

Can the Grow initiative contribute to poverty reduction and community development through agribusiness?

A case study of the African Agricultural Development Company's irrigated farming hub", Ghana



LUND
UNIVERSITY

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE PROGRAMME IN
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Lund University

Sofie Fransson

Supervisor: Catia Gregoratti

24/05/2018

Lund

Abstract

The current debate concerning land acquisition for commercial agriculture is whether it can contribute to poverty reduction by developing communities through successful agribusiness, or whether it leads to dispossession of traditional land users. Thus, this research is a case study of the African Agricultural Development Company (AgDevCo) and their irrigated farming hub in Babator, Ghana. It will examine how AgDevCo's privatization of land affects the livelihood of traditional land users and what implications this has on gender. This will be analyzed through Harvey's theory of accumulation by dispossession (ABD), together with Hartsock's notion of social reproduction, to examine the micro-politics of the relevant processes. My findings demonstrate that privatization of land has led to a continuum of events that interconnect with suppression of the commons, alternative forms of production, the commodification of labor power, and gender relations. This has led to the loss of income-generating activities and thereby reduced income, destruction of the traditional farming system, and food insecurity. Furthermore, community members have become 'property-less proletarians' and integrated into the capitalist system. This has affected women more since they are subject to social reproduction to a greater extent than men, and land transactions are thereby gendered.

Key words: Grow, land grabbing, accumulation by dispossession, developing countries, Ghana

Words: 9906

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) for granting me the Minor Field Study (MFS) scholarship. Furthermore, there are many people I want to thank that made this research possible. Firstly, I would like to thank Ange-David Baïmey at GRAIN for introducing me to the case and mediated contacts in Ghana. I would also like to express my gratitude to my research assistant, translator and friend Koffi Wisdom Adjawlo from Youth Volunteers for the Environment (YVE), Ghana, who was a great source of information and support during the field study. In addition, I also want to thank Sandra Cobblah, also at YVE Ghana, for assisting with information prior to the research. Additionally, many thanks to the community members of Babator for welcoming me, and the respondents who shared their experience and local knowledge with me, making this dissertation possible. Especially thanks to Mary Akore, who welcomed me into her home during the field trips to Babator, and to Mr. Honorable Bakoji Akore, who initiated this contact and also provided information about the case. I also want to thank my academic supervisor, Catia Greogratti, for her guidance, support, and dedication. Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family who were of great support prior, during, and after the research.

List of abbreviations

ABD	Accumulation by dispossession
AgDevCo	African Agricultural Development Company
AU	African Union
IFH	Irrigated Farming Hub
DFID	United Kingdom's Department of International Development
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NVA	New Vision for Agriculture
PPP	Public-private partnerships
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania
UK	United Kingdom
WEF	World Economic Forum
YVE	Youth Volunteers for the Environment (Ghana)

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Context and case	3
1.1.1 AgDevCo	3
1.1.2 Land in Ghana	3
1.2 Aim and Significance	4
1.2.1. Research question	4
1.3 Delimitations	5
1.4 Thesis outline	5
2. Literature review	6
3. Methodology.....	8
3.1 Epistemological and ontological framework	8
3.2 Research design.....	8
3.3 Data collection	8
3.3.1 Selection of case and sampling	8
3.3.2 Interviews.....	9
3.3.3 Observations.....	10
3.4 Data analysis	10
3.5 Limitations	10
3.6 Ethical considerations	11
4. Analytical framework.....	12
4.1 Accumulation by dispossession	12
4.2 Privatization of land	14
4.2.1 Privatization of land and conversion of property rights.....	14
4.2.2 Forceful expulsion of peasant populations.....	15
4.3 Suppression of the rights to the commons and alternative forms of production.....	15
4.4 Commodification of labor power.....	15
4.5 Social reproduction	16
5. Material and Analysis.....	18
5.1 Privatization of land	18
5.1.1 Forceful expulsion of peasant populations.....	18
5.1.2 Fencing.....	18
5.2 Suppression of the rights to the commons and alternative forms of production.....	19
5.3 Commodification of labour power.....	23
5.4 Changes in gender relations	26
6. Discussion and conclusion	29
7. References	32
Appendix 1: Participants	35

1. Introduction

Land grabbing is not a new phenomenon and has been widely debated. The recent so-called global land rush has increased large-scale land acquisitions, especially in Africa. This is a result of several global crises in 2008 of food, energy, finance, and the environment, which have contributed to a revaluation of land (Oberlack et al., 2016). As a result, several actors and institutions, such as transnational corporations and national governments, have started to search for land overseas (Mollett, 2016). In addition, the world population is about to reach nine billion people, which will require food production to increase 70 per cent by 2050. With climate change and resource scarcity, this becomes one of the main global challenges we have ahead of us (de Cleene, 2014).

Based on these premises, in 2009 the World Economic Forum (WEF) established Grow as part of the New Vision for Agriculture (NVA) (GRAIN, 2016) in order to address poverty reduction, food security, increase agricultural production, and economic growth (Buseth, 2017). Grow links corporations with governments and donors in public-private partnerships (PPP) (Grow Africa, 2017) that now operate in Latin America, Africa, and Asia (GRAIN, 2016). Grow Africa was launched in Ghana in 2012, by the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and WEF (Grow Africa, 2017: 4). The objective is to "enable countries to realize the potential of the agriculture sector for economic growth and job creation, particularly among farmers, women and youth" to increase rural income (Grow Africa, 2017: 1). Large-scale land investment is thereby legitimized as a solution for rural poverty reduction. However, according to Borras Jr and Franco (2012), this type of land acquisition is an opportunity to increase capitalist agro-industry while referring to pro-poor and ecologically sustainable development (ibid). This new wave of land acquisition and control over Africa's natural resources is, then, legitimized by strategies of poverty reduction, climate mitigation, environmental preservation, and economic growth (Buseth, 2017). From a mainstream development perspective, large-scale land acquisitions are supposed to bring investment, technological, and economic progress, while from a critical perspective, it is often

examined as a case of dispossession of traditional land users (Dell'Angelo et al., 2017). In addition to this, there is limited research of how these types of land transactions impact women, even if they are highly gendered (Hartsock, 2006). Collins (2017) emphasizes that agricultural development projects and land transactions may disrupt existing social patterns in communities and sometimes with negative outcomes for women.

The controversy surrounding the discussion of land acquisitions of this kind has led to a broad range of literature concerning who wins and who loses in these land transactions, and why (Borras et al., 2011). Consequently, scholars emphasize that these types of land transactions can proceed due to inequalities, which can be referred to as land grabs. A land acquisition can be viewed as a land grab when unbalanced power relations exist between investors and previous land users and, thereby, transfer the land from subsistence farmers to large-scale commercial agriculture. This induces fundamental social transformations and imbalanced power relations (Dell'Angelo et al., 2017). According to the Tirana Declaration, it is considered a land grab if it is “not based on a thorough assessment, or are in disregard of social economic and environmental impacts, including the way they are gendered”, which fits this context since some implications have had negative socio-economic impacts (Oram, 2014: 9).

Moreover, there is a clear North-South dynamic reflected in land grabbing, very similar to historical colonialism and imperialism (Borras et al., 2011). Researchers associate the similarities between contemporary land grabs and enclosures of land to the origins of capitalism where peasants in England were dispossessed (Hall, 2013). This can be seen in Africa, where corporations gain access to land to practice intensive agribusiness while, at the same time, exploit the local labor and natural resources. Additionally, they negotiate land deals that results in the displacement of local communities, which can be traced back to colonial history (Langan, 2018: 47, 50). In the light of these premises, I have found Harvey's (2004) theory of accumulation by dispossession, complemented with Hartsock's (2006) notion of social reproduction, as a suitable analytical framework to enable an analysis of the material.

