Land access governance: an analytical tool for investigation and conceptualisation

6.1 An overview

This chapter presents and discusses an analytical tool that was developed through this research. In this tool, two concepts ‘land access’ and ‘governance’ as stated in Section 1.2 have been combined. The analytical tool emerged based on both the empirical and theoretical works underpinning this research. The tool can be used to make sense of land access and governance dynamics and contentions in peri-urban areas and advance discourses in the governance theory and peri-urban studies. This tool has also contributed to showing the relationships of different components (see Section 6.1.1) that influence the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Tanzania, and may be applicable in other cities in the Global South with similar land access processes and governance mechanism characteristics. In regard to this tool, land access governance refers to processes of interaction and decision-making among actors in different institutions to meet their varying land access interests and needs.

This chapter has two sections. The first section (Section 6.1) presents and describes the developed analytical tool for investigation and conceptualisation of the dynamics and contentions of land access processes and governance mechanisms. It also presents and explains the different components of the developed analytical tool. The last section (Section 6.2) presents the conclusions of the chapter and the entire thesis. The section also discusses the limitations of the analytical tool in investigating, analysing and

conceptualising the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas.

6.2 TRQ– How can the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam be conceptualised?

The empirical and theoretical findings discussed in previous chapters (Chapter 2 and 5) show a need for a deeper understanding and conceptualisation of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam. In response to the TRQ, this section thus describes and explains the developed conceptual tool.

6.2.1 Land access governance (LAG) as an analytical tool

The linkage of different components in the land access governance analytical tool explains the dynamic and contentious nature of land access. As an analytical tool, ‘land access governance’ consists of four components: i) land ii) actors iii) processes, and iv) institutions. Land is central in land access governance, because it attracts multiple actors driven by both divergent and concerning interests and needs, to access land for various reasons or activities. In a bid to fulfil their interests and needs, actors have to engage in different processes, where they interact with other actors who may have varying power, authority, position and resources. Some of these actors may be holding land, others could be regulating or managing land, while still others may be facilitating or coordinating other actors or land-related activities (see Article I, pp. 10-13). Actors may therefore engage in several processes determined by varying institutions. Though this may imply that institutions are already in existence, it is argued that institutions are created by actors (see Erdmann, Stroh, & Elischer, 2011). Whether created by actors or evolving over time, institutions are pivotal in land decision-making processes (Ariti, van Vliet, & Verburg, 2019; Palmer et al., 2009 see also Chapter 2), which guide the actors’ actions in striving to meet their expectations.

Bearing in mind the influence of institutions and processes, the analytical tool recognises that land access governance comes in three forms: formal, informal and customary. In reflecting upon the formal institutions (see

Section 2.1), formal land access governance refers to the hierarchical structured decision-making process, while informal land access governance refers to collective or individual actors creating common norms and values arising from their interactions. Customary land access governance refers to the utilisation of traditional norms and values, which differ from one community to another. Unlike the tragedy of the commons (see Obeng-Odoom, 2018), where actors or individuals are free to use land without any restrictions, in customary land access governance actors are bounded by the traditions, norms and values within the community. Notably, customary land access governance may be considered as informal land access governance because of the marketisation of land as stated in Section 1.1. Peri-urban areas are considered to be planned in some Sub-Saharan African cities, such as Dar es Salaam, and therefore any land activities contrary to formal processes are considered informal, including customary processes. However, in some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, customary land access processes are considered different from formal and informal processes (Wehrmann, 2008). In the developed analytical tool, customary land access processes are explained separately in order to reflect the context in most Sub-Saharan African countries. It is important to note that the three forms of land access governance may operate concurrently but are sometimes interlinked, determining land access governance dynamics and contentions in peri-urban areas.

The dynamics and contentions in land access governance (LAG) are mutually dependent. In some cases, the contentions may lead to dynamics, where the struggle and conflicting interests, as well as the overlapping and overriding roles and responsibilities among or between actors, may influence dynamics. In other cases, the dynamics may lead to contentions where changes in both processes and institutions may violate some actors access rights, or may hinder other actors from accessing land (see Section 1, 2.1 and 5.1). This may arise from the evolution of institutions and/or poor adherence to policy, laws, norms and values. This is in line with institutionalists' beliefs that failure to act in accordance to changes (changed norms, expectations and policies) may influence conflicts, clashes or illegitimacy (Diogo, Carvalho, & Amaral, 2015; Gorges, 2001). Therefore, some actors may also be uncomfortable and resist changes in land access processes or institutions, for instance new policies, which they may consider to hinder attainment of their expectations. Nonetheless, actors may still engage in land-related activities following these

changes, which may violate the land access rights of some individuals and thus lead to contentions (see Section 1, 2.1 and 5.1). Figure 6 portrays the interlinkage between the dynamics and contentions, but also shows the components that determine these dynamics and contentions in their hierarchical order. Further explanations are discussed in the subsequent sections.

