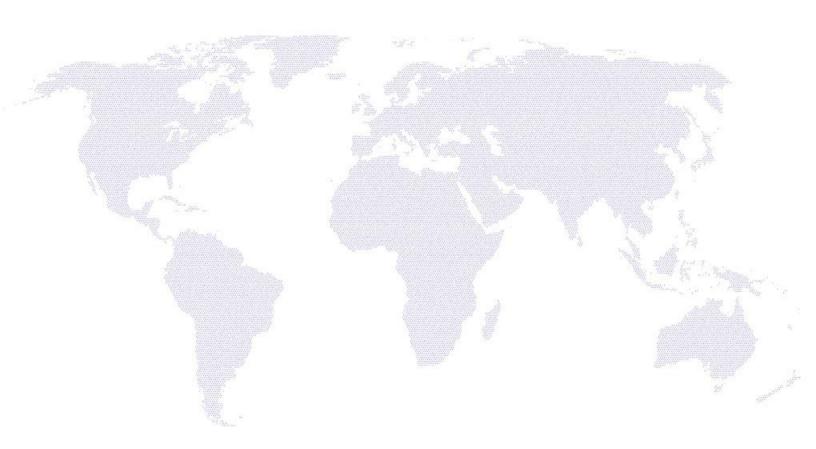


PRELIMINARY SYNTHESIS

IDRC-supported research on large-scale land acquisitions in Africa

Using action research to build greater accountability

Dr. Anna F. S. Russell December 11, 2015





Preface

Commercial interest and investments in agricultural lands is not a new phenomenon, but has intensified in quantity, speed and size over the past five years, particularly in the wake of the 2008 food crisis. Foreign and domestic investors, both public and private, are acquiring control of vast stretches of fertile land for agricultural production within developing countries. While this trend has been witnessed globally, Africa has been stage to many of these investments, with a reported 10 million hectares being acquired in 5 countries from 2004-9. While agricultural investments can contribute to economic development and poverty reduction, many investments have failed to live up to expectations and are not generating sustainable benefits. Furthermore, in many instances, these land deals are leaving local people worse off than they would have been without the investment. This finding is particularly troublesome when coupled with the fact that two-thirds of foreign land deals take place in developing countries with serious hunger problems and in countries with the weakest land rights protection laws. Pressures on agricultural land are expected to continue in the future to meet demands of growing populations, and diminishing supplies of fertile land. In addition, investments to date have served to highlight existing weaknesses in the management and governance of agricultural lands and local communities.

In response to these trends, since 2012, Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC), through its Governance, Security and Justice Program, has launched a series of activities in Sub-Saharan Africa that aim to make land investment processes more accountable and equitable, and to prevent displacement and conflict. Support has primarily been through a cluster of 5 participatory action research projects, which together cover 10 countries, over a three-year period. In different ways, the projects are investigating the conditions for promoting greater accountability, legitimacy and access to justice around land investment processes. The project teams each work with communities, to experiment with different tools and interventions, in order to increase communities' power to negotiate equitable terms and protect their rights and interests, while also feeding lessons into larger national and international policy processes.

IDRC now wishes to capitalize on existing investments, and deepen the impact of the cluster of projects as a whole. To that end, in collaboration with the Canadian Embassy and development assistance program for Senegal, IDRC organized a summit of all the research teams and the broader network of IDRC land partners in Dakar, Senegal from November 24-6, 2015. The summit provided a chance to share initial research results and lessons learned (eg related to methodology), foster greater networking and cross-project collaboration and identify general conclusions and strategies to target global policy debates. It also brought together a broader range of public decision-makers, donors and related stakeholders.

Executive Summary

This report presents a preliminary synthesis of existing findings emerging from IDRC-supported projects on large-scale land acquisitions and accountability in Africa. It regroups general findings from the projects, as found in reports and other papers, according to relevant themes emerging from the research. A draft of the report was circulated prior to, and the main findings presented at, the IDRC summit in Dakar, Senegal on November 24-6, 2015. This enabled project partners from all 5 participatory action projects the opportunity to provide comments for this final version of the preliminary synthesis. Given the timeline of the broader IDRC large-scale land acquisition project, the findings within this synthesis can be presumed to be preliminary and emerging, rather than conclusive, unless otherwise stated.

Five common themes, with gender as a cross-cutting theme, can be distilled from the preliminary research findings.

- First, problems with land governance in the context of legal pluralism are apparent. These include both potential shortcomings in the official structure of the law (including the interaction between customary and statutory law) and/or the implementation of the law. Whilst in some countries domestic land law seems relatively robust, in all countries problems with implementation exist.
- Second, large-scale land acquisitions can have differing impact both between and within communities. This differentiation may be delineated by gender, social class (and elite status), generation (youth and elderly people) and ethnicity.
- Third, problems with lack of awareness around land tenure and concerns over lack of procedural protections for affected communities are noted. For example, not only may the identification of the actual decision-maker concerning the land investment be unclear, but broader transparency, consultation, access to information and meaningful participation with respect to the public decision-making process is often scarce.
- Fourth, land valuation and compensation for acquired lands is often seen to be inadequate with benefits not shared equitably amongst communities.
- Fifth, it was noted that many of the previous thematic findings contribute to contestation over agricultural lands and by addressing them in more detail, disputes may be prevented. Given the multiplicity of actors involved in land disputes, responses are often multi-dimensional. These may include no response or strategic inaction due to a sense of powerless, to responses that utilize a range of dispute resolution mechanisms, including non-State-based mechanisms (eg community or customary), State-based mechanisms (eg judicial or quasi-judicial) and other mechanisms (eg social movements).

Gender implications, specifically in relation to women, emerge in relation to each these five common themes.

Importantly, much of the preliminary research to date carefully documents the problems or impacts associated with large-scale land investments. The generation of even further evidence and insights that aim to make land investment processes more accountable and equitable and to prevent displace and conflict may be particularly useful moving forward.

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List of Acronyms

ADR Alternative Dispute Resolution

IDRC International Development Research Centre, Canada

IED Innovation, Environnement, Développement Afrique

LEMU Land Equity Movement Uganda

LSLA Large-Scale Land Acquisition

LRMC Land Resource Management Centre, Ghana

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

1. Introduction

Background and Problem

Commercial interest and investments in agricultural lands is not a new phenomenon, but has intensified in quantity, speed and size over the past five years, particularly in the wake of the 2008 food crisis. Foreign and domestic investors, both public and private, are acquiring control of vast stretches of fertile land for agricultural production within developing countries. While this trend has been witnessed globally, Africa has been stage to many of these investments, with a reported 10 million hectares being acquired in 5 countries from 2004-9. While agricultural investments can contribute to economic development and poverty reduction, many investments have failed to live up to expectations and are not generating sustainable benefits. Furthermore, in many instances, these land deals are leaving local people worse off than they would have been without the investment.¹ This finding is particularly troublesome when coupled with the fact that two-thirds of foreign land deals take place in developing countries with serious hunger problems and in countries with the weakest land rights protection laws.² Pressures on agricultural land are expected to continue in the future to meet demands of growing populations, and diminishing supplies of fertile land. In addition, investments to date have served to highlight existing weaknesses in the management and governance of agricultural lands and local communities.

