

# Land Dynamics and Issues of Social Inclusion: Rethinking Sustainable Metropolitanization of Greater Lomé Beyond Institutional Constraints

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## Abstract

*Greater Lomé is experiencing rapid population growth and significant urban expansion. Covering an area of 425.6 km<sup>2</sup>, it has a density of only 71 inhabitants per hectare, posing substantial institutional challenges to sustainable metropolitan development. This study examines how land transformations can reimagine social inclusion beyond institutional barriers. By combining diachronic spatial analysis with field surveys of 290 households and 50 key stakeholders, we identified a socio-spatial divide characterized by high informality and inadequate infrastructure: access to potable water declines from 85% in the city center to just 30% in vulnerable neighborhoods. Although the real estate market is predominantly cash-driven (65% of transactions) and facilitates property acquisition in the outskirts (with 75% of peri-urban households owning property), this process often operates outside legal norms. This is attributed to the lengthy and costly registration procedures, ranging from 500,000 to 800,000 FCFA, which perpetuate informality in the land sector. Ultimately, the metropolis is fragmented, necessitating the urgent establishment of a hybrid governance model to operationalize new institutions and ensure coordinated planning, integrating informality as a mechanism for land security towards a more inclusive city.*

**Keywords:** *Urban Sprawl, Land Informality, Social Inclusion, Greater Lomé.*

## Introduction

In the context of explosive population growth in sub-Saharan Africa, urban sprawl presents significant institutional challenges to sustainable metropolitan development, understood as an urban transformation process that integrates environmental, social, and economic principles for an inclusive and resilient city (Lessault, 2005; Marguerat, 1985). This phenomenon results in unequal territorial restructuring, with an estimated concentration of 80% of the world's urban population in Southern agglomerations by 2030 (UN-Habitat, 2010). In Togo, Greater Lomé exemplifies this dynamic as the primary city absorbing the majority of national urban growth (Nyassogbo, 1984), with an exacerbating macrocephaly from being 5.5 times more populated than Sokodé in 1958-1960 to 6.5 times in 1970 (Marguerat, 1994). This predominance is accompanied by spectacular spatial expansion, growing from 0.55 km<sup>2</sup> in 1914 to 425 km<sup>2</sup> in 2020, with a density of 5,142 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> and a consumption of natural spaces at a rate of 1,100.53 ha/year between 2015 and 2022 (INSEED Togo, 2022). These developments, fueled by demographic pressure, land volatility, socio-economic vulnerability, and weak urban governance, obscure rising precariousness in informal neighborhoods (Somadjago et al., 2020; MPDC, 2024) and trigger land-use conflicts, recurrent flooding, and illegal occupation of land reserves (Bawa, 2017; Ouro, 2022), undermining the ambitions of the Master Plan for Urban Development for an attractive, compact, and livable metropolis.

Togo's land tenure system, marked by outdated regulations such as the decrees of 1945, 1967, and 1971, and delays in implementing Law No. 2018-005 on Land and State Code, encourages clandestine parallel channels involving customary owners, intermediaries, and urban residents (Ouro, 2022). This hinders secure access to property, amplifies speculation, and contributes to the emergence of precarious neighborhoods, excluding vulnerable groups with 62% of the population living in slums (UN-Habitat, 2008).

Research on sub-Saharan urbanization highlights high growth rates of 4.5-5% in West Africa (Farvacque-Vitkovic and Catherine, 1997), generating heterogeneous "urban magma" and socio-spatial fractures (Dubresson and Raison, 2003). The literature underscores urban sprawl as a source of risks and social

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dynamics (Dobingar, 1994; Gervais-Lambony, 2007; Nyassogbo, 2010), with land pressure transforming land into a safe haven asset (Le Bris, 1998) and fostering informality (Gurby and Guérin, 1993; Mimche, 2005). Controversial hypotheses emerge sprawl as a "puzzle of neighborhoods" conducive to innovation (Troin, 2000) versus an amplifier of poverty (Paquot, 1990). However, gaps persist: few studies explore hybrid land innovations (combining customary and participatory practices) to promote social inclusion and overcome institutional constraints in contexts like Greater Lomé.

This study aims to fill current gaps by posing the following research question: How can hybrid land transformations rethink the sustainable metropolitan development of Greater Lomé to promote social integration despite institutional obstacles? The primary objective is to examine these transformations to propose inclusive approaches. Secondary objectives include assessing current land dysfunctions and identifying levers for integrated governance. We hypothesize that these transformations will reduce land conflicts, improve equitable access to land, and enhance urban sustainability. Methodologically, the study relies on a mixed approach: documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews with local actors, and spatial mapping of land dynamics.

The importance of this research lies in its ability to offer practical and innovative solutions to contemporary urban challenges, integrating customary and modern practices for sub-Saharan Africa. This article is structured into three parts: the first analyzes institutional and land obstacles; the second explores hybrid transformations; and the third proposes recommendations for sustainable and inclusive metropolitan development.

### *Study Area Overview*

The study area, Greater Lomé, is a rapidly evolving metropolitan region. It comprises 13 municipalities (Baguida, Togblékopé, Légbassito, Sanguera, Vakpossito, Aflao-Sagbado, Aflao-Gakli, Amoutiévé, Bè West, Bè Central, Bè East, Agoè-Nyivé, and Adétikopé), which are part of the Golfe and Agoè Nyivé prefectures. Additionally, it includes localities from the neighboring prefectures of Zio and Avé (Djagblé, Aveta, and Aképe).

The area is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the south, the international border with Ghana (Aflao) and the Avé prefecture to the west, the Zio prefecture to the north, and the Lacs prefecture to the east (see Figure 1). The urban fabric is characterized by uneven population distribution, with densities ranging from 357 to 1,307 inhabitants per square kilometer.

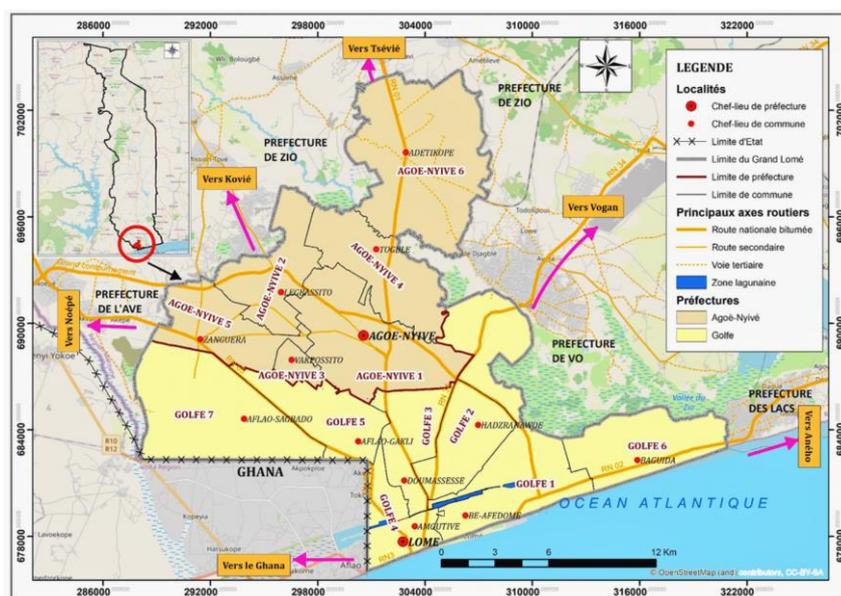


Figure 1: Map showing the Autonomous District of Greater Lomé

**Source:** Author's compilation based on data from DGCN and OpenStreet Map, 2025.

## Materials and Methods

### *Overall Approach*

To explore the complex and multifactorial dynamics of metropolitan development in Greater Lomé, the study employs a mixed-methods research design, integrating both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The objective is to combine various sources and types of data to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. This approach is based on two main forms of triangulation. Firstly, a diverse methodological approach was used, combining qualitative methods such as document analysis and semi-structured interviews with quantitative methods like statistical analysis and geographic information systems (GIS). This allowed for cross-validation of results and provided a more complete overview. Secondly, data from varied sources, including official reports, satellite images, and field surveys involving different stakeholders such as residents, local officials, and state technical agents, were systematically cross-referenced, enriching our analysis. This multi-source strategy enhances the validity of the conclusions by minimizing potential biases. The investigation is thus framed within a multi-scale and multi-stakeholder context. This mixed-methods approach draws on established theoretical frameworks, such as those proposed by Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) for convergent mixed-methods designs, where qualitative and quantitative phases are conducted in parallel for subsequent integration. An exploratory sequential design was favored, with document and spatial analysis informing field surveys, to maximize the depth and validity of insights into metropolitan development.