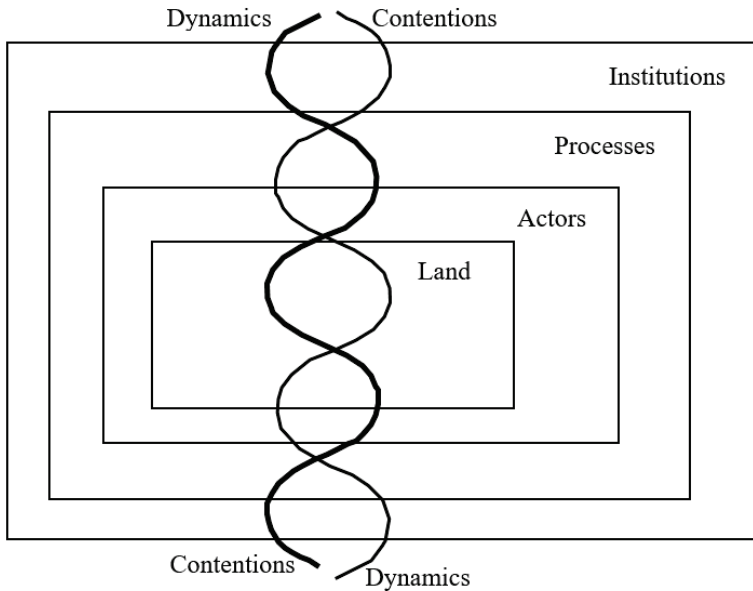


Figure 6. Land access governance web.

6.2.2 Land connotation and implication for LAG

The connotations that different actors attach to land may determine land access in peri-urban areas. Understanding the diverse categories of connotations is therefore important in LAG. This is in tandem with Shipton and Goheen (1992) whose study on the context of Sub-Saharan African countries suggests two important aspects when analysing land matters: (i) what land means to different people or actors and (ii) the social affiliation that effects the use and control of land (see also Goheen, 1992; Palmer et al., 2009; Peters, 1992). This is critical because different land connotations may contribute to the dynamic and contentious nature of land access and governance as is explained below.

Taking peri-urban Dar es Salaam as an example, land means different things to different actors (see Table 3). The meaning of land may depend on the actors' interests and needs. The connotation of land may also change in relation to evolving needs and interests. Actors such as brokers, investors, peri-urban farmers and the private sector may interpret land as an asset with economic value, which enables them to attain divergent economic interests such as agriculture and other investments (Article II, pp. 6-10, see also Butsch & Heinkel, 2020; McLees, 2011). This may be possible where actors have acquired legal rights (property rights) of holding (Milonakis & Meramveliotakis, 2013; Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Due to the rural characteristics of peri-urban areas, communities or individuals that still believe in inheritance, or social status and relations, may or may not disentangle their personal land-related interests and needs from socio-cultural attachment to land. To them, land is interpreted within specific social groups of actors and is inherited through generations (Shipton & Goheen, 1992 see also Article II, pp. 3, 6, 8 and 10). Contrary to new institutionalists, who have disentangled the access or property rights from social relations (Milonakis & Meramveliotakis, 2013), land in peri-urban areas has social attachment. As (Marx, 2001[1847]:197) notes, "in each historical epoch, property has developed differently and under a set of entirely different social relations". In this regard, land is meant to be protected and preserved. Thus, land transformation processes may also be rejected, which may lead to contentions (Adam, 2014d; Kombe, 2010b; Msangi, 2011; Owusu Ansah & Chigbu, 2020). It may also limit land that may be available for access to other actors in peri-urban areas.

For politicians and sometimes the government and its bodies, connotation of land has political inclinations. Political connotations of land, particularly in Sub-Saharan African countries, is linked to historical development phases (e.g. pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial) (see Article II, pp. 6-7 see also Austin, 2010), which explains the pre-colonial land access structures, such as customary and colonial systems of accessing land that have prevailed (formal and informal). The existing land access processes and governance mechanisms are an outcome of historical processes, especially the colonialism, that abandons and disrespects the Africa ways of managing and administering resource access, which has not been adequately captured in new institutionalism (Obeng-Odoom, 2020). To date, land may be used as a means of political control, particularly in those countries where power to

control land is vested in the state, like Tanzania and Ethiopia (Adam, 2014d, 2020; Kombe, 2010b; Msangi, 2011). Politicians or politics may influence who may or may not access land. Political decisions in regards to land development projects may override the established institutions (see Article III, pp. 8). As Angel et al. (1983: 3) note, “the land issue is not a technical issue. It is largely a political and institutional one”.

Land in peri-urban areas is also ‘provided’, meaning based on legal and policy guidelines within a country. Theoretically, this is in tandem with formal institutions, where policies and laws provide instruction for the legal status of the land (see Kombe, 2005; Msangi, 2011; URT, 1999). This may explain the distinctions in land development and transformations of peri-urban, rural and urban settings. Policy makers in respective government bodies may develop or revise policies, which may hinder, facilitate or violate the land access rights of some actors. Notably, policy may evolve because of demographic changes and development trends, which contribute to the dynamics in land access governance. Thus, land access governance may also evolve in relation to the changing policies.

The multiple connotations of land determine access to land varying in peri-urban areas. In some instances, the same piece of land may have different connotation attributes. This may contribute to multiple rights, which ultimately implies multiple access. Multiple rights facilitate multiple uses of land, which may lead to contentions between or among actors. Recognising the diversities in the connotations of land is important in LAG. It facilitates understanding drivers for diverse land-related interests and needs among actors, which contributes to the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access and governance.