IDRC's Response

In response to these trends, since 2012, Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC), through its Governance, Security and Justice Program, has launched a series of activities in Sub-Saharan Africa that aim to make land investment processes more accountable and equitable, and to prevent displacement and conflict.

Support has primarily been through a cluster of 5 participatory action research projects, which together cover 10 countries, over a three-year period (see appendix A). In different ways, the projects are investigating the conditions for promoting greater accountability, legitimacy and access to justice around land investment processes. The project teams each work with communities, to experiment with different tools and interventions, in order to increase communities' power to negotiate equitable terms and protect their rights and interests, while also feeding lessons into larger national and international policy processes.

The projects were developed following a series of preparatory activities designed to define the research agenda and validate potential entry points. The activities included the commissioning of a background paper,³ and a workshop with stakeholders from the continent in Accra, Ghana in September 2012. On

¹ K Deininger and D Byerlee with J Lindsay, A Norton, H Selod and M Stickler *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (World Bank Washington DC 2011).

² Oxfam International Briefing Note 'Our land, Our Lives: Time Out on the Global Land Rush' 2012.

³ E Polack, L Cotula and M Cote Accountability in Africa's Land Rush: What Role for Legal Empowerment (IIED/IDRC London/Ottawa 2013).

the basis of those efforts, a series of research questions were identified, which then served as a basis for developing the research projects.

IDRC now wishes to capitalize on existing investments, and deepen the impact of the cluster of projects as a whole. To that end, in collaboration with the Canadian Embassy and development assistance program for Senegal, IDRC organized a summit of all the research teams and the broader network of IDRC land partners in Dakar, Senegal from November 24-6, 2015. The summit was designed around two sets of sessions. The first set was a two-day technically-oriented, internal meeting of partners, to provide a chance to share initial research results and lessons learned (eg related to methodology), foster greater networking and cross-project collaboration and identify general conclusions and strategies to target global policy debates. The second set of sessions involved a full-day event bringing together a broader range of public decision-makers, donors and related stakeholders. Project partners played an active role in designing and leading sessions.

Purpose of Preliminary Synthesis

The purpose of this report is to present a preliminary synthesis of existing findings emerging from the IDRC-supported projects on large-scale land acquisitions and accountability in Africa. It regroups general findings from the projects according to relevant themes that emerged from the data. (No additional or further research was undertaken.) The report also addresses the main research questions used to develop the cohort of projects.

To prepare the report, various partner reports, papers, presentations, and other materials, for each of the 5 participatory action research projects, were gathered and sorted.⁴ Given the timeline of the broader IDRC large-scale land acquisition project, the findings can be presumed to be preliminary and emerging, rather than conclusive, unless otherwise stated. A draft of the report was prepared and circulated in advance of the summit on November 24-6, 2015, and the main findings presented in Dakar, Senegal. This enabled project partners from all 5 participatory action projects the opportunity to provide comments for the final version of the preliminary synthesis hereby presented.

2. Large-Scale Land Investments in Africa: Common Themes

The following five themes have been distilled from the preliminary research findings to date. These include the importance of: (i) enhancing land governance in the context of legal pluralism; (ii) understanding differential impacts of large-scale land acquisitions (LSLAs); (iii) improving awareness and procedures around land investment decision-making; (iv) land valuation, compensation, benefit and risk sharing; and (v) dispute prevention and settlement. Gender-related issues cross-cut all five themes and are discussed accordingly.

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⁴ At the time of writing, 98 documents were on file with the author (and IDRC). Due to the limited time to prepare the report, the subsequent review that took place was strategic, as opposed to exhaustive, starting with the most recent materials and working backwards as necessary.

Enhancing Land Governance in the Context of Legal Pluralism

Both potential shortcomings in the official structure of the law (ie the 'law in theory') and/or the implementation of the law (ie the 'law in practice') clearly influence land investment processes and impacts. They also influence the legitimacy and accountability of public authorities involved in making such decisions, as well as the ability of affected communities to access justice.⁵

Historically in the region, traditional or customary land governance was subsequently transformed under colonialism into a system that vested land ownership in the State. Post-independence, this was typically followed by a general abundance of further formal, law-making activities. Consequently, in many countries today, the government asserts control over much of the land, relying on formal laws, whereas rural people continue to rely on customary rules as the actual and more legitimate system of land rights and governance. The two have become intertwined over time, and where one system begins and the other takes over is not always clear. The net effect is that tensions or contestations often arise as to which system of governance and laws should apply, and who, in turn, has legal and legitimate control and say over lands. The lack of clarity between which rules should prevail is a main source of insecurity over rural tenure, especially for people relying on customary tenure. When large-scale land investments take place, not uncommonly the lack of security of these customary rights is a problem. Rarely are rural peoples' rights to land registered, either individually or collectively, and any legal protection is often subject to 'productive use', which can be difficult to demonstrate (eg through grazing).⁶ However, beyond these generalizations and over-simplifications, it is difficult to discern particular trends across the diverse, domestic legal frameworks of the 10 countries where IDRCsupported research is being conducted.7

In some countries, current domestic law concerning land governance, including the interaction of customary and statutory law, seems relatively well-developed in theory, whilst in other countries it seems incomplete or inadequate and even simply the theoretical architecture seems to be a cause for concern and area in need of further examination. In both situations, however, implementation gaps and institutional problems are apparent. (For example, in Kenya, land acquisition projects 'are being undertaken against a background of weakly enforced, failing or failed land administration mechanisms'.⁸)

Because these gaps in modern domestic land law – whether it be the constitution of the framework itself or the implementation of the framework in practice – affects the accountability, legitimacy and

⁵ When referring to 'governance' in this report, no formal definition has been adopted. Rather, references to 'land governance' have purposively been kept broad, and may include institutional, legal and policy frameworks and processes at different levels.

⁶ E Polack, L Cotula and M Cote Accountability in Africa's Land Rush: What Role for Legal Empowerment (IIED/IDRC London/Ottawa 2013) 19-21.

⁷ The countries are Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda.

⁸ 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 2.

justice-related elements surrounding land investment processes, as well as the impact they may have on local land rights, an initial summary for each country is charted below.⁹

Furthermore, because poor land governance can be particularly detrimental for women, gender-related comments have been incorporated, (where the data permits), into the summary for each country. Women's interests and needs are often embedded within patriarchal social systems [and] are overlooked, with far reaching implications for individuals, family survival and national development'.¹⁰

Country	Project #	Legal Framework Summary
Cameroon	107524 107590	 multiple legal reforms aimed at achieving government's development objective, Vision 2035¹¹ complex land governance system with 'too many' adjudicating bodies, ¹² and commercial and conservation land titles overlapping ¹³ lands leased following 3 main procedures: (i) short-term leases over national lands; (ii) concessions over national lands; and (iii) grants over State lands ¹⁴ negligible amount of land registered, ¹⁵ - a process which appears inaccessible for most people and may also be seen as a denial of already precarious customary rights ¹⁶ most LSLAs on national lands as grants; some allotment of State private property, as well as informal allotment by chiefs ¹⁷ memoranda of understandings between affected communities, investors and local administration, inspired from statutory and customary frameworks, are used in complex situations ¹⁸ provisions to consult communities prior to LSLAs, but problems in practice ¹⁹

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⁹ Project partners are thanked for their input into, and development of, this chart. For further information about legal distribution of decision-making in land and investment matters, and legal protection of local land rights, see E Polack, L Cotula and M Cote Accountability in Africa's Land Rush: What Role for Legal Empowerment (IIED/IDRC London/Ottawa 2013) 12-4.

