**Analysed data generating from the field work**

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| **Themes** | **Participants response with pseudonyms used throughout in the districts of Aboisso, Bonoua , Adiake and neighbouring villages** |
| **Objective 2: The impact of conflicting land tenure systems on land acquisition for agribusiness development in South Comoe, Cote d’Ivoire** | |
| * The interaction between customary land tenure and land acquisition for large scale farming in South Comoé, Côte d’Ivoire | **Kodjane, community member district of Bonoua** *: ‘’The two kingdoms have their own traditional rules with regards to communal lands. Customary tenure remains the dominant system governing land acquisition for agribusiness development’’*  **Assalé, community members district of Aboisso**  “*The* *land belongs to the family of a matrilineal lineage with a common descendant. The land does not belong to whoever put a value on it as opposed to the 1970’s slogan but land belong to a family’’*  **Niangoran, community member Ayenoua village/ Aboisso** ,  “*Each village usually consists of a number of indigenous people and migrant groups organised according to their first descendants. Many households of Adiaho and Adaou villages are indigenous people enjoying customary rights not held by migrants’ farmers. Even agribusinesses only benefited temporary rights over the communal land that they cultivate. The majority of customary landowners who are indigenous people only have access to land either by inheritance or donation. Those who don’t have customary rights don’t have the legal right to the land they cultivate.”*  **Taniah, community member/Bonoua**,  ‘’ *Some agribusiness companies got access to communal land early in the 1970s during the period of first agribusiness corporates in South Comoé.’’*  **Bléou, community member /Aboisso**,  ‘’ *Land has never been owned by the state. As the land is always temporarily occupied by rural communities in South Comoé.’’*  **Kraidy, community member Bonoua**.  ‘’*Traditional land has never been fully owned by the state and this would not be possible at Bonoua to even transfer communal land to agribusiness developers unless the President of Côte d’Ivoire understands each village customs relating to the communal land.’*  **Koblata, community member Ayenoua** ‘’*Only the state, and Ivorian nationals can own rural land. However, land acquisition remains a problem as most rural land is governed under various traditional rules in the kingdom of Agni and Abouré which prevents land acquisition by agribusinesses.’’*  **Adoni, community member Aboisso**  ‘’*The customary tenure has caused immense hardship for agribusiness developers across the South Comoé region*. *One of the major barriers to land acquisition is the inefficient customary land tenure system. Also, the 1998 rural Land Act No.98-750 formally recognised the customary tenure system, this has strengthened the customary rights in South Comoé* thereby *impacting negatively on land acquisition for agribusinesses* |
| * The inconsistency of statutory land tenure for land acquisition for large scale farming in South Comoe Cote d’Ivoire | **Anoh, community member in Aboisso**,  ‘*’Post-independence* *Côte d’Ivoire followed the path of the colonial administration. In order to address the land tenure systems, the land Act was passed in 1963 by the National Assembly which expounded on the question of vacant land without owners. This Act was never promulgated due to fear of violence from traditional leaders. The absence of land legislation was filled in by the declaration of President Houphouet Boigny in the 1970s that <the land belonged to whoever developed it>*.*’’*  **Agama, community member in Bonoua**.  ‘’*In the absence of land tenure legislation, Côte d’Ivoire enacted many decrees regulating the sale of land that allowed only the state to sell land. All the customary land was placed under the domain of the sate (Decree No.64-164 of April 1964).’’*  **N’da, community member in Aboisso**,  “*The adoption of the 1998 Land Act was necessary because of the informal land market and, the increasing land conflicts. Many agribusiness developers thought that communal land was vacant and only those who were financially well off could acquire land.”*  “According to me *the land legislation came under severe criticism. For example, the coexistence of the two-tenure systems acknowledged by the Rural Land Act of 1998 (Article 1) revealed tension that affected the land acquisition system for agribusiness*  **Dadié, community member in Adiake**  “*For the first time in the land tenure history in Côte d’Ivoire, small farmers can be owners of their traditional land through the issuance of a land certificate that prevented land grabbed.*” |
| * The relationship between communal landowners and agribusiness developers in South Comoé | **Assémian, community member in Adaou /Aboisso:**  ‘’*We perceive the land acquisition trends by agribusiness developers as entailing the loss of our ancestral land. also, a right of permanent land use is granted to any member of our family while the grant of temporary right of land use is compulsory to agribusiness developers, we don’t know them so they cannot have a permanent right on our land.’’*  **Otchomou, community member in Bonoua**  ‘’*The land was not for sale as a family legacy. Land sale today remains a discretion contract between parties. We think that the conflictual land market is not as a result of the customary land tenure systems instead they originated from unclear land contracts signed between some communities and agribusiness developers with regards to the domientche (sharecropping) practices rights in place.’’*  **N’doli, agribusiness developer in Toumanguié/Aboisso** :  ‘’ *Not all small holders have customary rights to be issued a land certificate by the government. For example, Article 1 of the Rural Land Act No 98-750 declares that only the state authorities and Ivorian nationals can own rural land.’’*  **Koblata, community member in Ayenoua**  ‘’*I think that local communities do not appreciate land acquisition for agribusiness development due to cultural constraints that often disturb agribusiness developers. The issues of customary rights lead to reoccurring land tension between agribusiness developers and local communities.’’*  **Benié, a senior government local representative in Bonoua**  *‘’The neo-customary land tenure system has hitherto been dominant in rural South Comoé region. The lineage elders have customary rights to freely transfer land to whoever they want.’’*  **Dadié, government representative in Bonoua**  ‘’*The unclear customary tenure creates more conflicts between agribusiness corporates and communal land owners during land acquisition. Many communities find themselves landless after all.’’* |