Table 3. Land connotation dimensions.

Category	Connotation	Implication
Economic or asset	Land is a factor of production or property; which people can use to gain a specific item or things for economic gain.	Agricultural activities, access to credit, rental fees, and collateral.
Socio-cultural	Land is part of social systems that determine social status and guide by norms and values that protect its existence and ensure heredity from	Inheritance, spiritual and prestige.

Category	Connotation	Implication
	one generation to another as well as social status.	
Political	Land is a tool for political popularity or influence	Power influences decisions, which may exploit the vulnerable.
Historical	Land evolves and is affected by different periodic administration, policies, laws and strategies.	Class stratification in society, commoditisation and space for urbanisation
Legal	Land is a specific type of land or area that can be identified under the laws and regulations of a specific country or area.	Physical boundaries, varies from one geographical location to another and evolves with policies.

6.2.3 Categorising actors

In categorising actors in LAG, there are various factors to consider. These emanate from both empirical and theoretical findings and include interests and needs, power and authority, as well as the roles of actors, which may be determined by institutions. This may apply to actors engaged in either formal or informal processes and governance. As advocated by Searing (1991), a good framework for understanding new institutionalism may consider both formal and informal institutions that influence actors' roles. In reference to Searing and taking into consideration the aforementioned factors, in LAG actors have been grouped into seven categories as described below.

First, *constitutional and policy backed actors*; these are actors that participate in land access and governance supported by a legal mandate. These are mostly considered formal actors as their actorhood is determined by formal institutions (see also Section 2.1). For instance, government and its bodies play various roles as mandated by the constitution and policy (see Section 5.1, Article I, pp. 6-7, Article II, pp 6-7 and Article III, pp. 4-5). The government as an actor is a rule maker, sometimes a rule taker, rule enforcer and in other cases a facilitator. For instance, the government as a policy maker (rule maker), may use the enacted policy or laws to establish land development schemes, hence acting as a rule taker. At the same time, the government, through legal and security bodies, ensures that people adhere to laws and policies, thus acting as a rule enforcer. At other times, government may facilitate local communities to respond positively to land development schemes through awareness creation and thus act as a facilitator. The

government discharges these roles as an administrator and manager in general in land access processes and in governance.

Second, *profit-oriented actors*; these are actors that participate in land access processes to generate income from a commission after a land transaction or after providing land-related services (see Article I pp. 7-8 and Article III). These players may constitute both formal and informal actors. These include brokers, land sellers, land buyers, the private sector and the government and its bodies. Brokers, for instance, are part of the informal actors engaged in facilitating land transactions in both formal and informal processes, in order to obtain commissions. This is contrary to Barker (2008) analysis of brokers. Based on the United States, Barker analyses the roles of formal actors who are profit-oriented and professionals. This does not reflect the interplay between formal and informal institutions, which this thesis analyses. Land sellers may also be profit-oriented actors by selling their land at a profit. In some cases, the buyer may also be buying for speculation to sell later at an increased rate, or to utilise the land for other income generating ventures. The private sector also engages in real estate development and provides land planning and surveying services to generate income (see Article I, pp 7-8 and Article III). The Ministry of Lands, Local Government Authorities and the National Housing Corporation may engage in activities related to land access for generating revenue such as selling serviced land or constructing houses for sale (Ayubu, 2017). The government generates revenue by levying taxes on the land services provided by other actors. Notably, the government is not solely focused on profit generation, but rather getting income to facilitate its development goals. In this category, some of the actors' goals in land access activities may be largely profit-oriented, while others are not.

Third, *dispute resolution actors*; these are actors engaging in dissolving land use disputes in land access processes (see Article II, pp. 10-11). They include both formal and informal actors, such as the Ministry of Lands, Local Government Authorities, courts of law, police, local community leaders, clan leaders, elders and so on. Their actorhood, as dispute-related actors, may be determined by the choice of landholders to engage them. Landholders, depending on how they access land (formal or informal), can contact any of the dispute resolution actors deemed appropriate and able to solve the arising land disagreement. For instance, a landholder with formally accessed land (under formal institution) may choose to go to any government body if the

access rights are violated. On the other hand, someone whose land access inheritance rights are challenged may opt to use clan leaders or relatives to help solve the dispute. In some cases, dispute resolution actors, especially government bodies, may intervene in land disputes when informed by the relevant authorities. It is important to note that dispute resolution actors may operate in both formal and informal land access processes. Note that the roles of some of these actors are spontaneous, implying that dispute resolution actors may not have a set goal of resolving disputes. This role may emerge according to prevailing circumstances, with the exception of some government bodies like tribunals, courts and police, which have statutory roles to resolve land use disputes. This is contrary to new institutionalism, which articulates that actors have specific designated roles in particular settings (Searing, 1991).

Four, the *social relationship actors*; these actors may engage in land access processes and governance mechanisms because of their relationship with other actors. These actors may be comprised of buyers, sellers, friends, neighbours and family members. As noted, unlike the social network scholars, the institutionalists have not put much emphasis on the impacts of social relations or roles (Milonakis & Meramveliotakis, 2013). For instance, an actor (family member, neighbour or friend) may participate as a witness in the land transaction, whether it is a formal process or informal one, because of the close relationship (high-closeness) they have with either the buyer or seller or both (see Article II, pp. 6-7). Friends may also engage in linking friends with either land sellers, buyers or brokers because of their friendship. In other cases, the land access rights of landholders may be protected by their neighbours because of social relations and familiarities with one another. These social relations may be facilitated by social networks that are often used in land access processes.

