

The Practice, Issues and Challenges of Land Banking in South West Nigeria.

Adesola Dada, Msc 1 Department of Estate Management & Valuation

Yaba College of Technology, Lagos, (Nigeria)

Samuel O. Alausa, PhD2 Department of Urban & Regional Planning

Faculty of Environmental Design & Management Lead City University,

Ibadan, (Nigeria)

adesola.dada@yabatech.edu.ng



<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2149-1059>

Received: 21/03/2025

Accepted: 20/07/2025

Published: 01/08/2025

Abstract:

This study examined how private estate developers in South West Nigeria handle land banking and the associated problems they face. The focus is on Lagos, Ogun, and Oyo States. The main goals are to understand current land banking practices, identify the hurdles involved, and suggest ways to improve land banking practice in Nigeria. The study used descriptive survey research design where questionnaire and interview were conducted on selected private estate developers in the South West region. The results showed that 80% of the respondents perceived land banking is driven by market trends and future demand projections; while 20% agreed that return on investment was the reason behind their decision. 57% bought their land for building projects as a result of proximity to urban centre and 23% based their decisions on land scarcity in the urban centres. The study concluded that land banking practice can be more effective as a tool for making land available for developmental purposes by making simpler rules, offering money incentives, and promotion of cooperation and collaboration between the government and private estate developers.

Keywords: Land Banking, Real Estate Development, South West Nigeria, Challenges, Return on Investment.



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

1. INTRODUCTION

The deliberate acquisition and holding of land that has not been developed for future use, or the ownership and administration of property by a public or private entity for potential development, is known as land banking. These actions are typically taken with the goal of fostering urbanization, infrastructure development, and economic expansion (Bollwahn, 2019). This practice has caught a lot of attention as a crucial part of urban growth and economic progress. In Nigeria in the southwest, land banking has become more common to tackle issues linked to fast city growth and land shortages (Oladehinde et al., 2023). As urban centres expand, the demand for suitable land for residential, commercial and infrastructure development intensifies and necessitates the need for effective land management strategies.

Land banking and development practices by private estate developers in Southwest Nigeria play a key role due to the area's economic importance growing population, and unique land ownership patterns. The Southwest region includes Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, and Ekiti states. It has major urban areas, with Lagos being Nigeria's biggest city and economic centre. Lagos state faces huge pressure to house its residents leading to fierce competition for land (Oyalowo, 2023). Lagos, Nigeria's most crowded city in the South west, has an urban growth rate of 5.8% (Aliyu & Lawal, 2017). Yet, this study will focus on Lagos, Ogun and Oyo. After looking at all southwestern states, these three have most of the private estate developers.

Land banking in South West Nigeria is increasingly confronted with significant challenges, limiting its effectiveness in real estate development. Regulatory constraints, particularly the complexities of the Land Use Act, create bottlenecks in land acquisition and title registration processes (Babalola, 2023). Financial hurdles, such as limited access to capital for private estate developers, further hinder sustainable growth. Socio-political issues, including land disputes and political interference, exacerbate these difficulties. Despite its growing importance, there is a noticeable lack of comprehensive research on the practical challenges facing land banking in this region (Babalola et al., 2024).

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- i. To identify and describe current land banking practices in South West Nigeria, giving a clear picture of how they buy, handle, and use land for building homes and businesses. .
- ii. To examine the problems associated with land banking, focusing on regulatory, financial, and socio-political issues that hinder its effectiveness.
- iii. To make recommendations for improving land banking practices, efficiency, and promoting sustainable real estate development in the region.

This study will assist policy-makers, private estate developers, and urban planners to tackle issues in land banking practices.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Challenges associated with Land Banking

Economic and financial constraints significantly affect land banking and real estate development in South West Nigeria. According to Reed (2021) access to funds continues to be a significant challenge for private estate developers, hindering their



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

capacity to acquire and manage extensive land parcels. The high interest rates on loans and the scarcity of long-term financing options create obstacles for developers trying to maintain their projects. Consequently, many turn to self-financing or informal funding sources, which often fall short. These financial difficulties result in stalled projects and heightened land speculation, ultimately stifling the overall growth of the real estate sector. Previous research has highlighted that addressing these issues is essential for fostering sustainable development and enhancing housing affordability in the region.

Also, corruption and bureaucracy are significant barriers to land allocation processes in South West Nigeria (Babalola et al., 2024; Lantz, 2021). It has been found that political interference often distorts land distribution, benefiting influential individuals and organizations while ignoring genuine developers. Lengthy administrative procedures and demands for unofficial payments not only delay land title registration but also raise costs for developers. This corruption undermines trust in public institutions and creates an unfair advantage, allowing only those with strong connections to successfully manoeuvre through the system. Addressing these challenges is crucial for guaranteeing fair access to land and fostering a more transparent, efficient, and sustainable land banking practice in the area.

