



**MEMORIES OF LAND UTILIZATION AND SOCIAL
COHABITATION: A CASE STUDY OF
DJEREHOUE VILLAGE IN TOGO**

KOKOU GOGA

**MASTER OF ARTS
IN
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL INNOVATION
MAE FAH LUANG UNIVERSITY**

2024

©COPYRIGHT BY MAE FAH LUANG UNIVERSITY

**MEMORIES OF LAND UTILIZATION AND SOCIAL
COHABITATION: A CASE STUDY OF
DJEREHOUYE VILLAGE IN TOGO**

KOKOU GOGA

**THIS THESIS IS A PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL INNOVATION
MAE FAH LUANG UNIVERSITY**

2024

©COPYRIGHT BY MAE FAH LUANG UNIVERSITY



THESIS APPROVAL
MAE FAH LUANG UNIVERSITY
FOR

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Thesis Title: Memories of Land Utilization and Social Cohabitation: A Case Study of
Djerehouye Village in Togo

Author: Kokou Goga


Examination Committee:

Assistant Professor Wanwalee Inpin, Ph. D. Chairperson


Yuki Miyake, Ph. D. Member

Assistant Professor Pinwadee Srisupan, Ph. D. Member

Advisors:


..... Advisor
(Yuki Miyake, Ph. D.)

Dean:


.....
(Thanikun Chandra, Ph. D.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to grab this opportunity to thank the almighty God for assisting me during this study. Also, I would like to thank the Thailand International Cooperation Agency and my Government for allowing me to get into this master's program. This thesis comes from 2 years of study in the International Development Program, School of Social Innovation, Mae Fah Luang University. I'm very thankful to Mae Fah Luang University for giving me thesis writing grant to complete the study. First, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Ajarn Yuki Miyake, who did much for this work. The study has been completed owing to her kind help, advice, support, and guidelines. I gained a lot by working with her, and I will happily share all of her knowledge with others. I appreciate your willingness to push me to complete the program. Ajan, thank you so much for your availability. Next, thank you to Assistant Professor Dr. Wanwalee Inpin, who has helped me a lot during my study at Mae Fah Luang University, and for her advice when writing this research. You made me feel more confident about myself whenever I had the opportunity to discuss things with you during the program. Then, I extend my gratitude for all the comments and guidelines of Assistant Professor Dr. Pinwadee Srisupan that improved this research. I am very grateful to all of the School of Social Innovation's lecturers, staff, and classmates for sharing experiences and support during my study at Mae Fah Luang University. Moreover, I would like to thank my family and friends, especially my spouse Reine and my two children, for supporting my absence from my study in Thailand at Mae Fah Luang University. Thanks to my friends, Ingabo, Tony, Sike, and Pawpaw, who always give me a hand whenever I need help and stand beside me whenever I run out of energy. Finally, thank you to all of my informant and those who do not have their name mentioned here. I couldn't have come this far without all of your support.

Kokou Goga

Thesis Title Memories of Land Utilization and Social Cohabitation:
A Case Study of Djerehouye Village in Togo

Author Kokou Goga

Degree Master of Arts (International Development)

Advisor Yuki Miyake, Ph. D.

ABSTRACT

The increased interest in memory studies in the 20th century finds its basis especially in the attempt of distinguishing history and collective memory. The concept of collective memory is based on the question of social cohabitation and has a significant function to play in the heterogeneity of our societies. In its various forms, collective memory, such as commemorations, museums, and others, plays an essential role in the memory of groups and peoples. This function has become the subject of many studies and research in the social sciences. The social life in Djerehouye village in Togo is full of memories about land utilization, social cohabitation and land conflict.

This thesis first shows the memories of Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on social cohabitation in Djerehouye village after the settlement of the north people until today. Second it unveils the rationale of the land use right claims by the Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on the land in Djerehouye village. Third the research highlights land conflict that is going on in the village and the fourth focuses on effort toward conflict resolution.

The findings of the thesis show that the natives and the non-natives cohabite in the same village throughout interpersonal exchanges without major obstacles in Djéréhouyé. Therefore, most of the findings support the theory of collective memory in link with other concepts such as the concept of cultural identity, the concept of social cohabitation, the concept of land utilization, the concept of land conflict and the concept of conflict resolution. Based on the findings of this study, it proposes a guideline to form a collective memory of Djerehouye and some ideas of land conflict resolution mechanisms enhancement and redynamization. The aim of this guide is to promote more good social cohabitation within the village's communities and preserve social peace.

Keywords: Memories, Land Utilization, Social Cohabitation, Land Conflict

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and Rationale	1
1.2 Research Questions	6
1.3 Research Objectives	6
1.4 Scope of Study	7
1.5 Significance of Study	7
1.6 Definition of Terms	8
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.1 Collective Memory and Cultural Identity	9
2.2 Social Cohabitation of Multi-Ethnic Groups	17
2.3 Land Management and Land Conflict	22
2.4 Conceptual Framework	29
3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	32
3.1 Research Design	32
3.2 Research Field	33
3.3 Data Collection	35
3.4 Data Analysis	38
3.5 Ethic Consideration	39
3.6 Data Validity and Reliability	39
3.7 Limitations of the Research	40
4 RESEARCH FINDINGS	41
4.1 Historical Background of Djerehouye Village	41
4.2 Social Cohabitation and Cultural Identity in Djerehouye	50
4.3 Land Utilization in Djerehouye	58
4.4 Land Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Djerehouye	71
4.5 Towards Land Conflict Resolution in Djerehouye	79
4.6 Conclusion	81

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
5 CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	83
5.1 Summary of Research Findings	83
5.2 Conclusion	85
5.3 Theoretical Discussion	87
5.4 Recommendations	92
5.5 Further Study	92
REFERENCES	93
APPENDIX	107
CURRICULUM VITAE	108



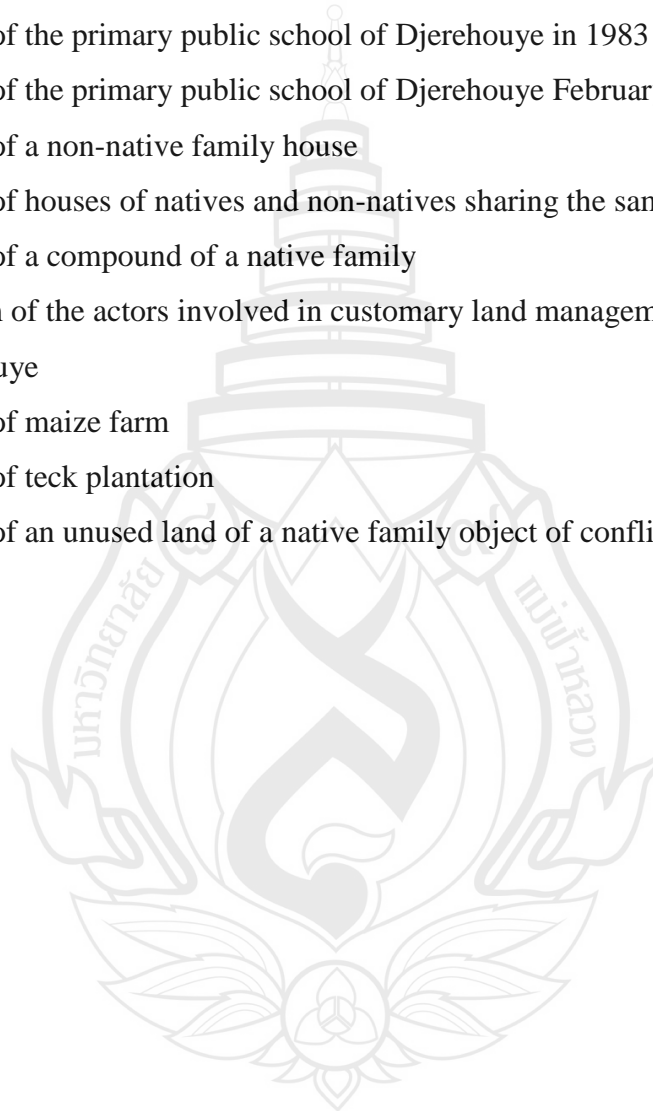
LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
3.1 In-depth interview	37
3.2 Focus group discussions	38
4.1 The demographic situation of Kabiye and Nawda immigrants in three districts of the Atakpamé region in 1959-1960	48



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1 Conceptual framework (Developed by author)	31
3.1 Research site	34
4.1 Picture of the primary public school of Djerehouye in 1983	49
4.2 Picture of the primary public school of Djerehouye February 2024	49
4.3 Picture of a non-native family house	54
4.4 Picture of houses of natives and non-natives sharing the same space	54
4.5 Picture of a compound of a native family	55
4.6 Diagram of the actors involved in customary land management in Djerehouye	60
4.7 Picture of maize farm	66
4.8 Picture of teck plantation	67
4.9 Picture of an unused land of a native family object of conflict	78



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale

Memory is a field of study that several social sciences researchers were interested in at the end of the 19th century. Since antiquity, the study of memory has not been known with such enthusiasm at the beginning of the 20th century. This increased interest in the study of memory in the 20th century finds its basis in the work of Helbwachs on memory and especially his distinction made between history and collective memory. The study of memory has been more popular in the social sciences since the 1980s. During the early 21st century, it has become a boom phenomenon (Berliner, 2005; Confino, 1997; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Winter, 2001, as cited in Gensburger, 2016). As a result, one can only speak of memory studies by referring to three authors whose works have strongly paved the way. They are Maurice Helbwachs, Pierre Nora, and Paul Ricoeur. That is why some used to call them the fathers of memory studies in the social sciences in the 20th century.

However, the main issue in memory studies is still “collective memory,” the definition of which has divided scholars. The field of social sciences experienced a remarkable broadening in the 20th century, with the new object being the study of memory and collective memory. It was then that this discipline evolved with the emergence of new approaches to memory and collective memory. The study of memory thus takes on an interdisciplinary aspect (Gensburger, 2016). Therefore, studies have been conducted in the field of memories. Scholars have produced many works on places, cities, villages, landscapes, and memories all over the world. Most of researches done on memories concern land, classified among natural resources.

The land is full of many meanings and representations in the minds of its inhabitants. It is the primary source of livelihood all over the world. Due to its relevance in human lives, it has become a source of memory from the beginning of human history to nowadays. Whether occupied or not, each land has its memory about its history. Land

memory usually bases on society, culture, and environment. The memory of a locality, a village, or a city is elaborated from its history. For example, Lampedusa in Italy has gained different interpretations due to its history. “Lampedusa is many things to many people. The thousands of lives claimed by the Mediterranean Sea make it a symbol of death. However, to the white, mostly European tourists crowding its sunny beaches, lulled by that same sea, Lampedusa is a metaphor for life, holidays, happiness, and leisure” (Odasso & Proglia, 2017, p. 1). Another famous sample of land surrounded by memories is the land of Israel, which is said to be the place where Christianity began. In order to support this point of view, Lustick (2011) states that in modern times, Israel is still troubled by the memories of two horrific tragedies. These ghosts thrive on denial of the way Jews threatened Arabs in Palestine, furthermore, the nightmare awareness of what the Jews in Europe had gone through, especially what the Germans did to them. So, lands and places gain different memories depending on their historical background.

In Africa, the land is the cornerstone of economic, social, and political life and is subject to representations in peoples psyche. Land memories in Africa have been influenced by colonization. It played a significant role in the settlement of communities throughout the colonies on the African continent. Colonialism has contributed a lot to creating new areas and cities in Africa. Then, movements of people and communities primarily for economic and political reasons occurred. Colonial West Africa has been one of the places where internal migration has happened and still has communities whose fourth fathers had been removed in the past from one place to another within the same country (Rodney, 2018; Gayibor, 1997). The first settlers of many communities in West Africa were removed from their homelands to new areas. That is the case for some villagers and cities in Togo. These places of inhabitation today were primarily created during the French colonization period (Gayibor, 1997; Abotsi, 2001). Togo is one of the West African countries where colonialism impacted land memories.

Indeed, Togo has been colonized by Germany, England, and France. The country is located in West Africa, with the capital Lomé, and is the largest city and port. Togo is limited on the West by Ghana, the North by Burkina Faso, the East by Benin, and the South by the Atlantic Ocean. It is a small strip of land of 56,600 km² with various speech communities. In 1884, a protectorate was signed between the German Gustav Nachtigal and the chief Mlapa III of Togoville. Then, it was called Togoland.

From then on, Germany's rule continued until WWI ended in 1914. After the defeat allied with Germany, the land was occupied by British and French forces. In 1922, the League of Nations divided the German protectorate into two. The eastern part has become French land, and the western one to Britain. However, in 1946, the British and French governments placed their portions under the United Nations trusteeship. A few years later, the British Togo territory was attached to Ghana (Gold Coast), and French Togoland gained autonomy and became an autonomous republic within the French Union. With a full engagement, the Togolese people, under Sylvanus Olympio's and others' lead, fought for independence and gained it on the 27th of April, 1960. The country's economy is based on agriculture and the informal sector (Gayibor, 1997). Afeli (2003) states that there are 36 languages spoken in Togo. Besides French, which is the official language, two native languages were chosen to be national languages: Ewé and Kabiyè. Togo is structured into six regions: the region of Grand Lomé, the region of Maritime, the region of Plateaux, the region of Centrale, the region of Kara, and the region of Savanes.

The colonization system used in Togo by the three colonizers was "exploitation colonialism." France the last colonizer established the exploitation of the country's natural resources and changed the socio-cultural life of the Togolese people. Exploitation colonialism involves fewer colonists and focuses on exploiting natural resources or labor to benefit the metropole (Gayibor, 1997). The colonial period was known within Togolese society as a class of indigenous planters. They took charge of developing coconut, palm, and cocoa plantations. The products and traditional food products constituted an essential supplement of resources for the country and, later, for the colonial administrations. This diversified agriculture is unevenly distributed throughout the territory due to the climatic conditions of each region and the distribution of populations (Gayibor, 1997).

The introduction of new industrial crops into agriculture during the colonial period changed many things in the lives of the Togolese. Products such as coffee, cocoa, and cotton from the country's agricultural production will then be sent to the colonial metropolises for processing. The manufactured products will return to the country through companies installed by the colonizing countries like France and England. The

manufactured products from those raw agricultural products will be sent back and sold at a very expensive price to the Togolese.

In order to facilitate the transportation of raw and processed products, the colonizers built a wharf in Lomé for maritime transport and the construction of roads in the country with the sweat of the Togolese population. In order to have more agricultural production to supply their factories, from 1922, the French embarked on the transplantation policy, forcing Kabyè and Nawda people under the reign of the Commissioner of the Republic Bonnacarrère from 1922 to 1931. To achieve his goal, Bonnacarrère would work with the Circle Commanders of Atakpamé and Sokodé, whose implication fostered the creation of the first villages of agricultural colonization, thus reviving and systematizing the movement of colonization of new lands. Approximately, nearly 70 villages of migrated people were founded, the majority of whom are located between Sokodé and Notsé on the national road No.1, with the displacement of more than 15,000 people, which is not without demographic, economic, and ecological consequences in areas of colonization (Abotchi, 2001). People displacement around the world from place to place, may impact the demography et economics of both leaving and arrival places.

The settlement of people from the north in the central and southern areas of Togo has influenced the demography of these places. That is the case of Djerehouye village created during the reign of Governor Bonnacarrere in Togo (1922-1931). In order to fulfill their human needs, the Kabyè and Nawda people, the new settlers, needed land for agriculture and housing. Then, contact was created between the newcomers, who are Kabyè and Nawda, and the indigenous communities, the Ifè and Hudu, who were valuing some part of the village's lands. Then, Ifè and Hudu had to yield some portions of the lands to the newcomers to practice agriculture and habitation.

The cohabitation of the four different ethnic groups leads to land conflicts, especially over ownership and property rights. The land disputes are not without consequences on the social harmony that reigned between the non-native and indigenous populations of Djerehouye in the past. This situation of conflicts based on the use of land in Djerehouye worsened during the socio-political unrest of the 1990s that Togo experienced. The socio-political unrest of the 1990s shook all non-native communities in Togo counties in general. Particularly the Plateaux region, where the

populations of northern Togo live, has experienced social movements. Indeed, during the unrest, the Kabyè, Lamba, Nawda, and other communities living in the county were threatened with eviction (Manani et al., 2019). During that period of uncertainty, the Kabyè and Nawda speech communities living in Djerehouye have been turned out of the land they occupied. Therefore, many of them left the village to return to the north of the country, their origin. However, some returned to Djerehouye a few years later and stayed until now. These social movements have thus created an atmosphere of mistrust between communities that once lived in peaceful coexistence. Today, the social life of Djerehouye residents is hampered by mainly tensions arising from the land conflict (Manani et al., 2019). Togo like most countries in Africa has been facing land use issues due to its importance in citizens' daily life.

Land in Togo is crucial to symbolic meanings and social identities (Gardini, 2013). Land is a unique object of appropriation that requires an analysis that can explain its complex and overlapping functions as a medium between the living and the dead, as a deity, as a commodity, as a means of production, as a material support on which the dynamics of lineages fission are articulated, and as a territory where various political entities of various kinds and levels exercise their authority (Gardini, 2013). Due to the importance of land in Togolese lives, it, unfortunately, constitutes a severe threat to social harmony within communities. A week goes by in Togo without a land dispute being brought to light with its multiple consequences. In the heart of the capital, Lomé, not a day goes by without tenants being kicked out due to a land dispute. Furthermore, the list is long. Togolese justice is overwhelmed by the phenomenon, and some judges are suspected of having interests in these cases. Suppose the Togolese land situation has worsened in recent years, creating severe conflicts between communities. In that case, it is mainly because of the policy that rules land use (Gardini, 2012). Land disputes often resulted in the death of men and other disastrous consequences. The texts governing land use in Togo do not promote strong social cohesion. Throughout the national territory, communities dispute land ownership, and other difficulties affect the buyer, who cannot enjoy his property (Gardini, 2012). The phenomenon as presented, would arouse a lot of enthusiasm from researchers.

The settlement of populations from the north in Togo's central and southern areas during colonization have been attracting the eagerness of researchers. The present work came from the fact that many myths related to Kabiye and Nawda in Djerehouye were stated in my childhood. Those myths mainly were about the settlers on the land, their origin, their culture, and their beliefs. Therefore, it is worth conducting a memory study to know more about the social life and land use system practiced in Djerehouye. This thesis aims to point out the memories of social cohabitation and the land use practices in the village of Djerehouye after the settlement of Kabiye and Nawda.

1.2 Research Questions

1.2.1 What kind of memories do Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups have on social cohabitation in Djerehouye village after the settlement of the north people until today?

1.2.2 What kind of memories do the Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups have on the eastern part of land in Djerehouye village to claim their land use right ?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are presented in the following two points:

1.3.1 To study the memories Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups have on social cohabitation in Djerehouye village after the settlement of the northern people until today.

1.3.2 To analyze the rationale of land use right claim by Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on the eastern part of land in Djerehouye village.

1.4 Scope of Study

The research is about the village of Djerehouye in the prefecture of Ogoou in Togo. It deals with people from four ethnic groups: Hudu, Ifè, Kabiyè, and Nawda. The target sample covers the age range of 40-80 years. This age range is set up to get the memories that young and old people of Djerehouye have from the settlement of Kabiyè and Nawda ethnic groups until today. The study concerns the social cohabitation in Djerehouye village. It also consists of the reasons and pleas held by Hudu, Ifè, Kabiyè, and Nawda ethnic groups for claiming utilization rights and land ownership in the eastern part of Djerehouye. Furthermore, another aspect is how the ethnic groups manage the land tenure system and utilization practices. Then lastly, it points out how these ethnic groups handle the land disputes in the village.

1.5 Significance of Study

This study enables apprehend the social memory of the community of Djerehouye which is composed of native ethnic groups (Kabiyè and Nawda) and non-native ethnic groups (Hudu and Ifè). The study fills the gap of availability of memory studies on the village of Djerehouye. Due to the fact that no rigorous work of memory had been done on the village before. Therefore, this memory study on Djerehouye unveils the social cohabitation, land use system practiced, and land conflict management within the village's community.

The gaps filled by the study are four as follows: First, the findings enable learn good practices from the social cohabitation of the Hudu, Ifè, Kabiyè, and Nawda ethnic groups that live in the village of Djerehouye. Second, they inform the basis of the right of ownership and usage of land claims raised by Hudu, Ifè, Kabiyè, and Nawda. Third, the findings reveal land conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms in the village. And finally, fourth, the research provides recommendations for a better dynamization of social cohabitation and land conflict resolution in Djerehouye's village.

1.6 Definition of Terms

This section presents the clarification of some specific terms or concepts used throughout this research.

Northern People : Refers to the populations of northern Togo transferred to the centre and south of the country during colonization.

Natives : Refers to the indigenous people living in the village of Djerehouye and nearby villages before the arrival of the populations of northern Togo.

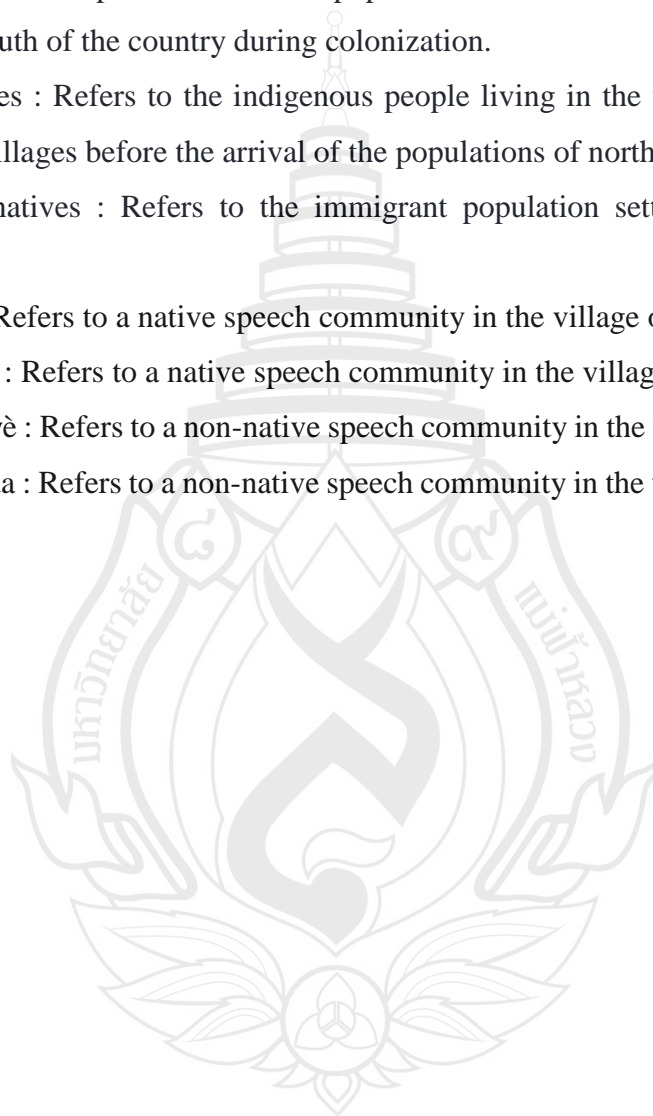
Non-natives : Refers to the immigrant population settled in the village of Djerehouye.

