

# **LARGE-SCALE LAND ACQUISITION IN AFRICA: A CASE-STUDY IN SOCIAL IMPACTS**

## 非洲大规模土地征购的社会影响

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# LAND IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

## 撒哈拉以南非洲的土地

■ Often abundant 通常很辽阔

■ Increasingly attractive to foreign investors

对国外投资者的吸引力越来越大

- For food 为了食物
- For biofuels 为了生物燃料

For estimates see Lorenzo Cotula, *The Great African Land Grab?* (2013) 估算面积可参见Lorenzo Cotula, *The Great African Land Grab?* (2013)

Typically owned by villagers 土地一般归村民所有

- Under a “lineage mode of production” 进行“代代相传的生产”
- Based on/derived from war-lord enslavement in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries 基于/源于18、19世纪的军阀-奴役制度。

# IMPACTS 影响

## ➤ Much controversy 争议颇多

- Depending on point of view 取决于观点不同
  - The answer to agrarian poverty 能解决农村贫困
  - The creation of a new impoverished landless class 创造了新的无地贫困阶级

## ➤ Not much solid evidence of measured impacts 但对于影响的衡量并无坚实的证据

## ➤ Present study 当前的研究

- An attempt to measure impacts 试图衡量产生的影响
- Case: Addax Biofuels in Sierra Leone, on 12,000 ha. of little utilized orchard savanna (grassland) 案例：塞拉利昂的阿达克斯生物燃料公司，征购了12000公顷利用率较低的热带稀林果树林草原。

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# IMPACT ASSESSMENT IS HARD

## 影响评估很难做

**Need for proper sampling, well designed tools 需要适当的抽样以及设计良好的工具**

### ➤“Gold Standard” “黄金准则”

- before-and-after data 前后数据比对
- ideally for same set of interviewees 最好是同一组受访者
- but what to do about “new arrivals”? 但“新来者”怎么办？

### ➤Less than golden 次黄金准则

- a valid control group 有效的控制组
- but is the control equivalent to the treatment case? 但控制组与实验组等同吗？
- even a nearby control sample might be significantly different in sociological or environmental terms 即便是附近的控制样本也可能在社会和环境方面与实验组截然不同。

# OUR STUDY OF ADDAX

## 我们的阿达克斯研究

**Disclosure:** our study was funded by Addax under its donor reporting requirements 揭秘：我们的研究受阿达克斯的资助，因为阿达克斯需要向捐赠者报告项目情况

We negotiated contractual freedom to design the study in whatever way we liked 我们通过谈判获得了以自己的方式进行研究设计的自由权

**Study design:** randomised survey of 1390 household heads (c. 20%) in 73 villages (of which 21 villages were in a control set)

研究设计：从73个村（其中有21个属于控制组）的1390位户主（占总数的20%）中随机抽样

There was provision for both **quantitative** and (separate) **qualitative** data collection 收集了定量和（单独的）定性数据。

# “APPLES AND ORANGES”?

## “苹果和橘子”？

**With/without studies fail if the “without” belongs to a different species**  
如果“无项目组”树种情况完全不同，那对有项目与无项目的比较研究会毫无意义。

- ✓ Addax worked in about 60 villages (we sampled 53) but had signed and relinquished leases in 21 other villages 阿达克斯在60个村征购了土地（我们抽取了其中的53个），还和另外21个村签订后又取消了租赁合同。
- ✓ The criterion for releasing these villages was distance from the Rokel river (for pumping irrigation water) 不再租用这些村庄的土地是考虑到它们离罗克尔河的距离（抽取灌溉用水）
  - (Pumped) irrigation was introduced to the area by the company 公司将灌溉用水引入该地区
  - in other respects, the treatment and control villages shared environmental and sociological characteristics 在其它方面，作为实验组和控制组的村庄在环境和社会方面的特征相似。



# WHAT OUR DATA DO NOT (YET) SHOW

## 我们的数据（还）没有说明什么

**The differences are synchronous; no differences over time are assessed** 差异是共时性的，历时的差异未被评估

- We have access to earlier survey data sets, but the before-and-after data are yet to be analyzed 我们能获取早期的调研数据，但前后的比对还需要分析