### *Materials*

The digital tools employed include tablets equipped with the KoboToolbox application for survey data collection and GIS software for mapping and spatial analysis. Additionally, other tools were utilized to ensure reliable data collection. Digital audio recorders were used for interviews, while automatic transcription software facilitated the initial processing of qualitative data. These choices were justified by their accessibility and precision, reducing human error and enhancing reproducibility.

### *Documentary and Statistical Analysis*

The research began with the collection of qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative component involved a literature review of academic publications, institutional reports, and legislative texts to establish the theoretical and contextual framework of the study. For the quantitative component, statistical data on demographic trends, growth rates, and population density were gathered. The primary source for these socio-economic indicators was the National Institute of Statistics and Economic and Demographic Studies (INSEED), Togo's official statistics agency. Data were selected based on specific criteria such as temporal relevance (2010-2022 period) and the reliability of official sources, with thematic content analysis applied to qualitative documents. For the quantitative component, descriptive statistics (means, frequencies) and inferential statistics (correlation tests) were used to identify demographic and socio-economic trends.

### *Spatial and Cartographic Analysis (GIS)*

To map and measure urban sprawl, the authors conducted a diachronic spatial analysis using GIS software such as QGIS and ArcGIS. This analysis illustrates the evolution of Greater Lomé's urban footprint from 1914 to 2022. This method enabled a quantitative assessment of geographic expansion and its link to demographic characteristics, corroborating anecdotal evidence. Data were sourced from reliable providers, such as Landsat and Sentinel satellite images (available via USGS and ESA), processed through supervised classification to measure urban sprawl. The validity of the maps was assessed through an overall accuracy index (greater than 85%), cross-referencing results with field data to minimize interpretation errors.

*Field Surveys*

Fieldwork was conducted from January to April 2025 to verify secondary information against real-world conditions. The specific objective of these surveys was to obtain quantitative measures on various aspects of peri-urban life, including the availability of services (potable water, electricity, sanitation), transportation modes, land ownership, security perception, and residents' views on local issues. Data were collected using a structured questionnaire, primarily composed of closed-ended questions (single or multiple-choice), supplemented by a few open-ended questions.

Households were sampled using a stratified purposive sampling strategy, with strata defined based on the heterogeneous neighborhood types within the 13 urban municipalities of the Greater Lomé area included in the study. This approach ensured a balanced representation of varied peri-urban contexts, distributing surveys as follows: 30% in extension neighborhoods (87 households), 40% in peri-urban areas (116 households), 15% in the city center (43 households), and 15% in vulnerable neighborhoods (44 households). A random walk was applied to select households in each chosen neighborhood: surveyors followed a predefined route, selecting households at regular intervals (e.g., every fifth household) along the way to reduce selection bias. In total, 290 households in the study area were surveyed, ensuring a diverse coverage of local urban dynamics.

**Table 1: Distribution of Households by Study Area**

Type of Neighborhood	Percentage	Number of Households Surveyed
Extension	30%	87
Peri-urban	40%	116
City Center	15%	43
Vulnerable Neighborhood	15%	44
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>290</b>

Source: Author's own, 2025.

To gather in-depth qualitative data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifty key stakeholders (N=50). Participants were selected through purposive sampling to ensure a diversity of relevant perspectives for the study. These included mayors, deputy mayors, and traditional leaders (to explore issues related to local governance, planning, services, and land regulation), as well as senior officials from the Ministry of Urban Planning, Housing, and Land Reform (MUHRF) and the Autonomous District of Greater Lomé (DAGL), to examine institutional strategies and technical constraints. The interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent and fully transcribed. These qualitative data were then analyzed in depth using an inductive thematic approach, with NVivo software employed for coding and identifying recurring themes, in alignment with the triangulation objectives outlined.

*Data Analysis and Processing*

Statistical data (from the national census, INSEED) and questionnaire responses were processed using statistical software (e.g., SPSS, Excel). This analysis enabled the creation of trend graphs (Figures 2 and 3) illustrating the broader dynamics of metropolization. In parallel, qualitative data were handled with equal rigor, through thematic analysis of interview transcripts and manual coding assisted by NVivo, allowing for the extraction of patterns related to governance and local perceptions.

The final phase of the study focused on systematic data triangulation to ensure the validity and reliability of the conclusions. This cross-verification produced a robust analysis, identifying discrepancies between

discourse, policies, and practices. However, this approach is not without limitations. Among these, the sample of 290 households, although stratified, may not be fully representative of the entire peri-urban population due to access constraints in informal areas and a response rate of 85% (primarily attributable to absences or refusals). Additionally, the qualitative data rely on perspectives from key stakeholders, potentially underrepresenting marginalized voices. Temporal biases may also exist, as the fieldwork period (January to April 2025) coincided with seasonal variations. These limitations were mitigated through triangulation, but they highlight the need for further research to enhance generalizability. Quantitative evidence was corroborated by qualitative insights. For instance, statistical data revealing stark inequalities in infrastructure such as low access rates to water, public lighting, and paved roads in peripheral areas (INSEED, 2022, 2025) were validated by cross-referencing with residents' lived experiences and narratives of daily challenges. Similarly, official discourse on inter-municipal coordination reported by DAGL stakeholders was contextualized by examining it alongside the legal framework for decentralization and our direct field observations of service delivery fragmentation.

This cross-verification produced an analysis that identified gaps between discourse, policies, and practices, offering a nuanced and validated understanding of metropolization in Greater Lomé. Finally, the entire methodological approach was guided by rigorous ethical principles. All aspects of the research, particularly field surveys and interviews, adhered to ethical standards. Oral informed consent was obtained from each participant, with explanations of the study's objectives, rights (including the right to withdraw at any time), and confidentiality measures. Sensitive data were anonymized and stored securely.

## Results

### *Characterization of Current Institutional Constraints*

The analysis of the collected data provides an in-depth overview of the dynamics shaping urbanization in Greater Lomé. The results highlight a complex situation intertwined with three primary forces: unprecedented demographic and spatial growth, a marked transformation in land use in urban peripheries, and significant infrastructure challenges. These interconnected issues are addressed in turn below.

### *Exponential Demographic Growth as a Driver of Spatial Expansion*

Among the most significant findings is evidence of extremely rapid population growth, which emerges as the primary driver behind the urban dynamics of Greater Lomé. These trends, corroborated by projections to 2030 (estimating a population of 3 million inhabitants, Figure 2), are enriched by qualitative insights from the data. Interviews with key stakeholders underscore that this growth is perceived as an "insurmountable challenge" by mayors of peripheral communes, with quotes indicating service saturation due to migration: "Villages are turning into cities overnight without any preparation," Mayor of Agoè-Nyivé. A correlation analysis ( $r = 0.92$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) between demographic increase and spatial expansion confirms this causal link. The data in Figure 2 reveal substantial population growth: from approximately 80,000 inhabitants in 1960, the Lomé metropolis grew to nearly 1.48 million people in 2010 and exceeded 2.19 million in 2022 (INSEED, 2022).

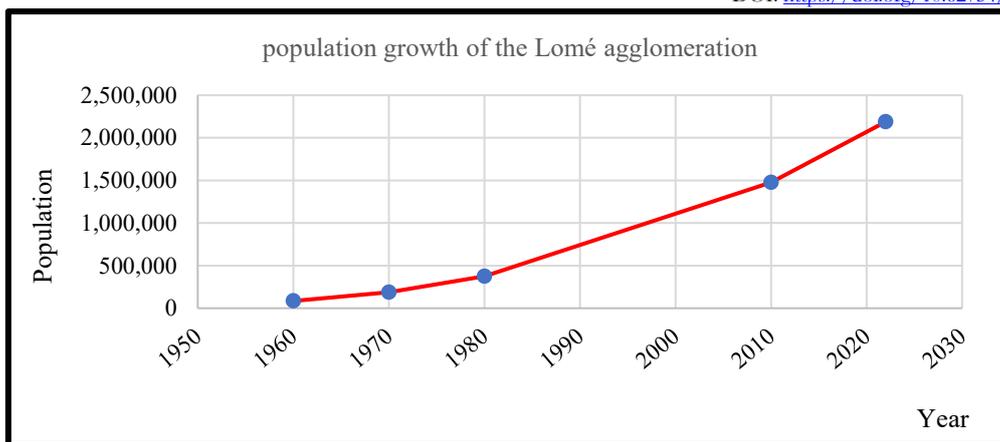


Figure 2: Population Growth of the Lomé Metropolitan Area (1960–2030)

Source: Figures for 1960 and 1981 are retrospective estimates; data for 2010 and 2022 are drawn from RGPH-4 and RGPH-5, respectively.

