

Appendices for RurbanAfrica, Deliverable 1.3: *The role of external investors for agricultural transformation and new rural-urban connections*

List of appendices

Appendix I

Guide for D1.3: The role of external investors for new forms of rural-urban connections

Appendix II

Template for Outputs – Reporting for D1.3

Appendix III

Impact on rural productive resources of rural-urban capital and labour flows in the northern corridor of Tanzania

Appendix IV

The role of external investors for new forms of rural-urban connections. The case of Irish Potatoes in Njombe Region Tanzania

Appendix V

The role of external investors for new forms of rural urban connections. Bamboutos site, Cameroon

Appendix VI

The role of external investors for new forms of rural urban connections. Kwaebibirem site, Ghana

Appendix I:

Guide for D1.3: The role of external investors for new forms of rural-urban connections

Guide for D1.3:

The role of external investors for new forms of rural-urban connections

Objectives

- to understand the drivers and nature of the recent influx of external (domestic) land investments in rural areas
- to examine the impact of external investments on agricultural transformation processes
- to explain how new rural-urban connections are shaping and being shaped by these processes.

Research questions

- Who are the external investors and what are their motivations for acquiring land?
- How do the investors get access to the land?
- What do they use the land for?
- In what way do the investments advance rural capital accumulation and encourage agricultural wage labour employment?
- What are the impacts on the local community (investment, employment, land conflicts)?
- What characterises the change in livelihoods of the land sellers?
- In what way are the external investments changing rural-urban connections?

Methods

The fieldwork will take place in the same sites as the survey on agricultural transformation, livelihoods and mobility (D1.2). All sites are characterized by having one 'booming' crop that dominates the socio-economic dynamics in the site area. Investments in land by outsiders are also prevalent. In this respect an *external investor* is defined by one or both of the following two criteria:

- 1) an individual, household or a company not residing in the site area who acquire land (by purchase or through long term agreements other than purchase, e.g. lease, borrow, etc.) for whatever purpose
- 2) an individual, household or a company who reside in the area but have access to substantial external funds used for land investment in the area for whatever purpose.

Land investment refers to long-term acquisition of considerable¹ pieces of land either through purchase or other forms of long-term tenure (lease-hold, share-cropping etc.).

The fieldwork consists of three components.

Component 1

The first component consists of semi-structured interviews with ideally 20-22 external investors, who have invested in land the particular area. The list of external investors is envisaged to be constructed on the basis of three sources. First, from plantation/outgrower schemes where the administrators may have contact information on their contracted counterparts including non-residents. Second, information obtained from

¹ How much land perceived to be considerable is context-dependent (i.e. related to each site) but it should be considered of substantial size from the point of view of the 'average' smallholder in the area.

contacts established during the survey (D1.2) including traders, extension service agents, public authorities etc. And third, survey respondents who have stated that they have decreased landholdings (e.g. through sale, expiration of leasehold etc. – see C.2 in the questionnaire): they can be used as entry point to get contact information on external investors. ‘Snowball’ sampling will be complementary and add more respondents to the list. The respondents will be contacted and interview will be organised at convenient locations. The interviews will be based on semi-structured guides in order to ensure consistency in coverage while also allowing for individual elaborations.

Component 2

The second component consists of individual interviews with local residents who have ceded parts or all of their landholdings as a result of external investments. 20-22 respondents are envisaged to participate in the survey. The list of respondents are planned to be constructed by three sources: First, the survey (see C.2 – as above) might contain information on smallholders decreasing landholdings². Second, from contacts established during the survey, including traders, extension service agents, public authorities, etc. Third, from some of the external investors already interviewed who might have information on the landowners from whom they have acquired land. Again, ‘snowballing’ techniques will be used to increase the number of respondents if possible. The sampling strategy should ensure that the ‘land providers’ have to a large extent ceded their land to different external investors.

Component 3

The third component consists of individual interviews with key informants (local leaders, administration, land brokers or other suitable informants). If common pool land is acquired by external investors (rather than cultivated smallholder land) representatives from responsible authorities should also be interviewed. The purpose will be to cover issues related to the local perception of these new investors (e.g. covering topics such as conflicts over land, employment and working conditions, labour contractors, new opportunities for businesses, compensation, etc.) as well as getting contextual information on land tenure arrangements in the area etc.

Outputs

The output from fieldwork at each research site will be

- 1) A set of written narrative reports (transcriptions or detailed field notes) for each interview respondent (component 1, 2 and 3). The report should end with a brief paragraph that condenses the main points from each interview. The narratives should contain sufficient information to allow a person without previous knowledge to get a fair understanding of each individual’s situation, especially relating to land ownership and investments. Good and exact quotes are very welcome in the narratives where they can illustrate certain points or sentiments of the respondents.
- 2) Furthermore a summary report with general patterns and findings from all the interviews, including contextual information on e.g. land tenure/rights system. The extent of reports from each site should be around 5-10 pages. The summary report will include main findings and reflections on the research questions above.

² Respondents are not limited to smallholders selling individually owned land, but also include farmers who have ceded land on which they previously have had some kind of permanent tenure rights, e.g. community owned land, sharecropping agreements or rented land of a more permanent nature.

Component 1: External investor

Appropriate introduction should be made where respondents are made aware of the nature and purpose of the research project. Furthermore confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents shall be promised before asking for consent to participate in the interview.

0. Personal information

- 0.1 Age
- 0.2 Gender
- 0.3 Civil status (family)
- 0.4 Education
- 0.5 Occupation
- 0.6 Ethnic group
- 0.6 Locality of residence
- 0.7 Locality of birth/upbringing
- 0.8 Business career, previous employment etc.
- 0.9 Locations for previous business activities and employment

1. Motivation

1.1 Why did you want to acquire land in this area?

- personal networks with people from the area,
- knew that land was easy/cheap to buy
- easy to get here in person from your residence
- other reasons

1.2 What is the main purpose of acquiring this land?

- investment in land value
- crop cultivation
- renting out
- other

1.3 For how long time do you expect to use the land in the future?

1.4 For how long have you wanted to acquire land in this area?

1.5 Have you looked elsewhere for land?

1.6 Have you acquired land in other areas

- If yes, specify for each other area
 - Name of area/location
 - Reason for acquiring
 - Type of tenure
 - Size of land
 - Use of land
 - Year of acquisition

2. Process of land acquisition

2.1 How did you learn about this land?

- land dealer
- relatives
- colleagues
- other

2.2 How much land have you acquired in this area?

- Specify number and size of plots if more than one plot

2.3. When and how did you acquire land in this area? If different forms of tenure for different plots, please specify

- bought
- rented
- leased
- borrowed
- other

2.4 Was the land provider the former occupant?

- former occupant renting the land from owner/village leadership
- former occupant borrowing it from owner/village leadership
- former occupant owned the land
- other

Note: remember to ask for the identity of former occupants (potential respondents for component 2)

2.5 Did you choose between different possible providers of land?

- if yes, how did you choose between them?

2.6 What were the terms of the land acquisition?

- If purchase
 - What was the price of the land (per acre/hectare)
 - Instalments?
- If renting/leasing/borrowing
 - Period
 - Payment
- Did you negotiate the price directly with the land provider?
 - If several plots then list different terms and prices

2.7 Were there other terms than those relating to price you had to agree upon?

- use of labour on the plot
- economic contributions other than to the land provider
- other

2.8 What kind of paperwork is involved in the land acquisition?

- land survey
- permission from local authorities
- permission from village leaders
- title/deed
- other

2.8 Did you use a lawyer?

2.9 Did the land provider use a lawyer?

2.10 How did you make the payment?

- Bank transfer
- Cash
- Via middleman
- Other

2.11 Did you borrow money in order to acquire the land?

- Bank
- Family or relatives
- Friends
- Business partners
- Other
- Where is the lender located?

2.12 Is it important to make friends with someone in the village before acquiring land?

2.13 Have other 'external investors' acquired land near your land?

2.14 Do you know why other external investors have acquired land in this area?

2.15 Do you expect the value of the land in this area to increase in the future?

- Why?

3. Use of land

3.1 What was the land used for when you acquired it?

3.2 What are you going to use the land for?

- farming
- rent out for others to farm
- build houses for accommodation
- build shops
- other

3.3 If farming, what will you farm on the land?

3.4 What are the reasons for choosing this/these specific crop(s)?

3.5 Do you have experience growing this/these crop(s)?

- If not: how will you acquire knowledge on crop production?

3.6 How will you manage the production?

- Own management
- Hire a manager/caretaker
- Other

3.7 Do you plan to hire farm labour?

- Casual or permanent
- Specify
 - tasks and seasons/periods
 - number (on seasonal basis)
 - gender

3.8 How will you find labour?

- family and relatives
- from personal network
- local contacts
- from 'outside' contractors
- other

3.9 What kinds of inputs will you need for the production?

- Fertilizer
- Pesticides
- Irrigation
- other

3.10 How will you acquire the inputs?

3.11 Will you keep livestock on your plots?

- Who will manage the livestock?

4. Marketing of products

4.1 How do you sell the agricultural products?

- on contract
 - outline content
- to local trader at farm gate
- to processor at factory gate
- other

4.2 Are you involved in price negotiations?

4.3 Are you present during the sales transaction?

5. Future plans

5.1 Do you consider acquiring more agricultural land in the future?

- In this area
 - Use of land
- Other area
 - Use of land

5.2 Do you consider other investments in this area (explain why/why not)?

- shops
- housing
- machinery for rent
- production facilities
- other

5.3. If negative response on 5.1 and 5.2: What do you intend to use the possible surplus for?

- Investments in urban area (which ones?); savings/pension; heirs...

5.4 Do you intend to move here permanently in the future (Why/why not)?

6. Other reflections

6.1 Has it become easier in recent years to acquire land for farming?

- Reasons

6.2 What characterizes a good location for investments?

- Capability and efficiency of the village leadership
- availability of infrastructure
- other businesses
- public programmes
- other

6.3 In what way do you feel that your investments contribute to the economic development of this area?

6.4 Have you experienced any tensions with the local community in relation to your investment

- What kind of tensions?

Component 2: Interviews with farmers selling/loosing land tenure

0. Personal information

- 0.1 Age
- 0.2 Gender
- 0.3 Civil status (family)
- 0.4 Education
- 0.5 Occupation
- 0.6 Ethnic group
- 0.6 Locality of residence
- 0.7 Locality of birth/upbringing

1. Personal experiences with ceding land to or working for external investors

- When did you cede (sell/lost leasehold/leased out) land (year)?
- How much land have you ceded?
 - What were the general terms of ceding the land: sale/long-term lease/loosing tenure in another way?
 - How much land do you have now? Tenure?
 - Did you know the person who now holds the land?
 - How was the process of ceding the land?
 - Did you deal directly with the new landholder?
 - Who put you in contact with the new landholder?
 - How did you agree on price/terms?
 - Was there an agent who mediated the sale? Is he local?
 - In what way was it a good deal for you?
 - What were the financial conditions for the sale/lease?
 - What did you use the money for?
- Is the land use on the plot different after ownership has shifted?
- Do you work for the external land-owners as wage labourers or in other capacities?
 - Terms? What periods?
- Have you engaged in new income generating activities after losing tenure of the land?
 - Which activities
- Have you acquired new land elsewhere for yourself after losing tenure of the land?
 - Where?
 - Tenure?
 - Cultivating which crops?

2. Perception of the benefits and problems with external land investors

- Do you generally think it is a good thing that these external investors have bought land here?
 - Why/why not?
- What is the most positive thing they can bring to the area?

- What is the most negative thing they can bring to the area?
- Have there been any conflicts over land issues?
- What are the effects on the labour market in the area?
 - Do the investments create employment?
- Does the land use change? Do the external investors farm differently?
- Do they bring other investments (businesses, services, etc.) than in agricultural land?

3. Extent of external investment

- Is it common that 'outside' money is used to acquire land in this area?
- How much of the land that has been acquired with 'outside money' is used for 'the dominant crop'?
- How many individual external land owners do you think owns land here (use most appropriate area as reference: e.g. village, ward, district, etc.)?
- Is it a new or an old phenomenon?
- Is it easy for people from the outside to acquire land here?
 - What is the general process of land acquisition?

4. Opinions about the investors

- Why do you think these external investors are interested in investing in agricultural land?
- Why do you think they have chosen land in this area?
- What type of occupation do the investors generally hold (e.g. big farmers, businessmen, administrators, politicians, etc.)?
- Where do they generally come from?
- Do they usually have already existing connections to the area?
 - family ties to the area?
 - know other businessmen in the area?

Component 3: Key informant interviews

Themes and questions will depend on the key informants interviewed. General issues:

1. Tenure systems

- Structure today, common forms of tenure
- Development in the last 10 years, and the perceived causes of these changes
- Process of land acquisition

2. Extent of external investment

- Amount of land
- Land use
- Comparing this area to others

3. Perception of the benefits and problems with external land investors

- Investments in agriculture – increasing productivity?
- Employment
- Land scarcity
- Conflicts
- Investments outside agriculture
- Using external investors as gatekeepers for services in the urban areas

Appendix II:

Template for Outputs – Reporting for D1.3

Template for Outputs – Reporting for D1.3

As stated in the previously distributed 'Guide for D1.3', the output from the fieldwork at each research site will be as follows:

Output 1:

A set of written narrative reports (transcriptions or detailed field notes) for each interview respondent (component 1, 2 and 3). The report should end with a brief paragraph that condenses the main points from each interview. The narratives should contain sufficient information to allow a person without previous knowledge to get a fair understanding of each individual's situation, especially relating to land ownership and investments. Good and exact quotes are very welcome in the narratives where they can illustrate certain points or sentiments of the respondents.

Output 2:

A summary report with general patterns and findings from all the interviews, including contextual information on e.g. land tenure/rights system. The extent of reports from each site should be around 5-10 pages. The summary report will include main findings and reflections on the research questions.

Research questions:

- 1. Who are the external investors and what are their motivations for acquiring land?
- 2. How do the investors get access to the land?
- 3. What do they use the land for?
- 4. In what way do the investments advance rural capital accumulation and encourage agricultural wage labour employment?
- 5. What are the impacts on the local community (investment, employment, land conflicts)?
- 6. What characterises the change in livelihoods of the land sellers?
- 7. In what way are the external investments changing rural-urban connections?

Elaboration of content for Output 2

1. Brief summary with key findings

2. Methodology and context

- a. data overview, number of interviews, dates, responsible enumerators, etc.
- b. criteria for selecting c1, c2 and c3 respondents (se 'Guide for D1.3' for details)
- c. criteria for selecting study site/area
- d. brief background to study site/area
- e. main limitations of the research and data
- f. is the study site/area a 'special case' in terms of land investment in the country? If yes, Why? In what way?

3. Literature review

- a. Present a brief country specific literature review on papers that deals with acquisition of land by external investors, preferably including both "international land grabbing" and what we denote as 'external

investors' in this study (see 'Guide for D1.3' for definition).

b. Alternatively, list relevant references on the above issues

4. Typology of investors

a. Construct categories of the interviewed external investors and explain the principles for the demarcation of the different categories.

b. Outline how the different types differ in terms of e.g.

- scale of investment,
- type of land tenure arrangement,
- crops,
- input/labour intensity of production,
- additional investments,
- farm management,
- involvement of networks,
- motivations
- etc.

For inspiration: In the Ghana study site (Kwaebibirem) the following preliminary categories have been established: 1. Newcomer farmer, 2. Returnee farmer, 3. Absentee business farmer, 4. Family member absentee farmer, 5. Regional investor

5. Labour/rural transformation

a. For each category of external investor, elaborate on how the influx of investments have affected

- 1) changes in the use of available labour
- 2) changes in land ownership
- 3) changes in land use

b. Have any other significant changes taken place in the study site/area in relation to land and labour issues during recent years

6. Conflicts

a. Has the investment been associated with conflicts? Elaborate on the nature of conflict if yes.

b. What are the opinions and attitude of local people?

7. Former land occupants

a. What were the motivations for ceding land (crisis, change in livelihood activities, lack of money to cover expenses, etc.)?

b. How have the livelihoods of land losing households changed?

8. Rural-city connection

a. Is it possible to identify new patterns of rural-urban connection as a consequence of the external investments?

b. What role do networks play in facilitating land investments?