Five, *position and status actors*; these are actors that participate in land access processes and governance mechanisms because of their position and status, which determines their influence and authority in land-related decision making. These include local community leaders, politicians, family members, elders and clan leaders who sometimes participate in the witnessing of land transactions and protect or determine the access rights of other actors because of their position and status in the community or family. They may participate in the formal, informal and customary land access processes. For example, landholders with inherited land may engage family

members, elders or clan leaders because of their influence in the family lineage, determined by age, position or social status or power, in order to guard their inherited land access rights. Notably, new institutionalism as Neil (2001) observes, does not critically focus on the role of social power and its implications on evolving institutions, which are not the focus of this research (see Section 2.1.1). In this research, it is also noted that some land buyers may choose to engage local community leaders in their land transactions, which may be formal or informal because they have confidence in them (i.e. they can help secure their access rights).

Six, *facilitating actors*; these are actors that engage in facilitating different land-related activities, policies, legal reforms and development. They may also engage in raising awareness and advocacy for land access rights or developing capacity for other actors and providing funds or aid for land-related development schemes. These include development partners, civil society, media and academia (see Article I, pp. 8-9 and Article II, p. 6). There has been attention to the role of development partners in development processes in the Global South. It is argued that the agenda of development partners may be profit-driven, as witnessed in the support for the marketisation and formalisation of land for economic development and poverty reduction, which some scholars note has caused more harm than good (Manji, 2006; Obeng-Odoom, 2020). Civil society has also been implicated in spearheading the interests of development partners (Spalding, 1996), while the media has been accused of politicising land issues (Mutanda, 2013). In the application of LAG, scholars should be mindful of this. In LAG, government may also sometimes be among the facilitating actors. For instance, the government may support vulnerable groups to reclaim their land access rights, which may have been violated by other actors.

Lastly, there are *accidental actors*; these actors may participate in land access processes and governance mechanisms without prior intention. These actors are not specific and therefore cannot be identified in regard to position or roles, as it is with other actors that have been highlighted in the previous categories. Accidental actors may be observed where buyers and sellers use any person they meet in the local community leaders' office to be part of the witnessing team in the land transaction. The person is not known to either the buyer or seller, but this occurs because the transacting parties want to conclude the transaction process within the shortest period of time. This is similar to the spontaneous actorhood as previously mentioned.

The description of the actors reflects upon the roles an actor may play in particular land access processes and governance mechanisms. While interests and needs of actors may determine the roles played in LAG, roles may also influence the interests and needs of actors, which may ultimately contribute to the level of power and authority yielded. Some actors may be described in more than one category thus having multiple roles and appearing in many dimensions in land access processes and governance mechanisms, depending on the prevailing circumstances and institutions used. This may lead to an overlap in roles and the dominance of some actors over others, which may affect land access rights. This is in tandem with new institutionalists (for instance Neil, 2001) who concur that in institutions powerful actors have influence over decision-making, which results in inequalities, not only in resource distribution but they may also hinder the participation of actors in building institutions.

6.2.4 Establishing land access processes

Processes are outcomes of the interactions between or among actors, where actors engage in a series of actions or steps in order to fulfil their interests and needs (Bevir, 2012; Hufty, 2011 see also Section 1.1 and 5.1). According to institutionalists, processes facilitate interactions among and between actors and determine interactive decisions (see Bruijn & Heuvelhof, 2000; Dovers & Hezri, 2010). Within the processes, the interactions are influenced by the established relationships among actors or networks between actors (see also Section 2.3). Networks or links are considered central in land access and governance because they facilitate actors to interact in different ways, influenced by the institutions they use when accessing or governing land (Smit, 2018). For the purpose of LAG, processes may be sequential, spontaneous but not haphazard because they constitute ‘how things are done’ or ‘how things should proceed.

Processes define and determine how land can be accessed and how decisions are made and who makes such decisions. They also determine the implementation and the management of diverse interests and the needs of the participating actors in making those decisions (Palmer et al., 2009). Processes determine the interaction and relationships of actors within the established relationships or networks, through ordered conditions where actors operate or make decisions (Bevir, 2012; Hufty, 2011; Stoker, 1998). Actors can interact, negotiate, compromise, disagree, cooperate or exit

through processes (see also Palmer et al., 2009; Stoker, 1998). However, the processes in LAG are not static, as actors' interactions are always changing. Since processes are dynamic, it is important to understand the changing processes as key characteristics of LAG.

The analysis of land access and governance (see Section 5.1) in peri-urban Dar es Salaam reveals an interactive process involving various forms of partnerships. Through different processes, there are inter-connection between and among actors. The Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities, independently or in partnership with other actors, may for instance engage in land development projects, which Stoker (1998) calls inter-organisation partnerships. Land seekers may go through several processes within the Ministry of Lands, as well as Local Government Authorities in order to attain their land-related interests and needs (see Article III, pp. 3-6). There is also a connection between individuals, such as land buyers and sellers, observed in both formal and informal land access processes (see Article II, pp. 6-8). Actors are coordinated through governance processes, which determine the orders or steps for connection, as well as other prerequisites including paying fees or levies.

