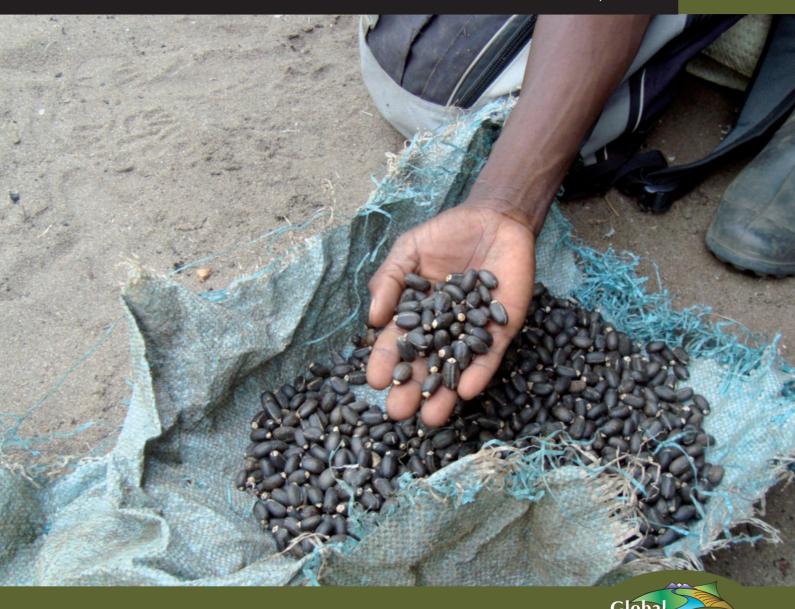
THE GLOBAL LAND PROJECT INTERNATIONAL PROJECT OFFICE

# GLP REPORT

GLP - A JOINT RESEARCH AGENDA OF IGBP & IHDP

NO. 1, 2010



# Land grab in Africa

**Emerging land system drivers** in a teleconnected world

GLP Reports publish land system relevant material from the GLP community

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Freshly harvested seeds from *Jatropha Curcas*. Cabo Delgado, Mozambique (Photo: Laura Vang Rasmussen).

## Land Grab in Africa:

Emerging land system drivers in a teleconnected world

Cecilie Friis & Anette Reenberg

**GLP Report No. 1** 









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#### Introduction

The land change science community has for decades focused on the accelerating pressure on the Earth's limited land resources (e.g. Lambin & Geist 2006) caused by human-environmental interaction, and large research efforts have been put into identifying and differentiating the proximate and underlying driving forces of land use and land cover changes at local to global scales. Turner et al. (2007) summarize the current state of insight by noting that virtually all land has been affected in some way by human action and that much of this change is a direct consequence of land use: 40% of the Earth's land surface is used for agriculture (including improved pasture and coadapted grassland).

Hence, human land use decisions play a crucial role in driving changes in the land system and the dynamic interaction between socioeconomic and biophysical drivers of change (GLP 2005). The complexity of the coupled human-environmental system is widely acknowledged and the portfolio of drivers of change is continuously developing as a result of evolution or radical shifts in economic, social, cultural or environmental conditions. As an example, the recent global crises in food, energy, finance and the environment has driven a change in perspectives of land ownership, as powerful transnational and national economic actors acquire large tracts of land outside their own national borders in order to provide food and energy security at home. The terms 'teleconnection' and 'land grab' have emerged to describe the disconnection of demand and production spaces and the explosion of global commercial land transactions revolving, for example, around the production and sale of food and biofuels. On this background, land grabbing is certainly to be considered an emerging, prominent factor on the list of significant drivers of land system change in certain parts of the globe.

Especially the lands of the Global South are increasingly perceived as a potential factor of production for the increasing global demand for alternative energy (primarily biofuels), food crops, mineral deposits and reservoirs of environmental services. Notably Africa has become an attractive destination for land investments (Mbow 2010) because of its relatively low population density. Millions of hectares are bought or leased by nations or private companies based outside Africa, as well as by more wealthy countries on the continent such as Libya and Egypt.

Although foreign nationalities have been engaged in agriculture in Africa for many years, the scale of the business has increased dramatically in recent years. Some see this as a major threat to the livelihoods of the local rural poor. Others see economic opportunity for local communities that could benefit from the income generated from the leasing or selling of the land. The debate on informal websites (i.e. GRAIN 2010; ILC Bloc 2010) and in more rigorous reports (Cotula et al. 2009; Görgen et al. 2009; Smaller & Mann 2009; von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009) has been considerable in the last couple of years. However, precise information on the magnitude of the challenge, in terms of the amount and location of land concerned, is very limited. The ambition of this GLP report is to scrutinize and triangulate the scattered quantitative information that is currently available from various informal sources on land grabs in Africa in order to provide an answer to the question of 'where, how much and for what' investors have been acquiring land on the African continent. By this, we aim to provide reasonably

accurate insight into the magnitude of this emerging pressure on land as of April 2010, when the information search was concluded.

## **Emerging cross-national trends in land demands**

In our rapidly globalizing world, land demands are to an increasing extent driven by factors anchored elsewhere (Grenz et al. 2007; Haberl et al. 2009). Products derived from land use are often not consumed where they are produced, and biomass trade results in causal connections between distant places in the global land system (Erb 2004; Erb et al. 2009).

The globalization of the *economy* (Najam et al. 2007) implies that local land use changes are increasingly driven by demands for products that are part of commodity chains with a large spatial span. Local human needs and local capital input are not necessarily as important determinants for land use decisions as was the case in many land use systems before the global acceleration of the economy. In addition, the globalization of *communication and knowledge* has influenced global land use patterns through technological changes and developments, new ideas promoted by extension or development assistance, adoption of new food habits, etc.

The term 'teleconnections' is employed to describe causal relations between land uses over large geographical distances (Seto et al. 2010). The notion has been adopted from the atmospheric sciences, where it refers to causal links between different weather systems (Wallace & Gutzler 1981), and teleconnections have been defined as "the correlation between specific planetary processes in one region of the world to distant and seemingly unconnected regions elsewhere" (Steffen 2006:156). The relevance of taking into account such teleconnections becomes apparent with an exponentially growing global trade of products relying on land resources, such as food, biomass and fibres (Haberl et al. 2009).

The acquisition of land by foreign land users, either through land leases or land purchases, raises a specific perspective of teleconnections. Over the past few years, the volume of international investment in agricultural land and agricultural production has increased globally. Through so-called land deals, predominantly richer countries with food deficiencies or private companies buy or lease the rights to use farmland and fresh water in other countries (Cotula et al. 2009). This new and direct competition with local users for land, which previously mainly sustained local livelihoods, has led several NGOs and media to label the land deals 'land grabs' in order to emphasize that the foreign investors are 'stealing' the land from the local poor people.

The increase in the number of international land deals comes at a time of increasing global concern about land as a scarce resource. Earth's terrestrial resources are finite and the planet is under increasing pressure due to the triple exposure of a growing global population, growing per capita land demands as a result of increasing economic wealth, and increasing environmental degradation (Seto et al. 2010). In the future, we can foresee fierce competition for land resources to provide food, energy and fibres, and

international land investments can be expected to be an important factor in land use change in the Global South.

## Conceptualizing land change

Land change science is concerned with land transformation, land use transitions and the human-environmental interactions related to the exploitation of the Earth's land resources (DeFries et al. 2004; Foley et al. 2005; Seto et al. 2010; Turner et al. 2007). Changes in land use and land cover are important because they often have both major local and global impacts on the ecosystem services that sustain human livelihoods. Land change processes are very complex, with causes and consequences operating at many different temporal and spatial scales. This is why a comprehensive theory that covers a full understanding of the processes of land changes still remains to be established (Lambin & Geist 2006). There is, however, a general consensus about the notions of proximate and underlying driving forces, which has been broadly accepted as a useful way of framing the analysis of land use change processes in an effort to identify general features of land use and land cover change (Geist & Lambin 2002; Lambin & Geist 2006).

Figure 1 shows a simplified version of the conceptual framework of land change originally proposed by Geist & Lambin (2002) for their study of tropical deforestation and which later has been used in other contexts. The driving forces of land use change are divided into direct ('proximate') and indirect ('underlying') driving forces. Proximate causes are human activities or actions that alter land use in a given locality, such as expansion of crop land or deforestation. Underlying driving forces are, in contrast, the forces and processes in society which constitute the basis of the proximate causes. The underlying driving forces operate at the regional, national or global levels: for example, changing market conditions, population growth, institutional factors or changes in resource property rights. The proximate and underlying driving forces are interlinked in complex positive and negative feedback mechanisms and the land change outcome of a number of given factors depends on the context. Lambin & Geist (2006) stress that a main message to be conveyed by the conceptual diagram is that there is no evidence to support single-factor explanations in land system dynamics. No drivers operate in isolation and therefore it is important to focus on causal synergies and interactions between the driving factors in a given context when seeking to understand land use and land cover changes.

The brief discussion of the land grab process in Africa, which winds up the quantitative assessment of the land use changes related to land deals in Africa in the following, takes point of departure in this conceptual framework. As indicated in Figure 1, we will mainly point out how land grab drivers cut across the entire range of underlying drivers, and notably concern one proximate cause: agricultural change. More specifically, the issues of demography, economy, and climatic changes will be mentioned as bringing about a number of rivals for arable land.