9. Conclusions

Appendix III

Impact on rural productive resources of rural-urban capital and labour flows in the northern corridor of Tanzania

IMPACT ON RURAL PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES OF RURAL-URBAN CAPITAL AND LABOUR FLOWS IN THE NORTHERN CORRIDOR OF TANZANIA

Output 1

PARTICIPANTS

Prof. Charlery de la Masselière Bernard (University of Toulouse, France)

Prof. Bart François (University of Bordeaux Montaigne, France)

Prof. Thibaud Bénédicte (University of Bordeaux Montaigne, France)

Lukumay Joseph (PHD student, Development Studies, Toulouse, France)

Blache Adriana (PHD student, Geography, Toulouse, France)

mapping: Buosi Joseph (University of Toulouse, France)



DETAILED FIELD NOTES (SUMMARY)

“INVESTORS”								
	LIEU	PERSONAL INFO	LAND ACQUISITION	FINANCE	USE OF LAND	MARKETING	PERSPECTIVES	COMMENTS
2	Kwasadala tomato field closed to the main road	M <40 chagga + 2 relatives Farmer Masama	3 acres renting 5 acres bought in Rundugai Kibo estate owns then to villages – big competition – middlemen – farmer After ploughing 80000 / acre Without ploughing 50 000/acre	He had to accumulate Borrows money from relatives Good soil and climate good for investment	Lowland is better for tomatoes At the beginning, he had to be associated with experienced man	To Zanzibar The buyer (local trader) follows the producer. The buyer pays the packaging, the producer pays the harvesting	To continue investing in tomato production, in business and transport (lorry)	External investors come from different places
5	Kwasadala	M < 50, Chagga Farmer but businessman Kwasadala	Wanted to acquire land close to his place (inherited parcel), renting for 10 years: 5 acres 3 plots + bought 25 acres (bush) for children in Mkata from people who don't reside there. A friend (pastor) knew a friend of him: informal network - near stream + irrigation for one season (6 months), 1 acre=120 000 Tsh - depending on rain: 1 acre=25 000tsh /acre/year	In wetlands: paid cash at the beginning In drylands payment in kind	Wetlands: cabbage and tomatoes Drylands: beans, cucumber He has a long experience, own management Employs family and relatives, mix-gender, casual and permanents	Buy inputs in Kwasadala on credits Sell to local trader at farm gate, but bad prices: He had to buy crates (1 crate= 2 000tsh) + transport, + labour.. no return to investment Speculative , risky market from 7000 to 30 000 /crate	Business: he has two retailed shops. Acquiring land is to risky, he wants to invest in business. Small town is the right place. Here too many people have the same business	No competition for land, road and irrigation the key factors
6	Kwasadala	30<M <50 Born Masama Farmer, supplier (KSDL, AR, M, DAR	>6 acres -> 10acres Lambo estate 6 acres tomato, cabbage (2 years) Kibo estate (Sonu village) 14 years: he is resident Mukufi estate 6 years He has to pass by a villager (Kyalya village)	Needs money for university fee Kibo 86000/acre/season plough land 150000 uncultivated Cash, big competition	Farming: tomato (short season product, fast selling) Casual workers (women, Lambo), family and relatives	1 truck, 1 pickup Then he can sell in Nairobi, Dar, Mombasa (through middlemen) Negotiate (mobile)	Saving from agriculture to be invested in trucks. He contributes to development by employment KSDLa has expanded (1 factory), water and electricity 1999	Road and water
7	Kwasadala	30<M<40 Farmer Kitifu	Family farm: 2 acres Rents 2 plots, 5 acres, closed to Ksdl 6 years ago (not the same land each year) Irrigable land: on a seasonal basis Rains dependence: year basis Networking	1 acre= 40000-50000 (dryland), > 100 000 (irrigated) Get money from relatives at the beginning, then “tontine”, business partners (shops), then own savings	Farming Tomato (8-10 years) fast growing, fast selling Maize, sunflower, bean (domestic) Hire labour (8 persons per acre): family, personal network + outside contractors (on daily basis)	Directly to Ksdl to local trader Use mobile phone Variability: last week 35000, yesterday 15000, today 10000	Invests in agro input, transport, shops KSDL: multipurpose place, income generating, well connected, services, attractive market Ksdl exists because of the farms, depends on agriculture A factory could stabilize the price but won't allow “coup”	Water and irrigation: natural dam, free water. Pb: seeds not reliable, chemical prices, market variability, sickness
8	Kwasadala	2 farmers (because of the	2 acres, 2 years Tomato	Paid cash, from savings coming from the products	Tomato fast selling, fast growing (FSFG)	To local trader at Kwasadala to Tanga,	Construction, school fees If capital: restaurant	Rapid development,

		capital) M > 50 Farmers From the foot of the mountain	For as long as possible Soil fertility, closed to the dam A neighbour is the owner, he has a pb of capital Seasonal basis	of his property ½ acres of bananas, coffee (sold through KNCU) Pb inputs You have to compete by cash	30 people for harvesting (neighbours). They invested in a pump	Nairobi, Zanzibar (communication by phone)	BomaNgombe, Ksdl Children: mecanican in Arusha, daughter away, one maçon driver in the estate	water. Cash crops contribute to the development. KSDL supplies many regions, countries
9	Kwasadala	40<M<50 Farmer, business man on tomatoes and green pepper, wood mill (mobile) From Machame,	Home land: 2 acres banana coffee + è acres tomato In general He rents 15 acres + 4 acres in Iringa (partnership with the owner, he finances the activity, they split the profit) + This season 5 acres, 3 plots in Engare Nanyuki From 10 years	He has agents in Engare Nanyuki From individuals (owner has no capital) or from villages (Silverdale estate=) From cooperative it is easier, individual through network He used savings (he was employed in coffee estate – Kibohehe He stole coffee from his father (he reimbursed) Dry: 35-40000 /acre/year Irrigated 100000	Irrigated or dry lands Tomato: he started in 1996 tomato and coffee 1998 he increased the production, harvest was good. In Iringa the owner is responsible for management, himself is the investor. He moves: October, February Iringa, then Machame up to October + Engare Nanyuki once a week	The main pb is the market Mombasa is cheaper to buy inputs KSDL, Mombasa, Dar He transports (renting) to middle men Mombasa: 10000 Dar 15000 ksh KSDL 8 000 ksh Sometimes they have to leave the tomatoes on the field In Dar, store the crate He could sell tomatoes crate (a crate 2500)	He invested in transport, Daladala (KSDL, DAR) Tomatoes: new disease, new chemicals, it was more profitable before, a factory in Tanga and Iringa. No pb of land, money is the key. Main pb: chemicals, seeds, market is the worst, next week price will be down	KSDL is not dormant, fast developing, water. People arrive from outside, 10 tribes working in towns, business
11	Kwasadala	M 50 Farmer + 2 pickup (rent out) Masama, Machame	Home land: 1 acre banana (he uprooted coffee) He rents 1 acre of tomatoes from a cooperative Kibohehe. No guarantee + one more acre Through relatives		Farming: maize + tomatoes according to financial needs He shares with a partner relative (uncle) Labour from Singida	To local traders through agents, involved in negotiations (call Dar to know the prices)	Very competitive Main challenge Cost of chemicals, new pest Very risky	

WORKER

10	Kwasadala	M <30 Supervisor of the plots of the Ashante Tours's director	30 acres: 7 acres is managed by the supervisor, the rest is rented	Arrived few days ago looking for a job He left the rural to the "urban"! The owner works in Moshi, manager	tomatoe		He was trained on the fields, he wants to own his own land; he does not like to buy food	
----	-----------	--	--	--	---------	--	--	--

SPECIFIC INVESTORS

14	Marangu	Manager W Maasai Kilimanjaro Resort hotel Since 2003 Owner : Chagga - engineer, Living in Dar	It was a coffee farm	Loan to the bank 3 buildings 42 rooms	At the beginning, the building was for the family Today the whole plot is for the hotel With the increasing of Kili	Chagga museum for cultural tourism, associated with climbing 400 clients per year	She wants to work on her own, dealing with vegetables and getting international market. She has a land in Arusha: tomato, bean The number of customers	The hotel contributes to employment an school 30 persons
----	---------	--	----------------------	--	---	--	---	---

		10 rooms			climbers, they decided to invest in tourism Links with travel companies		declined since 2014 and the time they spend is shorter than before	
16	Marangu	B&B W and M >65 NGO since 2002 (neighboring association) Family society registered at the Tanzania Tourism Board Farmer + business group	Himo land, maize for her mom No land market	Savings from his salary	Coffee as cash crop (through KNCU or directly to the tourists) Bananas + arrow= domestic Tomato, onion, avocado, orange a long time ago	Cultural tourism programme, invest their savings from farm. Money is for school and orphanage Shop on the main road to sale coffee Trip to waterfalls, caves...	They go to Marangu: interne café, shops, supermarket To Moshi: not regular, dalada Use mobile and website, to deal with tour operators, to know coffee exchanging rate	they invest in cultural tourism for the children some of them are in Arusha / Tourism school One of the children is a guide
	Marangu	Kili Paradise B&B M > 50 High school Chagga Laboratory technician in Holland	Inherited land Bought a piece of land in Dar to build a house Bought a land to Himo (maize, beans for domestic consumption) , sunflowers	Savings from his salary (foreign income) Foreign investors Youth migrate Exempted from taxes but "it is coming"	The young brother took care of the land when he was out of the country Coffee, bananas, fruits, vegetables, animals to food the B&B 2 casual workers for road construction He works with a cousin leaving in Finland	They intend to have a shop (vegetable, milk, eggs) to sale to the local people (big demand) Sale Coffee to cooperative then to the tourists 10-15 guests Trip advisor Travel companies in Holland (30 years in TZ)	They don't go to Moshi often because they can find all they need (bank, market...) in Marangu	Tarmac brings new shops, Marangu is a small town
	Marangu	Banana Lodge M>50 High school Chagga Engineer Live in Dar-es-Salam	Inherited land Bought a piece of land in Dar to build a house and bought land around Morogoro	Savings from his salaries Foreign investors	The mother works in the farm Coffee, bananas, fruits and vegetables for saling Lodges for cultural tourism	Sale of coffee to the cooperative and to the tourists	The owner travels a lot while managing the property.	

CEDING FARMERS/COMPANY								
4	Kwasadala	Robert M < 40 Middle man Chagga Born in Machame	Ceded 1acre ¾ in 1992 6 months basis to different persons (maize) A neighbor who approached him, no base, 400 000 tsh/season No one from outside can acquire land, but you can use a resident to rent on behalf of you (in Rundugai)	Used the money to build a house Acquired land in Bagamoyo (2 acres, pine apples, water melon, acquired 2 acres in Dar through his wife (the landlord had pb to pay school fees)				
	Moshi	KNCU Cooperative union	Ceded land in 2015 > 3000 acres They have 4 estates Tender with official authorization It is not easy to get land (especially women)	10 billions To pay debt	Good conditions		Investors are welcome to sustain coffee production Good effects on labour Investors are mainly chagga	

+ ward representative in Mto wa Mbu

IMPACT ON RURAL PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES OF RURAL-URBAN CAPITAL AND LABOUR FLOWS IN THE NORTHERN CORRIDOR OF TANZANIA

Output 2



1. Brief summary with key findings
2. Methodology and context

a. Data overview, number of interviews, dates, responsible enumerators, etc.

Due to low availability of time, data collection was conducted during a short period, from the 22d to the 30th of June 2015, using the links of the people's social network and/or a spontaneous approach (guerilla interviewing). We interviewed 14 persons, but for this report we also used interviews made last year for the deliverable 2. A data overview can be seen table 1. The questionnaire provided in the "Guide for D1.3" was used but many questions were not relevant to the specificity of the Kilimanjaro site. Then, we adapted the questionnaire to the situation on the ground.

b. criteria for selecting c1, c2 and c3 respondents (se 'Guide for D1.3' for details)

The main characteristic of the site area is the fact that the Chagga people never cede their land. Land remains Chagga ownership. This does not preclude that some people invest in land and/or temporarily cede their land, but mainly through renting. There are very few external investors: those who invest in land in Chagga region are Chagga. Then, the main group of respondents was C1 but at the same time they could be seen as part of the C2 respondents. We also interviewed few key informants (C3) who could also be part of the C2 group (as KNCU). The main hypothesis for selecting the respondent has been based on the transition from coffee production to horticulture (tomato as a "booming crop") and to tourism activities.

c. *criteria for selecting study site/area*

As it was for the deliverable 2, fieldwork took place along the Northern corridor of Tanzania, from the surroundings of Monduli Mountain eastward to Mt Kilimanjaro area. This site is made up of three case studies:

- Mto wa Mbu
- West Hai - Kwa Sa Dala (Southwest Mt Kilimanjaro), mainly around Kwa Sa Dala market
- Marangu area

This general shape suits to the main three objectives of the study, which aims to analyze new types of rural-urban linkages in those densely populated mountain areas scattered along the main highway of Northern Tanzania, with two main towns, Arusha and Moshi. The main issue was to investigate the question of access to land and what we can call a land tenure transition.

d. *brief background to study site/area*

One of the main features of the historical background is the differentiation of mountain farmers (mainly Chagga in Mt Kilimanjaro) and lowlands pastoralists (mainly Maasai). There are both complementarities, and more and more competition (especially for land) between those two groups of population, in a context of strong population growth. The history of mountain farmers was strongly influenced by the development of coffee cultivation since the colonial period.

Land blockage is seen as the main blockage on the mountain: it splintered farms and made farming all but impossible. In response to this, the Chagga farmer, whose attachment to the land is visceral, sprang into action and partook of the mountain's multiple networks. Roads, city and the willingness of the younger generation to move away are essential to success.

The Kilimanjaro farming system and the model of development to which it refers, have been in transition for more than 20 years. More than this, we can suggest the emergence of a new model according to the fact that:

- The farming system is no longer based on colonial commodities (coffee) but it is completely reorganized to face the boom of the commercial food sector.
- National policies support commercial small scale farming and mainly large scale commercial farming, based on public/private partnership (PPP)
- On the farmers' side, the diseconomies of scale related to the small landholding, which prevent the accumulation of sufficient volume and quality to gain access to lucrative markets, and on the investors' side, the difficulties to have access to additional land and labor lead to new contract farming which change dramatically the social relations of production.
- An increasing number of young people do not inherit any land. Then they have to start accumulating relying on their own initiative and strength. Then they are looking for fast earnings.

- Rural livelihoods have become increasingly multi-occupational on the basis of rural-urban mobility.

The economic activities in Monduli district are rapidly changing from pure pastoralism to Agro-pastoralism. Increasing cultivation on grazing land and changes in land tenure from communal to individual ownership is forcing the natives (Maasai) to abandon their traditional economic activities of pure pastoralism and embark on the new ones. These include practicing agro-pastoralism, engaging in business and others migrate with their cattle to other places with bigger and favorable grazing lands like Handeni in Tanga region and Kilosa in Morogoro. Others opt to migrate to cities in search of wage employments. Tourism is also practiced in the district but the industry is heavily dominated by foreign investors and a few rich and elites natives who own camp-sites, hunting blocks and cultural tourism canterers. At the foot of the western escarpment of the Rift Valley, Mto wa Mbu, a small city, has experienced many waves of immigration as the result of which are the heterogeneity of the community and the quite recent competition for land and water, even if the community's reliance upon irrigation stimulated a need for cooperation among the residents³. Mto Wa Mbu is representative of the so called "semi-arid areas", formerly pastoralist areas, where many investors are looking for land.

e. main limitations of the research and data

Due to the lack of time, the number of interviews is quite low. The collected data give only some pointers or indicators of the complexity and the fragility of the situation on the ground. From there, it could be possible to conduct a wider survey. However, it is a very difficult to have details on the flows of money between urban and rural areas and then to understand what is really the rural economy which has become a *rurban* economy for sure.

f. Is the study site/area a 'special case' in terms of land investment in the country? If yes, Why? In what way?

Actually, in terms of land investment in the country we have to distinguish two main areas: the mountainous wetlands and the semi-arid lands. Mountains are over populated and it is impossible to get new pieces of land for external investors, even for the young people from these areas. Historically, Mountains include highlands and nearest lowlands. Chagga people are the main investors in land, in Kilimanjaro region and in Tanzania as a whole. They benefit from the seasonal complementarities between different regions.

3. Literature review

Like in several countries in Africa, land is one of the most important and complex issue in Tanzania, leading some times to severe conflicts. The different forms of land governance vary according to the regions and the communities and general legal frameworks try to homogenize the practices. Many researchers have worked on the evolution of land management issue since the traditional

³ ARENS W., "Mto wa Mbu: a rural polyethnic community in Tanzania". In: KOPITOFF I. (ed.), *The African Frontier*. Indiana University Press, 1987, p. 242-256.

practices during the pre-colonial period to those which are used and set up nowadays, both at the national level and the village one.

From the Ujamaa vijijini program after the Arusha declaration of 1967, but also de Iringa declaration in 1974, to the new Kilimo Kwanza initiative, many development plans have linked the land and the agriculture together, structuring or changing the landscapes and the local governance practices.

The Land Act No.4 and particularly the village land Act No.5 of 1999 set up the framework which is now implementing from the national level to the villages. This Act provides some legal tools to the villagers to manage and govern their lands and gives specific procedures to follow for investors to get access to land, furthermore when the land concerned is a village land. The Village Land Act established in 1999 had set up organizational structures for local lands, and have enforced the separation between *village lands*, *reserved lands* and *general lands*.