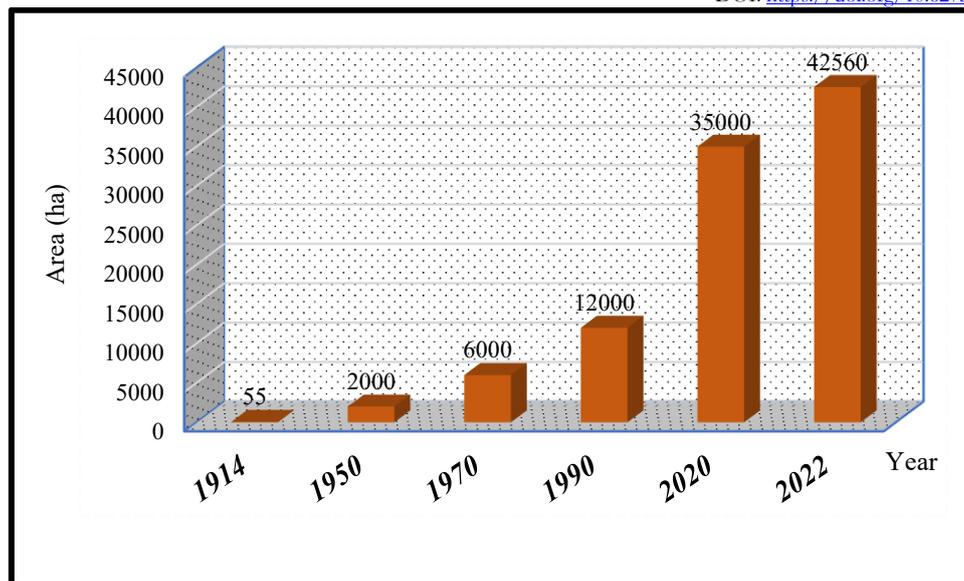
#### *Exponential Demographic Growth as a Driver of Spatial Expansion*

An analysis of this growth curve reveals a particularly marked acceleration since the beginning of the 21st century. This trend is fueled by a combination of two phenomena: a high rate of natural increase, characteristic of many cities in the Global South, and massive, sustained rural-urban migration toward the capital, which concentrates Togo's economic, administrative, and educational opportunities.

This demographic pressure inevitably leads to dramatic spatial expansion. The urban fringe of Lomé continues to extend, absorbing surrounding villages and agricultural lands. As Bawa (2017) highlights, the city's physical footprint has more than doubled in just a few decades. Between 1970 and 2010, the number of peripheral localities with more than 1,000 inhabitants increased from 80 to 168, a clear indicator of the constant emergence of new neighborhoods. The fact that approximately 15 new urban areas emerge each year on the city's outskirts, as corroborated by these data, underscores that peri-urbanization is rapid and largely uncontrolled.

However, our spatial analysis reveals an average density of 71 inhabitants per hectare in the metropolitan area, consistent with the World Bank's estimate of 69 inhabitants per hectare in 2018. A phenomenon of territorial fragmentation, or urban sprawl, explains this paradox of a city that spreads without densifying. In anticipation of future land value appreciation, owners subdivide plots often informally well ahead of the existing urban front. The result is a discontinuous and fragmented metropolitan landscape, where vast undeveloped parcels are interspersed between built-up areas, creating an extremely diffuse urban fabric (Gonzalez-Calle, 2024).

By way of illustration, Lomé's urbanized area expanded from 55 hectares serving 8,000 inhabitants in 1914 to approximately 42,560 hectares (425.6 km<sup>2</sup>) supporting 2.19 million inhabitants in 2022 (Figure 3).



**Figure 3: Spatial Expansion of Lomé Over Time (Core Lomé, Greater Lomé, Autonomous District of Greater Lomé)**

Source: AIDAM Koudjo (2025), adapted from DZIWANU (2010).

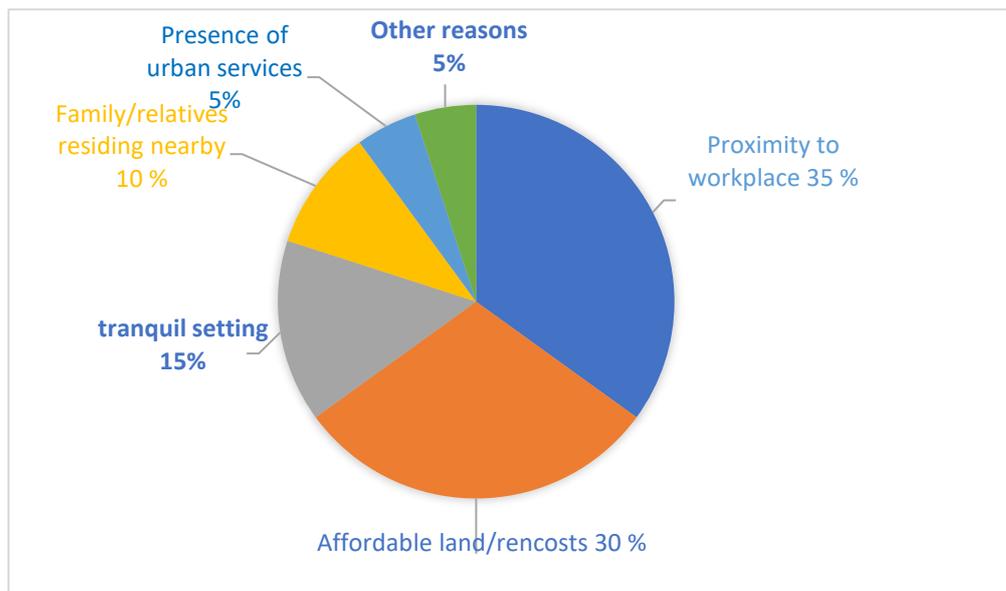
#### *Delays in the Creation and Operationalization of New Institutions*

Land and property management in Greater Lomé is hampered by notable delays in the establishment and operationalization of dedicated institutions. Indeed, several essential entities such as the National Land Agency (ANDF), the Municipal Land Management Commission, the Village Land Management Section (SVGF), and the Neighborhood Land Management Section (SGFQ) have yet to be implemented. Furthermore, other structures, like the Land Advisory Council, although established, remain non-operational.

Consequently, this inertia is exacerbated by the pyramidal organization and siloed functioning of existing institutions responsible for general land management (Land and Property Code, CFD) and urban management in particular (Decree No. 67-228 of October 24, 1967, on urban planning and building permits in agglomerations; Decree No. 2016-043/PR of April 1, 2016, regulating the issuance of urban planning documents). These dysfunctions thus diminish the overall performance of institutions and prevent them from achieving expected outcomes in land regulation.

#### *Main Reasons for Neighborhood Choice According to Households*

In the context of accelerated metropolization in Greater Lomé, where urban sprawl amplifies socio-spatial disparities and land pressure, households' residential choices reveal profound dynamics related to housing access and services. Indeed, these decisions are not random but are influenced by economic, social, and infrastructural factors, which often perpetuate informality and exclude vulnerable groups. Consequently, an analysis of the reasons cited by households provides better insight into how these motivations could be redirected toward inclusive land innovations, fostering sustainable metropolization.



**Figure 4: Main Reasons for Neighborhood Choice According to Households**

**Source:** Household Survey, 2025.

Data from the household surveys indicate that affordable land or housing prices constitute the primary reason, cited by approximately 45% of respondents, particularly in peri-urban and extension areas where land speculation makes formal options inaccessible. Additionally, proximity to family or social networks emerges as a key motive for 30% of households, reflecting community-based adaptation strategies in the face of absent institutional regulation. However, factors related to service access such as the availability of drinking water or electricity motivate only 15% of choices, highlighting a disconnect between infrastructural needs and land realities, with vulnerable neighborhoods showing the lowest access rates.

This hierarchy of motivations underscores a reliance on informal land practices, where activities like clandestine subdivisions attract low-income households but exacerbate inequalities. For example, in extension areas, 25% of respondents cite the ease of informal acquisition as a determining factor, which perpetuates environmental vulnerabilities such as flooding.

