

**THE CHALLENGES OF LAND GOVERNANCE IN A HIGH-INCOME, HIGH-  
POTENTIAL, SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATE: THE CASE OF TRINIDAD  
AND TOBAGO**

**CHARISSE GRIFFITH-CHARLES\*, ROBIN RAJACK\*\***

\*Department of Geomatics Engineering and Land Management, The University of the West  
Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago

\*\* Inter-American Development Bank, Washington D.C., USA

[Charisse.Griffith-Charles@sta.uwi.edu](mailto:Charisse.Griffith-Charles@sta.uwi.edu)

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# Responsible Land Governance: Towards an Evidence Based Approach

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## **Abstract**

The approach to land governance in Trinidad and Tobago is out of step with the strategic importance of this asset to the achievement of economic, social and environmental goals. The limited size and relatively high population density make it imperative that land should be strategically managed if the small island developing state is to achieve sustainable development goals and foster economic production and growth commensurate with its enviable GNI per capita ranking in Latin America and the Caribbean. However the lagging coverage and interoperability of existing land information systems, restrictive public access to that information, and failure to update the legal framework and consistently implement existing laws and policies lead to a prevalence of outcomes that are far from optimal. Progressive approaches to regularizing informal settlement on State lands, limited abuse of eminent domain, and recent attempts to decentralize and better contextualize urban planning approaches are brighter spots.

These are the key findings of a participatory land governance assessment that relied on the ranking of standardized indicators by panels of knowledgeable local professionals. The paper also identifies specific ways in which current international land governance good practice principles and practices can be adapted to address some of the problems.

*The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Inter-American Development Bank, its Board of Directors, or the countries they represent.*

**Key Words: equity, land governance, land administration, urban**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Appropriate land governance requires supportive land administration institutions with access to comprehensive information on land tenure, land use and land values. These data should be interoperable to provide for well-informed decision making. All this should be supported by overarching policy and legislation that is implemented by adequately resourced institutions to provide for equitable allocation of and access to land to promote sustainable economic, social and environmental development.

A recent participatory land governance assessment performed in Trinidad and Tobago with the support of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) examined the land governance in its entirety through a stakeholder assessment process. Experienced and knowledgeable land professionals were brought together to discuss the various perspectives on the country's land governance to rank different aspects of its performance. The assessment process utilised the Land Governance Assessment Framework (LGAF) of the World Bank with its Land Governance Indicators (LGI) (Deininger, Selod and Burns 2012), and Global Housing Policy Indicators (GHI) (Habitat for Humanity International 2012) to provide standardisation of the methodology but also to allow future benchmarking of the findings against other jurisdictions. Various dimensions of land governance were assessed inclusive of law and public policy, registry and cadastral information systems and services, land use planning and management, taxation and valuation, and land tenure regularisation. This paper presents the perceptions of the country's land governance held by participants to the study, supported by census and institutional data where possible. These perceptions and the limited data available can help to point toward concrete initiatives to address the land governance gaps and improve equity and sustainability in the country.

## **BACKGROUND**

Trinidad and Tobago is an archipelagic state in the Caribbean with a relatively dense population of 259 persons per sq.km, which makes it 52<sup>nd</sup> out of 242 countries globally in population density. It is only 5,528 sq. km. in total land area with a population of 1,349,667 as of 2015. These characteristics make it extremely important that land governance be performed systematically and effectively to ensure that the limited land space is sustainably managed, profitably used, and equitably allocated. Figure 1 shows a map of Trinidad and Tobago.

The country's oil and gas reserves, onshore and offshore, have assisted in increasing the per capita GDP to where it was listed as the highest in Latin America and the Caribbean for 2015 (IMF 2015). However, the dependence on this narrow petroleum-based income stream has discouraged efforts toward agricultural and

other forms of economic development. More recently, depressed global oil and gas prices have discouraged further investment in exploration for new reserves and reduced the anticipated income significantly.