¹⁰ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 1.

^{11 107524 &#}x27;Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa' email from T Nkuintchua Tchoudjen Dec 2015.

¹² 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 4-6.

^{13 107524 &#}x27;Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa' email from T Nkuintchua Tchoudjen Dec 2015.

¹⁴ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 4-6. (Although rare, there are situations of purchasing land, expropriating land and creating statutory companies. Despite not being mentioned in land tenure laws, sometimes as a result of privatizing a State-owned company, private entities also acquire land (107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa' email from I Fokum Dec 2015.))

¹⁵ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 4-6.

¹⁶ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Regional Synthesis Report: Rapport Cameroun' (on file with project) 2.

¹⁷ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 4-6.

¹⁸ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa' email from L Fonjong Dec 2015.

		 poor legal recognition of customary institutions,- considered auxiliaries of State administration with no real land management powers²⁰ statutory laws are gender neutral, but land governance practice operates in patriarchal setting and women's land rights generally insecure; women's land rights better assured through international instruments;²¹ constitution purports to guarantee women's access to and ownership of land, but the protection is for those who already have possession²²
Ghana	107524 107590	 constitution classifies land into public and private lands: public lands vested in the president and held in trust for the people and managed by the Lands Commission; private lands vested in stools/skins, families and individuals²³ Lands Commission one of the key institutions involved in land governance and may grant a lease in respect of any land acquired by the State under the constitution;²⁴ Lands Commission has developed Draft Guidelines for Considering Large-Scale Land Transactions, which seek to operationalize international guidance, though they contain several shortfalls, such as excluding key institutions and being silent on gender²⁵ different laws aim to provide an opportunity for public participation in decision-making²⁶ significant shortcomings in coordination between customary and statutory institutions²⁷ contract for transfer of title in land to be made in writing and registered²⁸ statutory laws do not discriminate on gender; women's land rights generally insecure as women have access to land through lineage in matrilineal communities and through their husbands in patrilineal communities; verbal agreements with farmers from whom they lease lands can often be broken at will, which becomes increasingly problematic with growing commercial interest in land²⁹

¹⁹ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa' email from T Nkuintchua Tchoudjen Dec 2015.

²⁰ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa' email from T Nkuintchua Tchoudjen Dec 2015.

²¹ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 4-6, 7.

²² 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa' email from I Fokum Dec 2015.

²³ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 4-6.

²⁴ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 6. See also 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa' email from M Kakraba-Ampeh Dec 2015.

²⁵ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 6-7.

²⁶ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 6.

²⁷ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 5.

²⁸ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 6.

²⁹ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 6.

Kenya	107525	 at the core of government's main development plan, Vision 2030, is the effective development of land, yet unclear or insecure land tenure, mainly of the rural population, may be vulnerable to LSLAs³⁰ land tenure challenges that have a historical character still persist in Kenya³¹ government administration of lands can be a problem (eg in one county, the same land was allocated 4 times by central authorities, undermining the value of the land and leaving local officials to settle the conflict; in another county, residents allocated themselves what is technically public land)³² suggested that Kenya needs to explore creation of hybrid safeguard mechanisms between contemporary/customary society structures with formal legal structures to allow for tenure security³³
Liberia	107530	 complex, overlapping land use rights (some land managed by household or family, other lands by community)³⁴ constitution, laws and policy guarantee communities certain rights to own, manage and/or govern lands; government drafting new laws that gives people ownership rights over community lands without a formal deed³⁵ land does not become property of spouse after marriage without consent³⁶ majority of community members surveyed stated that community authorities with historical roles in community land management (eg elders, traditional custodians) are most important natural resource management authorities today; about half of communities surveyed reported they had a council responsible for managing communal resources³⁷
Mali	107701	 customary rights recognized in formal law, though to varying extent;³⁸ main land law provides for the adoption of key implementing measures to recognize and formalize customary rights, though they were never undertaken³⁹

³⁰ 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 1.

^{31 107525 &#}x27;Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya' PowerPoint Presentation by R Kibugi.

³² 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2; 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 4-5.

^{33 107525 &#}x27;Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 2.

³⁴ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 13.

^{35 107530 &#}x27;Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts' email from M Brinkhurst Dec 2015.

^{36 107530 &#}x27;Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts' email from M Brinkhurst Dec 2015.

³⁷ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 13-14.

³⁸ 107701 'Mali: La recherche sur les initiatives de responsabilisation du bas vers le haut dans l'acquisition de terres à grande échelle en Afrique: 1er rapport intérimaire: jan au juil 2015' par C Jacovetti et M Koné 6-7.

³⁹ 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa: Mali' email from M Coulibaly Dec 2015.

		 tension between recognition of customary rights and private ownership rights often results in erosion of the former⁴⁰ new policy focusing exclusively on farmland adopted in 2014, setting the background for a farmland law; the draft law aims to provide a single legal framework, integrating customary and statutory law⁴¹ local land governance authorities may (i) identify land holders and assist local authorities with documenting titles, such as land possession certificates and land holding certificates; and (ii) arbitrate land disputes prior to claims being brought before tribunals⁴² customs related to land access and management generally favour men over women⁴³
Mozambique	107530	 recognizes customary systems for land management and conflict, but only if do not contradict the constitution; customary norms vary significantly by region⁴⁴ consultations with all members of the community to precede land rights allocation⁴⁵ disagreement over the strength of women's land claims under customary systems;⁴⁶ customary regime allows women access to land, but not security (eg in instance of death of, or separation from, husband); statutory law provides for equal rights to land access for women and men⁴⁷
Nigeria	107701	 land tenure system and how it operates is not clear, particularly in relation to customary land rights⁴⁸ in theory, all land held in trust by government; disputed in practice to detriment of customary land tenure⁴⁹
Senegal	107524	 most land designated as national land under statutory law although land in home territories officially regulated by statutory law, rural people still follow customary practices to varying degrees with little respect for legislation⁵⁰

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⁴⁰ 107701 'Mali: La recherche sur les initiatives de responsabilisation du bas vers le haut dans l'acquisition de terres à grande échelle en Afrique: 1er rapport intérimaire: jan au juil 2015' par C Jacovetti et M Koné 6-7.

⁴¹ 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa: Mali' email from M Coulibaly Dec 2015.

⁴² 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa: Mali' email from M Coulibaly Dec 2015.

⁴³ 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa: Mali' email from M Coulibaly Dec 2015.

