

CHARACTERISTICS OF LAND TENURE AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF LAND REFORMS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE CASE OF TOGO

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Abstract

Landownership system in Togo as it is the case in most of French-speaking African countries in South Sahara is of a dual type. In fact, it is regulated by traditional system land tenure and the modern one. But the traditional system which is based on collective landownership dominates largely. Unfortunately, it does not allow innovative initiatives. That is the reason why, the Government, in order to enhance rational development of agriculture, has tried through a regulation in February 1974 to organize the system of landownership based on the land reform. The notion of the unused land and that of the land being used remain the fundamentals of the reform. They suggest respectively the funds owned by individuals or communities and the national landownership system. As a result, individuals as well as communities can only claim their landownership rights if they really use the lands the ownership of which they claim. Still, this land reform political leaders have trusted is faced with the implementation problems. These problems are linked to some of the imprecisions of the ordinance of the land reform and the conception of the people of Togo about the land.

Key words: Landownership, collective landownership, landownership reform, implementation problems, Togo.

Résumé

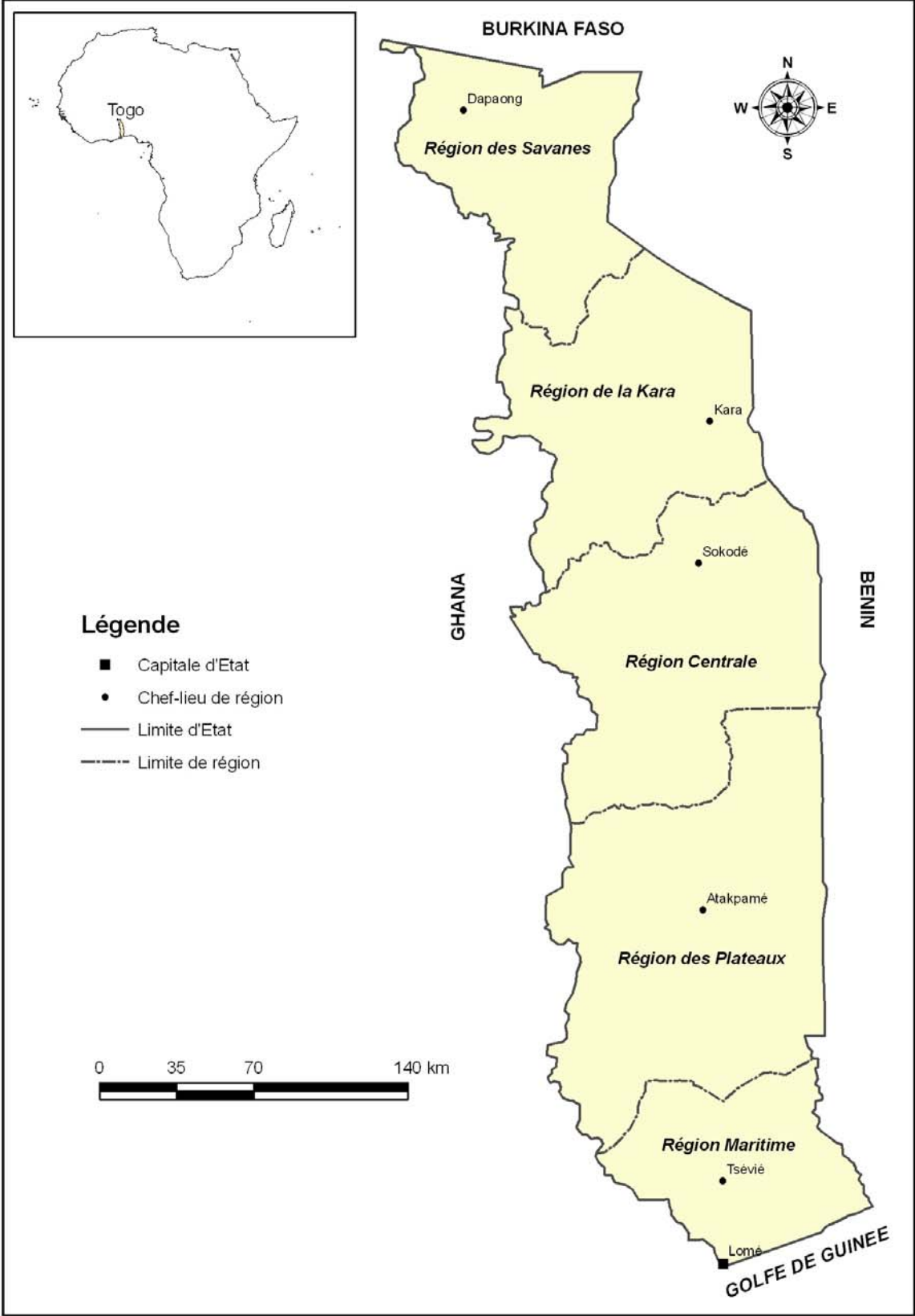
Le régime foncier au Togo comme dans la majorité des pays francophones d'Afrique au sud du Sahara a un caractère "dualiste". En effet, il est régi aussi bien par les coutumes que par le droit moderne. Mais, les pratiques foncières coutumières, fondées sur l'appropriation collective des terres dominent largement. Or, ces pratiques ne permettent pas des initiatives innovatrices. C'est pourquoi, l'Etat, animé par le souci de favoriser le développement rationnel de l'agriculture, a grâce à une ordonnance de février 1974 cherché à mettre de l'ordre dans le système foncier en initiant une réforme agro-foncière. Cette réforme agro-foncière en laquelle les responsables politiques ont placé beaucoup d'espoir, rencontre d'énormes difficultés d'application. Ces difficultés sont essentiellement liées à un manque d'adaptation des populations au texte qui institue ladite réforme, au poids de la tradition et à la conception que les togolais ont de la terre.