Ifè : Refers to a native speech community in the village of Djerehouye.

Hudu : Refers to a native speech community in the village of Djerehouye.

Kabiyè : Refers to a non-native speech community in the village of Djerehouye.

Nawda : Refers to a non-native speech community in the village of Djerehouye.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter is about the different works written down by the scholar related to this study topic. It focuses on some relevant concepts that have already been studied. Therefore, three main concepts have been developed in this chapter : Collective Memory and Cultural Identity, Social Cohabitation of Multi-Ethnic Groups, Land Management and Land Conflict. The review of these concepts and sub-concepts shapes the chapter.

2.1 Collective Memory and Cultural Identity

2.1.1 Collective Memory

Memory has become an independent subject in social sciences since the 20th century. Great interest has been given to memory studies at the beginning of the 21st century. This new discipline has aimed to solve problems faced during the increased rush to study memory (Berliner, 2005; Confino, 1997; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Winter, 2000, as cited in Gensburger, 2016). The pioneer and founder of memory studies is Maurice Halbwachs, whose works have paved the way for other scholars to be interested (Gensburger, 2016). Furthermore, 'reception' conundrums that lie at the core of memory studies can now be resolved thanks to Halbwachs' theory for sociologists. It advocates for more significant empirical research that considers the person as a social being to advance an interactionist and relational perspective on memory. Halbwachs' theory advocates for a modern sociology of memory studies, where 'memory' is seen as both a social resource and a research issue in a society where scientific research is undergoing significant changes. In contrast to the underlying assumptions that underpin the contemporary institutionalization of memory studies, Halbwachs' legacy challenges researchers to look at how memory itself has evolved into a social framework from which academic output is far from immune. "We can trace the notion of group memory to the earliest texts in Western civilization, in Archaic Greek culture. The term

collective memory appeared only recently, but the concept has existed for many centuries” (Russell, 2006, p. 792). Two famous scholars, Halbwachs and Nora, share a common point of view on the opposite relationship between memory and history (Robertson & Hall, 2016). They proposed that memory is simultaneously collective, plural, and individual. However, a traditional assumption initially maintains that as far as so-called modern memory is concerned, we must deal with it through mnemonics. One can easily retain a series of identical points in one's attempt at explanation. Memory is very organic and holistic, but the reconstruction and representation of the past characterize history.

Regarding our current way of life, memory is “real” and almost in prelapsarian words, while “modern” memory refers to historical signs or objects (Nora, 1989). The importance here is the emergence of the trace. As soon as history appears dominant, real memory will no longer exist. As a result, memory will take on an artificial form, erected and represented in the form of places of memory (*lieu de mémoire*), material, symbolic, and functional simultaneously. These “*lieux de mémoire*” are capital: “moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite a life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded” (Nora, 1989, as cited in Robertson & Hall, 2016, p. 21). What we are used to refer to as memory today is merely history. The elements we associate with memory are, in reality, the last parts consumed in the flames of history. Speech remains an essential element that we cannot avoid. Nevertheless, it is crucial to put between what is actual memory, which constitutes our everyday actions and deeds, and memory, which has undergone a transformation throughout history, which is voluntary and deliberate, experienced as an obligation, reflected, individual and subjective; which would not otherwise be a collective fact of society (Nora, 1989).

For Halbwachs (1992), the activation of memory in the present is based on the term “landmarks.” Landmarks appeal to memories by acting as the factors that prompt the fact in the present or bring the fact back into the context of the present. Collective memory “does not preserve the past but reconstructs it using the material traces, rites, texts, and traditions left behind” (Halbwach, 1992, as cited in Robertson & Hall, 2016, p. 21). This remodeling, however, is always active in the present situation. Memorials or monuments and the process by which they are made and consecrated are essential to

this end because the commemoration ceremony constitutes the central element through which 'historical memory' is activated. This point of view is supported by Lowenthal when he states that "The prime function of memory is not to preserve the past but to adapt it to enrich and manipulate the present" (Lowenthal, 1985, as cited in Robertson & Hall, 2016, p. 20). While bringing the past into the present, memory focuses on transforming the 'past' to become 'present' and living in the mind of people as new or current experiences. Halbwach's collective memory resembles episodic memory, whose characteristics are individuality and subjectivity (Russell, 2006). It is a fact relating to specific groups, based on lived experience and the identity of these groups, and which cannot be transferred from one group to another. Due to this description, collective memory is intrinsic to a particular group since this memory constitutes the product of the past lived by the group. Halbwach's interest in living in the past and his conception of collective memory as a part of the group's identity have a considerable relationship since individual identity is directly linked to this specific memory. The identity and life of a group are based on this collective memory of its past. Once the members of a group no longer share the same memory, the group itself will no longer exist. Then, a new group is born, formed by the members of the old one, and they recognize themselves in a new identity (Russell, 2006). A fact of memory is a social fact since what we remember is between individual identity and collective representations. As a result, the individual memory does not change; it remains intact. It is both specific and singular to an individual. It results from the relationships between one person and others, diverse groups, societies, and cultures. Individual memory evolves from one moment to the next. It comes from interactions with other members of society, groups, or family and not from the person, the intimate history of the subject. Personal identity and collective identity intertwine.

Savage (1994) argues that Nora's understanding of the relationship between history and memory is incorrect. He bases his disagreement on the link between collective memory and the action of creating monuments or sites. In short, he challenges Nora's memory's contradictory internal and external aspects. Savage's disagreement hinges on two points. In the first point, he argues that when memory is shared, regardless of location, there must necessarily be 'mediating devices.' According to him,

Nora's memory is divided into two: internal and external. Second, Savage believes that Nora's two forms of memory are inseparable and mutually reinforcing.

According to Gedi and Elam (1996) and Kansteiner (2002), the main critical works around Halbwachs's collective memory study are based on the words "collective," "group," or "society", which vary depending on the author. In his attempt to redefine the concept of collective memory, Olick (1999a) says that Halbwachs does not present a fundamental paradigm that could enable distinguishing the structures involved and demonstrate how they are connected. In this way, Halbwachs remains a "nineteenth-century" scholar, viewing issues at the individual and group levels as belonging to distinct orders (Olick, 1999a, p. 336).

Russell (2006) draws our attention not to rely only on Halbwachs's 'collective memory' theory to study all civilizations or societies. He bases his point of view on French society before the 20th century, when 'collective memory' or 'episodic memory' of Halbwachs had not been used as a model for conceiving group memory. For him, it is essential to consider both the cultural and conceptual context in which the cultures are presented when interpreting their collective memories.

Very often the prime way to communicate memories is verbally. This kind of activity can be named narrated memory (Fabian, 2007). Fabian emphasized that narrated memory does not reflect what honestly occurred rather because not produced by human's brain. According to him narrated memory is a told from a individual's life experience and influenced by emotional effects. During the process of narrated memory very often the narrator prevails and influences her or his own memory. Personal influence on narrated memory may come from social interactions with others and also from cultural restrictions. Thus, when a memory goes through verbalizing process it no more a memory rather a narrative (Fabian, 2007). The specific characteristic of collective memory lies in how it threatens the truth. Because its construction goes with transformation of the actual past event while the influence of personal experiences and emotions interven (de Saint-Laurent et al., 2017). Another aspect of collective memory usage that does not align with human beings' as socio-cultural element is the political field. de Saint-Laurent et al. (2017) point out that collective memory has become an important political method used by politicians to clarify and support their ideas, to make people dreaming of new world. Since politicians are not worried by laws or punished

the population they continue lying by using collective memory to achieve their political goals (de Saint-Laurent et al., 2017).

In short, memory studies have been spread in the twentieth century and helped to comprehend what makes humans unique, thanks to Halbwachs and others (Berliner, 2005; Confino, 1997; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Winter, 2001, as cited in Gensburger, 2016). Therefore, one might consider both Halbwachs and his disciples' 'collective memory' to be an output of broader contemporary thought around memory. Halbwachs' theory opened the door for modern sociologists to resolve the issue of "reification" and "reception" that form the basis of memory studies (Gensburger, 2016). Collective memory function is different from history. Therefore, collective memory and history should not be considered in the lens (Nora, 1989; Halbwach, 1992). However, some critics arose to show the gap of Halbwachs and his followers 'collective memory' approach. Nora's collective memory has contradictory internal and external aspects. Because when memory is shared, whatever the location may be, there must necessarily be 'mediating devices' (Savage, 1994). Halbwachs does not succeed in bringing out a significant paradigm that helps distinguish the structures that are involved and cannot show how they are linked (Olick, 1999a).

2.1.2 Memory and Cultural Identity

Maurice Halbwachs and Aby Warburg coined the theories of "collective" or "social memory" (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). Their attempts to base collective memory on biology did not succeed. They, therefore, shifted to a cultural or social framework. It is believed that socialization and conventions, rather than "phylogenetic" development, are what cause an individual to develop their unique character as a result of belonging to a particular community and culture.

Identity is linked to the biological nature of being. However, the function of culture is crucial for externalizing one's personality through beliefs, values, and perceptions of the world at the level of the individual and group of belonging. For this purpose, authentic identity is the image of oneself, reflecting social exchanges between individuals (Padungchevit, 2008, as cited in Wichai, 2021).

Short (2014) supports Nietzsche, who suggests that, whereas animals' genetic systems ensured the species' survival, humans had to discover a way to preserve their nature through generations. Cultural memory, a notion that encompasses all

information that influences behavior and experience in a society's interaction framework and is acquired through generations, offers a solution to this issue. Cultural memory has two meanings: Communicative memory and Collective self-image. "Cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity. The objective manifestations of cultural memory are defined through a kind of identificatory determination in a positive (We are this) or in a negative (That is our opposite) sense" (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995, p. 130). Hall (1990) goes beyond this later view in these terms:

"Cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being.' It belongs to the future as much as to the past. Cultural identities come from somewhere and have histories. However, like everything historical, they undergo constant transformation subject to the 'play' of history, culture, and power. It is not once-and-for-all. It is not a fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute Return. It has its histories and histories have their real, material, and symbolic effects. It is always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative, and myth" (Hall, 1990, pp. 225-226).

Through these lines, Hall shows the relationship between memory and cultural identity. He emphasizes memory's vital role in constructing our identities throughout our daily social interactions.

There is a strong relationship between memory and cultural identity because the latter forms through individuals' memories of the society or group (Maddern, 2016). To shed light on this relationship, Gray (2003) refers to the example of Irish immigrant women in the USA, constituting a solid slideshow across the federation states. These Irish immigrants organized festive activities yearly to preserve their culture despite being outside the national borders. This story emerged in the 1700s and has continued to the present day. The erection of Annie Moore statue concretized this affirmation of the collective cultural identity. This woman was considered an emblematic figure of the migratory influx to the USA through the island of Ellis. Her statue was erected at the museum in New York to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the Atlantic Crossing (Gray, 2003, as cited in Maddern, 2016). This statue is a source of national pride for Irish immigrants in the USA. The Irish Government is involved in having a monument of one of its citizens in a foreign land (Maddern, 2016).

The statue of Annie Moore represents both knowledge and memories and the embodiment of the past of the Irish (Maddern, 2016). This statue is paramount to Irish immigrants, as it allows them to preserve their cultural identity outside their country or homeland. Through this initiative, Irish culture is perpetuated from generation to generation through the acts of memory. Any passage in this museum reminds visitors of the culture and identity of the Irish. It contributes to forming and preserving Irish collective and cultural identity (Macdonald, 2003). In addition to the cultural identity aspect, memory studies embrace other facts in society. One of these concepts covered by memory studies is landscape.

The surroundings are symbols of power and control. It is easy to ignore the fact that opposition and confrontation may also be etched into a landscape, yet those in positions of power design their surroundings in their own way (Robertson & Hall, 2016). They attempt to show the importance of landscape in forming a collective identity. For (Tilley, 1994), landscape constitutes a structured system that reflects the social of people. Tilley points out the societal characteristics of the landscape.

Landscape, considered as cultural lens, reveals the link between place and identity; it shapes a land's inhabitants' imaginations over time and then enables the form of a heritage shared by them. Landscape plays a significant function as far as cultural memories are concerned. Yalouri (2001) finds that a landmark reveals a collective identity and, in addition, is a means of communication and reproduction of values shared by its inhabitants.

The example of Angkor as a cultural landscape in Cambodia plays two roles in the life of Cambodians. It helps them forget and remember their black past. It then enables the building of 'collective identities' (Winter, 2016). According to Turner (1994), Angkor's annual festivals in Cambodia are limited events that enable the construction of 'collective identity' through socio-cultural activities. Hence, it is clear that the usage of "collective identity" forms "social memory" (Turner, 1994, as cited in Winter, 2016, p. 140). Angkor then dynamizes and symbolizes the brotherhood and the feeling of belonging to one nation, meaning 'national identity'. Crang (1998) suggests that landscapes characterize society's cultural components.

For Confino (1997) it is important to look closely at how one's memory interacts with other memories in a particular community. As a result, memories vary throughout societies. Despite the seeming encouragement of cultural uniformity within a diversified culture, memory conflicts persist throughout communities (Confino, 1997). Gildea (1996) carries out research employing the method of considering the many recollections in French society. He states that "there is no single French collective memory but parallel and competing collective memories" (Gildea, 1996, p. 340).

Chen (2023) says that literature is a significant communication tool when speaking of cultural memory. In essence, there are a lot of parallels between memory and literature, including the creation of condensed memory figures and the meaning-generating properties of genre and story. According to Chen, literature is the primary means of transmitting culture rather than memory, as social or collective memory defenders claim. He suggests to focus on how literary works help to create and rebuild cultural memory, as well as how they mold and transmit particular memories.

To sum it up, one can say that memory studies highlight the intrinsic relationship that exists between memory and cultural identity (Macdonald, 2003; Maddern, 2016; Padungchevit, 2008; Hall, 1990). Therefore, it is essential to consider how studies on cultural memory and identity help understand the dimensions of stability and constant roles in maintaining national cultural memory. Identity is constructed by the declaration and placement of the self either as an individual or a collective in opposition to those referred to as "others" or things outside the self. Therefore, cultural identity is defined as a sociocultural construct (Sunarti et al., 2022). When viewed through the perspective of culture, landscape also plays the function of connection between place and identity. It gradually molds the imaginations of the people who live there, allowing for the eventual formation of a shared history (Yalouri, 2001; Crang, 1998). However, it is essential to notice that memories may vary throughout societies. Although studies seem to defend the idea of cultural unity within a diversified culture, memory conflicts are noticeable within communities (Confino, 1997). This point of view is supported by Gildea (1996) who states throughout a study of several recollections in French society. He says that French society is not composed of only one collective memory but different collective memories. Against the assumption of the role played by memory in culture transmission, Chen (2023) suggests that literature

may constitute the accurate means of transmitting culture rather than memory. He calls to focus on how literature helps to create and rebuild cultural memory and how it molds and transmits particular memories.

2.2 Social Cohabitation of Multi-Ethnic Groups

Many academics use the concept of “cohabitation” to talk about the union of marriage to the formation of a couple of people (see Perelli-Harris & Bernardi, 2015; Schimmele & Wu, 2011). However, “cohabitation” is also used in other study fields, such as politics and social sciences. Guzzo (2009) suggests that “cohabitation” is complex to define precisely. Heuveline and Timberlake (2004) say that different definitions are attributed to “cohabitation” since it is used in several situations. The social commitment of the people who cohabit in the same space would determine the meaning of their cohabitation since it is a global orientation of the dividing line between cohabitation and society (Schimmele & Wu, 2011).

2.2.1 Social Cohabitation

Social cohabitation implies the living together of various ethnic groups in the same space. Members of these ethnic groups, despite their cultural specificities, establish interpersonal relationships and contacts daily (Schimmele & Wu, 2011). Social cohabitation occurs when people from different cultures, practices, and beliefs share the same daily environment. However, relationships of good cohabitation result from the behavior of each other, which sometimes generates conflicts. This point of view of social cohabitation refers to multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism refers to the coexistence of different cultures within the same society or community. It encompasses ethnic, linguistic, religious, social, and cultural diversity (Clayton, 2019). Moran (2011) says multiculturalism is a tool for nation-building in states where immigrants are in great numbers. For example, he talks about Australia, which has developed a national identity based on diversity. The concept of multiculturalism can be described simply as a community or social group where different ethnic groups coexist with cultural particularities that are politically considerable (Iverson, 2015).

In multicultural societies, good cohabitation of diverse ethnic groups is essential in maintaining national unity, so social cohabitation is the cornerstone of national unity (Schimmele & Wu, 2011). There are many benefits associated with social cohabitation when one focuses on how societies can harness the strengths of their ethnic diversity (Adams & Sydie, 2001). Cultural exchange is vital in fostering social cohabitation among ethnic groups. It facilitates understanding, appreciation, and acceptance of different traditions and customs.

In a study, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) state that interethnic contact in educational settings leads to positive attitudes, reduces prejudice, and improves social integration. By creating opportunities for children from different ethnic backgrounds to interact and learn together, they would acquire attitudes and knowledge about beliefs and practices of diversity. Societies must ensure equal rights and protection against discrimination for all ethnic groups. Laws and policies that promote equality and prohibit discrimination based on ethnicity contribute to a fair and just society (U.S. Department of State, 2021). Therefore, a fair and just community cannot accept social behaviors such as exclusion that do not enhance safe cohabitation of ethnic groups.

The exclusion usually undermines social cohabitation and the unity of a nation (Suharno, 2010). It implies that the life of communities is characterized by suspicion between members of groups, mistrust, and negative knowledge. The causes of exclusion include the dogmas of teachings, the lack of understanding of an opinion, the lack of truth of historical facts, the power of domination exercised by certain ethnic groups, and sometimes environmental circumstances. All these elements together constitute a latent factor of social stress which may arise in several forms at any time and sometimes lead to war (Sahal et al., 2018).

Nowadays, unfortunately, there is a high rate of attitudes unfavorable to good social cohabitation of ethnic groups (Nata, 2001). Some people consider themselves superior to other people of other ethnic groups regarding their beliefs, opinions, thoughts, and values. For this purpose, the beliefs, points of view, thoughts, and principles of other ethnic groups do not gain any value, so they must be avoided and not to be considered (Nata, 2001, as cited in Sahal, Musadad & Akhyar, 2018). The differentiation set up in the system of social incorporation negatively impacts the nature

of minority groups and hence the quality of the relationship they maintain within society (Kymlicka, 2002).

Through social cohabitation, ethnic groups' interactions would be considered as dynamic. Based on this point, Quermonne (1961) suggests that it is essential and valuable to consider at a high level the relations between ethnic groups from a perspective of dynamization but not from a static perspective. According to him, communities are essential concepts that evolve permanently based on their particularity, and the living conditions of their members are in perpetual renewal. There is, therefore, a network of relationships that involves different ethnic groups that are then more or less organized through cultural or economic associations and which are often located in a specific space. This aspect of the dynamization of social cohabitation is often designed by sociological phenomena such as "assimilation," "multiculturalism," "pluralism," and "melting pot." However, referring to local realities of ethnic cohabitation, this idea can be seen in another way (Quermonne, 1961, as cited in Schimmele & Wu, 2011). Social cohabitation of ethnic groups in local society would be different.

At the local level, the social and ethnic groups know their position in society because each group has its reason for settlement. The partition of space by ethnic groups cannot be seen as evidence of division between different groups at the local level. Instead, it is the only way for them to use their territory while maintaining their specificity. These demarcations between ethnic groups make it possible to maintain the necessary distance to live together (Barth, 1969, as cited in Simon, 2000). The fact that the different groups coexist within the same space or on the same land divides that land into small squares or areas.

However, it should be stressed that the division of ethnic groups on the land at the local level cannot adequately guarantee a dynamic social cohabitation. In fact, for a dynamization of the cohabitation of various ethnic groups, the latter would live on a common space without physical demarcation and interact among themselves.

Even though the ethnic groups at the local community level live separately, each ethnic group keeps its identity and particularity (Simon, 2000). Here, in addition to the spatial demarcation between ethnic groups, cultural differences are added to better define the social cohabitation of different ethnic groups. Groups from different

backgrounds meet in the same place and are compelled to live or cohabit. Each ethnic group living on its plot hands its beliefs, social norms, and practices while considering the existence of other groups with their cultural particularities (Toubon & Messamah, 1991, as cited in Simon, 2000). In this case, even when a member of an ethnic group happens to change his location for economic and social reasons, he maintains the link with his ethnic group, notwithstanding the difficulties of development which continue to take place in the community (Toubon & Messamah, 1991).

The situation of social cohabitation of various ethnic groups, which is referred to as “multiculturalism,” often occurs as the social phenomenon of assimilation. Assimilation is a profound social change that leads to a remarkable homogeneity within society (Subervi-Velez, 1986). It involves “the processes by which a subordinate individual or group takes on the characteristics of the dominant group and is eventually accepted as part of that group” (Schaefer, 1979, p. 37). Assimilation follows many steps. That means that for an individual or a group to be assimilated, they would have to go through different social shifts. For example, cultural assimilation is one of those stages with various levels and occurring at different times in the life of an ethnic group or an individual (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Subervi-Velez, 1986).

According to the American social science literature, the assimilation concept, rather than the “melting pot” concept, has been implemented to justify injustice practiced for erasing minority cultural and ethnic groups, which is said to be the ideal of assimilation (Miller, 1982, p. 76). In the social sciences and public policies, the concept has experienced turmoil. It has brought confusion so that different empirical explanations and guidelines have been created to have common sense in order to raise the existence of ethnic differences in American life (Rumbaut, 2015). Regarding what is said so far about social cohabitation of ethnic groups, it may have negative impact on community life.

The lack of information about how diversity really experienced in practice is very startling (Wise, 2009). Scholars have demonstrated how relationships between ethnic groups in daily life defy the assumptions made by national policymakers (Simon, 2000; Wimmer, 2004; Pratsinakis, 2014). According to Simon (2000) the relationship of living together of multi-ethnic groups in the same space often raises the question of

social cohesion and incompatible lifestyles. In multicultural communities emerge most of the time negative social phenomena such as assimilation and segregation.

Polarized neighborhoods in terms of socioeconomic status or poorly represented social categories that concentrate stigmatized social categories do not guarantee good social cohabitation. Positive interethnic interaction does not, however, always exclude the formation of such discourses locally (Wise, 2005; Noble, 2011).

Dinesen and Sonderskov (2015) suggest that measuring the level of social cohabitation should take into account the ways in which individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds face threats in their society. Even though it is rarely expressed directly, the cohabitation of people from different cultures is typically assumed to overcome stressors that threaten the link between ethnic variety and social trust. That is, it is anticipated that being in close physical proximity to individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds will influence people's perceptions of how trustworthy the broader majority is. Exposure to individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds can occur in a variety of settings, such as workplaces, schools, and religious organizations; nevertheless, residential neighborhoods are the best contextual places (Dinesen & Sonderskov, 2015). The reason why they put emphasize on the domestic environment is that it is a universal space where nearly everyone interacts with others on a daily basis.