In Tanzania the village lands are under the authority of the Village Council and the village assemblies. "Village assemblies and village councils were set up following villagisation. Their structure is provided by the Local Government (District Authorities) Act, 1982, No.7." (Shivji, 1998) These latest are constituted of the whole village members (after the age of 18). With the Village Land Act n°5 of 1999, the villagers are supposed to have the right to choose whether to sell or rent their land to an investor, and thus recognize their right to agree or not if the government (either the Ministry of Land, the District commissioners, RUBADA...) wants to allocate the village land to an investor. When an investor wants to buy or lease a land which is registered as a village land, he has to follow a procedure. For the investments under 250ha, the investor can come directly to the village council, then the village council asks for a village assembly, and the villagers agree or not to rent/send the land. But if the investment is higher than 250ha, the investor has to follow several procedures, he has to negotiate directly with the village councils and then the land has to be transferred to a general land, with the agreement of the Ministry of Land, the President, and the transaction is publicly announced. If the village council agrees to give the land to the investor, the land becomes a *general land* through the TIC. Then, even if the project fails or if the compensation to the villagers has not been given as promised by the investors, the villagers cannot have their land back (Sulle and Nelson, 2009). In the case where an agreement for transfer of "ownership" is sealed by local, regional or national authorities, local populations who are thus denied the right to use those lands are forced to leave. According to the Village Land Act n°5 of 1999, these expropriated people are not eligible to compensation during their forced migration (Willy, 2003). Many researchers (Shivji, Maoulidi, 2004, Chachage,) explained that these recent attempts to improve land governance through the recognition of customary and traditional rights from a legal perspective did not improve the capacity of access to land for rural populations. For them, this legal framework would have helped to secure investments for the benefit of private investors rather than those of the local population and increased the inequalities of access to land for youths and women (Duvail, S. and *al.*, 2010; Sulle and Nelson, 2009; Mollel, A. 2014). The Land Act also enhances the "participatory approach" and set up a lot of procedures to involve villagers in case of a new investment, but they remark that the most fundamental characteristic of the land regime under the Land Ordinance is the monopoly of radical title over the lands vested in the President as Head of Executive" (Shivji, 1998).

Apart from the legal framework which regulates the land governance, practices on the ground vary according to the environment, and tensions are more important when resources are highly coveted. Indeed, tensions around land are more important in areas where land is more fertile, and where opportunities in terms of agricultural development are greater, especially in the highlands. The northeast region of Kilimanjaro, where our area of study was located was extremely coveted before, during and after the colonial era. In fact, the mountains of East Africa are "old receptacles for people attracted by their exceptional ecological conditions as well as both a land for food supply and a land dedicated to commercial agriculture – the engine of colonial and national economies" (Charlery de la Masselière, B., and *al.*, 2012). While some tensions around land already existed, in 1923, German and British settlers formed large areas of crops, called estates (or Farms). Down the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, the issue of land is crucial as the demographic growth is strong, land availability is on the decrease, and the access to it, especially to young people is increasingly difficult. The scarcity of land makes it necessary to implement new adaptive strategies especially through the development of new forms of mobility, and a diversification of the activities.

The population concentration on the mountain hillsides contrasts with the situation in the less populated semi-arid plains where there are also concentrations of culture spaces occupying large areas, estates dating back to the colonial era (such as TPC, privatized in 2000, owned mostly by Alteo Group, a Mauritius investment group, near Moshi, established on the border regions of Manyara and Kilimanjaro or the Chimba Farm on Engare Nairobi road, west of Mount Kilimanjaro in Hai district).

With the creation of the TIC and the various programs to attract new investors to develop huge pieces of the land, new transactions have occurred. But this phenomenon is rooted in a long process of appropriation and concentration of lands in Africa and particularly in Tanzania (Mollel, A. 2014). Indeed, "it can rightly be asserted that this phenomenon was at the heart of the colonial enterprise in Africa, and has continued to define its post-colonial political and economic interactions with international capital (Richard, et al, 2010). What is new and has raised concerns among advocates for rural land rights is the scale and pace of these acquisitions" (Mollel, A., 2014, p. 112).

In Tanzania, new investments may cover both estates areas set up during the colonial period, such as protected areas or estates through their reallocation to new major international players, or currently used, worked and on which live communities' villagers (Sulle, and E. Nelson, F. 2013). Meanwhile, Tanzania is experiencing a sharp rise in demand for land at the local level and increasing urbanization, leading to new land conflicts (Chachage, C. 2010; Kimaro, D. 2014). In parallel with those reallocations of colonial estates to new international players, new investments in Tanzanian lands also cover areas which are already used, cultured and in which local communities live. They can be aimed at mining or gas extraction, preservation of the environment, or farming on lands that are already used by local people (Sulle, and E. Nelson, F., 2009).

Agriculture is a livelihood for 76% of Tanzanians, it accounts for 26% of the GDP (National Sample Census of Agriculture 2007/2008), represents 30% of total exports and 65% of the raw materials used by Tanzanian industries (FAO, 2008) and this sector has been increasingly attractive since the 2007-2008 crisis attracts both national and international private investors. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, Tanzania concentrates 44 million ha of arable land, of which only 23% are

currently exploited. However, because of the opening of the land market to both the private national and foreign sector, new situations, and sometimes conflicts, are emerging and influencing the already existing tensions (Kimaro, D., Proches, H. Mollel, A.; 2014), while 62% of the population live in rural areas occupying a national average surface of 1.3ha (according to the National Sample Census of Agriculture (NSCA), 2007/2008 Small Holder Agriculture). Furthermore, according to the forecasts relating to demographic developments until 2050, the population is expected to rise from 51 to 129 million people in Tanzania (UN, 2012) and one can raise the question of the evolution of the tensions around land access in Tanzania, if the trend towards concentration of lands from large players is to proceed.

4. Typology of investors

a. Construct categories of the interviewed investors and explain the principles for the demarcation of the different categories.

In Chagga region, the investors are chagga. There is no “external” investor.

The categories are: Farmer, farmer-businessman, farmer -transporter, businessman, + companies, other

b. Outline how the different types differ in terms of e.g.

- *Scale of investment and land tenure arrangement:*

The main difference is between farmer (= farmer only) and farmer-business man.

A farmer is generally associated with a relative or a friend in order to rent land in addition to the land he or they inherited and which is too small to sustain their livelihood. The location of the plot is not far from the foot of the mountain where they are used to living, and/or is in the nearest semi-arid lowlands (Rundugai). The price is fixed according to the geographical location, to the access or not to the water. In Machame (coffee-banana belt) for one growing season (from planting to harvesting, 5 months in average), renting two acres costs 150 000 Tsh (75€) + the charges after the harvest. In Boma N’gombe (in the plain), it is less expansive (100 000 Tsh without charges). The owner preferred to rent on the basis of a fixed price instead of a percentage of production. Generally the agreement of the Village Council is requested. There is no formal “contractualisation” of the exchanges. Farmers may invest in 2-5 acres renting a year: the cost is roughly between 40 000 Tsh⁴ (untilled land) to 80 000 Tsh (ploughed land) and to 150 000 (irrigated land) per acre and per season. Payment is made in cash, sometimes in kind.

A farmer-businessman generally rents more land (5 to 15 acres even more) in Kilimanjaro region and rents or buy pieces of land (>20 acres) for farming far away (Iringa, Mkata) and plots in town for settlement (Tanga, Dar es Salaam).

Both of the categories use different ways to get money for the investment, but the main way is the savings they accumulated from coffee, petty jobs, business...

⁴ 20€

- *Use of land:*
Except in Marangu area where land could be acquired to build hotel and tourism facilities, land investment in rural areas is for farming. There are no differences between the investors 'categories. Tomato, a "fast growing, fast selling" crop is the so called "emerging" crop even if the production has started for more than 15 years. To tomato production can be associated other vegetables (cabbage, pepper, onions) for marketing or maize for domestic consumption
- *Input/labour intensity of production, additional investments, farm management :*
For specific tasks, the two categories of farmers employ workers, mainly relatives and friends; sometimes (for harvesting for example) they employ external contractors. Otherwise they manage the farm directly. As the farmers/businessmen have more land, they employ more people. One out of the last category who bought land in Iringa, made a contract with the former owner who runs the farm (the business man is the "investor"). The most important investment is in pesticides and insecticides as the crop faces too much kind of diseases and insects attacks. There is no support and no advice from technician, and then the farmers have to make expenditures for nothing. The additional investment is generally in irrigation system (pump, pipes ...) as the land is located in semi-arid area where it is still available.
- *Involvement in networks:*
To have access to land, the Farmers use their personal informal social network (family and neighbors, "a friend of a friend" ...). The farmer-businessman or transporter who has money ("cash is the key") can use nominee villagers to have access to land rented by the estates which are owned by the villages and where the land can be rented only to villagers.
- *Motivations*
The farmers need to have access to land as their inherited land is too small, even does not exist (the young people have so start accumulating by selling their workforce in town). Many of them share the goal of starting business (shop and transport). The farmer-businessmen or transporter wants to expand their activities and to support their children. Another fact is also mentioned: land's production is uncertain because of the decreasing of water resource (climate change, less rainfall).



5. Labour/rural transformation

For farmers, the main change is in land use and in the accumulation process. The territorial enclosure, specific to the highlands of East Africa, marks “land’s end” and rules out any flexibility in the choice of crops and orientation of productive investment. The patrimonial logjam, with fathers keeping their hold over land planted with coffee trees and benefiting from the income up until their death, has helped to turn younger people from the crop to “fast growing and fast selling crops” as tomatoes. The new system has not affected the land ownership, but through renting, access to land becomes more flexible. There is no need to be a landlord as farming is mainly on a seasonal basis.

To have access to land, flexibility is the keyword. Renting a land permanently or for one or two growing seasons (to grow vegetables for example) is more and more common. Flexibility means the people, who want to rent a piece of land, have to move from their homeland.

The Chagga farmers-businessmen may rent land far away like in Babati over two hundred kilometers from Kilimanjaro on the road to Dodoma. They may rent land even further, in Iringa region for example to grow tomatoes when it is the right season, before to go back to Kilimanjaro when the season is better there.

For farmer- business men, or absentee farmer business men, the investment in land has attracted labour force especially from the poor areas of the center of Tanzania. Kilimanjaro area remains one the most attractive area for workers looking for job in agriculture.

6. Conflicts

According to the persons we interviewed, they are very few conflicts associated to this land transition. Some of them even said there is no competition for land. The competition is much more in town as new investors started the same kind of activities like coffee shops in Moshi for example.

7. Former land occupants

Some people have land they are not able to cultivate for any reasons: because they are too old, they have a job or business in town; they don't have the capacity to invest, etc. Then they are ready to rent it out, preferably, to relatives: for example a young man in Machame has an inherited land which is too small; he has had the opportunity to rent 2 acres from his aunt and to start growing tomatoes. The owners benefit from the lease through the rent itself but also through improved land use and land management; sometimes they could be employed by the investors as workers in their own land. The contract is for one year, under the aegis of the Village Executive Officer.

8. Rural-city connection

In Kilimanjaro region, the countryside has experienced glory days with the coffee industry which has structured its territories and supported a strong process of development. The region is entering into a post coffee era, with emerging new agricultural chains, well connected to the urban markets, like the tomato chain which support the main activities of Kwa Sa Dala market, located 20 km away from Moshi town. The old markets' network is increasing and is better connected to the roads. The countryside is now very well connected to the urban centers, through new logics of development (multi-activity, multi-territoriality) and through the increase of the flows of labour and of capital. Actually, livelihood diversification in rural areas is deeply boosted by an easier access to tarmac roads: i.e. the growth of shops along the road for cultural tourism activities around Marangu.

It is very difficult to talk about "land investment" as there is no market for land. But renting supports a new system of exchange and new trajectories between rural and urban areas. Renting is possible because some owners have available land. In the low densely populated areas (like in Rundugai in West Hai district), it is easy to understand land is available. It is less understandable in the high densely populated slopes of Kilimanjaro Mountain. Actually, the availability of land reflects the extreme complexity of the land question in Kilimanjaro. Just below the coffee-banana belt on the lower slopes of the mountain, some big farms or some former estates have often available land which may be rented to the small farmers: we had the case farmers who rent plots from Kibohehe estate (a former coffee estate which now belongs to a village) or from Dekka Flower Company on an annual basis. Big Investors, who are not native to that area, sometimes who are foreigners, are also looking for land to start or to expand the growth of one or two specific crops. As available land is difficult to obtain and additional labour hard to find, the investors can achieve their goal through contract farming. Out of Kilimanjaro area, Rüsh, Ohlde, and Rankin (2013) describe the case of "Meru", a privately owned medium size farm estate located in the vicinity of Mount Meru, which decided to contract commercial small farmers (1 700) through an horticultural cooperative, in order to be able to supply lucrative city or foreign markets.



Is it possible to identify new patterns of rural-urban connection as a consequence of the external investments? This is a big issue: “new” comparing with when? What is obvious is:

- The growing role of some rural market places which are “urbanizing”, as we were told during our survey in Boma N’Gombe
- The crucial function of mobile phones, shaping new types of rural-urban connections.
- The growth of more virtual rural-urban connections based not only of floods of goods and persons but also on many rapid information flows, mainly about transport facilities and market prices.

9. *Conclusions*

This study points out the strong variability of impact on rural productive resources of rural-urban capital and labour flows in the northern corridor of Tanzania, according to general economic trends (market, prices...), geographical specificities (very high population densities), historical and social aspects (Chagga vs Maasai...). Moreover, along this corridor, which stretches along the international Nairobi-Dar es Salaam highway, many market places, towns and cities are growing fast, shaping not only rural and urban dynamics, but mainly rurban dynamics, through numerous households involved in multi-activities strategies rooted both in country side and urban areas.

It’s why many issues of the questionnaire are difficult to tackle and investigate.



Appendix IV

The role of external investors for new forms of rural-urban connections. The case of Irish Potatoes in Njombe Region Tanzania



African Rural-City Connections (RurbanAfrica)

The role of external investors for new forms of rural-urban connections

Reporting for D1.3



The case of Irish Potatoes in Njombe Region Tanzania



Sokoine University of Agriculture (Tanzania):

Evelyne A. Lazaro

Fulgence J. Mishili

Lukelo R. Msese

University of Copenhagen (Denmark):

Torben Birch-Thomsen

Sinne Ørtenblad

Executive Summary

The study was conducted in four villages (Ngalanga, Iwungilo, Igagala and Ulembwe) in Njombe Region. The villages are characterized by having Irish potatoes as a 'booming' crop. Data was collected to investigate the drivers and nature of the recent influx of external (domestic) land investments in the study villages, to examine the impact of external investments on agricultural transformation processes and to explain how new rural-urban connections are shaping and being shaped by these processes. Interviews with a total of 4 key informants, 16 external (domestic) investors and 15 land owners were conducted. External (domestic) investors are individuals, not residing in the villages who acquired land by purchase or through lease agreements for lease for agricultural purposes. Land owners are defined as village residents who have given away (sold or leased) parts or all of their landholdings to external domestic investors. The interviews were guided by pre-designed structured question guides. The findings show that the majority of investors were from Njombe Town, the nearest urban centre and regional headquarter. Generally, investors are relatively young (around late 30s to mid-40s) compared to the majority of farmers, with primary to secondary level education. External investments in the villages is generally an additional source of income with the main occupations usually being formal employment or running a business in town and in some cases crop production in other rural areas. Irrigation possibilities and expectation for high agricultural productivity were mentioned most frequently as motivations for acquiring land. Other factors include the availability of land, suitability for planting crops and/or trees and possibility to increase household income.

1. Methodology and context

The study was conducted in Njombe Region. Two districts; Njombe and Wanging'ombe District, were purposely selected from Njombe Region. From each district two villages were selected for the study. Iwungilo and Ngalanga villages were selected from Njombe District and Igagala and Ulembwe from Wanging'ombe District. The selection of the four villages was based on a general boom of Irish potato production, and different use of farming technology and distance from Njombe Town.

The villages (Iwungilo and Ngalanga) in Njombe district are endowed with irrigation possibilities for Irish potato production while the other villages in Wanging'ombe District do not have irrigation possibilities. Ngalanga and Iwungilo are located in a relatively remote area compared to Ulembwe and Igagala. The latter villages are moreover positioning along a well-functioning road compared to Ngalanga and Iwungilo. Ngalanga is the furthest village from Njombe Town at 60 Km, followed by Iwungilo at 37Km. Ulembwe is the nearest village to Njombe Town at 17 Km and Igagala at 21Km. The study villages cannot be defined as a 'special case' in terms of land investment in Tanzania, because there are similar areas in the country with or without irrigation that attract external investors for varied reasons.