**Interviewing heads of households introduces bias: 访谈户主可能会带来偏差:**

- gender bias, due to the fact that only 6% of households are female headed (by widows); 性别偏差，因为只有6%的户主是女性（寡妇）
- age bias, due to the fact that the youngest and oldest adults tend not to be heads of households 年龄偏差，因为年轻或年老者一般都不是户主

**Compensated by randomly sampling one other adult from every household using the same interview instrument** 随机从每户中选取一人进行同样的访谈，以纠正偏差。

- these data will allow assessment of whether impacts are strongly gendered (most “other adults” were female) 通过这些数据可以考察项目的影响是否有性别偏差（绝大多数“其他成年人”都是女性）

# PRE-ANALYTIC EXPECTATIONS

## 分析数据之前的期望

**Independent assessors required Addax to report on community impact criteria** 独立评估人希望阿达克斯报告社区影响的标准

- Income effects, food security, health, etc 对收入、粮食安全、健康等的影响

**Staff of Community Development and Services department of Addax stated prior outcome expectations** 阿达克斯发展与服务部的人员陈述早前的预期影响

- Expectations confirmed/disconfirmed by subsequent data analysis 预期被之后的数据分析证实或推翻

# RESULTS 结果

**Data are reported according to three groups of household heads: 根据三组户主样本获得的数据报告**

- Those who worked for the company (“ABSL”) 被公司（ABSL）雇用的人
- Those who were self employed in 53 villages where Addax had rented land (“Non ABSL”) 53个村庄中自我雇用的人（阿达克斯在这些村租赁了土地）（非ABSL工人）
  - A majority of “non ABSL” belonged to families drawing rents from the company 大部分“非ABSL”从公司获得租金
- Those who lived in the 21 control villages (“Control”) 生活在21个控制组村庄的人（“控制组”）

# INCOME 收入

*ABSL pre-analytical expectations: Many of household heads have been compensated by ABSL, or received land rent, and have employment by ABSL. There has also been an increase in local business, trade and services, which should see an increase in cash income within the communities.*

ABSL在数据分析前的预期：很多户主都获得ABSL公司的补偿，或者能够收取土地租金，并被ABSL雇用。本地的商业、贸易和服务业都有增长，社区内居民的现金收入也有增长。

# REPORTED INCOME

## 受访者报告的收入

	SELF-EMPLOYMENT 自我雇用	N. of persons reporting 报告者人数	WAGES 工资	N. of persons reporting 报告者人数
Average ABSL worker ABSL工人平均	Le 0.85 million 85万利昂	192/722	Le 1,54 million 154万利昂	428/722
Average NON ABSL 非ABSL工人平均	Le 0.76 million 76万利昂	312/978	Le 1.32 million 132万利昂	100/953

COMMENTS: self-reported income is likely to be under-estimated;  
much ABSL employment is seasonal or part time

注：自我报告的收入一般会少报，ABSL公司的很多工作都是季节性的，或非全天的

# DECLARED INCOME SOURCES

## 报告的收入来源

	ABSL EMPLOYMENT ABSL 工人	NO ABSL EMPLOYMENT 非ABSL工人	Significance (Chi Sq.) 显著性水平 (卡方检验)
Self-employed 自我雇用	192 (26.6%)	324 (33.1%)	***
Wages 工资	430 (59.6%)	101 (10.3%)	***
Livestock 牲畜	103 (14.3%)	190 (19.4%)	***
Crops 作物	309 (42.8%)	462 (47.2%)	*
Animal produce 畜产品	8 (<1%)	8 (<1%)	
Other agriculture 其他农业收入	46 (6.4%)	72 (7.4%)	
Pensions 养老金	1	0	
Remittances 汇款	100 (13.9%)	225 (23.0%)	***
Other其他	33 (4.6%)	52 (5.3%)	

NOTE: income source in 2015, employment history with ABSL;  
much ABSL employment is seasonal