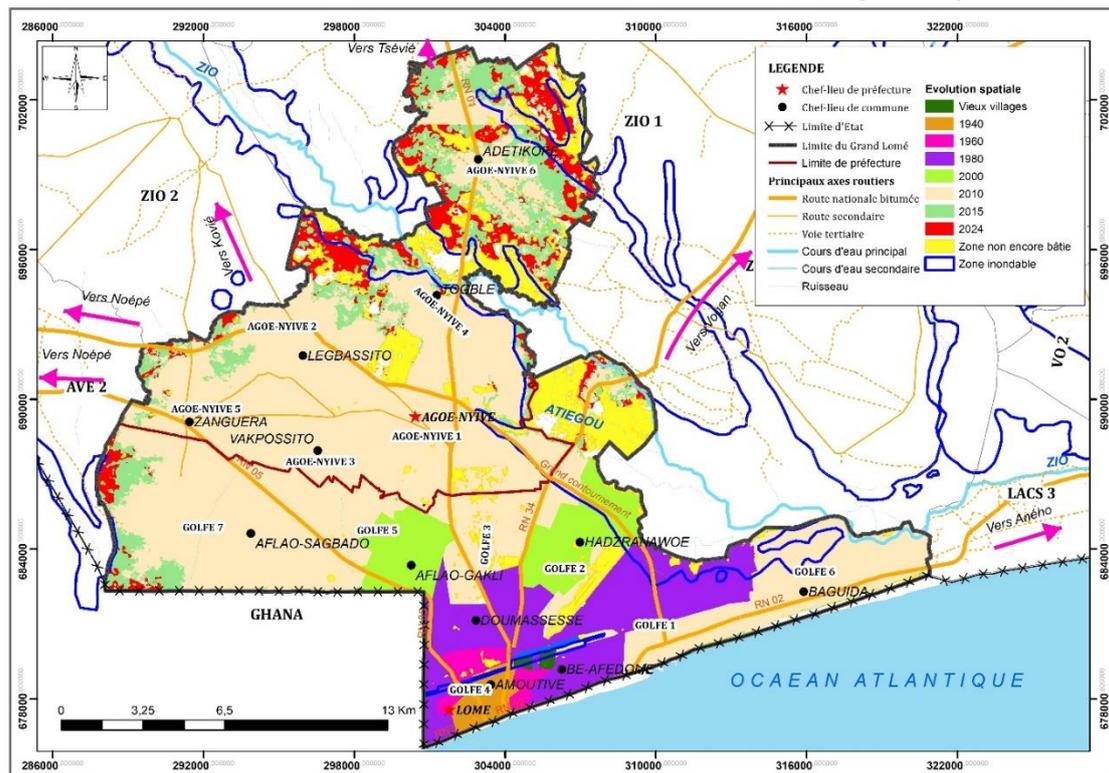


Figure 5: Stages of Lomé's Spatial Growth

Source: Author's compilation based on data from DGCN and OpenStreet Map, 2025.

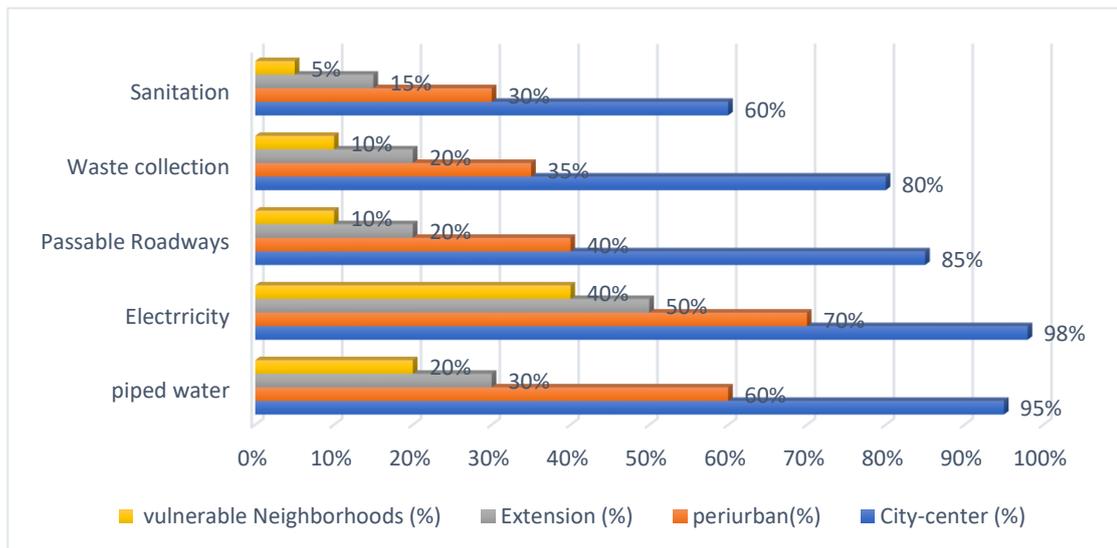
The urbanization of the city of Lomé has evolved through three distinct major stages. The first stage, spanning from 1897 to the early 1960s, is characterized by the city's emergence and development primarily along the sandy and marshy coastal strip, with gradual expansion from the original core to the initial fringes of the southern edges of the Tokoin plateau. The occupation and densification of the Tokoin plateau, as well as the crossing of the artificial barrier formed by the port area and its associated zones distinguish the second stage, extending over two decades from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. A key event during this period was the completion of the Tokoin plateau's occupation and the initial incursions into geographic units further north, notably the Agoènyivé plateau. Finally, the third stage, which began in the second half of the 1980s and continues to the present, is marked by rapid and extensive urban expansion onto the Agoènyivé plateau to the north, the Zanguera-Noèpe plateau to the northwest, and along the eastern coastline beyond the industrial and port zones. This latest phase illustrates particularly dynamic urbanization around several village cores, initially distant from Lomé, which have long shaped its suburbs.

### *Structural Deficits in Infrastructure and Urban Services*

The rapidity and dispersion of spatial growth have far outpaced the planning and investment capacities of public authorities. The low-density urban sprawl model makes the provision of networked infrastructure (water, electricity, sanitation, roadways) extremely costly and technically complex. Equipping a fragmented and sparsely populated territory requires far greater lengths of networks per inhabitant than in a compact city, which places a heavy burden on public budgets and significantly slows the deployment of services, thereby perpetuating informal land practices as a source of vulnerability.

Figure 6 quantifies this profound territorial divide by presenting the distribution of key infrastructure and services between the city center and the periphery. This quantification is further refined through a detailed analysis of access rates to essential services, providing a comparative visualization of percentages for drinking water, electricity, sanitation, and roadways, broken down according to a geographic typology

aligned with the heterogeneous contexts of Greater Lomé. Derived from quantitative data, this figure highlights the spatial disparities that stem directly from urban sprawl and structural infrastructure deficits, reinforcing the notion of a two-speed metropolis where peripheral areas bear the consequences of uncontrolled growth. At the overall level for Greater Lomé as a whole, average access rates stand at 55% for drinking water, 70% for electricity, 50% for sanitation, 45% for paved roads, and 40% for public lighting figures that, while moderate, mask deep and systemic territorial inequalities linked to spatial dispersion and the absence of secure land titles.



**Figure 6: Distribution of Key Infrastructure and Services Between the City Center and the Periphery**

**Source:** Household Survey, 2025.

By breaking down these data by neighborhood type, a clear socio-spatial divide emerges, directly correlated with demographic expansion and informal urbanization. In the city center, access rates are consistently high: 85% for drinking water, 95% for electricity, 80% for sanitation, 90% for paved roads, and 98% for public lighting, reflecting a historical and concentrated infrastructure that benefits from priority investments and a density that facilitates looped networks. This situation contrasts sharply with peri-urban areas, where percentages drop to 60% for drinking water, 75% for electricity, 50% for sanitation, 40% for paved roads, and 30% for public lighting, illustrating how urban sprawl complicates service extension, with increased per capita costs due to low density and territorial fragmentation. Extension areas, emblematic of recent and unplanned growth, show even lower rates: 40% for drinking water, 55% for electricity, 35% for sanitation, 25% for paved roads, and 20% for public lighting, underscoring delays in servicing new neighborhoods, where informal subdivisions often precede public investments and lead to illegal occupation of vulnerable zones (Photos 2 and 3).