⁴⁴ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts' email from I Tankar Dec 2015 also noting that customary norms that contradict the constitution may still be applied in practice.

⁴⁵ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts' email from I Tankar Dec 2015.

⁴⁶ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 8.

⁴⁷ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts' email from I Tankar Dec 2015.

⁴⁸ 107701 'Nigeria: IDRC Research Project on Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Apr 2015 to Sep 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by G Ojo, R Uwaka and A Ero 4.

⁴⁹ 107701 'Nigeria: IDRC Research Project on Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Apr 2015 to Sep 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by G Ojo, R Uwaka and A Ero 4.

⁵⁰ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 7.

		 most indigenous people do not register their land rights as they believe they own the land they work as it has been passed down through the family; land registration process is slow and onerous⁵¹ both the lack of an effective institutional mechanism for monitoring land allocation processes and any mechanism for calling those in power to account for the management of land was found to be needed to encourage good land governance and prevent conflict⁵²
South Africa ⁵³	107701	 during colonial governance and apartheid era, fishers enjoyed tenure arrangement⁵⁴ post-apartheid, fishing rights allocated under statutory law excluded small-scale fisheries, but was later found to be unconstitutional⁵⁵ recently, small-scale fisheries policy adopted by government though implementation remains a problem⁵⁶
Uganda	107530 107590 107701	 constitution provides citizens with rights to land through mailo, customary, leasehold and freehold tenures⁵⁷ formal and informal land governance, the latter being dominant (ie rights to land allocated following local customs)⁵⁸ although Uganda has not seen the same levels of foreign land investments as other countries in the region,⁵⁹ by law, LSLAs required to consult with and compensate those who have genuine rights to land taken away⁶⁰ customary lands are particularly vulnerable and often deemed public land due to confusion about applicable law⁶¹ customary land vulnerability has been particularly pronounced in parts of the country affected until recently by conflict (eg community

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⁵¹ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 8-9.

⁵² 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 10.

⁵³ Research (and thus summary) in the context of fishing.

⁵⁴ 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa' email from G Lueong Dec 2015.

^{55 107701 &#}x27;Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa' email from G Lueong Dec 2015.

⁵⁶ 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa' email from G Lueong Dec 2015.

⁵⁷ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 3-4.

⁵⁸ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 3-4.

⁵⁹ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2.

^{60 107590 &#}x27;Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 3-4.

⁶¹ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2. (Some situations of conflicting claims involve the government claiming land to be public land, whilst other situations arise from the mailo tenure system where land owners and occupants claim rights over the same piece of land (107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa' email from J Ahikire Dec 2015).

members returning to their lands have found it ceded to elites; deaths in the family have made it difficult to establish such rights etc)⁶²

- at a more systemic level, confusion and conflict over land appears deliberate⁶³
- formal laws provide for protection of rights of women to land though women have not fully benefited from this in practice and their land rights are generally insecure⁶⁴

Understanding Differential Impacts of Large-Scale Land Acquisitions

Laws and policies that are at times inadequate, incomplete, unclear, unimplemented, or work against the legitimate tenure rights of people are factors that contribute to differential impacts of large-scale land acquisitions.⁶⁵ This patchwork of pluralistic legal land governance, and the corresponding interface with land investment processes has been suggested to explain, partially, differentiated impacts of LSLAs on local people. Research in Uganda, Mali, South Africa, Nigeria, and elsewhere, suggests that impact may be differentiated by gender, social class (and elite status), generation (youth and elderly people) and ethnicity.⁶⁶

<u>Gender</u>: In relation to gender, it was found that LSLAs impacted men and women differently. In large-scale investments that resulted in limited or no access to land (eg forced evictions, land dispossessions), research indicated that the burden of household food provision weighed more with women, who were trying to ensure sufficient food for both their malnourished children and their husbands.⁶⁷

Research from fishing communities in South Africa and Uganda found that limited access to fishing areas, combined with diminished catches, has led to an increase in alternative, agriculture-based livelihoods for women, who previously derived their living from processing and selling fish caught by men. (The acquisition of large tracts of land around fishing areas in these countries has also resulted in the price of farmlands increasing, as fishing communities turn to agriculture for securing their

⁶² 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 3.

⁶³ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 3.

⁶⁴ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 3-4, 6.

^{65 107701 &#}x27;A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 3.

⁶⁶ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 2. Further lines of differential impact appeared to be emerging based on presentations and discussions at the Dakar summit.

⁶⁷ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 2.

livelihoods.)⁶⁸ Research from Nigeria found that 'when some men lost access to their lands, which they considered to the source of their financial autonomy, they sometimes became violent against women.⁶⁹

Research from Ghana, Cameroon and Uganda, noted that small-scale farmers, particularly women, are increasingly losing farmland. The main issues affecting rural women as a result of loss of access to land relate to their various roles in cooking, subsistence production, and community management - all of which rely on natural resources. As farmlands become scarcer, LSLAs tend to increase the burden of women as they have to walk long distances to farm, and to collect water and wood for fuel. This results in the loss of livelihood activities and a fall in household income.⁷⁰

In Mozambique, despite disagreement over the strength of women's land claims under customary systems, there was consensus that as land becomes scarce, women's land rights erode. In such situations, there is evidence that 'customary leaders and families move away from more flexible systems of land holding, which take into consideration a woman's need to support herself and her children, to more rigid interpretations of women's land claims that undermine women's (particularly widows') tenure security.' Similarly, in Uganda, studies have shown that increased scarcity and competition for land can trigger a breakdown in customary rules, especially those that ensured communal resources were equitably managed, including in relation to women. Evidence indicates that families may reinterpret customary rules to weaken women's right to land.⁷¹

<u>Social Class (and Elite Status)</u>: In relation to social class, it was found that landless rural communities have noticed an increase in the rent of farm plots, due to greater competition for farmlands. Not only are landlords deriving huge profits from rent, but the prices of locally-produced foodstuffs in nearby markets has increased, potentially endangering people's right to food and the food self-sufficiency of affected communities. As a result, in these rural communities, the economic gap between landlords and tenants appears to be deepening inequality and class divide.⁷²

In some instances, for example, in Uganda, increased farmland prices also appear to be encouraging LSLAs by some local chiefs, national political elites or authorities, who through apparent misuses of power acquire vast tracts of land, which is then rented to landless and evicted small-scale farmers. This supplanting of duties of some chiefs from being the 'custodians' to 'owners' of community lands may be transforming the nature of customary land and resource governance in affected communities.

⁶⁸ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 2. See also 107701 'Uganda: Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisition: Collaborative Action Research on the Rush for Land and Water in Uganda, Mukono District: 1st Interim Report: Apr to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015' by M Natkato and B Rehema.

⁶⁹ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 2. See also 107701 'Nigeria: IDRC Research Project on Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Apr 2015 to Sep 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by G Ojo, R Uwaka and A Ero.

⁷⁰ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 10.

⁷¹ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Land and Resources and Investigating the Impacts of Customary Land Justice Movements' by Land Equity Justice Movement Uganda (LEMU) 1.