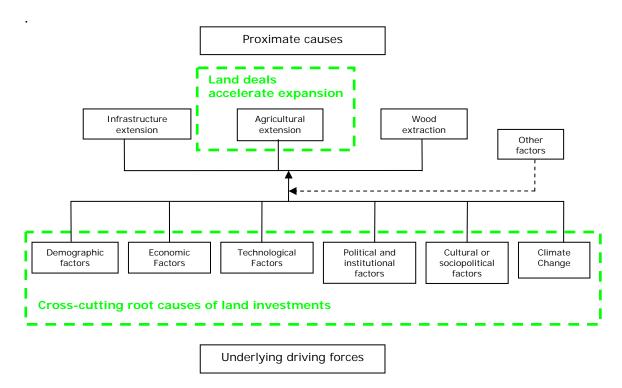


Figure 1. Proximate and underlying drivers of land change. Modified from Geist & Lambin (2002).

Demography is one key factor in land change. On the global scale, population pressure on land resources has risen as the world population has increased. From 1987 to 2007 a 34% growth in the global population was measured, and it is estimated that the population will increase further from approximately 6.8 billion people in 2010 to 9.2 billion in 2050. This means that the average amount of land per person has declined from around 7.9 ha in 1900 to around 2 ha in 2005 (Gitay et al. 2007); the prediction for 2050 is approximately 1.6 ha. The unequal global distribution of population growth and the abundance of land resources taken into account, this development will, all other things being equal, increase incentives for cross-national/continental land deals. Especially the large and growing nations in Asia, like China and India, are expected to be prominent land demanders, but also smaller nations with emerging national land scarcity like Saudi Arabia will need more land to sustain their populations.

The global *economy* constitutes, in various ways, another important underlying driver of land change related to land grab, because economic conditions influence the pressure on land. The international financial crisis and collapse in housing and stock markets worldwide in 2008, for example, created a vacuum for investment. This led to an increasing interest in new investment opportunities on the part of the financial sector, large international investors and banks. As a result, the interest in agricultural land as an investment target rose and the competition for land increased – a trend that is further encouraged by the expectation that future value and power lies in the rights to land and freshwater (Smaller & Mann 2009).

The growing interest in agricultural land as an investment target has also been enhanced by the dramatic increases in prices of basic foods like rice, wheat and maize in 2007 and

2008, during the global 'food crisis'. According to the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) the prices of maize and wheat almost doubled from 2003 to 2008, while prices of rice tripled in just a few months in early 2008 (Headey 2010). This dramatic development draws attention to the vulnerability of the global food supply and to the large regional differences in food security and food sovereignty. IFPRI's analysis suggested that the most specific reasons for the price increases in the first months of 2008 were a series of market conditions that put the world market regulatory mechanisms out of force (Headey 2010), for example, the fact that major food exporting countries implemented export restrictions and large government purchases of food in the world market (Smaller & Mann, 2009; Headey 2010). The increase in food prices in itself strengthened the attractiveness of investment in agricultural production (Cotula et al. 2009), and thus created a positive feedback mechanism that further increased the interest in land.

Another intimate link between the economic conditions and land demands is related to food habits. It is well documented that a general increase in wealth tends to increase the preferences for animal-based diets (Galloway 2007; Seto et al. 2010). Although there is no precise projection of global agricultural land requirements due to changing consumption patterns, estimates predict major changes related to increased living standards in many parts of the world, especially in developing economies like China and India. Animal-based food production requires significantly more land than vegetarian diets, and in general, wealthier people consume more food than poor people (Hoyle-Dickson & Reenberg 2009).

Climatic changes may also influence, positively as well as negatively, the possible incentives for land grab, inasmuch as changes in temperature and rainfall alter the quantity of arable land in a specific locality (Ramankutty et al. 2002b). In a direct sense, climate changes can render previously fertile land useless for agricultural purposes because of lack of rain or changing rain patterns. Here again China could serve as an example, because vast areas of croplands are being affected by desertification, leaving the local population without sufficient yields to feed people and animals. In a more indirect fashion, the emerging global awareness of climatic changes, and attempts to mitigate them, has brought about another major competitor for global land resources. Increasing concern about anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases has led to a rapidly growing interest in green energy, including biofuels, which will lead to an overall increase in global cropland (Eickhout 2008; Bringezu et al. 2009). Governments worldwide have established concrete, regulatory objectives for the use of biofuels (e.g. EU, China and the U.S.) (Cotula et al. 2008; Daniel & Mittal 2009), and the high oil prices in 2007 and 2008 further created an incentive for diversification of the energy sector for energy security reasons. Hence, the cultivation of biofuels has become a direct competitor to food production on existing cropland and another driver of the international land deals. According to Seto et al. (2010), a 100% conversion to bioethanol on a global scale will require a 20-fold increase in the production of biofuels, and a doubling of the total cultivated land worldwide.

Another plausible land demand, triggered by climate awareness, is related to the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanisms (CDM),

which give countries credit in their carbon accounts if they invest in reforestation or pay countries to refrain from deforestation.

In summary, the 21st century has brought new perspectives into the issue of rivals in the field of global arable land. While the increased demand for food in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was mainly met by increased productivity and intensification of agriculture (Foley et al. 2005), it is currently assessed that an expansion of agricultural land will be needed to meet demands for food and fibres caused by future population growth. Furthermore, the need for additional cropland is enhanced because of the land requirements of rapid global urbanization. Cities have traditionally been located in the most productive lands, and expansion of urban areas is thus often in direct competition with agricultural production. New urban structures often have large space requirements; for example, it is estimated that around 1-2 million ha of agricultural land is taken out of production each year in developing countries worldwide due to the expansion of built areas (Lambin et al. 2003). In addition to these demands, which are directly linked to the population increase, the pressures emerging from a growing and globalizing economy and climatic changes can be expected to expose the Earth to severe competition for arable land resources.

## New land change dynamics in the Global South

Land deals are global in scope, but especially deals in poor developing countries in Asia and Africa have attracted the attention of the media and NGOs worldwide.

Although international investment in Africa's agricultural production is no new phenomenon, the accelerated change in the global demography, economy and climate has changed the character and seriousness of land use competition in recent years. Where agricultural investment in the past mainly came from Western countries and companies seeking comparative advantages in their production for the global market, the current land deals are increasingly driven by the desire to secure rights to land and fresh water for the domestic food and energy needs of the investor (Smaller & Mann 2009; UN 2010). The "new" investors are predominantly oil-rich but food-insecure Gulf states like Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates and populous but capital strong countries in Asia like China, South Korea and India (von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009; Smaller & Mann 2009; Gorge a al. 2009). Moreover, Western companies are still investing in land in Africa for biofuel production or investment objectives.

Many land investments are targeted at Africa due to the perception that the continent contains large amounts of apparently vacant farmland. The African continent is perceived to neglect its agricultural potential and many investors therefore consider Africa to be well suited for new rural investments (Cotula et al. 2009). It is estimated that 80% of the global reserves of farmland are in Africa and South America; in Africa, mainly in countries like Sudan, DR Congo and Angola (Cotula et al. 2009). The problem is that most of these areas are either covered by tropical rainforest, are located in protected natural areas or are already used for shifting cultivation or grazing of animals (Ramankutty et al. 2002a). Furthermore, the commercial value of the land is still relatively low, which raises an expectation of possible large returns in the future

when the predicted struggle for land resources may increase their value (Cotula et al. 2009).

The recipient, or host, countries of the investment are often poor developing countries actively trying to attract investors because they see the land deals as an opportunity to get funds for the development of agriculture or infrastructure. Proponents of land deals emphasize this aspect of the agreements as the main argument for promoting them. The international land deals have, however, been severely criticized, particularly because many of them focus on cultivation of biofuels, and because several contain clauses which give investors the full export rights to the production. Hence, the agreements are perceived as a threat to local food security, an issue particularly highlighted in relation to land contracts in developing countries with large poor populations, who themselves are dependent on food aid from abroad. Land deals have, seen through such lenses, potentially large impacts on the existing farming systems and negative consequences for the local populations' livelihoods in Africa.

## Assessing the volume of foreign land interests in Africa

Despite considerable media attention, the phenomenon of 'land grab' is so recent that precise documentation of the extent, nature and consequences of land agreements is still to be seen. The media therefore remain the largest source of information on land deals so far and in the following we will give an estimate of the magnitude, location and drivers of the international land deals in Africa.

#### **Methods**

The volume, magnitude and geographical location of the land deals are estimated based on a systematic screening of the media articles collected by the International Land Coalition (ILC). Because of the recentness of the surge of land deals, there are still relatively few scientific studies and reports about the magnitude and consequences of the deals in Africa, and so far only as case studies. For example, IIED, in collaboration with IFAD and FAO, has conducted an in-depth case study of the land deals in seven countries in Africa based on national inventories, interviews and field work (Cotula et al. 2009). The deals have, however, gained significant attention in international media and NGOs around the world, which as already mentioned remain the main sources of information on the land deals so far (Smaller & Mann 2009).

As part of their "Commercial pressures on land" initiative, the International Land Coalition (ILC) has created a blog, which is systematically updated with news, reports and articles about the land deals (ILC Blog 2010) and which thus serves as a database for media reports on the subject. For this analysis the available news articles and media reports in the ILC blog have systematically been screened in order to present an

estimate of the magnitude and geographical pattern of the land deals in Africa until 15 April 2010.