Furthermore, land banking regulation in Nigeria faces significant legal and institutional barriers that hinder its effectiveness. The Land Use Act of 1978, which consolidates land ownership under state governors, acts as one of the fundamental obstacles. Although the Act was intended to simplify land management, it has unintentionally led to corruption and regulatory challenges, which have complicated the processes of land purchase and development. Furthermore, the absence of precision in addressing land banking practices has led to ownership disputes, opportunistic ownership of land, and legal difficulties (Shukla, 2021). These issues are made worse institutionally by fragmented governance and poor enforcement measures. Local government councils are essential for land allocation, yet they frequently struggle with limited capacity, resources, and transparency, which hampers their ability to manage land banking effectively. The insufficient digitization of land records and the inefficiency of land registration systems lead to vulnerabilities that foster fraud and mismanagement of land (Rahman, 2023). These shortcomings not only weaken urban planning initiatives but also deter private sector investment, resulting in unchecked urban sprawl and environmental harm.

2.2 Empirical Studies on Land Banking in Nigeria

In the study by Ibem and Aduwo (2021) on the potential and difficulties of public-private partnerships (PPPs) in housing provision in Ogun State, South-west Nigeria, public-private partnerships (PPPs) as a land banking strategy in housing provision in Ogun State were investigated in this study. Data came from the examination of government documents and inquiries made during interviews. The research area's public-private housing partnership, according to the findings, is founded on a joint venture strategy between corporate commercial private property developers and governmental organizations. The main obstacles to public-private partnerships in the housing industry are graft, high building material costs, insufficient land availability from the government and housing finance, and the exclusion of low-income individuals from PPPs.



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

Thontteh et al. (2018) in his study examined the limitations on home development in the periphery of Lagos as well as the land acquisition practices of organized real estate companies. For the study, a purposive sampling strategy was used. Just 141 (56%) of the 251 REDAN members in the southwest region of Nigeria were discovered to be actively practicing with their offices located inside the research areas. Additionally, 31 land bureau personnel were polled. In order to determine the most important elements of barriers to new housing development, the study used principal component factor analysis (PCFA), frequency, standard deviation, and mean item score (MIS). The results indicated that farming, land banking, and protecting land from encroachers and land thieves are the main activities done on land. Furthermore, it was clear that only one-third of the purchased land was really put to use in the building of homes. The investigation found evidence of stringent planning approval and title processing, extremely sluggish title paperwork, and government reacquisition of land with a Certificate of Occupancy (C of O) through the use of the Land Use Act mechanism.

In line with Mabogunje (2010) in response to the different issues arising from the Land Use Act of 1978, the Nigerian Federal Government established a Presidential Technical Committee on April 2, 2009, with the goal of reforming the land tenure situation in the nation. Although the majority of landowners already had possessory rights to their land, this Act gave State Governors the custodian authority to grant certificates of occupancy for land holders in their states.

As stated by Aluko (2011) as a powerful tool for city administration, development control makes sure that a city may continue to grow and be managed in a way that promotes orderliness, a better public image, health, and aesthetic. However, the following policies and land regulation guide land banking and development practices in the above mentioned region: level of compliance to building regulation and technical skills of personals monitoring compliance to space standards as specified by Urban and Regional Planning Law Decree 88 of 1992, the Lagos Planning Law of 2005 and under the Urban and Regional Planning Development Law 2010.

3.0 Methodology

This study made use of a mixed-methods approach, combining both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis to investigate the practice, issues, and challenges associated with land banking among private estate developers in Southwest Nigeria. The study aimed to offer a thorough grasp of land banking practices, focusing on Lagos, Ogun, and Oyo States, which are regions with significant private estate development activities.

Research Design

A descriptive survey research design was adopted for this study. This design allows for the collection of data from a sample of private estate developers, policymakers, and other stakeholders involved in land banking practices. By employing this design, the study captures the current state of land banking in the region, identifying key practices, and challenges,

Population and Sample

This study examined private estate developers operating in Lagos, Ogun, and Oyo States. Developers, particularly those with significant experience in land acquisition, management, and real estate development within the region were selected for the study.



Interviews were also held with policymakers, urban planners, and landowners to gain complete understanding of the regulatory and operational issues land banking face in the region. For the survey respondents, a simple random sampling technique was used, while purposive sampling was used to select interview respondents.