注：2015年的收入来源，从ABSL获得雇工历史，很多ABSL工人都是季节工

# HOUSEHOLD ASSETS 家庭资产

ASSET 资产	WORKED FOR ABSL (n = 722) 为ABSL工作过	NEVER WORKED FOR ABSL (n = 980) 从未在ABSL工 作过
Bicycle 自行车	133 (18.4%)	93 (9.5%)
Radio 收音机	455 (63.0%)	527 (53.8%)
Cell phone 手机	559 (77.4%)	543 (55.4%)
Bed Mattress 床垫	446 (61.8%)	535 (54.6%)
Motorbike 摩托车	85 (11.8%)	91 (9.3%)
Plastic chairs 塑料椅	111 (15.4%)	117 (11.9%)
Mosquito net 蚊帐	530 (73.4%)	722 (73.7%)
Generator 发电机	22 (3.0%)	26 (2.7%)
Iron cooking pot 铁锅	583 (80.7%)	778 (79.4%)
Iron kettle 铁壶	202 (30.0%)	296 (30.2%)

NOTE: Figures in bold, statistically significant difference at  $p < 0.05$  (Chi Square)

注：黑体字表示统计上具有显著意义，卡方检验， $p < 0.05$

# IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMY

## 经济状况改善

	BETTER 改善	WORSE 恶化	SAME 不变
ABSL workers ABSL工人	464 (66.9%)	158 (24.2%)	62 (8.9%)
Non ABSL 非ABSL工人	317 (45.4%)	291 (41.7%)	68 (9.8%)
CONTROL 控制组	111 (35.9%)	135 (42.7%)	42 (1.6%)

COMMENT: as assessed by individual household heads, reference year 2011

注：根据户主的个人判断，参考年份为2011年



# QUALITY OF LIFE WITH ABSL

## 有了ABSL后的生活质量

	ABSL ABSL工人	NON-ABSL 非ABSL工人	CONTROL 控制组
Business is better 生意更好做了	57%	50%	44%
Life is better for youth 年轻人过得 更好了	42%	38%	31%
Life is better for women 女性过得更 好了	49%	40%	37%
Life is better for old people 老人过得更 好了	33%	28%	19%

COMMENT: 94% of respondents were male heads of household

注：94%的受访者是男性户主

# FOOD SECURITY 粮食安全

*ABSL pre-analytical expectations: [ABSL farmer support programmes have] increased crop yields in the area. This should reduce food shortage during the hunger months. Food storage, logistics and access to market do however remain much the same during rainy season / hungry months. Ideally the trend should be positive year on year; however 2014 must have seen an impact due to Ebola.*

ABSL在数据分析之前的预期：ABSL农民资助计划会增加该地区的作物产量。这会减少饥饿时期的粮食短缺问题。但在雨季或饥饿时期，食物的储存、运输和市场的可及性基本上没有变化。理想状态下，这一趋势会逐年改善。但2014年需要考虑到埃博拉病毒的影响。

# BORROWING OF RICE IN HUNGRY SEASON

## 饥饿时期借粮

	WORKED FOR ABSL ABSL工人	NEVER WORKED FOR ABSL 非ABSL工人	
FOOD DEBTS 2014 2014年借粮了	570 [79.2%]	757 [77.2%]	
NO FOOD DEBTS 2014 2014年没有借粮	150 [20.8%]	223 [22.8%]	
TOTAL 总计	720 [42.4%]	980 [57.7%]	

NOTE: difference is NOT significant at  $<0.05$  (2x2 Chi Square)  
注：差异不显著， $P < 0.05$ （2x2卡方检验）

# HOME-GROWN (NON-RICE) FOOD CROPS

## 家庭种植的粮食作物（除大米以外）

	ABSL workers ABSL工人	NON-ABSL 非ABSL工人	CONTROL 控制组
- garden crops 庭院作物	548 (76.2%)	778 (79.4%)	138 (83.1%)
- Cassava 木薯	462 (64.3%)*	681 (69.5%)	128 (77.1%)*
- sweet potato 红薯	261 (36.3%)	384 (39.2%)	60 (36.1%)
- Pepper 辣椒	285 (39.6%)	391 (39.9%)	69 (41.6%)
- Tomato 西红柿	41 (5.7%)	72 (7.3%)	10 (6.0%)

NOTE: For cassava the difference between ABSL WORKERS and CONTROL is significant at  $p < 0.01$  (Chi Square 2x2).