In land access, the processes involve setting the standards, principles and priorities for governing. The ultimate goal of the processes in land governance is to put in action predictable mechanisms and make clear channels of information flow, as well as efficient and effective decision-making systems (Palmer et al., 2009). Governance processes include the establishment of steps and procedures as a centre of sharing practices and prioritising the actors' interests and needs (Hufty, 2011). Through processes, actors may measure the actions of one another. Processes enable or determine the success or failure of an actor to meet their interests and needs. However, the processes are often overseen by actors. In most cases, land related processes involving government are legally assigned to specific institutions because they are associated with technical compliance.

When analysing and conceptualising land access and governance, it is important to acknowledge that processes are dynamic and may sometimes lead to contentions. This is because the process itself constitutes links in line with relationships (Bevir, 2012; Hemmati, Dodds, Enayati, & McHarry, 2002; Hufty, 2011). Within the processes, actors may compromise, exist or conflict while struggling to attain their land-related interests and needs. This

is due to the presence of actors with varying resources, positions and authority, overriding roles and conflicting interests and needs.

6.2.5 Understanding institutions

Institutions are crucial for understanding land access and governance. They are established, enforced and implemented by participating actors within the processes (see also Section 2.1). In LAG, institutions influence actors' behaviours and actions, which is in accord with new institutionalism (see Jackson, 2010; North, 1991). The behaviour or actions influencing the actors' interactions are part of social life or social interactions in land access (Palmer et al., 2009; Quan, 2006). In LAG, such interactions are determined by the institutional mandates (especially formal), which define land access processes, regulate actors, as well as manage actors' conflicting and diverse interests and needs. However, in the formal land access processes, laws, policies and regulations from the central government may be determined by the state actors. For the purpose of analysis in LAG, institutions refer to socially established norms and rules that govern social interactions and provide systems with both enabling and constraining implications for actors' actions. Norms and values shape the rules and guidelines that determine what is good and what is not good, thus influencing actors' actions (Dequech, 2006; Hufty, 2011).

In LAG, according to what has been presented above and the empirical findings in this research (stated in Chapter 5), this research suggests that institutions can be classified according to three factors. First, on how institutions provide structures for the everyday operations of actors in obtaining their land-related interests and needs. Second, how institutions change influence by the change of actors' interests and needs (Leftwich & Sen, 2010; North, 1990, 1991). Third, how institutions affect actors' interests and needs (North, 1990). Based on these three factors, four categories of institutions have been identified as relevant in LAG and they include: formal or legal, informal, customary and hybrid as described in Table 4 and discussed below.

Table 4. Dimensions of institutions in LAG.

Institution category	Dimensions
Formal and/or legal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public or private real estate development of serviced sites available through purchase or renting Land purchases with approval from relevant authorities for housing purposes specifically Public land development schemes such as planning and surveying of plots
Informal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Purchase of plot(s) in illegally subdivided public land Purchase of plot(s) in illegal subdivisions from individuals Purchase of house site(s) formed by subdivision of existing plot Renting of land site on which a shelter (often only a temporary shelter) can be built Purchase or renting of permission to develop a house on a plot without tenure rights Squatting on marginal or dangerous land, which has no clear ownership Nomadic squatters who use site temporarily.
Customary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inheriting land from family members Sharing single plots of land with family members or clan
Hybridity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Settlement on customary land with permission of traditional authority or farmer – although the size of ‘gift’ given for this may reach a level where this is better considered as formal Regularisation or formalisation of access rights of land, which were initially illegal settlements or land Inherited formal land being sold informally Squatting (informal) on government land (formal) Squatting (informal) on private land (formal) Transacting formal or customary land informally Transacting informal or customary land formally Solving land use disputes on formal or customary land informally Solving land use disputes on informal or customary land formally

In LAG, *formal or legal institutions* include the constitution, laws, by-laws, policies, and regulations enforced by official authorities. As indicated in Section 2.1, these institutions create order and provide recognised channels and processes for accessing land formally. It is important to note that the formal institutions in LAG evolve influenced by the actors’ interests, needs and administrative and management changes. Formal institutions may

sometimes lead to power overlapping in decision-making roles and the responsibilities of actors (Kironde, 2009; Massoi & Norman, 2010; Steel et al., 2020; Stina et al., 2018). It is important to note that in other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, customary institutions in peri-urban areas may be part of formal institutions due to the recognition and integration in formal policies and laws (Palmer et al., 2009).

Informal institutions in LAG consist of socially unwritten shared norms and rules that shape the behaviour of the actors who use them (see also Paper II, pp. 7-8, Section 1.1 and 2.1). These norms and rules are self-enforced by grassroot actors (Kombe & Kreibich, 2001). In these institutions, actors freely engage in land access processes and enjoy the benefits from land in a manner that is not socially sanctioned by the state or society. Notably, in LAG, informal institutions may transform or change and may become institutionalised. This occurs when they have been accepted, recognised and followed by the community. Actors may therefore adopt informal processes in land access and governance since they may consider them as the norm.