Data Collection

Data was collected through a mix of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaires aimed to collect quantitative data regarding the strategies, challenges, and results of land banking activities. Meanwhile, the semi-structured interviews provided in-depth insights into the perspectives and experiences of key stakeholders.

Data Analysis

Data collected from the questionnaires were analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistical methods. Descriptive statistics, including frequencies, percentages, and mean scores, helped summarize the data, while inferential statistics were used to examine relationships between variables. The qualitative data from interviews were analysed thematically, highlighting key patterns and recurring themes related to land banking practices, regulatory issues, and socio-economic impacts.

Validity and Reliability

To ensure the validity and reliability of the research instruments, the questionnaire and interview guide were reviewed by experts in land management and real estate development. A pilot study was also conducted with a small sample of private estate developers to refine the instruments and improve their accuracy and relevance.

Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to ethical research standards, ensuring that all participants were informed about the purpose of the research and their rights. Participation was voluntary, and confidentiality was maintained throughout the study. Necessary approvals were obtained from relevant authorities, and all data were used strictly for academic purposes.

4.0 Results & Discussion

4.1 Quantitative analysis

4.1.1 Identify and describe current land banking practices in South West Nigeria.

The table 1 and fig 1 below summarizes Private Estate Developer's perspectives on the primary objectives of their land banking strategies. The table displays three response categories: rapid land acquisition, long-term investment, and social development, together with their frequencies and percentages. Long-term investment is the most common option, with 59 respondents. This suggests that the majority of firms consider land banking as a long-term investment strategy with an emphasis on future value appreciation. Rapid Land Acquisition was selected by 34 respondents, indicating that quite a few of the firms prioritize rapid land acquisition to meet immediate development demands or capitalize on market conditions. Social Development received the fewest responses, with only seven. This demonstrates that fewer firms engage in land banking primarily for the purpose of achieving social development goals. The data suggests that respondents' primary goal for land banking is long-term investment, followed by rapid land acquisition. Social development appears to be a lesser priority.



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

Table 1: Primary Objective of Land Banking

	Frequency	Percent
Rapid Land acquisition	34	34
Long term investment	59	59
Social development	7	7
Total	100	100

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2024

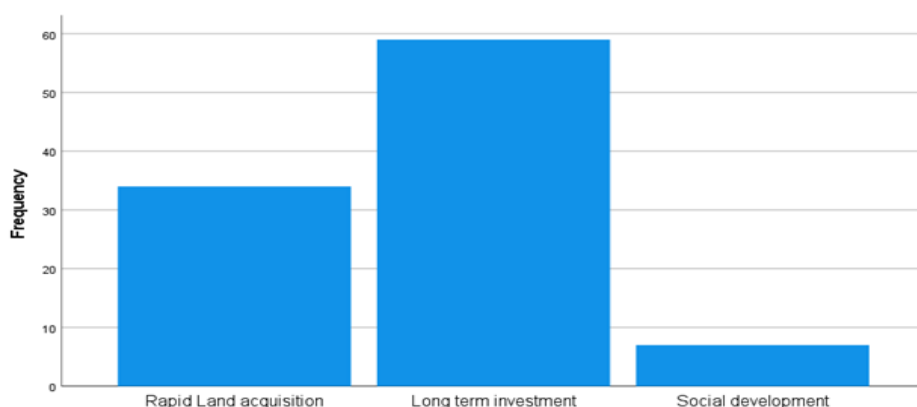


Fig 1: Primary Objective of Land Banking

From table 2 and Fig 2 below, all private estate developers (100%) acknowledged that location and accessibility influenced their land buying decisions. There is no variation in the responses, showing that everyone agrees. On average, 80% of respondents believed that market trends and demand projections influence land acquisition. The standard deviation (0.402) indicates moderate variability, implying that some respondents may disagree with the importance of this attribute. Sixty per-cents of respondents named infrastructure availability as a factor. The standard deviation (0.492) suggests that opinions are considerably divided, with roughly half of those asked not seriously considering this factor. Only 20% of respondents said possible return on investment was an important element in their decision-making process. The relatively high standard deviation (0.402) indicates that the majority did not believe this to be an important element.

Also, 80% of respondents agreed that zoning laws were important. This implies that regulatory frameworks have a major impact on their actions, however perspectives differ. There is a general agreement that location and zoning rules are crucial factors in land acquisition choices. Market trends and demand projections are also regarded as essential, though not as equally. Infrastructure availability and possible return on investment do not appear to be equally essential. The diverse responses imply that developers may regard these elements differently depending on their own business plans or the type of the site being considered.