Trinidad and Tobago possesses some of the typical land related Small Island Developing State (SIDS) characteristics including the small size, limited useable space, economic dependence on international markets, and vulnerability to climate change impacts, particularly sea level rise that militate against its ability to recover from the loss of revenue. In addition, institutional challenges to land management of a significant proportion of state-owned land has resulted in substantial informal occupation. Unresolved land tenure also affects another group of customary landholders on what is called ‘family land’.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The land governance assessment investigated the status of the relevant structures in the country as a first step in determining interventions for progress. It relied on a cross-section of experienced and knowledgeable local stakeholders who have had or currently have responsibility for various aspects of land management and land administration for the country. Following the guidance of a Scoping Paper (IDB 2016), the methodology for the assessment was mostly based on the Land Governance Assessment Framework (LGAF) and its Land Governance Indicators (LGI), which have been used to measure and benchmark the characteristics of the land governance in over forty countries. Global Housing Policy Indicators (GHI) were also used. The dimensions of land governance assessed were:

- Law and public policy
- Quality of rights to land and real property
- Registry and cadastral information systems and services
- Land use planning and management
- Taxation and valuation
- Access to land in urban development and land markets
- Public land management
- Land tenure regularisation
- Monitoring progress

For each of the above topics, a specially constituted panel of local stakeholders was briefed with a Background Note summarizing accessible secondary information before meeting to formulate consensus rankings of the standardized indicators. This Paper reports on the key findings based on both the panel perceptions and the background and supporting data gathered to complement those perceptions.

## **FINDINGS**

### **Law and Public Policy**

Several disparate documents make up the land policy, and these are added to and amended in an ad hoc manner. A state land policy document of 1992 (GoTT 1992) is widely regarded as one of the last comprehensive analyses of the land situation with policy prescriptions about management of the large percentage of state lands.

Legislation introduced in 1998 to address the large numbers of informal occupants on state land by granting those applying with a Certificate of Comfort was a positive step to providing some measure of security of tenure and to capture data on unregistered tenure. The legislation sought to acknowledge the rights of occupants and protect them from ejectment. New squatting continues to occur as there are few alternative means of accessing land. This State Lands (Regularization of Tenure) Act of 1998 and the partially promulgated Planning and Facilitation of Development Act of 2014 are progressive developments in the area of the law and public policy. However, many previously identified legislative reforms have not been promulgated and a dedicated Tribunal or court for land matters still does not exist. In particular many parts of the 1981 reform package that included: the Land Law and Conveyancing Act, Landlord and Tenant Act, Land Registration Act, Condominiums Act, Trustee Act, Succession Act, The Land Tenants (Security of Tenure) Act, Limitation Act, Status of Children Act, and the Rent Restriction (Dwelling-Houses) Act remain inoperable.

The participants therefore gave the land governance high grades for the presence of legislation that is supportive of formal registration and gender equity but low grades for the lack of existence of a well-documented and cohesive land policy, and lack of adequately resourced land institutions. Poor grades were also given for the perceptions of corruption in the overall governance inclusive of land governance. On a positive note, abuses of eminent domain are rare although much fewer than 50% of those who are deprived of their property for public purposes are compensated within a year. And while gender equality under land law is also notable, a disproportionately high share of female-headed households is in the informal sector and a 2004 survey found that they earn significantly less than their male counterparts. Table 1 gives the grades discussed and decided on for this dimension including the standard LGAF elaboration of the meaning of the grade and additional notes in some instances.

## **Quality of Rights to Land and Real Property**

Many persons in informal tenure: estimated to be about 55,000 to 60,000 households squatting on state lands and an unknown number squatting on private lands together with another un-enumerated group on family lands, feel relatively secure in their occupation. This security stems from a state policy that has not engaged in eviction of informal occupants since the 1990s but instead supports the provision of utilities and services to informal communities.

The participants therefore gave top A grades for the perceptions of security, lack of evictions and gender equality in law and practice. There was also a perception that equity in land rights existed. Low grades were given for the level of disputes over land rights that frequently result in lengthy and costly litigation, physical conflict, injury and even death.

## **Registry and Cadastral Information Systems and Services**

The country has a separated cadastre with the registry completely disconnected from the cadastral map. Most registered parcels fall under registration of deeds with the concomitant problems of restricted and time consuming access to current tenure data. Less than 15% of registered parcels fall under a title registration system, which, being Torrens-type, does not link parcels to a map. In total, considering both deed registered and title registered parcels, it is still estimated that only 50-60% of all parcels are registered in the registry. Most occupation occurs in peri-urban areas and it is in these areas and the high valued urban areas, that registration is highest.

