
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

COURSE OUTLINE, 2018

Name: The Land and Agrarian Question(s) in Africa: Past and Present

Course Code: AXL5204F

Department: African Studies

Venue: CAS Seminar Room 3.01

Time: Wednesday 10:00 -12:00

Convened by:

A/Prof. H. Chitonge (horman.chitonge@uct.ac.za)

The main aim of this course is to introduce students to the key land and agrarian issues in Africa. The prevalence of large-scale land acquisition in the context of rising food prices since the 2008/09 financial and economic crisis has brought the spotlight on issues of land and land use in Africa. Challenges arising from climate change and sustainable development constitute the overarching context to these issues. As a result, land matters are increasingly having a direct bearing on broader issues including food security, environmental sustainability, economic growth, social and political stability, social justice and rural livelihoods. It is therefore important to explore the various dimensions of the land and agrarian questions in Africa in both their historical and contemporary contexts.

The course particularly focuses on introducing concepts of landholding and ownership in Africa, especially how these conceptions have evolved over time: pre-colonial, colonial and post/neo colonial and current. This context helps us to understand current challenges and opportunities around land and related issues in Africa. In looking at the different periods of the land and agrarian questions, the course seeks to situate current land and agrarian issues in the long history of land Tenure and policy debates in Africa.

In Africa's land and agrarian questions, the introduction of colonial rule marked an important turning point, not just in the conceptions and practice of landholding and ownership, but also land administration and management. Colonial rule introduced not just a different system of statutory land tenure and administrative structures; it also significantly changed people's perception and relations to land, with land widely perceived as a commodity that can be sold and bought like any other commodity on the market. Within this context, the course seeks to explore some of the key features around land and agrarian transformation in Africa, including land policy reforms and how these

have continued to affect conception, policy and practice of land administration in Africa today. In more recent years, the land and agrarian issues in Africa have included various dimensions of urban land access and sustainable land use, and these issues can no longer be ignored.

The course will critically examine the different dimensions of land, including patterns of land ownership, means of accessing land, gender dimensions of land and agrarian struggles, structures for land administration, types of land tenure, issues of urbanisation and access to urban land, changing forms of land use, the challenges of large-scale land acquisition in different African communities, and the issues around sustainable land use. The course will draw examples from selected countries in Africa.

Field trip: There will be a field trip to one of the cities (within Cape Town) to learn more about how struggles around access to urban land play out on the ground. The date for the field trip will be confirmed during the course.

Course Requirements

This is a post-graduate course, which takes the seminar format. There are 12 seminars for this course; one seminar each week. Each seminar has a theme, and the readings assigned for the seminar speak to the theme for the week. Students are required to read the assigned material for the seminar before coming to class. Reading, over and above, the assigned material is also encouraged. The readings in this course are meant to introduce students to some of the key issues around land and agrarian change in Africa. Each seminar has two sets of readings: the **required readings** (which **must be read before** coming to class) as well as **additional readings (which are optional)**. Some readings will be added as we proceed in the course. On top of the required and additional readings, students are encouraged to search for more material relevant to the course and share with the rest of the class.

Having said this, students, in their presentations and essays, are expected to demonstrate that they are familiar with the “**prescribed**” material in the course. **Additional readings are not meant to substitute those prescribed for this course.**

In some cases, depending on availability, guest speakers **will** be invited to give a talk on issues relevant to the course.

Course Assessment

Students are assessed based on: class participation, 1 short essay and 1 long essay. **Class participation** accounts for 15% of the total mark, the **short essay**, 35%, and the **long essay**, 50%.

1. Class Participation

The 15% for class participation is awarded depending on the student’s **attendance, participation and presentation** at the seminars. **Attendance at seminars on its own is not enough.** Students are expected to actively participate in the seminar by meaningfully contributing to the seminar discussions. To ensure maximum participation, each student will be expected to make at least one seminar presentation, based on the theme and the readings assigned for that week. The number of presentations per student will be determined by the number of students on the course.