| The views of various stakeholders on land acquisition by agribusiness developers | **Alasane, community member in Ayénouan/Aboisso**  ‘’*I do not feel happy and secure with the customary rights that should safeguard communal land on behalf of the entire community. The customary law here is complex towards outsiders.*  **Koné, community leader in Ayénouan** ‘’*We have suffered from encroachment by the indigenous community from Adaou village located about 9km from our village in majority inhabited by the indigenous community of Agni sawih. It was in May 2014 we learned that an agribusiness company originated from Israel was about to move on our traditional land. The village community of Adaou holder of customary rights of identified land in Ayénouan village, mainly inhabited by migrant farmers, decided to lease a plot of 50 hectare to the agribusiness corporate for palm oil plantation.’’*  ‘’*One agribusiness corporate acquired our traditional land. Only three main stakeholders (the customary chief and traditional ruler from Adaou and the chief of Ayénouan) agree to lease land with a promise that the lease of the land would only be possible after obtaining the customary rights of an established land certificate to the agribusiness with a lease of 90 years from 1st October 2008 to end on 30 September 2098. On May 2014 we were informed that our community leaders have given 50 hectare of land to one of the agribusiness corporates without our consent to this transaction. We refuse to let our ‘ancestral’ land be stolen.’’*  **kassi, community leader in Yapokro**  ‘’*Land and water resources were abundant around the village of Yapokro. Today it is so bad they grabbed all the land for agribusiness palm oil plantation. Here they gave us a piece of land because there is not much land left for us. In Yapokro land is what we have. At the time of the SODEPALM, the land was quite simply grabbed by the state. Nobody cares about us, now we want to extend the village along the main road is meant to take part in our land.’’*  **Alou, community member in Aboisso**  *‘’In Aboisso alone agribusiness corporates X, Y and Z owned land above 600 hectares each for palm oil plantation. Some of the agribusiness corporates are attracted by land acquisition because of the absence of clear land legislation and land acquisition systems.’’*  **Adoni, agribusiness developer in Aboisso**:  ‘’*Based on our own experience, the customary right represents one of the problems to the development of agribusiness in Côte d'Ivoire due to land conflicts in place. We have to discuss with the community leaders to obtain land, but we do not know the exact traditional rules related to the land resources. We also do not know the list of family members who own communal land at the time of land market negotiation.’’*  **kobenan ,agribusiness developer**  “*The productivity of the village plantations is around 5 to 8 tons per hectare on average per year and one ton per hectare could generate around 40.000/Franc CFA (67US$). What is more the industrial plantation could generate twice more benefits with more financial means than the village plantation. However, the land tenure system remains a major problem that stymieing the agribusiness development”*  **Koutou, agribusiness developer in Aboisso :**  ‘’*If I know the members of a family who own land, I would like to ask each of them to sign a contract, but from the first landowner such as the grandfather to the current grandchild, there are several uncles, aunts, and nephews. All of them claim to be landowners from the same descendant. In the absence of a land certificate, most of the time landownership is with problems. This does is not free the landmark et for agribusiness development.’’* |
| **Objective 3:The mechanism of benefit sharing linked to the establishment of agribusiness development in South Comoe region such as oil palm** | |
| * The consent before accessing land for large-scale/long-term farming of oil palm plantations | **Harouna, a community member in Bonoua**  *“In Bonoua, communal lands were traditionally allocated to rural communities. However, agribusiness developers usually only sought the consent of lineage elders to have access the communal land to establish their plantations.’’*  **Amalaman, a community in Adaou/Aboisso**  “*Agribusiness for oil palm production was welcomed on communal lands due to the potential benefits it brought in Aboisso.* *You know the agribusiness developers promised to construct hospitals, schools and roads such that we did not have to worry. The agribusinesses supposed to play a role in supplying young palm trees, and fertilizers to grow palm plantations. That was when the lineage elders ceded land for commercial farming to them’’.* |
| * The participants’ satisfaction with the benefits sharing modalities derived from the establishment of large oil palm plantations | **Bohoussou , community member in Bonoua**  “*Smallholders were not able to clearly participate in the benefit sharing arrangement from the establishment of oil palm plantation. You know if the situation persists, smallholders’ households would have been affected negatively”.*  **Adjéi,community member in Bonoua**  :  *“There was no benefit from oil palm investments. Very often agribusiness development benefited a few elected authorities and community leaders, while many smallholders were suffering. Such injustice has generated negative attitudes among local community members of Aboisso, Bonoua towards agribusiness developers.* *As they represent the main users of communal land with more than 30,000 hectare of palm oil production*.”(Adjéi, interview in Bonoua, July 2019).  **Koffi community member in Yapokro** ‘’ *Some family leaders elected authorities and village leaders select members of communities to benefit from the oil palm investments based on lineage’.*  **Adoubi , community member in Assalekro**  *“Sometimes only households who were directly involved with agribusinesses could benefit. For example, selling their produce to large scale agribusinesses received benefits from agribusiness investors through incentives, training and access to fertilizers’’.*  **Assoa, community member in Aboisso**  “*Through privatization of state-owned companies, the palm oil sector experienced overproduction which led to a drop in prices. Smallholders did not receive any compensation from agribusiness investors for the loss of our palm produce’’.*  **Niamian, community member in Assouba /Aboisso**  “*Rural communities were ignored in the benefit sharing from land acquisition for commercial farming under the colonial administration. The arrangement was made behind closed doors and that was disturbing to the community members. If communities around palm plantation production could get better financial support, they would support the plantation investment initiative’’*.  **Tamikolo, community member in Toumanguié */Aboisso***  *‘’Most of the communities in Ayénouan, Yapokro, Soumié, and Assalékro and Toumanguié villages around the plantation estates received a little financial support from the oil palm investors that only benefited local elected authorities and few family heads. It also remains a question whether financial support towards few family heads could make up the loss of land’’*.  **Prégnon, community member in Adiaké**  *“During oil palm production, many smallholders under contract signed realized that they earned less money than expected. The situation led to conflicts because agribusiness developers with bank loans tried to make profit at the expense of smallholders. This made smallholders to start delivering their products to other agribusiness developers with whom no contracts exist*ed”. |
| * The existing policy framework guiding benefit sharing from the exploitation of land resources | **Agribusiness Developer in Aboisso** *“There was the need of clear laws on how land was transferred to agribusiness investors. The sharing of profits had to be done through a well signed document in the name of each community member or the family who owns the land. Having a clear contract signed would enhance investor’s commitment towards respecting the terms of the benefits sharing”.*  **Government official in Bonoua**  *“I think that rural communities were not getting fair benefits because the benefits were largely skewed in favour of the agribusiness corporates. The distribution of benefits needed policy that was viable taking into account the interests of smallholders”.*  **Péléforo, government official in Adiaké**  *“The lack of fair benefit sharing was because of unclear policy that created a network of relationship involving local elected authorities in land acquisition and distribution of benefits in a way that it gave them more advantages than rural community members”.* |
| **Objective 4: Land reform policy in Cote d’Ivoire and its impacts on agribusiness development in the case of oil palm** | |
| * The perceptions of stakeholders on the effects of post-colonial land reform policy on the growth of agribusiness in South Comoé | **Interview with Dadié government authority**  *“The post-colonial land laws were an extension of the legacy of the land policy implemented by the colonial administration which ignored the uncultivated land of the Agni sanwi and Abouré kingdoms in South Comoé region.”*  **Zaka, government authority in Adiaké**  *“The post-colonial administration carried out the legacy of the colonial land tenure systems which ignored the notion of vacant land.”*  **Yao, government authority in Aboisso** “*The post-colonial land policy failed to provide regulations to prevent land loss resulting from the establishment of large-scale farming.”*  **Kouassi, local government authority in Adiake *:***  *“After decades of lack of land policy, the state instituted the land reform in 1998. The objective of the policy was to promote equitable access to land and reduce land conflicts in rural areas.”*  **Bindé , local government authority in Aboisso**  *“In the three districts of South Comoé, the long absence of land policy encouraged land occupation by foreign investors for large scale farming. There was no consistent land policy under the rural land act that protect the communities regarding their occupied land. Only few indigenous people were granted land certificates since the adoption of the land reform programme in 1998.”*  **Beda, local government authority in Aboisso**  *“The decentralization of the services of the Ministry of Agriculture and the allocation of more responsibility to the local government representatives to issue land certificates, will facilitate local actors’ involvement in large scale farming.”*  **Assoumou, local government authority in Aboisso**  *“Cote d’Ivoire is the world largest cocoa producer; however, smallholders are hesitant to lease land to agribusiness developers due to the inconsistency of land policy that regulate land acquisition. Similarly, many indigenous people find it difficult to exercise their tenure rights after the death of their father under the existing policies. Migrant farmers also have difficulty proving their propert*y *rights.”*  **Yapo , agribusiness developer in Soumié**  *“The large-scale plantations investors were ignored from land acquisition in communal land under the adoption of land policies. Agribusiness development in South Comoé did not receive any attention in the rural land act of 1998.”*  **Assépo, agribusiness developer in Bonoua :**  *“The smallholders bring their land and get a rent proportional to the value of the land after production. Agribusiness corporations -see the land reform programme as a threat for large scale farming because there are no regulations for the establishment of agribusinesses.”*  **Sindou, rural community member in Adiaho/ Bonoua** :  *“Rural community members continue to claim fair benefit emanating from the agribusiness corporation. They also claim back their land forcefully occupied by agribusiness corporates due to unclear land market in oil palm farming.”* |