The screening has been limited to the category "Press" and entries have been screened manually, as a screening by keywords was not possible. All entries about international land deals in Africa have been recorded and classified according to the following parameters: recipient country, investor, investor country, the magnitude of the deals, purpose of investment, crops and the status of implementation, besides date and source (media). The magnitude of the deals has been recorded in hectares and the purpose of investment has been categorized as biofuels, food production, industrial production or investment. The purpose categories have been selected on the basis of past studies of land deals, which predominantly identify three motives for the deals, namely food, energy and investment objectives (Cotula et al. 2009; Görges et al. 2009; Smaller & Mann 2009).

The first entry in the blog date back to March 2007, but the first entry on the land deals in Africa is from 13 August 2008. In the period from 13 August 2008 to 15 April 2010, 236 articles about land deals in Africa have been recorded, in which 395 deals at various stages of negotiation and conclusion are identified. However, this figure includes a number of repetitions and the data has consequently been sorted and compiled. All specific deals regardless of their state of implementation or negotiation have been included, but entries that do not refer to specific deals or specific recipients have been sorted out. In the case of multiple entries about the same land deal, the information used has been based on the sources considered to be most reliable. The number and magnitude presented in this report constitute therefore an estimate of the maximum area that is currently considered for international land deals in Africa.

#### **Triangulation**

The collected data has subsequently been triangulated with three inventories from the literature to ensure the most reliable compilation of data and to present the best possible overview of the current knowledge of international land deals in Africa. The collected data is triangulated with two accounts from GRAIN, a Spanish-based NGO, and from the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), which are based on similar collections of data from the media reports (Grain 2008; von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009), and a third inventory from the German Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), which is based on the above two, supplemented with data from their own case-studies of two African countries and data from the IIED, IFAD & FAO case studies (Cotula et al. 2009; GTZ 2009).

The triangulation has led to a confirmation of many of the land deals identified through the screening, but to a large extent the screening has supplemented the existing information on the land deals. The final list of land deals, presented in Appendix 1, contains 177 deals in 27 different countries across Africa.

#### *Uncertainties and critique*

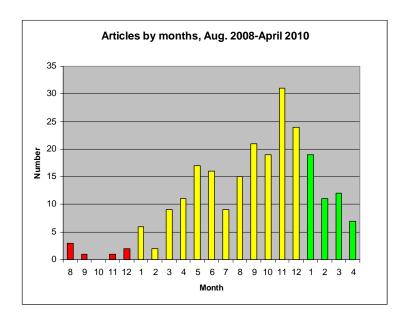
Basing the present analysis on media reports obviously brings a number of uncertainties to the analysis. The data from the screened material is first of all dependent upon the reliability of the media reporting the deals and thus only includes deals reported by the media. There might be many more land deals under negotiation or already concluded in Africa that are not included here because they are not covered by the media. This uncertainty is particularly associated with the lack of transparency surrounding the land deals and the reluctance of host governments and investors to publish the contents of the individual contracts (Cotula et al. 2009). Therefore, many details about the scope and conditions of the land deals are not publicly available.

Additionally, there are significant differences in the credibility of the different media sources. While working with the screening we have, for example, observed that several media sources have a tendency to round up the size of the deals, particularly around the time of the publication of the report from IFPRI and the reports of the IIED, IFAD and FAO. Where confirmatory sources have not been available, the credibility of the reports on specific deals has been difficult to verify and some of the estimates in this analysis might therefore be overestimated. The size of the individual land deals in Appendix 1 is for these reasons subject to some uncertainty.

The data collected is also limited by the extent of the ILC blog. Only articles uploaded to the blog are included in the screening and the data reliability is thus largely dependent on the blog representing the widest possible media coverage. Figure 2 shows that the volume of articles is very unevenly distributed over the screening period with significantly more articles in some months than others. The increase in articles from 2008 to 2009 could be the result of an increase in numbers of land deals, but could also be contributed to increasing media attention to the subject during the period. Moreover, it could also be the result of inertia in the collection of articles during the startup phase of the blog. Figure 2 also illustrates how the media coverage of the subject is dependent upon events in the surrounding community. For example, in November 2009, FAO held a major conference on land resources, and Figure 2 shows that there were significantly more articles about the land deals in this month than in any other in the screened period. Additionally, the publication of reports on the subject can also be traced in the volume of media reports on the land deals. The entries in the blog, and hence the data used, are therefore biased by fluctuations in the media's attention to the field.

Furthermore, there seems to be an interaction between research and media attention; for example, Cotula et al. (2009) use the media focus on land deals in Africa south of Sahara as justification for their selection of case countries and the research focus of their report.

Despite the abovementioned uncertainties associated with data, especially in relation to the size of individual land deals, the collected data represent the best information available on the extent and geography of the international land deals so far and can thus provide a picture of the number of land deals that are currently being negotiated in Africa.



**Figure 2**. The volume of articles by month. The screened period from August 2008 to April 2010. Colours indicate the year: red = 2008; yellow = 2009; green = 2010. The figures correspond to months.

#### **Results**

#### *The overall picture*

The results of the screening and triangulation reveal that there are international land investments in many countries throughout Africa. There are, however, some countries that are more frequently represented in the data. Table 1 presents a list of the 13 main recipient countries in Africa listed by number of deals. The receiving countries have been divided into three groups based on the number of deals. Table 1 also shows the magnitude of the land deals in each country. Where different sources report different figures for the same land deal, two different estimates of the magnitude of the land deals are presented. A full list of all 27 countries, the number of land deals and the scope of the deals is presented in Table A in Appendix 2.

Ethiopia, Madagascar and Sudan are the three countries with the highest number of individual land deals, which cover approximately 2.8-3mio ha. It can, however, also be seen from the table that the number and the magnitude of the land deals in the different countries are not necessarily correlated. This is especially apparent in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo with approximately 11mio ha despite only 6 land deals and in the case of Mozambique with approximately 10mio ha despite only 10 deals. A further analysis of the deals in these two countries reveals that both countries have very large individual deals with South African investors. In DR Congo a group of South African companies are leasing an area of approximately 8mio ha, while the South African farmers' association Agri SA has signed an agreement for 10mio ha in Mozambique. Agri SA has negotiated a similar deal on 10mio ha in the Republic of Congo. Another country that stands out in Table 1 is Tanzania with 11mio ha. This figure is, however, only based on a single source (Debailleul 2009) and must be regarded as very uncertain.

Table 1. Land deals			
Recipient country	Number of deals	Magnitude	e (1,000ha)
		Min	Max
Ethiopia	26	2.892	3.524
Madagascar	24	2.745	
Sudan	20	3.171	4.899
Tanzania	15	1.717	11.000
Mali	13	2.417	2.419
Mozambique	10	10.305	
Uganda	7	1.874	1.904
DR Congo	6	11.048	
Nigeria	6	821	
Zambia	6	2.245	
Ghana	5	89	
Malawi	5	307	
Senegal	5	510	
Total (all 27			
countries)	177	51.415	63.111

**Table 1.** The 13 main recipient countries listed by number of land deals and showing two estimates for the magnitude of all the land deals in each country. Based on the screening and triangulation of GRAIN (2008), Von Braun & Meinzen-Dick (2009) and Görgen et al. (2009).

Overall the result of the screening and the triangulation reveals that between approximately 51 and 63mio ha are currently assigned in land deals or under negotiation in the 27 African host countries identified here.

The results presented in Table 1 are significantly larger than other estimates of the magnitude of the land deals in the individual countries presented before, for example, in the IIED, IFAD and FAO case studies (Cotula et al. 2009) and the GTZ case studies from Madagascar and Mali (Görgen et al. 2009). The same trend can be traced in the overall total for the land deals in the 27 host countries, which is also considerably higher than previous estimates from e.g. IFPRI. The differences between the estimates can predominantly be assigned to differences in the calculation methods and the criteria for selection of the land deals, as well as the general uncertainties related to basing the estimates here on media sources. In the following analysis the minimum figure for the magnitude of the land deals will be used.

#### Land deals and land resources

The magnitude of the land deals in the 13 main host countries has subsequently been analysed in relation to FAO official statistics on the land resources in the individual countries. Table 2 shows the land deals as a percentage of the total land area, the agricultural area (arable land, permanent crops and permanent meadows and pastures) and the agricultural area plus the forest area. The forest area is included because some of the countries in question have large areas covered with forest, which are most likely to be heavily influenced by the land deals.