Customary institutions in LAG, consist of the traditional rules and norms that govern land access and determine access processes. The norms and values in most Global South cities are embedded within culture. In contrast, new institutionalism does not consider that through culture (norms and values), social relations may occur, which may determine access to opportunities (Obeng-Odoom, 2020; Taylor, 2013). In this regard, land as stated previously, the customary institutions may also portray some characteristics of informality (see Section 1.1). They are embedded within specific cultural settings of society or family and vary from one society to another (Chauveau, 2007). In this context, as some scholars have cautioned, neglecting the cultural norms and values and focusing instead on only formal structures may be misleading and may not facilitate the implementation of policies into various contexts (Booth, 1993, 2011; Healey & Upton, 2010; Taylor, 2013). Additionally, members of the community or family may have beliefs towards those values and norms, which determine or drive land access and governance in peri-urban areas. The traditions may also protect access rights in a particular society, as long as members use them and respect them. This creates a source of insecurity for some members, as De Soto (2001) observes, that traditional land ownership systems are marred with insecure access rights (see also Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Notably, customary institutions are continuously dynamic; they may change and integrate either

in formal or informal institutions (see also Kironde, 2000). This is more so because of commoditisation of land, particularly in peri-urban areas where rapid transformations and urbanisation are occurring.

Hybrid institutions in LAG, are institutions that exist between and across the boundaries of formal, informal and customary institutions. They emerge based on how actors interact in the land access processes in attaining land-related interests and needs or operate in order to accomplish their roles and responsibilities (see Section 5.1). Hybrid institutions, though they interrelate, sometimes they overlap and conflict. In LAG, hybrid institutions are relevant as shown in Section 5.1. This implies that an actor can adapt a mixture of norms and values from other institutions. New institutionalism, on the other hand, does recognise the existence of the hybridity, but rather acknowledges the interaction between formal and informal institutions.

This section has revealed that in applying LAG, the analysis of institutions is relevant since they may enable or hinder actors to achieve their interests and needs. They also enable actors to make meaning of their land-related interests and needs to align with their social, economic and political values. Ultimately, institutions are not static. While institutions influence actors' decisions on one hand, actors may also determine the evolving and dynamism inherent within institutions on the other hand.

6.3 Conclusion and limitations

This research provides both theoretical and empirical contributions to land access and governance literature based on the interpretation of the findings. First, the research shows that the major underlying forces of land access governance are actors using different land access processes and governance mechanisms: formal, informal, customary or the interplay. This leads to a complex network comprising different layers of land holdings, access and user rights in peri-urban areas and may deter or hinder access rights in some actors.

Second, there are different forces concerning land access in peri-urban areas, influenced by the existence of multiple actors with different interests and varying powers, resources and positions utilising all institutions separately or concurrently. Decisions affecting land access governance are often influenced by the more dominant actors, who may not necessarily take into consideration the plight of the other actors, especially the weaker ones.

The power of dominant actors is determined by their position within the network, resources and the authority they have. The authority may be influenced by legal and policy directives. As shown, this has at times, led to clashes between actors, overlapping power and conflicts of interest in the land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas.

Third, there are other forces that drive land access and governance in peri-urban areas. Among other things, the main findings of this research show that the informal land access processes are characterised by the free interaction of actors operating in a versatile environment unsuitable for procedural structures. The informal land access processes may also transform through regularisation, influenced by actors' interests and needs.

Fourth, following the analysis and discussions of both the empirical and theoretical findings, the thesis ends with a contribution to theory in the field of land access governance. The research suggests a new tool 'LAG' for investigation, analysis and conceptualisation of the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms in the peri-urban context, reflecting the conditions/realities of Sub-Saharan African cities. Several analytical tools for governance have been developed in the literature (for example Deininger et al., 2011; Gordenker, 1995; Hufty, 2011). However, these analytical tools were not specific and were intended for global approaches to analysing global governance or land governance. This thesis builds upon Huff's, Governance Analytical Framework (GAF), which integrates five analytical tools that facilitate the investigation of governance processes. Huff's tool identifies actors, challenges, social values and norms, nodal points and processes and is focuses more on policy processes and a wider context of governance, but not particularly land access processes. Nonetheless, his ideas contribute greatly to the understanding of formal and informal processes.

Huff's Governance Analytical Framework (GAF) contribution to LAG is that some of the key features of the tool are land, actors, processes and institutions. This analytical tool addresses the empirical and theoretical limitations identified in this thesis. More so, the analytical tool relates to the theoretical explanation of the behaviour of the actors' actions in the land access and governance. This in turn influences land access in peri-urban areas while attaining their interests and needs to LAG. Building from Hufty, LAG provides an opportunity to portray and contribute to the theoretical understanding of the reality of land access and governance, focusing more

on the peri-urban context of Global South cities. This tool can be used by urban planners to limit uncontrolled urbanisation and encouraging participatory approaches in urban planning. Consequently, this could contribute to strong national and regional development planning as well as inclusive and sustainable development as envisaged in the Sustainable Development Goals.