Mots-clés : Caractéristiques du régime foncier, propriété collective des terres, réforme agro-foncière, difficultés d'application, Togo.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is about Togo, a country situated in Africa south of the Sahara between 6° 5' and 11° 7' north latitude and 0° 7' and 1° 55' east longitude. It covers a surface of 57000 km² and its population is about 6 million inhabitants (fig. 1). It is a country whose economy is essentially agricultural and where although land tenure is dualist, it remains yet extensively traditional. Found on the collective ownership of land, it doesn't allow any innovative initiatives on an individual level and adapt with difficulty to the desire of policy makers to make the agriculture a modern and profitable activity. Looking for adapted solutions they have been brought to conceive a land reform in February 1974. What are the characteristics of land tenure in Togo? What are the changes it underwent since the colonial period? What are the objectives of this land reform? Why do the authorities find some difficulties in its implementation? These are the essential questions to which we are going to answer in this work whose objective is to contribute to rural development in Togo. To attain this objective, we have used a methodology based on documentary research and interviews. These interviews concern law practitioners (lawyers, magistrates, and notaries), resourceful people from the Ministry of Agriculture, customary chiefs and peasants from the five economic regions of the country. 70 persons have been interviewed (50 peasants, 10 customary chiefs, 5 practitioners of law and 5 resourceful people from the Ministry of Agriculture).

Fig. 1: Zone of study



1. CHARACTERISTICS OF LAND TENURE IN TOGO

The system of land tenure in Togo is of a dual type. It includes indeed, on the one hand, a set of practices and customary rules and on the other hand, a set of regulatory legislative text.

1.1 Traditional Land Tenure

Land in the Togolese customs is a property that essentially belongs to a collectivity whose members exercise equal rights there (KOUASSIGAN, 1966). This being, it is not susceptible of individual private appropriation. As it is in the other African communal societies, the collective character of the common law in Togo, find its justification in the socioeconomic organization.