Table 2. Land	resource	s and land deals				
	FAO land	d resource data (1	,000ha)	Land deal	s as percentag	e of:
Recipient	Land	Agricultural	_	Land	Agricultural	Agriculture
country	area	area	Forest	area	area	+ forest
Ethiopia	100.000	35.077	12.718	2,9	8,2	6,1
Madagascar	58.154	40.843	12.764	4,7	6,7	5,1
Sudan	237.600	136.773	66.368	1,3	2,3	1,6
Tanzania	88.580	34.200	34.433	1,9	5,0	2,5
Mali	122.019	39.619	12.372	2,0	6,1	4,6
Mozambique	78.638	48.800	19.162	13,1	21,1	15,2
Uganda	19.710	12.812	3.454	9,5	14,6	11,5
DR Congo	226.705	22.650	132.971	4,9	48,8	7,1
Nigeria	91.077	78.500	10.270	0,9	1,0	0,9
Zambia	74.339	25.589	41.562	3,0	8,8	3,3
Ghana	22.754	14.850	5.286	0,4	0,6	0,4
Malawi	9.408	4.970	3.336	3,3	6,2	3,7
Senegal	19.253	8.637	8.583	2,6	5,9	3,0

**Table 2**. The magnitude of the land deals as a percentage of the total land area, the agricultural area and the agricultural area plus the forest covered area in each of the 13 main recipient countries. Areas as of 2007. Source: Land resource data from FAOstat, Land resource database (FAOstat 2010).

As Table 2 illustrates, the land deals are generally speaking very large in scope and take up fairly high percentages of the existing land resources in the host countries. For ten of the thirteen countries considered in Table 2, the land deals amount to 5% of the countries' agricultural area and for five countries, over 8%. In Mozambique, the potential land deals represent 13.1% of the total land area and over 21% of the agricultural lands. The very large land deal with Agri SA plays a major role here. In Uganda the land deals also represent a very large part of the country's agricultural area.

For the three countries with most land deals, the deals in Ethiopia are proportionally largest in terms of both the agricultural area and the agricultural plus forest area. Additionally, it is found that although the magnitudes of the land deals in Ethiopia and Sudan are approximately equal, the deals in Ethiopia represent a far greater percentage of the agricultural area, and thus might lead to larger impacts on the local population in the country.

The numbers for DR Congo are interesting because they illustrate some of the potential environmental problems concerning the land deals in countries with vast forest areas. If the land deals in DR Congo are to be signed on existing farmland, they will cover up to 48.8 % of the acreage, while that number falls to 7.1% if the forest area is considered. Therefore, it is likely that a large part of the land in question will be located in tropical forest areas and thereby be associated with significant environmental and sustainability consequences.

#### Discussion

The material presented shows that the extent of the land deals is substantial. The deals represent large percentages of the recipient countries' agricultural and forest lands, and the potential risk of adverse impact on the recipient countries and their local populations is considerable. A regional cluster of the deals can be identified in eastern Africa, in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda and Madagascar as well as in countries like Sudan, Mali and DR Congo.

#### The purpose of the land deals

Although over 170 land deals have been identified through the screening, consistent information about the purpose of investment in the different recipient countries is lacking. For some countries there is no available information, while the data volume is too small to detect any trends in others. However, a count of the category "purpose" in the screening results for the top three recipient countries, Ethiopia, Madagascar and Sudan, provides a fairly good indication of the motivation of the investments here (Table 3). Table 3 shows that the investments in Madagascar are primarily motivated by production of biofuels, while the land deals in Sudan are mainly concluded to produce food. A closer examination of the data reveals that jatropha is the main crop in Madagascar, while wheat is the dominant crop for the deals in Sudan (see Appendix 1). In Ethiopia, the trends are slightly more ambiguous, since the land deals are signed for both biofuels and food production.

Table 3. Pur	pose of the	e land deals					
	Food production Biofuels Industrial pro						
Ethiopia	26	8	15	1			
Madagascar	24	3	16	3			
Sudan	20	11	2				

**Table 3**. Purpose of the land deals. The count of the purpose is based on the category "purpose" in the results of the screening and triangulation (Appendix 1).

#### The investors

The existing literature and most media sources identify three broad groups of investors with different motives for land investment. The main investor groups are oil-rich Gulf States like Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, Kuwait and Jordan; populous and capital strong Asian countries such as China, South Korea, Japan and India; as well as western and multinational private companies (Daniel & Mittal 2009; Görgen et al. 2009; Smaller & Mann 2009). Table 4 shows a count of the investors in the top three recipient countries. The screening revealed that South African investors, and especially the South African farmers' organization Agri SA, play a major role in the land deals in several recipient countries and the country is therefore included here.

Table 4. Inve	stors*						
					South		
	Gulf states	Asian countries	Private businesses		Africa	Others	
Ethiopia	2	6		11			1
Madagascar	1	6		14	2		
Sudan	14	1		1			4

**Table 4.** The investors in international land deals. The count of the investors is based on the category "Investor – country" in the results of the screening and triangulation (Appendix 1). \*Gulf States: UAE, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar & Saudi Arabia; Asian countries: India, China, Japan, Malaysia & South Korea; Private businesses: Europe, US, Australia & Isreal; Others: Egypt, Syria, Brazil, Djibouti & Syria.

Table 4 shows that the Gulf States are the principal investors in Sudan, while the picture is more mixed for Ethiopia and Madagascar. In these countries private companies are the most dominant investor group followed by some Asian investors.

#### **Cross-cutting drivers**

The investors in the international land deals are hence a broad and mixed group of players with different agendas and motivations for investment. As pointed out earlier, there is a wide range of underlying driving forces behind investors' motivations for land investment, though mainly demographic factors, economic factors and climatic factors. In the following, some specific aspects concerning the land deals and the investors will be discussed in relation to these driving forces.

#### **Demography**

Demographic influences are mainly connected to Asian investors. According to Smaller & Mann (2009) Asian investors invest in agricultural land in order to secure a supply of food, feed and energy. China and India are essentially food self-sufficient (FAO 2009a). Both countries have, however, high population growth rates and their land and water resources are under great pressure from increasing urbanization and industrialization. Combined, these circumstances drive the two countries' decisions to acquire farmland in Africa in an attempt to secure food and feed supplies in the future. In some Gulf-state investors like Saudi Arabia, the emerging scarcity of land is also resulting in a need to secure alternative agricultural lands to sustain their populations. The composition of the population in many Gulf States, with the large proportion of poor immigrant workers, has led GRAIN (2008) to suggest that the provision of cheap basic foods is essential for the countries' political stability and is hence a driver of their land investments in Africa. By leasing and purchasing land and water rights in Africa and other areas around the world, the Gulf States are securing the "means of production" in an attempt to create a stable food supply for their populations. Many of the governments in the Gulf region have established large national investment funds and created national policies targeting foreign investment in farmland (Smaller & Mann 2009).

#### **Economy**

As previously mentioned, the global financial crisis in 2008 created a vacuum for international capital investment. In the light of the emerging struggle for land and with expected increases in the value of land – and water – resources in the near future, the private investment sector moved into the less traditional investment area of agricultural investment, and is driving some of the land deals in Africa (GRAIN 2008; Cotula et al. 2009). This economic interest in land could trigger a positive feedback mechanism with the increasing interest in farmland as an investment object triggering an increasing demand for land and thus further driving up the price of land.

Another economic driver of the land deals has been the global food crisis in 2007 and 2008. The dramatic increases in the price of basic agricultural crops put great strains on businesses relying on agricultural products as part of their production. Cotula et al. (2009) points out that a great deal of the private corporation investment in agricultural is part of a strategy whereby companies are seeking vertical integration in order to secure reliable input supplies in the event of renewed price hikes or export restrictions from the traditional agricultural producers.

The global food crisis also put considerable strain on predominantly food importing countries. The biophysical, climatic and demographic conditions of the Gulf States, but also Japan and South Korea, have made these countries heavily dependent upon food imports, which is why the 2008 food crisis hit these countries particularly hard. The land deals from these investors are therefore mainly driven by concerns about securing their food supply in the very near future (Danial & Mittal 2009; von Braun & Meinzen-Dich 2009; UN 2010). In Saudi Arabia, this trend is strengthened by the government's decision to phase out domestic wheat production by 2016 as a direct result of the increasing pressure on groundwater resources caused by urbanization, industrial needs and population growth (Cotula et al. 2009; Smaller & Mann 2009).

#### Climate

The emerging global awareness of human-induced climate change and the resulting growing interest in green energy, including biofuels, is another important motivation for land investment and the trend can be tracked in the screened material (Table 4). The collected data shows that biofuel production is the dominant purpose of the land deals in Madagascar and Ethiopia, where crops like jatropha, palm oil and sugar prevail. These countries are dominated by private sector investors (Table 3 and 4). The private companies are mainly trying to secure parts of the new market for green energy. The political targets for the use of green energy have made the market for biofuels very solid, and created a secure long-term investment area for private investors seeking new profitable areas especially after the international financial crisis.

In some countries like China, Japan and South Korea, there is a wish to diversify the domestic energy sector, especially in the wake of increasing consumption, increasing demands and high global oil prices. Biofuel production is an important element in these

diversification strategies and is hence an important driver of the international land investments in Africa.

#### Political/institutional factors

Political and institutional factors are, moreover, underlying or facilitating the land investment. The Saudi decision to phase out domestic wheat production and several developed countries' national biofuel targets are examples of political decisions that underpin many of the international land investments in Africa. There are, however, also other political factors influencing the investments more directly. In the light of the global food and energy crisis, governments of the main investing countries have, for example, launched different national policies and strategies for acquiring farmland abroad. Many of the Gulf States as well as the wealthy Asian investors have launched various funding projects and advantageous national policies for companies investing in agriculture abroad (Smaller & Mann 2009). The state involvement in the investments varies between the different investors. Some of the Gulf States have set up national investment funds for agricultural investments and in South Korea the government is undertaking some of the negotiations for land directly on a government-to-government level (GRAIN 2008). In Japan the government has assumed a more facilitating role for the private sector by negotiating free trade agreements, bilateral trade agreements etc. with the recipient countries (GRAIN 2008). In the agricultural sector the Chinese national "Going Out" Strategy for business development abroad has led to the establishment of the China Africa Development Fund, which is to finance China's development projects in Africa while simultaneously supporting the Chinese agrobusinesses operating in Africa (Cotula et al. 2009), and thus creating a much debated link between economic interests and development aid.