However, the application of LAG as an analytical tool is not without limitations. Firstly, LAG is developed based on findings collected from peri-urban settings, therefore, may not be suitable for other settings such as rural and urban centres, which have somewhat different land-related actors, processes and institutions. Secondly, LAG may not be applicable in peri-urban contexts where the formal institutions that guide land access are strong, such as those in the Global North. As described in the thesis, the LAG analytical tool is more appropriate for investigating and conceptualising land access processes and governance mechanisms in a setting where there are multiple ways of accessing and governing land-based activities by multiple actors with divergent interests and needs. This is the case in areas, which have multiple institutions guiding land access or have weak formal institutions, such as those in Dar es Salam and other Sub-Saharan Africa peri-urban settings.

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Popular science summary

Land access processes and governance mechanisms are critical for peri-urban development and city growth in general. The research suggests that the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms is influenced by the multiplicity of actors with diverse and conflicting land related interests and needs. There is also overlapping and competition between formal and informal land access processes. Transformation of the informally accessed land is also evidenced in peri-urban areas. The research claims that using the Land Access Governance (LAG) analytical tool could facilitate the understanding of the dynamic and contentious nature of peri-urban land access processes and governance mechanisms in the global south cities and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa especially those with similar land access systems as Tanzania.

Populärvetenskaplig sammanfattning

Frågor kring markåtkomst och land-rättigheter i peri-urbana områden är dynamiska och omtvistade och påverkas av mångfalden av aktörer med olika intressen och behov. Därför är styrmekanismer för markåtkomst avgörande för stadsutveckling och stadstillväxt. Genom en fallstudie i Dar es Salaam visar denna avhandling att det, i tillägg till konflikter mellan olika aktörers intressen och behov också finns överlappningar och konkurrens mellan formella och informella processer för markåtkomst. Ytterligare en aspekt är att det också till viss del sker en omvandling av den mark som skett genom informella markåtkomstprocesser. I avhandlingsarbetet har ett analytiskt verktyg utvecklats, LAG (Land Access Governance) som kan underlätta förståelsen för dessa dynamiska och omtvistade markåtkomstprocesser och styrmekanismer i peri-urbana områden i städer i Globala Syd, särskilt i Afrika söder om Sahara med liknande system för markåtkomst som Tanzania.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Questionnaire guide for households in peri-urban areas

Respondent identification

Municipality	
Ward	
Sub-ward	
Name of household (Optional)	

Name of interviewer.....

SECTION A: Personal background

Sex: a). Male.....b). Female..... Age.....

Marital status: a) Single b) Married c) Divorced d) Widow e) Widower

Education level: a) Primary b) Secondary c) Diploma/Degree d) Other specify

Occupational status (select one only): a) Self-employed b) Government employee c) employee of private company d) Retired e) Student

How many years have you lived in this area?

SECTION B: Land access information

i) How did you acquire the land you currently occupy?

Form of acquiring	Tick as appropriate
Inherit	
Purchase	
Lease	
Other (Specify)	

ii) What factors motivated you to buy/access land in this area?

Factor	Motivation scale			
	High	Average	Low	Absent
Affordable price				
Access to social services				
Land size and quantity				
Live near relatives				
Close to trade and business				
Close to work place				

iii) Are motivating factors highlighted still valid up to now?

a) Yes b) No

iv) If, yes how?

v) If, no why?

vi) Which document(s) of evidence of occupancy do you have?

Type of document	Tick as appropriate
Sale agreement from local leaders	
Lease from the government	
Certificate of occupancy	
Sale agreement from lawyers	
Others (Specify)	

vii) How long did it take to access that document?

viii) If it took more than one year, why was this so?

ix) If, no why?

SECTION C: Roles and relationships of actors

i) If this land was not inherited, how did you identify this plot of land?

ii) Among the following actors who did engage with mostly in the process of accessing your land?

Actor	Level of interaction			
	Mostly	Relatively	Less	Never
Local government				
Central government (Ministry)				
Local leaders (Ward, sub-ward and ten-cell)				
Private firm				
Civil society				
Brokers				
Lawyer(s)				
Neighbours and relatives				
Other(s) specify				

iii) Among those identified explain why you interacted with them and how they assisted you?

iv) Were you satisfied with the services offered by the persons you interacted with in the process of accessing your land? a) Yes b) No, If, yes how? If, no why?

SECTION D: Processes and institutions

- i) What prompted you to make a decision on the process of accessing your land?
- ii) How do you perceive the process you selected to access land?
 - a) Complex, why?
 - b) Simple/Fair, How?
 - c) Unfair, why?
- iii) Do you have any prior knowledge of the procedures that guided you to access your land? a) Yes b) No
If, yes mention those procedures and how you got to know them
If, no why?
- iv) Have you ever faced any legal/disputes challenge regarding your land? a) Yes b) No
If yes, what kind of legal/disputes challenges?
What other challenges have you faced?
- v) How was the dispute resolved? Who was/were involved? What were their roles?
- vi) Were you satisfied with the dispute resolution process and outcome? If not, why?

Appendix II

Interviews guide with officials from the Ministry of Lands and Local Government Authorities

Introduction

Sex: (Male..... / Female.....)

Position.....

Experience in the position.....

Date of interview...../...../.....

Place of the interview.....