However, this collective character of traditional land tenure does not exclude the existence of some prerogatives to the individual's profit. Indeed to the level of his clan, his tribe or his family, he has a parcel of the collective domain that he cultivates for his own subsistence. It is to say, therefore, that the group has the right of land appropriation and the individual has a right of exploitation and use. This right of exploitation and use constitute an advantage for all individual members of a collectivity owner of land. It can be transmitted to the heirs in case of death. The head of the family or the clan can intervene to help towards the sharing between heirs. For SOMENOU (1999), this intervention of the head of the family or the clan comes to ratify this transmission and cannot be interpreted on no account like an act of distribution of the domestic or cliquish land. The deceased's descendants get this right not because they are members of the community, but because they have the vocation to inherit the land of the *de cuius*.

The rules of customary of land of appropriation privileges the rights of the first occupant installed on the land. This first occupant is, in fact, supposed to have acquired rights of looking lawfully on the land through the intermediary of the local divinities, who would have given him its management during a pact, because land is very sacred. That's why he acquires from it all the rights that he will not lose by principle of non usage. In this sense, during the whole time that can last his absence, one estimates that his rights to ownership are not extinguished as such. In these conditions, it is practically impossible that another person no matter for how long he occupies the "forsaken land", acquires the rights to it. The right of the first occupant of the land would be therefore, in a way, imprescriptibly as affirmed by FOLI (1970).

Land tenure custom in Togo as it is in most African countries, south of the Sahara ignores what jurists call the usucapion. PUIG (1934) made this remark about the Kabyè¹ of Northern-Togo: "the Kabrais seem to ignore usucapion as a means to acquire and to strengthen their rights on the lands that they cultivate". The absence of usucapion in land tenure custom results from the importance that the custom attaches to the right of the first occupant as we already evoked.

For a long time, land has been considered as a good out of trade (*res extra commercium*) that is - to - to say it must not be subject of any transactions, therefore, inalienable. It is therefore about an absolute and constant principle which do not suffer from exception (KOUASSIGAN, 1966). But, it is possible for an individual or a collectivity to abandon part of his rights on the land temporary. So for example, it is allowed to give a land in guarantee of a debt.

¹ During the colonial period, these people where called "Kabrais". Today it is Kabyè.

The inalienable character of land is due to the fact that one considers it as the exclusive property of invisible beings (ancestors and supernatural strengths), the living only exercising a right to use. It is this consideration that explains the cults returned to land and ancestors. Concerning this conception that Africans have about land, VERDIER(1986), notes that "before being a space that man appropriates, land is first a spiritual entity to which he belongs: generative power of life, it is this vital place where proceeds man who, born out of land, will return there at death. In this sense, the tie uniting man to land on a cosmological level is what ties uniting a child to its biologic parents ". That's why the Agni of the Côte-d'Ivoire believe that "it is not the man who possesses the land; it is the land which possesses the man". VERDIER (1986). These considerations join those of ROULAND (1988) who thinks that the principle of inalienability justifies itself by the sacredness of the land and its transmissibility of the deaths to the living and to the future generations. For SOMENOU (1999), the principle of inalienability plays a double role: conservatory and utilitarian, because, first, descendants must keep the land to transmit them to their descendants and to the future generations. Then, the interdiction to sell land allows the present occupant and user to be able to live on the products of this land.

It is necessary to note that the data are not completely the same today. Indeed the transformation of the traditional economy by the introduction of currency modified the relationship between man and land. So, the principle of inalienability is not completely respected since one especially notices the sale of land in the urban centers. Next to the extensively practiced common law, texts of laws that regulate the traditional system of land tenure in Togo exist.

1. 2- Modern land tenure

Recourse to written texts to organize Togolese land tenure system has been made just like in Africa, South of the Sahara, as everywhere else according contacts that the country had with European countries notably Germany and France which have successively exercised their sovereignty therein. The aim of each of these powers was to work for the progressive transformation of the customary land tenure and turn the rights into real rights of property just like the ones that existed in metropolitan western countries. The work of transformation of land tenure system started by the colonial powers will be pursued by the local authorities after the independence of the country.