#### Recipient country incentives

An additional driving force in the international land deals is the recipient countries' own efforts to attract investments. The agricultural sector has recently drawn renewed attention as the potential source of much-needed economic development in the African continent (Cotula et al. 2009). Many African governments are therefore actively trying to attract foreign investors. In Ethiopia, for example, it has been reported that the government has offered as much as 3 mio hectares of the country's most fertile farmland to foreign investors on concessional leases of 50-99 years (Blas & England 2008; Vidal 2009; Zaugg 2009). The Ethiopian minister for agriculture has announced that there is a large agricultural investment potential in the country, since only 14-18 mio ha of its 74 mio ha of arable land is in use (Zaugg 2009). Sudan is another example of a country actively trying to attract foreign investment in land (Blas & England 2008).

Another example of recipient countries trying to attract agricultural development is evident in the case of the South African investors. The South African farmers' organization Agri SA recounts that the organization is invited by recipient country governments to take over abandoned state farms in an attempt to strengthen the agricultural sector (Goodspeed 2009; Reuters Africa 2009). Agri SA has apparently

been contacted by 17 different African governments offering the organization large tracts of land on very concessional terms (Goodspeed 2009). According to the Agri SA, the farmers' interest in going abroad is rooted in the South African government's impending land reforms and policies, which are forcing white South African farmers to seek farming opportunities abroad in order to ensure their agricultural production (BBC News 2009). The South African farmers stand to lose up to 30% of their land in the forthcoming land reforms (Goodspeed 2009).

In addition to the directly involved parties, International Financial Institutions (IFI) has been reported to play a vital role in facilitating and influencing the land deals. In a report by the Oakland Institute from spring 2010, Daniel & Mittal (2010) discuss the role of the World Bank Group (WB) in promoting an investment climate in recipient countries and thus easing the way for the deals. The International Financial Corporation (IFC) under the WB is for example concerned with reforming the legislation controlling access to land of many African countries in order to create better and simpler ways for foreign investors to gain access to land and water (Daniel & Mittal 2010). According to Daniel & Mittal (2010) the rights of the local populations are often not considered by the IFIs when promoting investments and easy access for private foreign investment. IFI adds, in this way, another layer of political and institutional drivers to the cross-cutting root causes of the international land deals.

#### Managing local impacts

The land deals and their consequences have been widely discussed in relation to their potential, negative implications for the local population especially concerning access to vital land and water resources (Cotula et al. 2009; Smaller & Mann 2009; von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009; UN 2010). Many of the recipient countries' land tenure systems are customary and the local people rarely hold formal legal rights to their resources. Land is state property, providing the government with the rights to lease or sell land that is in reality used by local farmers. Many of the land contracts include infrastructure development or other technical improvements, opening up to a potential conflict between the economic interest of the recipient country government and its poor agricultural population. In an attempt to deal with some of the issues, an international valid "code of conduct" has been suggested in order to prevent some of the most negative consequences of the deals (von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009; FAO 2009b). The "code of conduct" should among other things promote transparency in the contracts, secure the acknowledgment of local and customary land rights, secure sustainable development both economically and environmentally and ensure that benefits from the investments are shared between the investor and the local communities (von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009). In July 2009 the G8 countries adopted a set of guidelines for international land investments proposed by Japan (Nikishiwa 2009), but the guidelines have already been criticized for being too weak and for not consulting recipient countries in the process of setting them up (Daniel & Mittal 2009).

#### Conclusion

This report has examined the international investments in agricultural lands in Africa. A quantitative estimate for the magnitude of the land deals has been given, based on the available media information in the International Land Coalitions' blog Commercial pressures on land. Despite some reservations concerning accuracy of the data, the results of the analysis indicate that the magnitude of the land deals is significant and that land deals currently are negotiated throughout Africa. The results presented here indicate that the amount of land concerned could be as large as 51 to 63 mio ha – an area equivalent to France.

A cluster of deals are identified in the eastern part of the African continent in countries like Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda and Madagascar, while other large recipient countries are Sudan, Mali and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In ten of the identified recipient countries the deals represent more than 5% of the current agricultural area – in Uganda more than 14%, in Mozambique more than 21% and in DR Congo more than 48% of the agricultural land! Thus, the consequences of the land deals can be expected to be very large for the local population and environment, with impacts such as agricultural intensification, forest degradation, displacement of local populations, increasing local food insecurity and increasing poverty. All in all, the international land investments have emerged as a new significant driver of land system change in an increasing teleconnected world.

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## Appendix 1

Appendix 1 presents the result of the screening and the triangulation.

Table 1-4 shows the land deals organised by recipient country, while Table 5 presents the sources of the information on the different deals used in the screening. The numbers in Table 1-4 refers to the numbers in Table 5, and it is therefore possible to "track" the information about the deals between the tables.

The information presented in Table 1-4 are organised as follows:

- Table 1 shows the result of the screening based on the articles in the ILC Blog (2010).
- Table 2 is based on the information gathered by IFPRI (von Braun & Meinzen-Dick 2009) and includes all deals not presented in Table 1.
- Table 3 is based on the information gathered by GTZ (Görgen et al. 2009) and includes all deals not presented in Table 1 and 2.
- Table 4 is based on the information gathered by GRAIN (GRAIN 2008) and includes all deals not presented in Table 1-3.

Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
Angola	Agri SA	South Africa	140,000					112
							IFPRI	
Cameroun				Food	Ris, Maize, fruit, vegetables,	99 year	GTZ	
	Sino Cam Iko	China	10,000	production	cassava	leasing	GRAIN	55
DR Congo	Karuturi Global Ltd.	India				Negotiated		129
				Maize for the				
	China		331	Congolese market	Maize			15
	China		2,800,000	Biofuels	Palm oil plantation	Obtained	IFPRI GTZ	16, 48, 77, 95, 137, 145, 182, 187, 195,
	South Africanske	South			Maize, Soya beans, poultry and dairy	Expected implemen-	IFPRI	
	virksomheder	Africa	8,000,000		farming	ted soon	GTZ	169
Egypt	Jannat (investerings- virksomhed af						IFPRI	
371	7 Saudiske virksomheder)	Saudi Arabia	10,000	Food production	Wheat, alfalfa, barley		GTZ	86
Ethiopia	Ardent Energy Group	US	15,000	Biofuels	,		GTZ	141
	BDFC	Brasilien	17,400	Biofuels	Sugar cane	Leasing		54
(Oromia provins)	Djibouti		7,000- 10,000	Food production	Wheat		GTZ	16, 141
	Emami Biotech	India	12,000	Biofuels	Jatropha, sunflower, sugar, pulses, different grasses			155
				The pharmaceutic al and cosmetics			IEDDI	(110),
	Flora Ecopower		13,000- 15,000	industry Biofuels	Oil		IFPRI GTZ	141, 153, 156
			13,000	Dioineip	Oii Oii		GIZ	130
	Fri-El Green Power	Italy	30,000	Biofuels			GTZ	141
<i>'</i> 0 :			,				IFPRI	-
(Oromia provins)	India		1,000,000				GTZ	16, 116

		Country					Trion	
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
Ethiopia	Jannat (investment fund of 7 Saudi businesses)	Saudi Arabia		Food production				86
			30,000- 40,000	Food production	Wheat, rice, vegetables,			71, 78, 39, 50,
	Karuturi Global Ltd.	India	(Up to 300,000)	Palm tree seedlings	sugar, palm oil, coffee and roses		GTZ	67, 141, 129, 170
	Mohammed al-Amoudi, Sheik							
	(Ethio Agri- CEFT)	Saudi Arabia	19,200	Food production	Coffee, the, cereals	Already cultivated	GTZ	141
	Mohammed al-Amoudi, Sheik	Saudi Arabia	30,000		Sugar			141
	Mohammed al-Amoudi, Sheik (AgriNexus)	Saudi Arabia (Malaysia)	100,000	Biofuels		Attempted lease	GTZ	141
(Oromia- provins)	Saudi investors	Saudi Arabia	100,000	Food production	Wheat, rice, barley		IFPRI	16 (102, 136, 137, 146, 195)
	Saudi Star Agricultural Development Plc.	Saudi Arabia	500,000	Food production, greenhouse, export	Sugar beets, rice, wheat maize vegetables, flowers			16, 46, 67
	Shapoorji Pallonji	India	10,000	Food production, biofuels	The and Pongamia Pinnata			10
							IFPRI	
	Sun Biofuels	UK		Biofuels			GTZ	141
	German consortium		13,000	Biofuels	Jatropha			110
	Varun International	India	600,000					129
	Verdana Harvest Pvh	India	5,000	Food production, biofuels	The and Pongamia Pinnata			10
Ghana	7 private businesses (20 businesses)	Norway, Brazil, The Netherlands Sweden, Germany China and UK	55,000	Biofuels	Jatropha			27 (139)
	Biofuel Africa Ltd.	Multi- national	23,700	Biofuels	Jatropha			139
	Jose García- Carrión Group	Spain	10,000	Food production for export	Pineapples			122

Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
Recipient	Kimminic	(ilivestor)	Size (iia)	i uipose	Сторз	Status	guiation	Number
Ghana	Estates Ltd.,							
Onana	Scanfuel Ldt.,	Canada						
	Gold Star Bio- Diesel Farm	Canada, Norway,						
	Limited	Ghana		Biofuels				11
	Norwegian business	Norway		Biofuels	Jatropha			101
	Dominion							
	Farms							
	(subsidiary company for							
	Dominion		17,000					
	Group of	US	·	Food				
Kenya	Companies)	(Oklahoma)	(2,300)	production	Rice, pond fish			76, 168
	Karuturi Global Ltd.	India		Rose farm	Roses for export			129,150
				. 1000 14	Tresses is: saper			76, 77,
								102, 109
				Food production for	Rice, vegetables and fruit for		IFPRI	168, 197
	Qatar		40,000	export	export		GTZ	198, 199 207
				Food				
Liberia	Libya		15,000	production	Rice			145
	Cinna Daub	Malausia	200 000		Palm oil and			200
	Sime Darby	Malaysia	220,000		rubber plantation			200
Libya	Agri SA	South Africa	35,000 – 40,000	Food production	Olive, grapes			20, 97, 126
,			-,	,	2, 3, 2, 1			156, 197
								208, 210
Madagascar								211, 216
				Food	Maize, palm oil		IEDDI	217, 218 219, 220
	Daewoo	South		production,	for export, rice		IFPRI	224, 22
	Logistics	Korea	1,300,000	biofuels (210)	and "others"	Cancelled	GTZ	228, 23
	Qatar		450,000	Biofuels				109
(Sofia-,			465,000					
Menabe- & Atsinanan-	Varun		(170,000, 165,000,	Food	Rice, maize,			46, 129
regionen)	Industries	India	100,000)	production	wheat, lentils		GTZ	215
Malawi	D1 Oil	UK	200,000	Biofuels	Jatropha			110
							IFPRI	
	Djibouti		50,000		Crops		GTZ	181
	China		50,000		Crops			181
	Chinese investors	China						198
	CEN-SAD							
	(Community of							
Mali	Sahel-	Librar	400.000					
	Saheriens)	Libya	100,000					93
Mali	West African Economic and							
	Monetary							52, 69
(Office du Niger)	Monetary Union		11,000					52

Table 1. The	result of the	ILC Blog sc	reening		,		1	T
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
Mali								
Office du Niger)	Capital fund	US, South Africa	15,000		Sugar cane			212
	Kia Netherlands/							
	Mali Biocarburant SA	The Netherlands	<1,000	Biofuels	Jatropha			22
(Office du Niger)	China		2,000,000	Biofuels				195
	China		6,000		Sugar for candy			212
	Malibya (Libya)	Libya	100,000	Food production	Rice, wheat (6 hybrid rice)		IFPRI GTZ	6, 69, 137, 145, 195, 212
	Millenium Challenge Account (MCA)	US	14,000- 16,000	"modern agricultural enterprise creation"			GTZ	93, 69
	Petrotech/ AgroMali		10,000	Biofuels	Jatropha among others		0.2	69
	Saudi-based investors, inclusive the Islamic Development Bank	Saudi Arabia	5,000	Food production on trial				159
Managas	International/ domestic				Olive oil, citrus and other fruit			_
Morocco  Mauritania	Government, the Islamic Development Bank, Saudi businessmen, investment funds	Saudi Arabia	21,000	Food production	Presumably rice			46
Mozambique	"State-level" investors		100,000					116
wozambique	Mauritius Ministry of Agro Industry	Mauritius	20,000	Agriculture, food production, biofuels	Rice, livestock, bio-crops, Rice for the Mozambiqian market			33, 115
Namibia	Karuturi Global Ltd.	India						129
Niger	Egyptiske landbrugs- ministerium	Egypt		Food production	Rice			28, 196
Nigeria	Farmers	Zimbabwe, South Korea, Kuwait, US	1,000	Food production	Crops, cattle			83

Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
Nigeria	South Korea and United Arab Emirates		400,000	Food production				182
	Egypt		400,000	Food production	Wheat			182
The Republic of Congo	Agri SA	South Africa	200,000	Food production and fibres for the Congolese market	Wheat, cotton, soy, cattle, poultry maize,		GTZ	47, 112, 113, 114
	Agri SA	South Africa	10,000,000	Food production, agricultural production	Soy, sugar cane, maize and poultry, cattle, cereals, coffee, cotton		IFPRI**	20, 77, 118, 125 126, 132 177, 186 210, 213
	Fri-El Green Power	Italy	40,000	Biofuels	Palm oil			200
Senegal	Dangote Industries	Nigeria	40,000		Sugar cane			4
	HOLDIND, Tozzi Renewable Energy	Italy	50,000	Biofuels	Jatropha			38
	International investors		320,000	Biofuels	Jatropha			3, 4
	China		100,000		Peanuts			165
Sudan	Beltone Private Equity & Kenana Sugar Company	Egypt and Sudan	84,000		Sugar			8
	Citadel Capital	Egypt	210,000 (43,260 in a single deal)	Food production (Biofuels)	Maize, sorghum, wheat, sugar	99 year lease	GTZ	57, 62, 127, 128
	Egypt		400,000 (809,371*)	Food production	Wheat		IFPRI** GTZ** GRAIN**	28, 146, 195
	United Arab Emirates		Ca. 30,000	Food production	Maize, alfalfa, wheat, potatoes and beans		IFPRI GTZ GRAIN	95, 197 (A single deal)
	United Arab Emirates		400,000 (750,000)	Food production	Maize, wheat, vegetables, potatoes	Acquired	IFPRI GTZ GRAIN	46, 79, 137, 146 195 (In tota
	HADCO	Saudi Arabia	25,000 (40,000)	Food production	Wheat		GRAIN**	87, 136 (211)
	Hassad Food	Qatar	>101,171*	Food production				87, 107

Table 1. The	e result of the	ILC Blog so	reening				1	<u> </u>
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
	Jannat							
Sudan	(investment fund of 7 Saudi businesses)	Saudi Arabia	10,000- 15,000	Food production				86
	Jarch Capital	US, New York (ex- Wall-Street banker, Phillip Heilberg)	400,000 (800,000)	Food production (Possibly also biofuels)	Rice, wheat and other export-	Leased	IFPRI GTZ GRAIN	48, 75, 76, 87, 184, 229 230 (16)
	Regional						IFPRI**	
	private business (no			Food production for			GTZ**	
	name)	Jordan	8,700*	export			GRAIN**	68
	Saudi Arabia		42,000			Concluded		16
	Saudi investors	Saudi Arabia	25,000	Food production for export				230
	South Korean businesses	South Korea	690,000 (700,000)	Food production	Maize, wheat, potatoes, vegetables and cattle		IFPRI GTZ GRAIN	46, 77, 79, 137, 146, 156, 195, (16, 135, 158, 169, 170)
Tanzania	16 foreign companies		650,000	Biofuels	Jatrohpa, sugar cane			61
	Bioshape Holdings	The Netherlands	34,736	Biofuels				61
	Korea Rural Community Corporation (State-run virksomhed)	South Korea	100,000	Food production and "processing plants"			GTZ	130, 131
	Pharos Miro Agriculture Fund	United Arab Emirates	50,000	Food production, for the Tanzanian market	Rice			35
	Saudi Arabia (Saudiske investors)	Saudi Arabia	500,000	Food production	Wheat, rice		IFPRI	79, 98, 101, 130 156, 158 169, 170
				Biofuels	Jatropha, sugar		IFPRI**	
	Sun Biofuels	UK	40,000	(Ethanol)	cane		GTZ**	176, 223
	Yes Bank	India	30,000- 50,000	Food production	Wheat, rice			130, 179

Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation	Number
Uganda	Agri SA		170,000					112
	Egyptian Agricultural Ministry	Egypt	200	Test farm	Wheat			196
	Egypt		809.,71*	Food production	Maize, Wheat		GTZ GRAIN**	28, 102, 117, 202
Kibanda District	French investors	France	9,324*					160
Zambia	Egyptian Agricultural Ministry	Egypt						116
	China, Chinese businesses	China	2,000,000	Food production	Maize, livestock			28, 196
	US Company, (UAE Company)	US, United Arab Emirates	200,000	Biofuels	Palm oil, Jatropha		IFPRI GTZ	77, 137, 173, 182, 187
	Egyptian Agricultural Ministry	Egypt		Food production, biofuels (Ethanol)	Sugar cane			180
Zanzibar	Multinational biofuelcom-panies				Vegetables			196
Zimbabwe				Biofuels				45