In conclusion, social cohabitation is known as when people from many cultures, customs, and beliefs live in the same everyday setting (Schimmele & Wu, 2011). Multiculturalism is mentioned from this social cohabitation point of view. Multiculturalism refers to the living together of people from different cultures within a community (Clayton, 2019; Moran, 2011; Ivison, 2015). There may be great goodness of social cohabitation in society if emphasize is put on how enable societies make benefic their ethnic diversity. Education based on ethnic groups exchanges and acceptance creates good behaviors, mitigates prejudices and enhances integration within communities (Adams & Sydnie, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; U.S. Department of State, 2021). Though ethnic groups live separately in the community, each ethnic group maintains its culture, beliefs and particularity. People from each cultural group acknowledge the existence of others from other groups with their cultural identity (Simon, 2000; Toubon & Messamah, 1991).

Nevertheless, studies have shown abundantly how relationship between ethnic groups in everyday life stands against the point of view spread by national policymakers (Simon, 2000; Wimmer, 2004; Pratsinakis, 2014). According to Simon (2000), the coexistence of distinct ethnic groups in one area frequently calls into question social cohesiveness and irreconcilable lifestyles. Segregation and assimilation are two detrimental social processes that frequently arise in ethnic settings. Socioeconomic categorization of people may not guarantee sustainable social cohabitation (Wise, 2005; Noble, 2011).

2.3 Land Management and Land Conflict

The land around the world carries capital importance in the life of people and the development of any country. The land is at the center of actions or activities related to living beings. Levin (2013) says that regarding its pivotal role in the development of human beings, it is urgent to pay particular attention to its management and its use by the states and, by extension, the people who live on it through good and fair policies. The land concern is very emotive due to its importance in human life, especially in rural areas where land is the cornerstone of the local population's life.

2.3.1 Land Management System

Most countries have established land management systems (Bogaerts & Zevenbergen, 2001, as cited in Lemmen, Oosterom & Bennett, 2015). Some states practice the registration of administrative acts, and others proceed with the registration of land titles. The systems are either centralized or decentralized. In some countries, it may also be noted that the land management system is based on taxation, while there is a legal context in others. Land use practice is not a standard process around the world. Each nation set up its land policy according to historical and social considerations. In the same sense Shipton (2009) says that since the Second World War, several countries around the world have implemented land titling programs to ensure land security and stimulate economic growth for vulnerable people who may have their land confiscated or sold (Shipton, 2009, as cited in Barry & Danso, 2014).

One of the crucial problems facing most countries is ownership of land or the right to ownership. It causes many conflicts and usually breaks down social harmony. Indigenous societies often follow established traditions and modes of the social layer regarding resource sharing and property ownership. In many nations, community land ownership exists, and it takes many various forms. In these nations, large areas of natural resources are frequently owned or under the sovereignty of indigenous tribes (Levin, 2013). The advantages and drawbacks of community land ownership are sensitive characteristics of management and protection of natural resources.

Bruce and Migot (1993) state that land tenure security is critical regarding land ownership. They suggest that land security can only be noticed when a person asserts his or her right of ownership of land and no outside claim or interference occurs. In addition, when the individual who is the owner can enjoy the benefits derived from this land, either in use or after the transfer to another person (Bruce & Migot-Adholla, 1993, as cited in Simbizi, Bennett, & Zevenbergen, 2014). Land privatization by individuals or groups could be motivated by socioeconomic conditions. These conditions shape the perception that the cost of transforming or maintaining existing structures is lesser than the benefits of privatization (Mwangi, 2005). Land pricing, for instance, influences support for privatization in anticipation of perceived gain. Demographic pressures such as population increase trigger perceptions of a rise in demand for land, which could trigger support for private land ownership. Another concern of land tenure insecurity is the degradation of collectively held land. It also encourages actors to support property rights changes to mitigate losses accrued from group ownership and reap the benefits of individual ownership (North, 1990; Feeny, 1989, as cited in Mwangi, 2005). The importance of property rights influences how land and other natural resources are used and protected. The acknowledgment of their influence is also on how profits from these resources (Mwangi, 2005).

Property rights are highlighted in literature and real-world experience as a crucial factor in rural empowerment and environmental sustainability (Aggarwal & Elbow, 2006). Property rights are crucial in effectively managing natural resources for long-term availability. They contribute to strengthening the governance of local communities. The land is essential for individuals and families to meet basic needs such as food and shelter. Thus, the right to land and other natural resources would be an

essential factor in the fight against poverty and food insecurity worldwide (Aggarwal & Elbow, 2006). Ownership rights over land and other natural resources may vary according to the context.

Aggarwal and Elbow (2006) suggest that there are different kinds of property rights which are as follows: “private property, common property, public property, and open access”. For them, each kind corresponds to a usage system. To distinguish between the four concepts, they suggest that private property is when the land or natural resource belongs to an individual or a corporation. However, land or natural resource owned by a group or a community is considered joint property. In contrast, while the government controls a given natural resource, this is public property. Finally, open access is when no specific owner is associated with a natural resource or land.

Although actions about the management of land are usually taken with the best interests of the landholder in mind, they may also have advantageous or adverse outcomes that influence protection and biodiversity. Ownership security can therefore have a big influence on the results of conservation. For instance, boosting small-scale farmers’ security may boost agricultural output, but doing so may require spending money on chemical fertilizer materials, which might have a detrimental effect on the purity of the water downwards (Zheng et al., 2016).

Land tenure systems around the world seem not to be equal. The mechanisms used to return ownership back to populations are inconsistent throughout most countries that are developing, and modern tenure normalization efforts frequently favor and protect the tenure of certain individuals while excluding others (Sunderlin, 2011; Wily 2011).

According to Lemmen et al. (2015) strong land policies are important, but having the means to implement them is another matter entirely. Therefore, in order to promote property security, marketplaces for land, land use planning and control systems, land taxes, and the governance of natural resources, states require tools like rules and administrative processes.

In order to mitigate land management issues, Uitermark et al. (2010) suggest that every piece of information in a land management should be supported by genuine source materials. These source papers serve as the foundation for transactions and the

creation of new land rights within a land administration, as demonstrated by the formation of a trustworthy and dependable land management.

To sum up, land management systems have been implemented in the majority of nations. It should be mentioned that, although there is a legal framework in certain nations, the land management system in others is based on taxes. There is no universal procedure for land usage across the globe (Bogaerts & Zevenbergen, 2001; Shipton, 2009; Barry & Danso, 2014; Lemmen et al., 2015). Having access to land, is one of the major issues that most nations face. It typically destroys societal cohesion and leads to a great deal of strife. Land insecurity undermines land ownership within communities. When the landowner wants to make use of the advantages of his land, either it is being used by others or after it is transferred to someone else (Bruce & Migot-Adholla, 1993; Mwangi, 2005; Simbizi et al., 2014). Land is necessary for people and families to satisfy fundamental requirements like food and shelter. Therefore, a vital component of the global effort to combat hunger and poverty would be the ability to possess land and other natural resources (Aggarwal & Elbow, 2006). But protection and biodiversity may be impacted by land management's positive or adverse effects. The preservation of land may then be threatened by ownership security. There may be disparities in the systems implemented to give ownership to people. They usually exclude others while protecting the tenancy of select people. Land policies are crucial, but implementing them requires different resources (Uitermark et al., 2010; Sunderlin, 2011; Wily, 2011; Zheng et al., 2016).

2.3.2 Land Conflict in Africa

The recurrence of land disputes in several parts of the world has led researchers to call such disputes "land conflicts" and to introduce the concept of broader conflict as "about land" (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016, p. 75). The sources of land conflicts lay in resources, historical and political facts, and management and regulation (Le Billon, 2001; Peluso & Watts, 2001; Ostrom, 1990; Turner et al., 2004).

The land is a source of disputes and violent conflicts on a large scale, so the situation attracts the curiosity of academics, decision-makers, and practitioners in development processes (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016). According to Sikor and Lund (2009), land conflicts are directly linked to the dynamics of change that often occur at the institutional level and the implementation of reforms in land management.

Challenging the institutions set up to implement land policies is said to be one of the factors underlying violent conflicts. Several insurgent and revolutionary movements sometimes protest against land distribution and property rights (Sikor & Lund, 2009). Thus, violent conflicts affect institutions and lead to a review of the processes of the right to property and the right of access to land.

In Africa, land is the cornerstone of economic, social, and political life and is subject to conflict, conquest, expropriation, and exploitation (Bob, 2010). Africans are ready to fight for land to preserve their livelihoods when these are diminished by confinement and dispossession or increase their benefits related to the land and its resources (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016). They also suggest that opinions differ regarding why and how land disputes are emerging in Africa. Theories on earth and violent conflict in environmental security are based on determinism and reductionism, believing that the origin of conflicts lies in the resource itself. For other approaches, the cause would be historic, given the policies that make resources competitive, thus, leading to scarcity and contesting access. The land is the primary source of livelihood for people all over the African continent. Therefore, secure access to land has always been a challenge. Throughout human history, there have always been conflicts over land that impact economic, social, regional, and environmental development (Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016).

The justice system in Africa is overwhelmed by land conflicts. Although accurate national figures are primarily unavailable, land conflicts are said to constitute over 40% of High Court cases, and they use to increase over time. The unavailability of accurate data on land conflicts in the continent results from the fact that most disputes are mediated or solved outside the state court system (Crook, 2005, 2008).

Land conflict arises in Africa when two or more groups believe their interests and perceptions regarding a piece of land are incompatible (Wehrmann, 2008; Magsi & Torre, 2013; Sinthumule et al., 2020). The resulting competition for control over these valuable resources can be severe, driving localized conflict and often pitting individuals, companies, communities, and the state against each other. Therefore, secure land properties would enable a country's economic development and ensure harmonious and peaceful societies. Then, understanding the role land plays in the conflicts of nations can induce policymakers or countries to develop strategies to

alleviate tensions among groups and limit conflicts. “The significance of land conflicts for contemporary governance and development processes in Africa lies not only in the way past events have shaped them but also in their salience as arenas for the production of history” (Berry, 2002, p. 35).

Colonialism rule has impacted land tenure in Africa, especially in the continent’s Western region (Clover & Eriksen, 2009). Rights and access to land for indigenous have been the cross and the banner for the local populations. Before colonialism, the laws, customs, and prevalent land use practices of different language groups governed landholdings. This form of cooperative ownership refers to several people. They use it for grazing and gathering products concerning the tribes, villages, and extended families. While a small percentage of individuals had rights of occupancy under a statutory land system through colonial power, the majority of people held the land through supposed rights of occupation, with considerable variations between what these two interests offered its holders (Adams et al., 1999a, as cited in Clover & Eriksen, 2009).

With the often-dualistic land policies that African countries have cherished from colonization, disputes have arisen between citizens and rulers over not only who should have access to land and how but also to have clarifications on who would make the decisions and on which basis. Land conflicts in post-colonial Africa have been raised by the question of power and the legitimacy of claims to the authority of the property right (Berry, 2002).

According to the report of the Economic Commission for Africa (2017), land conflicts have taken a worrying turn in Africa since the continent was stormed for the exploitation of oil, gas, and minerals. Thus, most pastoral areas in the past have become exploitation fields. Land insecurity has resulted from that pattern that local populations in general and especially pastoralists face. The crux of these developments is the problematic access to land, resulting from the land policies introduced by governments and often aim to expropriate local populations, including pastoralists. In most cases, breeders are left without land or with dwindling pastures that do not allow them to feed the herds, including the limitation of agricultural land.

Across the African continent, competition for acquiring land has intensified since the beginning of the 21st century, leading to a high rate of land values (Sinthumule et al., 2020). Those Marketed models of land acquisition favored by the capitalist system do not extend the list of land disputes. This generalized phenomenon pushes observers to appeal for land reforms on the continent to limit the damage (Berry, 2002). She also suggests that the causes of land disputes in Africa are similar. Population growth, environmental degradation, low rates of economic development, and foraging are the leading causes.

The actual needs of the land vary from one point to another. In Africa, land in the urban area is more expensive than land in the rural area (Berry, 2002). Nevertheless, it should be noted that land suitable for agriculture and rich in deposits and minerals is the most taken and sought-after. Rural areas where the productivity rate is low, and poverty is more accentuated do not attract competitiveness (Andersson, 1999, as cited in Berry, 2002). The race to acquire land has created social fault lines, impacting social cohesion. It contrasts the different layers of society. However, land conflicts in Africa may be considered through another lens.

Studies point out that what is truly at risk in so-called land dispute seems not always clear, and it is still unclear how small-scale disagreements over land can be linked to civil war, more significant problems, and even huge-scale violence related to politics (Pons-Vignon & Solignac Lecomte, 2004; Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016).

The decentralization system has been said to alleviate land conflicts in Africa. Unfortunately, it is noted that, in reality, decentralization frequently fails to meet that goal in the African continent (Huggins, 2010; Leeuwen et al., 2016). Decentralization plans for land tenure regulations may prove futile. This is due to implementation issues and capacity constraints such as a shortage of skilled individuals to fill various positions in decentralized governance and a lack of funding for decentralized structures. The bureaucracy often dispatches land governance responsibilities unevenly, which makes changes less successful (Musahara & Huggins, 2004; Huggins, 2010; Leeuwen et al., 2016; Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016).

This subsection may be summarized by saying that in Africa, land is the basis of all existence and is subject to exploitation, confiscation of property, occupation, and violence. When the land they own is endangered, Africans have the ability to fight for their possession of it (Sikor & Lund, 2009; Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016). It appears that cases related to land disputes occupy a vital place in all cases before the courts in Africa (Crook, 2005, 2008). Colonialism rules have been a critical factor in the current land disputes around the African continent (Adams et al., 1999a; Sara, 2002, 2004; Clover & Eriksen, 2009). Since the start of the 21st century, land privatization in Africa has increased competitiveness for purchasing land, driving up property values and costs (Andersson, 1999; Berry, 2002; Sinthumule et al., 2020). The decentralization system, which is encouraged to be implemented for resolving land conflicts in Africa, seems not to fill the gap (Musahara & Huggins, 2004; Huggins, 2010; Leeuwen et al., 2016; Van Leeuwen & Van Der Haar, 2016).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

Memory studies nowadays no longer arouse enthusiasm in the world of research. Many people only think about its boom during the past century. Some scholars say that the study of memory is substituted by history concerning the link between both (Savage, 1994). However, fixing the importance of memory studies to the past would not be accepted in the social sciences because social memory studies are of great relevance through the “Collective Memory” theory. This research focusses on memories of land utilization and social cohabitation through the “collective memory” approach. The main concepts of the research are as follows: collective memory and cultural identity, social cohabitation of multi-ethnic groups, and land management and land conflict. They are the significant points that pave the way to reach the study’s objectives. The study focusses on two aspects. On the one hand, it concerns the memories these ethnic groups have about the social cohabitation in the village of Djerehouyé. On the other hand, it deals with land use rights claims raised by Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups in the village.

Memory studies based on land and socio-cultural memories start the conceptualization of the research. Thus, the research will be conducted through the “Collective Memory” approach. Memory Studies play the umbrella function in this study’s conceptualization. They cover the settlement of non-native ethnic groups (Kabiyè and Nawda) in the village of Djéréhouyé (See Figure 2.1). The settlement of the non-native ethnic groups (Kabiyè and Nawda) creates a relationship between the non-native ethnic groups and native ethnic groups. Two main concepts, social cohabitation of ethnic groups and land conflict characterize the social contacts of these ethnic groups.

Three central concepts constitute the core of the study and are divided into sub-concepts. First, the concept of memory studies with its sub-concepts that are collective memory and memory and cultural identity. Second, the concept of social cohabitation of ethnic groups and its sub-concept is social cohabitation. The third concept that concerns land conflict is divided into land management system, land conflict in Africa, official land ownership, customary land use practice, and modern land use system. The three main concepts and the sub-concepts are retained to respond to questions and meet the objectives set up for the research. The study objectives are stated into two points: to study the memories Ifè, Hudu, Kabiyè, and Nawda ethnic groups have on social cohabitation in Djéréhouyé village after the settlement of the north people until today and to analyze the rationale of land use rights claim by Ifè, Hudu, Kabiyè, and Nawda ethnic groups on the eastern part of land in Djéréhouyé village.

Through memory-based interviews, the research enables to get the memories that these four ethnic groups have about social cohabitation in Djéréhouyé from when the North People arrived. It also helps to understand the justifications and arguments put out by the Hudu, Ifè, Kabiyè, and Nawda ethnic groups for their claims of ownership and right to use land in the eastern area of the hamlet of Djéréhouyé. Lastly, the study lets know how the villagers handle land conflicts.

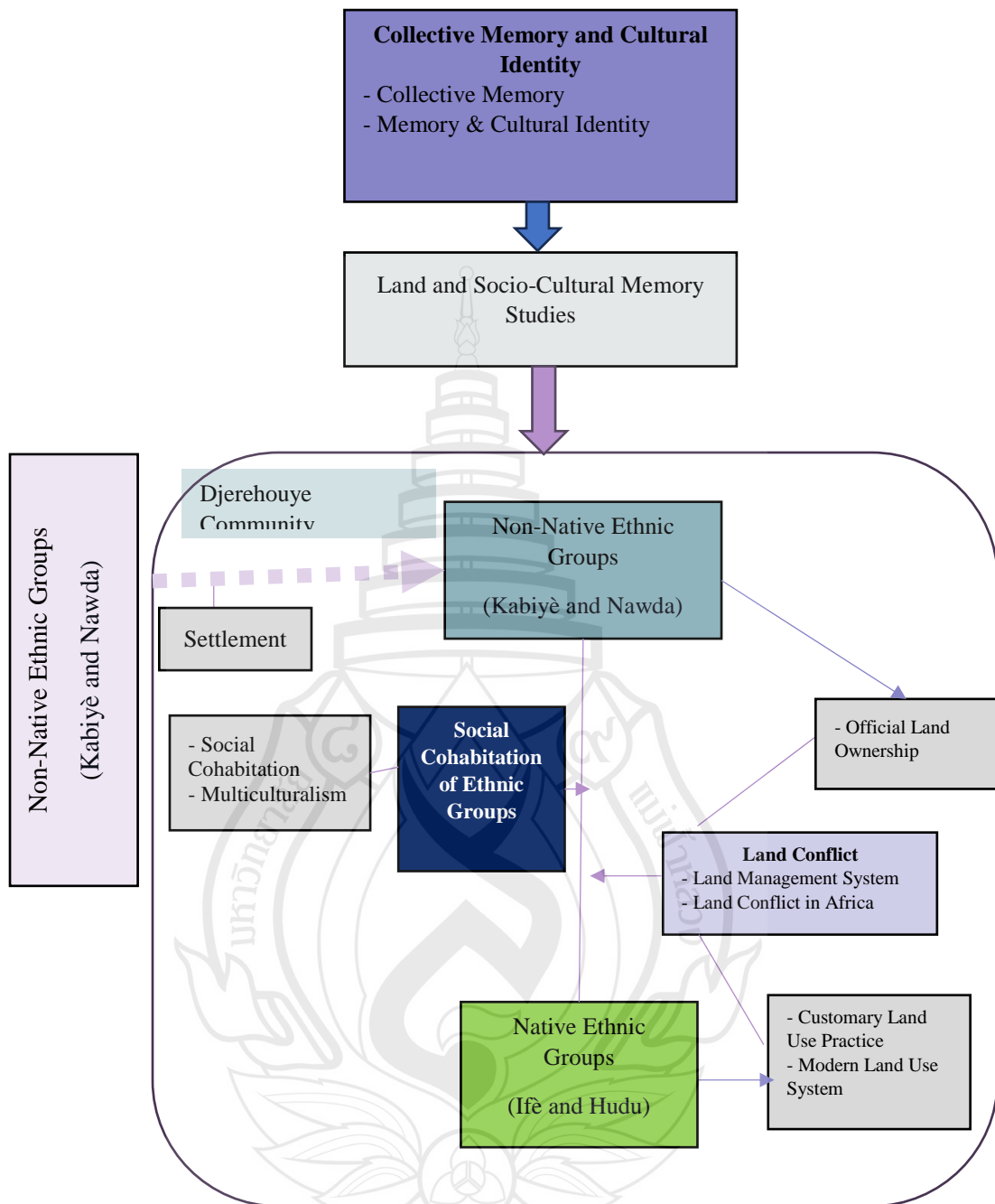


Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework (Developed by author)

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter shows the methodology that was taken to conduct this research. It consists of Research Design, Research Field, Data Collection, Data Analysis, Ethics Consideration, Data validity and Reliability, and Limitations of the Research.

3.1 Research Design

The research is about: “Memories of Land Utilization and Social Cohabitation: A Case Study of Conflict and Cohabiting between Native and Non-Native Ethnic Groups in Djerehouye Village in Togo.” The study examined the justifications and arguments put out by the Hudu, Ifè, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups for their claims of ownership and right to use land in the eastern area of the hamlet of Djerehouye. It covered the memories of social cohabitation in Djerehouye from when the North People arrived and discuss how these ethnic groups handle the village’s land disputes. To achieve these objectives, the research used narrative and descriptive methodology following a qualitative research approach. There have been interviews of Key people in the study field, Djerehouye. In addition, the research also consisted of the consultation of the archives and literature available for this purpose.

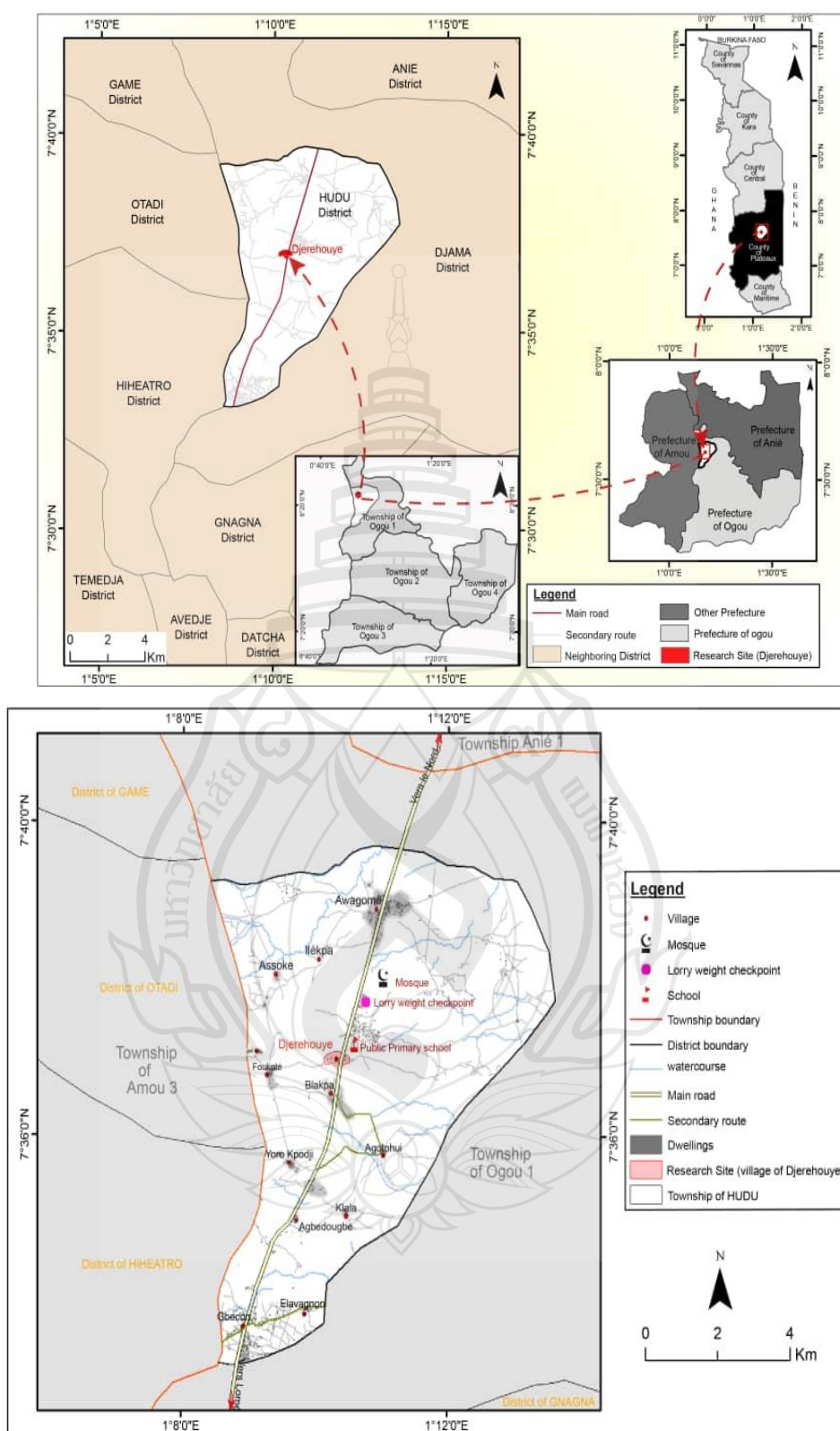
The informants have been chosen randomly. Community leaders helped in organizing the meetings for focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. A total of 22 informants participated in this study including 4 Key People and 18 Ordinary People through group discussions and in-depth interviews. Among the 18 ordinary people, there are 6 women whereas the 4 key people are men. Ordinary People were chosen from those who took part in the group discussions. The 4 Key people were selected based on the fact that they constitute resource persons who have knowledge and information on the village.