1.2.1 - Registration: The Colonial Mark in Land Tenure Policy

The Germans were the first to try to reform with texts Togolese land tenure. Four years after they had officialized and legitimized their presence in Togo thanks to the treaty of protectorate signed in 1884 by their representative Gustav Nachtigal with king Mlapa of Togoville's chief representative, Plakou. Thereafter German authorities gave in 1888, the beginning of the promotion of land tenure rights by the intervention of a decree of the Chancellery that ordered the establishment of a land tenure book. Thus, by ordinance of November 21, 1901, "Grundbuch" was instituted. The modes of the holdings of the Grundbuch and its operation or working were subsequently specified by several successive decrees which took place on July 19, 1904, September 5, 1904, February 2, 1910 and January 13, 1913. But, the German texts did not succeed in changing the Togolese customary land tenure, since traditional practices subsisted. One did not notice a substitution of the old uses

by the new ones. One rather attended a sort of juxtaposition of two completely different systems.

Thus, on the eve of World War I, two land tenure traditions coexisted in Togo: the traditional land tenure and the Western type of land tenure. After the war, France having received mandate of the League of Nations (S.D.N.) to manage the country continued the work of transformation of the Togolese common laws. "The French administration proxy, by a certain number of decree in December 23, 1922, August 15, 1934 and May 20, 1955, took to its manner the German regulation" (BLANC,1962). Indeed by the decree of December 23, 1922, the French authority proxy spread to Togo, the application of a decree took on July 24, 1906 carrying reorganization of land property in West Africa on the basis of registration. The objective of the French authority proxy was undoubtedly, to encourage the transformation of the collective land rights to individual rights. In clear, it was about encouraging the bursting of individual property.

For a long time, registration did not know big success. It appeared very coercive for land owners who are accustomed to the customary land tenure. This even intrigued the natives. Since registration was not free, they did not understand why they had to pay huge sums of money to the administration so that it recognizes their rights. So land owners have continued to ignore the relative prescriptions to land tenure registration.

1.2.2 - The Evolution of land Tenure after Independence

Since the accession of Togo to independence, several legislative arrangements have been taken in land tenure policy. Two groups of land tenure measures can be considered. One is located before the year 1968 and the other after this date. Indeed before 1968, a certain number of texts have been elaborated (laws n°60-26 of 5 August 1960, of the decree n° 61-6 of June 30, 1961 and the law n° 61-2 of January 11, 1961) with the goal to prevent transfers of property to the benefit of foreign nationals. It was necessary to prevent these people from acquiring land. "These texts required that all translatif act of property by a Togolese to a stranger's profit is submitted to the public authority beforehand at the risk of uselessness" (SAMANI-ZOZO, 1989). These arrangements did not practically have any effect, since a lot of strangers notably tradesmen, have managed to acquire vast acres of land without previously having the authorization from the public administration.

From 1968, the authorities became preoccupied by the improvement of agricultural productivity and passed laws that went in the sense of the adaptation of land tenure to the modern economy. A project of reform inspired from the Senegalese model of June 14, 1964 assigned to the State the property of all non registered lands to the date of the enactment of the text, whether used or not. The State granted to the occupants the right to use the land. The project was abandoned. But in 1974, the idea reappears with the signature of the ordinance n°12-74 of February 6 that instituted agricultural lands and domanial reform in Togo.

2. THE LAND REFORM OF 1974

According to the evaluations of the Direction of the agricultural Statistics, of data processing and Documentation, 3.416 000 hectares of agricultural lands (61% of the national surface) exist in Togo of which only 20% are put in value. Therefore one does not lack any arable land. The problem rather arises in terms of appropriation, since it is essentially collective. Agriculture having remained for a long time traditional, without big economic ambitions,

destined above all to the satisfaction of the food needs in the domestic circles, this situation did not appear bothersome. But from the moment where it must pass the setting of the auto subsistence agriculture to answer the requirements of strong productivity and profitability, feature of market economy and especially to be competitive on the world plan, some difficulties emerge because land tenure policy conceived by Togolese customs does not allow transformation. That is why the State, animated by the worry to encourage rational development of agriculture, has thanks to the ordinance of 1974, searched to organize land reforms while conducting a classification of land in three categories: Thus, there are grounds to distinguish:

- lands detained by the customary collectivities and individuals according to a fundamental title or according to the common law;
- lands constituting public and private domains of the State and local collectivities;
- lands constituting national domain are lands capable of being classified in one or the other of the categories enumerated above.