Tabel 2. IFPR	ı						
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status	Trian- gulation
							GTZ
Angola	Lonrho	UK	25,000	Food production	Rice	Signed	GRAIN
Cameroon	Unknown business	China	10,000	Food production	Rice	Deal implemented	
Ethiopia	Unknown private investors	Saudi Arabia				Signed	
	Dubai World Trading Company	United Arab Emirates	5,000		The	Signed	GTZ
Mozambique	Sun Biofuels	UK		Biofuels	Jatropha	Deal implemented	GTZ
	China			Food production	Rice	Discontinued	GTZ
Nigeria	Trans4mation Agritech Ltd.	UK	10,000		GRAIN: Rice, cassava, fish	Signed GRAIN: 25 year lease	GTZ GRAIN
Sudan	Egypt			Food production	Wheat	Signed	GTZ
	Jordan		25,000	Food production	Livestock and crops	Signed	GTZ
	Kuwait					Signed	
	Qatar					Signed	
	Hail agriculture development corporation (HADCO)	Saudi Arabia	9,200- 10,700	Food production (GRAIN: fodder)	Wheat, vegetables and livestock	Signed Lease	GTZ GRAIN
	Abu Dhabi Fund for Development	United Arab Emirates	378,000			Being implemented	
Tanzania	Chongqing Seed Corp.	China	300	Food production	Rice	Signed	
	CAMS Group	UK	45,000		Sweet sorghum	Deal implemented	GTZ
	Sun Biofuels	UK	5,500	Biofuels	Jatropha	Deal implemented	GTZ

Table 3. GTZ						
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status
Angola	SOCAPALM	Belgium	58,063		Palm oil	Signed 60 year lease
The Democratic Republic of Congo	Eni	Italy	180,000		Palm oil	
	MagIndustries	Canada	68,000		Eukalyptus	Signed
Egypt	Janan	United Arab Emirates	42,000		Wheat (no export planned)	
Ethiopia	Becco Biofuels	UK	35,000	Biofuels		Signed or being negotiated
	Hovev Agriculture Ltd.	Israel	40,000 (400,000)	Biofuels		Signed
	The National Biodisel Corporation (NBC)	Israel, Germany, US	190,000	Biofuels	Jatropha and other crops	Signed or being negotiated
	United Arab Emirates		5,000		The	Signed
	IDC Investment	Denmark	15,000	Biofuels	Jatropha	Implemented
	LHB	Israel	100,000	Biofuels	Jatropha	
Kenya	Bioenergy International	Switzerland	93,000	Biofuels	Jatropha	Planned
Liberia	Dominion Farms	US	17,000		Rice and other crops	Implemented since 2003. Planned expansion
	Equatorial Biofuels Limited (EBF), wholly owend by Equa-torial Palm oil (EPO)	UK	169,000		Palm oil	Signed
Madagaskar	Sime Darby Bhd	Malaysia	220,000		Palm oil and rubber	Signed
		UK	200,000		Livestock	
	Madabeef	(Malagasy company)				
	SUCOCOMA	China	10,000		Sugar cane	
	Avana Group	UK	10,000		Jatropha	Planned

able 3. GTZ	7					
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status
	Global Agro- fuel	Lebanon	100,000		Jatropha	
	Delta Petroli	Italy	50,000		Jatropha	
	ER Company		80,000		Jatropha	Unknown
	Bio Energy Limited	Australia (Malagasy company)	120,000		Jatropha	
	GEM Biofuels	UK	452,500		Jatropha	
	J-Oils	France	10,000		Jatropha	
	JSL Agro-fuels	Germany	30,000		Jatropha	Planned
	New Ecolandy Oils (NEO)	France	35,000		Jatropha	
	NOTS Renewable Energy	The Netherlands	15,000		Jatropha	
	Oji Paper	Japan	30,000		Eucalyptus and Acacia	
	OSHO Group	South Africa	100,000	Production of ethanol	Sugar cane	
	Sithe Global	US	60,000	Production of ethanol	Palm oil	
	SOPREMAD	France	15,000	Production of ethanol	Sugar cane	
	Tozzi Renewable Energy	Italy	100,000		Jatropha	
	Unitech and United Technolo-gies Group	US	150,000	Oil production	Sunflower	
	Les Cultures du Cap Est	India (Malagasy business)	9,100	Industrial production	Palm oil	
	DEKO SA (DEKOMAD)	South Africa	33,000	Agroforestry	Pine	
Mali	Al-Korayev	Saudi Arabia	100,000	Unknown		Planned
	South Africa and China		55,000		Sugar cane	Planned

Table 3. GTZ						
Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status
Mali	Libya Projet de SOSUMAR	Libya			Sugar cane	Planned but problems concerning the compensation of the farmers.
Mozambique	Sekab	Sweden	100,000	Biofuels		Being negotiated
	Trans4mation Agric-tech Ltd	UK	10,000	Unknown		Signed
	Agri SA	South Africa	10,000,000		Maize, soy, poultry and dairy products.	Implemented soon
	Procana, owned by Bio Energy Africa	UK (share)	24,500		Sugar cane	Signed
	Agriterra Agro- investment fund	US Europe	20,000	Livestock		Implemented
	CAMEC	UK	30,000	Biofuels	Sugar cane	Implemented
Nigeria	Viscount Energy	China			Sugar cane, cassava	Being negotiated with the Nigerian government.
	Vietnam Africa Agricultural Development Company (VAADC)	Vietnam	10,000		Rice	Planned
Sudan	Saudi Arabia		500,000	Unknown		Enquired
Tanzania	China (Int. Water and Electric Corp.)	China	101,000		Maize	User rights granted
	Tadco	Saudi Arabia			Wheat	Planned
	D1 Oils	UK	60,000		Jatropha	Signed
	South Korea		ca. 100,000	Food production and processing		Being negotiated
Uganda	Heibei Company	China	40,500		Poultry, cattle, maize, rice, wheat	Signed for the first 1000 ha; further farms planned
Zambia	Marli Investments Ltd.			Biofuels		Planned
	D1 Oils	UK	45,000	Biofuels		Signed
Zimbabwe	China (Int. Water and Electric Corp.)	China	101,000		Maize	User rights granted

Recipient	Investor	Country (Investor)	Size (ha)	Purpose	Crops	Status
Algeria	Al Qudra	United Arab Emirates	1,500			Acquired
Cameroun	Jianjun Wang (Business man)	China	10,000	Food production	Rice	
Egypt	Kobebussan	Japan	1,600	Food production	Vegetables, oil, sugar, dairy products (For export)	
Malawi	Cru Investment Management	UK	2,500 + 4,000		Peppers, cassava and maize (For export)	
Senegal	Abu Dhabi Fund for Development	United Arab Emirates		Food production		Enquired
Tanzania	Chongqing Seed Group	China	300	Food production	Hybrid rice	
Uganda	Private investors	China	4,046		Rice, cereals	
	Private investors, and the government	Egypt	840,127		Wheat and maize for export	Presumably lease

Number	Source	Writer	Headline	Date
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2	Reuters Africa		Morocco leases farmland to reform agriculture	15.04.10
3	IPS	Hilaire Avril	Africa: Land grabs continue as elites resist regulation	13.04.10
			Revision des contrats a durée determinée et loi sur la privatisation	
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5	Reuters Africa	Dina Zayed	African land grab not a cure to Arab food concerns	07.04.10
6	IPS	Soumaila T. Diarra	Agriculture-Mali: Ruée des spéculateurs sur les terres arables.	06.04.10
7	The New York Times	James Kanter	Of Biofuels, land grabs and food prices	05.04.10
8	Reuters Africa	Shaimanaa Fayed	Beltone to launch \$2 bln Sudan Agriculture fund	23.03.10
9	Public Agenda	Basiru Adam	Jatropha must not deprive communities of farmlands – ActionAid	22.03.10
10	Trade Invest		Indian companies get large areas of agriculture land	18.03.10
11	The Ghanian Chronicle	Daniel Nonor	Massive jatropha farming threatens food security	18.03.10
12	Zeenew.com		In Africa biggest land grab aftaer colonial era: reports	17.03.10
13	Shelter Offshore		Is the African land grab fact - Or is it perhaps Fiction?	15.03.10
14	Alliance Sud		L'accarparement des terres  RD Congo: Quelle est la destination réelle du maïs du projet	12.03.10
15	IPS	Emmanuel Chaco	chinois?	10.03.10
16	The Guardian	John Vidal	How food and water are driving a 21st-century African land grab	07.03.10
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23	The Huffington Post	Alemayehu G. Maria,	Tear down the stownwall of secrecy	16.02.10
24	mongabay.com		EU biofuels target will starce the poor, says anti-poverty group	16.02.10
25	Trada Arabia		Mideast 'investing in innovative farming'	10.02.10
26	Toward Freedom	Al Huebner	How Agri-food corporations make the world hungry	09.02.10
27	Business Day	Godwin NNANNA	Addressing the food versus fuel debate in Ghana	08.02.10
28	MediaGlobal	Rachel Pollock	Egypt leases land in Uganda to ensure food security	04.02.10
29	Corporate Social responsibility in Asia Rural 21 - the International Journal for Rural	Helen Roeth	The land investment story - fear of unchecked land grabs	03.02.10
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30	1/2010)		Land acquisitions - land grabbed?	02.02.10
31	Trade Africa REDES - Amigos de la	Louise Redvers	India Steps up scramble with China for African energy	31.01.10
32	Tierra Uruguay		Acaparan tierras en Africa en pos de agrocombustibles	31.01.20
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34	Jeune Afrique	Samir Gharbi		27.01.10
35	This Day		Gulf firm seeks long-term lease on Tanzanian farmland	25.01.10
36	Daily Trust	Tina A Hassan	ILC lists considerations for land auquisitions	24.01.10
37	Share the Worlds resources	Michael Kugelman and Sue Levenstein	Sacrificing the Environment for food security	20.01.10
38	Tambacounda.info	Adam Laye	Lancement du projet Italy de plantation de Jatropha a Néttéboulou	19.01.10
39	The Guardian	Xan Rice in Bako	Ethiopia - country and the silver sickle - offers land dirt sheap to farming giants.	15.01.10
40	Trade Investment Africa		Promising prospects: Invet in property and mining sectors	15.01.10
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42	Daily Trust		LG acquires 30000 hectares of land ofr palm plantation	14.01.1
43	Ghana Business News	Emmanuel K Dandbevi	Biofuels industry in Ghana endangers agriculture - study	13.01.1
44	The New Vision	Gerald Tenywa	BIDCO demands more forest land	11.01.1