The study is based on three components; interviews with key informants, external investors and land owners leasing/having sold land. Key informants (2-6 in each village) included the Ward Executive Officer (WEO) from Ulembwe ward, comprising Igagala and Ulembwe, a former sub-village chairperson from Igagala, an investor from a large scale tea planting project and a large scale farmer from Ngalanga).

Moreover, 16 external (domestic) investors and 15 land owners were interviewed. The purpose of key informant interviews was to collect descriptive information about the village and sub-village development, particularly with reference to external investments. External (domestic) investors are defined as individuals, not residing in the villages, who acquired land by purchase or through lease agreements. External investors

were identified through snowball techniques by getting in contact with external investors through the village leaders as well as already identified external investors. Through this process some external investors who invested in neighbouring villages were also identified and interviewed. In addition, contacts in Njombe Town were used to identify external investors. Land owners are defined as village residents who have given away (sold or leased) parts of their landholdings to external domestic investors. Some of the land owners were identified from previous survey and supplemented by snowball sampling technique and land owners identified by village leaders. All interviews were guided by pre-designed structured question guides. Data was collected by the PhD candidate, research assistant from Copenhagen University through a qualified interpreter with long experience in field work and two trained research assistants who are familiar with the study sites. The process was done under the guidance (in the preparation of data collection instruments and field work) of senior researchers from Copenhagen University and Sokoine University of Agriculture.

Land transactions are sensitive issues and any inquiry is subject to suspicion from all parties, land owners, investors and even village leaders. It requires more time in the field than what was used for the study to gain trust and meet with potential respondents. For this reason investors and land owners were not readily identifiable and available for interview. This is also partly because some of the transaction especially for leasing is not done through the village government.

2. Relevant references

- Bah M., Cisse, S., Diyamett B., Diallo G., Lerise., Okali, D., Okpara, E., Olawoye, J., and Tacoli, C. (2003) hanging Rural Urban Linkages in Mali, Nigeria ad Tanzania. *Environment and Urbanization*, 15 (1) 13-24.
- Lugoe F.N (2008) a Century of Government Regulated Land access in Tanzania . DILAPS , DSM
- Mellissa Makwarimba and Prosper Ngowi (2012) Making Land investment work for Tanzania: Scoping Assessment for Multi stakeholder Dialogue Initiative. Final Report IIED, REPOA and Tanzania Natural Resource Forum.
- Theting H, and rekke B. (2010) Land Investments or land Grab? A critical view from Tanzania and Mozambique, Spire, Oslo.
- United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2012). Natinal Sample Census of Agriculture 2007/2008. Regional Report – Iringa Region (Volume Vk). Ministry of Agriculture. Pp 301.
- United Republic of Tanzania (URT) (2013). 2012 Population and Housing Census; Puplation Distribution by Administrative Area. National Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam Pp 264.

3. **Typology of investors**

Majority of external investors are people from Njombe Town, which is the nearest urban centre and the Regional Headquarter (Ref to figure/map). Generally, investors are relatively young (around late 30s to late 40s) compared to the majority of farmers (age?) and with primary to secondary level education. There is an indication however that some investors are from other neighbouring villages. Investment in the villages was generally an additional source of income for most of the investors with the main occupation usually being formal employment or running a business in town, and in some cases crop production in other rural areas. Irrigation possibilities and expectation for high agricultural productivity were mentioned most frequently as motivations for acquiring land. Other factors included availability of land, suitability for planting crops and/or trees and to possibility to increase household income. External investors can be broadly categorized into two by the way they access land from land owners in rural villages: investors who buy land; and investors who rent land. Land owners are residents of the villages with relatively more land area or less household labour than the average in the village and their main occupation is farming. The land owners leasing or having sold land are relatively old compared to the investors. Usually they are in their late 40s and above, with primary level of education. This group includes married couples, widows and single farmers. 2 out of 3 land owners who have sold land were widows. Most likely this is due to resource (financial and/or labour) constraints. Investors who buy land invest in relatively small plots of land compared to those leasing land. Naturally those who buy land invest in tree planting (long term investment) whereas those who lease land focus on annual crops (often shorter term investment), mostly Irish potato.

There is a difference between the two sites however; in the more remote villages from Njombe Town (Nangalanga and Iwungilo) the land is less scarce and village land is available for larger scale external investments, which attracts investors from outside the village - often from Njombe Town or other urban areas. In the villages closer to Njombe Town however there is a scarcity of land and the land transactions seem to be mostly involving a few acres of land being leased by farmers from within the villages or from nearby/neighbouring villages.

4. **Labour/rural transformation**

The general pattern observed in the study villages is a tendency of an increased number of external investments in agriculture. This is because of the opportunities that exist in the villages for a more profitable agricultural production especially for Irish potatoes and tree planting. Investments by external investors create rural employment opportunities not only in the villages with investments but also other neighbouring villages. This is more pronounced in areas with irrigation opportunities where seasonal labour is hired throughout the year. Here it is mentioned that the farmers are too busy with the work on their own farms and thus have to bring labour from outside. Labour comes from nearby villages or sometimes even from places further away, such as Mufindi, Mafinga, etc. Interestingly, in the villages closer to Njombe Town, where external investment seems to be less pronounced, external labour is not commonly found. Methods for accessing land in the villages are varied. However, often investors use their social networks for accessing land in the villages. The initial source of information on availability of land is usually from friends, co-workers and/or relatives residing in the villages. Experience from businesses such as buying crops or government employment are also opportunities for getting information about availability of land in the

respective villages. The most common method of land acquisition is by leasing. Land is leased upon agreement on terms between the investor and land owner. Often no written contract is issued and agreement is based on trust and social capital among interested parties. Basically an agreement will specify area, duration and price. The village government is involved only in the case of land sales where a fee is paid for transfer of land ownership and a written formal document is issued. Generally, sold land (area) is smaller compared to that which is leased. Land owners reported land under lease as high as 9 acres while largest land sold was only 3 acres. According to land owners who sold (3) and those who leased (13) part of their land; the price of land was about Tsh⁵. 500,000 and Tsh.100,000 per acre respectively. This implies that land owners lease land for short durations (1-2 years) to solve immediate household financial constraints and sell less land with anticipation of taking back land in future for own use.

From the rural point of view, land owners are the primary beneficiaries of the investments. However, there is a difference between purchasing and renting land regarding who benefits from the investments. When purchase of land is involved, the external investors are usually the ones benefitting from the investments. They buy up the land, bring inputs from e.g. Njombe Town and sell the agricultural produce to local brokers/agricultural business people from urban areas. It is noted that local brokers are then benefitting from the increased agricultural business. However, especially in cases where the investors are settling down in the villages, household needs and such are covered from the providers in the village, thus benefitting the village business people. On the other hand, when rent of land is involved, the land owners are generating an income on a seasonal basis and are thus continuously benefitting from the investments. The lease of land can be terminated whenever the land owner is capable of managing the land again.

The main changes identified by land owners resulting from external investments include increased income, and agricultural knowledge and skills. Income is used for buying agricultural inputs, paying school fees, household consumer goods, renovation of houses, and capital for non-farm economic activities. The main land use change is planting of trees and other annual crops by land investors on fallow land.

5. Conflicts

There is a general pattern of conflict resulting from land landowners that sell and/or lease land to external investors in the villages. It is believed that some investors apply chemical fertilizers which are harmful to land/soil in the long run. Another source of conflict is based on identification of filed boundaries. This is because most land is un-surveyed and field boundaries are identified by physical structures e.g. trees and hills, and neighbouring fields. There are cases where external investors either intentionally or unintentionally violate the field boundaries, resulting in conflict with neighbouring land owners. Other sources of conflict occur due to violations in the trust relationships. An example could be when a land owner dies. Since agreements are done through trust without a written contract, an external investor can decide to cheat the members of the family of the land owner by stating that the land was sold to him instead of actually being leased.

Despite the identified conflicts due to external investments local people are of an opinion that there are opportunities with sale/lease of land in the village to external investors. The opportunities include: i) Increased source of income from land ii) They learn new agricultural practices iii) Accessing loan facilities from urban and iv) Availability of accessing improved seeds.

⁵ 1 USD approximately = Tsh. 2,170

6. **Former land occupants**

Land in the study villages is generally used by land owners for residential and agricultural purposes. Agricultural land is sometimes left fallow for different reasons including shortage of household resources (financial and/or labour). Often investors buy/lease agricultural land and occasionally, depending on location, such land is converted to residential purposes. Land that is sold/ leased can be fallow or cultivated land.

Investors predominantly use land for agricultural purposes, including crop production and tree planting for timber. Evidence from land owners show that the main motivation for selling/leasing land to external investors is shortage of financial resources to cover household expenses. Land owners therefore sell or lease only part of land; none of the interviewed land owners indicated selling/leasing all their land.

The general pattern observed in the study villages is a tendency of an increasing number of urban people investing in land in rural villages. This is because of the opportunities that exist in the villages for an increasingly profitable agricultural production especially for Irish potatoes and tree planting. Land owners claim that their livelihoods are generally improved from sale/lease of land, at least short-term. Due to the design of the study it was not possible to get an indication of long term effects of leasing/selling land to external investors. One way of improvement is through better management (use of inputs) of remaining land, ability to access social services (education, health, financial), and improvement in household assets including housing and other household assets.

7. **Rural-city connection**

External investments do bring opportunities for new patterns of rural-urban connections. The new patterns relate to flow of goods and services. For example there is a tendency of increased use of external (from urban) agricultural inputs as a result of external investors. There is a tendency of rural people accessing educational as well as health services in urban areas due to improved accessibility/infrastructure. It is claimed that services in urban areas are generally better equipped than those in rural areas. Flow of financial resources, often relying on improved telecommunication/mobile phones, is also an important pattern of rural –urban connections. Sometimes external investors pay for lease or purchase of land and this is easily facilitated through mobile money transfer. Similarly, payment for labour and even purchase/sale of agricultural output is sometimes managed through mobile money. However, it is not possible to attribute directly external investment with an increase in the use of mobile phones.

Social networks are very important in facilitating land investments. As mentioned earlier from sourcing of information on availability of land to making agreements, it all depends on social networks and trust among individuals. Owning financial resources (money) alone is not enough for an external investor to access land for lease or purchase. For this reason legal services beyond the village government are rarely used to address emerging land conflicts.

8. Conclusions

Local communities in the study villages acknowledge that recently the value of land has been increasing. Besides the general inflation the increase is partly due to the changing profitability of Irish potato production. This is more pronounced in villages with irrigation potential. An increasing number of investors from urban areas are investing in land in rural villages, enhancing the rural-urban connections. The connections are to a large extent facilitated by social networks among the main actors; land owners, investors and the broader communities. There is a tendency of improvement of the livelihoods for land owners who lease/sell land after sale/lease compared to the situation before the transaction, at least short term. They tend also to adopt more improved agricultural practices as a result of external investments, such as use of external inputs and good management practices. This is because external investors tend to adopt a more commercial production by applying good agricultural practices with potential for high productivity. The external investors' farms therefore become a sort of demonstration fields for the surrounding community. This process of events contribute to increase rural employment, incomes, access to better social services and transforming agriculture from being largely subsistence to being more commercially oriented. Conflicts about land in the villages rise due to the emerging opportunities for investment. More people are taking due consideration on the value of the land in the village. These main conflicts are on the boundary with the neighbors to the farm, but some of the external investors are also changing the use of the land beyond the agreement made during the time of lease.

Appendix V

The role of external investors for new forms of rural urban connections.

Bamboutos site, Cameroon

Research questions:

1. Who are the external investors and what are their motivations for acquiring land?

Ages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	30-40	6	24,0	24,0	24,0
	40-50	8	32,0	32,0	56,0
	50-60	6	24,0	24,0	80,0
	60-70	3	12,0	12,0	92,0
	70-80	1	4,0	4,0	96,0
	80-90	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Ages * Gender Crosstabulation

		Gender		Total
	Ages	Male	Female	
	30-40	5	1	6
	40-50	6	2	8
	50-60	5	1	6
	60-70	3	0	3
	70-80	1	0	1
	80-90	1	0	1
Total		21	4	25

Civil status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married	25	100,0	100,0	100,0

Level of education completed

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary	7	28,0	28,0	28,0
	Secondary 1st cycle	3	12,0	12,0	40,0
	Secondary 2st cycle	5	20,0	20,0	60,0
	Licence	5	20,0	20,0	80,0
	Masters	4	16,0	16,0	96,0
	Doctorate	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Occupation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agriculture	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
	Gardener	2	8,0	8,0	24,0
	Industry of building	2	8,0	8,0	32,0
	Public health	1	4,0	4,0	36,0
	Traditional medecine	1	4,0	4,0	40,0
	Pension	1	4,0	4,0	44,0
	Justice	1	4,0	4,0	48,0
	Police	1	4,0	4,0	52,0
	Education	3	12,0	12,0	64,0
	Business	5	20,0	20,0	84,0
	Trade	4	16,0	16,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Ethnic group					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bamilélé	25	100,0	100,0	100,0

Locality of residence					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mfoundi	7	28,0	28,0	28,0
	Wouri	4	16,0	16,0	44,0
	Mezam	7	28,0	28,0	72,0
	Bamboutos	3	12,0	12,0	84,0
	Menoua	3	12,0	12,0	96,0
	Mifi	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Locality of birth/upbringing					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Wouri	1	4,0	4,0	4,0
	Bamboutos	18	72,0	72,0	76,0
	Menoua	5	20,0	20,0	96,0
	Ocean	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Family sizes					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1-5	8	32,0	32,0	32,0
	5-10	15	60,0	60,0	92,0
	10-15	1	4,0	4,0	96,0

	15-20	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

1.1 What are their motivations for acquiring land?

Most often, the first piece of land owned by these investors are inherited land from their parents or forefather or further still from their maternal parents. The other lands are bought lands for those with multiple land parcels. As far as their motivations are concerned, we must insist on the following;

The need for land for the construction of his house if they have to merit the title of a model citizen. Consequently, to be seen as a responsible and a respected individual, they are supposed to build a house to be seen as such by the community. (a social need)

The need for agricultural production and the desire to produce sufficient quantities to feed the family and sell the surpluses. (an economic motivation)

Forced acquisitions. Generally, certain individuals in need of money (to send their children to school or arrange a funeral or other village traditions) with the only option to sell a piece or all of their land goes directly to certain liquid or rich individuals explaining their situation and their reasons to sell. Sometimes or more often than not, they are obliged to buy thereby helping out these individuals. Such lands are hardly exploited by these individuals but by their immediate family members because initially, they had no intentions to buy such lands.

Why did you want to buy land in this area?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Personal networks with people from the area	6	24,0	24,0	24,0
	Knew that land was easy/cheap to buy	4	16,0	16,0	40,0
	Easy to get here in person from your residence(accessibility)	6	24,0	24,0	64,0
	Fertility of the soil	7	28,0	28,0	92,0
	Perspectives of the future	2	8,0	8,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

2. How do the investors get access to the land?

On certain rare occasions, certain individuals are given land gifts by the village heads for certain services rendered to these authorities or their communities. This situation is fast dying due to the increasing value of and the heavy population pressure on land. Other individuals with political power carve out large expanses of land claiming it is the land of their grandparents. Apart from the merited and fraudulent means

stated above, other common forms include those seen on the following table. The up to four pieces of land given to each investor gave the same responds which include buying, renting or inherited lands.

- Tenure status of first land					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Owned/bought land	15	60,0	60,0	60,0
	Rented	4	16,0	16,0	76,0
	Inherited	6	24,0	24,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

3. What do they use the land for?

Some of these investors buy for future land speculation, others buy for their children long term investments) while others buy to invest on them immediately. Such investments take the form of agriculture, educational, social (health centres) or religious institutions, construction of businesses and hotels though still, others build their residence. The most important are for economic reasons though educational centres have been taking the lead in recent years. The fact that the land is termed first second or third plot does not denote any particular order or use but their situation to other social and economic infrastructure determines their eventual exploitation. Nowadays, in the rural zone, the acquisition of land has taken the tendencies and reflexions of the urban milieu with previsions of what they intend to do with the land. The financial means available dictates the eventual uses of the land and agricultural uses have fast been losing ground. Their prices also vary in relation with their situation to economic, social but more importantly other infrastructural equipment.