2-1 The objectives of land reform

Two types of objectives emerge from the reading of the ordinance of February 6, 1974 instituting the land tenure reform in Togo. It is about the declared objectives and those that SOMENOU (1999) qualifies as latent. Concerning the declared objectives, the legislator wants to instore not only private and individual appropriation of lands, but also to redynamize agriculture by the colonization of lands. That is the reason why the reform instituted national land domain whose management is given to the State in favor of the citizens. "The management of the national land domain is assured by the State that can conduct the redistribution of lands under all the shapes that suit it to determine according to national objectives and modes that will be defined within the framework of rural, urban and industrial planning development programs "(Article 30 of the ordinance).

Of all categories, the national land domain has a fundamental importance because of its incontestable originality. Currently, this category of land is formed up by some 600 000 hectares (DSID, 1996).

As far as latent objectives are concerned, they are traced with difficulty through the ordinance of February 6, 1974. But, actually, they are no doubt, the true objectives aimed by the legislator. Indeed, while instituting private property, the law of 1974 puts on an equal footing the rights to property acquired according to the rules of modern law and the one acquired according to the customary rules. "The State guarantees the right to property for individuals and to collectivities possessing a land title license delivered in accordance with the law. The State also guarantees the right to property to every person or collectivity capable of taking advantage of a common law on the exploited lands" (Article 2 of the ordinance).

2.2 - The notion of land use: backbone of land reform

The notion of the unused land and that of the land being used remain the fundamentals of the reform. They suggest respectively the funds owned by individuals or communities and the national landownership system. As a result, individuals as well as communities can only claim their landownership rights if they really use the lands the ownership of which they claim.

In other words, landownership rights can only be protected if the land is used collectively or individually. The Togolese legislator is of the same view as DUCAT (1975), when he writes: ‘ For land to be declared owned by individuals or by the collectivity it must be used ‘.

In making the policy of land use a prealable to the recognition of land ownership, the ordinance of 6 February 1974 operates at many levels a veritable revolution in the conception of ownership on the customary plan. In fact, its basic principles mostly, the imprescribibility and non vacant has been questioned. The Togolese legislator has then wanted to impose a new vision of land ownership which cannot be recognised as it is in case it could serve as the realisation of socioeconomic objectives (SAMANI-ZOZO, 1989).The new vision of land tenure creates a new task for the land owner. Since then, ownership is no more an absolute task in itself. Dès lors, la propriété n’est plus un droit absolu qui suffit à lui-même. This cannot survive only if the landowner uses the land. (FOLI, 1970). This evolution of the conception of land ownership that consists of linking it to socioeconomic utility has also been remarked in many Latin American countries where land reformed been instituted. In these countries the arguments used are the same as those given by the Togolese legislator who advocates that agricultural land ownership must be at the service of socioeconomic objectives and be used. In fact, Latino-American lawyers oppose passive possession to active possession. In other words, only active possession characterised by productive work, that is, only land use can confer landownership notably property.

The government has put much hope in the land reform of 1974. It constitutes in fact the privileged ways by which policy makers counts to have and afterwards dispose it. But the ordinance meets with many implementation problems.

3. THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE APPLICATION OF LAND REFORM

We will first evoke the difficulties that are linked to the characteristics of land reforms (the weight of traditions, the conception that Togolese people have about land) and will develop those which are due to some imprecision of the ordinance, to the lack of sensitization of the people and to the problem of financement.