⁷² 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 2. Comments about power and vulnerability as a frame of analysis were also noted at the Dakar summit.

Preliminary findings suggest that LSLAs may be engendering a new class divide between 'landowners' and the 'landless'.⁷³ (In fact, in Uganda, local elites may even be the main challenge with regard to large-scale land acquisitions or the smaller, village-level cases of spoilers and grabbing.⁷⁴)

<u>Generation</u>: In relation to generational lines, it was found for example, in Mali, that LSLAs have led to increased youth emigration from affected communities. While LSLAs may be promoted, in part, as a source of employment, research shows that the specialist training required for the mechanized farms is often lacking amongst rural youths. The jobs that require less educational training tend be low-paying, manual jobs that do not enable youths to feed themselves or their families. This exodus of youth impacts the rural productive force as mostly older persons remain in villages.⁷⁵

<u>Ethnicity</u>: In relation to ethnicity, perhaps unsurprisingly, differential impacts appeared more visibly in multi-ethnic communities. (In some instances, ethnic groups had immigrated to another community, called the 'host community'.) 'Immigrant communities', typically granted use of the commons, tended to experience greater erosion of their rights when host communities encountered LSLAs.⁷⁶

Improving Awareness and Procedures around Land Investment Decision-Making

Recognition of Multiple Actors: 'Land deals are marked by highly contested, political processes'.⁷⁷ A range of actors may be involved in, or affected by, decisions concerning commercial investment in agricultural lands. These include State authorities (at multiple levels), the commercial sector and local communities, including any elites. Particularly where land rights are confusing (either in theory or in practice), it may not always be clear as to who exactly has authority to make a decision concerning the land. Instances where this may occur include lands where there are tensions between statutory and customary law, or customary lands that are often held communally and where the identification of the person(s) empowered to make decisions on behalf of the community is not certain.⁷⁸

The above triangulation of actors, however, does not account for all agricultural-related land disputes or related perceptions of tenure insecurity. For example, research from one project in Liberia indicates that almost half of respondents surveyed felt that 'neighbours within their communities could also

⁷³ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 2-3. See also 107701 'Uganda: Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisition: Collaborative Action Research on the Rush for Land and Water in Uganda, Mukono District: 1st Interim Report: Apr to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015' by M Natkato and B Rehema.

⁷⁴ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2. It is also noted that 'elite' land deals may involve women (email from R Thioune Dec 2015).

⁷⁵ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 3. See also 107701 'Mali: La recherche sur les initiatives de responsabilisation du bas vers le haut dans l'acquisition de terres à grande échelle en Afrique: 1er rapport intérimaire: jan au juil 2015' par C Jacovetti et M Koné. In Liberia, it was noted previously that young people tend to be more interested in freehold, rather than customary land tenure systems ('IDRC Conference Report, Accra, Ghana Sep 2012' 4).

⁷⁶ 107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 3. See also 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 4.

⁷⁷ 107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Sub-Saharan Africa: Interim Technical Report: Apr 2015 to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015) by S Monsalve Suárez 5.

⁷⁸ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 3.

violate agreements concerning who uses certain pieces of land during specific farming seasons'.⁷⁹ Similarly, in Uganda, smaller, village-level cases of spoilers and grabbing were also noted.⁸⁰ (These examples suggest that even where rules pertaining to specific land governance may be clear, additional challenges may also be present.)

<u>Awareness</u>: Beyond the legal pluralism challenges discussed and charted above, improving awareness concerning land governance may constitute an important strategy to strengthen land tenure security. Research has shown that local communities may be unaware of domestic laws, as well as international instruments, related to resource governance.⁸¹ In Uganda, 'this showed to reduce local people's ability to organize and demand accountability from their authorities'.⁸² There was thought to be 'an urgent need to empower local communities with knowledge on land tenure and ownership and possible remedies whenever forced evictions and other mal practices take place'.⁸³

Similar findings are emerging in Kenya, where a lack of knowledge about land rights was found to exist amongst local communities. It was suggested that a capacity-building curriculum that would disseminate land rights knowledge, via trusted paralegals, was needed. Such a curriculum should be community-based in design, content and delivery, as well as integrate a feedback system with the government for learning.⁸⁴

In Liberia, it was found that 'overall, community members are not yet aware of the strength of their land rights under Liberia's 2013 Land Policy. Furthermore, communities' tenure insecurity may become more pronounced due to the fact that many leaders interviewed did not know the boundaries of their community lands and paper documentation of their rights was very limited. That said, however, it was found that 'women and men demonstrated similar levels of legal knowledge, with the exception of knowledge of women's inheritance rights, which was especially higher for women's leaders'. It was thought this was likely attributable to an extensive public education campaign. Research on community land rights, also in Uganda and Mozambique, and pre-dating IDRC's current support, pointed

⁷⁹ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 16.

⁸⁰ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2.

^{81 107701 &#}x27;A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 3-4.

^{82 107701 &#}x27;A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa' 3-

^{4.} See also 107701 'Uganda: Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisition: Collaborative Action Research on the Rush for Land and Water in Uganda, Mukono District: 1st Interim Report: Apr to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015' by M Natkato and B Rehema.

⁸³ 107701 'Uganda: Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisition: Collaborative Action Research on the Rush for Land and Water in Uganda, Mukono District: 1st Interim Report: Apr to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015' by M Natkato and B Rehema 7.

^{84 107525 &#}x27;Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 2 and 5.

⁸⁵ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 17.

⁸⁶ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 17.

⁸⁷ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 17. '81% of women leaders correctly identified a women's right to inherit'.

to cases where efforts to secure community land titles contributed to improvements in women's land rights, notably, in respect to their participation in local decision-making.⁸⁸

Research from Ghana, Cameroon and Uganda noted that while NGOs are working to build women's capacity, overall women's responses have been slow with few women's community organizations fighting for their rights in many communities. It was commented that some NGOs were intimated in the process of advocating for women's land rights.⁸⁹

<u>Procedural Protections in Public Decision-Making</u>: Beyond improving awareness or knowledge of community land rights, the lack of procedural elements of public decision-making concerning land investment was often noted as being absent. Improving transparency, consultation, access to information, and participation in decision-making concerning land investments was intimated to be a valuable strategy in improving the legitimacy of public authorities in such scenarios, as well as their accountability. These procedural elements, or often procedural rights (or lack thereof), are usually inter-related and interdependent. For the purposes of discussion, various elements have been distilled.

Transparency: 'Transparency and accountability are mutually reinforcing aspects of good land governance'. While communities may be aware of their land rights to varying degrees, even where such an awareness is present, there may be little to no transparency concerning large land investment. For example, in Liberia, quantitative data indicates that many people surveyed did not feel their land was managed in a transparent manner and that leaders were acting in secret. In Ghana, 'there are laws and institutional arrangements in place, but land deals are often shrouded in secrecy. Likewise, in Senegal, while certain legal provisions aim to promote transparency by enabling citizen participation, 'studies showed that local people are concerned about the lack of transparency in the conditions and processes for land allocation and use'. Governance mechanisms often take little account of the measures that local governments are supposed to take to ensure transparency in public affairs, which leads to all kinds of speculation and considerable frustration amongst the communities that are directly affected by the project activities'.