注：在ABSL工人和控制组之间，木薯的差异显著（ $p < 0.01$ ，2x2卡方检验）

# DOMESTIC ANIMALS 家畜家禽

	COWS 牛	GOATS 山羊	SHEEP 绵羊	CHICKENS 鸡
ABSL (=692) ABSL工人	0.87% (4.67)	28.90% (6.51)	17.63% (6.84)	58.09% (8.31)
Non ABSL (=696) 非ABSL工人	0.29% (6.50)	28.30% (3.42)	18.53% (2.68)	60.92% (7.19)
CONTROL (n = 311) 控制组	0.96% (4.67)	23.79% (2.89)	19.94% (2.45)	60.13% (8.44)

NOTE: figures in brackets = animals per owner

注：括号中的数字表示每人拥有的动物数量

COMMENT: domestic animals are important as savings against sickness and hunger

注：家畜家禽是对抗疾病和饥饿的重要储备。

# DAMAGE TO TREE CROP ECONOMY?

## 对林业经济的危害？

ABSL pre-analytical expectations: *Some palm trees have been taken out by ABSL. Some ABSL and villages have planted new plantation crops also with assistance of ABSL (Re-vegetation program).*

ABSL在数据分析前的预期：有些棕榈树被ABSL砍掉了。在ABSL的帮助下，有些村庄以及ABSL的区域种下了新树种（再种植项目）

# TREE CROP HOLDINGS 林木持有量

	ABSL AREA % farmers with this tree crop ABSL区内拥有 该树种的农民百 分比	Stands per farmer 每人的林木数量	CONTROL % farmers with this tree crop 控制组内拥有该 树种的农民百分 比	Stands per farmer 每人的林木数量
ALL 总计	66.3		77.2	
Oil Palm 棕榈树	55.4	370	60.1	118
Citrus 柑橘	23.9		25.1	
Mango 芒果	55.1	28.4	67.5	30.6
Guinea Mango 几内亚芒果	28.1	8.9	32.5	9.4
Coconut 椰子树	24.5		28.9	
Cashew 腰果树	24.5	4.8	30.9	45.5
Pineapple 菠萝	35.1		33.8	
Guava 番石榴	20.2		17.4	
Banana 香蕉	45.5		46.3	
Plantain 芭蕉	15.3		18.0	

# LABOUR 劳动力

*ABSL pre-analytical expectation: Inflation and general economic growth are the key drivers of cost increase in Sierra Leone. ABSL has some impact on general labour cost as the company operates in a formal manner away from the traditional informal economy of using daily casual workers, barter, in-kind exchanges and other informal labour practices. ABSL thus also contributes to create more and more of a formal economy within a larger and larger area.*

ABSL在数据分析前的预期：塞拉利昂的通货膨胀和总体经济增长是成本上升的主要原因。ABSL对整体的劳动力成本会有一些影响，因为公司采用正式的雇用制度，有别于每天临时雇工、换工、实物交换以及其他形式的非正式的传统用工方式。因此，ABSL为正式经济在更广阔的区域推广做出了贡献。



# ACCESS TO LABOUR 劳动力的使用

	Casual labour 临时工	Kompin 轮流换工	Tractor 使用拖拉机
ABSL ABSL工人	62.9	34.5	11.2
NON ABSL 非ABSL工人	69.5	36.2	12.6
CONTROL 控制组	65.6	40.5	10.3

COMMENT: In line with ABSL's own expectation farmers are strongly of the opinion that labour has become more expensive with the advent of ABSL as a competitor for farm labour in the region.