Table 2: Factors Influencing Land Purchase

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Location and accessibility	100	1	1	1	0



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

Market trends and demand projections	100	0	1	0.8	0.402
Infrastructure availability	100	0	1	0.6	0.492
Potential return on investment	100	0	1	0.2	0.402
Zoning regulations	100	0	1	0.8	0.402

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2024

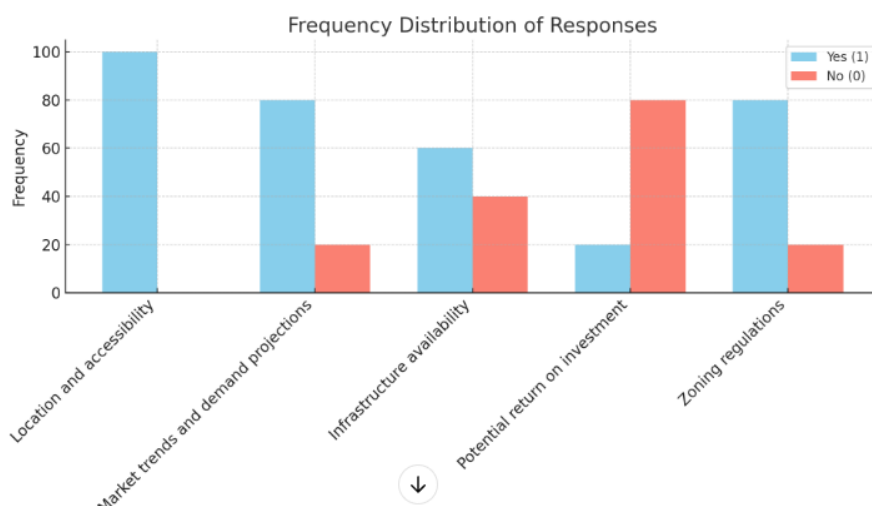


Fig 2: Factors Influencing Land Purchase

From table 3 and fig 3, the majority of respondents (57%), attribute their choice to proximity to urban areas, making it the most important element in their decision-making. Housing demand is the second most important issue, named by 40% of participants, while 3% chose "others", showing that just a small number of participants had alternative considerations. Overall, these findings indicate that proximity to urban centres is the key determinant, closely followed by housing demand, with relatively few participants taking into account other aspects.

Table 3: Factor most influential in selecting land for banking

	Frequency	Percent
Proximity to urban centres	57	57
Housing demand	40	97
Others	3	100
Total	100	100