2. Seminar Presentation Format

To promote scholarly exchange and critical engagement with course material interaction, the author of the seminar presentation write-up will not present her/his work; the seminar paper will be presented by another student (discussant). A general discussion will then follow.

For this system to work, the author must circulate the seminar write-up at least two days before the seminar, to give others time to read the write-up and prepare for the seminar.

3. **Short essay:** 35 per cent of the course

Students will write a short essay of not more than 3000 words, including references, on the topic of their own choice or on the topic assigned to the class. This essay should be submitted on **April 18**.

4. **Long Essay:** 50 per cent of the course

As with the short essay, students are expected to choose a topic of their own. The long essay, which should be between 5000 and not more than 6000 words, could be based on a “case study” based on the theories and examples discussed in the course. The essay should have a title, an abstract, and should be fully referenced.

Students are free to choose a topic for the short and long essays. Please feel free to discuss your topic with the course convenor. The *long essay* is due **on May 31**.

The Course and reading material

The course will be presented over a period of 12 weeks in the first semester. **It is important for students to note that this is a seminar-based course.** This means that students are expected to show great initiative and commitment. The course belongs to students and the success will largely be determined by the level of participation on the part of students.

Seminar 1: February 21:

Introduction: General Overview of the Land and Agrarian Question

Required Reading:

Engels, F. (1898). *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*. Marx/Engle Writers Archives (parts I & II)

Mafeje, A. (2003). *The Agrarian Question, Access to Land, and Peasant Responses in Sub-Saharan Africa*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, pp. 1-12.

Watts, M (1985). “The Agrarian Question in Africa: What is the Question?” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol.1, No.1 223-226(book review)

Byres, J. T. (1986). “The Agrarian Question, Forms of Capitalist Agrarian Transition and the State: An Essay with Reference to Asia.” *Social Scientist*, Vol. 14, No. 11/12. Pages 3-19.

Additional readings:

Lenin, V.I., 1961a, *The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx"*, in vol. 5 of *Collected Works*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. Written in 1901.

See also Moyo, Sam(2008) “African Land Questions, Agrarian Transition and the State” (Seminar 8).

Bernstein, H. (2004). “From Transition to Globalisation: Agrarian Question of Capital and Labour.” A paper presented at the Workshop—The Peasant and the Development of Capitalism in Comparative Perspectives.

Banaji, Jairus, (1976). “Summary of Selected Parts of Kautsky's “The Agrarian Question”, *Economy and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 1, February 5.

Bernstein, H. (2004). “Changing before our very eyes”: Agrarian questions and the politics in land capitalism today. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 1 (2), 283- 324

Seminar 2: February 28

Concept(s) of Land in Africa-- The place of Land in African Societies

Required Reading:

Okoth-Ogendo, H. W. O (1989). "Some issues of Theory in the Study of Tenure Relations in African Agriculture." *Journal of International African Institute*, Vol. 59, No. 1. 6-17.

Akuffo, Kwame (2009). "The Conception of Land Ownership in African Customary law and Its Implications for Development." *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 17. 57-78.

Simpson, S. R. 1959. "Towards a definition of absolute ownership." *Journal of African Law*. Vol. 5, No. 3: 145-50.

Allott, A. 1958. 'Towards a definition of absolute ownership', *Journal of African Law*, 5 (2): 99-102.

Addition Reading:

Parsons, K. H. 1971. 'Customary land tenure and the development of African agriculture', Land Tenure Centre Reprint No. 77. Madison: University of Wisconsin, pp. 26-43.

Prothero, R. Mansell, ed. 1972. *People and Land in Africa South of the Sahara*. London: Oxford University Press.

Chachage, Chachage. (2011). "Why Land Matters to Africans Regardless of Agriculture." Available at <http://udadisi.blogspot.com/2011/01/why-land-matters-to-africans-regardless.html>

White, C. M. N. 1958. "Terminological confusion in African land tenure." *Journal of African Administration*, 10: 124-30.