The main challenge in this study is the participation of women. For their participation to be effective, the researcher had to go through an association of women making traditional soap. Because most of the women approached for the group discussions and in-depth interviews declined.

3.2 Research Field

The history of the village of Djerehouye dates back to the colonial era in Togo. Indeed, in their policy of developing rural territories from 1925 to 1929, the colonizers set up a policy of occupation of empty and fertile agricultural lands (Gayibor, 1997). It is essentially a question of moving the Kabiye and the Nawda from the North to the South to occupy the zone extending between Atakpamé and Sokodé. That is an emigration village. From this perspective, Djerehouye was created in 1928 with a population estimated at 66 people, including 49 men, 13 women, and 04 children, all moved from the northern part of the country to a new land (Gayibor, 1997). However, it should be noted that before their arrival (the populations of the North), Djerehouye land belonged yet to Hudu and Ifè peoples, whose origin dates back to the settlement of Atakpamé and its surroundings by the people of Atakpa, king of Ifè community.

Djerehouye is located in plateaux county, more precisely in the Ogou prefecture and the Ogou1 district. The village is located on the national No. 1 (The main road that goes to the border of Burkinafaso), between the cities Anié in the North and Atakpamé in the South. It is limited to the South by its direct neighbor Blakpa, to the North by Awagomé, to the Southwest by Foukotè, West by Ilekpá, East by Adjocope and Agotohoui, Northwest by Asoké, to the Southwest by kouraingbain. Nowadays, it refers to the lorry parking that bears its name. According to the census of November 2022, Djerehouye's population is estimated at 877 habitants, with 430 men and 447 women.



Source National Institute of Statistics, Economic and Demographic Studies

Figure 3.1 Research site

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Access to the Field

Access to the site is a key element in the data collection process. Before going to the field of research, requests for authorization were addressed to different administrations and local authorities. First a permission request has been introduced to both the Prefecture of Ogou and the Mayor of the district Ogou1. Second, after getting the permission document from the Prefect and the Mayor, a request for field access permission has been introduced to the district chief of Hudu. After obtaining the official authorization documents, the attachment was made with the responsible of Natives and Non-natives ethnic groups to identify informants. After getting agreement from the informants, appointments have been made for focus group discussion and individual interviews.

3.3.2 Data Collection Process

An interview in a qualitative study is a form of verbal speech (Law et al., 1998). Through it, the participant gives information to the researcher during their conversations. According to Law et al. (1998), the researcher notes all non-verbal gestures and adds them to the collected data during the exchanges. That said, during interviews in qualitative research, the emphasis is on listening to and following up on the orientations given by the informant. A series of open questions are retained for more information in time granted. Researchers use content analysis as a research method to evaluate textual information or transcriptions of precisely recorded social exchanges. Through the systematic categorization process of finding themes, concepts, and meanings, this analytic tool seeks to provide a thorough and in-depth interpretation and analysis of the content of text data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Regarding what is said above, I recorded the data from the informants on the site. During the recording, I paid attention to the non-verbal gestures, noted them down, and then added them to the collected data. Due to time and financial stresses, the data collection consisted of in-depth interviews with twenty-two (22) people and focus group discussions with twenty-two (22) people who were chosen among the villagers and local administration. The sample group has been classified into three age ranges.

The first age range is 40-50 years, the second 50-60 years, and the third 60-80 years. The 40-80 years range justified the willingness to cover the community's different layers. Therefore, young people and elders have been considered in the study.

1. Key Informants

The research involved various key informants who played a significant role in providing the necessary data for this study. They included:

- 1) Two local leaders of Djerehouye village, representing the different ethnic Groups. The two community leaders are men.
- 2) The chief of the district. He is customary land management authority.
- 3) One local government officer. He is the representative of the local government that participated in the study.

Three categories of key informant participated in this study, namely the chief of the Hudu district, the leaders of the ethnic groups (Ife, Hudu, Kabiye and Nawda) and the representative of the local administration. Among these groups of people there is no woman. The non-representation of women in the Key Informants can be explained by the fact that, in terms of local leadership, in this community, traditional chieftaincy is reserved only for men. As for the representative of the local administration, he is the most appropriate agent to provide accurate information about the village.

The key informant were selected based on their knowledge of the village's history, land utilization practices, and social cohabitation experiences.

2. In-Depth Interviews

As far as in-depth interviews are concerned, there were three (3) persons from non-native ethnic groups (kabiye and nawda) and three (3) persons from native ethnic groups (ifè and hudu) corresponding to each age range (40-50; 50-60; 60-80). In addition, four (4) key people were interviewed. The key people were the chief of the district, the responsible of the Ifè and Hudu (Natives), the responsible of the Kabiye and Nawda (Non-natives) and one (1) person from the local administration. Each age range had a representative number of women.

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by using four (4) native languages (Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda) and French, the official language of Togo. The interview and group discussions for the Ifè language, have been

done by the researcher himself being a native speaker, while those in the Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda languages were conducted with the assistance of native speakers of those languages. The native speakers also helped transcribe the data recorded into French before translating into English.

Table 3.1 In-depth interview

In-Depth Interview			
Informant	Group		Number
Local Administration	Government		1
Key Informants	Chief of the District		1
	Responsible of the Ifè and Hudu (Natives)		1
	Responsible of the Kabiye and Nawda (Non-natives)		1
Ordinary People/Age	40-50	Ifè and Hudu	3
		Kabiye and Nawda	3
	50-60	Ifè and Hudu	3
		Kabiye and Nawda	3
	60-80	Ifè and Hudu	3
		Kabiye and Nawda	3
	TOTAL		22

3. Focus Group Discussions

Each of the ethnic groups; the non-native ethnic groups (kabiye and nawda) and the native ethnic groups (ifè and hudu), had their own group discussion session separately. For the age ranges 40-50 and 50-60, the discussions comprised of four (4) people, while for the age range 60-80 the discussion sessions comprised of three (3) people. The informants involved in focus group discussions were different from those selected for in-depth interviews. During the data collection, focus group discussions preceded the in-depth interviews.

Table 3.2 Focus group discussions

Focus Group Discussions			
Informant	Age	Group	Number/Group
Ordinary People Groups	40-50	Ifè and Hudu (Natives)	4
		Kabiyè and Nawda	4
		(Non-natives)	
	50-60	Ifè and Hudu (Natives)	4
		Kabiyè and Nawda	4
		(Non-natives)	
	60-80	Ifè and Hudu (Natives)	3
		Kabiyè and Nawda	3
		(Non-natives)	

3.4 Data Analysis

Qualitative research is conducted on-site, and data analysis is essential (Burns & Grove, 2003). The analysis followed a qualitative coding system to classify the data as meaningful in four steps. First, after collecting data from the field, recorded data from the in-depth interview and focus group discussions were transcribed into French and translated into English. Second, the interviews and observation data were categorized into themes relating to the two research questions. Third, a qualitative coding method was applied to classify interview data according to the number of themes and categories. Fourth, the results from the categories had been the object of analysis by linking them to the two research questions. In addition, quotations were selected from the interviews and focus group discussions to elucidate the themes and concepts.

During the categorization process, the data collected in the field were classified concerning the emerging themes. I had determined a number of categories of which each was gathered of a given number of themes. I had attributed a code to each category and created subcodes to themes to differentiate them. When classifying the themes relating to categories, I had distinguished between recorded verbal data and non-verbal behaviors that I had noted when interviewing.

3.5 Ethics Consideration

Ethical consideration is very relevant when conducting research. It guides researchers in the procedures they must strictly follow regarding a specific ethical method. Regarding the above, I took an ethics exam and received a certificate concerning ethical considerations. As a research student at Mae Fah Luang University, I respected the regulations set up by the University. Therefore, for the regulations, I got approval from Mae Fah Luang University's ethics committee before starting data collection in the field (COA: 259/2023/; Protocol n° EC 23234-23; Date of approval : January, 15, 2024; Date of Expiration: January, 14 2025). Once I got the approval, I submitted a request for permission from local administrative authorities before getting into contact with informants. After completing these steps, I physically dealt with informants and got their permission by presenting them with the consent form and clarifying the voluntary aspect.

Additionally, I had exposed to participants the fundamental aims of the research and the eventual risks that would emerge before getting their agreement to sign the informed consent. The record data were confidential. The data collected from the participants had been only purposed for research. I had upheld the "convention of confidentiality" and maintained the respondents' privacy. The respondents' identity and privacy had been protected throughout the data collection process. I built participants' trust by abiding by the rules and ethical guidelines of the study procedure.

3.6 Data Validity and Reliability

This study derives its data reliability from the fact that the researcher went to the field in the village of Djerehouye, met the informants and collected the information through focus group discussions and interviews. As far as data validity is concerned, it bases on the duration of the information collection process. Indeed, the collection of information took 5 weeks, slightly more than a month.

3.7 Limitations of the Research

The difficulties associated with this are particularly threefold. The first limitation concerns the time it took to obtain Certificate of Approval from the ethics committee. This has impacted the set planning for data collection in the field. The second limitation is related to the participation rate of women in this study. It was difficult for the researcher to convince the women of the village to participate in the data collection process. The third limitation concerns the inadequacy of financial resources. This situation significantly influenced the data collection process.



CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This research deals with memory studies based on land utilization and social cohabitation. To meet the research objectives, concepts of social cohabitation, cultural identity, land management system, and land conflict have been developed through the literature review. Based on these reviewed theories and concepts as well as research objectives, this chapters shows: First the historical background, second social cohabitation and cultural identity, third land utilization, fourth land conflict and fifth towards land conflict resolution. The research findings classified as such highlight the creation of the village, how the different ethnic groups cohabit, the land management systems, land conflict and how land conflict is resolved.

4.1 Historical Background of Djerehouye Village

According to archaeological research, today's Togo land has been inhabited since ancient times (Gayibor, 1997). There were few people during the old settlement, but the first population was scattered throughout the territory. This spreading of the early settlers is due to the search for well-being and welfare. He has added that the current borders of the Togolese state result from successive colonial competitions and divisions between France, Germany, and England. Military expeditions and raids created insecurity in the West African sub-region during the pre-colonial period (Lucien-Brun, 1974). The atmosphere of insecurity had a huge impact on the map of Togo's population before the colonial period. Thus, the search for sites for defense and security was the real occupation of the population. Mountain and high-altitude areas were then prized for being healthy spaces and conducive to agriculture. Then, the region of Atakpamé1, with its mountains, proved to be ideal for serving as a place of refuge and the practice of agricultural work and hunting for populations fleeing wars.

The Atakpamé region (The capital of the Plateaux region), with its mountains, experienced a demographic concentration at the beginning of the 19th century during the pre-colonial era (Adotevi, 1998). Indeed, several communities had gathered on the hills of the Atakpamé area. There were Ifé and Hudu communities, but later, they were joined by the Fon people who took up residence at the foot of the mountains. Before the arrival of the colonizers, many family groups left the mountains to settle in the lowlands around Atakpamé. Therefore, they created villages up to Anié on the north side of Atakpamé city and up to Moutchou on the southern side. The extent of the villages and hamlets created is relatively limited because the distance between the city of Atakpamé, the significant agglomeration, and the new villages would be about 35 km. To the northeast, new hamlets were created in the region of Kpessi on the right bank of the river Mono, and others headed towards the Chra River. Further on the North of Atakpamé, some ethnic groups of various origins founded about thirty hamlets before the arrival of the colonizers.

At the beginning of colonization, large spaces still remained almost uninhabited (Lucien-Brun, 1974). The populated areas were made at a meager rate, so establishing new communities was necessary. However, it is essential to note here the feeling of the first occupant expressed by the populations who would have settled before the arrival of the others considered foreigners. It is, therefore, relevant to consider the native group's reflexes that the first settlers would express toward foreign communities. Generally, in Africa, uninhabited spaces are rarely without owners. In other words, the notion of "no man's land" could not be applied on the African continent without encountering issues. Most of the time, newcomers often face a representative of native populations to claim, on behalf of their community, the right to own the land, whether it is very far away or uninhabited. However, when dealing with ancient communities, it would be pretentious to rigorously practice this point of view. Because it is difficult to recognize the ancient and precise borders that separate the spaces of the different ethnic groups settled on a territory. In reality, ethnic groups that settled first are often not against the arrival of new communities and do not express the idea of choosing the location where strangers should stay. However, they want the newcomers to recognize their title as first settlers and thus recognize their supremacy. This could guarantee them an advantage when resolving conflicts arising from cohabitation. This practice has

become a fundamental principle that governs the early relationship between natives and immigrants in traditional African settings. This precept has been and is still relevant within communities in Togo, particularly in the rural areas of the Centre and South of the country.

In his book entitled “How Europe underdeveloped Africa,” Rodney (2018) has lifted the veil on the different systems developed and implemented by the European countries through colonization to dispossess the African continent of its wealth in several areas. According to him, the situation of underdevelopment that Africa is experiencing today is the result of the excessive exploitation put in place during the colonial period. Togo, a western African country, has paid a huge tribute to colonialism. The country’s undeveloped current status results from the burden of policies implemented during colonization. The prime goal of colonialism was to exploit the natural resources that contain the landscape and the soil of the country on a grand scale. The current borders of the Togolese state came from successive colonial competitions and divisions between France, Germany, and England (Gayibor, 1997).

During colonization, many people from the country’s North were transferred to the central and southern rural areas to occupy empty spaces. The policy of people displacement has been implemented by colonizers for the production of agricultural products to supply their countries.

The movement of Kabiye and Nawda to the central and southern rural areas dates back to the colonial period (Abotchi, 2001). These population movements began during the German colonization. Geographical contrast was a major factor in the distribution of migrant populations within the territory. According to the German colonial administration, these population displacement operations were explained by the fact that the mountain landscape in the northern of the country was overloaded, while the rural areas in the central and southern parts were empty and suitable for agricultural production. However, due to the realities of the territory at that time, the transfer of populations would result from the combination of several factors. The desire to decongest the stony mountain areas with men would be justified. In reality, the land quality in Kabiye and Nawda places does not favor large-scale agriculture. This situation often causes food insecurity among the population. That is why Lucien-Brun (1974) described the population transfer policy as Malthusian. He says it is an operation

based on “population resources.” Another reason for the displacement of populations is linked to the country’s development. A policy of populating empty spaces would be established and implemented during colonization. So, the human resources shortage increased in the country’s center and South. The construction of new roads and the maintenance of existing roads and the railway required an abundant workforce.

Also, producing crops for exportation, such as cotton, needs valuable workers. The Germans had forced Kabyè and Nawda to move to the rural lands in the South, far away from those who constituted blocks for colonial expansion, with a deliberate desire to break their warlike ardor. With regard to all the above, one may say that many reasons back the policy of kabyè and Nawda displacement to new rural places in the center and South of Togo. The movements of the Kabyè and Nawda began in 1909, the period of German colonization. However, five years later, the Germans were forced to leave Togo in August 1914 because of their defeat in World War I (Cornevin, 1969). However, it should be noted that the German policy of transferring the Kabiye and Nawda populations to the South did not significantly impact the host areas due to its short duration before the start of WWI. It was under the French administration that the policy intensified and had a real impact on the country’s development.

French colonizers began the Kabyè and Nawda’s transplantation policy in 1923 under the Commissioner of the Republic Bonnacarrère (He was a French administration governor during colonization period in Togo in 1922-1933). Around the end of 1924, he informed the Commanders of Sokodé, Mr. Coez, and Atakpamé, Mr. Armand, about the creation of the first villages of agricultural colonization. From 1926 to 1930, 11 immigrant villages were created in the region of Sokodé and 31 in Atakpamé. Five years later, 11 other villages were established along the railway that covered the Anié area. These movements of the Kabyè and Nawda then continued until the aftermath of WWII. However, it is necessary to know that from the 1930s, when forced displacements of populations were organized, voluntary and spontaneous migrations were also practiced, and this has not stopped since then.

Indeed, the arrival of Bonnacarrère in Togo as governor of the country has speeded up the space of land management policy. The French administration’s land occupation policy has greatly influenced land management in the country. Indeed, according to Gayibor (1997), the French administration implemented a policy of

developing rural territories from 1925 to 1929. The policy aimed to enable the occupation of empty rural spaces in the country's central and southern rural areas (Gayibor, 1997). It is essentially a question of moving the Kabiye and the Nawda from the North to the South to occupy the zone extending between Atakpamé and Sokodé. The program for effectively developing Togo's resources pushed the French colonizer to consider the workforce. That is why the Kabiye and Nawda peoples were displaced and forced to settle in Djerehouye. Their installation aimed to produce basic necessities and products intended for export. The presence of communities from the North of the country in Djerehouye has contributed to the transformation of the locality.

The history of the village of Djerehouye dates back to the colonial era in Togo. The creation of the village of Djerehouye stems from the policy of settlement of empty rural areas in the center and South of the country. This policy carried out by Bonnacarrère will greatly influence land in the Plateaux region in general and in Djerehouyé in particular. Then, Kabiye and Nawda were displaced to unoccupied lands in the southern part of Atakpamé. From this perspective, Djerehouye was created in 1928 with a population estimated at 66 people, including 49 men, 13 women, and 04 children, all moved from the northern part of the country to a new land (Gayibor, 1997). However, it should be noted that before their arrival (the populations of the North), Djerehouyé land belonged yet to Hudu and Ifè peoples, whose origin dates back to the settlement of Atakpamé and its surroundings by the people of Atakpa, king of Ifè community. Concerning the creation of the village Tagbé, the chief of the district, states:

“The village has been officially created around 1928, during French colonization. Djerehouye is situated at the eastern part, especially at the former train station. That is where Kabiye people settled when they arrived. Their settlement had been initiated by governor Freau of French government. But before the arrival of Kabiye and Nawda, there were three Hudu collectivities: Kpondaha, Bobo and Hunkpati before colonization. The native people had built them houses with straw. Each family had to bring them food. In return the Kabiye people used to help native communities in agricultural duties. Then after the native populations gave them lands for farming.”

Tagbé (personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

Mr. Harris, a local administration officer says:

“The village of Djerehouye was created during the French colonization of Togo. The people were deported from the north of the country and forcibly settled in this part of the Ogou prefecture.”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

The colonization areas of the region of Atakpamé in the south have continued to register the arrival of the Kabyè and Nawda ever since. In the Atakpamé region, most of the localities created by the colonial administration served as places to welcome populations from the north of Togo. Since the early 1950s, these voluntary and spontaneous movements have taken over and not ended. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the geographical landscape of the northern regions does not allow for large-scale agriculture. In search of fertile soils, these populations are compelled to move to the southern part. According to Lucien-Brun (1974), the population of the localities founded by voluntary and spontaneous displaced persons around the Atakpamé region increased from 1,000 people in 1932 to 5,000 in 1946 and to 34,663 in 1960.

The Kabyè and Nawda populations settled in Djerehouye partly helped the French administrators to achieve their objective. They have made it possible to humanize virgin and dangerous spaces, which served as places of habitation for wild animals. Their presence has also helped to increase agricultural production. These arrivals, which aimed to increase agricultural productivity on behalf of the metropolis, positively impacted relations between the colonized and the immigrants on the cultural level (National Archive of Togo: NAT). Mr. Harris, a local administration officer explains:

“The first Kabyè population were brought on Djerehouye land by colonizers. They were from today’s prefecture of Binah (It is an administrative subdivision in the north of Togo and locates in the Kara region). Nawda community would join them later. All of the first people who arrived from the north died, and those who live in Djerehouye today are their descendants.”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

Among the multiple speech communities' people in ancient Togo, there is the Ifè speech community. Adotevi (1999) suggests that Ifè people came from Egypt before moving to Oyo in the western region of Nigeria. In 1654, Ifè people moved from Oyo, where they used to live together with the Yoruba people. The area where they lived in Nigeria is known as Ile- Ifè, meaning "Ifè house," a religious town where the chiefs were named Oni. The chief's sons divided the country among themselves throughout the 17th century. As a result, several little kingdoms were established and engaged in tribal conflicts. Ifè people had to flee these tribal battles by moving westward into Benin and then farther westward toward Togo. The Ifè community lives in the Atakpamé region and other prefectures such as Tchamba, Est Mono, Anie, and Yoto. The Atakpamé region is considered cosmopolitan, like several areas of Togo. This region is mainly populated by the Ifè, Hudu, and Fon communities, but the Ifè and Hudu people are the big groups.

Hudu community lives in the Atakpamé region and probably left Notsè in the second half of the 17th century (Adotevi, 1999). Atakpamé is the capital of Ogoou Prefecture. The Prefecture comprises eight (08) districts: Djama, Hudu, Gleï, Akpare, Datcha, Tchettï, Katore, and Hountivou. Ifè and Hudu communities are the most represented and have created villages such as Klala, Agbedougbe, Gbekon, Blakpa, Djerehouye, and Kesseve. The land of Djerehouye is said to be the property of the Ifè and Hudu communities. They have been using the land for agricultural purposes for a long time before settling and living. The Hudu and the Ifè have very cordial relations because they have all fled the wars and also the slave raids from Benin (Adotevi, 1999).

The arrival and settlement of immigrants have spread throughout the region of Atakpamé. Therefore, the population of the districts of the region has increased significantly due to the presence of people who came from the north of the country. The table below highlights the immigrants' situation in 1959-1960.