Mechanisms through which land grabs occur can be many, while this dissertation will look at Grow as a platform from where powerful actors appropriate and

legitimize land appropriation at the expense of traditional land users (Borras Jr. et al. 2011). It is in the light of the contemporary land acquisition in developing countries, I believe it is of great importance to examine what implications these types of development initiatives have for the traditional landowners they are supposed to benefit. I intend to examine one case of the Grow platform, more specifically, the development initiative by the United Kingdom-based corporation African Agricultural Development Company's (AgDevCo) irrigated farming hub (IFH) in Babator, Ghana (AgDevCo, 2017).

1.1 Context and case

1.1.1 AgDevCo

In 2012 AgDevCo signed a 50-year contract to control 10,300 ha of land and implemented an IFH in Babator, Ghana, which is the “largest irrigated food production and processing operation in Ghana” (GRAIN, 2016; AgDevCo, 2017). This was established by the UK-based corporation AgDevCo and funded by UK's Department of International Development (DFID), and thereby classified as a development project (GRAIN, 2016). According to Grow Africa, this is an example of a responsible investment and AgDevCo claims to contribute to positive social impacts by improving livelihoods through employment opportunities, increased income, greater food security, and development the community (AgDevCo, 2017). However, several civil society organizations have contested Grow and AgDevCo's initiative as it has displaced local communities and restricted their access to land (GRAIN, 2016).

Babator is situated in Bole district, which has a population of approximately 60,000 of which 79 per cent live in rural areas where poverty is prevailing. The majority of the people are subsistence farmers who depend on the land to sustain their livelihood. The community members of Babator have now been restricted from the area. This threatens food security and, thereby, “economic, environmental and political dimensions of human security” as well (Neumayer, 2014:4).

1.1.2 Land in Ghana

Ghana has become one of the primary countries for large-scale land acquisition in Sub-Sahara Africa (Schoneveld & German, 2014). The government has embraced the development of agriculture to promote rural development through modernization and diversification of the agricultural sector (Schoneveld, German & Nutakor, 2011). This

is especially true for Northern Ghana, which is now experiencing a rapid transformation in its customary tenure system due to a high demand for land. This induces an alteration in the local socio-economic context and demonstrates increasing inequalities in access, control, and ownership of land (Yaro, 2010). Moreover, 80 per cent of the land in Ghana is managed and governed by chieftaincies, the local authorities (Aha & Ayitey, 2016). Their responsibility is to manage the land in the interest of the community and have a key role in the socio-political and economic development of the country (Rozalska, 2016). They are the rightful owners of the land and have the right to initiate and facilitate the land deal, not the government (Schoneveld & German, 2014). This was the case for AgDevCo, which accessed the land through local authorities who signed a contract to lease out the land. Since the community members are not the rightful owners of the land, they cannot challenge the chieftaincies on this matter. In addition, a conflict arose between two chieftaincies that claim to be the rightful owners of the land. In order to find the rightful owner, to whom AgDevCo will compensate and rent the land from, they are now settling this discrepancy in court (Int. 2).

1.2 Aim and Significance

My aim with the field study in Babator, Ghana, is to investigate how traditional landowners perceive the implications of AgDevCo's IFH. The current debate concerning land acquisition is: whether it can contribute to poverty reduction by developing communities through successful agribusiness that benefits societies (AgDevCo, 2017), or whether it leads to dispossession of traditional land users and exploitation of local labor and natural resources, and thereby a case of land grabbing (Langan, 2018: 47, 50). Based on a qualitative field study in the community of Babator, the study strives to examine what implications the land grab by AgDevCo has had on the livelihood of traditional landowners.

1.2.1. Research question

The study aim to answer the following research question:

- *How has the privatization of land by AgDevCo affected the livelihood of traditional land users? And what implications does it have on gender?*

To investigate the research question, I will make use of this through Harvey's theory of ABD and Hartsock's notion of social reproduction (Harvey, 2004; Hartsock, 2006).

1.3 Delimitations

The aim of the study is to examine the development project itself and analyze micro-politics from the data collection, not wider macro analysis that has led up to this project, as I find this too big of a scope to include in this dissertation. Furthermore, much literature regarding macro level analysis does exist, while there is a research gap concerning local implications, which this research aims to address. Other limitations concerning the scope of the study refer to the limited number of farmers. I interviewed 14 respondents, which further limit the representation of the case. In addition, due to the nature of the research (qualitative case study), the aim is not to generalize findings but to understand the case in its context. This is guided by the epistemological and ontological assumptions, as the case is context-specific (Bryman, 2014: 417).

1.4 Thesis outline

In the following chapter, I will conduct a literature review of what has been written within the field. In chapter three, I will present the methodology, including reflections of ethical considerations. In chapter four, I will present the analytical framework that will inform and guide the thesis. In chapter five, I will present the empirical material and analyze it in conversation with the analytical framework. Finally, in chapter six I will provide a discussion and conclusion of the research.

2. Literature review

The aim of this section is to outline the existing writings on land grabbing in general in the light of agricultural development projects.

2.1 Case studies of land grabbing

Much research concerning land grabbing since the global crises in 2007/2008 has been conducted by several scholars, especially concerning land usage for biofuel (Aha & Ayitey, 2016; Schoneveld, German & Nutakor, 2011; Buseth, 2017; Borrás et al., 2011; Borrás Jr. & Franco, 2012; Oxfam, 2014; Schoneveld & German, 2014; Hall, 2013; GRAIN, 2016). Most scholars accordingly agree that land grabbing can have a significant negative impact on rural livelihoods, as communities lose access to vital livelihood assets (Schoneveld, German & Nutakor, 2011). Oxfam (2014) further states that agricultural projects involving land acquisition neglect the poorest and most vulnerable people, especially women.

Aha and Ayitey (2016) conducted a study of a land grabbing case involving an agricultural biofuel plantation in Northern Ghana. Their results demonstrated that there had been a significant displacement of traditional landowners. The community members had not been involved or consulted in the land acquisition and the ones who lost their land were not compensated. In addition, the land grab induced food insecurity due to the reduced farm sizes and their reallocation to less fertile and distant lands. A few community members benefited from employment at the corporation while some groups, such as the elderly and women, were more disadvantaged (Aha & Ayitey, 2016).

However, research regarding implications from Grow's initiative has not been conducted to a greater extent. Two scholars, Buseth (2017) and Collins (2017), have both examined the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), which is a large-scale agricultural initiative, initiated under Grow Africa.

Buseth (2017) did a macro analysis concerning policy and governance aspects where she argues that SAGCOT is legitimized and 'green-washed' in order to become institutionalized to fit the green discourse to "become more attractive for actors such as investors and donors". According to her, the initiative is a case of land grabbing and

has reintroduced the ‘scramble’ for Africa, where foreign control of land increased after the food crisis (Buseth, 2017: 51).