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^{88 107530 &#}x27;Protecting Community Lands and Resources: Evidence from Liberia, Mozambique and Uganda' by R Knight, J Adoko, T Auma, A Kaba, A Salomao, S Siakor and I Tankar 12.

⁸⁹ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 14.

⁹⁰ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 9.

⁹¹ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 14.

⁹² 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 9.

⁹³ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 10.

⁹⁴ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 10.

Consultation, Access to Information and Participation: Where decisions about large land investments are more transparent, further procedural protections, including consultation, access to information and meaningful participation were often found to be lacking if not in theory, then in practice. For example, also in Senegal, although the texts on decentralization state that rural councils should ensure land management processes are consultative, local people complained about the lack of consultation over investment projects and felt that even when consultations did take place, rarely did they include all actors concerned.⁹⁵ Similarly, in Kenya, it was felt that a lack of consultation by the government was widespread across all of the research sites.⁹⁶

Even if all actors are included in consultations, the procedures only become meaningful if interested and affected communities have access to all relevant information and are able to fully participate. Thus, in Kenya, not only was the widespread lack of public consultation alarming, but in two counties, land investment and acquisition processes appeared to be subject to elite capture, whereby elites close deals with the government and companies with no information concerning the deals provided to affected communities.⁹⁷ The 'participation of people in administrative and governance systems on natural resources and land is still limited in terms of effectiveness.'⁹⁸ In Cameroon, both participatory and access to information procedures were found to be missing.⁹⁹ In Uganda, it was noted that at times when traditional leaders were invited for consultation, they were not given adequate information concerning the nature of the issues to be discussed, while others were dissuaded from participating.¹⁰⁰

From a gendered perspective, it was noted in some research sites that women were largely absent from land decision-making and that land transactions undertaken by chiefs, elders or family heads were invariably male. For example, in Ghana, of the five communities where research was carried out, there was only mention of one transaction that involved a female head of family. ('Unsurprisingly, such injustices at the procedural level [have] led to a range of distributive injustices'. In Cameroon, extensive empirical evidence confirmed that women were not represented in large-scale land

⁹⁵ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 9-10.

⁹⁶ 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2.

⁹⁷ 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2.

⁹⁸ 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya' PowerPoint Presentation by R Kibugi.

⁹⁹ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Regional Synthesis Report: Rapport Cameroun' (on file with project) 6, 9.

^{100 107590 &#}x27;Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 10.

¹⁰¹ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 8.

¹⁰² 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 8.

negotiations and decisions. In Uganda, the consultation procedures were not found to be much different. 103

In Liberia, significant differences were reported when it came to active participation in land governance, with 58% of men reporting they were aware of meetings and only 34% of women. In communities where meetings were held, women reported less participation. In most communities, it is suggested that increasing women's participation would be an important change for land governance.¹⁰⁴

Land Valuation, Compensation, Benefit and Risk Sharing

When investment decisions are formed and large tracts of agricultural lands are acquired, a related set of concerns may arise, ranging from how will such lands be valued, how will affected communities be appropriately compensated, and/or how will benefits and risks from large-scale production be shared. If lands were expropriated by the State in the 'public interest', further questions may also arise as to the legitimacy of the interest claimed to be in the interest of the population. Often the greater the presence of the procedural protections discussed above, the stronger negotiation power communities may have in regard to compensation and benefit-sharing.

<u>Valuation and Compensation</u>: A number of projects indicated that the compensation for acquired lands was perceived to be inadequate or lacking. For example, in Cameroon, compensation can be inadequate because it does not take into account wild (ie non-cultivated) yet economically-profitable or tradeable resources, non-marketable yet useful natural products or the symbolic relationship of the land, or simply because it does not reach the affected communities. In Senegal, it was noted that local people often feel their rights are disregarded 'because the legal conditions and procedures for expropriation and compensation are either intrinsically unfair or largely ignored'. Additionally, 'attempts to curry favour by giving money to local communities in affected areas create divisions and provide ample opportunities for corruption'. In Kenya, despite a first round of compensation having been undertaken in one area, discernible investment in the local community from the proceeds appeared lacking. More generally, some landowners who had received compensation for lands and resettlement were hard to reach for interview purposes. This may lead to questions about social cohesion between those who received compensation and those who did not, particularly where legitimacy issues arise. When the local community is about social cohesion between those who received compensation and those who did not, particularly where

¹⁰³ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 9.

¹⁰⁴ 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang 17.

¹⁰⁵ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Regional Synthesis Report: Rapport Cameroun' (on file with project) 6, 9.

¹⁰⁶ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 10.

^{107 107525 &#}x27;Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 4.

¹⁰⁸ 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2. One example cited involved the compensation for loss of land to people living on public-owned lands (see also 107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 4).

Generally it was noted that women's voices tend to be less present in large-scale land investment processes. It has been commented that since women are not part of decision-making concerning land deals, they have suffered displacements, with little to no compensation and consideration for their livelihood activities.¹⁰⁹

<u>Benefit and Risk Sharing</u>: Customary lands and even informal customary land markets can be the source of great economic potential.¹¹⁰ For example, in Kenya, despite the fact that not much land is adjudicated or registered, a thriving informal land market has developed'. The 'sale' is endorsed by local elders and compensation made for development on the land, rather than the land itself.¹¹¹ More generally, how community members, particularly women, may tap such opportunities requires more attention.¹¹²

If community land, in whole or in part, is allocated to (or impacted by an allocation of land to) a commercial investor, the latter 'also have an interest in ensuring that communities participate in the benefits created by the project, as perceptions of unfair deals can result in adverse backlashes from host communities.¹¹³ Benefits can be both monetary and non-monetary. Interestingly, in Ghana, there is a constitutionally-mandated office to collect land revenues and disburse them according to a certain formula, including to traditional authorities and local government bodies. However, research indicates that the office has been left out of most transactions reviewed, and benefits are not spread equitably amongst members of communities. That said, however, evidence suggests that some investors in the country have entered into risk and benefit sharing arrangements with host communities to promote local support for the project.¹¹⁴

In cases of both LSLAs and smaller village-level grabbing, 'women face vulnerability and are often unable to secure compensation or any antecedent input into land sales that affect them'. 115

^{109 107590 &#}x27;Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 8. It was also noted that off-farm employments do not seem to benefit women.

¹¹⁰ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 3.

^{111 107525 &#}x27;Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis' 4.

¹¹² 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 3.

¹¹³ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 7.

¹¹⁴ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 7-9. (Note there may be an alleged discrepancy between any oral and written agreements (see 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Technical Narrative Report of the Ghanaian Component: updated Aug 2015' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) 5.)

¹¹⁵ 107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2.

Dispute Prevention and Settlement Mechanisms

<u>Multi-Dimensional Disputes and Reponses</u>: Given the multiplicity of actors involved in agricultural land acquisitions, discussed above, and the not uncommon confusion as to the identification of the actual decision-maker, LSLAs can often lead to multi-dimensional grievances. For example, a dispute may be within a community, between a community and its leaders, between neighbouring communities, between communities and corporations, between communities and the government, and so on. This variety of potential disputes, in turn, means that various responses are needed, as well as the use of multiple avenues and mechanisms to both prevent and settle disputes.