The title registration system is voluntary and sporadic, and the regulatory and institutional mechanisms for conversion are lengthy and costly. The title and the deed registration systems are both administered by the Registrar General's Department while the Surveys and Mapping Division<sup>1</sup> maintains the spatial extent of parcels with no obvious link for parcels held under the deed system. For the deeds system, a survey plan is not legally required for a transaction to be registered but even when a survey plan is attached, the registration of the transaction is referenced sequentially and not by parcel. In 2013, the World Bank Doing Business Survey ranked Trinidad and Tobago 178 out of 189 countries in the registration of property (World Bank 2014). It found that it takes 77 days and costs 7% of the value of property to register a commercial land transaction. This means that the registration process significantly reduces the efficiency of the transaction with negative implications for supporting and encouraging economic activity.

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<sup>1</sup> of the Ministry of Agriculture, Land and Fisheries

The cadastral information system, after a recent revision programme, now houses only some 204,000 parcels with unique identifiers, out of a possible estimated number of 500,000 parcels. This is far from the ideal comprehensive mapping of parcel data that would allow for planning, land readjustment or other reform initiatives as well as security of tenure. This formal mapping does not take into account the as much as 60,000 households that informally occupy state lands and the unknown number of households that informally occupy private lands. The Land Settlement Agency maintains its own records on informal occupation on state lands that is not connected to the formal registry. There is no parallel documentation of informal occupation on private lands.

Low grades were given in this area in relation to the level of registration or recording of rights and boundary information and the inability of the institutions to maintain, query and provide data comprehensively on all parcels. There were poor grades given to the lack of completeness, and currency of the land information systems particularly in the cadastre and the land registry as these are fundamental datasets required by most other land institutions. The lagging coverage and lack of interoperability of existing land information systems, restrictive public access to that information and failure to update the legal framework and consistently implement existing laws and policies on registration of land all lead to a prevalence of outcomes that are far from optimal.

### **Land Use Planning and Management**

As a SIDS, Trinidad and Tobago must balance the need for meeting economic (highest and best use) goals, social (equity) goals, sustainability (conservation) goals and environmental (preservation) goals. The planning regulations tend to be outdated as a result of lack of cohesive use policy with overall land policy. The Town and Country Planning Division has responsibility for administering the Town and Country Planning Act, Ch. 35:01 of the Laws of Trinidad and Tobago, on behalf of the Minister responsible for town and country planning. The Minister is required to perform development approval and development control in keeping with a comprehensive land use policy. A National Spatial Development Strategy (NSDS) has been prepared in the form of a new National Physical Development Plan in graphic form that will spatially represent the socio-cultural, economic and environmental development priorities for Trinidad and Tobago. Its strategies and policies articulate the Government's vision of sustainable development. It builds on the 1984 National Physical Development Plan (NPDP). It defines how development is to be performed over the next 20 years. The document provides guidance for planners and land developers and is a welcome forward step in providing vision and guidance for development. Another positive step for land governance in physical planning is the partially promulgated Planning and Facilitation of Development Act - legislation

that decentralises the authority to approve and monitor development to Regional Corporations. This has not yet been implemented and would require funding for resources to operationalise.

While the grades given reflected the fact that stakeholders saw some forward progress in the area of land use planning, low grades in the area of land use management indicated that enforcement and efficiency in the planning institutions are not what they should be. The stakeholders did not have confidence in the timely implementation of the new plans.

### **Taxation and Valuation**

Sale prices of properties can be obtained, with some difficulty, from perusing the registered deeds at the Registrar General's Department, through the online or on site interfaces to the digital databases. The valuation rolls, however, are incomplete and inaccessible to the public. Valuers cite the following issues that impact efficient and effective valuation of property in Trinidad and Tobago:

- Lack of access to arm's length sales data to be used as comparables
- Heterogeneity in the property characteristics of properties in close proximity that obviates use of computer assisted methods of valuation
- Lack of comprehensive juridical cadastre and unique parcel identifiers against which to pin values, which makes searching and accessing information on comparables difficult

The perception was that while the policy and legislation provided for equitable exemptions from land taxation and therefore were worthy of an A grade, the fact that the exemptions were too wide reduced the profitability of the taxation. The failure to reinstitute property taxation from 2010 to the current time in order to benefit from the income that would be provided, resulted in a low grade in this dimension of land governance.