Collins (2017) examined whether SAGCOT and agricultural PPPs in general, consider gender-based inequalities in the construction of global policy strategies. The initiative states that it “pledge to incorporate gender concerns into its project as part of its central goal to improve people’s lives through agricultural investment. However, she finds that this objective has overlooked key issues concerning gender imbalances in land ownership, gender roles and agricultural labor, and income inequality (Collins, 2017: 424). Moreover, McKeon (2017) argues that land grabs occur under the Grow initiative where appropriation of large areas of land for production of crops has been at the expense of local producers (McKeon, 2014). Nevertheless, there are limited case studies on the implications of the agricultural development projects under the Grow initiative.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine a land grabbing case that is legitimized on a macro level to address food scarcity and community development. This is due to the fact that existing research often deals with land grabbing that does not aim to address food security. In addition, most research analyses the macro level and thereby ignoring micro-level implications, which this research deals with.

3. Methodology

In this section, the methodological aspects of this qualitative field study are discussed together with a reflection on the ethical concerns of the research.

3.1 Epistemological and ontological framework

The study incorporates a descriptive research approach since the aim is to describe the social implications and dimensions (de Vaus, 2001: 1-2). The epistemology is interpretivism to investigate how individuals interpret their social context, to accumulate knowledge. The ontology is constructivism, as the research adopts an assumption that the social world is a product of social interaction. The research is interested in the voice of the marginalized and the focus will be on their meaning. Consequently, this study acknowledges that knowledge is subjective and socially constructed (Bryman, 2014: 380).

3.2 Research design

In order to answer my research questions, I have conducted eight weeks of qualitative field study in Babator, Ghana, between January and March 2018. A case study has been conducted since the research is interested in exploring the specific case in its natural environment and social context. In addition, it gives a holistic and in-depth understanding of the phenomena while at the same time being context sensitive (Bryman, 2014: 46, 68-69).

To get permission to access the field, I worked together with a research assistant. He facilitated access to the research field by introducing me to the local authorities, interviewees, and helped with translation. The research assistant is familiar with the case in Babator and had established some contacts in the community prior to the research (Scheyvens, 2014: 152-155).

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Selection of case and sampling

Babator was selected since this is the community AgDevCo targeted for development and thereby also the community most affected by AgDevCo's land acquisition (GRAIN, 2016; AgDevCo, 2017).

The sampling method of interviewees has been purposive since the unit of analysis is the community members of Babator. In addition, I wanted to cover certain aspects of the case and obtain perspectives of: those who lost land and were compensated and those who were not; those who obtained employment and those who did not; and, to obtain an outsider perspective, those who were not affected by the confiscation at all (Bryman, 2014: 418). After spending some time in the village, snowball sampling was incorporated, as interviewees were asked if they knew someone who may be of interest for the research (Bryman, 2014: 424).

The sample size was a total of 21 interviews. 14 individual interviews were conducted with community members and three focus-group interviews. Women are more affected by AgDevCo's activity and I, therefore, chose to conduct nine interviews with women and five with men. After nine interviews with women, I perceived that I had reached data saturation, as new data essentially confirmed previous data collection (Scheyvens, 2014: 63). Moreover, key informant interviews were conducted. One interview was conducted with the program director at Youth Volunteers for the Environment Ghana (YVE), which has worked with the community previously, in order to obtain a general illustration of the situation in the village. Government officials of the different governance levels were interviewed, including: the assemblyman (political representative) of Babator and a representative at the regional government department. This has been done in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the case study, by triangulating interviews from the different stakeholder, as their purpose and main objectives differ (Bryman, 2014: 392).

3.3.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were carried out. This was chosen due to the research philosophy to seek out the worldviews of the participants. A semi-structured interview guide was used to address themes in relation to farmer's daily life before and after the land acquisition. In addition, the interview guide was flexible in the sense that follow-up questions were determined on what that the participants emphasized to be more salient to them. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and analyzed throughout the research process in order to obtain data of salient themes (Bryman, 2014: 471-487).

3.3.3 Observations

Participant observations were carried out where the “researcher is immersed in a social setting for some time in order to observe and listen with a view to gaining an appreciation of the culture of a social group” (Bryman, 2014: 383). My role was *partially* participant observer, which emphasize that observation is not the main data source but rather work in the background of the interviews (Bryman, 2014: 442). I was living in the community on two occasions to gain an idea of community members everyday life, especially women since they are responsible for the domestic household tasks (Adusei-Asante, Hancock & Oliveira, 2015), and to gain my informant’s trust for more in-depth interviews. The observation has been incorporated in the field notes and used for the field diary (Bryman, 2014: 447).

3.4 Data analysis

The research adopted an inductive approach to the data analysis, which involves linking the data, theory, and concepts in order to formulate the theoretical framework (Bryman, 2014: 26-27). A thematic analysis followed so as to extract key themes and concepts. Identification of themes was taken in conversation with the theoretical framework by identifying repetition of topics that reoccur to establish patterns (Bryman, 2014: 576-580). This was done through an iterative strategy, moving between data, literature, and theory in an inductive and deductive matter, especially in the analysis (Bryman, 2014: 13).

3.5 Limitations

The credibility of the research can be threatened by reactivity, where the presence of a researcher may alter the respondents’ answers and behavior, especially when it comes to observation (de Vaus, 2001: 245). My gatekeeper who was also my translator has been working with the community before and gained some trust. However, he was a man, which may have affected the interviews with women in terms of what they decided to reveal (Heller et al., 2011). To address internal and external validity, triangulation applied in the data collection to enhance the connection between the data and the developed theoretical concepts (Bryman, 2014: 392). This was addressed by using empirical primary data source and secondary from previous research that supports the empirical data.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The researcher is the one who obtains data from participants' viewpoint and personal subjectivity needs to be reflected upon as positionality, personal values, and biases may influence the research (Scheyvens, 2014: 61; Bryman, 2014: 39).

Fallibilities and absences in the research process cannot be controlled since research cannot be objective or value-free (Sultana, 2007). Due to one's positionality, which refers to gender, religion, class and, ethnicity, one can only deliver a partial representation of the research. My personal traits as a Swedish middle-class female university student may influence the data collection and how it is interpreted. This is the same for the research assistant who is a middle-class male with a university degree from a different region of the country (Scheyvens, 2014: 62). The research assistant was also the translator and his positionality may have influenced how the participant discloses information, especially when it comes to women regarding the private sphere, due to the patriarchal structure in the country (Kapoor, 2004). Our position, then, may result in certain biases and interpretations that have historical and cultural situatedness, hence knowledge produced is subjective and partial (Rose, 1997).

This can be addressed by making a reflexive account of my own and my research assistant's positionality, and how these may influence the methods, interpretation of the data and the construction of knowledge (Bryman, 2014: 39; Sultana, 2007). One of the main considerations in my research is the exploitive position I as a researcher is situated in since I have the power to determine the outcome of the data. This may be tempered by building reciprocal relationships to research 'with' instead of 'about' (Sultana, 2007; England, 1994). By keeping my research flexible with a semi-structured interview guide, I allow the participants to elaborate on what they perceive is the greatest implications for them, and thereby enhance to "learn from below" (Nagar, 2003). Consequently, work towards a non-hierarchical encounter to see participants as active agents and not subjective objects and thereby forming ethical relationships (Kapoor, 2004). Lastly, to protect participants from negative backlashes, pseudonyms of participants in the data collection and records will be used to maintain confidentiality (Bryman, 2014: 135-136).