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2024



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

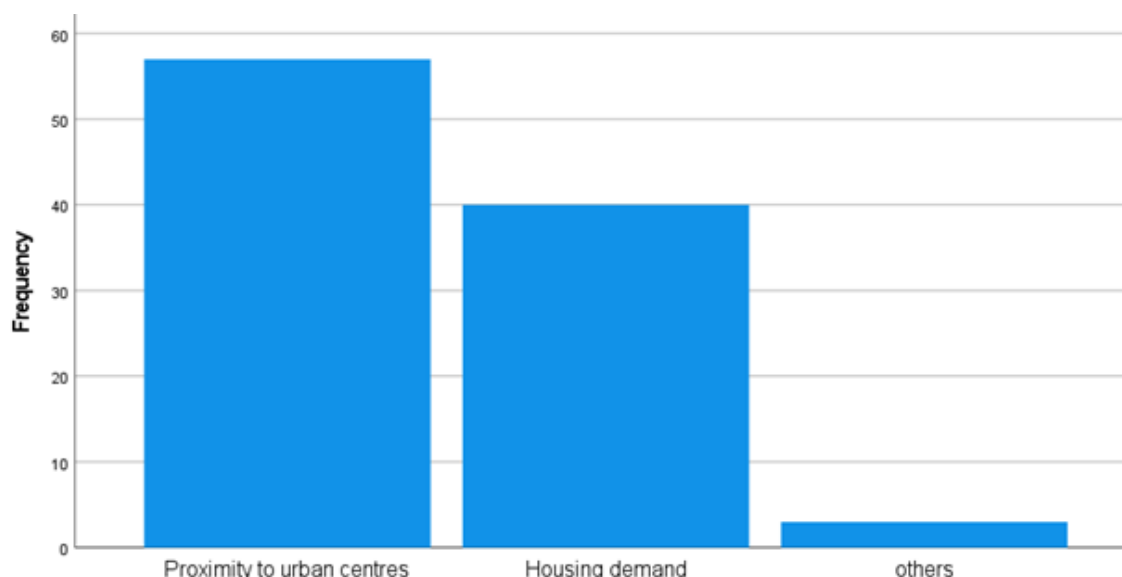


Figure 3: Factor most influential in selecting land for banking

4.1.2 Challenges associated with land banking.

From table 4 below, the statistical output presents descriptive statistics for various challenges associated with land use and development, assessed by 100 Private Estate Developers. Each challenge was rated on a scale of 1 to 5, providing insight into the perceptions and experiences of the participants regarding land-related issues. The challenge of land scarcity or competition for suitable land received a mean score of 2.34, indicating that respondents view it as a notable concern, though not the most critical issue. With a range of responses from 1 to 4 and a standard deviation of 0.977, there is a moderate level of variability in the responses, suggesting that while many respondents recognize this challenge, opinions about its severity differ. In terms of high cost of land acquisition, the mean score was 1.94, which is the lowest among the challenges presented. This suggests that respondents perceive the cost of land acquisition as less of a concern compared to other issues. The scores ranged from 1 to 3, with a standard deviation of 0.583, indicating a more concentrated agreement among respondents that the cost of acquiring land is not a significant barrier to development.

Respondents also rated the issue of title verification and complex land ownership systems with a mean score of 2.32, highlighting it as a relevant challenge. The variability in responses is reflected in the standard deviation of 0.839, which suggests that while this issue is acknowledged, there are differing views on its impact on land use. The challenge posed by government bureaucracy and lengthy approval processes received a mean score of 2.12. With a standard deviation of 1.094, there is more variability in responses, indicating that some respondents feel strongly about the negative effects of bureaucracy on development timelines, while others may not perceive it as problematic. Inadequate infrastructure in potential development areas was rated the lowest with a mean of 1.88, suggesting that this is not a primary concern for the respondents. The standard deviation of 0.868 indicates a degree of consensus on this issue, as many respondents seem to agree that inadequate infrastructure is less of a barrier to land use.

Also, community disputes or resistance had a mean score of 2.22, showing that respondents consider this a relevant issue, though opinions on its significance vary, as indicated by a standard deviation of 0.905. The challenge of environmental restrictions or impact assessments received a higher mean score of 2.58, indicating a moderate level of concern among respondents about the impact of these regulations on development projects. The standard deviation of 1.423 reflects considerable variability in perceptions, suggesting that while some respondents see environmental regulations as a significant barrier, others may view them as necessary safeguards. Securing financing for land banking was rated with a mean score of 2.54, indicating that respondents generally consider it a relevant challenge. The standard deviation of 1.029 suggests a reasonable level of variability in the responses, reflecting differing experiences and opinions about financing difficulties. The challenge related to difficulty in projecting future market demand received the highest mean score of 3.00, indicating that respondents view this as a significant concern. With a standard deviation of 1.318, there is a notable variability in the responses, suggesting that while many respondents are apprehensive about accurately predicting market trends, others may have differing levels of confidence.

Finally, the issue of unregulated land transactions was rated with a mean score of 2.16. The standard deviation of 1.245 indicates some variability in opinions, pointing to recognition of the risks associated with unregulated transactions, though not universally perceived as a top challenge. In summary, the data reveals a range of challenges faced in land use and development, with significant variability in perceptions among respondents. The findings indicate that while land scarcity and environmental restrictions are notable concerns, issues such as high acquisition costs and inadequate infrastructure are perceived as less critical barriers. Understanding these varied perceptions is crucial for addressing land use challenges effectively and developing strategies that consider the diverse experiences of stakeholders involved.

Table 4: Challenges faced by PEDs in land banking activity

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Land scarcity / competition for suitable land	100	1	4	2.34	0.977
High cost of land acquisition	100	1	3	1.94	0.583
Title verification and complex land ownership systems	100	1	4	2.32	0.839
Government bureaucracy and lengthy approval processes	100	1	4	2.12	1.094
Inadequate infrastructure in potential development areas	100	1	3	1.88	0.868
Community disputes or resistance	100	1	3	2.22	0.905
Environmental restrictions or impact assessments	100	1	5	2.58	1.423
Securing financing for land banking	100	1	4	2.54	1.029



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

Difficulty in projecting future market demand	100	1	5	3.00	1.318
Unregulated land transactions	100	1	4	2.16	1.245

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2024

4.1.3 Mitigation Strategies

From table 5 and fig 5 below, the data presented shows the frequency of different approaches or strategies employed by PEDs to minimize the impact of these challenges. Among the PEDs, partnerships and collaborations are the most commonly referenced, with a mean of 0.62, indicating that 62% of the participants reported employing this strategy. This is higher than any other category, reflecting its importance or frequent adoption by the respondents. The other three categories: due diligence processes, community engagement strategies, and financial planning and risk management, each have a mean of 0.38. This suggests that 38% of respondents use these approaches, pointing to a more moderate level of implementation compared to partnerships and collaborations. The "others" category shows a mean of 0, meaning no respondents selected this option, implying that the predefined strategies were comprehensive enough to cover all relevant aspects in the respondents' views. The standard deviation for all categories except "others" is 0.488, suggesting similar levels of variation in responses, reflecting that there is some diversity in the adoption or non-adoption of these strategies among respondents.