Use of land (first land)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Investment in land value	10	40,0	40,0	40,0
	Crop cultivation	12	48,0	48,0	88,0
	Construction of a heritage	1	4,0	4,0	92,0
	Not applicable	2	8,0	8,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Use of land (second land)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agriculture	9	36,0	36,0	36,0
	Rearing	5	20,0	20,0	56,0
	Construction	2	8,0	8,0	64,0
	Empty	1	4,0	4,0	68,0
	Not applicable	8	32,0	32,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

4. In what way do the investments advance rural capital accumulation and encourage agricultural wage labour employment?

It is a common belief that the sale of a piece of land should be accompanied by investment in other landed property without which, the money has been wasted. With relation to the site or situation of a given land, most indigenes sell to these foreign investors and move further inwards to buy bigger surfaces and the rest of the money used to increase their living standards. The construction of vast villas or business units in the rural area gives a great boost to the rural economy as local construction material shops supply these building sites, local workforce is also employed as builders or labourers and the enterprising female gender make business places out of these sites as they sell food and other basic necessities. School children during the weekends see these sites as means to make pocket money. To conclude, the local community benefits from the money injected through sale and the supply of basic necessities and local labour services. Every agricultural, (fertilizer and manure) building or livestock (guidance and counselling, labour) investment creates a pole of variable size and actors occupied and circulation of resources.

- Do you plan to hire farm labor?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	21	84,0	84,0	84,0
	No	3	12,0	12,0	96,0
	Not applicable	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

If yes, what will this labor be?				
		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
			Valid Percent	

Valid	Casual	13	52,0	52,0	52,0
	Permanent	8	32,0	32,0	84,0
	Not applicable	4	16,0	16,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Season of employment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dry season	5	20,0	20,0	20,0
	Rainy season	10	40,0	40,0	60,0
	Both seasons	3	12,0	12,0	72,0
	Not applicable	7	28,0	28,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Gender of people employed					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male gender	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
	Female gender	7	28,0	28,0	44,0
	Both genders	6	24,0	24,0	68,0
	Not applicable	8	32,0	32,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Number of people employed regrouped					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 3	4	16,0	23,5	23,5
	4 to 8 labourers	11	44,0	64,7	88,2
	More than 8	2	8,0	11,8	100,0
	Total	17	68,0	100,0	
Missing	System	8	32,0		

Number of people employed regrouped					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 3	4	16,0	23,5	23,5
	4 to 8 labourers	11	44,0	64,7	88,2
	More than 8	2	8,0	11,8	100,0
	Total	17	68,0	100,0	
Missing	System	8	32,0		
Total		25	100,0		

How will you manage the production?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Own management	11	44,0	44,0	44,0
	Hire a manager/caretaker	11	44,0	44,0	88,0
	By women	1	4,0	4,0	92,0
	Tenant farming	1	4,0	4,0	96,0
	Not applicable	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

5. What are the impacts on the local community?

5.1 Investment

The objective of every economic activity is the generation of profits from the satisfaction of human wants and needs. Most investments are geared towards self-gain but the trickle-down effect amplifies its actions on the community as adjacent services are required from the population and resources spent on the community. Certain investments in the long run generate a lot of negative consequences. In certain areas, the most extensive and fertile lands are controlled by a few external investors leading to jealousy and envy of the indigenes who feel those parcels belong to them by right. With the objective of maximising profits with the least investment, most individuals or institutions do not develop the basic social facilities in the areas they exploit but increasingly extract from these areas the necessary resources that would have been used for their development. On the other hand, the presence of these investors have created beneficial consequences such as an increase in capital leading to higher revenues and living standards, mastery and dissemination of new production technics, creation of casual and permanent employment opportunities.

Social investments have great impacts on the education and scholarization level of the population, their health and certain investments stimulate competition amongst the local population. The introduction of an economic activity or a production unit by an individual pushes other villagers to imitate thus increasing development. Techniques of production and highbred seeds from industrial plantations are copied to indigenous farms for an increase in total output thereby increasing revenues.

How did you make the payment?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bank transfer	3	12,0	12,0	12,0
	Cash	19	76,0	76,0	88,0
	Swapping	3	12,0	12,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

What characterizes a good location for investments?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Efficiency of the village leadership	6	24,0	24,0	24,0
	Availability of infrastructure	12	48,0	48,0	72,0
	Other businesses	4	16,0	16,0	88,0
	Other(specify)	3	12,0	12,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

5.2 Employment

As has been said above, enormous direct and indirect employment opportunities are created by these investments which in its turn increase revenue and living standards. These employments will keep people of both gender active throughout the year. In certain villages, youths have been known to abandon school for the vast employment opportunities created by these investments.

Do you plan to hire farm labor?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	21	84,0	84,0	84,0
	No	3	12,0	12,0	96,0
	Not applicable	1	4,0	4,0	100,0

Do you plan to hire farm labor?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	21	84,0	84,0	84,0
	No	3	12,0	12,0	96,0
	Not applicable	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

If yes, what will this labor be?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Casual	13	52,0	52,0	52,0
	Permanent	8	32,0	32,0	84,0
	Not applicable	4	16,0	16,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Season of employment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dry season	5	20,0	20,0	20,0
	Rainy season	10	40,0	40,0	60,0
	Both seasons	3	12,0	12,0	72,0
	No answer	7	28,0	28,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Number of people employed for first plot					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 3	4	16,0	23,5	23,5
	4 to 8 labourers	11	44,0	64,7	88,2
	More than 8	2	8,0	11,8	100,0
	Total	17	68,0	100,0	

Missing	System	8	32,0		
Total		25	100,0		

A labourer irrespective of age and gender is paid a minimum of 2500f cfa a day though certain hard working individuals earn up to about 4000 f cfa per day. The tasks to be performed and the individuals' ability to perform these tasks are the main determinants of the amount of money received.

Gender of people employed					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male gender	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
	Female gender	7	28,0	28,0	44,0
	Both genders	6	24,0	24,0	68,0
	Not applicable	8	32,0	32,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Gender and age is not a barrier to farm labour because during the production season, every producer tries to get his or her hands on as much labourers as he could due to the absence of machines and the limited time allowance they have to achieve the various tasks they have on the farms.

❖ Land conflicts

Where there is land scarcity or pressure on land, there is bound to be land conflicts. This is mostly manifested by people not respecting their farm limits, selling of lands without the consent of the family or the illegal selling of land (people selling land that belongs to the community or their neighbour). These land conflicts are also seen between cattle herders and farmers and at time result in bloodshed though these have not been seen in recent times due to the efforts of the traditional rulers and the administration that have put in place committees and measures to mitigate against these.

Have you experienced any tensions with the local community in relation to your investment?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	28,0	28,0	28,0
	No	18	72,0	72,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

What kind of tensions?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Land conflicts	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
	Conflict with descendants of the land seller	3	12,0	12,0	28,0
	No tensions	18	72,0	72,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

6. What characterises the change in livelihoods of the land sellers?

Most individuals sell their land holdings either because they have an immediate problem to solve or they want to invest in another form (education, send children for training, construction of a house, buy another land etc.) The rural milieu is characterized by the practise of agricultural activities. Though certain people invested in commercial and other activities part of the money they received from the sale of their lands, they have maintained their agricultural roots.

Have you engaged in new income generating activities after losing tenure of the land by Which activities Cross-tabulation				
		Have you engaged in new income generating activities after losing tenure of the land?		Total
		Yes	No	
Which activities?	Livestock and trade	1	0	1
	Wine taping	1	0	1
	Trade	3	0	3
	Environnentalist	1	0	1
	Agriculture	3	0	3
	Butchery	1	0	1
	Mecanic worker	1	0	1
	Carpenter	1	0	1
	Not applicable	0	13	13
Total		12	13	25

Income sources have greatly been multiplied and risks from (specialisation) dependence on agriculture minimized. The tables below bring out the importance of revenue from the sale of land.

In what way was it a good deal for you?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Take care of family	11	44,0	44,0	44,0
	To carry out other investment activities	2	8,0	8,0	52,0
	Solve family problems	2	8,0	8,0	60,0
	Children's education	3	12,0	12,0	72,0
	To buy another land	1	4,0	4,0	76,0
	Satisfaction of stake-holders	2	8,0	8,0	84,0
	Reinforcement of relations/link	2	8,0	8,0	92,0
	Generating problems in my life	2	8,0	8,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

7. In what way are the external investments changing rural-urban connections?

One of the most pertinent problems facing African countries is that of rural exodus. This phenomenon has serious negative consequences on the departure as well as the receiving zones. A great number of the youths arrives the city and live in squalid conditions without adequate experience for the available limited jobs, leaving the old to take care of the increasing food demands. These investments have increased employment opportunities and other social amenities in the rural areas, holding back the high migrant flows to the cities.

The amount of agricultural output has also increased coupled with the price and variety of output thus increasing the income level and living standards of those living in the rural milieu. Educational and health institutions have been developed and the mentalities of the population have been evolving.

Do you generally think it is a good thing that these external investors have bought land here? By Why/why not Cross-tabulation				
		Do you generally think it is a good thing that these external investors have bought land here?		Total
		Yes	No	
Why/why not?	They create employment	3	0	3
	Scarcity of the land	0	1	1

	Source of local problem's	0	2	2
	Increase in agricultural production	2	0	2
	Expression of freedom	1	0	1
	Bring development	6	0	6
	Source of competition	1	0	1
	Attachment to the native land	6	0	6
	Main consumers of agricultural land	0	3	3
Total		19	6	25

Elaboration of content for Output 2

Brief summary with key findings

This chapter brings to light precision on what we call an external investor. This word or notion in this context is to be seen as natives of the zone but resident in town or in a nearby village area or having two areas of residence, or those who have invested in certain activities in their village or areas of origin. Clearly, foreign investors are inexistent in the proper sense of the word in our study zone.

Investment in land is current and obey or follow certain motivations that only the buyer knows. We have however listed two main or essential types of motivations; 'forced' buying and necessity buying of land. The first type take place when a land owner who goes to an economically viable person to propose the sale of his land holding because of an urgent problem to be resolved. The latter type of buying which is the most common type takes place when the buyer sees the need of having a piece of land and makes known his desire to friends and relative for them to look a piece of land for him to buy.

Investment takes multiple forms, involves multiple sectors more or less visible. It is observed that it is in the domain of housing, livestock rearing of big animals, sheep and goat that foreign investment appears the most. Generally, these activities generate an important circuit of liquid funds in the areas where they are installed

1. Methodology and context

- a. data overview, number of interviews, dates, responsible enumerators, etc.

For the data collection phase, we followed the plan indicated by the guide provided from the beginning. The research team passed through the administrative heads of the divisions, the village chiefs or heads, quarter heads and other resource persons like the head of the survey office or public register of lands but the results obtained from these findings were incomplete and not very conclusive because land acquisition and investments are small scale network activities without the need of rigorous administrative control. We

therefore exploited our knowledge from the previous field studies. Door to door surveys ‘the snow-ball effect’ guided us towards the type of people we were interested with.

- Number of interviews

From the 10th day of August to the 20th 2015 of the same month, three groups of 5 people each were sent to Babadjou, Bafou and Bangang. Each group touched or interviewed a minimum of 25 buyers and 25 land sellers per site with a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 15 resource persons per site.

	Babadjou	Bafou	Bangang
Number of land sellers	25	25	25
Number of land buyers	27	25	25
Resource persons	7	5	15

b. criteria for selecting c1, c2 and c3 respondents (se ‘Guide for D1.3’ for details)

The research team first of all did a door to door interview in search of potential respondents, then other confident people showed us reliable buyers and sellers which we consulted, and finally to construct the general 25 people database, our choice was based the most completed questionnaire, on the pertinence of the information collected, the level of investment, the procedures used for buying or selling of land.

c. criteria for selecting study site/area

The Bamboutos villages and population is characterised by its diversity and for this diversity to appear in our study, (in terms of economic activities, employment, level of investment, level of education, mobility and migration patterns, access to land, level of development or organisation of salaried labour, production practices) we decided to make a synthesis of data from these three montane village sites.

d. brief background to study site/area

It is a volcanic mountain area with soils developed on basalt and pyroclastic rock material which are relatively fertile. The climate is dominated by the high altitude type; fresh and wet, propice to the a specific agricultural development. There is a marked contrast in settlement patterns where we witness high population density rates at the foot of the mountain and empty spaces in the altitude areas but in the process of a rapid colonisation and densification. The question of access to land is pre-occupying and at all times. Mobility constitutes a survival or existence strategy. Even though there is a high density of exploitation routes or infrastructure which date to the coffee production period, enclavement of such zones is still pertinent due to the very bad nature of these roads. All this constitute a limiting factor for an optimised exploitation of the mountain area. The Bamboutos mountain area has rich agricultural land and one of the principal bread basket of food and cash crops in the central African sub-region.

e. Main limitations of the research and data

During the data collection phase, the research team had difficulty collecting information on almost all that concerned land because most people considered such issues family matters. This was especially seen on those who have sold land as they considered certain question to be too personal. The data collection phase was done during the agricultural season and the availability of interested candidate posed a problem. Certain questions were added by the research team before the field stage to complement certain questions which rendered the data more completed.

f. is the study site/area a 'special case' in terms of land investment in the country? If yes, Why? In what way?

We think it is a special case not because there is a lot of space to invest upon but because of the attachment of most individuals on land and landed properties. It is a closed environment and belong mostly to indigenes of the area. As far as external investors are concerned it is rare to find in these areas people from other regions who have come to invest. They are mostly sons and daughters with origins from these areas and it is difficult to find a very large agricultural investment because most individuals desire to have land. The high population pressure and the traditional succession to land has further divided the surface area of land.

2. Literature review

- a. Present a brief country specific literature review on papers that deals with acquisition of land by external investors, preferably including both "international land grabbing" and what we denote as 'external investors' in this study (see 'Guide for D1.3' for definition).

b. Alternatively, list relevant references on the above issues

There are a few reviews and article which bring out rural development initiatives as a whole but no exclusive texts on land acquisition or tenure. Consequently, land issues are almost considered a taboo because almost every individual is concerned. Talking of land issues in most of these zones is to awake inter-village griefs, family quarrels and personal grudges on almost forgotten land quarrels without the proposition of viable solutions. People evoke such issues during the conception of certain rural development issues and projects without developing exclusive chapters on such aspects due to the fragile balance that has been established among the various stakeholders of land.

Presently, there is a high demand of land from multinational corporations in the southern forested areas for the implantation of plantation or the development of rice fields but the mountainous zones have been excluded. The most pertinent reference for the moment include the thesis of Jean-Louis Ndongmo 'Le dynamisme Bamileke' and the reviews of Jean-Marie Fotsing. A few sociologist and geographers have evoked these issues on their thesis without too much emphasis. Tchinda Berthaud in his Masters thesis studied the re-affectation of the ancient tea plantations in Djutitsa and the problems associated with this division. To expantiate a bit on these issues a large tea estate of a few thousand hectares have been implanted in the frontiers of Bangang and Bafou to help resolve the constant land

conflict that existed between these two villages.

4. Typology of investors

a. Construct categories of the interviewed external investors and explain the principles for the demarcation of the different categories.

There are land buyers or investors who have bought land but these lands have not been invested upon. Due to their influence and participation in village development, they are easy targets to those in search of viable buyers. As has been seen above, these lands are left in the hands of their relatives for food and cash crop production. Under this category of investors, most of them live in the towns but usually come to the village for celebrations and some of them have built on certain portions of these lands. They usually support their family members with farm inputs during the production season for taking care of the built up areas during their absence. They might or have eventually opened production units but without effective management, these units have died down or not operating to full capacity.

There are some investors who have bought land and effectively invested upon. There are not many of such people but their production units are highly specialised in cash crop production especially Irish potatoes. Their output approximates 15 tons per hectare and they exploit production units of two to three hectares maximum. Last year's sale estimate for one of such farms totalled about 2.5 million Fcfa without taking into consideration what was selected and kept aside for the next season seed store and what was to be consumed. Most of these individuals live in town but recruit a specialised technician or a confident family member to take care of his investments in the village.

Another group of effective external investors are specialised in the livestock industry. Due to the ambitious development strategies of certain village heads, vast lands were divided or sold out to economically viable individuals for the implantation of agricultural plantations. In Babadjou, an individual owns about a hundred hectares of land for cattle rearing too but due to theft and the constant conflicts with the local population for agricultural land, this unit has been reducing their investments. A vast portion of these lands are being rented out to interested farmers. In the Bangang area, surfaces of about 07 hectares were owned and exploited by a single individual with a minimum of 80 cattle per given moment. They began such projects with a lot of optimism but due to inadequate management, the amount of livestock upon them and investments have gradually been either reduced or geared towards other forms of exploitation.

This brings us to another group of investors who have increasingly been animating these rural zones. This group of individuals were first of all engaged in the livestock industry but have gradually been reducing their stock for the implantation of avocado or pear tree plantations. Due to constant thefts, pest outbreaks and mismanagement of most farms, future perspectives for tree crops have pushed most investors to divert into the implantation of tree crops. An individual in the Bangang area has already planted 07 hectares and still aspires to increase the farm.