注：和ABSL的预期类似，当地农民强烈感到，随着ABSL开始在当地雇用农业工人，雇工变贵了。

# CIVIL CONFLICTS 内部冲突

ABSL pre-analytical expectation (in regard to land and labour disputes):  
对于土地和劳动力纠纷，ABSL在数据分析之前的预期：

*Greater influx of monies through land rent, compensation, salaries and business and services has caused people to distrust each other*

由于地租、赔偿金、工资、商业和服务等，更多的资金流入该地，这导致了人与人之间的不信任

# NO CHANGE? 没有变化?

	<b>TOTAL SAMPLE, n = 1700 总样本量: 1700</b>	<b>CONTROL, n = 309 控制组: 309</b>
Land cases 土地案例	71 (4.2%)	15 (4.9%)
Woman damage cases 女性受伤害的案例	91 (5.3%)	16 (5.2%)
Debt cases 债务纠纷案例	162 (9.5%)	28 (9.1%)
Labour cases 劳动力纠纷案例	48 (2.8%)	12 (3.9%)
Theft 偷盗	42 (2.5%)	7 (2.3%)

# LAND ACCESS 土地准入

ABSL pre-analytical expectations: ABSL在数据分析前的预期:

- *If [householders] are landowners they will receive land rent and agricultural support through the FDP/FDS and VVG. 如果农民拥有土地，那他们将获得土地租金，并通过FDP/FDS/VVG得到农业支持*
- *ABSL has taken land which was previously cultivated, so villagers will see this as a negative impact. 而ABSL得到了原来的耕地，村民会认为这是一个负面的影响。*
- *“Farm land size” for traditional inefficient and unsustainable slash and burn subsistence farming has decreased 用于传统、低效、不可持续的焚耕农业的“农场面积”减少了。*

# AVAILABILITY OF LAND TYPES

## 可获得的土地类型

		ABSL ABSL工人	NON-ABSL 非ABSL工人	CONTROL 控制组
BUSH 灌木	Has this type of farm 有	64.6	70.1	65.0
	Has sufficient land of this type 充足	41.4	45.4	54.4
SWAMP 沼泽	Has this type of farm 有	42.5	47.4	72.7
	Has sufficient land of this type 充足	27.4	32.4	61.4
GRASSLAND 草地	Has this type of farm 有	30.2	33.6	36.3
	Has sufficient land of this type 充足	20.3	23.4	31.7
GARDEN 菜园	Has this type of farm 有	27.7	30.6	35.0
	Has sufficient land of this type 充足	16.3	20.8	28.0

NOTE: numbers are percentages of households 注：表中数据为农户百分比

# REPORTED BENEFITS OF ABSL

## ABSL报告的利润

	A. RENT (% of N) A.租金（占比）	B. FARM SUPPORT (% of N) 农场支持（占比）	C. EMPLOYMENT (% of N) 就业（占 比）
ABSL worker (N=695) ABSL工人	31.7	23.3	71.2
NON ABSL (N=696) 非ABSL工人	36.0	22.7	1.0
CONTROL (N=311) 控制组	5.5	3.2	4.2

NOTE: Only about one third the sample resident in the ABSL project area reported receiving a share of land rent (column A) but 81 per cent responded affirmatively to the question “does your family own land in this village?”

注：ABSL项目区的样本中只有三分之一的人得到了土地租金（见A列），但有81%对“您家是否在村里拥有土地”的回答是肯定的。

# SUMMARY OF SURVEY RESULTS

## 调研结果小结

- There is little clear evidence from survey results that ABSL workers or farmers living in the ABSL area are at a disadvantage, when compared to a control group

与控制组相比，并无清晰的证据表明ABSL项目区的工人或农民处于更弱势的地位。

- The survey reveals a major anomaly – of 81% heads of household qualified to receive a share of land rents only 34% declare that they receive such rents

调研显示了一个明显的异常现象：81%的户主有权获得土地租金，而只有34%的人表明他们得到了这部分钱。

# PROBING THE RENT ANOMALY

## QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE

### 探究租金的异常之处：定性的数据

Qualitative investigation was undertaken in nine villages under the Addax scheme 在阿达克斯项目区的9个村庄中进行了定性调研

Interviewing was undertaken by the field team leader (Esther Mokuwa) after completion of the survey 在完成定量调研后，调研组组长（伊斯帖·玛库瓦）进行了访谈

The method used was in depth one-on-one interviewing with representative members of land-holding lineages 对每个拥有土地的家庭的代表进行一对一的深度访谈

Particular attention was paid to the land access rights of women and youth 特别注意了解妇女和年轻人的土地准入权