In summary, partnerships and collaborations are more commonly employed, while other strategies like: due diligence, community engagement, and financial planning, are used to a lesser extent but with the same level of consistency across respondents. The "others" category shows no utilization, indicating that the main categories provided were sufficient for the context being studied.

Table 5: Mitigating Strategies

Strategies	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Due diligence processes	100	0	1	0.38	0.488
Partnerships and collaborations	100	0	1	0.62	0.488
Community engagement strategies	100	0	1	0.38	0.488
Financial planning and risk management	100	0	1	0.38	0.488
Others	100	0	0	0.00	0.000

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2024



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

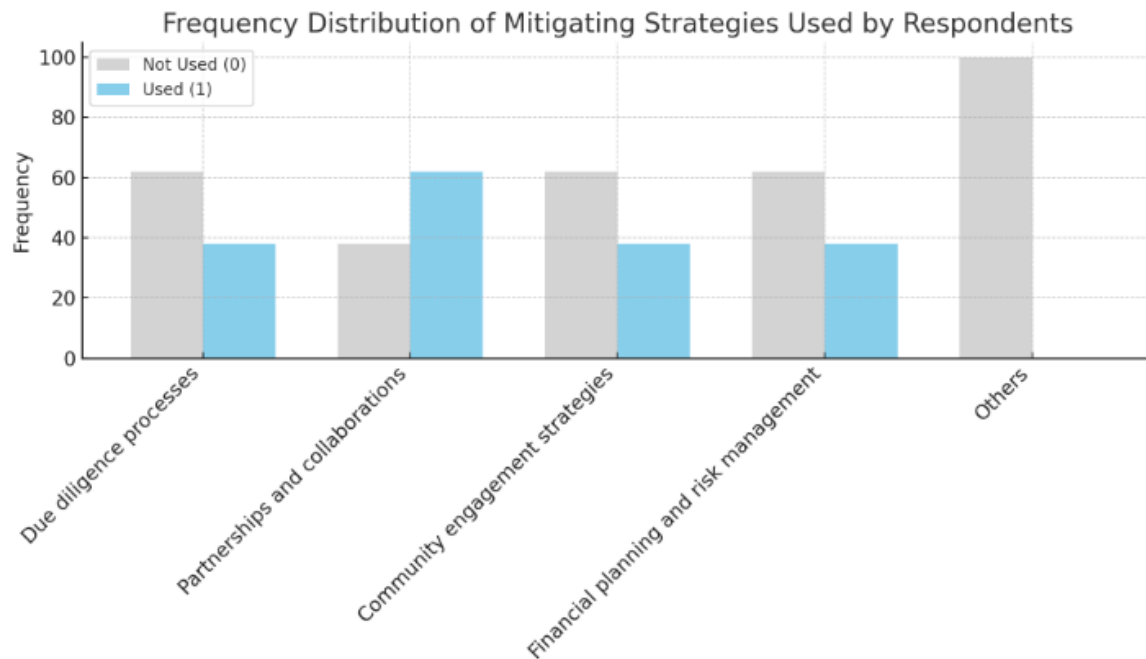


Fig 5: Mitigating Strategies

4.2 Qualitative analysis

The most commonly mentioned issues included land titling problems, government bureaucracy, inadequate infrastructure, security risks, and land grabbing. These obstacles, particularly those involving delays and complexities in government processes, were seen as significant barriers to efficient land banking operations.



Figure 6: Major Challenges in Land Banking

In terms of financial risks, land grabbing, inadequate infrastructure, and government bureaucracy were identified as the greatest threats to the financial stability of these



developers. These risks are compounded by issues related to security and paperwork, which add financial strain to the operations