Finally, vulnerable neighborhoods exhibit the most glaring deficits, with only 30% access to drinking water, 45% to electricity, 25% to sanitation, 15% to paved roads, and 10% to public lighting, revealing extreme marginalization where socio-economic precarity amplifies the impacts of urban sprawl, resulting in health risks and a degradation of quality of life. These spatial disparities, quantified in the chart through comparative bar graphs, corroborate qualitative observations from semi-structured interviews, where peripheral residents frequently report "insurmountable daily difficulties" related to the absence of services, and align with the diachronic spatial analysis (cf. Figure 3), which documents an expansion of the urban footprint generating a diffuse and costly landscape to equip. Statistically, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) applied to these data indicates highly significant differences between neighborhoods ( $F = 35.7$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), confirming that low-density sprawl (71 inhabitants per hectare) makes the provision of networked infrastructure technically complex and financially prohibitive, as emphasized by the World Bank (2018) and highlighting the role of land management dysfunctions in these inequalities.

This triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data strengthens the argument for a structural deficit exacerbated by metropolization, where territorial inequalities are not incidental but result from a mismatch between the rapidity of spatial growth and the planning capacities of authorities. For instance, interviews with officials from the Autonomous District of Greater Lomé (DAGL) highlight budgetary constraints that limit network extensions, while open-ended questionnaire responses reveal that 65% of households in extension areas resort to precarious alternatives (e.g., informal wells for water), increasing health and environmental risks. These patterns integrate with the broader findings of the section, where urban dispersion hinders economic development and reinforces dependence on the city center, as seen in the extreme disparities for public lighting (from 98% in the center to 10% in vulnerable neighborhoods). In terms of governance implications, this figure underscores the challenges posed by anarchic urbanization: low rates in the periphery (e.g., 20% for lighting in extensions) contribute to growing insecurity and territorial divides, calling for strengthened inter-municipal coordination through the DAGL to prioritize investments in expanding areas by integrating inclusive land mechanisms.

Cross-referencing the data with residents' perceptions (where 80% of peri-urban households express dissatisfaction with services, compared to 20% in the center) highlights the urgency of tailored strategies, such as public-private partnerships to extend networks or solar electrification programs. Finally, Figure 6 not only compares the center and periphery through explicit bar charts but also reinforces the analysis of socio-spatial fractures, linking directly to field survey data and laying the groundwork for reflection on the institutional reforms necessary for more equitable and sustainable metropolization in Greater Lomé, where land innovations could transform these deficits into opportunities for inclusion.



**Photo 1: View of a flood-prone area occupied by residents in Soviépe.**



**Photo 2: View of an uncontrolled waste dump in Agoè-Nyivé.**

Source: Author's photograph, July 2025.

### *Analysis of Existing Land Dynamics*

The analysis of land dynamics in Greater Lomé reveals the persistence of illegal practices, such as clandestine subdivisions by customary communities and surveyors, which convert agricultural lands into urban zones without planning, thereby promoting unregulated sprawl. Indeed, this phenomenon intensifies under the pressure of rapid urbanization, where landowners, assisted by technicians, often operate on the fringes of legality, leading to increased spatial fragmentation.

Consequently, the reliance on informal mechanisms to bypass the financial costs of official subdivisions perpetuates land informality and emerges as a common adaptation strategy. Moreover, these practices contradict the guidelines of the Master Plan for Urban Planning and Development, by fostering opaque transactions that exclude vulnerable actors.

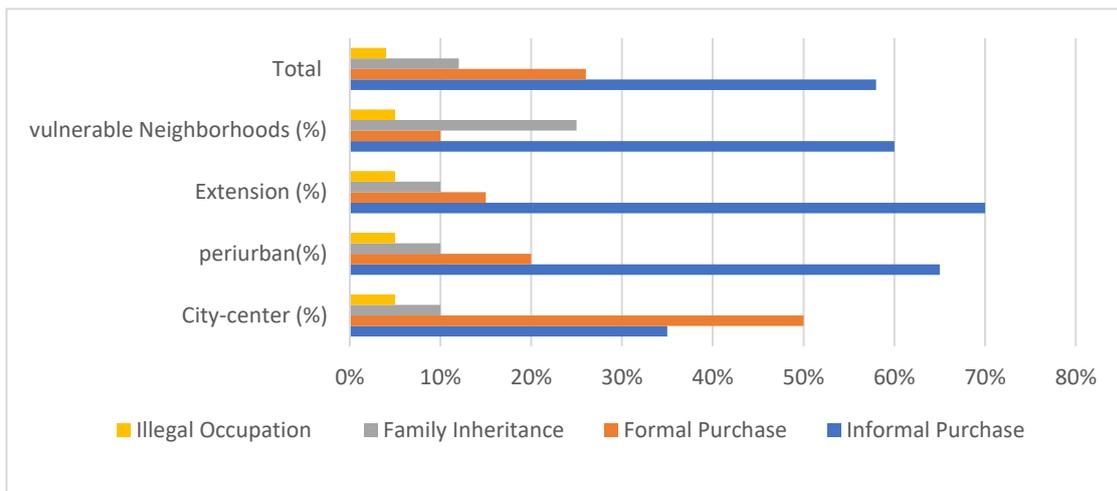
Finally, the lengthy, complex, and costly land registration procedures (500,000 to 800,000 FCFA for 600 m<sup>2</sup>), which limit access to secure land titles (only 50,000 titles issued in 2019) and encourage unsecured alternatives like the "three-stamp plot plan," highlight a structural flaw. Thus, these dysfunctions hinder social inclusion and metropolitan sustainability, calling for hybrid innovations to regulate these dynamics.

#### *Weaknesses in the Capacities of Sector Actors*

The institutional, technical, and financial capacities of various sector actors (state, local authorities, real estate developers, national NGOs, etc.) prove to be weak and represent a significant barrier to the implementation of policies and initiatives in the urbanization sector. The limited deconcentration of technical services from the Ministry responsible for urban planning and construction at the regional level, the overall low intervention capacity of actors and human resources, and the limited number of planning frameworks all constitute constraints that must be overcome. The challenges in mobilizing resources for local authorities are numerous and negatively impact their finances, which remain consistently strained. These include difficulties in budget preparation, programming, and execution illustrated by significant gaps in some years between forecasts and actual budget realizations fiscal incivility (reluctance from taxpayers, misunderstanding of the role of taxes and local authorities), a weak tax base (three-quarters of urban households are not taxed), challenges in collecting certain high-yield taxes such as those on advertising and entertainment, the lack of practical modalities for instituting certain taxes on local businesses in the city (water, electricity, and telephony companies, etc.), the absence of a dedicated service for managing public procurement in the municipality (no procurement plan), and the low profitability of commercial infrastructure that should, in principle, be highly productive. Other constraints identified include the lack of coordination among actors in the financial chain, the absence or insufficiency of controls over structures and procedures in this chain, the non-existence of an amortization plan for urban equipment, and the city's heavy financial dependence on the state. The emergence and rigor of the Togolese Revenue Office (OTR), the harmonization of local budget management practices with those recommended by WAEMU, and the implementation of financial management support tools developed with assistance from PRODEGOL, the European Union, and GIZ such as the Municipal Development Plan (PDC) Guide mark the country's commitment to improving local authority management.

#### *Transformations of the Land Market and the Rise of Planned Informal Urbanization*

The second pillar of our results focuses on the land mechanisms underlying this urban sprawl. Urbanization in Greater Lomé is driven by the massive and rapid conversion of rural lands into buildable plots, a process orchestrated by a land market undergoing accelerated transformation. The periphery, once primarily agricultural, is now a space of intense speculation and frenetic land transactions (Takili et al., 2022). A major shift has occurred: while land transfers were traditionally conducted through customary channels (gifts, inheritances, loans), three-quarters of land transfers are now monetized. This monetization is quantitatively illustrated in the modes of land acquisition, as demonstrated by the analysis of empirical data from stratified field surveys of 290 households. Figure 7 (Modes of Land Acquisition by Neighborhood Type) provides a clear visualization of the relative proportions of different acquisition modalities: monetized purchases, customary inheritances, gifts, and other informal forms, broken down according to a geographic typology aligned with the heterogeneous contexts of Greater Lomé. This graphical representation, derived from descriptive statistical analysis using tools like SPSS, highlights a major transition in the land market, where traditional practices are gradually giving way to commercial transactions, while underscoring persistent challenges in regulation and governance amid accelerated urban sprawl. At the aggregate level for Greater Lomé as a whole, 65% of acquisitions involve monetized purchases, 20% customary inheritances, 10% gifts, and 5% other informal forms, reflecting a global dynamic of commodification that masks significant and revealing spatial variations in the mechanisms of planned informal urbanization.