In terms of responses of local people to LSLAs, the research suggests that across countries local people tend to respond in similar ways. Within communities, some people feel powerless to influence land governance. (For example, in Ghana, it was noted that on occasion 'strategic inaction' was the best response to land injustice. 'The powerless in [some] communities seemed to have weighed their options and concluded that the best thing to do given the circumstances was nothing'. Others resist via various means including petition-writing, campaign organizing, or forming community watches; whilst others connive with elites and authorities. These divided responses by communities affected by LSLAs appear to have negative impacts on social stability, and research in Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, and South Africa has reported conflicts amongst community members. 118

<u>Dispute Prevention</u>: Many of the previously mentioned themes parsed from the research findings to date contain strategies for preventing or tempering disputes related to LSLAs. Enhancing legal pluralism, including the theoretical construction of the legal architecture and its implementation in practice, as well as awareness and procedural protections concerning public decision-making, are only a few examples of ways in which land disputes *may* be prevented. Clearly there are others and a nuanced understanding of particular context is critical.

<u>Dispute Resolution</u>: 'The importance of access to remedy and dispute resolution mechanisms is widely recognized.' The ease of accessibility and effectiveness of the mechanisms used for redress inform, at least partially, the extent of their utilisation for resolving conflicts over land. These include non-State-based resolution mechanisms, State-based resolution mechanisms, as well as others. Multiple recourse systems may exist. For example, in Ghana there exists the formal court system, community-based dispute resolution mechanisms, customary dispute resolution mechanisms, quasi-judicial bodies and alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms. 120

^{116 107701 &#}x27;A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa'

¹¹⁷ 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 9.

^{118 107701 &#}x27;A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa'

¹¹⁹ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 8.

¹²⁰ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 8-9.

Non-State-Based Mechanisms: To expand on aspects of the Ghana example above, while training and capacity support may accompany community-based dispute resolution committees in order to deal with disputes locally and prevent escalation, it was questionable as to whether these committees might have the capacity to resolve disputes involving chiefs and companies. While customary mechanisms may have a long history of adjudication, as chiefs are often involved in the allocation of land to investors, a conflict of interest may be present. ¹²¹ A research partner in Uganda is currently testing its assumption that customary dispute resolution systems are stronger and more efficient at resolving land disputes as compared with State justice systems. It asserts that customary systems are seen to be more accessible, faster and cost-effective at resolving land disputes and hold greater legitimacy tending to make them the primary choice for most vulnerable rural community members. Other more informal dispute resolution mechanisms may also be utilized.

State-Based Mechanisms: While the potential for non-State based mechanisms for resolving land disputes may have both strengths and limitations, the general inefficiency of State-based resolution mechanisms appeared to be a common concern. For example, in Senegal, it was noted that recourse to the courts often involves long, expensive, complex, risky procedures, at a great distance from home. Legal assistance may be hard to attain, judicial officials may be biased or corrupt, and judgements may be slow, contradictory, and not well publicized. ('As a result, many people prefer to use non-judicial mechanisms to resolve conflict, and call upon local institutions for mediation. In the traditional model for settling land disputes the authorities' concern is maintaining social peace rather than finding in favour of one or other party'. 123) In Cameroon, the formal justice system was noted to be slow, inefficient, costly and difficult to physically access from more remote rural areas. 124 In Cameroon, Ghana, Uganda and elsewhere, various organizations have challenged LSLAs in courts of law with mixed success.

Other: Beyond community, customary or formal State mechanisms, exists an array of tools to contest large-scale commercial land investments, ranging from advocacy to social protest to even violence. For example, in Senegal, pressure by farmers resulted in the State changing its position in regard to an innovative land policy that would maintain family farming in tandem with more intensive agricultural

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¹²¹ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project) 9.

¹²² 107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Land and Resources and Investigating the Impacts of Customary Land Justice Movements' by Land Equity Justice Movement Uganda (LEMU) 3.

^{123 107524 &#}x27;Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 12.

¹²⁴ 107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Regional Synthesis Report: Rapport Cameroun' (on file with project) 7-8.

¹²⁵ See also E Polack, L Cotula and M Cote Accountability in Africa's Land Rush: What Role for Legal Empowerment (IIED/IDRC London/Ottawa 2013) 39-47 for further discussion of strategies used to peruse accountability.

production.¹²⁶ In Cameroon, youths and disgruntled village elites wrote protest letters to the president denouncing investor activities and the government land policy.¹²⁷

More generally, 'social movements appear to be an important element in resisting illegitimate or illegal land acquisitions'. In one region in Uganda, women stripped naked to protest a government grant of communal lands to developers for a sugar plantation, resulting in a memorandum of understanding between various parties. Elsewhere in the country, when a court challenge to leasing of lands was unsuccessful, the community, arguing the land was governed by customary tenure, continued their fierce resistance, 'including road blocks, making alarms, [and] had spears, bows, arrows, and machetes ready to attack'. 129

2. Summary

As noted in the introduction, the purpose of this draft report is to present a preliminary synthesis of existing findings emerging from the IDRC-supported research on LSLAs in Africa. The inter-related themes discussed above have been summarized below, in part to suggest a possible frame for further discussion and exploration.

Enhancing Land Governance Legal Pluralism	Understanding Differential Impacts of Large-Scale Land Acquisitions	Improving Awareness and Procedures around Land Investment Decision-Making	Land Valuation, Compensation, Benefit and Risk Sharing	Dispute Prevention and Settlement Mechanisms
 'law in theory' - adequacy of theoretical legal framework (inclusive of customary law and its interaction with statutory law) 'law in practice' - adequacy of 	 gender social class generation ethnicity other 	 identification of relevant actors, including 'decision-makers' ↑ awareness ↑ procedural protections (eg transparency, consultation, access to 	 valuation and compensation benefit and risk sharing 	 ← + other factors all contribute to dispute prevention non-State-based settlement mechanisms State-based settlement mechanisms
adequacy of implementation of legal framework		information and meaningful		mechanisms other (eg

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¹²⁶ 107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project) 13.

^{127 107590 &#}x27;Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 8.

^{128 107530 &#}x27;Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015' 2, 3. See also 107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 8.

^{129 107590 &#}x27;Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire 12.

(eg implementation or institutional gaps)	participation) • other	advocacy, social movements, protests, violence)	
 gender analysis important across all 5 themes, specifically in relation to women's rights 			

In short, although the findings at this stage are mostly preliminary, the research to date carefully documents problems and impacts associated with large-scale land investments. In doing so, it also validates and reinforces the importance of the research questions that were identified following the commissioning of the background paper and the stakeholder workshop in 2012. The generation of even further evidence and insights that aim to make land investment processes more accountable and equitable and to prevent displacement and conflict may be particularly useful moving forward.