4. Analytical framework

Harvey's theory of accumulation by dispossession (ABD) has contributed to the examination of the data, which allows a theoretical analysis of how capital accumulation affects local communities in developing countries (Harvey, 2004). ABD is considered appropriate as a framework since it allows for an analysis of the phenomenon from a critical perspective to understand the implications of the land grab. In addition, Hartsock's notion of social reproduction will complement ABD with a gender perspective (section 4.5). The dimensions of ABD in this research include privatization of land, suppression of the rights to the commons and the suppression of alternative forms of production and consumption, the commodification of labor, and changes in gender relation. This will be used as analytical dimensions of ABD in the empirical analysis.

4.1 Accumulation by dispossession

Appropriation of land has long been a subject in political economy in connection to Harvey's (2004) theorization of 'accumulation by dispossession'. ABD is a "process by which land and other resources are enclosed, and their previous users dispossessed, for the purpose of capital accumulation" (Hall, 2013: 1583).

The theory revises Marx notion of primitive accumulation (PA) as the foundation of the capitalist mode of production (Harvey, 2004). According to Marx (1996), this was a historical process through which farmers were separated from their means of production and turned into wage laborers during the enclosure of land in England. Previous land users were divorced from their means of production, which produced a landless proletariat class (Marx, 1996: 704-707, 707-723).

According to Harvey, the relevance of PA is not only for historical circumstances but also for contemporary capitalism. He argues that PA needs complementation to the contemporary debate since it is not the initial start of capitalism but rather a continuing process (Harvey, 2004). Colonial and imperial practices are outcomes of over accumulation today, where hegemonic centers search for spatio-temporal fixes abroad through production of new spaces (Harvey, 2004). This is salient in Ghana's economy where reliance on primary commodities is "reinforcing and reconstructing a deep-seated structural dependency", that still exist today (Siakwah, 2017: 470). However, in the contemporary era, this occurs through neoliberalism, which intensifies the process

of ABD (Harvey, 2007). It was the economic recession in the 70s, as a result of the oil shock and the stagnation of capital accumulation that induced the neoliberal project. The purpose was to open up new spaces through geographical expansion that was formerly inaccessible for profit (Harvey, 2007). The problem of over accumulation would be solved through the four neoliberal elements: privatization, financialization, the management and manipulation of crises, and state redistribution (Harvey, 2007). Privatization has been referred to as a focal point in the neoliberal project by privatizing public assets. In addition, privatization has more direct implications on micro-level politics (Harvey, 2004). Privatization is, therefore, fruitful to examine in this study. This decision is also determined by the limited scope of this study.

Harvey (2004) considers ABD to be a constant process and not only the start of capitalism as Marx suggested. However, both Marx's notion of PA and Harvey's concept of ABD disclose the same central processes. The processes for ABD and PA are the following:

1. *Commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations*
2. *The conversion of various forms of property rights into exclusively private property rights*
3. *Suppression of the rights to the commons; commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption*
4. *Colonial, neo-colonial and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources)*
5. *The monetisation of exchange and taxation, particular of land*
6. *The slave trade*
7. *The national debt*
8. *The credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation*

(Harvey, 2007: 34-35)

Some of the aspects are more relevant to the macro-level analysis. Financialization is relevant to the analysis of land grabbing and capitalist expansion (Hall, 2013) considering the contemporary global land rush and revaluation of land (Oberlack et al., 2016). In addition, the state has a central role in ABD by supporting and promoting these processes through policies and politics (Harvey, 2004). This aspect has been criticised for neglecting the force of local actors, such as chieftaincies

that initiate land deals, which is the case in this research (Hall, 2013). While the state alters policies to attract investment, and the financial aspects may direct where capital is sent, due to the limited scope of this research, macro-level processes will not be included in this thesis. However, these insights would be a fruitful point of examination for future research.

Rather, the aim of the study is to examine the micro-politics of the relevant processes. I have chosen to merge and break some of the processes, as these are highly interconnected, for explanatory purposes. Thus, I find the following processes relevant to the framework to analyze the material:

Privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights into exclusively private property rights

Suppression of the rights to the commons; and the suppression of alternative forms of production and consumption

Commodification of labor power

(Harvey, 2007: 34)

I am aware that my three components are interconnected. Nevertheless, to enhance the framework as an analytical tool, I will break them down for explanatory purposes.

4.2 Privatization of land

4.2.1 Privatization of land and conversion of property rights

As mentioned before, neoliberal policies from the global north accumulate wealth and power in the hands of a few. In this context, this is a process where lands are enclosed and privatized to accumulate capital, while the previous land users are dispossessed (Hall, 2013).

Swyngedouw (2005) state that privatization is the focal point of ABD, which refers to the process through which activities and resources in relation to land that “had not been formally privately owned, managed or organized, is taken away from whoever or whatever owned them before and transferred to a new property configuration that is based on some form of “private” ownership or control” (Swyngedouw, 2005: 82).

4.2.2 Forceful expulsion of peasant populations

Furthermore, one of the processes in ABD that separates peasants from their land, through its privatization, is the forceful expulsion of previous land users. Some of the present research refers to force and threat of force in the land transaction or process of privatization. However, forceful expulsion does not always have to involve actual force or violence. Transactions can be ‘voluntary’ but involve fraud and unfulfilled promises, which is a core mechanism of ABD (Hall, 2013).

I acknowledge that privatization is, as mentioned before, a central part of ABD and this study. This process runs through all the empirical material and thereby the other intervened processes, which will be elaborated on below.

4.3 Suppression of the rights to the commons and alternative forms of production

The justification of transforming natural resources to private realms has its origin in the normative discourse, which legitimizes it and refers to the failure of the non-private mode of social organization of production and the glorification of the market as the optimal distributor of benefits (Swyngdow, 2005). As mentioned before, privatization of land transfers public assets into the private realm (Swyngedouw, 2005: 82). It is this privatization and the enclosure of environmental commons that work as mechanisms of ABD (Roberts, 2008). Hence, it cannot be privatization without suppression of the commons, which also led to the suppression of alternative forms of production (Hall, 2013).

4.4 Commodification of labor power

When privatization of land occurs, it separates producers from their means of production, which hinders farmers to meet their subsistence needs, while becoming dependent on wage labor (Roberts, 2008). This creates expansion and reproduction of capitalist social relations. Privatizing land creates two distinct systems of class: the ‘property-less proletarians’ and the capitalist. The ‘property-less proletarians’ are being integrated into the capitalist system by becoming wage labor since they have been separated from their means of production. The capitalist controls the means of production, by enclosing it, while previous land users are separated from their means of production (Hall, 2013: 1585).

According to Harvey (2003: 149), the problem of over accumulation can be justified through ABD, as ABD “release a set of assets (including labor power) at a very low (and in some instances zero) cost”. Over accumulation of capital can then appropriate these assets and turn them into profit since labor has then become a commodity and can be traded by its value (ibid). Thus, the capitalist assumption in land grabs is the creation of ‘free’ proletarianized labors, which are seen as ‘surplus’ population to be incorporated into the labor market, however, “their land is needed but their labor is not” (Hall, 2013: 1596).