### **Access to Land in Urban Development and Land Markets**

Formal access to land is usually by purchase, inheritance, lease, or rent. While access to land in urban and suburban areas is primarily by purchase, in rural areas access by inheritance is more prevalent. Land for residential purposes can run the gamut of parcel, townhouse, condominium, or apartment. Access to available land is difficult to achieve and when that is satisfied, affordability is challenging. The annual median household income for 2014 is estimated at \$126,700 or \$10,558/month while the median house price in the same year according to the [Association of Real Estate Agents \(AREA\)](http://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Caribbean/Trinidad-and-Tobago) was TT\$1.25 million (<http://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Caribbean/Trinidad-and-Tobago>).. The resulting ratio of house price

to household income is 9.9 – which indicates unaffordability<sup>2</sup>. Since more than 50% of land belongs to the state, access can be by squatting or appeals to the state for a lease.

The perception is that there are many informal and illegal transactions occurring that are not being registered or noted and that this is driven by the unaffordability of property for not only the working poor but also professionals.

### **Public Land Management**

The management of public lands is another area of significant weakness and a major cause for concern given that more than half of all land is State owned. The Commissioner of State Lands manages state lands with minimal resources. As a result of the inefficiency from the lack of resources and the lengthy delays to responses, other land agencies have set up duplicate structures to the CoSL office. This causes waste. Local government, while being closer to the communities and thus being best placed to monitor occupation and use, does not have sufficient resources to manage land.

The Assessment found almost no recorded action on the part of Commissioner of State Lands or Local Government Authorities against approximately 3000 reports of illegal new constructions between 2012 and 2015. Public auctions of State land as prescribed by the 1992 Land Policy are rarely and selectively applied only to some large transactions. Lease management is also deficient with many leases not renewed in a timely fashion and less than 50% of lease payments estimated to be collected. Information on public land allocations and valuations roles is not accessible to the public. Squatting in Tobago where the Tobago House of Assembly (THA) conducts many delegated functions is much less.

Public land management received low grades as a result of restricted access to the public on the land information systems and their data related to state land rights. The ability of the state to restrict expropriation to public purposes only was seen as positive.

### **Land Tenure Regularisation**

The state land management status also affects the tenure regularisation situation in the country. Unauthorized occupation on State land is primarily addressed by the processes outlined in the State Lands (Regularisation of Tenure) Act of 1998. This legislation prescribes a process of first granting Certificates of Comfort (CoC) to the occupants of State land in specific listed communities who had been in occupation prior to January 1 1998, and then upgrading these documents that acknowledge occupation rights only, to State leases. However, very few of the informal occupants have moved from the CoC to a statutory lease

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<sup>2</sup> IDB :Rapid Assessment of the Housing and Settlements Situation in Trinidad and Tobago; Publication pending

or deed of lease in part because of shifting policy emphases across different administrations but also because of the numerous development approvals that sites have to satisfy before they are deemed 'lease-ready'. Even then, only those who are willing to pay the State for the land actually enter into formal lease agreements. . Outside of this process, the Commissioner of State Lands can regularize occupation of State land that is ineligible under Act 25 of 1998 but the approach has been sporadic and current policy is unclear on this point. Since tens of thousands of households who occupy State lands do not qualify for regularization under the terms of Act 25 of 1998, this is a significant policy gap.

Occupation of 'family land' which is defined to be land informally inherited by intestate succession over many generations, is difficult to address within the current legal structures. The situation is expected to be addressed largely through adverse possession procedures which do not neatly fit this context. Occupation of private land, similarly, can be addressed using adverse possession procedures.

Tenure regularisation received low grades for the lack of a comprehensive programme with clear well-resourced and systematic processes. The dimension for institutional recording of conflicts during regularisation received high grades even though tracking and resolution of these disputes has not been standardised but are proposed to be. Low grades were received for the large cost and protracted process used in regularisation that have resulted in very few completed regularisations.

### **Monitoring Progress**

There are no land information databases that can provide comprehensive data on most of the LGAF monitoring indicators nor are many of these statistics tracked and monitored. As a result of the lack of interoperability of the databases that do exist, different segmented data cannot be integrated to provide a comprehensive visualisation of the land status. A previously established National Spatial Data Infrastructure (NSDI) Council was disbanded in 2015 before significant work could be done to address the integration of land information.

### **CONCLUSION**

In summary, the approach to land governance in Trinidad and Tobago is out of step with the strategic importance of this asset to the achievement of economic, social and environmental goals. Coming out of the land governance assessment, it was found that while there have been positive improvements to the processes over many years of reform, inclusive of legislation and policies focused on improving the security of tenure of the many informal occupants on state land, there were still many areas needing upgrading.