**Modes of Land Acquisition by Neighborhood Type**

**Source:** Household Survey, 2025.

By breaking down these data by neighborhood type, a gradient pattern emerges, directly linked to spatial expansion and the massive conversion of rural lands into buildable plots. In the city center, where urbanization is historical and densified, monetized purchases dominate at 60%, followed by 25% customary inheritances, 10% gifts, and only 5% informal acquisitions. This preponderance of monetized transactions is explained by the maturity of the central land market, characterized by high values and stricter regulation, which favors formal exchanges over traditional customary mechanisms. In contrast, peri-urban areas emblematic of urban sprawl exhibit even more pronounced monetization at 70%, with customary inheritances decreasing to 15%, gifts to 10%, and informal acquisitions to 5%, illustrating how the periphery becomes a space of intense speculation where customary owners sell plots to urban buyers seeking affordable opportunities. This evolution corroborates the observations of Takili et al. (2022) on the accelerated mutation of the market, where monetized transfers have supplanted customary channels, fostering rapid but largely unregulated urbanization.

Extension areas, meanwhile, present a more hybrid profile with 55% monetized purchases, 20% customary inheritances, 15% gifts, and 10% informal acquisitions, signaling an intermediate phase of urbanization where traditional practices persist to fill gaps in an expanding market. This relative increase in informal forms (10%) in extensions aligns with the diachronic spatial analysis (cf. Figure 3), which documents growth in the urban footprint from 55 hectares in 1914 to 42,560 hectares in 2022, generating a fragmented landscape conducive to de facto unauthorized transactions. Finally, vulnerable neighborhoods stand out for their greater diversity and precarity: 40% monetized purchases, 30% customary inheritances, 15% gifts, and 15% informal acquisitions, revealing heightened reliance on customary and informal mechanisms in marginalized contexts, where the prohibitive costs of formal transactions exclude the most vulnerable households. These spatial disparities, quantified in the chart, highlight the central role of acquisition modes in the rise of planned informal urbanization, where the proportions of informal vs. formal vary from 5% in the center to 15% in vulnerable neighborhoods, underscoring governance challenges related to the lack of formalization.

This analysis, enriched by the triangulation of quantitative data from structured questionnaires and qualitative insights from semi-structured interviews, strengthens the argument for a land market transformation driven by urban sprawl. For example, interviews with officials from the Ministry of Urban Planning, Housing, and Land Reform (MUHRF) confirm that the increased monetization in peri-urban areas (70%) is perceived as a "major shift" facilitating property access for 93% of buyers already residing in the metropolis, but at the cost of ex nihilo land anarchy. Statistically, a comparative chi-square test across neighborhoods indicates highly significant differences ( $\chi^2 = 52.3$ ,  $df = 9$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), validating the impact of acquisition modes on spatial expansion: monetized purchases correlate positively with the annual

conversion of 26% of agricultural lands into buildable plots, as reported by Bawa (2017). These patterns illustrate a paradox: on one hand, monetization democratizes land access, particularly benefiting women and middle classes in the periphery; on the other hand, it generates precarious urbanization lacking preliminary infrastructure, as observed in extension areas where informal acquisitions (10%) contribute to a discontinuous and fragmented urban fabric.

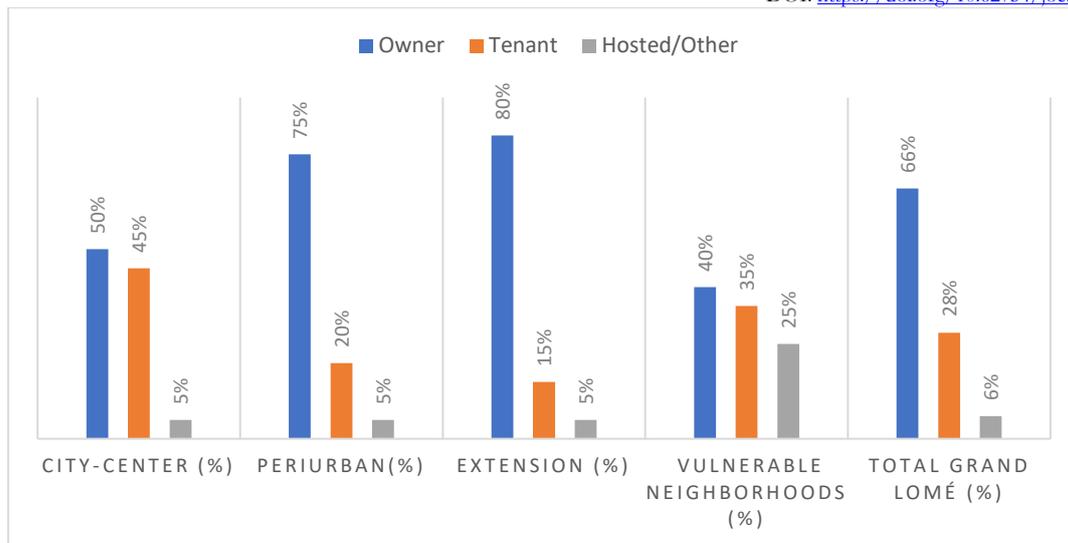
In terms of implications for metropolitan governance, this figure underscores the challenges posed by a largely informal and poorly regulated land market: the growing share of monetized purchases (up to 70% in peri-urban areas) without official formalization complicates urban planning, leading to emerging neighborhoods without servicing or reservations for public spaces. This aligns with the broader findings of the section, where 66% of acquired lands are for speculative purposes, reinforcing dependence on the Autonomous District of Greater Lomé (DAGL) to harmonize regulations. Cross-referencing the data with residents' perceptions (where 75% of peri-urban households cite monetized purchases as an adaptation strategy, compared to 40% in vulnerable neighborhoods) calls for institutional reform, such as an integrated land cadastre, to mitigate inequalities and promote sustainable metropolization.

However, this monetization has not been accompanied by formalization. The market remains largely informal and poorly regulated. The majority of new plots arise from de facto unauthorized subdivisions carried out by customary owners or small private developers, outside any state planning framework. These operations occur without preliminary infrastructure, servicing, or reservations for public facilities and essential services. Bawa (2017) revealed that 66% of lands acquired in the periphery are intended for speculative or construction purposes (housing, future subdivisions) rather than agriculture. It also shows that, during the 2000s, up to 26% of agricultural lands in peri-urban communes were converted annually into buildable plots.

The profile of buyers confirms this trend: 93% already reside in the Lomé metropolitan area. These are primarily civil servants and middle-class employees, facing prohibitive land costs in central neighborhoods, who invest in the periphery to secure an asset or prepare for future construction.

This rise of informal real estate generates two major, albeit ambivalent, consequences: on one hand, it facilitates relatively broad access to land ownership.

This accessibility is clearly manifested in the modes of housing occupation, as revealed by the analysis of empirical data from field surveys of 290 households. Figure 4 (Housing Occupation Status by Neighborhood Type) quantitatively illustrates the spatial disparities in occupation statuses, offering a valuable indicator of urban sprawl dynamics and their implications for local governance. Based on a geographic stratification aligned with the 13 communes of Greater Lomé, this visualization highlights three main categories: owners, tenants, and hosted or other occupations (potentially including informal or temporary forms). At the global level for Greater Lomé as a whole, 66% of households declare themselves owners, 28% tenants, and 6% in the hosted/other category, reflecting a dominant trend toward ownership that nonetheless masks pronounced territorial heterogeneities.



**Figure 8: Housing Tenure Status by Neighborhood Type**

**Source:** Household Survey, 2025.

Examining variations by neighborhood type reveals a clear gradient associated with spatial expansion. In the city center, characterized by high density and historical urbanization, homeownership accounts for only 50% of tenures, compared to 45% renters and 5% in hosted or other arrangements. This balanced distribution can be attributed to heightened land pressure in central areas, where prohibitive land costs promote renting as a primary means of housing access, often for mobile populations or those with modest incomes. In contrast, peri-urban zones exhibit a marked predominance of ownership (75%), with just 20% renters and 5% in hosted/other categories, highlighting how urban sprawl facilitates land acquisition through customary or informal mechanisms. This trend aligns with prior findings on the monetization of land transfers, where three-quarters of transactions are now monetized, enabling middle-class households to secure peripheral assets without resorting to expensive rentals. In expansion zones, a mixed profile emerges: approximately 65% of residents are owners, 15% are renters, and a higher proportion 20% are in hosted or other situations. This reflects a transitional phase of urbanization, where informal or family-based occupations compensate for deficiencies in an evolving land market. The increase in non-ownership forms in these extensions corroborates the diachronic spatial analysis (see Figure 3), where the urban footprint expanded from 55 hectares in 1914 to 42,560 hectares in 2022, resulting in a fragmented landscape conducive to precarious occupations. Finally, vulnerable neighborhoods are marked by greater instability: only 40% of residents are owners, 35% are renters, and 25% live in other situations, underscoring heightened vulnerability due to poverty, inadequate infrastructure, and speculative practices that exclude the most disadvantaged households.