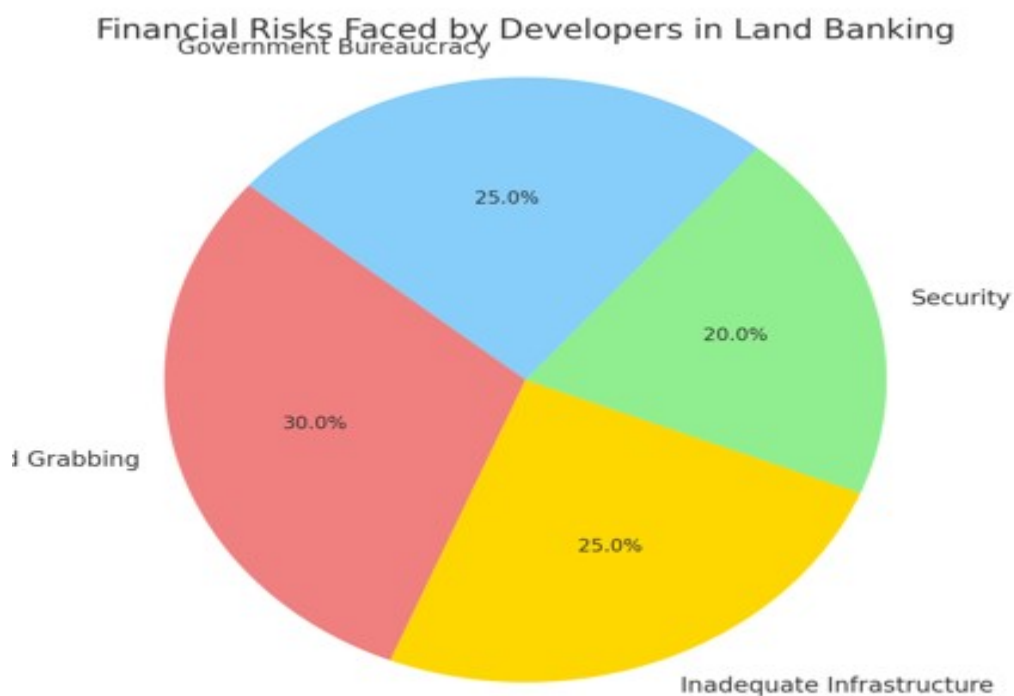


Figure 7: Financial Risks Faced by Developers

To mitigate these challenges, respondents reported various strategies. Some developers rely on partnerships with stakeholders, while others focus on enhanced security measures or engage consultants to navigate the complex legal and regulatory environment. Collaboration with local authorities was also cited as a common practice to address specific issues such as infrastructure and security

Mitigating Strategies

Partnerships -> Inadequate Infrastructure

Security Measures -> Security Issues

Consultants -> Government Bureaucracy

Collaboration -> Land Grabbing

Strategy addressing related challenge

Figure 8: Mitigating Strategies for Land Banking

When asked about policy improvements, many respondents advocated for simplifying the title process, better enforcement of existing laws, and introducing investor-friendly policies. These measures were seen as critical to improving the land banking process and reducing operational challenges.