Given the importance of land governance to the optimum achievement of development goals in the face of the significant number of land issues that the country faces, the subject is not being given the attention that it deserves. Chief among the gaps are the incomplete, and limited coverage of land information systems over the country and lack of interoperability of the systems where they do exist. The restrictive public access to that information exacerbates the constraints to well informed decision making in land management. The failure to update the legal framework and consistently implement existing laws and policies also hamper progress. However, it must be noted that there have been progressive approaches in policy, legislation and action to regularizing informal settlement on State lands. There has also been very limited abuse of eminent domain, and recent attempts to decentralize and better contextualize urban planning.

The Land Registry cannot determine from its databases a reliable estimate of the number of parcels registered under land titling or deed registration systems. The cadastre claims 204,000 parcels registered and given a system-generated unique identifier in its system with the acknowledgement that many plans exist that have not yet been entered into the database. Many parcels also exist that have not been surveyed or are described verbally on the deed. The perception is that the percentage of parcels transacted on and being registered relate largely to the urban environment more than the rural environment.

Informal transactions are known to occur but the magnitude is not known and is thought to affect the rural environment to a larger extent. Subdivisions and sales in the rural areas are perceived to be immune to any monitoring by the planning authorities, who are too under-resourced and under-funded to perform this activity. Regularization of informal occupation on state or private land is complicated by the costs and complexities associated with obtaining all development approvals for the sites and by policy ambiguity. Added to this, criminal activity can be hidden in money laundering in land transactions as there is a low level of monitoring and enforcement of these activities.

There have been slow incremental improvements to the land administration over the years. These have included scanning and indexing of deeds, creation of information systems for the cadastre, the agricultural leases and residential leases, and public housing construction and leasing as well as provision of serviced lots for leasing for residential purposes. The Inter-American Development Bank has been an active partner in some of these reforms including an ongoing operation to modernize the records of the Registrar General's Office and land tenure regularization under the National Upgrading Programme.

Overall the assessment was dim with respect to perceptions of corruption, inequity, and lack of transparency in land management procedures that are exacerbated by the inadequate information systems and insufficient resources to provide efficient services. Low ratings were given to the percentage of coverage of the

information systems over the tenure types and parcels and for the lack of speed and efficiency of systems and services. These concerns are also inextricably interlinked with that of the lack of clearly documented, updated, and actionable overarching national policies and procedures to guide land management.

## **THE WAY FORWARD**

Despite the fact that Trinidad and Tobago is currently facing economic challenges, it remains a high-income country that has achieved greater wealth than many of its regional neighbours. The country needs to utilise the asset base together with the potential inherent in its landed property to develop. Current international land governance principles and practices provide solutions to some of the problems being experienced and can be adapted to suit the environment. The Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security (VGGTs) (FAO 2012) propose measures to increase transparency for all land information systems to reduce the possibility of corruption and to protect the tenure rights of all including the vulnerable. The Fédération Internationale des Géomètres (FIG) created and supported Social Tenure Domain Model (STDM) promotes the recording of all tenures, legal, legitimate or incomplete to provide for more efficient land management decision-making and provision of universally accessible services. Participatory and Inclusive Land Readjustment (PILAR), as proffered by the Global Land Tool Network (GLTN) along with other private/public partnership arrangements can reduce the requirement for large investments of state capital to effect redevelopment in prime locations where private land ownership may dominate. FIG's Land Administration Domain Model (LADM) provides an ISO standard to reduce unnecessarily complex deed and title documents to simple and more cost effective information sets. The new FIG Fit-for-Purpose methodologies (Enemark et al. 2014) can reduce unnecessary costs and complexities in the acquisition of land information datasets and provide more efficiency to procedures.

To address some of the named deficiencies the Government should actively consider:

1. Development of a comprehensive Land Policy
2. Adoption of Lands and Surveys' parcel identifier in other stakeholder institutions' information systems for improved interoperability
3. Updating the Valuation Rolls, making them public and implementation of the property tax
4. Provision of greater accessibility to existing land information systems for stakeholder institutions and the public

5. Adequately staffing institutions to monitor, detect, deter, and act on illegal and irregular occupation and development
6. Reestablishment of the NSDI Council or other institutional stakeholder group to regularly meet to work cohesively on land issues
7. Training of public officers in new technology and protocols

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Table 1. Perceptions on law and public policy