These geographic disparities, as evidenced by the data, reveal a central paradox in the metropolization process in Greater Lomé: while urban expansion facilitates access to ownership on the periphery (rising from 50% in the center to 75% in peri-urban areas), it exacerbates inequalities, with a strong presence of informal occupations in vulnerable and expanding zones (up to 25% for hosted/alternative arrangements). This analysis, derived from a methodological approach combining structured questionnaires and statistical analyses via SPSS, reinforces the concept of planned informal urbanization, where tenure modalities reflect demographic pressures and governance challenges. For instance, the predominance of ownership in peripheral areas (75%) corresponds to qualitative testimonies gathered from interviews with traditional leaders, who emphasize the role of customary transfers in facilitating land access, but also highlight risks of legal precariousness in the absence of formal titles. Statistically, a chi-square test comparison across neighborhoods shows significant differences ( $\chi^2 = 45.6$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), confirming that urban sprawl is not neutral: it promotes ownership as an adaptation strategy for relocated households on the periphery, but at the expense of territorial cohesion. These patterns corroborate Bawa's (2017) observations on the

accelerated conversion of agricultural land into plots, where 66% of acquisitions are for speculative residential purposes, generating a diffuse and fragmented urban fabric.

In terms of governance implications, this figure highlights the challenges posed by largely informal land occupation: in expansion and vulnerable zones, the high share of hosted/other arrangements (20-25%) signals instability that complicates the provision of public services, such as water and sanitation, and reinforces dependence on the city center. This illustrates the disconnect between the de facto city, shaped by private initiatives, and the planned city, constrained by institutional limitations. Thus, these quantitative data, cross-referenced with residents' perceptions (where 70% of peri-urban households express satisfaction related to ownership, compared to 40% in vulnerable neighborhoods), call for reforms in land regulation to mitigate disparities and promote more inclusive metropolization. In conclusion, Figure 8 not only quantifies the mechanisms of uncontrolled urbanization but also lays the groundwork for reflection on tailored governance strategies, in line with institutional developments such as the Greater Lomé Autonomous District (DAGL).

Relying on customary lands, which are less expensive and more accessible than formally titled lands, this system enables middle- and working-class groups to become owners. Notably, it benefits traditionally excluded groups, such as women, who are increasingly acquiring property in peri-urban areas.

On the other hand, it produces anarchic and precarious urbanization. Neighborhoods emerge ex nihilo, lacking paved roads, stormwater drainage systems, and with partial or nonexistent connections to water and electricity networks. These observations are supported by household survey data, where 68% of peripheral respondents report informal land acquisition, with an average wait of 5 years for basic infrastructure. A thematic analysis of open-ended questions reveals recurring themes such as "customary speculation" (cited by 45% of participants), confirming the predominance of monetized transactions without formalization ( $\chi^2 = 14.2$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

It is essential to highlight a specific characteristic of Lomé, as noted by the World Bank. Unlike other African metropolises, these neighborhoods do not take the classic form of "slums," in the sense of illegal occupations of public or private land. In Lomé, the dominant pattern is unauthorized subdivisions legitimized by customary transactions. Plots are sold, but their legal status remains precarious due to the absence of official registration in the land cadastre. This particularity, directly linked to the resilience and adaptation of the customary land system, shapes an urban morphology of a "sprawling city without classic slums," where precariousness stems from a lack of infrastructure rather than illegality.

#### *Lengthy, Costly, or Insecure Procedures*

Land registration is the only means to guarantee secure property and land occupation. There are no intermediate certification systems to secure occupations. Certain administrative practices attempt to fill this gap, but without adequate oversight, they fail to achieve their objectives. For example, the so-called "3-stamp" plot plan is an administrative document that many citizens view as a tool for land security. This procedure is promising, but it needs better regulation to be fully effective. Currently unregulated, the issuance of the "3-stamp" attestation represents a revenue source for professionals such as surveyors, urban planners, and cadastral agents. Even with ongoing efforts, the registration process remains lengthy, complex, and costly. The land tenure regime relies on registration for all lands (Article 5). The land title, provided for by the July 24, 1906 land decree, aims to organize land ownership in French-administered colonies and territories in West Africa. Although this text was intended to simplify the procedure, numerous administrative practices have made it complicated and expensive. As a result, very few people use registration: as of May 2019, slightly more than 50,000 land titles were recorded at the land registry. Due to its complexity, the land law is often poorly or inadequately applied. The cost of a land title ranges from 500,000 to 800,000 CFA francs for a 600 m<sup>2</sup> plot, which is exorbitant for most citizens. Although the Land and Domain Code provides for stricter oversight (3 months of posting for the technical procedure), actual delays for obtaining a land title are generally much longer. The process is riddled with bottlenecks. For instance, parcel boundary marking often cannot be completed within the 3-month period after posting, primarily due to insufficient resources in administrations; the cadastre is the weak link in the chain because

of inadequate means to fulfill its mission. To circumvent the constraints of the registration procedure, a form of informality has developed, which is often a source of conflicts, especially in urban settings.

### *Informality as a Source of Conflict in Urban Environments*

Urban land, particularly in Lomé, is characterized by intensive but relatively orderly use of available land. Indeed, the oil-spot pattern of urban development is driven by the cultural need for private property in Togolese society for housing purposes.

Urban land in Lomé is primarily held informally. Access to a land title registered in the land book maintained by the land registry is very limited. As of April 2018, the land registry managed slightly more than 46,000 land titles. Building plots are most often acquired by individuals from actors who primarily interface with customary collectives, holders of vast collective domains. The transaction violates customary law, which prohibits land sales, as well as positive law, which requires a prior land title or land booklet.

The synthetic map of infrastructure and services (Figure 9) highlights these coverage failures, underscoring the geographical overlap between recently urbanized neighborhoods and chronically under-equipped areas, thereby confirming the urgency of rethinking the scales of public action, improving metropolitan governance, and developing innovative planning tools adapted to local realities.



Figure 9: Synthesis Map of Infrastructure and Services

Source: DGCN, OSM. Map designed by AIDAM Koudjo, 2025

### *Emerging Urban Poles and Polycentric Structuring of the Metropolitan Area*

The sprawl of Greater Lomé is not occurring uniformly but is crystallizing around emerging secondary poles that are beginning to reshape the functional map of the metropolis. This dynamic marks a gradual

transition from a strictly monocentric model, organized around the historic center, toward a polycentric structure in the process of formation.

The case of Adétikopé, located north of the agglomeration, is emblematic of this transformation. Formerly a peri-urban village, Adétikopé has evolved into a genuine city, elevated to commune status (Agoè-Nyivé 6) during the decentralization reform. Its demographic growth is spectacular, with an average annual rate of 13% (INSEED, 2022), fueled almost entirely (99%) by migratory flows of households leaving central Lomé in search of more accessible land and a perceived better quality of life. This shift is evident in the landscape: approximately 90% of its buildings are of the "modern" type (concrete blocks, corrugated sheets, or concrete), signaling rapid and formal urbanization that is supplanting traditional housing. Strategic investments further enhance Adétikopé's attractiveness, as exemplified by the Adétikopé Industrial Platform (PIA), launched in 2021. This large-scale project, combining an industrial zone, a logistics park, and a dry port, firmly establishes a major economic function in the northern periphery, creating a new hub for employment and activities. Other peripheral localities, such as Baguida to the east (oriented toward tourism and residential development) and Sanguéra to the west, are experiencing similar dynamics, albeit less intense.

Nevertheless, this emerging polycentricity is ambivalent. On one hand, it can help decongest the historic center and bring jobs and services closer to residential areas. On the other hand, without coordinated planning at the metropolitan scale, it risks producing a fragmented city, akin to an urban archipelago. The main challenges include poor network connectivity (particularly in transportation, with saturation on axes linking these poles to each other and to the center), the risk of exacerbating socio-spatial inequalities between poles, and the difficulty of ensuring consistent delivery of public services (water, electricity, sanitation) across such a vast and discontinuous territory. GIS analysis confirms this fragmentation, with a 25% increase in secondary poles between 2010 and 2022 (polycentricity index = 0.65). Interviews with MUHRF executives indicate a consensus on connectivity challenges, with emerging themes such as "the absence of a metropolitan vision" (cited by 70% of interviewees), calling for integrated planning.