Table 4.1 The demographic situation of Kabiyè and Nawda immigrants in three districts of the Atakpamé region in 1959-1960

District	Number of Immigrant's villages	Number of Populations	Land Masters
Hudu	54	7.597	Hudu
Djama	21	2.639	Ifè
Nyanya	70	5.932	Ifè

Source Adapted from Lucien-Brun (1974, pp. 31-34)

Table 4.1 presents the demographic situation of Kabiyè and Nawda immigrants in three districts of the Atakpamé region in 1959-1960. The analysis of the table shows the number of immigrant villages, the number of inhabitants per district, and the landowners per district. The Hudu district, where the research site is located, has 54 immigrant villages. The Hudu district has the largest population. The landowners in this district are from the Hudu ethnic group. The abundance of land suitable for farming explains this district's high number of inhabitants. The table also shows that the landowners in all three districts are Hudu and Ifè.

As the village's population grew, so did the need for essential social services. To meet this challenge, a primary school was created to provide basic education for the children. The public primary school of Djerehouye was created on September 16, 1983 (Figure 4.1). The school began under straw huts; years later, a building was established to serve as a classroom.

Figure 4.2 shows the village primary school's current classrooms. There are two buildings with three classrooms each. Teaching in the village today starts in kindergarten and ends in grade 6. At the end of the primary school curriculum, pupils must continue their secondary studies at colleges in nearby villages. They may also go on to study in the larger towns.



Source National Archives of Togo

Figure 4.1 Picture of the primary public school of Djerehouye in 1983



Source Photo by the author from the research field

Figure 4.2 Picture of the primary public school of Djerehouye February 2024

In conclusion, Djerehouye was created during colonization according to the implementation of the policy of settlement of empty rural areas in the center and south of Togo. The Kabiye and Nawda ethnic groups were forced to move to Djerehouye space, which seemed unoccupied. Once they settled, they used the land and transformed the place that had become inhabited. Their settlement did not encounter any resistance from the Hudu and Ifè ethnic groups who lived around the space. However, due to human activities and needs, native people who are Hudu and Ifè would have to cohabite with Kabiye and Nawda ethnic groups in the village. Later, a primary school was created to ensure education for the children of Djerehouye.

4.2 Social Cohabitation and Cultural Identity in Djerehouye

4.2.1 Social Cohabitation

Living together in the same space as different ethnic groups is implied by social cohabitation. Despite cultural differences, members of these ethnic groups often form interpersonal connections and partnerships (Schimmel & Wu, 2011). When people from diverse cultures, customs, and beliefs live in the same everyday setting, it is known as social cohabitation. Harmonious cohabitation relationships are the product of mutual conduct, which can occasionally lead to arguments. Social cohabitation is the cornerstone of national unity since distinct ethnic groups must coexist peacefully to preserve national unity (Schimmel & Wu, 2011). When one considers how civilizations might capitalize on their ethnic variety, social cohabitation has various advantages (Adams & Sydnie, 2001).

What is said above about the social cohabitation phenomenon and its different characteristics is attested in the research field. The research found that the arrival of the Kabyè and Nawda in Djerehouye brought about a cultural fusion that was strengthened by the multiplication of events concerning interpersonal and inter-ethnic relations. Inter-ethnic marriages, which have influenced the eating habits of the ethnic groups, are the most striking examples of the cultural intermingling that has taken place. Native women and men marry immigrant women and men, and vice versa. Mr. Albert, the responsible for non-native ethnic groups, says that:

“In this village native and non-native people cohabite. People use to pay visit to each other. Non-native people are used to share foods with the natives and vice versa. We also have marriages among the young people of all the communities that form the village. For example, we celebrate together Odontsu (The new yam festival celebration in Atakpamé region in August yearly) the new yam festivities every year, which is a celebration of natives.”

Mr. Albert (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

Mr. Mendey, the responsible of Natives states:

“In this village, the different ethic groups get on well together. Families get on with each other without any significant concern for social cohabitation. I use to pay visit to the responsible of Non-natives. We discuss together on development concerns of the village”

Mr. Mendey (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

It emerged from the interview that the native and non-native ethnic groups cohabite in the village without any critical problems: the immigrant population and the native population exchange through interpersonal relationships. The interviewee raised the living level of the inhabitants when they used to share meals and the marriage between different cultures. Also, celebrating the new yam festival constitutes an aspect of the good social cohabitation practiced in Djerehouye.

The space inhabited by the Kabiyè and Nawda seemed devoid of people. However, it belonged to the Hudu and Ife communities, who managed to maintain their autochthony. The presence of any outsider always provokes the reaction of a responsible Indigenous individual who acts on behalf of his community for possession of the land. However, in the context of this research, it is important to emphasize that the French administration consulted the Atakpamé region's traditional leaders before establishing the first Kabiyè and Nawda deported in Djerehouye. Relations between the minority natives and the migrants were often fraternal. The inhabitants of Kabyè and Nawda (Non-natives) admit that the Hudu and Ifè (natives) warmly welcomed their grandparents. For example, Mrs. Jasmine, a native woman says:

“Our parents told us that the first non-native people who arrived in this village were welcomed warmly. Their settlement did not encounter any adversity. By the time native and non-native became brothers and sisters.”

Mrs. Jasmine (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Mrs. Dyna, a non-native woman adds:

“My parents told me that our grandfathers, who first came here during colonization, were welcomed and settled by some Hudu and Ifè who lived around the village.”

Mrs. Dyna (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

The Hudu and Ifè of Djerehouye, on the one hand, have acquired the ability to eat dishes prepared by immigrants, such as bean-flour-based cakes named “titindè,” “bebergou,” “kékare.” These dishes are prepared with the local potash “djim,” extracted from distilled ash. Hudu and Ifè women have also learned how to prepare the local sorghum beer “tchoukoutou.” This drink has become increasingly popular in the village. On the other hand, Non-natives also became familiar with the culinary traditions and beverages of the natives. Palm wine came to be appreciated and enjoyed by the immigrants. The Hudu and Ifè then incorporate a sauce made from sesame, groundnuts, bean leaves, okra, and dry okra, which was previously unknown. The crops grown have been affected by these new eating habits. Sorghum, with which the Hudu and Ifè were unfamiliar, is now one of their crops. Mrs. Jane states:

“I learned cooking dry okra sauce mixed with sesame and red oil when I married my late kabiye husband.”

Mrs. Jane (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

The informant’s point of view shows that the cohabitation of different cultural people in Djerehouye produces exchanges of experience, skills, and knowledge. Native and non-native populations use to help each other through their various skills. Native women learn dishes cooking from non-native women. Also, because the Kabiye and Nawda mastered the traditional technique of straw roofing, Hudu, and Ifè may call upon them to reinforce the roofs of the damaged houses of the natives. Kitchens with round

roofs are becoming increasingly common in Djerehouye, as are the homes built by non-natives on their farms.

Another aspect of social cohabitation revealed through this research concerns naming. Surnames such as Kossi, Kokou, Yawo, Adjo, Ama, and Afi. may be borrowed from the Kabiye and Nawda families. Similarly, some family heads, because of the recurrent deaths of newborn babies, might give the Kabiye name Abalo to new boys to divert the attention of evil spirits. There is also the practice of cash loans and agricultural produce. Because of financial needs, people from different backgrounds support each other, and repayment is sometimes made with agrarian produce after the harvest. Loans between immigrants and natives also involve agricultural produce during the lean season. Sometimes, the natives ask the Kabiye and Nawda for labor to work in the fields. Some descendants of non-natives who have settled in Djerehouye are local administration and council members. From the field research, the researcher could meet people named popular names such as Kossi and Kokou for boys and Ama and Afi for ladies. These famous names are given to boys and ladies of all the different ethnic groups. For instance, Mr. Harris, a local administration officer, says:

“Since they live together the Kabiye and Nawda nowadays use to give to their kids the names that in the past were only given to the native children.”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

Mrs. Dyna, a non-native woman states:

“There are a lot of things that we share among us in this village. I know several of children from Kabiye and Nawda community, who have common names of people in the south of the country. This is often the case in mixed families where the father is a non-native and the mother is a native and vice versa.”

Mrs. Dyna (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

To sum up, the Natives and the Non-natives cohabit in the same space of Djerehouye. The research found five social cohabitation cases observed in the village. First, the different ethnic groups visited each other and shared food. Second, young people of native and non-native get married among themselves. Third, the village's

entire population celebrates the new yam festival yearly. Fourth, there is the sharing of experiences, knowledge practices, and so on between ethnic groups. Fifth, popular names for boys and girls are used within different ethnic groups. These five examples of social cohabitation prove that there are interpersonal exchanges among the natives and non-natives without any significant obstacles in Djerehouye.



Figure 4.3 Picture of a non-native family house



Figure 4.4 Picture of houses of natives and non-natives sharing the same space



Figure 4.5 Picture of a compound of a native family

4.2.2 Cultural Identity

Hall (1990) emphasizes the characteristics of cultural identity from the vital role of memory in constructing our identities throughout our daily social interactions. According to Triandis (1989), cultural identity constitutes a facet of subjective culture comprising cultural components, including roles, social customs, beliefs, and values held by a distinct group of people and transmitted from one generation to the next. As a result, people belonging to one of the two national groups identify more with people in their own group than those in the other national group. While individuals belonging to distinct ethnic groups within a nation-state could have commonalities in the broader national culture, they might not share ethnicity-based components of their own cultures. Thus, several levels of cultural identification may be distinguished between national and ethnic identities.

This research found that the cultural identity phenomenon is observable in the village of Djerehouye. Despite the pressure exerted by the colonialists on the Kabiye and Nawda populations in Djerehouye, the beginnings of their settlement could not be considered a definitive break with their origins. However, with the opening up of rural areas through the construction of railways, roads, and tracks, the concept of the area of departure reappeared. The Kabiye, like the Nawda who had been deported to Djerehouye, were aware of their origins in the North, which until then had not been

clearly defined. The periodic arrival of new voluntary displaced persons increased the number of Kabiye and Nawda in the village. Waves of spontaneous displacements also increased, given the favorable natural conditions for agricultural diversification and more beneficial farming practices in Djerehouye. The successive displacements were to encourage the renewal of links with their origins, despite the psychological pressure exerted before the transfer to reduce the effect of nostalgia for their origins. Mr. Roger, a non-native informant, says:

“Our first grand fathers who were transferred here during colonization did not deny their origin. They have kept the link with their families who stayed in the north. That’s why we too never stop going to homeland from time to time perform ancestral practices.”

Mr. Roger (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

Tradition teaches that the land of origin cannot be forgotten in Africa. With this in mind, feelings of belonging and trust are established. These feelings are then consolidated through the organization of various cultural and ancestral practices, such as funeral ceremonies, protection rites, ceremonies of thanks to the gods and ancestors at the end of the harvest, rites for the release of newborn babies.

Based on my observations, the Kabiye and Nawda people in Djerehouye still perform ancestral practices that their ancestors transmitted. These practices allow them to keep in contact with their homeland. The Kabiye and the Nawda deal with the phenomenon of death in the same way they do in their homeland, and attach importance to funerals. According to them, death is still a phenomenon full of myths. The dead never cease to prowl around their home until the rites necessary for their departure from the world of the living are performed. To this end, the bodies of the deceased, especially those of the elderly, are brought back to the original village in the North for burial. Then, the family has to travel to the original village to carry out funeral rites to allow the deceased's soul to rest and join ancestors. January and February, which mark the end of agricultural work, are often known as the time when funerals are organized in their original places or villages. There are ceremonies concerning new babies, thanksgiving rituals for nature and ancestors for new crops. Mr. Jo, states:

“When there is a death in our families, we follow the traditional rites as it is done in our original villages located in the north of the country. Sometimes, when the deceased is of advanced age, we are compelled to bury the body in the land of our ancestors, that is the original village. If an elder deceased is buried in Djerehouye, it is considered to be a foreign land, which would prevent him or her from regenerating. We also perform libation ceremonies to thank nature, gods and ancestors for abundant harvest. All these practices ensure that we don’t forget the customary practices of our tradition.”

Mr. Jo (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

Mrs. Ema, a non-native woman says:

“Ancestral practices have been respected in this village ever since our grandparents arrived. We follow the same practices as those observed in our native villages, especially funeral rites and thanks giving ceremonies to deities and ancestors.”

Mrs. Ema (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

The interviews highlight the cultural identity of non-native ethnic groups in Djerehouye. Kabiye and the Nawda continue the practices and ceremonies their grandfathers brought from their original villages to preserve their culture and ancestral beliefs. According to them, funerals are essential for harmony and peace in families and, by extension, the whole community. Grieving families do not fail in their funeral duties to avoid bad luck and long-term misfortune within the clan. Most of the time, the other ceremonies are related to giving thanks to gods and nature for new crops. The Kabiye and Nawda of Djerehouye maintain links with their brothers and sisters who stay in their original villages. The different practices and skills of the kabiye and nawda settled in Djerehouye show that they maintain their cultural identity. Cultural identities, according to Holliday (2010), may be composed of many different elements, many of which can go beyond national lines, such as religion, ancestry, skin color, language, discourse, class, education, career, skills, community, family, activities, region, friends, food, attire, political opinions and so on. That said, one can consider cultural identity as what enables people to keep in contact with their homeland.

In conclusion, the phenomenon of cultural identity is attested in the village of Djéréhouyé, which is examined in the interviews in this sub-section. The traditional rites and practices of the Kabiye and Nawda that I could see during the data collection process constitute examples of their intrinsic attachment to their original place. Funeral and burial ceremonies are performed in Djerehouye the same way they do in their original villages. Most of them travel to their original town yearly for traditional ritual practices. They also use to transfer significantly older adult's dead bodies to their village to perform burial ceremonies. Other examples are rites for new babies, thanksgiving to nature, and ancestors for new crops. Even though the Kabiye and Nawda interact with the Hudu and Ifè populations, they still keep their beliefs and customs, that is, cultural identity.

4.3 Land Utilization in Djerehouye

According to Foli (1987), land has always been where humans carry out various activities. So, land has been vital and valuable to all peoples and almost all civilizations. In the Neolithic period, for example, people became sedentary because land was conducive to human life. Within African communities, the special character of land was based on its mystical-religious dimension and its collective management (Foli, 1987). People's attachment to the land is reflected in their communal organization. Land management is of great interest in planning and implementing public policies about the needs of people in society. There are two ways of accessing land in Togo: customary practices and the modern system, just like Sossou (2016) mentioned in his article. Customary practices predominate, while modern land tenure is the imported system. The local indigenous populations, aware of the status and importance of the land, had succeeded in establishing strict rules for its management and conservation. It is undeniable that in implementing their land reclamation program, the German and French colonial administrations overturned traditional land management practices thanks to the emergence of new convictions.

4.3.1 Customary Land Use Rights

1. The Actors Involved in Customary Land Management

Based on my observation, customary land management in this study is characterized by a synergy of actors that the village chief directs. This organization is established in such a way as to enable each entity and each member to be involved in land management. However, it is necessary to point out that each actor's involvement is limited to that of another hierarchically superior stakeholder. This section aims to highlight the various actors that intervene in customary land management in Djéréhouyé and the extent of their actions. The data collected on the field underline five actors participating in land management in the village of Djerehouye. The five actors are:

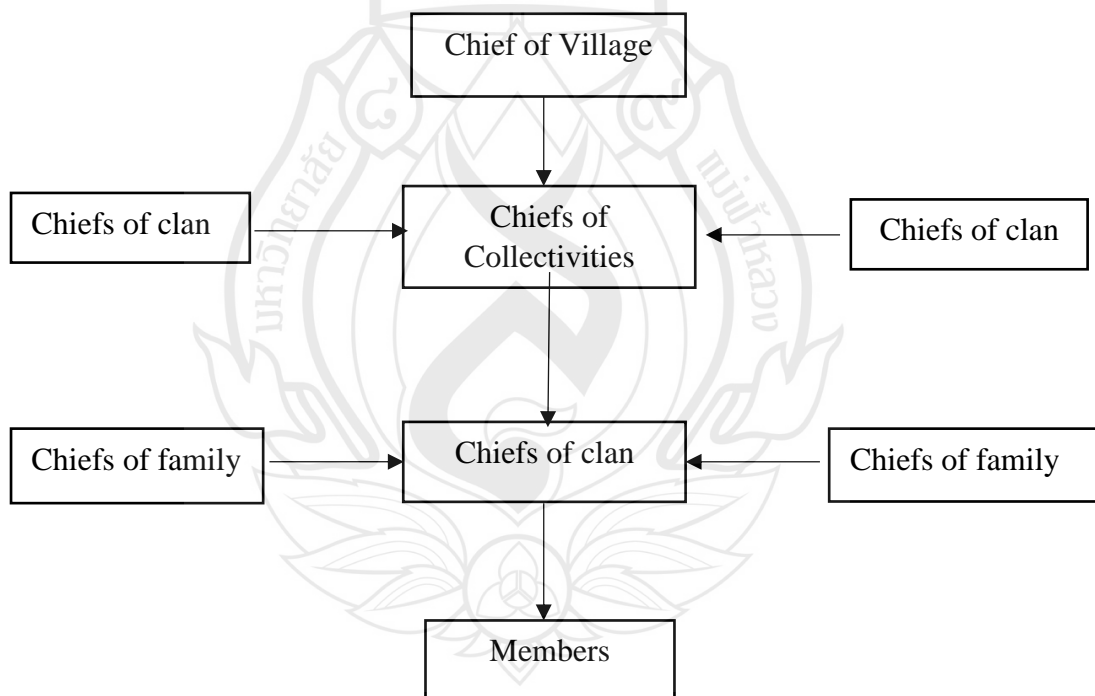
The chief of the village: The village chief is the representative of the central or regional authority in the village. This research found that the village chief knows the boundaries and size of the land in his territory. They also see the demarcation of the plots of land of the various communities that compose the village. Hence, they ensure that the land's boundaries are respected to avoid disputes. The chief usually holds meetings with community leaders to ensure that customary land use practices are respected. Any failure to comply with the rules may result in a reminder or reprimand. The village chief is the protector and guarantor of customs and traditions. They are responsible for the entire political and social organization of the village. They consider the chief to be the incarnation of the ancestors, the link between the visible and invisible worlds at the village level.

The chiefs of collectivities: They act as an intermediary between the population and the village chief, ensuring that the rules governing land ownership and acquisition are respected within the various collectivities. Collectivities chiefs are dependent on the village chief for land management. They are responsible for land dispatching among collectivity members. They ensure that the boundaries of community-owned land are respected. They settle land disputes between members of the same community. They report regularly to the village chief on how the land in their respective communities is managed. Any land transfer to another community member must be notified to the village chief. The head of a collectivity can only allocate a plot of land with the agreement of other collectivity members.

The chiefs of clan: They are responsible for ensuring their clan's future and preserving its heritage. They always defend the clan's land interests. They participate in collectivity meetings concerning land management. A clan is then composed of various families.

The chiefs of families: The chiefs of families are responsible for their families' land. They assist the chief of the clan in their duties. They ensure that the family's plots of land are not given to other clan members. In a land dispute, they are compelled to settle within the family. They convoke and conduct family meetings related to land issues. They are responsible for managing and controlling the plots of land their families own.

Members: They are people who belong to families. They assist family chiefs in their functions, participate in family meetings regarding land, and report any changes in the demarcation of family land to the family chief.



Source Developed by the author

Figure 4.6 Diagram of the actors involved in customary land management in Djerehouye

Figure 4.6 shows that land management at Djerehouye is carried out by a hierarchical structure headed by the village chief. The other actors are all under his authority. The actions of each actor are strictly limited. Indeed, five prominent actors

are involved in land management. From the bottom to the top, the structure starts with the family member, followed by the head of the family, then the clan leaders, after intervene the chiefs of the collectivities, and finally the chief of the village. Each of the five actors ensures that the rules established for land management are respected. They work in synergy to ensure fair land management.

2. Non-Native's Claim of Land Use Right

Land management is a practice that requires a great deal of attention to guarantee social peace within communities. Hence, regarding the importance of land management for communities in the village of Djerehouye, this study seeks to answer the following question: What kind of memories do Kabiye and Nawda (non-native) ethnic groups have on the eastern part of land in Djerehouye village to claim their land use right? This section deals with the rationale of the land use proper claim by Kabiye and Nawda ethnic groups on land in Djerehouye.

The premium practice in customary land management in Djerehouye is the principle of occupation. Occupation is the establishment of a group of individuals or an individual in an area with no evidence of human presence. In other words, it is an area where no human activity is practiced. The colonial administration in Togo called this area “empty land” or “land without an owner.” In short, all these terms express the emptiness of an area or domain (Gayibor, 1997). Therefore, based on the principle, the Kabiye and Nawda of Djerehouye considered themselves landowners. In this research, occupation refers to the material facts that constitute the modification of the physiognomy of the land: it is its valuing. The Kabiye and Nawda settled in the area and used the land to practice agricultural activities. However, it is essential to mention that simple occupation does not mean exclusive possession of all the space but rather the plots occupied and used. Mrs. Jane says:

“We are not asking them to leave the village. Because at the arrival of their grandfathers the land they occupied and transformed belong to them. They cannot claim ownership of the whole village.”

Mrs. Jane (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

According to this interview, the Kabiye and Nawda may claim land ownership only for the lands or plots their grandfathers and grandmothers occupied and used in the past at their settlement. They cannot claim to be owners of the whole village. However, land acquisition in this research is not limited to the principle of occupation. There is also a practice of transferring plots of land to communities or groups of people from other areas.

While ownership has never been absolute in traditional African society, even when land is handed down by gift, it is preserved for future generations. Donation constitutes a customary transfer of land property proper practices in Djerehouye. The research found that land acquisition can be materialized by donation. The customs in the village of Djerehouye recognize donations. According to the data collected in the field, the natives used donations to give land to the first Kabiye and Nawda immigrants who arrived during and after the colonial period. Once the non-native ethnic groups had settled on the land, it became their common property. The collective nature of the land does not prevent group members from acquiring plots for cultivation or residence. The space granted to an individual for development is not immediately their property. It is guaranteed to be passed on to other lineage members or the next generation. Donations used for land acquisition in the village remain irrevocable. Mr. Harris, a local administration officer, states:

“As an illustration, when the Ife and Hudu ancestors donated land to the Kabiye and Nawda immigrants, the latter had become owners of the land they occupied and use until today.”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

In addition to the two traditional land acquisition practices above, inheritance plays an essential role. After the death of the head of a family, land inheritance is managed by the eldest son or daughter. He or she does not automatically acquire ownership of the family land heritage. However, he or she is considered to have the experience to manage this common asset. Mr. Tony explains:

“The land that I’m cultivating today is a heritage from my dead father. When he died our uncle, the younger brother of our father shared the plots my late father used to farm for us his children.”

Mr. Tony (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

In conclusion, the Kabiyè and Nawda (Non-natives) base their rationale for claiming land ownership on the principle of occupation, donation, and inheritance. According to them, their parents settled on unoccupied land. Then, they transformed the land through human activities. The lands became donations, then inherited by their descendants.

3. Native’s Claim of Their Land Use Right

Customary land management in Djerehouye does not formally guarantee ownership rights to the Ife and Hudu (native) ethnic groups. To prove their right to ownership and title as the first occupants of the land, they base their main argument on the sacredness of the land. Therefore, what kind of memories do the Ife and Hudu have on the eastern part of the land in Djerehouye village to claim their land use, right?