4.5 Social reproduction

Much research on gender implications and how women are affected by development initiative is silent and overlooked. According to Hartsock (2006), the main shortcoming with ABD is precisely that it is gender-blind. She argues that Harvey’s concept of ABD needs complementation since appropriation of land is highly gendered. Women experience contradictory problems and possibilities when privatization of land occurs. Therefore, the theoretical contribution by Hartsock (2006), will address this gap in the framework (ibid). Thus, the following process of social reproduction is relevant to the framework as an analytical tool:

Changes in gender relations

ABD involves a transformation in social reproduction, which is the “social processes and human relations associated with the creation and maintenance of the communities upon which all production and exchange rest”. There are three aspects of social reproduction: biological reproduction, reproduction of the labor force, and reproduction of provisioning and caring needs (Bakker 2001, in Hartsock, 2006: 183). When land is privatized, socioeconomic relationships with previous landowners are transformed. In the context of gender, this process induces social reproduction, as social life becomes mediated through the market (Roberts, 2008). This refers to the transformation in social reproduction and family-work relationships, where women are responsible for the domestic tasks and at the same time become wage labor. Due to women’s traditional role in reproduction, the commodification of their labor is reinforcing social reproduction to a greater extent than men. Women are being empowered at the same time as they are incorporated in the global capitalism on unequal terms as these relations manifests (Keating, Rasmussen & Rishi, 2010). If

one considers the unequal terms, these become prominent in Hartsock's notion. She argues that women are the optimal labor force for capitalist accumulation. This is due to the fact that their role has previously been as 'housewife's', which is not defined as an income-generating activity. When they then enter the labor force, their labor is thereby cheaper than male labor (Hartsock, 2006). Thus, Hartsock's social reproduction will complement Harvey's ABD to enhance the framework.

5. Material and Analysis

This chapter guides the reader through the empirical material and analysis of the data collection from the fieldwork. It starts by scrutinizing land privatization, followed by an analysis of the suppression of the rights to the commons and alternative forms of production, employment, and finally an analysis of gender implications. It has to be noted that the dimensions of the case are closely intertwined and overlap.

In general, the data suggest that altered use rights of land and resources, due to the agricultural development project, is the major factor that has shaped the vulnerability context of community members of Babator.

5.1 Privatization of land

5.1.1 Forceful expulsion of peasant populations

Due to the establishment, respondents state that the chieftaincies and AgDevCo visited Babator, informed them about the development project and the community benefits they would receive. One respondent claimed that they said: *“this community will look like a town”* (Int. 17). Community development promises mentioned were: potable water, electricity, coated roads to the main road in Bamboi (approximately 20 km), an upgraded school and health clinic, compensation to all farmers who lost their farming land, shared usage of the irrigation system, and employment opportunities. This delighted the community, which is desperate for development, as there is mainly subsistence farming income-generation activities in Babator. The community members and the community’s assemblyman then agreed on the development project to proceed. However, the only development promise that has been fulfilled is the employment opportunities (Int. 1-2, 5-20).

As mentioned in section 3.1.1, one of the core mechanisms in ABD is fraud, which can be recognized as unfulfilled promises (Hall, 2013). One can argue that the land transactions were voluntary since AgDevCo gave them incentives to let the land acquisition proceed but then never materialized those promises.

5.1.2 Fencing

One can argue that privatization not only refers to property rights and enclosure of the land but also how privatization is experienced in terms of fencing (Hall, 2013).

When AgDevCo presented the development project, the community members did not realize how much land would fall into the land acquisition. Once marketing, limiting, and fencing started they realized it was a very large area. In addition, respondents stated that AgDevCo is constantly expanding on the cleared land with fences, which is for them an emotional stress. One respondent stated that he welcomed the project in order to attain development. However, when he realized how much land that was taken and how the corporation is constantly expanding, he said worrisome:

“If AgDevCo does not stop fencing we will not have a place to farm. They are constantly expanding the fencing area. That is affecting our farming activity... So, whenever they happen to reach your area you have to move” (Int. 5).

AgDevCo cleared the land, but they did not immediately fence or utilize all of it. Some traditional land users left but then returned to the land after the clearance since the soil is more fertile. One respondent explained:

“We already had a different portion of land where we had to go, but that land has stone on it so we went back to AgDevCo and told them, what you gave us is not arable land and we cannot use it. So I went back to the former place again where I now continue farming since they are not using it. I am still cultivating on AgDevCo’s land but not the formal place, so if AgDevCo gets closer again I have to move again” (Int. 10).

5.2 Suppression of the rights to the commons and alternative forms of production

5.2.1 Former land use

Community members of Babator, previous to AgDevCo’s establishment, were mainly involved in farming, usage of economic trees, charcoal burning activities, and some women were working at community members’ farms (due to limited ownership rights). The restriction of these income-generating activities has reduced the ability for households to earn a monetary income. In addition to this, land privatization greatly altered and, to some extent, destroyed the local, traditional agricultural system—whereby each family head inherits or is given farming plots to cultivate on.

As part of this system, farmers practiced shifting cultivation to sustain the fertility in the soil and thereby maintain the amount of yields throughout the seasons. The land that belonged to the community was open and closed woodlands with small farming plots where they cultivated yam, cassava, groundnuts, tomatoes, okra, and bean trees.

5.2.2 Land as asset to generate income

Households used to derive other resources from the land as well. Previously, the land was used as a common pool resource where community members could access the land resources to sustain income-generating activities. The restriction, dislocation, and deforestation of the land have induced limited access to these resources and thereby economic means. These resources refer foremost to economic trees, where the shea tree was the major income-generating resource for women since they cannot own land. Women explained that they pick shea nuts to make shea butter to sustain their livelihood. A woman stated:

“For the land I still have access, but the economic trees, I did not know their value until they were gone and destroyed” (Int. 17).

Furthermore, respondents stated that there is now an increase in charcoal burning as an economic activity, due to AgDevCo’s land acquisition, which leads to deforestation at a considerable rate on the remaining forest. One widow, who was previously employed at other farms, started with charcoal burning when farmers lost land. This is in line with Hartsock’s (2006) argument, that appropriation of land is gendered, which can be seen as women lose those informal jobs when land rights are transformed. Previously, the community members could access all of these resources to generate economic income. However, now:

“Things you get is limited and now you have to buy them, it has reduced the economic income and expenses goes up, like economic trees now for instance, which you have to buy now” (Int. 10).

Another respondent, who has not yet been affected by AgDevCo’s activity states that AgDevCo has impacted the community negatively. He described the situation like this:

“Before everyone was a farmer here and everyone could produce food stuff in this community – they could actually sell food stuff in this community – now people who are from this community has to go outside and buy those foodstuff” (Int. 14).

Since the land was used as a common resource pool for community members to sustain income-generating activities, privatization of the land has had an impact on these activities and income. In this case, then, transfer of property rights based on “private” ownership or control does have negative implications for populations (Swyngdow, 2005: 82).

5.2.3 Land as a resource for subsistence

The material demonstrates that the restricted access and dispossession from the land is the major factor contributing to food insecurity and it has pushed some of the community members of Babator further into poverty. Firstly, this is the result of the confiscation of a large area of fertile land, displacing community members to non-fertile land with fewer cultivation plots. Secondly, prior to the land grab, hunting activities and use of land resources on the land also sustained household activities. This scenario seems to be the case in other agribusiness where implications also refers to food insecurity as a result of reduced farm size and reallocation to less fertile land (Aha & Ayitey, 2016).

Previous to AgDevCo’s activity, the community members practiced shifting cultivation since they had access to several plots to farm on to maintain yield outcome. AgDevCo’s land acquisition has reduced farmland and, thereby, farming plots. According to the respondents, reduced yields obscure community members ability to sustain their food levels, which threatens food security. One respondent stated that the family relied on shifting cultivation for constant yields to store food during the dry season. However, this has changed as the respondent explains:

“This has pushed us to extreme poverty because the land has been taken away, it means that formally you could farm at different places but now you can only farm at this one place. It is affecting my livelihood bad” (Int. 6).