After work in the towns and cities, certain individuals after their retirement return home to keep themselves busy and profit from the tranquillity provided by the rural area. This group of pensioners are important investors because more often than not, their farms register one of the greatest success stories as

far as agricultural production units are concerned. They have enough time to consecrate in their farms and with capital accumulated during their working days, they recruit about 5 permanent workers and as much temporal workers as they can all year.

Another group of investors and the most pertinent are medium or small scale investors with multiple houses between the divisional headquarter and the villages they have invested upon (double or multi-residential investors). They have motorbikes or cars to help them travel between these distances. They own commercial businesses or are involve in the transport sector in towns and during the production seasons they employ permanent and casual workers in these farms and commute between about three areas for their activities. They are highly mobile because their activities permit them to be present to better coordinate work and they are those individuals who have open markets for agricultural goods in the central African sub-region.

Habitat investors. The last group of investors are those who have invested in the construction of either grandiose villas in the village milieu coupled with those who have built commercial centres for rent. Most rural areas are growing fast thus the need to put in place social and economic infrastructures to house and entertain the new comers who move into the area or are transferred by the administration into the area.

In another manner, age and gender will not adequately present our interviewed population as most of them were of the male gender except for a few enterprising women. Land as a whole is a family rather than a personal possession thus the reason for the domination of the male gender as he is the person who represents the family. Their ages ranged from 30 to 80 years but what they do for a living can better be used to characterize them. This is because they represent different sectors of the economy with divers capital structure and requirement. These sectors are represented below.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agriculture/gardener	6	24,0	24,0	24,0
Building industry	2	8,0	8,0	32,0
Public health	1	4,0	4,0	36,0
Traditional medecine	1	4,0	4,0	40,0
Pension	1	4,0	4,0	44,0
Justice	1	4,0	4,0	48,0
Police	1	4,0	4,0	52,0
Education	3	12,0	12,0	64,0
Business/Trade	9	36,0	36,0	100,0
Total	25	100,0	100,0	

b. Outline how the different types differ in terms of e.g.

- scale of investment,

Agriculture, building sites and trade or business require more investment than the other sectors though all this will depend on the size of the farm and business coupled with the type of products sold in the business unit or produced on the farms. Taking examples from the different sizes of land represented below, those who have to invest on a surface area of 7500-10000 m² will definitely need more capital and labour investment than a person who invests on less for production. A cabbage farm of 500-1500 m² will require more capital than a maize or beans producer on a 7500-10000 m² surface area. Thus large, medium and small scale producers with different exploitation capital had to be retained to take into consideration the viewpoint of all strata of the represented population.

Size of the first land in m ²				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 500	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
500-1500	9	36,0	36,0	52,0
2500-5000	2	8,0	8,0	60,0
5000-7500	1	4,0	4,0	64,0
7500-10000	2	8,0	8,0	72,0
Dont know	7	28,0	28,0	100,0
Total	25	100,0	100,0	

- type of land tenure arrangement,

It has already been seen above that the most common forms of tenure are bought land, rented and inherited land though gifts do exist though in very rare occasions. The price per m² of land also varies depending on the situation of the land to social and infrastructural services. For rented land, the arrangements are always done amongst the owner and the interested individual and cash is paid for the use of the given parcel. The agreement is renewable after every production season or a certain number of years depending on the financial capacity of the 'buyer' and the needs of the giver. Other rich land owners who are not resident in the village usually let out their lands to the landless youths or elder women often widows to help them have at least a small piece of land for the production of food and sometimes cash crops.

- crops,

Every producer farms food crops during the rainy season and the rest of the year may be used for the production of other products. Food crops regroup products like maize, beans pumpkin, soyabean and okra. Market gardening crops or cash crops include Irish potatoes, tomatoes, celery, cabbages, broccoli, Chinese

leaves, onions, spring onions, pepper and sweet pepper etc. tree crops are pears, guava, mangoes, plums coupled with a few exotic fruits. Most producers are specialised in the production of food and cash crops for reasons which will be seen later below.

If farming, what will you farm on the land?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Food crops	12	48,0	48,0	48,0
	Market garden crops	10	40,0	40,0	88,0
	Tree crops	2	8,0	8,0	96,0
	Not applicable	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Some of these crops need heavy financial means and constant care to succeed in their production while others are even abandoned in the bushes until they are ripe for harvesting. Their production potential, initial investment required, demand and selling price are some of the reasons that push people towards their production though the fact that these products play double roles. They are sold when they are in excess and prices favourable but consumed when prices drop below a certain point. It will be fallacious to think that because certain crops have been termed food crops above, they are not marketable. An educated farmer confided the following to the research team 'Maize is the first crop that we sell to buy manure and fertilizer for the farming of garden products and Irish potatoes are only sold when we produce in excess of what we can consume or if there are problems to be taken care of'.

What are the reasons for choosing this/these specific crop(s)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Subsistence	9	36,0	36,0	36,0
	Good production	2	8,0	8,0	44,0
	Fertility of the soil	5	20,0	20,0	64,0
	Soil adapted to the crops	1	4,0	4,0	68,0
	High demand on the markets	5	20,0	20,0	88,0
	Less stress and spendings	2	8,0	8,0	96,0
	Not applicable	1	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

- input/labor intensity of production,

Every producer who aspires for a good harvest must invest to a certain extent in the form of manure, fertilizer, pesticides and herbicides coupled with improved and high yielding seed varieties. Gifts through CIGs are sometimes granted (though only a few individuals benefit from such actions) and credit facilities are sometimes made available for reliable producers but the totality of most of these inputs are bought by farmers.

Most cash crop producers engage at least a salaried laborer during the production phase to be able to follow the production calendar during the planting and weeding periods, and avoid rot and post-harvest losses during the harvest and post-harvest phases of production. As has been seen above, these investors employ from about two to 15 individuals on temporal or permanent bases throughout the year with remuneration rates of 2500-4000 f cfa.

How will you acquire the inputs(Fertilizer)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Buy	23	92,0	92,0	92,0
	Not applicable	2	8,0	8,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

How will you acquire the inputs(Pesticides)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Buy	21	84,0	84,0	84,0
	Not applicable	4	16,0	16,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

How will you acquire the inputs(Irrigation)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Buy	12	48,0	48,0	48,0
	Not applicable	13	52,0	52,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

How will you acquire the inputs(Improved seed)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Buy	21	84,0	84,0	84,0
	Not applicable	4	16,0	16,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

- additional investments,

Apart from agricultural and commercial investments, it is very difficult for certain local investors to raise enough capital to engage in other forms of investment. In the rural area, some of these investments such as housing would not be very profitable due to the limited financial means of those living in these areas? The other types of investments proposed are seen below and the corresponding reason for why or not people are ready to engage in them.

Reasons why/why not for investments in shops * Investments in shops Crosstabulation

		Investments in shops			Total
		Yes	No	No answer	
Reasons why/why not for investments in shops	Not interested	0	11	0	11
	Lack of honest managers	0	1	0	1
	To increase sources of income	2	0	0	2
	To take care of my children	0	1	0	1
	The tenants don't pay the rent	0	1	0	1
	No customers/ not profitable	0	1	0	1
	To promote agriculture	2	0	0	2
	No reason	0	2	4	6
Total		4	17	4	25

Investments in housing * Reasons why/why not for investments in housing Cross-tabulation

		Investments in housing			Total
		Yes	No	No answer	
Reasons why/why not for investments in housing	Not interested	0	11	0	11
	absence of honest managers	0	1	0	1
	To increase sources of income	2	0	0	2

	To take care of my children	0	1	0	1
	For renting	0	2	0	2
	To have more land for my family	2	0	0	2
	No customers/ not profitable	0	1	0	1
	No reason	0	4	1	5
Total		4	20	1	25

Investments in machinery for rent * Reasons why/why not for investments in machinery for rent Cross-tabulation					
		Investments in machinery for rent			Total
		Yes	No	No answer	
Reasons why/why not for investments in machinery for rent	Not interested	1	12	0	13
	To increase sources of income	4	0	0	4
	To take care of my children	0	1	0	1
	Lack of money/investment	1	0	0	1
	No customers/ not profitable	0	1	0	1
	No reason	0	1	4	5
Total		6	15	4	25

Reasons why/why not for investments in production facilities * Investments in production facilities Crosstabulation

		Investments in production facilities			Total
		Yes	No	No answer	
Reasons why/why not for investments in production facilities	Not interested	0	11	0	11
	To increase sources of income	2	0	0	2
	To take care of my children	2	0	0	2
	No customers/ not profitable	0	1	0	1
	To promote agriculture	1	0	0	1
	No reason	0	2	6	8
Total		5	14	6	25

- Farm management,

It has been established above that more than 90 % of investors prefer to manage their production units themselves though they may not have the time and technical ability to do so. The dishonesty of certain managers, the nonchalant nature of certain family members or relatives put in charge of these installed units push most producers to desire to manage their production units themselves. The example of investors desiring to keep or already keeping livestock on their landed property are seen below.

Will you keep livestock on your plots?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	17	68,0	68,0	68,0
	No	8	32,0	32,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

What kind of livestock do you intend to rear?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bovins	2	8,0	8,0	8,0
	Ovins	2	8,0	8,0	16,0
	Volailles	8	32,0	32,0	48,0
	Porcin	4	16,0	16,0	64,0
	Rongeurs	1	4,0	4,0	68,0
	Not applicable	8	32,0	32,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Who will manage the livestock?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Own management	5	20,0	20,0	20,0
	Hire a manager/caretaker	7	28,0	28,0	48,0
	Family member	5	20,0	20,0	68,0
	Not applicable	8	32,0	32,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

- Involvement of networks,

Is it important to make friends with someone in the village before
purchasing land?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	21	84,0	84,0	84,0
No	4	16,0	16,0	100,0
Total	25	100,0	100,0	

- Motivations

See 1.1 above

Why did you want to buy land in this area?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Personal networks with people from the area	6	24,0	24,0	24,0
Knew that land was easy/cheap to buy	4	16,0	16,0	40,0
Easy to get here in person from your residence	6	24,0	24,0	64,0
Fertility of the soil	7	28,0	28,0	92,0
Perspective of future	2	8,0	8,0	100,0
Total	25	100,0	100,0	

- Acces to the land

See 2 above

Tenure status of first land

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Owned land	15	60,0	60,0	60,0
Rented	4	16,0	16,0	76,0
Inherited	6	24,0	24,0	100,0
Total	25	100,0	100,0	

5. Labor/rural transformation

a. For each category of external investor, elaborate on how the influx of investments have affected

1) Changes in the use of available labor

Some of these investors buy for future land speculation, others buy for their children long term investments) while others buy to invest on them immediately. Such investments take the form of agriculture, educational, social (health centres) or religious institutions, construction of businesses and hotels though still, others build their residence. The most important are for economic reasons though educational centres have been taking the lead in recent years. The fact that the land is termed first second or third plot does not denote any particular order or use but their situation to other social and economic infrastructure determines their eventual exploitation. Nowadays, in the rural zone, the acquisition of land has taken the tendencies and reflexions of the urban milieu with previsions of what they intend to do with the land. The financial means available dictates the eventual uses of the land and agricultural uses have fast been losing ground. Their prices also vary in relation with their situation to economic, social but more importantly other infrastructural equipment.

What are the effects on the labor market in the area?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Create employment to the youths	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
	Less farmland and unemployment	3	12,0	12,0	28,0
	High labour demand	1	4,0	4,0	32,0
	Scarcity of labour	2	8,0	8,0	40,0
	Land labour expensive	1	4,0	4,0	44,0
	Land labour less expensive	3	12,0	12,0	56,0
	Land labour poorly paid	5	20,0	20,0	76,0
	Don't know	4	16,0	16,0	92,0
	Reduction of unemployment rate	2	8,0	8,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

2) Changes in land ownership

This change is either forced or pacific. In the first instance, the owner of the land is forced into selling his land due to problems or the fear of losing everything. In Babadjou for example, certain individuals are selling their holdings because they heard an influential family is claiming ownership of the land his has been occupying. Another person sold in the same area because of the fact that each time he cultivated, the people living in the area would harvest all his crops. Such situations are however rare. The second type is the most pertinent and involves the fixing of a price for the land holding though looking at it from another angle, he is being obliged to sell because of his problems.

3) Changes in land use

Land that is found along communication infrastructures or found in any area with economic infrastructures has a greater sale price per m² and is most often used for the installation of economic structures rather than the practice of agriculture. Other land found around settlements might be used to construct the family residence or other houses for habitation. Contrary, land found in the interior or in the mountain region can only be exclusive used for livestock or for agricultural production. As seen below, most of the land are used for the same purpose after having been bought. Certain individuals at times even buy land that was used for production but because they are not settled in the rural area, they leave these unoccupied and unexploited.

Does the land use change?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	40,0	40,0	40,0
	No	15	60,0	60,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Land use at times may change from extensive subsistence to intensive cultivation. Certain external investors do farming differently because of the amount of capital they have at their disposition.

Do the external investors do farming differently?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Valid	Yes	12	48,0	48,0	48,0
	No	13	52,0	52,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

Sometimes, other forms of investments are put in place to complement agricultural land-use such as building of habitation and business units.

Do they bring other investments than in agricultural land?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	64,0	64,0	64,0
	No	9	36,0	36,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

b. Have any other significant changes taken place in the study site/area in relation to land and labour issues during recent years

The sale of land in the last few decades was the affair of a few individuals but today, the transfer of land ownership has amplified. These lands are being sold by the local villages to indigenes of the same area though based in the towns. The sale of land is almost constraining due to the fact that they take place in a context of acute financial and economic crisis characterised by precarious living conditions. The population under the effects of this crisis and difficult conditions introduced, further re-enforced by the latent financial pressure from external elites have been forced to sell certain portions of their lands unwillingly. This has progressively increased the price of land, which might in the future cause management problems for the future generations and constitute a reinforcement factor of rural exodus which is already a serious problem.

6. Conflicts

a. Has the investment been associated with conflicts? Elaborate on the nature of conflict if yes.

With high population densities, there is land scarcity and it is but obvious that land conflicts are common. It is manifested within as well as between families. Certain heirs have conflicts with his brothers and sisters on his manner of managing the landed property of their late parent. On the other hand, neighbours fight over the position of boundaries and still others fight on the ownership of certain portions. Complaints to the family heads, village headquarters and chief coupled with numerous lawsuits are some of the consequences of this conflicts and at times even bloodshed. Farmer-grazer conflicts are also constant in the mountain areas. The type of common conflicts are seen on the second table below

Have you experienced any tensions with the local community in relation to your investment?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	28,0	28,0	28,0
	No	18	72,0	72,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

What kind of tensions?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Land conflicts	4	16,0	16,0	16,0
	Conflict with descendants of the land seller	3	12,0	12,0	28,0
	Not applicable	18	72,0	72,0	100,0
	Total	25	100,0	100,0	

b. What are the opinions and attitude of local people?

The Bamboutos region as a whole is principally peaceful and welcoming such that, most investors are received with open hands but their actions are sometimes sources of problems. Most of these investors exploit fertile extensive agricultural lands and no viable socio-economic or infrastructural amenities constructed to benefit the population. The population are open to projects which will benefit the milieu.

7. Former land occupants

a. What were the motivations for ceding land (crisis, change in livelihood activities, lack of money to cover expenses, etc.)?

It has been said above that the sale of land is almost constraining due to the fact that they take place in a context of acute financial and economic crisis characterised by precarious living conditions. Certain individuals in need of money either to send their children to school, arrange a funeral or other village traditions, avoid problems with his neighbours or the neighbouring villages, or buy agricultural land in the productive mountain areas sell the little portions of land they have in certain high land value areas. Sometimes, the need to increase the financial capital of another business (trade or transport) are obliged to cede land. The search for money to afford medical bills or to settle other types of socio-economic problems

have push certain individuals to cede land. To conclude, land is sold to solve a problem or sold to avoid problems with neighbour and family; the passing away of a man will mean the division of his lands to his surviving children but due to the little surface areas available, the children may decide to sell off the parcel and dived the money between them.

b. How have the livelihoods of land loosing households changed?

With relation to the site or situation of a given land, most indigenes sell to these foreign investors and move further inwards to buy bigger surfaces and the rest of the money used to increase their living standards. The table below brings out the households who have changed their activities and the orientations they have taken. Others might remain in the same sector but increase their investments or produce with better production inputs

Have you engaged in new income generating activities after losing tenure of the land by Which activities Cross-tabulation				
		Have you engaged in new income generating activities after losing tenure of the land?		Total
		Yes	No	
Which activities?	Livestock and trade	1	0	1
	Wine taping	1	0	1
	Trade	3	0	3
	Environnentalist	1	0	1
	Agriculture	3	0	3
	Butchery	1	0	1
	Mecanic worker	1	0	1
	Carpenter	1	0	1
	Not applicable	0	13	13
Total		12	13	25

8. Rural-city connection

a. Is it possible to identify new patterns of rural-urban connection as a consequence of the external investments?