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47 48	Pambazuka News Agence de Presse Sénégalaise	Khadija Sharife	The South Africa-Congo concession: Exploitation or salvation?  Des millions d'hectares de terres agricoles cédés dans l'opacité, selon Le Monde diplomatique		
49	Science Daily		Land Grabs' for rice production due to supply threats	07.01.10	
50	Bloomberg	Jason McLure	Ethiopian farms lure investor funds as workers live in poverty	31.12.09	
51	Agence de Presse Sénégalaise	Souleymane Gano	Des agricultures de Dagana préoccupés par la ruée vers leurs terres	29.12.09	
52	L'Essor	Lassine Diarra	Agriculture et intégration: LUEMOA s'installe a l'Office du Niger	23.12.0	
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54	Addis Fortune	Merga Yonas	Joint venture clears land for sugarcane	20.12.09	
55	Syfia Info	Charles Nforgang	Chinois au Cameroun: Une incompréhension foncière	18.12.09	
56	New Internationalist	Rosie Martin	Hunted down. Maasai evicted so foreigners might play.	18.12.09	
57	Bloomberg	Maram Mazen	Sudan looks to attract Middle Eastern investment in farmland	17.12.09	
58	Mediaglobal	Allyn Gaestel	"land grabbing" creates tensions as countries combat local and global food insecurity	17.12.09	
59	Dawn.com	Ashfak Bokhari	Buying foreign land for food security	16.12.09	
60	Gulfnews	Abdul Rahman Shaheen	Saudi talks on farmland investments make prandress	16.12.09	
61	Tanzania Daily News	Amri Lugungulo	Tanzania: Foreign firms accused of grabbing land	15.12.09	
62	Reuters Africa	Shaimaa Fayed	Sudan eyes \$6 bln - \$7 bln investment in 2010	15.12.09	
63	Trade Arabia-Reuters		Saudi sees pregress in Africa farm investment	13.12.09	
64	The Prandress	Kurt Landsberger	Some rich nations can't grow food	11.12.09	
65	Reuters	Hereward The Netherlands	Interview - Foreigners buying African Farms a good thing	10.12.09	
66	Deutche Welle	Ludger Schadomsky	Pro: Foreign investment presents an opportunity to Africa	09.12.09	
67	All Africa.com	Wudineh Zenebe	Ethiopia: Al-Amoudi solicits additional arable land	07.12.09	
68	Jordan Times	Hani Hazaimeh	Gulf companiy interested in Sudan farming projekt	06.12.09	
69	IRIN		Mali: Land grab fears linger	02.12.09	
70	Gadaa.com		Ethiopia: Zenawi on land grab politcy that made farmers "cotton picing slaves	01.12.09	
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73	Jeune Afrique	Rémi Carayol	Les visées de l'Arabie saoudite sur les terres ferfores du continent	01.12.0	
74	La Journada (Reuters)		Rente de tierras agudizará la criceis alimentaria	29.11.0	
75	All Africa	Khadija Sharife	Africa: Land grabs - new "resource curse"?	27.11.0	
76	Business Week	Jessica Silver-Greenberg	Land rush in Africa	25.11.0	
77	All Africa	Roy Laishley	Africa: Is continent's land up for grabs?	25.11.0	
78	Washington Post Foreign Service	Stephanie McCrummen	The Ultimate crop rotation	23.11.0	
79	All Africa	Otophanie Woordminen	Africa: 'Stop acquisition of farmland in continent' - Gaddafi	20.11.0	
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80	TASCOU	Claire Konkes	Food 'imperialism' fear	20.11.0	
81	Reuters/Shirat		UAE company leases farmland in Morocco	19.11.0	
82	The Economist		If words were food, nobody would go hungry	19.11.0	
83	Reuters	Hannington Osodo	Zimbabwe farmers a boon for Nigerian agriculture	19.11.0	
84	Globe and Mail		Investing, not grabbing	19.11.0	
85	El Financiero		Concluye la cumbre mundial sobre seguridad alimentaria	17.11.0	
86	Financial Times	Andrew England	Saudi farms turn soil for seeds of change	17.11.0	
87	Circle of Blue	Andrea Hart & Brett Walton	Water scarcity, food security concerns prompt global land grab	17.11.0	
88	Reuters Africa	Svetlana Kovalyova Stephen Brown & Daniel	Buying of developing countries' farmland slows: UN	17.11.0	
89	Reuters	Flynn	UPDATE 1 - France urges rule on agri market and "land grab"	17.11.0	
90	Reuters	Stephen Brown & Svetlana Kovalyova'	Gaddafi asks food summit to stop Africa "land grab"	16.11.0	

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Number	Source	Writer	Headline	Date
91	New York Times	Andrew Rice	Is there such a thing as Agro-imperialism?	16.11.09
92	Mail & Guardian		UN hunger summit vows urgent action  Faut-il ricequer son argent dans les terres maliennes? (Interview	16.11.09
93	Defis Sud	Alice Yards	med Moussa Djiré)	16.11.09
94	Reuters	Barry Malone & Ed Cropley	Is Africa selling out its farmers?	12.11.09
95	UPI		U.N. probes rich states' African land grab	12.11.09
96	Reuters Africa	Amena Bakr	Exlusive - New Gulf fund to target Africa, E.Europe farmland.	11.11.09
97	Business Day		Farmers sample what Libya offers  Los grandes capitalistas a la conquista de tierreas de cultive de	11.11.09
98	Mapuexpress		países pobres	11.11.09
99	Bloomberg.com	Jason McLure	Ethiopia leases land for agriculture to earn foreign exchange	10.11.09
100	The East African	Paul Redfern	UN proposes public consent for land sale in Africa	09.11.09
101	Rebelion-pambazuka News	Ama Biney	Acaparamiento de tierras, un nuevo expolio africano	07.11.09
102	The independent	Danial Howden	UN attempts to slow the new scramble for Africa	07.11.09
103	Reuters India	Barry Malone	Interview: Ethiopia targets 3 milllion ha for commercial farms.	05.11.09
104	The Guardian	Nick Mathiason	Global protocol could limit Sub-Saharan land grab	02.11.09
105	All Africa		Africa: FAO launches key land initiative	30.10.09
106	Reuters	Roberta Rampton	Interview: Guidelines could help improve farmland deals - IFAD	30.10.09
107	Reuters Africa	Tamara Walid	Qatar AWF food unit eyes PAVA stake, seals Sudan deal	29.10.09
108	Daily Trust	Nasir Imam	New agricusiness colonialism threatens Africa'	27.10.09
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110	La Via Campesina	John E. Peck, Family Farm Defenders (US)	Via Campesina confronts the global agrofuel industrial complex	23.10.09
111	Inter Press News Service	Thalif Deen	Development: Land Grabs for food production under fire.	23.10.09
112	National Post	Peter Goodspeed	South Africa's white farmers hope for Congo	22.10.09
	Agencia EFE -Servicio			
113	Económico		CA farmanta matter dia Carra	21.10.09
114	BBC News		SA farmers to rent land in Congo	20.10.09
115	GRAIN		The new farm owners Thematic investor: Is there investment gold in the sevond scramble	20.10.09
116	Citywire	David Campbell	for Africa?	19.10.09
117	Reuters Africa	Roberta Rampton	Egyptian companies seek African land deals: Abaza Congo Brazzaville ofrece un tercio de su territorio a inversores	16.10.09
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## Appendix 2

Table A. Number and magnitude of land deals in all 27 countries in the screening.

Table A.			
Country	Number	Magnitude	(1000ha)
,	of deals	Min	Max
Ethiopia	26	2.892	3.524
Madagascar	24	2.745	
Sudan	20	3.171	4.899
Tanzania	15	1.717	11.000
Mali	13	2.417	2.419
Mozambique	10	10.305	
Uganda	7	1.874	1.904
DR Congo	6	11.048	
Nigeria	6	821	
Zambia	6	2.245	
Ghana	5	89	
Malawi	5	307	
Senegal	5	510	
Kenya	4	135	150
Liberia	4	421	
The Republic of			
Congo	3	10.240	
Angola	3	223	
Cameroon	3	30	
Egypt	3	54	
Zimbabwe	2	101	
Algeria	1	2	
Libya	1	35	40
Morocco	1	21	
Mauritania	1	15	
Namibia	1		
Niger	1		
Zanzibar	1		
In total	177	51.415	63.111