3.1 - The weight of tradition

In Togo, it has always been noticed a resistance of customs to modern laws. During the colonial period, all texts taken by the legislator to regulate land tenure faced difficulties of implementation. First, they have been considered by the people as colonial texts. Then, they did not take into account the life styles and the beliefs of the concerned populations. After independence, it has been noted that the same phenomenon subsists, since the application of the texts taken by the local decision makers met with the same difficulties. Two reasons can be evoked. Firstly, it is about a lack of effort of adaptation of the local population to these new texts. Secondly, it is difficult to transform mentalities, to modify the life style and the millennial beliefs of a population overnight.

In spite of precautions taken by the Togolese policy makers in 1974 to elaborate and to adopt a reform that is either closer to the domineering land tenure (customary), that will be more most possibly adapted to Togolese realities, the application of these reforms will meet the same difficulties. This situation explains itself by some arrangements of the ordinance that constitute innovations for the populations in the land tenure system. These arrangements even take the opposite side of customary principles. Some examples permit to show it. First, while making land use, the precondition to the recognition of landownership, the ordinance of

February 6, 1974 questions the principles of the imprescriptibility and the non vacancy of lands, a basis of landownership on the customary plan. Indeed, in the custom, one does not lose land by nonusage and land vacancy does not exist, but every land absolutely has a possessor.

Then, on the level of the soil operating modes, land tenure reform recommended a communal exploitation, because according to policy makers, only this form of exploitation can allow the rational development of rural areas. This operating mode opposes the one that is practiced in Togolese customs. In fact, in Togo, one considers the use of the land like a personal and individual business. Each person must, by his work provide to his own subsistence and that of the members of his family. This can appear bothersome for those who heard about African solidarity. Actually, domestic solidarity continues to play a role, but to some conditions. Generally, every valid man capable of producing must provide himself with his own needs. So the individual is himself owner of the field that he cultivates. He is the owner of the products of this field whose products must benefit his household. If the individual has the obligation to provide by his work his own subsistence and that of his own household, the family or the clan on its side, has the duty to put at his disposal the means of production notably land. BOUTILIER (1964) made remarks about the Burkinabe custom that "All happens as if it exists a natural right to land, the right that every man has, whether he belongs to the community or not, to find himself entitled to enough land, by his work, to assure his subsistence and that of his family group". This remark about Burkina-Faso is also valid for Togo. Indeed, it is a duty for a family or a clan to assign to each of his members a portion of land. It is this natural right of which BOUTILIER (1964) speaks that is translated by what one calls the right of culture. If the family has on earth landownership rights, the individual, member of the collectivity, has on his side a particular right to use of the land. Land ownership is collective, but their exploitation is individual. This principle of individual exploitation of land brings about ominous consequences on the economic plan (exaggerated partition of exploitations, progressive disappearance of the cooperative mind etc.) and does not therefore encourage agricultural production.

In sum, if one cannot estimate the value of land tenure in accordance to the contribution that it brings to economic progress, the legislator in taking some liberties in relation to the customary principles had the worry to organize the exploitation of the land in order to avoid partition. The reason is that some reforms must take into account positively and negatively customs, laws and practices of the populations of the country considered. To reform is to transform, it is to improve and to make more useful what exists.

3. 2 The conception of togolese people about land

The difficulties of implementation of land tenure reform are also due to the conception that the Togolese people have about land. Indeed, for these people, the land does not limit itself to the pedo-geological context with its fauna and flora, but includes all invisible powers as KADOUZA (2005) affirms it. This consideration makes it is difficult for them to give a portion of their land to somebody else. In this case, some eloquent examples exist. The first example is that of the populations of the south-east of Togo who had had in the 1980s, refused to give to the State the lands of which it needs to try an experience of installation of agricultural settlers. The refusal of these populations explains itself by the fact that it is not conceivable to give up some of their land. It was impossible for them to leave the home of their forebears to the State. If they accepted this it would be considered like a sacrilege. The villagers were on the other hand ready to put some land free at the disposal of the agricultural

migrants who, if they had themselves asked for cultivation. Facing this refusal, the State did not have any other alternatives than to resort to hiring. This example shows the limitative influence that beliefs exercise on the efforts of transformation of Togolese agriculture as well. The second example concerns the Moba-Gourma peoples, Ngan-Ngam and Anufo of north-Togo. These peoples always refused to leave their soils whose land had been occupied by the State because of the reserve of fauna (Oti-Kéran Reserve). Even though, the government used power to break away all desire of resistance on behalf of the populations, from 1990 with the weakness of the power of State due to the problems of democratisation, they returned to the native land which has been hitherto occupied by the reserve. Today, all the villages come into being and the reserve of fauna is only a past memory.