Honore, A. M. 1961. 'Ownership', in A. G. Guest, *Oxford Essays in Jurisprudence*, pp. 108-47. London: Oxford University Press.

Seminar 3: March 7

Land in Africa: The Colonial Interface

Required Readings:

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism*. London: James Currey. Chapter 5

Meek, Charles Kingsley. 1946. *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies*. London: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2

Liversage, V. 1945. *Land Tenure in the Colonies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2-41

Additional Readings:

P. Reyna (ed), *Land and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England.

Wily, A. Liz(2012). *Putting 20th Century Land Policies in Perspective*. Brief No. 2.

Gildea, R. (1964). "Culture and Land Tenure in Ghana." *Land Economics*, Vol. 40, No.1. 102-104.

Pots, Deborah(2013). "Land Alienation Under Colonial and White Settler Governments in Southern Africa: Historical Land Grabbing" in T.Allan, M. Keulertz, S. Sojamo & J. Warner(eds.) *Handbook of Land and Water Grabs In Africa*. London/NewYork: Routledge. Chapter 2.

Seminar 4: March 14

Landholding and Tenure in Africa

Required Readings:

Blocher, J. 2006. "Building on custom: Land tenure policy and economic development in Ghana." *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal*, 9: 166–81.

Parker & Mitzi Goheen (1992) "Understanding African land-holding, Power, wealth and meaning." Africa vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 307-25.

Adam, M. and Turner, S. (2005). "Legal Dualism and Land Policy in Eastern and Southern Africa," A paper presented at the UNDP-International Land Coalition Workshop: Land Rights for African Development: From Knowledge to Action Nairobi, October 31 – November 3, 2005 (Proceedings: <http://www.undp.org/drylands/lt-workshop-11-05.htm>)

Additional Readings:

Platteau Jean-Philippe (1996) "The Evolutionary Theory of Land Rights as Applied to Sub-Saharan Africa, A Critical Assessment" Development and Change vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 29-86.

Lennox K. Agbosu(2000). "Land Law in Ghana: Contradiction Between Anglo-American and Customary Conceptions of Tenure and Practice." Land Tenure Centre Working paper No. 33. University of Wisconsin, Pp. 1-16

Shipton, Parker - 1989. 'How Private Property arises in Africa: directed and undirected land tenure reforms', report to the Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination, Cambridge, Mass.: US Agency for International Development. Chapter 2, pp. 1-25.

Metcalfe, S. & Kepe, T. 2008. "Dealing Land in the Midst of Poverty: Commercial Access to Communal lands in Zambia." *African & Asian Studies* 7.235-257.

Bohannon, P. 1963. 'Land, tenure and "land tenure"', in D. Biebuyck (ed.), African Agrarian Systems, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 101-111

Parsons, K. H. 1971. 'Customary land tenure and the development of African agriculture', Land Tenure Centre Reprint No. 77. Madison: University of Wisconsin. 26-48

Seminar 5: March 28

The Changing Nature of the Land Question in Africa

Required Readings:

Bruce, J.W. and Migot-Adholla, E.1994. "Introduction: Are Indigenous African Tenure Systems Insecure?" in J.W. Bruce and E. Migot-Adholla(eds.). Searching for Land Tenure Security in Africa. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. 1-14.

Uchendu, V. C. 1970. 'The impact of changing agricultural technology on African land tenure', Land Tenure Centre Reprint No. 71. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Bassett, T(1993). "Introduction: The Land Question and Agricultural Transformation in Sub-Saharan Africa" in T. Bassett & T.J. Crummey (eds.) Land in African Agrarian Systems. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press. Chapter 1.

Additional Readings:

Toulmin, C. and Quan, J (2000). "Registering Customary Rights" in Toulmin C. and J. Quan(2000). Evolving Land Rights , Tenure and policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. London: DFID/IIED/NRL. Chapter 11.

Land Tenure Centre. 1976. Land Tenure and Agrarian Reform in Africa and the Near East: an annotated bibliography. Boston: G. K. Hall.