Another factor that contributes to food insecurity is the dislocation from the fertile land. Another respondent said:

“ The current place is not productive like the first place, the soil is not that fertile”
(Int. 10).

Furthermore, some respondents described that you could cultivate leaves for household feeding, local spices such as dawa-dawa, which they now are forced to buy a foreign one, and trees for firewood. In addition, respondents argue that previous to the land grab the common land was used to hunt for bushmeat and has, therefore, impacted food security further.

As mentioned before, privatization cannot occur without suppression of the commons, which in this case also led to the suppression of alternative forms of production (Hall, 2013). The community has lost the shifting cultivation system, which sustained their yields. Interruption of the traditional food system, as a result of privatization, can have dire outcomes. In this case, loss of yields due to the land transaction from public to private property rights, and by separating producers from their means of production (Roberts, 2008; Bakker 2005), has, in general, led to food insecurity. In addition, due to the enclosure of the common resource pool, economic activities and hunting activities has then led to reduced income generating opportunities and food insecurity for some. Some respondents have seen their household resources decrease, both foodstuff and related economic activities. One man stated:

“Those who have already been affected has been pushed further down into poverty”
(Int. 5).

Another woman claimed:

“They are here to help us but all are not benefiting, we are still in the status of poverty [...] The nutrient level has decreased and I do not get the energy I had before” (Int. 6).

Enclosing the environmental commons and altering ownership from public to private tenure systems (Roberts, 2008; Bakker, 2005) ultimately affects traditional food systems. In this case, restricted access to the common land has also contributed to food insecurity.

To conclude this section, one can say that the empirical material demonstrates that privatization and the enclosure of the environmental commons dispossessed the traditional land users, as Roberts (2008) emphasizes. Since the land was used as a common pool resource for income-generating activities, especially for women due to traditional land rights, the enclosure has separated the producers from their means of production. If one associates this to the mainstream and normative development perspective that sees the market as the solution to food security, the empirical material from this research points the opposite way (Dell'Angelo et al., 2017). From a critical perspective, the local farming system of shifting cultivation previous to the development project has been interrupted and has not brought economic progress but has in some cases led to food insecurity. Hence, the transformation from traditional property rights to modern and private property rights confirms Swyngdow's argument that privatization of nature interrupts traditional uses and rights (Budds, 2004). This empirical material, then, demonstrates that McKeon's (2017) argument that the appropriation of land under Grow initiative is at the expense of traditional land users.

5.3 Commodification of labour power

The ones who have been employed at AgDevCo earn a monthly income, according to the work they have conducted, which employees state that they appreciated. Employment opportunities are either as security guard or labor, with either permanent or casual employment. Permanent workers receive full healthcare coverage, while the casual workers do not. I perceive from the interviews, men who work as security guards seem to be satisfied with the salary, while women who work as laborers all stated that it is a small pay they receive. The employees at the company are the ones that have mostly benefitted from the development project. Some of the community members could compensate their food stores by obtaining employment at AgDevCo, while others were anxious about the salary that cannot compensate for the decreased food store.

Permanent employment

The majority of the men were permanently employed as security guards. They perceived that their monthly pay contributed to improved livelihoods. The salary would cover the food stores and some of them state that they could save money to improve their house, e.g. change from a straw roof to a steel roof. One respondent stated that he still had a small farming plot that could sustain his family's food consumption and could use the pay from AgDevCo to pay for school fees. Another respondent used the salary to employ wage labor on his farm as a diversification strategy.

Seasonal workers

Some respondents have raised concerns about the seasonality of the employment and the income compared to cultivating crops. The casual workers were in a status-quo condition since the company employs the community members when it is farming season. This is the farming season in the community too, which means that they cannot work at their own farm. One respondent stated:

“The monetary income has decreased due to the fact that we cannot farm when we work but now have to buy food instead” (Int. 9).

Consequently, they cannot store food but have to buy food throughout the year. Furthermore, another respondent state that the casual workers are employed for one or two months and then you are fired, she said:

“We feel like the company does not respect us or give us respect for safe employment” (Int. 6).

Respondents with this employment stated that the household's financial means has increased but their food stores has reduced. Some believe this is due to the fact that the family's relocated farm plot has decreased in size, while others do not have the family members to farm in their place (when they work for AgDevCo).

Like Hall (2013) argues, one can see that the separation of farmers from their means of production has occurred, especially those who obtained permanent employment.

The seasonal workers have been integrated into the capitalist system, however, since this is at the same time as their own farming season, it obstructs some of them to meet their subsistence needs.

Not employed

The ones not working for AgDevCo stated that it is hard to obtain employment if you have young children or if you are older and that AgDevCo only employs the physically fit ones and those with less financial obligations. Those who did not get employment fell further into poverty and suffer from the mental stress of how to survive the dry season. In this case of casual employment and not being employed, the empirical material supports Hall's (2013:1596) argument of a truly property-less proletarian class. They have been integrated into the capitalist system by insecure employment and been separated from their land. One may interpret this as exploitation as "their land is needed but their labor is not". As Roberts (2008) mention, they have now become dependent on formal employment and thereby struggle to meet their subsistence need. In addition, this can also be explained by Harvey's (2003: 49) argument that commodification of labor and abundance of labor induce low demand and thereby released at a low cost.

Moreover, women explained that the land used to provide informal employment for them as they could work at other men's farms since they cannot own their own land. One woman used to purchase and harvests jam from other farmers that she then sold at the market. However, AgDevCo's land acquisition altered this, as she now cannot get as much jam. Her source of livelihood has decreased and almost disappeared.

Women are more affected since they have lost jobs or other opportunities of income where you don't need land to sustain your livelihood. This refers both to restricted access to land and land resources. Since women cannot own land, key issues concerning women, as they related to land ownership and livelihood attainment, ultimately depend on other, male community members' access to land (Collins, 2017). Budds (2004) notion of privatization that alter the power relations between actors when land rights are being modified can trickle down and interrupt traditional users, together with Keating, Rasmussen and Rishi (2010) argument that

appropriation of land is highly gendered, can explain why women are the ones affected in several instances. The next section will elaborate on this further.

5.4 Changes in gender relations

Some women were also employed as permanent labor workers. Respondents perceive that they have been empowered by the employment opportunities and that this has benefited them. This group stated that they are more financially independent and some feel more financially secure now comparing to before. This is true, especially for young women. Cases where the respondent's claim that they have benefited from the employment refers to when they can buy their own porridge, contribute to their families with financial means, and benefit from free healthcare.

However, another respondent states that she sometimes is able to pay for her children's school fees with the salary, but not always since the payment is not enough. In general, I perceive this as one of the main concerns according to the respondents, as all of the women state that the payment is small and does not always last until the next one. In general, women seem to earn less than men since men appear to be satisfied with the salary while all women state that the pay is bad.

Women are the optimal labor force for capitalist accumulation. This is due to the fact that their role has previously been as 'housewives', which is not defined as an income-generating activity. When they then enter the labor force, their labor is thereby cheaper than male labor (Hartsock, 2006). This is also in accordance with Harvey's (2003: 49) argument where ABD is the solution of over accumulation since Assets are then released at a low cost, especially since there is an abundance of labor power.

Moreover, one permanent employed woman, whose family lost land, stated that her husband now manages some of the non-fertile land that produces less yields. As a result of the reduced yields, she had now become the breadwinner since the household now depends on her income.