A lot of sacrifices were necessary to the forebears and to the deities of the Kabyè people of Djamdè (Kara Region) to accept to free the currently occupied space by the reserve of the same name. It was the same thing for the Ifè people of the Plateaux Region of Togo who refused to leave their lands near the Mono River during the construction of Nangbéto dam. In fact, following a sociological investigation these populations expressed their discontent overtly while saying that it was inadmissible to leave their native land because they cannot relocate and leave their dead their ancestors who are buried therein. The compromise with the State was found after highly ritual sacrifices and performance whose goal was to appease the angry spirits.

These four examples highlight the fact that the peoples of Togo, like any other people of Africa South of the Sahara, are very much attached to their land and it is almost impossible for any ordinance to change the conception that they have about land.

3. 3 The difficulties of the application of land reform due to some imprecisions of the ordinance of 1974

The imprecision concerns two aspects of the ordinance:

- The notion of land use
- The mechanisms of management of the national land domain

3.3 .1 - The notion of land use

The notion of land use which is one of the key elements of land reform raises first of all the problem of uncultivated lands as defined in the article 5 of the ordinance. "Are considered uncultivated, and therefore not susceptible to be the subject of ownership to the benefit of the collectivity or individuals' claim, lands that have not been cultivated and are the object of no use for more than ten consecutive years from the moment the procedure of inventory and observation will be practiced on the perimeters destined to be incorporated to the national land domain in accordance with the arrangements of the present ordinance." This definition poses a serious a questioning. What is the real substance of the notion of land use? Are the practices of long fallows which are very current in Togo assimilated to or not as acts of land use? The ordinance is not clear on this notion. It only says in its article 8 that "simple deforestations won't be considered like acts of land use; the cutting down of trees in natural forests without discrimination will be on the contrary repressed according to the texts in vogue". This imprecision as far as land use is concerned poses a problem of understanding because in the customs of the peoples of Togo fallow lands are considered as having owners. For example, in the southwest of the country the people continue to looking for means of subsistence in fallow lands (bananas, palmists, plucked or products, etc.).The probably

voluntary silence of the Togolese legislator as far as fallows are concerned has certainly as an objective the granting of a bigger liberty of appreciation and decision to the administration in a general interest.

For the collectivities, the notion of land use constitutes a reaction of the State to the principles of imprescriptibility and the questioning of the fundamentals land ownership as conceived by custom.

All things considered, the notion of land use allows the State to by-pass the customary systems of land ownership which have been formerly preventing it from taking possession of the lands which are partially or completely vacant for its needs.