Smith, C. ((1989). "Did Colonialism Capture the Peasantry? A Case Study of the Kagera District, Tanzania. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala Research Report No. 83.

Bates, Robert (1984). "Some Conventional Orthodoxy in the Study of Agrarian Change." World Politics, Vol36, No. 2. 234-54.

Cummings, R. W. 1978. 'Land tenure and agricultural development', Land Tenure Centre Reprint No. 117. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Place, Frank(2009). "Land Tenure and Agricultural Productivity in Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Economics Literature and Recent Policy strategies and reforms." World development, Vol. 37, No. 2. 1326-1336.

Cohen, J. 1978. 'Land tenure and rural development in Africa', Development Discussion Paper, No. 44. Harvard: Harvard Institute of International Development.

Seminar 6: April 11

Land Administration in Africa

Required Readings:

Ntsebeza. L. (2006). Democracy Compromised. Pretoria: HSRC. Chapter 2

Berbst, J. (2000). "State and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control. Princeton University Press (Chapter 3)

Lund, C. 1998. "Struggles for land and political power: On the politicisation of land tenure and disputes in Niger." Journal of Legal Pluralism, 40: 1–22.

Additional Reading:

Home, Robert(2012). "The Colonial Legacy in Land Rights in Southern Africa" in B. Chigara(ed.) Land Relations Policy in African Development Community. London: Routledge. Chapter 2.

African Union (2010). Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa. Addis Ababa: AU/ECA. Pp, 23-37
Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, 2005). Land Tenure Systems and their Impacts on Food Security and Sustainable Development in Africa. Addis Ababa: ECA. PP. 21-48.

Colson, Elizabeth(1971). "The Impact of Colonial Period on the Definition of Land Rights" in V. Turner (ed.) Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960 (Vol.3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6 pp. 193-214.

Boone, C. 2007. "Property and constitutional order: Land tenure reform and the future of the African state." *African Affairs*, 106: 557–86.

Chanock, M(1989). Law, Custom and Social Order: the Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Delville, L. P. (2000). "Harmonising formal laws and customary land rights in French-speaking west Africa" in C. Toulmin & J. Quan (Eds.), *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa*. London: DFID/IIED/NRI, pp. 97-122.

Seminar 7: April 18

Land Reform in Africa: Selected Experiences

Required Readings

Sutton, K. (1974). "The Agrarian Reform in Algeria: The conversion of Projects into Action." *African Spectrum*, Vol9, No.1. 50-68.

Hall, R. (2014). "A Political Economy of Land Reform in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, 31. 213-227.

Moyo, Sam(2011). "Changing Agrarian Relations After Redistributive Land reform in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.38, No. 5. 939-966.

Okoth -Ogendo, H.W.O. (1998) Land Policy Reforms in East and Southern Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Drivers, Processes and Outcomes a Paper de livered at a Public Policy Debate on Land Reforms in Africa organised by the African Centre for Technology Studies at the Nairobi Safari Club, 20 May.

Additional Readings:

Downs, Richard E., and Reyna, S. P. eds. 1988. Land and Society in Contemporary Africa. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England.

Margold, S(1957). "Agrarian Land reform in Egypt." American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol.17, No.1. pp, 9-19.

Manji, A. (2001). "Land Reform in the Shadow of the State: The Implementation of new Land Laws in Sub Saharan Africa." *Third World Quarterly*, Vo. 21.

Alden Wily, L.(2004). *Governance and Land Relations: a Review of Decentralisation of Land Administration and Management in Africa*. IIED, London, 99. 1-47.

Seminar 8: April 25

Land Issues in Post-colonial Africa: The Gender Dimensions

Required Readings:

Whitehead, A. & Tsikata, D. (2003). "Policy Discourse on Women's Land Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Implications of the Return to the Customary." *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol.3. Nos. 1 & 2. 67-112.