# RENT DISTRIBUTION 租金的分配

Addax distributed rents to three members of land holding groups per village, irrespective of the number of land holding families in the village 不管村庄内拥有土地的家庭人口数量有多少，阿达克斯都将租金分配给了家庭中的任意三个人

Money was transferred by cheque, generally encashed in Makeni (nearest large town) 租金是以支票的形式支付，可以在最近的城镇马克尼兑付。

Only a few key elders would know how much money was due 只有少数年长者清楚有多少钱到账了

Distribution was arranged by elders, sometimes in the privacy of “the bush” 老人负责分配，有时候是秘密分配。

Younger, female and collateral members of land holding groups were “given something” but never an equal share 年轻人、女性和旁系亲属也能“多少得点钱”，但不会是同等的份额。

# WOMEN'S (PATRILINEAL) LAND RIGHTS

## 女性（父系）的土地权

Do women have right over a land in this village? *From the father's [lineage] the woman is born into, [just] as the son; so both have [a] right [female land owner]* 村里的女人是否拥有土地权？从父系而言，女儿和儿子一样都拥有土地权[女性土地所有者]

*One must be respectful to acquire land and not to stand against [people] as men do, but be submissive as a women then it becomes yours...I have full right to acquire land from my father (paternal line).* [female married stranger] 不要像男人一样和其他人作对，要像女人一样柔顺，有礼有节地得到土地。我可以从父亲那里（父系的）获得完全的土地权[一位已婚女性，姓名未知]

# EXCLUSION IN DISTRIBUTION

## 分配中的排斥

- Female land owners should be included. We should [have?] the exact money they give [those who collect the money]... they give us any amount they feel like... I don't know whether [to] blame Addax or [the male elders who] went and collected the money [female, land-owner]

女性土地所有者应该被包括在内。我们应该知道他们[那些收钱的人]得到的具体数额。他们只是想给我们多少就给多少。我不知道该怪阿达克斯还是该怪那些去阿达克斯取钱的男性长者。[一位女性土地所有者]

- All we saw was money and we don't know the amount. [female, land-owner]

我们看到了钱，但我们不知道总数。[一位女性土地所有者]

- Women should be given the right to collect in any [arrangement] between the family and Addax... They [the male elders] represent me and the amount of sharing the money will not be the same. The man gets higher than the women [female, land owner]

如果是家庭和阿达克斯的经济往来，女人也应该有权去领钱.....让那些人（男性长者）代表我去和我自己去相比，我得到的钱肯定不一样。男人得到的总比女人多[一位女性土地所有者]

# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

## 研究发现小结

We found little evidence of alleged negative consequences of the Addax scheme 鲜有证据表明阿达克斯项目产生了负面的影响

Our study suggests that winners and losers are found at the sub-household level; further analysis will test this possibility 在家庭内部产生了赢家和输家，还需要进一步的分析证实这一可能性

Qualitative research suggests women's land rights have been ignored 定性的研究表明女性的土地权被忽视了

# A LOCAL SUMMATION

## 当地人的总结

*“Our people most times grumble [that] they had more money when they were farming than now [that] Addax is using the land”.*

*“我们大多数时候都抱怨，自己种地比阿达克斯包地挣得更多。”*

[female land owner]

[一位女性土地所有者]

# AND NOW... 而现在

## **Addax sold its stake to a Chinese-British partnership in 2016**

2016年阿达克斯将股份卖给了中英合作伙伴

- Sugar cane had proved unprofitable 种甘蔗不挣钱
  - The new owners will grow cassava, a crop that has a local market as food as well as being a potential source of ethanol 新的土地所有者开始种木薯，可以在本地作为食物出售，也能转换为酒精。

## **Tensions over land will remain 关于土地的冲突将会持续**

- Arguably, these are primarily tensions within the local lineage system of land rights, centred on women 值得争论的是，村庄内部的土地权世袭制出现了紧张，主要是关于女性
  - If so, the new owners will have to come to terms with the social facts of African anthropology in regard to land 若如此，那新的土地所有者必须要向非洲人的人类学关于土地的社会事实做出妥协。