Appendix A: IDRC-Supported Participatory Action Research Projects

Governance, Security and Justice (GSJ) Program

Program Objective: Support the creation of policy-relevant knowledge on the conditions for increasing the legitimacy and accountability of public authorities in the areas of governance, security and justice

Large-scale Land Acquisitions: Promoting Legitimacy & Accountability

Programming Objectives:

- Through a cluster of 5 research projects, support the generation of greater evidence and insights by local researchers, which help to enhance the legitimacy and accountability of public authorities and access to justice around the issue of large-scale land acquisitions in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- Contribute to building the leadership of researchers and of communities on the continent to generate policy-relevant knowledge in meeting those challenges.
- Contribute to national-level and international policy debates on how to build, on a larger scale, more equitable and just policies and practices for communities around large-scale land investments.

Active Projects

Project Title	Partner & Duration	Project Objectives
Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda	Land Equity Movement Uganda, Sustainable Development Institute, Centro Terra Viva, Namati, University of Michigan 2013-16	 Deepen technical and policy-relevant knowledge on the efficacy and positive impacts of community land protection, as a means for enhancing tenure security for communities. Build capacity of local organizations to document community land protection processes and impacts, and support other organizations in similar efforts. Contribute to better-informed national and global debates on land tenure protection, by shifting the focus on community land protection, as a solution for communities.
Pathways to accountability in the global land rush: Lessons from West Africa Senegal, Cameroon, Ghana,	IED Afrique, Centre pour l'Environnement et le Developpement, Land Resource Management Centre, IIED (UK) 2013-16	 Generate evidence on strengths and weaknesses of legal frameworks in regulating LSLAs, and enabling legal empowerment strategies pathways to accountability in investment processes. Test action-research and capacity-strengthening tools to improve accountability in agricultural investments including by private investors. Contribute to improved policy and practice through the uptake of research findings and replication of the tools tested by the project.
Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya Kenya	Land Development Governance Institute 2013-16	 Review current criteria for acquisition and granting of land for investment purposes in Kenya, including formal and procedural guarantees of accountability. Propose mechanisms of implementing social, economic and environmental safeguards for communities during acquisition of land for investment purposes, including related specifically to women's interests. Propose substantive and procedural elements for more responsive and transparently applied land laws and policies, that promote better engagement with communities.
Interrogating Large Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women in Sub-Saharan Africa Ghana, Cameroon, Uganda	University of Buea, University of Ghana, Centre for Basic Research 2013-2016	 Promote more gender equitable land governance policies and practices that contribute to greater accountability and transparency around large scale land acquisitions (LSLA's) Investigate the impact of LSLA's on livelihoods in affected communities Build knowledge on the strategies that women have developed to-date that foster more gender equitable land governance policies and practices
Bottom-up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa	FoodFirst Information & Action Network (FIAN), Coordination Nationale des Organisations Paysannes, Mali; Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth Nigeria, Masifundise Development Trust, Katosi Women Development Trust, The International Institute of Social Studies, PLAAS-South Africa, Transnational Institute 2014-2016	 To map the differentiated impacts (gender, ethnicity, generation, class) of LSLAs on local people and their responses to LSLAs in Mali, Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda To generate empirical evidence about how local, national and international factors, actors and institutions are re-shaping the existing governance of lands in these countries within the framework of the TGs. To identify and analyze the various strategies that can enhance the capacity of civil society organizations and rural female and male workers to hold decision-makers at all levels accountable in the context of LSLAs through use of the TGs. Through peer review and popular publications targeting policymakers and social movement activists, to contribute to broader scientific debates and promote policy changes on large-scale land acquisition in these countries.

Governance, Security and Justice www.idrc.ca/gsi
March 2015



Appendix B: Bibliography

Project-Related Documents (only sources cited have been included in order to keep the length manageable)¹³⁰

Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda

107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Lands and Resources: 3rd Progress Report: Jan to Jul 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by H McGee Huntington, R Knight and J Vogelsang

107530 'Evaluating the Impacts of Protecting Community Land and Resources and Investigating the Impacts of Customary Land Justice Movements' by Land Equity Justice Movement Uganda (LEMU)

107530 'Protecting Community Lands and Resources: Evidence from Liberia, Mozambique and Uganda' by R Knight, J Adoko, T Auma, A Kaba, A Salomao, S Siakor and I Tankar

107530 'Using Community Land Rights to Build Local Governance and Reduce Land Conflicts: Liberia, Mozambique, Uganda: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015'

Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa Senegal, Cameroon, Ghana

107524 'Draft IED Afrique Contribution to the Regional Report: Senegal' by Innovation, Environnement, Developpement Afrique (IED) (on file with project)

107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Regional Synthesis Report: Rapport Cameroun' (on file with project)

107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: A Situational Analysis of the Ghanaian Case' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC) (on file with project)

107524 'Pathways to Accountability in the Global Land Rush: Lessons from West Africa: Technical Narrative Report of the Ghanaian Component: updated Aug 2015' by the Land Resource Management Centre (LRMC)

Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya Kenya

¹³⁰ For similar reasons, email correspondence has not been included in bibliography. (Emails on file with author and IDRC.)

107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Synthesis'

107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya' PowerPoint Presentation by R Kibugi

107525 'Promoting Greater Community Benefit and Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Kenya: Interview with A Di Giovanni of IDRC: Ottawa Oct 2015'

Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women in Sub-Saharan Africa Ghana, Cameroon, Uganda

107590 'Interrogating Large-Scale Land Acquisitions and its Implications for Women's Land Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress Technical Report No 3: Mar to Aug 2015' by L Fonjong, A Darkwah and J Ahikire

Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Africa Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa

107701 'A Synthesis of Results from the IDRC-Funded Project on Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions (LSLA) in Africa'

107701 'Mali: La recherche sur les initiatives de responsabilisation du bas vers le haut dans l'acquisition de terres à grande échelle en Afrique: 1^{er} rapport intérimaire: jan au juil 2015' par C Jacovetti et M Koné

107701 'Nigeria: IDRC Research Project on Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives in Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Apr 2015 to Sep 2015: submitted Aug 2015' by G Ojo, R Uwaka and A Ero

107701 'Uganda: Bottom-Up Accountability in Large-Scale Land Acquisition: Collaborative Action Research on the Rush for Land and Water in Uganda, Mukono District: 1st Interim Report: Apr to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015' by M Natkato and B Rehema

107701 'Bottom-Up Accountability Initiatives and Large-Scale Land Acquisitions in Sub-Saharan Africa: Interim Technical Report: Apr 2015 to Sep 2015: submitted Sep 2015) by S Monsalve Suárez

Other Materials

IDRC Conference Report, Accra, Ghana Sep 2012

K Deininger and D Byerlee with J Lindsay, A Norton, H Selod and M Stickler *Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?* (World Bank Washington DC 2011)

Oxfam International Briefing Note 'Our land, Our Lives: Time Out on the Global Land Rush' 2012

E Polack, L Cotula and M Cote Accountability in Africa's Land Rush: What Role for Legal Empowerment (IIED/IDRC London/Ottawa 2013)