The creation of rural employment through the creation of plantations in the rural areas have limited rural exodus as certain youths prefer to remain home and cultivate the land. Those who have sold out all their lands are forced to look for other economic activities, offer or engage themselves as salaried labour. Others are forced to move to the towns in search of a better life. Some of them travel to the towns to look for business opportunities for the products cultivated at home and may in the future serve as principal link between their villages and the urban areas.

b. What role do networks play in facilitating land investments?

As seen above, most investors have bought land because of their personal network with people in the areas where the land is found. Due to the absence of large industrial plantations, it will be difficult to assess the importance of social or any other type of network on facilitating land investments. These networks may play a pertinent role in facilitating land investments but a measurement or quantification of the part they play is impossible in the context of our study.

9. Conclusions

Land sales are current in the area of study and applies to people who have extreme needs. Contrary to those in extreme need who sell their land holdings, most people are increasingly preferring to rent their land when they themselves cannot exploit it. This has its advantages; the owner remains owner and master of his lands, he can speculate i.e. increase the renting price, choose who to give the land to i.e. the best paying tenant, he assures his descendants exploitation too.

It appears the most pertinent speculators of land are the female gender because they are always ready to buy if they have the funds or push their husbands and children to buy even though they might not have a fixed idea on what it takes or on what the land might be used for.

The most expensive lands are those situated near infrastructural equipment's and investors are in search of these lands for the building of commercial units.

Appendix VI

The role of external investors for new forms of rural urban connections.

Kwaebibirem site, Ghana

The role of external investors for new forms of rural urban connections

Kwaebibirem site, Ghana

2. Methodology and context

a. Semi-structured interviews were conducted over three weeks in May-June 2015 using the D1.3 template as guideline. The data contains interview notes from component 1 (external investors), component 2 (people who cede land to the external investors) and component 3 (key informants, mainly village leaders/opinion leaders). All data collection was conducted by Frederik Brønd and Addai Gyimah (research assistant) in either English or Akan (with translation).

b. No respondents were identified from the household surveys conducted in the area, thus snowball sampling had to be used. Respondents were found through conversations with local authorities (traditional or elected leaders) as well as engagement with respondents. Often, contact information on new ‘external’ investors were found through the people who had sold/leased out the land. Thereby the study cannot claim to present a representative sample of component 1 or 2 respondents. Rather it was sought to identify a wide range of ‘types’ of investors as well as a geographical spread of the investors. However, the criteria for selecting ‘investors’ was stringent and followed the definition setup in the interview guide⁶.

	Number of interviews	Locations	Data
Component 1: “External investors”	24	Study site: Tweapease, Asoum, Abaam, Bomso, Okyinso; Outside study site: Accra, abroad (via phone), Kadé, Akwatia, Kumasi	Interview notes
Component 2: “Former land holders”	21	Study site: Asuom, Tweapease, Bomso, Abaam, Okyinso, Krobo	Interview notes
Component 3: “key informants”	8	Study site: Asuom, Tweapease, Bomso, Abaam, Okyinso, Krobo, Amanfrom, Akawani	Interview notes

Table 1. overview of data

c. The field site was determined by the same criteria as for the household survey for D1.2. The household survey was conducted in four communities/towns: Asoum, Tweapease, Amanfrom and Akawani all of which were located within two ‘outgrower district’ managed by GOPDC (two of these districts are shown in the map below). Intentionally the data for this report would be based on the same study areas. However, the two communities Amanfrom and Akawani did not had any experiences with external investors in their area, thus the study site was expanded to also include a few other communities in the area: Bomso, Abaam, Okyinso and Krobo (see map below). These communities were selected because they are located in the vicinity of the other communities.

⁶ an individual, household or a company not residing in the site area who acquire land (by purchase or through long term agreements other than purchase, e.g. lease, borrow, etc.) for whatever purpose or an individual, household or a company who reside in the area but have access to substantial external funds used for land investment in the area for whatever purpose.

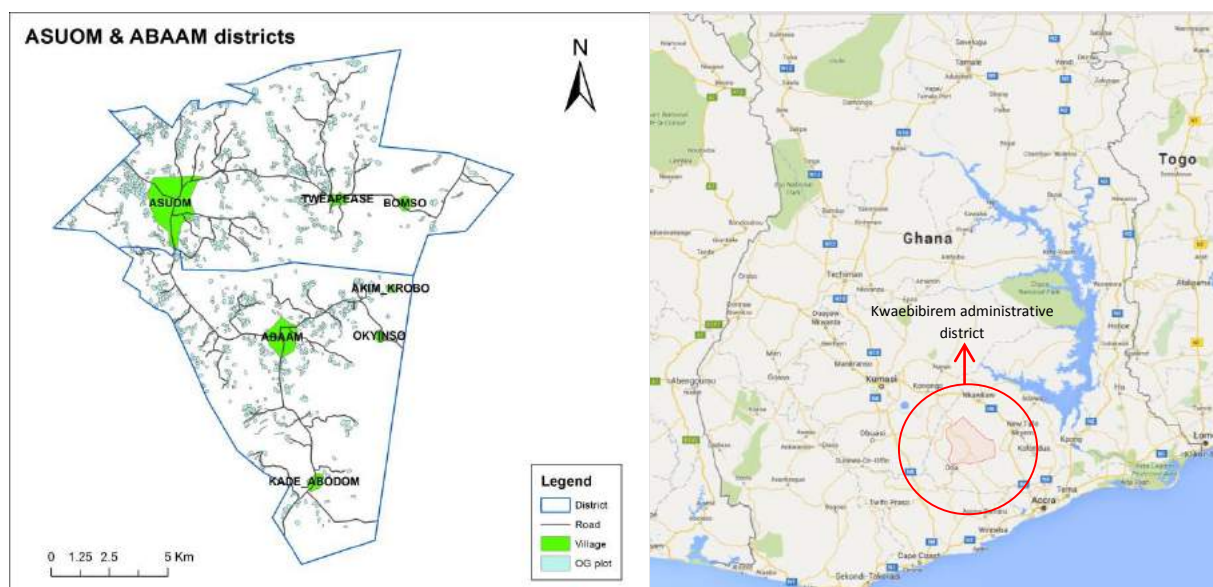


Figure 1 and 2. Study area in Kwaebibirem district. The districts are outgrower districts used by the agribusiness company GOPDC for their outgrower schemes (map provided by courtesy of GOPDC). On the map to the right, Kwaebibirem district is marked in red (Kortdata ©2015 Google)

d. The study site is located in the Kwaebibirem District in Ghana's Eastern Region three hours' drive from Accra. The area is in the 'forest belt' of Ghana, and receives quite a lot of precipitation making the area favourable for oil palm and other perennials such as citrus and cocoa. Other crops are mainly, cassava, maize, rice, yam, cocoyam, and plantain. A few kilometres to the west of the study area lies Ghana's largest oil palm plantation (GOPDC) which was established through a state concession in the 1975. While oil palm had been grown in the area for centuries (it is a crop native to West Africa), the spread of modern cultivars through outgrower schemes and by other means has been great since the establishment of the plantation, and today oil palm is a dominating crop in the area. Industrial and artisanal processing also exist in the area in various forms. At one end of the scale GOPDC has both modern crude palm oil facility as well as a refinery and palm kernel oil extraction facility. At the other end of the scale small scale and low tech processing facilities (locally known as 'Cramers') have also been established in abundance. In these small scale industries most of the steps from reception of fresh fruit bunches to packaging is done manually. Some cramers have at least a motorised pounding/threshing machine, while others also have motorised presses. The crude palm oil is both sold as cooking oil and for further industrial processing (refinement or for soap production).

In this part of Ghana there is no formal private ownership of agricultural land. Formally, land is vested within the traditional royal system and ultimately the Okyehene (King) in Kyebi who also sets rules for land transactions. De facto, land is vested in families through a matrilineal system of inheritance. Sale of land is also formally prohibited thus leasing⁷ of land and sharecropping agreements are very common.

e. The rather limited extent of the data makes the generalisability of the study limited. Furthermore, the sampling technique does not ensure that data is representative. Instead the data provides a variety of stories of land acquisition in the area.

⁷ Sometimes an outright sale is framed as a 99 year lease but interpreted as de facto land sale.

3. Literature

A few recent studies engage with the land-grabbing debate in relation to Ghana. Cotula et al (2014) examines the extent of larger land deals in several African countries including Ghana. From 2005 to 2012 33 % of land deals (number of deals) larger than 1000 hectares were made by Ghanaian nationals. The main motivation behind these land deals were large scale biofuel production. Boamah (2014) investigates the role of chiefs in these land deals to re-establish authority over customary land and drive rural development. Wisborg (2012) investigates resistance and social innovation in relation to a specific Norwegian land investment in the Ashanti Region.

Literature on investment in land by Ghanaian nationals has not been framed within the land grabbing debate, but rather in relation to 'frontier' development (Amanor 2010; Knudsen & Fold, 2011), land tenure/rights (Amanor 1999; 2001; Berry, 2008), settlement of migrants (Gyasi, 1994), etc.

Gyasi, Edwin A. "The adaptability of African communal land tenure to economic opportunity: the example of land acquisition for oil palm farming in Ghana." *Africa* 64.03 (1994): 391-405.

Berry, Sara. "Building for the future? Investment, land reform and the contingencies of ownership in contemporary Ghana." *World Development* 37.8 (2009): 1370-1378.

Knudsen, Michael Helt, and Niels Fold. "Land distribution and acquisition practices in Ghana's cocoa frontier: the impact of a state-regulated marketing system." *Land Use Policy* 28.2 (2011): 378-387.

Amanor, Kojo. *Land, Labour and the Family in Southern Ghana: a critique of land policy under neo-liberalisation*. No. 116. Nordic Africa Institute, 2001.

Amanor, Kojo. *Global restructuring and land rights in Ghana: forest food chains, timber, and rural livelihoods*. No. 108. Nordic Africa Institute, 1999.

Amanor, Kojo Sebastian. "Family values, land sales and agricultural commodification in South-Eastern Ghana." *Africa* 80.01 (2010): 104-125.

Boamah, Festus. "How and why chiefs formalise land use in recent times: the politics of land dispossession through biofuels investments in Ghana." *Review of African political economy* 41.141 (2014): 406-423.

Wisborg, Poul. "Justice and sustainability: Resistance and innovation in a transnational land deal in Ghana." *Conference paper, Annual World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty. 2012*

Cotula, Lorenzo, et al. "Testing claims about large land deals in Africa: Findings from a multi-country study." *Journal of Development Studies* 50.7 (2014): 903-925.

4. Typology of investors

A typology of three different types have been developed from the data from this case study as seen in the table below.

The different categories have been demarcated on the basis of the residential history of the investors as well their family ties with the area reflected in the table below.

	Comes from the place himself	Comes from another place
Lives away from the land	2. Family member investor	3. Absentee farmer
Lives at the place of investment	2. Family member investor	1. Newcomer resident

Table 2. Criteria for categorising the external investors

However besides these criteria for selection, the categories of investors also share traits in relation to the nature of the investment. The table below contains some basic characteristics to describe the investors.

	1. newcomer resident	2. Family member investor	3. Absentee farmer
Number of respondents	8	6	10
Average age of respondents	49	58	54
Size of investment (range of land pr. investor)	6-78 acres	5-31 acres	9,5-212 acres
Average size of land pr. investor (in case area)	31 acres	10,6 acres	65,4 acres
Long leases (acres)	80 (43%)	58 (68%)	443.5 (69%)
Sharecropping land (acres)	101 (54%)	27 (32%)	51.5 (8%)
Leased land (already planted with oil palm or cocoa)	5 (3%)	0	18.5 (3%)
Mining land (acres)	0	0	130 (20%)
Average money spent on land acquisition, current prices . (range)	1,416 GHS (80-3,900 GHS)	1,900 GHS (2,000-5,400 GHS)	36,959 GHS (600-200,000 GHS)
Type of tenure arrangement	Mix	Mix (often land from family members)	Mix (often outright sale)
Management	Own	Own/family	Own/staff
Involvement of town chiefs	Low	Low	mixed

Table 3. characteristics of the types of investors

1. The “newcomer resident” farmer is an individual who originates from another area, but has moved to the area due to greater land availability or due to family or other relations. Some respondents note that they have heard that land is available to a relative great extent in the area and that is the reason to move here, others move because of marriage or because they have got a job in the area. He⁸ brings with him money from previous employment be it agricultural or other occupations. Due to their lack of direct family ties, these people may only acquire land through sharecropping agreement, where they bring capital to a land-owner’s piece of land, plants cocoa or oil palm and in turn provides the land owner with a share of the harvest either through the ‘abunu’ or ‘abusa’ sharecropping agreements (see table 4). Sometimes outright sale (or 99 year lease) also happens but only directly through the local town chief. This type of farmer can

⁸ There is only one woman among the respondents. Therefore, and for the sake of simplicity, I will use ‘he’ when referring to the external investors. This does not imply that investing in land is only a domain for men, but simply that men were more likely to be found as respondents in this case study.

be a larger than average farmer, but usually not very large. The perception of interview respondents were that immigration of farmers from one area encourages further immigration from the same area. For instance, there was a large group of Krobo farmers from the same area in one village. The motivation of this type of farmer is to get hold of a piece of farmland, which might not be possible through their family in their 'home' area. As can be seen in table 3, this group of investors are much less likely to buy land. Therefore sharecropping agreements and shorter leases might be an easier option for this group of people. Surprisingly, short leases was not found for this group of investors. These farmers corresponds very well to the description provided by the literature on frontier development in Ghana. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries the cocoa cultivation has expanded through the forest belt of Southern Ghana. Migrants from the East and later Northern parts of the country (and neighbouring countries) would settle, work for landowners or acquire land for themselves by town chiefs (Amanor, 1999). As Amanor notes, historically, this has led to an alienation from the land of local sons and daughters. Evidently, this is a process that continues to this day, even though the area today hardly can be described as 'frontier'. Many of the interviewed farmers in this category had started with a small plot and year by year increased the amount of land they had invested in.

Types of land deals	Description
Long lease	By law, agricultural land can not be sold outright. Instead it can be leased out by the family who has it or by the town chief who also can allocate unused land. In the case area there are some difference of perception of how long these leases may be. Some say a maximum of 50 years while others say a maximum of 100 years. However, most respondents perceive a 99 year lease as an outright sale of land, nobody expects to retrieve the land from the tenant's family generations to come.
Sharecropping	There exists to main types of sharecropping agreements the area: abunu and abusa. In the abunu agreement (common for cocoa) the land owner and tenant will usually divide the plot in 2, when the crop is ready to be harvested (e.g. after 5 years). Thereafter the landowner and tenant will harvest and maintain the plantation each on their plot for the remainder of the life of the plantation (if cocoa perhaps 45-50 years) whereafter the plot will return to the landowner. In the abusa agreement the plot will 'in principle' be divided in three, where two thirds go to the tenant and one third to the landowner. More common is, however, that the tenant will manage harvest and sale, and give one third of the sum to the landowner. Various parts of the sharecropping agreements can be part of the bargain, such as the planting of food crops before the plantation matures, who gets the palm trunks for making palm wine, duration, deduction of certain costs etc. Furthermore the token paid by the tenant to the landowner can be either a symbolic or large sum. It is a likely assumption that the situations of landowner and tenant and the power relations between them plays a big role for the struck deal.
Short lease	This category of deals includes ONLY leases of land that has already been planted with either palm or cocoa. Here the tenant gets the right to harvest and maintain a plantation, often for the remainder of the plantation's life cycle, be it 5, 10 or 15 years. Pr. acre, this agreement is quite expensive because the landowner has already made substantial investments in the plantation
Mining	In the study area small scale mining is conducted on alluvial deposits along the Birim River. In order to commence legal alluvial (small scale) gold mining, mining companies (Ghanaian owned) will buy a concession for a small patch of land (less than 25 acres) from the Ghanaian mining commission to mine the land for 3- 5 years and restore it afterwards. Furthermore the licenced company must pay compensation to the landowner for the crops. These compensations are the prices that are presented in this report

Table 4. Types of land deals

2. Family member investor. The family member investor is a person who lives near the investment site or at another place, but nevertheless has close ties to the site of investment because he comes from the area or has close family living there. Roughly the farmers can be divided into two groups. On group of people who are living elsewhere but remitting funds for their family members to make investments (either on their behalf, or 'for the family'). A second group of people have been away from the area (might also be abroad) for some time, earned salaries and later returned to the area to invest their savings in land. Often this type

of investor engages family members in the management of the agricultural land. His motivations for acquiring land is to have something to do in his retirement, support the family or to secure inheritance to the children. If the investor is living elsewhere and has no immediate plans of returning, they often explain that they might want to return in the distant future or at least have the security of doing so. The family member investor has, on average, the smallest sizes of land acquisition. At the same time there is a higher share of bought land compared to the newcomer resident farmer, which imply that the family member investor either has different preferences for land acquisition or more knowledge and ease of finding people willing to sell land (the data does not suggest that landowners are less willing to sell land to 'outsiders' than to 'locals').