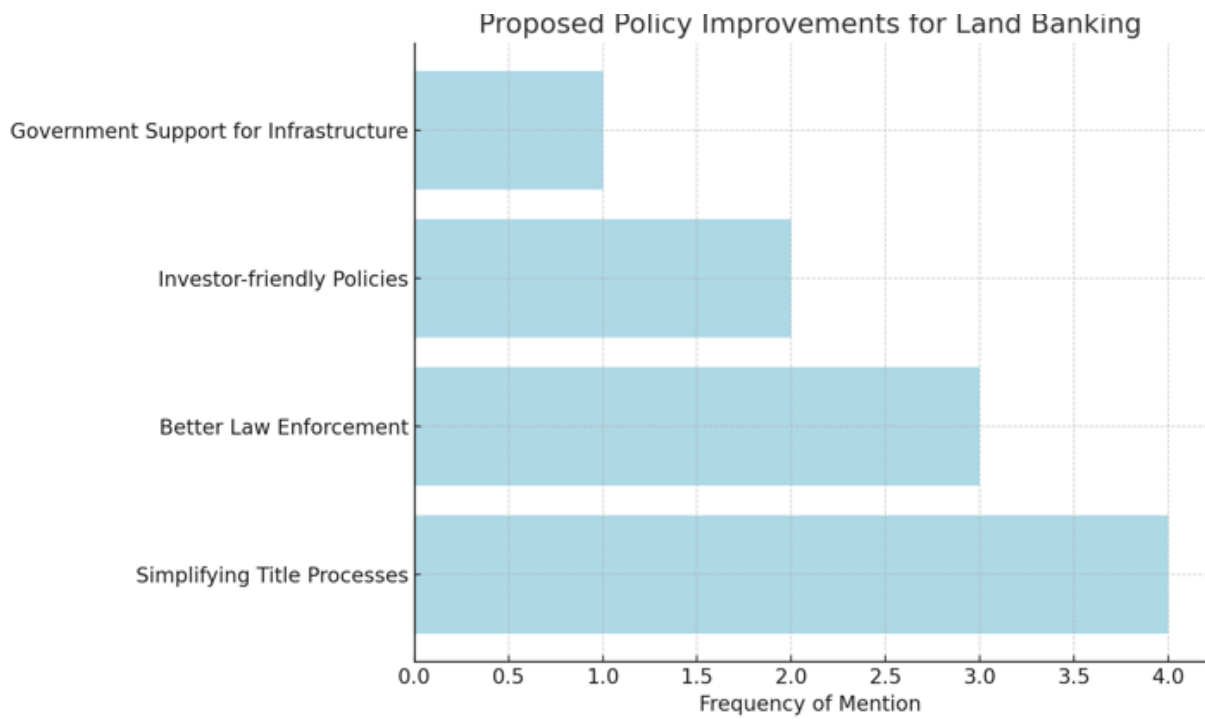


Figure 9: Proposed Policy Improvements



5.0 Recommendations

Streamline Regulations: Simplify land acquisition processes to reduce bureaucratic delays.

Financial Support: Provide incentives like low-interest loans or grants for private estate developers.

Stakeholder Collaboration: Encourage partnerships among government, developers, and communities.

Training Programs: Offer training for developers on land banking and sustainable practices.

Public Awareness: Conduct campaigns to inform communities about the benefits of land banking.

5.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study points out the importance of land banking in facilitating real estate development in South West Nigeria, particularly in Lagos, Ogun, and Oyo States. The findings reveal that private estate developers primarily view land banking as a long-term investment strategy aimed at future value appreciation. However, the practice is significantly hampered by several challenges like tough rules because of the Land Use Act, financial limitations due to inadequate access to capital, and socio-political issues like land disputes and political interference. Nonetheless, the study emphasizes the need for more robust regulatory frameworks, financial support mechanisms, and stakeholder collaboration to promote more efficient land banking practices. By addressing these challenges, stakeholders can promote sustainable urban development and contribute to the overall economic growth of the region, thereby filling existing gaps in knowledge and practice related to land banking in South West Nigeria.



References

- Aliyu, Alhaji A., and Lawal Amadu (2017). "Urbanization, cities, and health: the challenges to Nigeria—a review." *Annals of African Medicine* 16, no. 4: 149.
- Aluko, Ola (2011). "Development control in Lagos State: An assessment of public compliance to space standards for urban development." *African Research Review* 5, no. 5 : 169-184.
- Babalola, K. H. (2023). "Assessing land administration systems with their legal frameworks: the case of peri-urban land in Ekiti State, Nigeria."
- Babalola, K. H., Hull, S., & Whittal, J. (2024). "Peri-urban land administration and management: understanding the challenges in Ekiti state, Nigeria, using case study and soft systems methodologies." *Survey Review*, 1-20.
- Babalola, T. O., Nkwemoh, C. A., Williams, A. O., Popoola, A., & Tunji-Adepoju, O. O (2024). "Women's perspective on land governance in the urban periphery of Ibadan, Nigeria." *Development in Practice* 34(6), 765-781.
- Bollwahn, Brooke (2019). "Property Disposition Matters: The Current Status of Land Bank Programs in the United States."
- Ibem, Eziyi, and Egidario B Aduwo (2012). "Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in Urban Housing in Nigeria: Evidence from Ogun State." *International Journal of Architecture and Urban Development* 2, no. 2: 5-14.
- Lantz, M. U. (2021). "Bureaucratic corruption and market access: the case of smallholder farmers in Nigeria" (Master's thesis).
- Mabogunje, Akin L (2010). "Land reform in Nigeria: progress, problems and prospects." In *Annual Conference on Land Policy and Administration*, pp. 26-27. World Bank.
- Oladehinde, G. J., Dada, O. T., Olowoporoku, A. O., & Adeniyi, L. A. (2023). "Land accessibility and housing development in Nigerian border communities." *GeoJournal* 88(1), 359-382.
- Oyalowo, B. (2022). "Implications of urban expansion: land, planning and housing in Lagos." *Buildings & Cities*, 3(1).
- Rahman, N. (2023). "Digitalization of the Land Record System in Bangladesh: Prospects and Challenges." Available at SSRN 5012153.
- Reed, R. (2021). *Property Development*. Routledge.
- Shukla, J. (2021). "Compulsory yet Fair Acquisition of Land: Assessing Procedural Fairness of Compulsory Acquisition Process in India: Analysing fairness in the process of land acquisition in India." *Journal of Property Research* 38(3), 238-261.
- Thontteh, Esther Oromidayo, and Jacob Adejare Babarinde (2018). "Analysis of land speculation in the urban fringe of Lagos, Nigeria." *Pacific Rim Property Research Journal* 24, no. 2: 161-184.



This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License