Furthermore, all female respondents claim that they are experiencing double burden, especially those who have become the breadwinner of the family. One of the main observations from my fieldwork was that women are in charge of the domestic household tasks. In the morning they sweep the house, fetch water, do the dishes, go to work at AgDevCo (or to the family farm) and repeat the tasks after work, including

fetching firewood. These domestic tasks are physically demanding, especially fetching water since the closest source is the Black Volta River, a 40-minute round-trip. Many respondents claimed they have to wake up earlier than before to fetch water and finish their duties at home before going to work. One woman described her situation as:

“Sometimes you need to go to the river using a torch at 3 am. In order to fill the barrel before work, you must go to the river at 3 am with a torch” (Int. 12).

In addition, many respondents claimed that their labor work is physically demanding and that they experienced headaches from being exposed to the sun all day. If one takes into consideration that women are also responsible for the domestic household tasks, a full day for a woman is very demanding. One woman who experienced double burden stated that even though the employment at AgDevCo has increased the household’s assets, she valued her work at the family’s former farmland:

“My work has tripled comparing to before when I was on my own and was tired, I could sit home and relax, if I woke up and felt like I did not want to work I could rest”
(Int. 12).

In other words, although some women may have been empowered from privatizing land, many of these women have also been left with a double burden. Consequently, some even wish to return to their former way of life. This is one of Hartsock’s (2006) arguments since women become empowered but also integrated into capitalism on unequal terms, which reinforcing social reproduction. Transformation of social reproduction occurs as domestic household tasks collide with wage labor. Since women are integrated into the capitalist system, in addition to their domestic work, one can argue that they are integrated on unequal terms. This double burden then manifests and intensifies as a result of the land deal.

One household was dislocated from their home village Lahi Bisah, but was compensated by AgDevCo and moved to Babator. The family was situated next to the Black Volta River and had easy access to water, which they do not have now in

Babator. Previous to the dislocation, the woman in the household grew chilies on the family's land, she now works as a permanent worker at AgDevCo and is still in charge of the domestic household tasks. The man in the household was given a new piece of land, but this is not fertile like the one in Lahi Bisah. Both stated that the household stores have been affected negatively. The woman even stated:

“What we receive is not even a quarter of what we used to get when we lived at Lahi Bisah when we were working on our own” (Int. 12).

This example demonstrates how the household structure has transformed due to the dislocation. When the land was privatized, the socioeconomic relationships altered (Roberts, 2008). The women have been integrated into the capitalist system by becoming dependent on wage labor, hence, the creation of ‘property-less proletarians, (Hall, 2013). This has, therefore, altered the household structure since the woman is now the breadwinner but still in charge of the domestic tasks (Hartsock, 2006), which demonstrate that women are subject so social reproduction to a greater extent than men (Keating, Rasmussen & Rishi, 2010).

Even though Grow stated that they incorporate and consider gender-based inequalities in the agricultural development project, one can see that this has been neglected in this case too, especially when it comes to gender roles within the community, labor power, and income inequality. It is also prominent that other key issues related to gender imbalances in land ownership, gender roles and agricultural labor, and income inequality are present in this development project, precisely as they are in other cases (Collins, 2017). This notion supports Oxfam's (2014) study too, where land acquisitions neglect gender perspectives.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine how privatization of land abated by AgDevCo affected livelihoods of traditional landowners, and what implications this has had on gender. This has been done through Harvey's theory of ABD, which has been used as a broad theoretical debate to situate the phenomenon, while processes within the theory have been used for explanatory purposes of the material. In addition, my contribution to the theoretical discussion is the complementation by incorporating Hartsock's gender perspective, since this is a focal point of the material.

The study demonstrates, through the dimensions of ABD and social reproduction, that land has been closed since it has been privatized and has, thus, dislocated previous land users for the purpose of capital accumulation. This has had a greater impact on women than on men (Hall, 2013; Hartsock, 2006). Agricultural development projects, such as AgDevCo's, can be seen as land grab as their main activity is to obtain land for agricultural business, while dispossessing the traditional land users. In addition to this, the corporation has not done a complete assessment of Babator prior to the land grab since some social economic impacts, including gender, has been disregarded, which is how one define and grabbing, according to the Tirana Declaration (Oram, 2014: 9). This project, therefore, reinforces the process of ABD by encouraging corporate actors to implement these types of development projects at the expense of traditional land users and reshape the conditions of their livelihoods.

My findings demonstrate that *privatization of land* has led to a continuum of events that intervene in the other processes, which has affected households in Babator. AgDevCo accessed the land through fraud, a central part of ABD (Hall, 2013), by incentivizing the community members with development promises. This was then followed by the enclosure of the land, by fencing and constantly expanding the area, which can be seen as an expression of privatization and conversion of various forms of property rights into exclusively private property rights.

By privatizing the land, *suppression of the commons* has been perceived in areas where community members utilized the common pool resource to sustain income-generating activities. This has, in turn, resulted in a decrease of both incomes, and in the diversification of income-generating activities. Furthermore, these areas were used

for subsistence needs in terms of cultivation and hunting activities. This has led to food insecurity and has affected the traditional food system since community members have been removed from their land, and relocated to non-fertile land and fewer cultivation plots. Hence, *alternative forms of production and consumption have been suppressed*, as an outcome from privatization.

As a result of the *privatization of the land*, AgDevCo has to some extent produced ‘property-less proletarians’. Consequently, *commodification of labor power* occurred, especially those who have been able to access employment and, thereby, becoming integrated into the capitalist system. The ones who have been permanently employed are satisfied with the job and salary. Even if they have been separated from their means of production, they have been able to complement the loss of food stores with income. The ones who have obtained casual employment or not being employed are not satisfied and can be seen as ‘property-less proletarians’ by insecure employment or no employment. They have been separated from their lands but the labor is not needed. This group struggles to meet their subsistence needs. This is also a central part since over accumulation can be solved through ABD by releasing assets at a low cost, such as labor power.

As mentioned before, land transactions are gendered (Hartsock, 2006). When privatization of land occurs it induces *changes in gender relations*. Women who obtained employment at AgDevCo feel empowered but also experience double burden. This is due to the fact that women are subject to social reproduction to a greater extent than men. Firstly, when women become ‘property-less proletarians’, they are viewed as cheap labor and thereby a solution to over accumulation, which can explain the low payment the state they receive. Secondly, women experience double burden. This is due to women’s traditional role in the household where the domestic household tasks in combination with integration into the workforce induce double burden. In addition, this has altered household structures since some of the women have become the breadwinner in the family. Moreover, women who became ‘property-less proletarians’ but have not obtained employment at AgDevCo, suffer to a greater extent since the suppression of the common was their main source of income-generating activity (shea butter).

Overall, the study concludes that AgDevCo has not been able to contribute to poverty reduction in Babator through successful agribusiness (AgDevCo, 2017. One

can then argue that a mainstream and normative development initiative that sees the market as the optimal distributor of benefits needs to have a more critical nuance. Especially when it comes to women since land transactions affect them to a greater extent.

7. References

Adusei-Asante, K., Hancock, P., & Oliveira, M. (2015). Gender mainstreaming and women's roles in development projects: A research case study from Ghana. In *At the center: Feminism, social science and knowledge* (pp. 175-198). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

AgDevCo (2017). *BABATOR IRRIGATED FARMING HUB*. [online] Agdevco.com. Available at: <http://www.agdevco.com/our-investments/by-investment/BABATOR-IRRIGATED-FARMING-HUB>. [Accessed 2 Mar. 2018].