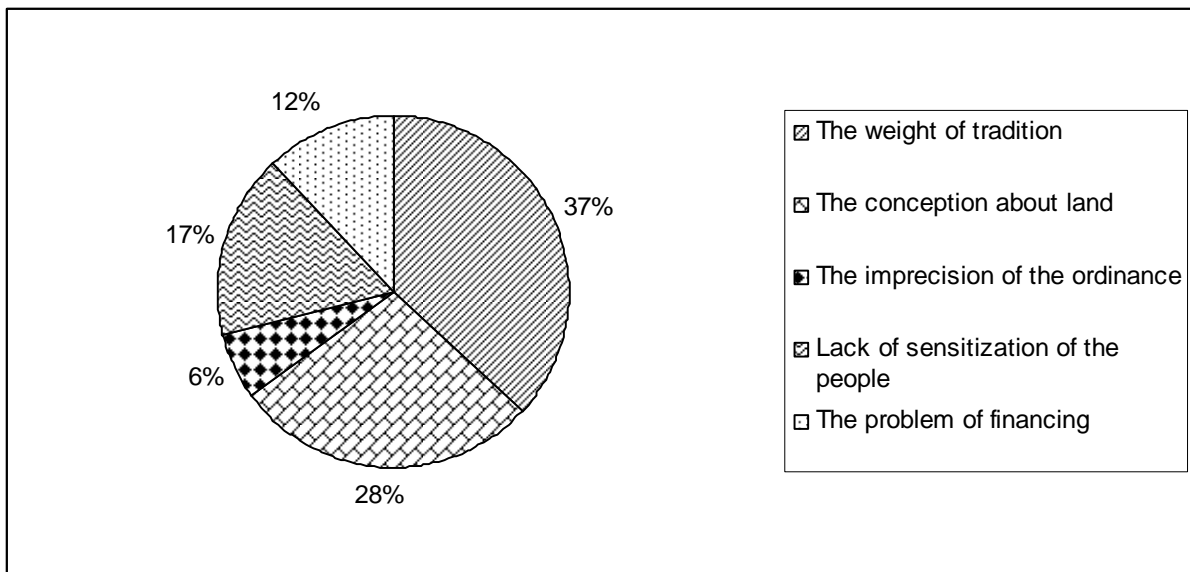
3.3.2 - The Mechanisms of Management of the National Land Domain

According to the article 30 of the ordinance of February 6, 1974, the management of national domain is confided to the State which can proceed to the redistribution of lands under all its shapes and it belongs to it to determine according to national objectives and according to modalities that will be defined in accordance with the development of urban or industrial planning programs. But the ordinance does not give precise indications allowing putting in place mechanisms of the management of this national patrimonial heritage. In addition to this land reform legislation services created to help the concerned authorities in finding ways and means to make people respect the text in vogue do not play their role. This situation makes that the lands already listed to be part of the national land domain are often the subject of irregular occupations on behalf of some organisms. This is source of permanent claims of ownership on behalf of the collectivities.

3.4. The other hindrances to the application of land reform

Other less important constraints do not facilitate the application of land reforms. First, it is about the absence of coordination of the actions between the concerned different institutions by the application of this reform. This is explained by the inefficiency of the Interdepartmental Commission assigned to pilot land and domainial reform created by decree on August 16, 1977, in order to ensure the collaboration between these different structures and to work towards the effectiveness of the text. Later, it is necessary to quote the lack of sensitization of the populations by policy makers about the text. The results of the interview show that a relatively important proportion of the sample think that this lack of sensitization is the main difficulty to the implementation land reform (fig. 2).

Fig. 2: The Repartition of people interviewed according to the difficulties of the implementation of land reform



Finally, the problem of financing constitutes another big handicap that slows down the application of land reform. In fact, this application requires very important investments. If we take the case of the inventory of lands necessary to the constitution of the national land domain; an inventory which is going to lead to the establishment of a general land-registry covering the whole Togolese territory, then very important fund investments will be necessary to recruit an important and qualified staff, purchase adequate materials and to endow itself with consequent logistics that the budget must support. Besides, the creation of zones of agricultural planned management (ZAAP) on which Togo relies a lot to attain rational agricultural development demands a lot of money which will be necessary to look for.

CONCLUSION

Land tenure in Togo, though dualist, is still extensively traditional with land practices founded on the collective appropriation of lands. The setting up of a coherent politics of agricultural development made it necessary to conduct land reform. Although this reform on the whole took into account data of the social and economic environment of the country, it meets with enormous difficulties of application because of the characteristics of dominating land tenure. This study has allowed us to show that the weight of tradition, the conception of land in the Togolese context, some imprecision of the ordinance instituting land reform, the lack of sensitization of the populations and financial problems are the main hindrance to the implementation land reform in Togo.

NB: All the citations were originally in French and the English versions in this text are my own translation.

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