In the mindset of natives, there is a strong relationship between land and gods in Djerehouye village. According to them, the universe is not simple; it contains objects represented by spirits, which means that earthly deities inhabit them. These objects are the sea, rivers, trees, rocks, and the earth. Indeed, the Ife and Hudu communities in Djerehouye attach great importance to the land. Therefore, land is considered the mediator between people and the gods. During religious ceremonies, they always refer to land for which the gods are eternal. Offerings are made to the land gods through drinks, and the blood of immolated animals is poured on the land for gods to drink. This practice is so widespread in families that an individual never forgets to pour a quantity of drink on the ground for gods. I could see piles of stones with traces of animal blood and poultry feathers standing for gods’ or deities’ representations in the corners of some native informants’ houses. For instance, Mr. Mendey, the responsible of Natives, says:

“In our tradition, land is considered as a sacred object. There are gods or divinities that we worship and which are responsible of our protection. These gods are created and worshiped by our ancestors before the settlement of immigrants. I can give the names of gods such as ‘Bara’, ‘Otchoymaré’, ‘Ogou’, ‘Irègba’ and ‘Tchankpana’. The

village is protected from invaders and the populations are warned of the various bad weather conditions. This enabled the great fetishists who are all natives to organize cults to the gods in order to maintain harmony within the city.”

Mr. Mendey (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Mr. Hope, a native old man states:

“The land is very sacred in our culture. Our ancestors had an intrinsic link with our land. That is why they protect the whole village against invaders and evils spells.”

Mr. Hope (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

It emerged from this interview that the land remains the dwelling place of gods, according to natives. The ancestors brought or created these various gods and deities to protect their lands. So, the native populations of Djerehouye believe in “Bara,” which represents fertility and is also the god of the forest; “Otchoymaré,” the god of water; “Ogou,” the god of nature; “Irègba,” the deity which protects the town; and “Tchankpana,” the god of the land. The land bears several prohibitions that confirm its sacred nature. In the Hudu and Ifè traditions, occupation of a territory is not based solely on geographical location. It is also associated with discussions with the invisible forces of nature, which sometimes lead to pacts. For example, the rule prohibiting sweeping, whistling, and pounding at night is still in force in the village. Whistling at night and midday is reserved for the land’s god, “Tchankpana.”

Since native ancestors were creators of the gods and deities in the village, there is a strong link between them and the land. The land in Djerehouye is considered the property of native ancestors since they are the first to settle. This is why land has an intrinsic link with the first occupants, reflected in a series of signs observed by descendants consistent with the will of the founders (Oladokoun, 2000). The populations of Djerehouye live a traditional life characterized by regular and meaningful tributes to their ancestors. They implore their ancestors through ceremonies when the occasion arises or when circumstances require. The dead are perceived as positive or negative spirits, and it is impossible to appease and conquer them other than through regular offerings, sacrifices, and prayers. Libation ceremonies always precede any land donation, where people call to

invite the ancestors as witnesses. The older community members invite their ancestors to attend the donation and peacefully host the receiver in their space. Mr. Herman, states:

“Our ancestors are always present through their souls and ensure our lands protection. The link between the living and the dead must never be broken, because the ancestors are the first to settle on land. Most of prohibitions related to land were established by our ancestors. That is why as their descendants we call upon them to bless the land we use and exploit. During the new yam festival held in July-August every year, there are offerings to ancestors as a sign of gratitude. There are sacred places in the town where the ancestors are called upon in the event of misfortune that could have a negative impact on the population.”

Mr. Herman (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

The Natives’ conception of the sacredness of the land pushes them to raise the prohibition of land sale. Considering themselves as land masters, the natives do not accept land sales. Land sale prohibition constitutes natives’ respect for gods and ancestors who did not allow land transactions. In this research, the ban on land sale represents inalienability. Because inalienability is considered a prohibition of land sale in African customs. Various elements influence the inalienable nature of the land in Djerehouye. In the native communities met in the field, the principle of land inalienability gained particular importance. This is explained by the links between the gods and the land on the one hand and the land and the ancestors on the other. Within the structure of traditional life in the village of Djerehouye, the relationship between populations and the land goes beyond merely material. It has a religious origin, as land is considered sacred and is the object of worship. Land is more than just a physical object; it is exempt from transactions. The prohibition on selling land mentioned in this study is a reality that considers the people’s cultural life. This lifestyle is rooted in the relationship between the land and the ancestors, in the sacredness of the land, in its greatness as the ancestors’ lodge and the seat of the divinities, and the rapprochement between the living and the dead. For example, Mr. Kim, a native informant says:

“Land sale prohibition within native communities dates so far. In the past, our ancestors forbade land selling. Those who tried disrespecting the principle died because the gods did not allow it. The land is a gift from almighty God; why can people sell it? Our ancestors gained lands of the village from God; they could not sell it to other people. They could only give.”

Mr. Kim (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Mrs. Jane, a native woman adds:

“In our childhood a dangerous illnesses occurred in the village and were caused by the wrath of the gods. Because the prohibition on selling land was not respected by a clan chief who sold plots of land to foreigners.”

Mrs. Jane (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

In conclusion, native’s rationale for land ownership rights claim is mainly based on the sacredness of the land. The sacred status of land plays an essential role in the mindset of the Ifè and Hudu within the Djerehouye community. For them, their ancestors gained the village’s lands from the almighty God, and they could not allow its transactions. However, the land is sacred and links firmly with gods, deities, and ancestors. In order to respect God’s will, they stated the prohibition of land sale. They only allowed giving land. The natives perform ceremonies, rites, and worships related to land.



Figure 4.7 Picture of maize farm



Figure 4.8 Picture of teck plantation

4.3.2 Modern Land Management System

A new land management system was introduced during colonization to replace the traditional social order of the customary land system practiced in 1902 (Péchoux, 1939). Then, the gradual replacement of the customary land use system started. With the introduction of a new land management system by the colonial administration, new ideas emerged about the traditional status of land in the Togolese system (Foli, 1987). Tagbé, the chief of the district says, that:

“The European modern system of land management had been introduced during colonization. The modern system was imposed to our native populations and had changed the traditional land management order established in the past. Therefore, customary practices were slowly down.”

Tagbé (personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

According to the interview, the colonization led to a change in the social order that regulated traditional land management in Djerehouye. The aims of colonization led to a profound transformation in how people perceived their relationship with the land. Introducing a plantation economy in the country would abolish the collective nature of land in the traditional sense of the term. The rise of industrial production, which led to the

deterioration of traditional production, was the main reason traditional land management was transformed into a modern property rights system. From the outset, the land was divided into small plots or individual ownership units. After all, everyone wanted to put their domain first.

Before land registration was introduced, the colonizers established rules that governed the land tenure system (Péchoux, 1939). However, the application of these rules was limited due to the reluctance of local people to adopt the new system. The first text drawn up for land management was the 'Grand Buch' in 1902. This document originates from most texts written for land management during the colonial period. According to these regulations, the colonial government remained the land owner throughout the territory. Any person, social group, or institution looking for land had to apply to the administration to obtain it. Only the colonial administration of the time could grant land (Péchoux, 1939). During this period, the rights of communities or individuals could only be genuinely guaranteed if they registered their land in the 'Grand Buch.' Thanks to these regulations, the colonial administration succeeded in wiping out the customary system. According to Péchoux (1939), land development decisions and initiatives were reserved exclusively for the imperial power. However, the local inhabitants could not cope with the trend towards selling their property. This was because selling plots offered specific interests rather than leaving the land to the colonial administration, which used it for its purposes.

To ensure its full power over land, the colonial administration introduced the process of land registration in 1904 (Péchoux, 1939). In the beginning, registering a plot of land involves recording land rights in a register known as the land book, which covers buildings and all legal transactions relating to these buildings. It applies to any transfer of a specific plot of land and involves registering the purchaser in the land register. Its purpose is to protect the purchaser from future attacks on the owner. Registration ends with the document known as the land title. The land title provides the owner with land protection. The title is definitive and indisputable, and in the courts, it represents the only starting point for all the fundamental rights that existed over the property at the time of registration (Péchoux 1939).

However, there was little support for applying this new land policy from the inhabitants of Djerehouye. The local populations expressed some resistance to the new system. On the field, I noticed the passive attitude of local people toward the wave of land

registrations. Several factors can explain the indigenous' passivity. One reason is that the process is optional, meaning the colonial administration did not establish drastic measures to compel the population to apply it. Subsequently, residents were suspicious of the new system because it was a recent innovation. Another factor resides in the cost of registration, which was very high for the living conditions of the local people. The long time it took to draw up the deed did not encourage them to apply for registration. Mr. Harris, a local administration officer says:

“The new land management policy introduced into the country during colonization did not meet with the approval of the local populations. The new system very quickly took the place of customary practices. But our parents did not give importance to the new law until the end of colonization. Because they did not have money to purchase the process”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

Mr. Herman, a native old man says:

“Our grandparents were subjected to the new land management system imported into our country by the coloniser. The new system had dislocated the organization set up by local population.”

Mr. Herman (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Today, Togolese land tenure is regulated by law No. 2018-005 of 14 June 2018. The land tenure system in practice in the Togo Republic is inventory. The policy concerns all rural and urban land and is based on the publication of cadasters. Registration, therefore, consists of entering the assets held by an individual or a company in a register known as the “Land Book.” Mr. Henry states:

“In Togo, property is acquired and passed on by succession, will or gift between the dead, as well as by sale, exchange or any other form of transfer, whether free of charge or costly. It is therefore necessary to ensure that owners have full ownership of their properties.”

Mr. Henry (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

The land registration process follows many steps. It offers the possibility of obtaining title to a building. As stated in law No. 2018-005 of 14 June 2018, the national institution responsible for receiving and processing applications for land registration is the Direction of Land Registry and Conservation. It aims to provide title deeds to people applying for property ownership. An office has been created for land title operations. It brings together all the authorities responsible for filing and processing registration applications. The counter consolidates the base and collects the various taxes related to the land title process. The registration process comprises two distinct steps: the application submission and the registration procedure. On the first hand, the application submission process follows two stages: the drawing up of the geo-localized plan and registration formalities. On the second, other ten steps are required to complete the registration. The steps are as follows: submission and settlement of fees; publication in the official journal of the Togolese Republic; display; contradictory work and drawing; updating and securing land ownership; study and signature; study; creation of the land title; requisitions examination; land title collection (see law No. 2018-005 of 14 June 2018).

However, in the research field, I could realize that the modern land management system is not followed or respected. All the informants interviewed stated that they had no administrative land title documents for the plots of land they occupied or owned. They say not to master the processes for land title acquisition. For example, Mrs. Inna says:

“The lands our parents left to us do not have title. We do not get any administrative or official paper to show today. In this area we practice customary management because that is the way our ancestors proceeded in the past. We just continue in the same way.”

Mrs. Inna (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

Examining the phenomenon of not possessing a land title shows that the problem lies at four levels. Firstly, the people of Djerehouye, the majority of whom are farmers, do not have the national identity documents required for the formalities involved in obtaining a land title. Secondly, most land transactions seem illegal. Because the sellers or donors have no documents to prove their ownership rights. Thirdly, the villagers lack the financial resources to take the necessary steps to obtain land titles. Fourthly, obtaining the final land title is very long and stressful. Mrs. Dyna states this:

“I have not yet undertaken the land title procedure because I do not have my national citizenship document, nor national identity card. And also, I think the process is too long and needs a lot of money.”

Mrs. Dyna (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

In addition, Mr. John says:

“Most of those who bought land in the village know that the transactions are illegal. Because since the land dispute is not yet settled, they cannot apply for land title, while the chief of the district who represents the traditional authorities cannot attest the sale.”

Mr. John (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

To conclude, the arrival of colonization has brought new dimensions to land management in the village of Djerehouye. Many regulations related to land management had been implemented from 1881 to 1899 before the introduction of “Grand Buch” in 1902. The modern system has thus created the right to private and collective ownership. The new land management system opened the door to land conquest by individuals and companies. However, it should be noted that the implementation rate of the modern land management system is low in Djerehouye. This situation is due to administrative stresses for villagers and the lack of financial resources and required citizenship documents.

4.4 Land Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Djerehouye

In most Togolese communities based on customary land use, land should not be sold, but colonization radically changed customary land management practices (Foli, 1987). The modern land management system has had a huge impact on the customary management. Hence, the introduction of the modern land management system into Togolese society has exacerbated the occurrence of land disputes. Even after independence, the various land reforms have not solved the problem of land conflict, which is getting worse by the day. Disputes over land management are on the increase.

According to Sossou (2016), during the pre-colonial period, land management was not a major issue, and land conflict was scarcely found because there was enough space because the area was underpopulated and underexploited. Colonization introduced a mercantilist spirit based on the plantation economy. The new conception of land led the Togolese to consider land as an object of commercial transaction. This posed a severe problem to the Togolese communities.

The German administration's introduction of the land register in Togo in 1902 changed the land ownership situation. Colonization in Togo gave rise to a dual land management system: customary practices and the modern system. As said earlier in this research, land sale is prohibited, but land can be donated. This is why plots of land were given to the Kabyè and Nawda (Non-natives), who were forcibly displaced to Djerehouye. However, the land is in great demand due to demographic change and improved farming techniques. This situation would push some people to sell land based on the modern land tenure system. Then, various land conflicts emerged, which are still ongoing. For example, Tagbé, the chief of the district, says:

“The current land conflicts that occur in Djerehouye today resulted from the modern land use system introduced in our country by colonization”

Tagbé (personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

4.4.1 Causes of Land Conflict in Djerehouye

One of the main causes of land conflict in Djerehouye is the socio-political unrest of the 1990s that occurred in Togo (Manani, 2001). The social tranquility that previously existed in Djerehouye between the native and non-native communities has been affected by land conflicts. Social movements have occurred, especially in the Plateaux region where the people of northern Togo reside most. Eviction threats were made against the Kabyè and Nawda (Non-natives) and other non-native residents during the period (Manani et al., 2019). The Kabyè and Nawda (Non-natives) residing in Djerehouye have been forced off the lands they occupied and used. As a result, many Non-natives departed from the village and returned to their original villages in the northern part of the country. Nevertheless, some Non-natives returned to Djerehouye a few years later and have stayed ever since. As a result, there is now mistrust amongst groups that used to cohabit peacefully. Mr Kim a non-native informant states:

“When the political unrest of 1990s occurred most of non-native ethnic groups were forced to leave their houses and get shelter in other villages. By the time things calmed down when we came back in the village, our lands that we exploited in the past were simply confiscated or reduced for others by Ifè and Hudu people. Then began the real land conflict between non-native and native population.”

Mr. Kim (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

Mrs. Inna a non-native woman adds:

“I remember it was one night that my parents took me and we fled this village during the socio-political unrest. It was after things had calmed down a few years later that we came back here. When we came back, the land my father used to cultivate was occupied by an Ifè. But the following year, with the help of our community leader, another plot was granted to our family.”

Mrs. Inna (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

Demographic increase constitutes a significant cause of land disputes in Djerehouye. In reality, the population of the village of Djerehouye has undoubtedly grown since its creation and has now reached a cruising speed. The ever-increasing number of inhabitants is creating a strong demand for land for housing and farming. Non-natives now dispute land that used to be used by some natives. This phenomenon is prompting people to claim parcels of land. According to Gayibor (1997), the village's population at its creation was 66 people. Due to population growth and based on the census of November 2022 made by the National Institute of Statistics, Economic and Demographic Studies, Djerehouye's population is 877. For instance, Mr. Laurenc says:

“Land scarcity that is a result of population growth constitutes a serious origin of conflict in our village today.”

Mr. Laurenc (personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

For Mr. Mendey the representative of the native ethnic groups :

“I notice that the number of inhabitants of the village does not cease to increase. It is this increase which makes the lands in this village insufficient and, as a result, the few that exists becomes object of conflict.”

Mr. Mendey (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Land conflict in Djerehouye also originated with the confiscation of farmlands. Whether it is a non-native community or a native one, each group uses the method of farmland confiscation to demonstrate their disagreement over land management in Djerehouye. Mr. Mendey the representative of the native ethnic groups, says:

“Today they (non-natives) grabbed all of our lands. They occupied the lands that I used before. My brothers and I do not have lands for farming. Even my home place is not safe. They are majority in the village, that is why they use force to grab our lands.” As far as the Non-natives are concerned, their representative says: “Of course, there is land conflict in our village. The root of the conflict is the dismissing of our lands by native populations.”

Mr. Mendey (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Another cause of land conflict in the research is the different interpretations of past land transactions between natives and non-natives. There are varying interpretations of the content of the land transactions negotiated during the first waves of migration. While in the mind of the Non-natives, the land they acquired upon their arrival is considered a gift (provision of land ownership after utilization of a certain period), for the natives, the transaction was nothing more than a loan or provision of use right for an unspecified period. In order to defend themselves, each party uses specific concepts to justify itself. For example, the non-native ethnic groups would base their rationale on an agrarian reform set up in 1974. This point of view appears in the interview of Tagbé, the chief of the district who, says:

“When they came back to Djerehouye after the 1990s unrest, they occupied more lands and started selling lands. They based their actions on the agrarian reform which states, that any individual or group of people who have occupied and farmed a plot of land for thirty years or more will be able to become the owner of part of it.”

Tagbé (personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

Following independence, Togo embarked on land reform, which took concrete form with Ordinance No. 12 of February 6, 1974 (It was a land reform policy adopted in Togo in 1974 and determined the land and property regime). This reform served as a guide and a comprehensive land tenure program to provide concrete substance. It is important to emphasize that the 1974 law did not simply implement the program. Numerous legal and administrative acts were used as implementation tools. This legislation classified land into three distinct categories: land belonging to individuals (private), collectives (common), and land belonging to the public or state. The reform concretized that land belongs to local collectives and not the national government, as is the case in other countries in the sub-region of West Africa. So, local collectives have to reserve plots of land for public use, such as hospitals, schools, police stations, and administration buildings (See Ordinance No. 12 of February 6, 1974).

The research found that land conflict also comes from land selling by people in the village. In Djerehouye, land prohibited from being sold in the past has become the object of trade transactions after the 1990s. Indeed, following the return of non-native populations forced to flee their homes during the socio-political unrest of the 1990s, some residents began selling land. The land dispute was accelerated by the sale of land in Djerehouye because some native and non-native people claimed respectively the land ownership. The land dispute thus developed and continues to disrupt social cohesion in the village. It should be pointed out that each party accuses the other of selling land in Djerehouye. Mr. Harris a local administration officer, states:

“Nowadays, each group claims to be land owner of Djerehouye lands. Therefore, emerged land conflicts between native and non-native communities because each ethnic group started selling land.”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

Exploiting a gravel and sand quarry opened in 1999 at Djerehouye for the construction and rehabilitation work on National Road No.1 constitutes another cause of land conflict. According to Mr. Fredy (personal communication, 2024, 22 February), the management of this quarry was run by two men from native and non-native ethnic groups, as suggested by both communities. However, because of a mismanagement of the money generated by the exploitation, the quarry was closed in 2003. It was reopened in January

2007 and worked until August 2012. The village's development committee then gave newly the management of the quarry to the responsible native and non-native ethnic groups. However, a few months later, the Kabiye community took over management of the quarry. Under the leadership of the chief of the Hudu district, a meeting between non-native and native communities was held at the royal palace in Atakpamé. At the end of the meeting, it was decided to close all sand and gravel extraction quarries in Djerehouye to preserve the soil and solve the problem of arable land, which is becoming scarce. Unfortunately, the Kabiye and Nawda unilaterally reopened the quarries and have controlled them until today. Since then, tensions over management have continued to occur.

Land conflict also occurs due to improvements in farming technologies in the village of Djerehouye. Improved farming techniques impact land conflicts. This situation pushes Natives and Non-natives to extend their farms to gain more agricultural produce. Therefore, natives and non-natives may sometimes be involved in land disputes over land demarcation. This also leads to inequality in access to land.

In conclusion, the land conflict in Djerehouye comes from several causes. The research highlights some relevant facts: The first cause is the socio-political unrest of the 1990s that pushed non-natives to leave the village, and natives grabbed their lands. Then, when they returned, their tentative to use their former lands met opposition from natives. The second cause is demographic increase, which significantly impacts housing and farming. Due to the increasing number of populations, there was a high demand for land for habitation and agricultural activities by natives and non-natives. Confiscation of farmlands by Natives or Non-natives constitutes the third cause. The fourth cause of land conflict is the different interpretations of past land transactions between natives and non-natives. The fifth cause is land transfer despite the prohibition by natives. Exploiting a gravel and sand quarry is the sixth cause due to the financial benefits it generates for natives and non-natives. The seventh and last cause is improving farming techniques, which led to farmers' or populations' eagerness for farming land extension.

4.4.2 Analysis of Land Conflicts by Actors

In addition to claims raised by Natives and Non-natives, land conflicts in Djerehouye occur among several actors. Those are among members of the same ethnic group and conflicts within families. This section deals with the land conflicts observed in Djerehouye about the people involved.

The research found a land conflict between native ethnic groups. Mr. Herman states:

“In 1987, two Hudu communities (native) were involved in a land dispute. On 22 February 1987, the Bobo community lodged a complaint against the Hunkpati community. After adjourning several times, the court deliberated on Wednesday 22 February 1995. The decision resulted from the settlement of the conflict was an order to share the land between the two native communities.”

Mr. Herman (personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

The second land conflict attested in the research site is between native and non-native ethnic groups. According to Tagbé (personal communication, 2024, 22 February), the Kabiyè and Nawda (Non-natives) to express their opposition to the court's decision of February 22, 1995, and led by Mr. Bidjaram Gervais, took the Hudu community (natives) represented by Mr. Bobo Enouati, Mr. Dotchou Kokou and Mr. Apedo Kokou, to court on 23th May 2006. At the judgment meeting on May 10, 2007, the judge demanded the demarcation of the land between natives and non-natives. On August 07, 2009, during the demarcation of land, a group of young Kabiyè ransacked and took away the equipment belonging to the team of surveyors under the helpless gaze of police officers invited to supervise the operation. The group repeated the same action on May 02, 2012, when the surveyors returned a second time for the sharing operation.

In addition to the two above types of conflict, there are also conflicts among family members in the case of succession of leadership or paternal ship. Within families, land conflict emerges when the father or head has not divided up the family's land holdings before his death. After the father's death, the land division made by the uncles of the family may be contested and deemed unequal.

Related to land succession among families, it is also important to point out that daughters or women were not included in the land division. Therefore, today, the daughters' heirs contest the divisions from which their mothers did not benefit within the family. For example, Mrs. Jasmine says:

“In 2016 a land dispute emerged between my brother and me. The village council lead by the chief had settled the dispute just one year ago. The land had been divided into two and given to each of us.”

Mrs. Jasmine (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

To conclude, this research found three land conflicts in the village of Djerehouye. The first conflict is between native and non-native ethnic groups, which impacts the communities the most. The second conflict is among native ethnic groups, and the third is among family members. The three conflicts influence personal relationships within the village’s communities.



Figure 4.9 Picture of an unused land of a native family object of conflict

4.5 Toward Land Conflict Resolution in Djerehouye

According to Emanuel and Ndimbwa (2013), conflict resolution is the process by which opposing parties reach a consensus that addresses their core differences, acknowledges their ongoing status as parties, and ends any acts of violence directed at one another. They combine customary and modern mechanisms to settle land conflicts in most African communities. Thus, the land tenure system practiced in Togo considers customary and modern mechanisms in the conflict resolution process. This research found customary and modern actors intervening in conflict resolution in Djerehouye.