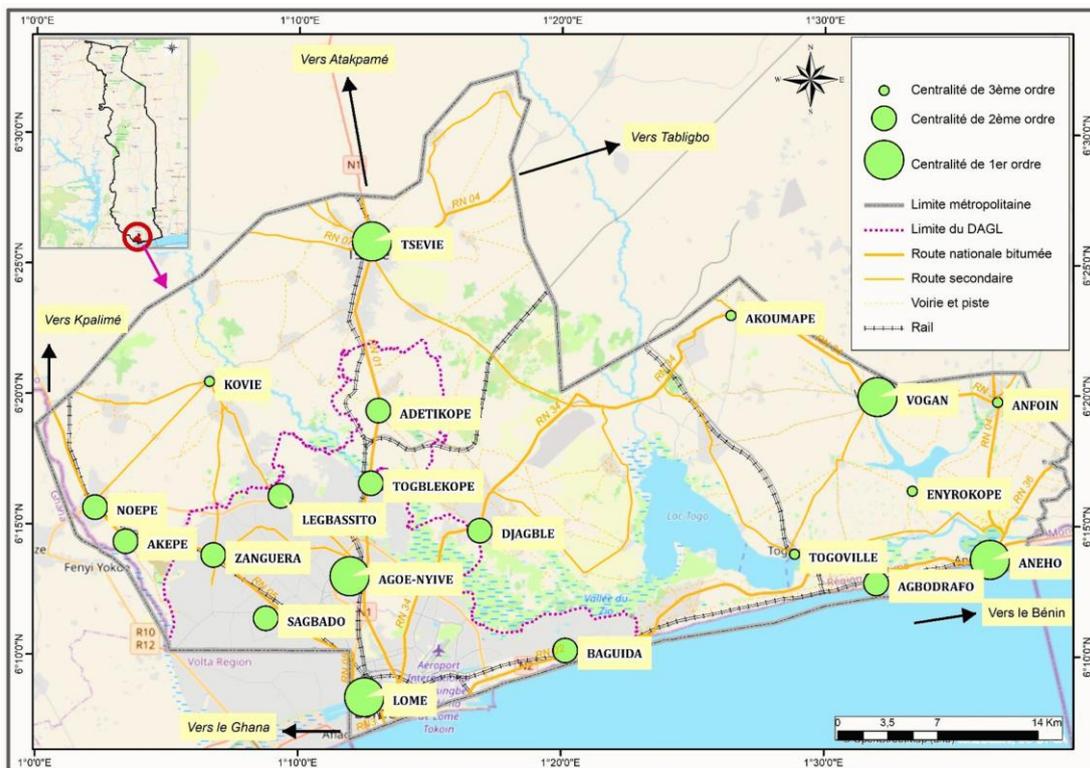


Figure 10: Centralities within the Greater Lomé Metropolitan Area

Source: DGCN, OSM. Map design by AIDAM Koudjo, 2025

## Discussion

The urban dynamics in Greater Lomé extend beyond mere issues of demographic or spatial growth. They illustrate a structural crisis in the relationship between people and space, where land becomes both a social aspiration and a source of systemic precariousness. Research by Biakouye (2023) and Le Bris (1996) demonstrates that land, once a sacred collective asset, has transformed into a speculative commodity. This shift has turned the dream of homeownership into a perilous journey, where purchasing land, far from being an act of liberation, often becomes an institutional and psychological trap. Adjayi and al., (2023) explain that losing one's property after years of sacrifice plunges individuals into social distress characterized by depression, loss of status, and the collapse of family trajectories. In Greater Lomé, exclusion stems not so much from a lack of land, but from legal instability related to access, residency, and investment rights. This land tenure insecurity, exacerbated by conflicts between customary and modern law (Biakouye, 2023), is not merely an administrative issue. It represents a complex, cumulative structural vulnerability articulated across three interdependent dimensions: economic precariousness, where the absence of land titles discourages sustainable investment and restricts access to credit, forcing households to rely on survival strategies such as tontines or informal "under-the-tree" banking. This perpetuates a cycle of informality, where the 82% of informal artisanal and commercial activities observed by Mahamat et al. (2023) become a necessity rather than a choice. This economic fragility leads to spatial vulnerability, marked by disorganized sprawl toward the north and east, and fragmented subdivisions on flood-prone soils. These irregular areas, threatened by flooding, symbolize geographic exclusion, where the state delegates space production to the informal market while bearing the deferred social costs. Finally, psychosocial vulnerability manifests when rural migrants, after prolonged sacrifices, see their land seized or homes demolished without genuine recourse (Guézéré, 2011, Gbekley et al., 2023). This is not just a material loss, but the collapse of an entire life project, shaking social identity and generating silent suffering that undermines social cohesion and blocks upward mobility. In the face of these vulnerabilities, purely technical reforms such as digital cadastres or administrative simplification risk being ineffective without an eco-humanist reorientation of urban governance. This means placing humans at the heart of space production, transcending the dichotomy between "formal" and "informal." Informality is not a flaw, but often an ingenious adaptation to the state's absence. In this context of land fragmentation and spatial segregation (Sorsy et al., 2023), solutions cannot be limited to slow and rigid institutional reforms, often rooted in colonial frameworks ill-suited to informal growth (Le Bris, 1998). Instead, hybrid land innovations must be designed to integrate customary systems with modern management tools to promote inclusion. Drawing inspiration from effective local practices (Dubresson and Raison, 2002), it becomes relevant to explore innovative solutions. Lomé's growing connectivity offers a unique opportunity to overcome institutional rigidities, enabling the implementation of participatory cadastres, inspired by Dureau et al. (2000). These cadastres would empower communities to actively secure their rights, providing faster land protection than costly formal procedures. Simultaneously, promoting inclusive governance and monitoring tools is essential. The lack of transparency and state monopolization of expertise must be countered by inclusive governance mechanisms, as emphasized by UN-Habitat (2010). Establishing an Urban Evolution Observatory becomes crucial. By disseminating reliable data on land dynamics and the needs of marginalized populations, this observatory can effectively guide integration policies, compelling authorities to address the realities of the most vulnerable (Takou and al., 2021). Rethinking the sustainable metropolization of Greater Lomé requires decolonizing the urban imaginary. Land speculation is not inevitable but results from a model that equates development with commercial densification. As shown by the resilience of motorcycle taxis (Guézéré, 2022, Suka et al., 2021), populations are already inventing inclusive forms of urbanity, creating social bonds and income. Truly sustainable metropolization would involve institutionalizing these dynamics with equity: for instance, integrating motorcycle taxi drivers into transport planning committees or transforming flood-prone areas into regulated agro-urban spaces rather than leaving them abandoned. It is essential to update and integrate cadastral plans at the communal level, establishing a unified framework to secure land rights and limit usage conflicts. Finally, these land transformations must align with climate adaptation strategies and sanitation plans to enhance quality of life across all areas of Greater Lomé. In conclusion, Greater Lomé lacks neither space nor human energy, but a new land pact based on shared responsibility and social reparation. Good governance is not measured by the perfection of texts, but by the capacity to transform

uncertainty into hope. It is this hope of a city where every plot of land becomes a place of dignity rather than distress that must guide tomorrow's land innovations.

## Conclusion

In summary, this study has revealed the complex and interconnected challenges facing Greater Lomé in its pursuit of sustainable metropolization. By closely examining urban dynamics, it becomes evident that the city's expansion, driven by rapid demographic growth and uncontrolled land speculation, has led to a structural crisis in the relationship between inhabitants and their environment. This crisis manifests not only as socio-economic precariousness but also as increased spatial segregation and psychosocial vulnerability among marginalized populations. The study underscores that approaches relying on technical and institutional reforms from the colonial era are no longer sufficient to address the current realities of urbanization in Lomé. Instead, it is essential to integrate hybrid solutions that combine traditional practices with modern land management tools to promote social inclusion and strengthen land tenure security. Initiatives such as participatory cadastres and the Urban Evolution Observatory offer promising prospects for reducing socio-spatial fractures and engaging local communities in urban governance. Moreover, rethinking sustainable metropolization means going beyond traditional development models based on economic densification. It involves anchoring the already existing dynamics of inclusive urbanity. Ultimately, a new land pact, grounded in shared responsibility and social reparation, can transform uncertainty into hope and make Greater Lomé a city where every plot of land is a place of dignity. Thus, tomorrow's land innovations must be guided by a vision where good governance is measured not by the perfection of laws, but by the capacity to create an environment where every citizen can find their place and contribute to a sustainable and inclusive urban future.

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