Yngstrom, I (2002). "Women, Wives and Land Rights in Africa: Situating Gender Beyond the Household in the Debate Over Land Policy and Changing Tenure System." *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1. 21-37.

Gray, L. & Kevane, M. (1999). "Diminished Access, Diverted Exclusion: Women and Land Tenure in Sub-Saharan Africa." *African Studies Review*, Vol. 42, No. 2. 15-39.

Additional Readings:

Peters, Pauline (2010). "Our Daughters Inherit Our Land, But Our Sons Use Their Wives' Fields': Matrilineal-matrilocal Land Tenure and the New Land Policy in Malawi." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1. 179-199.

Ndulo, Muna(2011). "African Customary Law, Customs and Women's Right." Cornell Law Faculty Publication, Paper No. 187.

Manji, Ambreena, 1998. 'Gender and the Politics of the Land Reform Process in Tanzania'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36 (4): 645-67.

Behrman, Julia; Meinzen-Dick, Ruth. & Quisumbing, Ahnes. (2011). "The Gender Implications of Large-Scale Land Deals." International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) Discussion Paper No. 010156.

Manji, Ambreena, 1999. 'Imagining Women's "Legal" World: Towards a Feminist Theory of Legal Pluralism in Africa'. *Social and Legal Studies*, 8 (4): 435-55

Seminar 9: May 2

The Agrarian Question in Post-colonial Africa

Required Reading:

Neocosmos, C (1993). "The Agrarian Question in South Africa and Accumulation from Below." The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala Sweden. Pp. 24-52.

Hyden, Goran(1986). "The Anomaly of the African Peasantry" *Development and Change*, Vol. 17. 677-705 (677-95)

Moyo, S. (2008). *African Land Questions, Agrarian Transition and the State: Contradictions of the Neo-liberal Land Reforms*. Dakar: CODESRIA. Chapter 3, pp. 28-75.

Additonal Readings

Richards, Paul. 1983. 'Ecological change and the politics of African land use', *African Studies Review* 26 (2), 1-71.

Havnevik, J.K. (1997). The Land Question in Sub-Saharan Africa. IRDC No. 15, 1-11.

Berry, S (1984). "The Food Crisis and Agrarian Change in Africa", *African Studies Review*. Vol. 27 No. 2: 59-112.

Chitonge, Horman(2011). "Land Resource Ownership and Use in 'Africa of the Labour Reserves (Southern African Development Community)" in Ben Chigara (ed.) *Land Relations Policy in African Development Community*. London:Routledge. Chapter 4.

Bernstein, Henry(2003). "Farewells to the Peasantry" *Transformation* 52. 1-19.

Lionel, Cliffe(1987). "The Debate on the African Peasantries" *Development and Change*, Vol. 18. 625-35.

Kasfir, Nelson(1986). "Are African Peasantry Self-sufficient? *Development and Change*, Vol 17 No. 2. 335-57.

Seminar 10. May 9

Challenges of Land Tenure in Post-colonial Africa

Required Readings:

Migot-Adholla, S., & Bruce, J. (1994) "Introduction: are indigenous African tenure systems insecure?" pp 1-13 in Bruce, J. & Migot-Adholla, S.E. (eds). *Searching for land tenure security in Africa*. Dubuque IA: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company,

ECA(2005). *Land Tenure Systems and their Impacts on Food Security and Sustainable Development in Africa*. Addis Ababa: ECA. PP. 75-94.

Okoth-Ogendo, H. (2000). "Legislative approach to customary tenure and tenure reform in East Africa in C. Toulmin & J. Quan (Eds.), *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa*. London: DFID/IIED/NRI, pp. 123-134.

Additonal Readings

Berry, Sara.1993. *No Condition is Permanent*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Okoth-Ogendo, H.W.O (1982). 'The perils of land "tenure" reform', in L. D. Ngcongco (ed.), *Land Policy and Agricultural Production in Eastern and Southern African Countries*, Resources Technical Series. Tokyo: United Nations University.