Question	Summary Response
1.1 Is there a comprehensive land policy? Was it developed in a participatory manner and	<b>Rating: C</b> C: Policy exists or can be inferred by the existing legislation but it is incomplete (some key aspects are missing or only covers part of the country such as only urban or only rural

available for public reference? LGI 27.12	areas) or land policy decisions that affect some sections of the community are made without consultation with those affected.
1.2 If there is a land policy, is its implementation costed and adequately resourced? LGI 27.3.	<b>Rating: D</b> D: The implementation of land policy is not costed and there is inadequate budget, resources and capacity to implement the land policy.
1.3 Does the law recognize and protect the continuum of tenure rights referred to in the tenure typology? LGI1	<b>Rating A</b> – the law does recognise the tenure typology. <b>Rating C</b> – the law does not recognise all of the continuum of tenure rights. Only formal rights are recognised
1.4 Does the law provide for equal rights to land for women and men? LGAF LGI2.7	<b>Rating A</b> A: Women's property rights are equal to those by men both across and within generations (including in case of inheritance or divorce) both in law and in practice.
1.5 Can formal rights be acquired through adverse possession?	<b>Rating B</b> – B: Legislation exists to formally recognize long-term, unchallenged possession but applies only to one specific type of land (e.g. either public land or private land).
1.6 Is there a policy regarding securing tenure and providing services to informal settlements and for addressing illegal settlement? LGI 9.2	<b>Rating: C</b> C: Strategies to deal with urban informality exist but focus only on either land or services but not both
1.7 Is a policy in place and is adequate progress being made to ensure the delivery of low-cost housing and associated services to those in need? LGI 7.1	<b>Rating: D</b> D: There are no provisions that would require private developers to cater to the lower end of the housing market.
1.8 Is slum clearance and redevelopment an established policy of the national or local housing agency? Global Housing Policy Indicators (GHI) P5.1	<b>Rating: C</b> In some parts of Laventille and Sea Lots, some people were compensated for slum clearance previously. There is legislation but no policy. This has not been used in recent times.
1.9 Does the law provide opportunities for individuals who hold land under group rights to individualize their land rights? Are the procedures for an individual to separate from the group holding appropriate (affordable, clear, safeguarded and practiced)? LGI 2.1.	<b>Rating: A</b> A: The law provides opportunities for those holding land under customary, group, or collective tenure to fully or partially individualize land rights if they so desire. Procedures for doing so are affordable, clearly specified, safeguarded, and observed in practice.
1.10 Is there a condominium regime in place that provides for appropriate management of common property? LGI 9.3	<b>Rating: B</b> B: Common property under condominiums is recognized but the law does not have clear provisions to establish arrangements for the management and maintenance of this common property.

1.11 Is it possible to register group rights in urban areas?	<b>Rating: B</b> Group rights can only be registered under the Companies Act. There is no specific legislation
1.12 What is the rationale for public land ownership (national, regional, local)?	The rationale is assumed to be to protect reserves and ecologically sensitive areas; to control lands under specific use that align to development policy, specifically in agriculture, to retain mineral rights so that the state can hold the value of these reserves in trust for the country and to provide equitable access to land for the landless and poor.
1.13 Are immigrants, refugees, and non-citizens allowed to own land? GHI P1.5	Foreign Investment Act 1990 – allows foreign nationals to buy up to one acre for a private dwelling house and up to five acres for commercial purposes in Trinidad only. Foreign nationals wishing to invest in larger properties of over five acres must apply for a development licence through the Ministry of Finance. This may take a long while and may be refused.  The Foreign Investment (Tobago Land Acquisition) Act 2007 states that foreigners must now obtain a licence to acquire land for any purpose on the whole island of Tobago.
1.14 Is there a national or local housing policy in place to support privatization of public housing? GHI P6.3	There is no provision for privatisation of public housing.
1.15 Is there a special tribunal or court for hearing cases involving disputes over land rights? Can ADR techniques be used for land conflicts?	There is no special tribunal or court for land rights. The Land Tribunal Act 15 of 2000 was passed but never promulgated and was specifically for the systematic adjudication and titling programme.
1.16 Is there a sufficient secured transactions law in place? Does it permit the use of land and of real property as collateral?	There are the Bills of Sales Act; and the Cooperative Societies Act. to secure chattels.  These do not permit the use of land/real property as collateral.



Figure 1. Trinidad and Tobago (source GoogleEarth)