However, to preserve social peace in Djerehouye, several attempts were made to resolve conflicts, which continue until today. Customary and modern conflict resolution mechanisms are used as conflict management tools. For example, Mr. Harris, a local administration officer, says:

“The traditional authorities have tried many times to settle the land dispute between native and non-native but it has been unsuccessful and the conflict is still before the national judicial courts. Recently, a national high commission appointed by the national government has started to resolve the conflict but till today no sustainable resolution emerged.”

Mr. Harris (personal communication, 2024, 16 March)

In the same way of conflict resolution attempt, Tagbé, the chief of the district states:

“When this case of land conflict occurred, the chief of the village as first authority had invited the parties involved in the dispute for mediation. Notables and some elders of the villages assisted the chief during the meetings. Once the problem was not settled, the chief of the village referred the parties to me. After several meetings of mediation at the district level, I was compelled to call upon the prefect and judicial court. Until today the issue is pending before the high national court.”

Tagbé personal communication, 2024, 22 February)

To continue, Mr. Mendey, the responsible of native community says:

“At the judgement meeting on 10 May 2007, the judge concluded that the Kabiye and Nawda (non-native) were settled in a domain without land owner. Protesting against this conclusion, the chief of Hudu district and the chief of Djama district, accompanied by the chiefs of the surrounding villages, requested a meeting with the court's president and the parties in conflict at the office of the Prefect. At this meeting, the President of the court said that he did not grant the non-natives ownership of the land. But on 7th of August 2009, during the operation of land division a group of non-native young people ransacked and took away the materials belonging to the team of surveyors carrying out the operation.”

Mr. Mendey (personal communication, 2024, 23 February)

Mr. Albert, the responsible, of non-native community says:

“Since the beginning of the conflict several different attempts to resolve conflicts have been made, both by traditional authorities and by the administrative ones. But up to the present day, the customary and modern mechanisms have not been able to put an end to the dispute. For me as leader of community, I constantly raise awareness of the values of living and cohabiting together with our native brothers and sisters. My willing is to reach one day to a sustainable agreement that will enable a better living together.”

Mr. Albert (personal communication, 2024, 18 March)

The resolution of land conflict in Djerehouye involves two main categories of actors. On the one hand, there are customary authorities, including the chief of the district, the village chief, the collectivities chiefs, and the clan chiefs. On the other hand, there are modern actors, such as prefects and magistrates. The traditional authorities practice traditional mechanisms to settle land disputes and preserve social peace.

Traditional and modern mechanisms for managing land disputes in Djerehouye are complementary. The traditional mechanisms precede the modern ones. When the decisions formulated by the traditional authorities do not satisfy a party involved in the conflict, the unsatisfied party can appeal to the modern conflict resolution system. However, it should be noted that the modern system considers the settlement made by traditional authorities before they deliver their decision to the parties involved in the

conflict. Both conflict resolution mechanisms are ineffective in resolving the inter-ethnic conflict. The complexity of the conflict lies in the fact that none of the ethnic groups has administrative documents attesting their ownership right of the land in the village of Djéréhouyé. The natives and non-natives base their rationale on customary practices, which reveal inadequacies.

To conclude, according to the interviews, several attempts exist to resolve the land conflict in Djerehouye. They use customary and modern conflict resolution mechanisms with different actors. The actors work complementary to preserve social harmony within the Djéréhouyé community. This research reveals that the two methods of land dispute resolution practiced in Djéréhouyé proved ineffective and have continued to cause conflict today.

4.6 Conclusion

The findings of this study are divided into four main points. The first point concerns social cohabitation. The findings show good social cohabitation between Natives and Non-natives in Djerehouye. This good social cohabitation is reflected in the interpersonal exchanges practiced within the different communities. Natives and Non-natives use to pay visit to each other and share food. There is a marriage between native and non-native young people, and the population of the village celebrates together the new yam festival each year. Natives and Non-natives share experiences, knowledge, and practices among themselves; popular names of boys and girls are used within the different ethnic groups. The second point is about land use or land utilization. The results revealed the memories that natives and non-natives have of land use. Land use is essentially based on customary practices and the modern system. Natives and non-natives use mainly land for housing and agricultural activities. Customary practices are based on ancestral beliefs and the worship of gods protecting land. The third point deals with land conflict in Djerehouye. This research revealed seven causes of land conflict and three types of conflicts in the village of Djerehouye. As far as the types are concerned, there are conflicts between native and non-native ethnic groups, conflicts among native ethnic groups, and conflicts among family members. The three conflicts

influence personal relationships within the village's communities. The fourth point covers the efforts made by traditional and administrative authorities to settle the conflicts. Whether customary or administrative, authorities tried several initiatives to resolve land conflict in Djerehouye. They resolve conflicts via traditional and modern mechanisms, complementing one another throughout the community. According to this study, the two methods of resolving land disputes used in Djerehouye are ineffective, making the conflict go on without violence.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section summarises the research and it is made up of Summary of Research Findings, Conclusion, Theoretical Discussion, Recommendations and Further Study. In this chapter, through the recommendations, the study has proposed some solutions to the problems raised by the research findings.

5.1 Summary of Research Findings

As far as the objectives of the study are concerned, two main factors have guided this research. The first objective is to study the memories of Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on social cohabitation in Djerehouye village after the settlement of the north people until today. The second objective is to analyze the rationale of the land use right to claims by the Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on the eastern part of the land in Djerehouye village. The findings enable an understanding of the memories of Djerehouye concerning social cohabitation and land use practices. Therefore, based on memories, four main aspects have been highlighted. The first concerns social cohabitation, the second deals with land use practices or land utilization, the third concerns land conflict, and the fourth focuses on effort toward conflict resolution.

5.1.1 The Memories Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda Ethnic Groups have Social Cohabitation in Djerehouye Village After the Settlement of the Northern People Until Today

The research unveiled several memories of social cohabitation among the people of Djerehouye village. The natives and the non-natives cohabite in the same village. The different ethnic groups visit each other and share food. Young people of native and non-native get married among themselves. Natives and non-natives celebrate the new Yam festival each year and practice sharing experiences and knowledge. Another memory of social cohabitation resides in the fact that popular names of boys

and girls are used to name children of different ethnic groups. There are interpersonal exchanges between native and non-native speakers without major obstacles in Djerehouye. The phenomenon of cultural identity is attested in the village of Djerehouye through several traditional rites and practices of the Kabiye and Nawda (Non-natives) in order to keep attachment to their original place where they came from. As in their original villages, funeral and burial ceremonies are performed in Djerehouye. Rites for new babies, thanksgiving to nature, and ancestors for new crops are performed by the Kabiye and Nawda (Non-native) and Hudu and Ife (Natives) populations, meaning that each ethnic group keeps their beliefs and customs.

5.1.2 The Rationale of Land Use Right Claim by Ife, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda Ethnic Groups on the Eastern Part of Land in Djerehouye Village

Concerning the rationale of land use rights in land utilization, the research found customary practices and modern land management systems. It is important to emphasize that the customary land management structures in Djerehouye are concrete. This specificity reveals the population's lifestyle through their ancestral, religious, and cultural beliefs related to land. The relationship between the land, the gods, the ancestors, and man characterizes customary land tenure. The primary practices of accessing land are the principles of land occupation, donation, ownership transfer, and inheritance. Then, the Kabiye and Nawda (Non-natives) of Djerehouye considered themselves to be landowners based on the principle of land occupation, donation, and ownership transfer. Once they settled, they used the land to practice agricultural activities and transform the place.

Meanwhile, the natives base their rationale for land ownership rights claims on the sacredness of the land. The sacred status of land plays an essential role in the mindset of the Ife and Hudu (Natives) within the Djerehouye community. For them, their ancestors gained the village's lands from the almighty God, and they could not allow its transactions. However, the land is sacred and links firmly with gods, deities, and ancestors. In order to respect God's will, they prohibited land sales and only allowed land to be given. The natives perform ceremonies, rites, and worships related to land. However, it should be noted that donation and inheritance, once the primary practices for acquiring land that required invocation of the ancestors and earthly deities

before any transfer, have disappeared in favor of sales and leases due to the modern land management system.

In addition to the main above aspects, the research also presents land conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms.

Land-related conflict constitutes a significant point that emerges from the findings. Land conflict in Djerehouye results from seven different causes, which are the socio-political unrest of the 1990s, the demographic increase that impacted a lot of housing and farming, confiscation of farmlands by natives or non-natives, the different interpretations of past land transactions between natives and non-natives, land transfer despite the prohibition by natives, exploitation of a gravel and sand quarry and improving farming techniques which led to eagerness of farming land extension. In addition, this research found three land conflicts in the village of Djerehouye. The first conflict is the conflict between native and non-native ethnic groups, the second is conflict among native ethnic groups, and the third conflict is conflict among family members.

Aware of the consequences of land conflict on social life in Djerehouye, traditional and modern administrative authorities have invested efforts in conflict resolution. According to the informants, several initiatives have been undertaken to resolve land conflict in Djerehouye. The actors practice customary and modern mechanisms of conflict resolution. They work in a complementary way to preserve peace within the Djerehouye community. However, the two methods of land conflict resolution practiced in Djerehouye proved ineffective and have continued the conflict until today.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study focuses on memories of land utilization and social cohabitation in the Djerehouye village. It is worth to conduct such research due to the historical background of the village and living together of native and non-native ethnic groups since many years. Two main objectives have guided the research. The first objective is to study the memories of Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on

social cohabitation in Djerehouye village after the settlement of the north people until today. The second objective is to analyze the rationale of the land use right to claims by the Ifè, Hudu, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups on the eastern part of the land in Djerehouye village. Four kinds of memories have been highlighted. The first concerns social cohabitation, the second deals with land use practices or land utilization, the third concerns land conflict, and the fourth focuses on effort toward conflict resolution.

There is a good social cohabitation between Natives and Non-natives in the village of Djerehouye. This good social cohabitation is reflected in the interpersonal exchanges practiced within the different communities. Natives and Non-natives use to pay visit to each other and share food. Marriage between native and non-native young people is attested, and the population of the village celebrates together the new yam festival each year. Natives and Non-natives share experiences, knowledge, and practices among themselves; popular names of boys and girls are used within the different ethnic groups. The second point is about land use or land utilization. The results revealed the memories that natives and non-natives have of land use. Land use is essentially based on customary practices and the modern system. Natives and non-natives use mainly land for housing and agricultural activities. Customary practices are based on ancestral beliefs and the worship of gods protecting land. The third point deals with land conflict in Djerehouye. This research revealed seven causes of land conflict and three types of conflicts in the village of Djerehouye. As far as the types are concerned, there are conflicts between native and non-native ethnic groups, conflicts among native ethnic groups, and conflicts among family members. The three conflicts influence personal relationships within the village's communities. The fourth point covers the efforts made by traditional and administrative authorities to settle the conflicts. Whether customary or administrative, authorities tried several initiatives to resolve land conflict in Djerehouye. They resolve conflicts via traditional and modern mechanisms, complementing one another throughout the community. According to this study, the two methods of resolving land disputes used in Djerehouye are ineffective, making the conflict go on without violence.

With regards to the various memories collected and mentioned above, it appears that this study is a kind of narrative memory. To share memories whether private or public, people very often use verbal form, meaning that they will typically consist of

narrative, descriptive and argumentative elements. The narrator's control over their own memory typically deteriorates in a number of phases as a result of verbalizing and sharing a personal recollection. Second, the narrative form is reductionist; third, the social interaction will require that the narrated memory be modified to reflect what is culturally feasible to express at a given time in a particular location; and fourth, verbalization alone will exclude elements that are hard to convey in words. As a result, when a memory is recounted, it transforms from a memory to a narrative.

5.3 Theoretical Discussion

The study exposed the understanding of the social memory of the community of Djerehouye which is composed of Kabiye, Nawda, Hudu and Ifè ethnic groups. It made concrete and available a memory study on the village of Djerehouye. The memory study on Djerehouye unveils the social cohabitation, land use system practiced, types of land conflict attested in the village and conflict settlement tools. Therefore, four main gaps are filled: First, the findings enable learn good practices from the social cohabitation of the Hudu, Ifè, Kabiye, and Nawda ethnic groups that live in the village of Djerehouye. Second, they inform the basis of the right of ownership and usage of land claims raised by Hudu, Ifè, Kabiye, and Nawda. Third, the findings reveal land conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms in the village. And finally, fourth, the research provides recommendations for a better dynamization of social cohabitation and land conflict resolution in Djerehouye's village.

Nowadays, the concept of collective memory is based, above all, on the question of social cohesion and has a particular role to play in the heterogeneity of our societies. In its various forms, collective memory, such as commemorations, museums, and others, plays an essential role in the memory of groups and peoples. This function is the subject of much study and research in the social sciences. Due to the interest raised by memory study, this research dealt with memories of land utilization and social cohabitation in the village of Djerehouye. It is worth conducting a memory study to know more about the social life and land use system practiced in the village after the settlement of Kabiye and Nawda (Non-natives). The study is meant to point out the

memories of social cohabitation and land use practices and fill that gap, as no such rigorous research has been done before on the village. Therefore, the findings support the points of view explained above about the importance of memory study. The findings revealed that Djerehouye is a village composed of various ethnic groups that cohabite together. Consequently, a collective memory study of the village should consider the diversity of individual and ethnic group memories.

The data collected on the memories of social cohabitation and cultural identity allowed the construction of a collective memory of the village of Djerehouye. The heterogeneous memories of each ethnic group lead to a homogeneous memory that forms the social or collective memory of Djerehouye. The memory study of social cohabitation and cultural identity here shows that, in addition to the collective memory, there is the memory of each ethnic group and each individual who took part in the study. Thus, despite several different memories, most of the inhabitants of Djerehouye share a collective memory. This shows that contested memories within the same community do not threaten social cohabitation. Examining collective memory from the perspective of the whole without considering its constituent (components), as aborded by Zerubavel (1995), about Israeli collective memory. For Confino (1997), Zerubavel has studied a “Zionist collective memory” by separating historical force. However, it demonstrates that Zerubavel regrettably takes into account current Israeli history when talking about the contestation of memory, even if recollections of “Masada,” “Bar Kokhba,” and “Tel Hai” have been forming since the early decades of the century. Zerubavel must thus reconsider her theory of contestation because “Zionist collective memory” seems to have been particularly effective in fostering consensus across various political, socioeconomic, gender, and ethnic groupings within the Jewish Yishuv (Confino, 1997).

Based on the collective memory theory, studying memories of the land tenure system in this research allowed us to understand more about land use practices in Djerehouye. The analysis of the memories collected in the field has shown that land use in Djerehouye is based on customary practices and the modern land management system. Through this study, a collective memory of land use was constructed. Halbwachs’ collective memory theory promotes a contemporary sociology of memory studies in which memory is viewed as a social resource and a research problem in a

society where significant shifts are occurring in scientific study. Halbwachs (1992) coined that the reappearance of memory in the present is based on the term “landmarks.” Landmarks evoke strong memories by serving as the catalysts for facts to occur in the present or reframe facts within the present framework. According to him, collective memory “does not preserve the past but reconstructs it using the material traces, rites, texts, and traditions left behind” (Halbwach, 1992, as cited in Robertson & Hall 2016, p. 21).

In this study, each group claiming ownership of the Djerehouye land and willing to convince the other group to accept its reasons leads natives and non-natives to engage in a land dispute. The construction of a collective memory consists of collecting memories of a society or community members to form a consensus of memories in which each member’s memory can be recognized. However, the multiplicity of memories about the right to ownership of land triggers land conflicts. Confino (1997) emphasizes the importance of examining how one’s memory interacts with other memories in a particular community since memories vary throughout societies. Despite the seeming encouragement of cultural uniformity within a diversified culture, memory conflicts persist throughout communities. Halbwach’s interest in living in the past and his conception of collective memory as a part of the group’s identity have a considerable relationship since individual identity is directly linked to this specific memory. The identity and life of a group are based on this collective memory of its past.

Memory study can also be considered from the dichotomous link in memories. Bodnar (1992) pointed out two opposite memories: “vernacular memory” and “official memory.” He attempted to distinguish between these terms: official memory is based on “dogmatic formalism” and the idealization of reality. For him, official leaders often use official and professional institutions to produce changes usually imposed on citizens throughout commemoration. The contemporary public memory is constructed by elites who influence the process with their powerful position. Meanwhile, “vernacular memory” defenders invest in protecting values and restating the real social life of small communities. Hence, “vernacular memory” is the product of local small communities’ experience and authentic culture as opposed to the manipulative memory characterized by official memory. It is important to stress that

beyond the dichotomy, both memories continuously interact and have intrinsic relationships when constructing collective memory (Bodnar, 1992).

However, if we go back and consider that “memory” is a social operation in which a person must communicate to others to know what stories are being remembered, it will be seen that “memory” is not a social activity. It does not arise by itself. Rather, it is told in language and woven into a story to let others understand. This operation is called “narrated memory” (Fabian, 2007, p. 93).

Fabian also points out that verbalized memory is not something that happens honestly or is honestly produced by brain cells, but rather is told from a person’s experience of being selected and manipulated emotionally. Therefore, the “memories that are told” are mixed with the attitude of that person. Therefore, memory is not a reflection of the truth of the past, but a “narrative of the past” that represents the truth (Fabian, 2007, p. 102). This understanding is contrary to the conventional idea that human memory is something that accumulates the truth of the past. We tend to believe that what we remember is well preserved in the brain, and when we look back on it, it reveals various truths without distorting. Therefore, memory is an embellishment or a mediation method in order to create meaning through language (Kontopodis & Matera, 2010, p. 1).

The debate on “memory” mentioned above is something that anthropologists cannot ignore. However, when memory is no longer a proof of cultural “truth”, but a social action that is constantly in motion. Fabian (2007) calls this the “politics of memory” and Kontopodis and Matera (2010) call it the “imaginative horizon”. The emotions of individuals and societies that create memories that become “public memory” must also be studied to support and sustain various ideologies. It is used to separate people from each other and to loosely fuse people together.

In addition, memories of the same events and stories are also created with different meanings by people with different opinions. For example, Varutti (2010) analyzed the display of images and narratives about ethnic groups in the Kunming City Museum. This reflects the Chinese government’s political ideology of wanting to classify and create identities of different ethnic groups. This presentation is the state’s imagination of ethnic groups, but it is not a fact that ethnic groups use to explain themselves. In the current situation where modern communication technologies, such

as online media, play an important role in manipulating human life, we will find “images” of things created in the media to satisfy the imagination and consumption without limits. These images are new frontiers of memory that converge with the entertainment industry that influences the definition of human identity and the relationship that human beings have with each other. Appadurai (1996) once noted that “imagination” is the power that helps create a person’s identity and helps the boundaries of memory expand infinitely. The image of memories created by modern communication technology Whether it is the internet or digital, it will make memories more fantastical, but it is based on a new power structure that humans will be unconsciously controlled. This image evokes fantasies about living a happy life. It is comfortable, fun and pleasant, which creates memories of “modern life”, but falls under the power and rules of capitalism.

But in daily life people do not always use collective memory to protect and defend themselves and their interests. They also use it to have reflections about the present, propose solutions for better future by developing new things to ensure sustainable and suitable life (de Saint-Laurent et al., 2017). According to Awad (2017) where narrative memory seems not to reflect the truth, remembering can hence play the function of resistance act. Nicholson (2017) states that even in conflicts resolution process collective memory can be used as bridges. A person’s constant link with other members of the community or society is the meeting point between personal memory and collective memory. In this situation, memory is constructed through exchanges between our prior knowledge and that of others. Everything that is constructed within the family, community, or nation is primarily influenced by personal memory.

Based on this study, which is about memories of land utilization and social cohabitation in the village of Derehouye, it emerged that the study of collective memory still occupies an important place in the field of research. Although this research is mainly a narrative memory, it has enabled us to find out what the various ethnic groups in the village of Djerehouye have as a collective memory about land management and social cohabitation. That said, the research revealed that the collective memory of the village of Djerehouye is still being constructed. Most informants who participated in the research do not yet share a strong collective memory. Because each ethnic group

believes it possesses the village's actual memory. This situation would explain the ineffectiveness of traditional mechanisms in the process of resolving land disputes.

5.4 Recommendations

The research provides two recommendations as follows:

First, due to the importance of collective memory formation within the community, the study recommends a celebration day which is held yearly to commemorate the social cohabitation of Natives and Non-natives.

Second, for a sustainable resolution of the land conflict in the village, the research recommends the creation of conflict resolution platform composed of traditional chiefs, judges and magistrates, politicians and the prefect to settle the land conflicts. The traditional leaders, such as chiefs and elders, must proactively resolve land conflicts. When settling conflicts, they must prohibit discriminatory words against ethnicity as well as religion to avoid disengagement that can lead to violent conflicts. They must preserve social peace within their communities. Dispute resolution, process must be conducted with equity and ensure a sustainable agreement to prevent the same conflict from reoccurring. To make the conflict resolution mechanism effective, traditional authorities should involve more women and young people in the conflict mediation mechanism by entrusting them with responsibilities. Traditional authorities should also appeal to religious leaders to raise awareness of the villagers.

5.5 Further Study

Based on the findings of this research, land management and land conflict could be a basic background of many further studies. I would suggest to go beyond this research and look deep into the land management system and land conflict resolution in the village of Djerehouye. Because most of the difficulties that emerge within the communities are related to land management. This situation seems to be a standing block that hampers the village's development.

REFERENCES

- Adams, B. N., & Sydie, R. A. (2001). *Sociological theory*. Sage Publications.
- Adotévi, L. (1999). Les Ifê de la région d'Atakpamé des origines à 1884. In T. Gbeasor (Ed.), *Espace, culture et développement dans la région d'Atakpamé* (pp. 5-38). Presses de l'UB.
- Afeli, K. A. (2003). *Politique et aménagement linguistiques au Togo: Bilan et perspectives* (Doctoral dissertation). Université de Lomé.
- Aggarwal, S., & Elbow, K. (2006). *The role of property rights in natural resource management, good governance, and empowerment of the rural poor*. United States Agency for International Development.
- Andersson, J. A. (1999). The politics of land scarcity: Land disputes in save communal area, Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(4), 553-578. <https://doi.org/10.1080/030570799108470>
- Assistance, H., & Trafficking, H. (2021). *Report*. U.S. Department of State.
- Assmann, J., & Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective memory and cultural identity. *New German Critique*, (65), 125-133. <https://doi.org/10.2307/488538>
- Barbier, E. B., & Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1999). Resource scarcity and innovation: Can poor countries attain endogenous growth?. *Ambio*, 28(2), 144-147.
- Barry, M., & Danso, E. K. (2014). Tenure security, land registration and customary tenure in a peri-urban Accra community. *Land Use Policy*, 39, 358-365. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2014.01.017>
- Barth, F. (1969). Ecologic relationships of ethnic groups in Swat, North Pakistan. *American Anthropologist*, 58(6), 1079-1089. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1956.58.6.02a00080>
- Berberich, C., Campbell, N., & Hudson, R. (2012). *Land & identity: Theory, memory, and practice*. Rodopi.
- Berliner, D. (2005). The abuses of memory: Reflections on the memory boom in anthropology. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78(1), 197-211. <https://doi.org/10.1353/anq.2005.0001>

- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 3(2), 291-326.
- Berry, S. (2002). Debating the land question in Africa. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44(4), 638-668. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417502000312>
- Bob, U. (2010). Land-related conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 10(2), 49-64. <https://doi.org/10.4314/ajcr.v10i2.63310>
- Bodnar, J. E. (1992). *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century*. Princeton University Press.
- Bogaerts, T., & Zevenbergen, J. (2001). Cadastral systems—alternatives. *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*, 25(4-5), 325-337. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0198-9715\(00\)00051-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0198-9715(00)00051-X)
- Boone, C. (2018). Property and land institutions: Origins, variations and political effects. In N. Cheeseman (Ed.), *Institutions and democracy in Africa: How the rules of the game shape political developments* (pp. 61-91). Cambridge University Press.
- Bruce, J. W., & Migot-Adholla, S. E. (1993). *Searching for land tenure security in Africa*. Dubuque. Kendall/Hunt.
- Burton, E., Jenks, M., & Williams, K. (2003). *The compact city: A sustainable urban form?*. Routledge.
- Carter, M. R., & Olinto, P. (1997). L'impact différencié de la réforme des droits de propriété sur la richesse. *Revue d'économie du développement*, 5(2), 39-64.
- Carter, M. R., Wiebe, K. D., & Blarel, B. (1991). *Tenure security for whom?: differential impacts of land policy in Kenya*. Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Chen, L. (2023). On the development of social memory theory and cultural memory literary criticism paradigms. *Research Journal of English Language and Literature*, 11(2), 2321-3108.
- Clayton, J. (2019). Multiculturalism. In W. D. James (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of human geography* (2nd ed., pp. 211-219). ScienceDirect.