3. The absentee farmer is a farmer who does not live in the case study area and who does not have strong personal ties to the locality(ies) where he has bought land. Some of the investors live far away from the area, for instance in Accra or abroad, while others live in the vicinity of the area for instance in Kadé (the district capital). The investors will often have jobs in the public sector or have businesses of their own whether large or small. The absentee farmer generally have much larger sizes of land than the other types of investors and on average much more money spent on acquiring land than the other types. However, compensation given to land owners in relation to a mining concession is much higher than the prices of a sharecropping agreement or land sale. In principle the compensation given to farmers should reflect the loss the farmers incur. However, the compensation that farmers receive is often higher than the price of leasing land for 99 years. This points to the fact that land prices are much more a result of the interests and negotiation power of the contracting parties than a result of market forces.

The two respondents who had acquired land for mining are responsible for raising the average significantly. In terms of agricultural investments the absentee farmers generally acquires more land than the other types of investors. His motivation is that he expects agriculture to be a good and low risk investments compared to other types of investments. Sometimes the motivation is however also to have something to do after retirement and they might intend to move there when they retire. Due to the absence there is often permanent caretakers hired to manage the agricultural land, and he may only visit a few times during the year for instance around the harvest where the fruit is sold. The absentee farmers who live in the region and thereby have easier access will usually visit more frequently. There are also some of the absentee farmers who has entered into the outgrower schemes of either GOPDC or a smaller organic palm oil company (Serendi Palm) on behalf of the land owners with whom they have entered into sharecropping agreements. There seems to be a preference among the respondents towards growing cocoa and oil palm. Often, which crops farmers decide to plant depend on the physical properties of the land. However, the absentee farmers appear to more interested in growing palm oil and a few of the respondents also note that they intend to start up their own processing facility in the future. They note that the market for palm fruit is good and it is easy to find buyers for both larger and smaller quantities.

5. Labour/rural transformation

1. Use of labour

The absentee investors, particularly, were able to get larger patches of land that had not been developed for agriculture yet from the local chieftaincy (town chief). In this case, the investment obviously entails an increasing use of labour in the area. There is a consensus among respondents that because the external

investors usually have more working capital available to them, they can afford to employ more labour to their farms for weeding and pruning (e.g. for oil palm production). Also, many of those people who cede land do it because they can no longer work the land themselves. None of the respondents among the land sellers stated that they had begun working for the new land-owners in any capacity. Thus the increasing use of farmhands does not involve the (former or present) land-owners. The external investors explained that they either used local farmhands for the work or they bring them with them from a nearby town (e.g. Kadé). Often they explained that casual labour was more expensive in the village where their farmland was located. Thereby external investment might be a cause of increasingly mobile rural labour force as the networks of the external investors might be used to secure labour from outside the locality where the farmland is located.

There are differences to how the different types of investors employ labour. The family member investors usually have their family members manage the production if it is a smaller plot, but may hire extra hands seasonally. The newcomer investor relies much on his own family labour. However, one respondent had brought employees with him from his previous place of employment. Absentee farmers will often have permanent employed caretakers to manage the land, if the investor himself lives at a large distance. If the absentee investor lives relatively close by he often manage the land himself. In this case he often brings with him labour to the farm when it is time for e.g. pruning or weeding.

2. Land ownership

Sharecropping deals is the most frequent mode of external investment in land but in terms of acreage, outright sale or long leases is the most dominant form of investment. Not surprisingly it is much more expensive to buy land outright than to engage in sharecropping agreements. But given that abunu and abusa used to be a form of agreement where the tenant would not pay anything but the fruits of his labour, it is clear that this institution has changed dramatically into something that landowners can get ready money out of. Only one respondent had engaged in a sharecropping agreement without demanding a token from the tenant.

	Total acres	Total exchange value of sale/lease (GHS 2010 values)	Total numbers of deals	Average size of deal (acres)	average value of deals (GHS - 2010 values)
Sharecropping cocoa	96	10,911	14	7	779
Sharecropping oil palm	84	7,476	7	12	1068
Lease (already planted land)	24	27,821	5	5	5564
Mining concessions (compensation to landowners)	130	202,713	N/A (2 respondents)	N/A	N/A
Sale (or long leases)	577	122,904	17	34	7230

Table 5. Characteristics of land deals

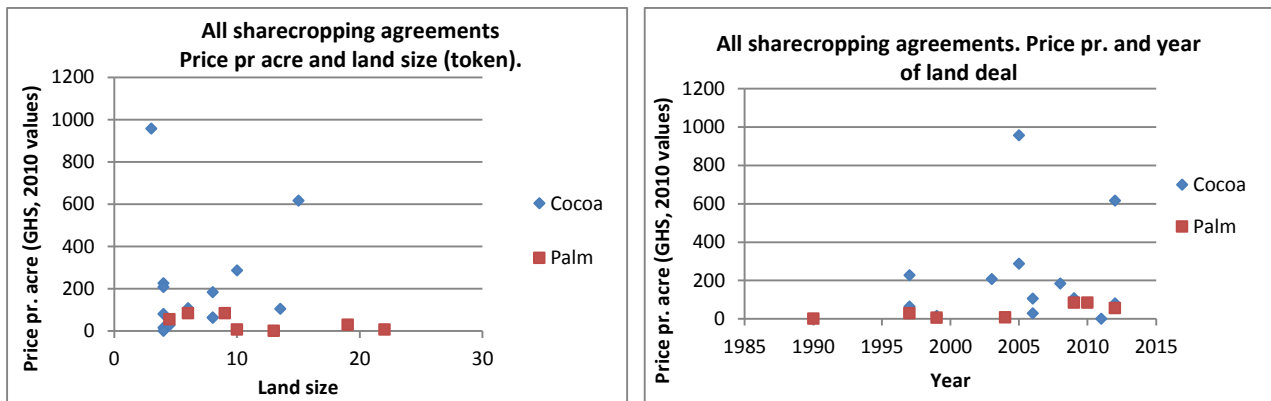


Figure 3. Relationship between price pr. acre and size of plot for sharecropping agreements. Figure 4. Relationship between price pr. acre and the year of the sharecropping deal. Land prices are normalised to 2010 values using The World Bank's consumer price index for Ghana.

You would expect an inverse relationship between price pr. acre and size of the plot for sharecropping agreements. You can say that there is a discount for buying in bulk. However that is not very clear in the data. There is also a tendency that the fee paid by the tenant for acquiring land for sharecropping has been increasing. But perhaps more interesting is the huge variability of the prices, while some deals only have an almost symbolic fee, others are quite substantial. The price of course also depends on the other terms of the agreement, and additionally the power of negotiation between buyer and seller.

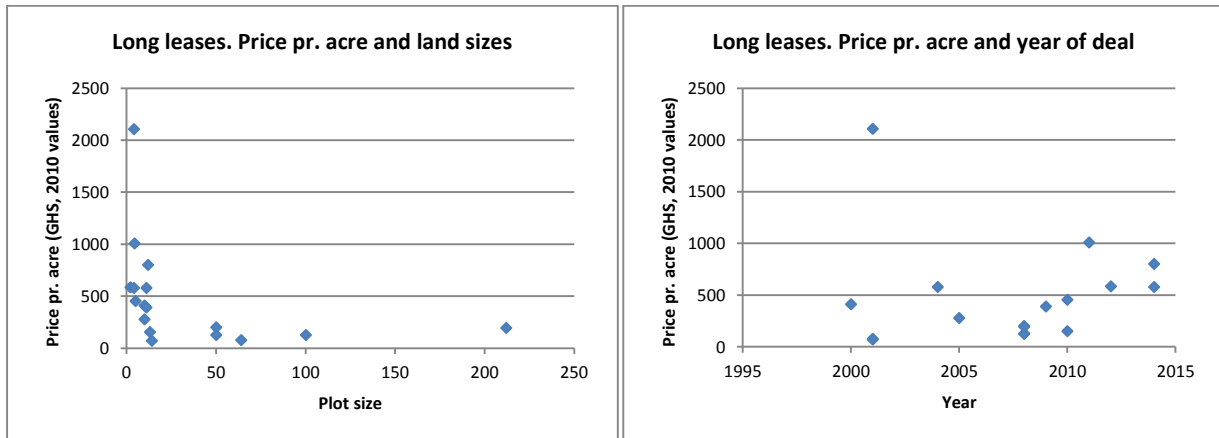


Figure 5. Relationship between price pr. acre and size of the plot for long leases. Figure 6. Relationship between price pr. acre and the year of the land deal. Land prices are normalised to 2010 values using The World Bank's consumer price index for Ghana.

The inverse relationship between size of the plot and the price pr. acre is even clearer for the long lease than for sharecropping. Similarly there is also an increase in the cost of land in constant prices. The great variability of prices may also depend on who the external investors acquire land from different groups of land sellers. The larger land deals were settled between the buyer of land and the town chief. In this case, land was not already occupied by a family (of the community). When investors acquire land that is vested in a particular family, cost is likely to increase.

Commonly, landowners are reluctant to give away land titles and instead engage in sharecropping agreements with tenants. When families sell land outright, it is often because they have an acute need for money.

Respondents note that GOPDC (the large plantation) through its engagement with outgrower schemes has been instrumental in terms of institutionalising the 'abusa' agreement for oil palm in the area. A change in recent years, respondents mention, is that the lease period is getting shorter for oil palm (from 25 years to 18 years), and that 'tokens' that the tenants pay to the landowner is getting more substantial. Also, it is less common now to divide the plot so that the land owner and the tenant will harvest each their own plot, instead it is more common now just to divide the proceedings of the sale of the fruit. The landowner will often be present during the harvest to check if everything goes according to the agreements.

As Amanor (2001) explains it is getting increasingly difficult for younger family members in the study area to inherit as land is being ceded to outsiders or other individuals who has capital to invest. Amanor (2001) mainly attribute this development to the increasing profitability of producing oil palm, and that what happens is an accumulation of land among some wealthier farmers while simultaneously creating a large group young farmer dispossessed of land. This was also a concern raised by the respondents who had sold land, although they noted that it was of no relevance for their own families. What this study suggests in terms of the drivers of change, is that migration still plays a dominant role in this process.

First, the migration of settling farmers has not stopped as land has become less 'frontier-like'. People still settle and get access to land through especially sharecropping agreements. Second, remittances and extra local livelihood activities are important to raise cash for investing in land. Lastly, there are still large patches of land to acquire through the town chiefs. This form of land acquisition is particularly conflictual as people may be directly dispossessed of their livelihoods.

This case study shows that important land dynamics are a result of the influx of people and capital from urban livelihoods even today in an area that is not frontier like. The land investment is very multi-faceted and the investors have very different means, networks and motivations which in turn affect how rural areas are transformed in terms of relationships over land. The newcomer investor is the type previously described in the literature in migration and development of the cocoa frontier. However today there seems to be several other types of investors who affect land relations through their investments.

6. Conflicts

A major land conflict was mentioned in the area involving a few of the investors. According to respondents, the chief in Tweapease has sold some large tracts of land to a number of external investors in the area. According to the chief, the land was unused by the families in the Tweapease community, and since it was part of Tweapease land, it was his to dispose of. However the land was occupied and farmed by people from the neighbouring village. These farmers were called 'squatters' by the respondents indicating that they had no right to the land. The escalation of the conflict after the new land owners claimed the land involved both violence, theft, police interference, involvement of private security guards, and finally a 'court case' at the Okyehene's office. Investors tried to mitigate the conflict by compensating the former land occupants for their lost crops, and also sometimes refused to claim some of the land. The example shows that land rights are very contested and multiple claims and authorities can preside over the same

piece of land. Also it shows that it is the chief's authority over land that is the source of most conflicts. No sales between families and investors seemed to have caused any major conflicts.

Other smaller conflicts relate to the relationship between land-owners and tenants when a sharecropping agreement has been made. These conflicts relate to the perceived mismanagement of the terms of the, often oral, contract between the two parties. These disputes can be about the obligation to share food crops as part of the sharecropping agreement (until the oil palm and cocoa plantation has matured), when the investment should start, what happens after the lease period (can the agreement be renegotiated) etc.

Furthermore border issues also arise between landowners. These are however not seen as major problems.

7. Former land occupants

The motivations for letting external investors invest in a piece of land can either be out of immediate necessity or as a longer term plan to earn some money without having to invest a lot of work himself (see table 6).

Some respondents explained that they needed money rather urgently for court cases, education bills, or for family members who needed the money for one reason or the other. The majority of these respondents state that they do not engage in any new income activities after ceding the land but simply make do with the other farmland or activities they have. Only one respondent explicitly stated that she had begun petty trading due to the loss of farmland. It must be noted that most of the former land occupants continue to own the land and often gain income from the sharecropping agreements.

Another group of respondents are ceding the land, not out of necessity, but rather as an investment. These people will often have larger patches of land at their disposal but feel that they cannot effectively manage all of the land themselves or may lack working capital at the moment to develop the land. Therefore they look for less capital constraint investors who can engage in sharecropping agreements with them.

	Type 1 respondent	Type 2 respondent
Number of deals	9	10
Percent women	55	10
Average age	61	60
Number of sharecropping deals	5	8
Number of long leases	2	0
Number of shorter lease	2	0
Number of compensations due to mining	0	2
Price pr. acre (only sharecropping deals), GHS, 2010 values	12	196
Average size of ceded land	6.7	10

Table 6. Type 1 respondents expressed that they needed the money for rather urgent needs, such as paying a medical bill etc. Type 2 respondents expressed that they had used the money for investment, housing etc., or expressed that they did not bother to work the land any longer.

8. Rural city connections

The different type of external investors facilitate different types of rural city connections.

The first obvious type of rural-city connection is the flow of capital from urban incomes to the rural areas. This capital will be used for labour costs, capital input and consumption in the rural area, and some of it will eventually go back to the urban areas. Most respondents assert that the investment that external investors bring to the area is positive for the development of the area. It is also customary that at least larger investors should pay tribute to the town for instance by contributing to amenities or traditional festivals. According to respondents external investors apply more capital to their agricultural production than 'local' residents do because they – in general – have a larger amount of working capital at their disposal. Furthermore, external investors may invest in other economic activities as well. A few respondents explained that they intended to expand their investment portfolio also to include processing facilities of palm oil. It is difficult to determine to which degree the flow of 'urban' capital to landed investment is increasing in the area, since this has not been examined systematically and longitudinally. Some arguments could however speak for an increasing importance of the rural-urban connections in this area. First, communication between the rural areas and urban areas is becoming easier due to the advance of mobile phones. Respondents in the villages would usually be able to give phone numbers for various external investors living in Accra or abroad. This ease of communication is likely to facilitate investments simply due to the spread of information between people. Apart from facilitating the land deals, mobile phones also make it easier to manage production from distance. Investors can easily contact caretakers or other staff. Second, the development of the palm oil market during the last 15-20 years has made oil palm a 'secure investment' according to respondents. This security relates to the ease by which you can sell your produce, and the presence of the plantation (being a large buyer of palm fruit) is seen to contribute to this security.

The second type of connection is that of labour. Many of the external investors took with them labour from outside the case study area to work on their land. It has not been investigated whether the commute of labour is more intensive on external investors' land, but it seems a likely assumption. The investors will drive a truck from e.g. Kadé or wherever they reside, and arrange for labour to come with them to work on the farm. Thereby external investment might increase the influx of casual labour to an area. It has not been observed whether or not this aspect is a source of conflict. Amanor (2001) attributes the great availability of casual farm labour in the towns in the same area to the lack of access to family land by young people. Thus it might be that the farm hands that are available for hire in towns like Asuom or Kadé might be of rural origin. Thereby the town or city can be seen as a catalyst for rural-rural migration.

Lastly, the external investors might facilitate local people's access to goods or services in the urban areas. Respondents noted that they among other things facilitated school enrolment, medical services or bulk purchases of agrochemicals for people in the case study area.

9. Conclusions

This study shows that agricultural land in this particular area is something that attracts investments at both small and larger scales. The respondents want to invest in agriculture for various reasons the most important being that agriculture in this particular area is seen as a safe investment compared to other ventures. The appeal of this particular area is that two major crops oil palm and cocoa which has a good

'reputation' as targets for investments. This is not, however, the only motivation as the typology of investors exemplify. The most noteworthy change in terms of land and labour, is that it gets increasingly difficult for local sons and daughters to get hold of agricultural land unless they have money to invest in it. Cost of land is going up and external investors are partly driving this process. Influx of external investors is also a source of conflict over land, although these conflicts seem to mirror known issues related to land contestation.