Peters, P.(2009). Challenges in Land Tenure and Land Reform in Africa: Anthropological Contributions. Special Issue, *World Development*, 2009 37, 8: 1317-1325.

Toulmin, Camila & Quan Julian (2000). "Evolving Land Rights, Tenure and Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa" in C. Toulmin & J. Quan(eds.) *Evolving Land Rights, Tenure and Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London: DFID/IIED/NRI. 1-30

McAuslan, Patrick (2000). "Only the name of the Country Changes: The Diaspora of 'European' Land Law in Commonwealth Africa" *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa*. London: DFID/IIED/NRI, pp. 75-96.

Platteau, J.-P., 2000. 'Does Africa Need Land Reform?' In *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa*, (eds.) C. Toulmin and J. Quan, 51–76. London: IIED with DFID and NRI, pp. 51-74

Seminar 11: May 16

The Urban Land Question in Africa

Required Readings:

Rakodi, C. (2005). "Land for Urban Housing in African Cities: Are Informal Delivery Systems Institutionally Robust and Pro-poor?" A Paper presented at a World Bank Urban Research Symposium, 4-6 April, 2004, Brazilia.

Pithouse, R.(2014). "The Urban Land Question."Polity.04 April, 2014 available at www.polity.org.za 12.04.14.

Chitonge, H. and Mfuno, O(2015). The Urban Land Question in Africa: The Case of Land Conflicts in the City of Lusaka, 100 years after its Founding." *Habita International* 48. 209-218.

Berrisforf. S, D. DeGroot, M. Kihato, N. Marrengane, Z. Mhlanga and R. van den Brink(2012). "In-serach of land and Housing in the New South Africa: The Case of Ethembaletu." Work Bank Working Paper No. 130. 1-24

Additional Readings:

Payne, G. (2001). "Urban Land Tenure Policy Options: Titles or Rights?" *Habitat International* 24. 415-429.

Rakodi, C. and Leduka, C (2004). "Informal Land Delivery Process and Access to Land for the Poor: A Comperative Study of Six African Cities, Policy Brief No.6. International Development, School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham, UK.

Pieterse, E. (2011). "Grasping the Unknowable: Coming to Grips with African Urbanism". *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 37, No.1. 5-23.

Seminar 12: May 23

The Land Grabs and Sustainable Land Use in Africa

Required Readings:

Mittal, A. and Moore, M. (2009). African Farmers and Environmentalist Speak out Against A New Green Revolution in Africa. Oakland Institute Working Paper No. *** (Parts II and III).

Rockefeller Foundation (2006). Africa's Turn: A New Green Revolution for the 21st Century.

GEF/OSISA/UNDP (2012). Land, Biodiversity and Extractive Industries in Southern Africa.

Cotula, Lorenzo, Vermeulen, Sonja, Leonard, Rebecca & Keeley, James (2009). Land Grab or Development Opportunity? Agricultural Investment and International Land Deals in Africa. London/Rome: IIED/FAO/IFAD. Pp. 13-34.

Additonal Reading:

Friends of the Earth (2010). Africa up for Grabs: The Scale and Impact of Land Grabbing for Agro-fuel. 1-36.

Woodhouse, Phill(2001). "African Enclosure: A Default Mode of Development?" Rural Resources, Rural Livelihood Working Paper No. 13, University of Manchester.

Palmer, R. (2000). "Land Policy in Africa: Lessons from Recent Policy and Implementation Processes" in C. Toulmin & J. Quan (Eds.), *Evolving Land Rights, Policy and Tenure in Africa*. London: DFID/IIED/NRI, pp. 267-288

Okoth-Ogendo, H.W.O (1999). Land Policy Development in East Africa: A Survey of Recent Trends. A paper presented at a DFID Workshop on Land Rights and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. 16-19 February, 1999.

Africa Union Commission (AUC/AfDB/ECA, 2010). Land Policy in Africa: North Africa Regional Assessment. Addis Ababa: AUC/AfDB/ECA. Pp. 1-24, 32-37.