- Clover, J., & Eriksen, S. (2009). The effects of land tenure change on sustainability: Human security and environmental change in southern African savannas. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 12(1), 53-70.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2008.10.012>
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), 563–595. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpf064>
- Comer, K. (1999). *Landscapes of the New West: Gender and geography in contemporary women's writing*. UNC Press Books.
- Confino, A. (1997). Collective memory and cultural history: Problems of method. *The American Historical Review*, 102(5), 1386-1403.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2171069>
- Crang, M. (1998). *Cultural geography*. Psychology Press.
- Crook, R. C. (2005). *State courts and the regulation of land disputes in Ghana: The litigants' perspective*. Institute of Development Studies.
- Crook, R. C. (2008). Customary justice institutions and local alternative dispute resolution: What kind of protection can they offer to customary landholders. In K. Amanor & J. Ubink (Eds.), *Contesting land and custom in Ghana: State, chief and the citizen* (pp. 131-154). Leiden University Press.
- Dinesen, P. T., & Sønderskov, K. M. (2015). Ethnic diversity and social trust: Evidence from the micro-context. *American Sociological Review*, 80(3), 550-573. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122415577989>
- Emanuel, M., & Ndimbwa, T. (2013). Traditional mechanisms of resolving conflicts over land resource: A case of Gorowa community in Northern Tanzania. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 3(11), 214-224. <https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARBS/v3-i11/334>
- Fabian, J. (2007). *Memory against culture: Arguments and reminders*. Duke University Press.
- Feeny, D. (1989). The decline of property rights in man in Thailand, 1800–1913. *The Journal of Economic History*, 49(2), 285-296.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700007932>

- Foli, M. (1970). *Le régime juridique des terres au Togo (Land tenure in Togo)* (Doctoral dissertation). Faculté de droit et des sciences économiques, Université de Paris.
- Gardini, M. (2012). Land transactions and chieftaincies in southwestern Togo. *Africa Spectrum*, 47(1), 51-72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000203971204700103>
- Gardini, M. (2013). *Land and conflicts in Togo* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Bayreuth.
- Gayibor, N. L. (1997). Histoire des togolais, des origines à 1884. *Presses UB, Lomé*, 1, 13-68.
- Gedi, N., & Elam, Y. (1996). Collective memory—what is it?. *History and Memory*, 8(1), 30-50.
- Gensburger, S. (2016). Halbwachs' studies in collective memory: A founding text for contemporary 'memory studies? *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 16(4), 396-413. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X16656268>
- Gidley, J., Hampson, G., Wheeler, L., & Bereded-Samuel, E. (2010). Social inclusion: Context, theory and practice. *The Australasian Journal of University Community Engagement*, 5(1), 6-36.
- Gildea, R. (1996). *The past in French history*. Yale University Press.
- Gillis, C. (2019). *Conceptualizing "productive use": Dominant narratives and alternative visions of land use in Detroit* (Doctoral dissertation). Loyola University Chicago.
- Gordon, M., & Scantlebury, G. R. (1964). Non-random polycondensation: Statistical theory of the substitution effect. *Transactions of the Faraday Society*, 60, 604-621. <https://doi.org/10.1039/tf9646000604>
- Gray, B. (2003). Global modernities and the gendered epic of the "Irish Empire". In S. Ahmed, C. Castaneda, A. Fortier & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Uprootings/regroundings: Questions of home and migration* (pp. 157-178). Berg.
- Guzzo, K. B. (2009). Marital intentions and the stability of first cohabitations. *Journal of Family Issues*, 30(2), 179–205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X08323694>
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On collective memory*. University of Chicago Press.

- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora, in Rutherford, Jonathan (1990), "Cultural identity and diaspora". In *Identity: Community, culture, difference* (pp. 223-237). Lawrence and Wishart.
- Heuveline, P., & Timberlake, J. M. (2004). The role of cohabitation in family formation: The United States in comparative perspective. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66, 1214-1230. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2004.00088.x>
- Holliday, A. (2010). Complexity in cultural identity. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 10(2), 165-177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14708470903267384>
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- Huggins, C. (2010). Shades of grey: Post-conflict land policy reform in the Great Lakes Region. In W. Anseeuw & C. Alden (Eds.), *The struggle over land in Africa; Conflicts, politics & change* (pp. 37-51). HSRC Press.
- Hutter, F., Hoos, H. H., Leyton-Brown, K., & Stützle, T. (2009). ParamILS: An automatic algorithm configuration framework. *Journal of Artificial Intelligence Research*, 36, 267-306. <https://doi.org/10.1613/jair.2861>
- Iverson, D. (2015). Multiculturalism. In W. D. James (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences* (2nd ed., pp. 22-27). ScienceDirect.
- Kansteiner, W. (2002). Finding meaning in memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies. *History and Theory*, 41(2), 179-197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00198>
- Kymlicka, W. (2002). Multiculturalism and minority rights: West and East. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, (4), 1-26.
- Law, M., Stewart, D., Letts, L., Pollock, N., Bosch, J., & Westmorland, M. (1998). *Guidelines for critical review of qualitative studies*. Occupational Therapy Evidence-Based Practice Research Group, McMaster University.
- Le Billon, P. (2001). The political ecology of war: Natural resources and armed conflicts. *Political Geography*, 20(5), 561-584. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298\(01\)00015-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(01)00015-4)

- Leeuwen, M. V., Kobusingye, D., Justin, P. H., Tchatchoua Djomo, R., & van Dijk, J. W. M. (2016). *Post-conflict land governance reform in the African Great Lakes region. Part I-The challenges of post-conflict land reform*. ASCL Infosheet.
- Lemmen, C. H. J., van Oosterom, P., Eisenhut, C., & Uitermark, H. (2010). The modelling of rights, restrictions and responsibilities (RRR) in the land administration domain model (LADM). In *XXIV FIG International Congress* (pp. 11-16). Land and Property Management Authority.
- Lemmen, C., van Oosterom, P., & Bennett, R. (2015). The land administration domain model. *Land Use Policy*, 49, 535-545.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2015.01.014>
- Levin, S. A. (2013). *Encyclopedia of biodiversity*. Elsevier Science.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lucien-Brun, B. (1974). *La colonisation des terres neuves du Centre-Togo par les Kabre et les Losso*. ORSTOM.
- Lustick, I. S. (2011). Israel's migration balance demography, politics, and ideology. *Israel Studies Review*, 26(1), 33-65. <https://doi.org/10.3167/isr.2011.260108>
- Macdonald, S. J. (2003). Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities. *Museum and Society*, 1(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.v1i1.3>
- Mackay, M., & Shaxton, L. (2011). *Understanding and applying basic public policy concepts*. https://www.politicipublice.ro/uploads/understanding_public_policy.pdf
- Maddern, J. (2016). The battle for Annie Moore: Sculpting an Irish American Identity at Ellis Island National Monument. In Y. Whelan & N. Moore (Eds.), *Heritage, memory and the politics of identity* (pp. 37-54). Routledge.
- Magsi, H., & Torre, A. (2013). Approaches to understand land use conflicts in the developing countries. *The Macrotheme Review*, 2(1), 119-136.
- Manani, Y., Tanai, A., & Idani, S. (2019). Emigration lamba et mutations socio-economiques a anie au centre-Togo: Cas de la communaute d'Agodjololo (1927-2000). *Journal de la Recherche Scientifique de l'Université de Lomé*, 21(2), 167-178.

- Miller, F. A. (1998). Strategic culture change: The door to achieving high performance and inclusion. *Public Personnel Management*, 27(2), 151-160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009102609802700203>
- Montaner Larson, J. B. (2009). Land ownership and property rights. In A. Azzam (Ed.), *Public policy in food and agriculture*. Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska.
- Moran, R. T., Harris, P. R., & Moran, S. V. (2011). *Managing cultural differences: Global leadership strategies for cross-cultural business success*. Routledge.
- Musahara, H., & Huggins, C. (2004). *Land reform, land scarcity and post-conflict reconstruction: A case study of Rwanda*. ACTS.
- Mwangi, E. (2005). *The transformation of property rights in Kenya's Maasailand: triggers and motivations*. International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Nata, A. (2001). *Peta keragaman pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Neidert, L. J., & Farley, R. (1985). Assimilation in the United States: An analysis of ethnic and generation differences in status and achievement. *American Sociological Review*, 50(6), 840-850. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095507>
- Noble, G. (2009) Everyday cosmopolitanism and the labour of intercultural community. In A. Wise & S. Velayutham (Eds.), *Everyday multiculturalism hound mills* (pp. 47–67). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Noble, G. (2011). Belonging in Bennelong: Ironie inclusion and cosmopolitan joy in John Howard's (former) electorate. In K. Jacobs & J. Malpas (Eds.), *Ocean to outback: Cosmopolitanism in contemporary Australia* (pp. 150-174). UWA Publishing.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.
- North Douglas, C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*. Cambridge University Press.
- O'keeffe, T. (2016). Landscape and memory: Historiography, theory, methodology. In Y. Whelan & N. Moore (Eds.), *Heritage, memory and the politics of identity* (pp. 15-30). Routledge.

- Oladokoun, W. (2000). *Dimension sociale et économique de la culture cotonnière au Togo: L'exemple de l'Est de la Région des Plateaux* (Thèse de Doctorat). Université de Lomé.
- Olick, J. K. (1999). Collective memory: The two cultures. *Sociological Theory*, 17(3), 333-348. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2751.00083>
- Olick, J. K. (1999). Genre memories and memory genres: A dialogical analysis of May 8, 1945 commemorations in the Federal Republic of Germany. *American Sociological Review*, 64(3), 381-402. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312249906400304>
- Olick, J. K. (2008). 'Collective memory': A memoir and prospect. *Memory Studies*, 1(1), 23-29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698007083885>
- Olick, J. K., & Robbins, J. (1998). Social memory studies: From "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1), 105-140. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.105>
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge University Press.
- Padungchevit, C. (2008). *Culture, communication, and identity* (2nd ed.). Active Print.
- Pasquier, R. (1969). Robert Cornevin: Histoire du Togo. *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire*, 56(203), 189-189.
- Pechoux, L. (1939). *Le mandat français sur le Togo*. Éditions A. Pedone.
- Peluso, N. L., & Watts, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Violent environments*. Cornell University Press.
- Perelli-Harris, B., & Bernardi, L. (2015). Exploring social norms around cohabitation: The life course, individualization, and culture Introduction to Special Collection: "Focus on partnerships: Discourses on cohabitation and marriage throughout Europe and Australia". *Demographic Research*, 33, 701-732. <https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2015.33.25>
- Petriwskyj, A. (2010). Diversity and inclusion in the early years. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 14(2), 195-212. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110802504515>

- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(6), 922-934. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.504>
- Pons-Vignon, N., & Solignac Lecomte, H.-B. (2004). *Land, violent conflict and development*. OECD.
- Pratsinakis, M. (2014). Resistance and compliance in immigrant–native figurations: Albanian and Soviet Greek immigrants and their interaction with Greek society. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(8), 1295-1313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.859071>
- Pratsinakis, M., Hatziprokopiou, P., Labrianidis, L., & Vogiatzis, N. (2017). Living together in multi-ethnic cities: People of migrant background, their interethnic friendships and the neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 54(1), 102-118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015615756>
- Proglia, G., & Odasso, L. (Eds.). (2017). *Border Lampedusa: subjectivity, visibility and memory in stories of sea and land*. Springer.
- Quermonne, J. L. (1961). The problem of cohabitation in multi-community societies. *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 11(1), 29-59. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rfsp.1961.392607>
- Quimbo, M. A. T., Perez, J. E. M., & Tan, F. O. (2018). Community development approaches and methods: Implications for community development practice and research. *Community Development*, 49(5), 589-603. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2018.1546199>
- Robertson, I., & Hall, T. (2016). Memory, identity and the memorialization of conflict in the Scottish Highlands. In Y. Whelan & N. Moore (Eds.), *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity* (pp. 31-48). Routledge.
- Rodney, W. (2018). *How europe underdeveloped Africa*. Verso Books.
- Roediger III, H. L., & Wertsch, J. V. (2008). Creating a new discipline of memory studies. *Memory Studies*, 1(1), 9-22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698007083884>
- Rumbaut, R. G. (2015). Assimilation of immigrants. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2, 81-87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.31109-6>

- Russell, N. (2006). Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs. *The French Review*, 79(4), 792-804.
- Sahal, M., Musadad, A. A., & Akhyar, M. (2018). Tolerance in multicultural education: A theoretical concept. *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 5(4), 115-122.
<https://doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v5i4.212>
- Savage, K. (1994). The politics of memory: Black emancipation and the Civil War monument. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, 135, 13-55.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691186658-010>
- Schaefer, R. T. (1979). *Racial and ethnic groups*. Little, Brown.
- Schimmele, C. M., & Wu, Z. (2011). Cohabitation and social engagement. *Canadian Studies in Population*, 38(3-4), 23-36. <https://doi.org/10.25336/P60K7H>
- Shipton, P. (2009). *Mortgaging the Ancestors: Ideologies of attachment in Africa*. Yale University Press.
- Shore, L. M., Randel, A. E., Chung, B. G., Dean, M. A., Holcombe Ehrhart, K., . . . Singh, G. (2011). Inclusion and diversity in work groups: A review and model for future research. *Journal of Management*, 37(4), 1262-1289.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206310385943>
- Short, T. L. (2014). *Nietzsche on memory* (Doctoral dissertation). University College London.
- Sikor, T., & Lund, C. (2009). Access and property: A question of power and authority. *Development and Change*, 40(1), 1-22.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01503.x>
- Simbizi, M. C. D., Bennett, R. M., & Zevenbergen, J. (2014). Land tenure security: Revisiting and refining the concept for Sub-Saharan Africa's rural poor. *Land Use Policy*, 36, 231-238. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2013.08.006>
- Simon, P. (2000). The mosaic pattern: Cohabitation between ethnic groups in Belleville, Paris. In S. Body-Gendrot & M. Martiniello (Eds.), *Minorities in European cities: The dynamics of social integration and social exclusion at the neighbourhood level* (pp. 100-115). Palgrave Macmillan.

- Sinthumule, N. I., Ratshivhadelo, T., & Nelwamondo, T. (2020). Stakeholder perspectives on land-use conflicts in the South African section of the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area. *Journal of Land Use Science*, 15(1), 11-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1747423X.2020.1739767>
- Sossou, K. A. (2016). Le Droit Foncier Coutumier Face au Droit Foncier Moderne au Togo: Cas des Akposso des Origines à Nos Jours (Customary land law and modern system in Togo: A case study of Akposso from the origins to nowadays). *Sciences Humaines*, 1(3).
<http://publication.lecames.org/index.php/hum/article/view/643>
- Steger, M. (2005). *Globalism: Market ideology meets terrorism*. Rowman and Littlefield.
- Subervi-Velez, F. A. (1986). The mass media and ethnic assimilation and pluralism: A review and research proposal with special focus on Hispanics. *Communication Research*, 13(1), 71-96.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/009365028601300105>
- Suharno, S. (2010). Cognitivism and its implication in the second language learning. *Parole: Journal of Linguistics and Education*, 1, 72-96.
- Sunarti, L., Haghia, R. S., & Sari, N. F. L. (2022). The bugis diaspora in Malaysia: A quest for cultural identity on collective memories through social media. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 9(1), 2066765.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2066765>
- Sunderlin, W. D. (2011). The global forest tenure transition: Background, substance, and prospects. In T. Sikor & J. Stahl (Eds.), *Forests and people* (pp. 19–32). Routledge.
- Sunderlin, W. D., Larson, A. M., Duchelle, A. E., Resosudarmo, I. A. P., Huynh, T. B., . . . Dokken, T. (2014). How are REDD+ proponents addressing tenure problems? evidence from Brazil, Cameroon, Tanzania, Indonesia, and Vietnam. *World Development*, 55, 37-52.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.01.013>
- Tchègnon, A. (2001). Colonisation agricole et dynamique de l'espace rural au Togo: Cas de la plaine septentrionale du Mono. *Revue du CAMES, Série B*, 03(002), 97-108.

- Tilley, C. Y. (1994). *A phenomenology of landscape: Places, paths, and monuments* (Vol. 10). Berg.
- Torney-Purta, J., Amadeo, J. A., Richardson, W. K., McBride, A. M., & Sherraden, M. (2007). Civic service among youth in Chile, Denmark, England, and the United States: A psychological perspective. In A. M. McBride, M. Sherraden & M. Sherraden (Eds.), *Civic service worldwide: Impacts and inquiry* (pp. 95-132). Routledge.
- Toubon, J-C., & Messamah, K. (1991). *Centralité immigrée; le quartier de la goutte d'or*. L'Harmattan.
- Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(5), 454-463. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167294205002>
- Turner, V. (1995). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Aldine de Gruyter.
- United Nations. Economic Commission for Africa. (2017). *Urbanization and industrialization for Africa's transformation: Economic report on Africa*. UN.
- Van Leeuwen, M., & Van Der Haar, G. (2016). Theorizing the land-violent conflict nexus. *World Development*, 78, 94-104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.10.011>
- Warburg, A., & Rampley, M. (2009). The Absorption of the expressive values of the past. *Art in Translation*, 1(2), 273-283. <https://doi.org/10.2752/175613109X462708>
- Wasserman, I. C., Gallegos, P. V., & Ferdman, B. M. (2008). Dancing with resistance: Leadership challenges in fostering a culture of inclusion. In K. M. Thomas (Ed.), *Diversity resistance in organizations* (pp. 175-200). Taylor & Francis Group/Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Wehrmann, B. (2008). *Land conflicts: A practical guide to dealing with land disputes*. GTZ.
- Wertsch, J. V., & Roediger III, H. L. (2008). Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches. *Memory*, 16(3), 318-326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>
- Wichai, C. (2021). Cultural identities in multicultural ethnic societies in the Chiang Rai special border economic zone. *Thai Journal of East Asian Studies*, 25(1), 32-42.

- Wily, L.A. (2011). 'The law is to blame': Taking a hard look at the vulnerable status of customary land rights in Africa. *Development and Change*, 42(3), 733-757. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01712.x>
- Wimmer, A. (2004). Does ethnicity matter? Everyday group formation in three Swiss immigrant neighbourhoods. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(1), 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987032000147922>
- Winter, J. (2001). The generation of memory: Reflections on the “memory boom” in contemporary historical studies. *Canadian Military History*, 10(3), 57-66.
- Winter, T. (2016). Landscapes in the living memory: New year festivities at Angkor, Cambodia. In N. Moore & Y. Whelan (Eds.), *Heritage, memory and the politics of identity: New perspectives on the cultural landscape* (pp. 145-160). Routledge.
- Wise, A. (2005). Hope and belonging in a multicultural suburb. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 26(1-2), 171-186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860500074383>
- Wise, A. (2009). Everyday multiculturalism: Transversal crossings and working class cosmopolitans. In A. Wise & S. Velayutham (Eds.), *Everyday multiculturalism* (pp. 21–45). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2009). *Everyday multiculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wolf, H. G. (2008). British and French language and educational policies in the Mandate and Trusteeship Territories. *Language Sciences*, 30(5), 553-574. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2007.07.002>
- Xue, E., & Li, J. (2020). Top-down education policy on the inclusion of ethnic minority population in China: A perspective of policy analysis. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 52(3), 227-239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2019.1629903>
- Yalouri, E. (2001). *The acropolis: Global fame, local claim*. Routledge.
- Yawouvi, M. (2001). *La diaspora kabiyè-losso à l'intérieur du Togo (1884-1960): Une contribution du développement du Togo*. Mémoire de DEA d'Histoire.
- Zerubavel, E. (1995). *Recovered roots: Collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition*. University of Chicago Press.

- Zhao, S., Grasmuck, S., & Martin, J. (2008). Identity construction on Facebook: Digital empowerment in anchored relationships. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 24(5), 1816-1836. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2008.02.012>
- Zheng, H., Li, Y., Robinson, B. E., Liu, G., Ma, D., Wang, F., . . . Daily, G. C. (2016). Using ecosystem service trade-offs to inform water conservation policies and management practices. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 14(10), 527-532. <https://doi.org/10.1002/fee.1432>



APPENDIX

LIST OF INFORMANTS

- Albert, 2024: Responsible of Non-natives, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in French).
- Dyna, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in Nawda).
- Ema, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in Kabiye).
- Fredy, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in Kabiye).
- Harris, 2024: Local administration officer, personal interview on March 16, 2024 (in French).
- Henry, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Ifè).
- Herman, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Ifè).
- Hope, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in French).
- Inna, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in Nawda).
- Jack, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in French).
- Jane, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Hudu).
- Jasmine, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Hudu).
- Jo, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in Nawda).
- John, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in French).
- Kim, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Ifè).
- Laurenc, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in French).
- Lucas, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in French).
- Lumen, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Ifè).
- Mendey, 2024: Responsible of Natives, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Ifè).
- Roger, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on March 18, 2024 (in Kabiye).
- Tagbé, 2024: Chief of the Hudu district, personal interview on February 22, 2024 (in French).
- Tony, 2024: Ordinary people, personal interview on February 23, 2024 (in Ifè).

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME Kokou Goga

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

2006 Bachelor of Art
English language studies
University of Lomé

WORK EXPERIENCE

2024-2025 Study and Review
Civil Service Texts
Administrative Writing
Ministry of Planning, Development and Cooperation
Career Management
Public Servants
Ministry of Planning, Development and Cooperation
Study and Settlement
Requests from Public Officials
Drafting and Review
Development Policy Documents

2018-2022 Administrative Management
Human Resources of the Ministry of Planning,
Development and Cooperation
Assistant Director
Administrative and Financial Affairs
Preparation of the Budget of the Ministry of Planning,
Development and Cooperation