Aha, B., & Ayitey, J. Z. (2016). Biofuels and the hazards of land grabbing: Tenure (in) security and indigenous farmers' investment decisions in Ghana. *Land Use Policy*, 60, 48-59.

Bakker, K. (2005). Neoliberalizing nature? Market environmentalism in water supply in England and Wales. *Annals of the association of American Geographers*, 95(3), 542-565.

Borras Jr, S. M., & Franco, J. C. (2012). Global land grabbing and trajectories of agrarian change: A preliminary analysis. *Journal of agrarian change*, 12(1), 34-59.

Borras Jr, S. M., Hall, R., Scoones, I., White, B., & Wolford, W. (2011). Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing: an editorial introduction. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(2), 209-216.

Budds, J. (2004). Power, nature and neoliberalism: the political ecology of water in Chile. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25(3), 322-342.

Buseth, J. T. (2017). The green economy in Tanzania: From global discourses to institutionalization. *Geoforum*, 86, 42-52.

Bryman, Alan. 2014. *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Collins, A. M. (2017). Goal Setting and Governance: Examining the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition with a Gender Lens. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 23(3), 423-441.

de Cleene, S. (2014). Agricultural Growth Corridors—Unlocking Rural Potential, Catalyzing Economic Development. In *Finance for Food* (pp. 67-87). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Dell'Angelo, J., D'Odorico, P., Rulli, M. C., & Marchand, P. (2017). The tragedy of the grabbed commons: coercion and dispossession in the global land rush. *World Development*, 92, 1-12.

de Vaus, David 2001. *Research Design in Social Research*, London: Sage

England, Kim V. L. (1994) 'Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality and Feminist

- Research', *The Professional Geographer*, 46 (1): 80-89.
- GRAIN (2016), "GROW-ING DISASTER The Fortune of 500 goes farming". Available at: <https://www.grain.org/article/entries/5622-grow-ing-disaster-the-fortune-500-goes-farming> [Accessed 2 Mar. 2018]
- Grow Africa. (2017). "Grow Africa, Partnering for Agricultural Transformation". [Brochure] Available at: <https://www.growafrica.com/content/who-we-are>. (Accessed 26 Feb. 2018)
- Hall, D. (2013). Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession and the global land grab. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(9), 1582-1604.
- Hartsock, N. (2006). *Globalization and primitive accumulation: The contributions of David Harvey's dialectical Marxism* (pp. 167-190). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Harvey, D. (2004). The 'new' imperialism: accumulation by dispossession. *Socialist register*, 40(40). 63–87.
- Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as creative destruction. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 610(1), 21-44.
- Heller, E., Christensen, J., Long, L., Mackenzie, C., Osano, P., Ricker, B., Kagan, E. and Turner, S. (2011). Dear Diary: Early Career Geographers Collectively Reflect on Their Qualitative Field Research Experiences. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 35(1), pp.67-83.
- Kapoor, Ilan (2004) 'Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'', *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (4): 627–647.
- Keating, C., Rasmussen, C., & Rishi, P. (2010). The rationality of empowerment: Microcredit, accumulation by dispossession, and the gendered economy. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 36(1), 153-176.
- Langan, M. (2017). *Neo-colonialism and the Poverty of development'in Africa*. Springer.
- Marx, K. & Engels E. (1996). *Collected Works*, vol. 35, Karl Marx: Capital, vol. 1
- McKeon, N. (2014). The New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition A Coup for Corporate Capital'. *Agrarian Justice Programme Policy Paper*. Amsterdam: Transnational Institute and Terra Nuova.
- Mollett, S. (2016). The power to plunder: Rethinking land grabbing in Latin America. *Antipode*, 48(2), 412-432.
- Nagar, Richa with Ali, Farah and the Sangatin women's collective (2003) 'Collaborating across borders: moving beyond positionality', *Singapore Journal of*

Tropical Geography, 23 (4): 356-372.

Neumayer, K. (2014). *Gender Dimensions of Rainwater and Livelihoods Management in Rural Crop-Livestock Systems* (Doctoral dissertation, uniwiien).

Oberlack, C., Tejada, L., Messerli, P., Rist, S., & Giger, M. (2016). Sustainable livelihoods in the global land rush? Archetypes of livelihood vulnerability and sustainability potentials. *Global environmental change*, 41, 153-171.

Oram J. (2014). "The Great Land Heist: How the World is Paving the Way for Corporate Land Grabs". Available at: <https://www.actionaidusa.org/publications/great-land-heist/> [Accessed 20 Mar. 2018]

OXFAM (2014). "Moral Hazard? 'Mega' public-private partnerships in African agriculture". *Oxfam Briefing Paper – Summary*. [Electronic] Available at: <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/moral-hazard-mega-public-private-partnerships-in-african-agriculture-325221> [Accessed 5 Dec. 2017]

Roberts, A. (2008). Privatizing social reproduction: The primitive accumulation of water in an era of neoliberalism. *Antipode*, 40(4), 535-560.

Rose, Gillian (1997) 'Situating Knowledges: Positionality, Reflexivity and Other Tactics', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21 (3): 305-320.

Rózalska, M. (2016). BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY-THE ROLE OF CHIEFS IN THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA. *Politeja*, (42), 379.

Scheyvens, R. (Ed.). (2014). *Development fieldwork: A practical guide*. Sage

Schoneveld, G. C., & German, L. (2014). Translating legal rights into tenure security: lessons from the new commercial pressures on land in Ghana. *Journal of Development Studies*, 50(2), 187-203.

Schoneveld, G., German, L. and Nutakor, E. (2011). Land-based Investments for Rural Development? A Grounded Analysis of the Local Impacts of Biofuel Feedstock Plantations in Ghana. *Ecology and Society*, 16(4).

Siakwah, P. (2017). Actor Network Theory, globalised assemblages and the impact of oil on agriculture and industry in Ghana. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 4(3), 462-472.

Sultana, Farhana (2007) 'Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6 (3): 374-385.

Swyngedouw, E. (2005). Dispossessing H2O: the contested terrain of water privatization. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 16(1), 81-98.

Appendix 1: Participants

Interview	Date	Location
Interview 1, key informant, YVE	21/01/2018	Bamboi
Interview 2, key informant, Assemblyman of Babator and Bamboi	22/01/2018	Bamboi
Interview 3, key informant, focus group, chieftaincies	22/01/2018	Bamboi
Interview 4, key informant, Representative at the regional government department of Bole	23/01/2018	Bole
Interview 5, focus group, men	24/01/2018	Babator
Interview 6, woman	24/01/2018	Babator
Interview 7, man	25/01/2018	Babator
Interview 8, woman	25/01/2018	Babator
Interview 9, man	07/02/2018	Babator
Interview 10, man	07/02/2018	Babator
Interview 11, woman (man present)	07/02/2018	Babator
Interview 12, woman	08/02/2018	Babator
Interview 13, focus group, women	08/02/2018	Babator
Interview 14, man	08/02/2018	Babator
Interview 15, man	09/02/2018	Babator
Interview 16, woman	09/02/2018	Babator
Interview 17, woman	09/02/2018	Babator
Interview 18, woman	10/02/2018	Babator
Interview 19, woman	10/02/2018	Babator
Interview 20, woman	10/02/2018	Babator