- 1) What is the role of your office/department in land related activities?
- 2) Who are the key actors involved in the process of accessing land in peri-urban areas and what are their roles? (These may be local, national or international, formal or informal).
- 3) How does your office contact and interact with other actors?
- 4) Who are the main actors involved in land disputes resolutions processes?

- 5) Are there any mechanisms put in place by the local/central government to promote access to information related to land access and development in peri-urban areas?
- 6) In your opinion do you think people in communities are aware, understand and comply with the existing laws, policies, guidelines and procedures that guide access to land?
- 7) How do the existing land access processes (formal and informal) affect land access and development in peri-urban areas?
- 8) How does your office/department engage with private firms in the land related activities?
- 9) What are the major challenges your office experiences regarding the on-going peri-urban land activities?

Interview guide to local leaders (wards, sub-ward and ten-cell)

- 1) What is your position as a local leader in this community?
- 2) What is the role of your office in regard to land matters in this area?
- 3) Who are main actors involved in land access activities in your area and what activities does each actor participate in?
- 4) How does your office coordinate and interact with these actors?
- 5) What kind of facilitation do you get from central/local governments on land matters?
- 6) What are the procedures followed by people accessing land in this area?
- 7) Have you witnessed any land disputes in this area and what were the causes?
- 8) How were these disputes resolved?
- 9) Do you understand the existing laws and policies guiding land access activities in Tanzania?
- 10) Are people in your area keen to process land holding documents and how has your office assisted them?
- 11) How do you engage local communities in land related matters in your area?
- 12) With the exception of land disputes, what are the other challenges in relation to land access in this area?
- 13) How do you think these challenges can be overcome?

Interview guide for civil society organisation representatives

- 1) When was your organisation registered in Tanzania and what are the main activities in relation to land that the organisation is engaged in?
- 2) Which other land actors do you coordinate or collaborate with in land activities?
- 3) Are the existing institutions (formal and informal) providing an enabling environment for your organisation to engage in land activities effectively?
- 4) What are your views about local community participation in land matters?
- 5) Has your organisation ever received any claims from citizens and other actors concerning land use disputes and how has your organisation assisted?
- 6) What are some of the challenges that your organisation has faced that has affected your engagement in land related activities?
- 7) In your opinion what specific actions would you consider necessary to improve/implement land access activities in peri-urban areas in Tanzania?

Interview guide for private firms' officials

- 1) For how long has your firm dealt in land services provision in peri-urban areas?
- 2) What are the main activities your firm performs towards providing land access services?
- 3) Can you explain the procedures you undertake in providing land access services for your client?
- 4) What is the number of customers you serve per annum?
- 5) What is the range of level of income of your most common customers?
- 6) Whom do you coordinate or collaborate with, in providing land access services?
- 7) Are the existing laws and policies creating enabling environment for your firm to provide land access services and to engage in other land related activities?
- 8) Have you ever received any complaints about your services in the community?
- 9) How has your firm involved communities in the provision of land access services?

- 10) Do you network or share information with other actors? Which actors and what information do you share?
- 11) What are the major challenges that you have faced while providing land access services?
- 12) What do you think could be done in order to improve the process of provisional of land access services?

Interviews guide for brokers

- 1) What are your key roles in land access activities?
- 2) Whom do you coordinate or collaborate in the provisional of your land brokerage services?
- 3) Who are the other actors you collaborate with while providing services and what are their roles?
- 4) Have you been responsible for, or witnessed any land use disputes in your area of operation?
- 5) Have you been involved in solving land use disputes and what were the causes?
- 6) What are the challenges faced in offering your brokering services?
- 7) How do you think these challenges can be overcome?

Interview guide for community members with small and big plot(s)/ piece(s) of land

- 1) How did you access your piece of land?
- 2) How can you rate the process you underwent when accessing your land?
- 3) What type of land holding evidence do you have and how did you acquire it?
- 4) If the piece of land is big, what plans do you have for it?
- 5) If the piece of land is small, why did you get a small piece of land?
- 6) What kind of land access disputes have you ever experienced?
- 7) Where would you report any land related disputes and why?
- 8) Do you have any plan to regularise your land?

Interview guide for community members by-passed in the land access services project

- 1) Why were you excluded from the land access service project (land regularisation)?
- 2) Do you think it is important to regularise your land?
- 3) Do you have an intention of requesting to be included in the project?
- 4) If you have no intention of requesting for inclusion do you have any plan for regularising your land privately?
- 5) What is your opinion about the land access services provided by the private firms?

Appendix III

Focus group discussions guide

- 1) Awareness on the activities and land access services provided by private firms.
- 2) Communities' participation in the land access services provided by the private firms.
- 3) Challenges encountered in accessing land access service by the communities.
- 4) Source/cause of challenges.
- 5) Any significant land disputes witnessed in the community and the engagement of community in solving the dispute.
- 6) Opinion, towards the advantages of land access services offered by the private firms.

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This research focuses on land access processes and governance mechanisms in peri-urban areas in Global South Cities. The aim of the research is to conceptualise the dynamic and contentious nature of land access processes and governance mechanisms particularly in the peri-urban areas of Dar es Salaam. This is achieved by examining the actors, institutions, processes and challenges that facilitate and/or hinder land access and governance. Based on the findings, an analytical tool has been developed for analysing land access processes.

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