



Land Rush:

**An interdisciplinary action-research project
on natural resource grabbing
in the Great Lakes Region of Africa**

Land Rush: An interdisciplinary action-research project

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This document gives an overview of the different phases of the Land Rush project and its evolution throughout time. It outlines the core objectives of each stage, the partners involved, but also the analytical and ethical challenges that the Land Rush project generates.

Phase 1: Construction of the Land Rush Game

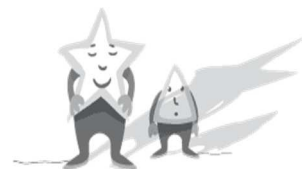
Everything started somewhere in spring 2010, around the kitchen table of An Ansoms. She brought together a couple of colleagues who had experience with research on natural resource conflicts in the Great Lakes Region. An Ansoms had finished her PhD on rural dynamics in post-genocide Rwanda just a year before. Sara Geenen was at the time working on her PhD on artisanal mining in eastern DRC. Both worked at IOB (Institute of Development Policy and Management, University of Antwerp) at the time. Sara and An already had some experience with the elaboration of simulation games that they used in their master classes – they had worked out a ‘Development Monopoly’ game, a social networking game, and An had elaborated a Participatory Poverty Assessment game¹. From those experiences emerged the idea to work on a **game that would reflect the challenges around natural resource conflicts in the Great Lakes Region**. They brought in Klara Claessens, who had just come back from her first field research on land access dynamics in eastern DRC; and Okke Bogaerts, an independent graphic specialist, who was born in Rwanda and had always kept an interest in what happened on the ground. (These people are further referred to as team 1).

The four-headed team started to work on a simulation game that they called Land Rush. The game was constructed around three core messages:



1) Risk diversification vs. profit maximisation. Often regarded as 'backward' and 'un-knowledgeable', poor farmers in developing countries are often considered by policy makers as inefficient and unable to maximise their profit. Land rush brings out the inner dynamics of smallholder peasant farming. The game illustrates that profit maximisation is often not a realistic, nor desirable objective for smallholder farmers. They rather aim at minimising the risks they face, in order to keep their resource-base safe from unforeseeable economic or climate shocks. This is often done through intercropping as opposed to monoculture, and feeding one's household first as opposed to realising economies of scale for the market.

2) Legal pluralism. While formal rights and clear 'rules of the game' may be important to guarantee equitable access to land and natural resources, the reality of rural settings is often more complicated than what is written in law bills. Customary laws, informal arrangements and dynamics of reciprocity are important mechanisms through which vulnerable actors claim access to the use of natural resources. In Land Rush, players engage in a continuous renegotiation of the formal and informal rules of the game. For poor farmers, such 'alternative' normative orders may be crucial in securing their access to land and natural resources.



3) Unequal relations of power. Rural producers do not work in an isolated social field. On the contrary, farmers are embedded in an environment filled with economic and political differentiation (poor versus rich farmers, well-connected versus 'voiceless' producers...). In *Land Rush* it becomes clear that richer and more

¹ These games were later published: (2012), “Simulating poverty and inequality dynamics in developing countries”, *Simulation & Gaming* 43 (6): 713-728. (2012), “Development Monopoly: A simulation game on poverty and inequality”, *Simulation & Gaming* 43 (6): 853-862. (2012), “Negotiating on poverty: A participatory poverty assessment simulation game”, *Simulation & Gaming* 44 (4): 586-601. (2012), “Building ties in a stratified society: A social networking simulation game”, *Simulation & Gaming* 43 (5): 673-685.

powerful actors have a comparative advantage in negotiating access to natural resources. However, the game also illustrates how the poorest actors may still find ways of making their voices heard and may take collective action to defend their interests.

The team elaborated several pilot versions of the game and a graphical design that made it possible to actually play it. The team had fun testing out the different versions, and involved some colleagues and friends to try out alternative versions. The biggest challenge was to agree upon a version that kept a middle ground between complexity (of dynamics presented) and accessibility (so that people could easily familiarise themselves with the game).

Phase 2: Professionalization of the Land Rush Game

By October 2010, An Ansoms took a position as assistant professor at the Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL in the southern part of Belgium). In that position, she took up five courses, among which one on 'Global and local natural resource dynamics' (free translation, course in French). The idea emerged to **test out the Land Rush simulation game in a master class** with the approximately 50 master students in this course. This was done in spring 2012 and 2013. In addition, the game was played by a team of pedagogical experts of UCL, and several teams of researchers and NGO people working in/on the global South. These experiences were extremely enriching, and led to numerous modifications in the game.



Around that time, the game conceptualiser team started to reflect on how to take the project forward. We were informally approached by some game developers who saw commercial potential in the game. However, the whole team agreed that the game – constructed on the basis of the lives of farmers in a very troubled region – had to remain **open access**. Together with the team, An prepared two funding applications early 2013 in order to professionalise the game: 1) a subsidy prize for the elaboration of media around research funded by the International Wernaers Fund for Research and the Diffusion of knowledge (20.000 euro); 2) an impulsion budget of the CSES (Services to Society Council) of the Université Catholique de Louvain (15.000 euro). Both applications were successful, and the projects were executed between mid-2013 and mid-2015. The **core objectives of the two projects** were threefold:

- 1) Objective 1 - Professionalisation of the Land Rush game (contents and design); elaboration of a scientific publication on the basis of the game; elaboration of the game in French version (for students at UCL, but also to make it accessible to francophone central Africa)
- 2) Objective 2 - Elaboration of a website on which the game, accessible to a large public (open access) and elaboration of pedagogical modules on the scientific foundations of the game
- 3) Objective 3 - Familiarisation of academic and non-academic public with the game, specifically paying attention to making a bridge between academic and non-academic actors working in / on the South (particularly the Great Lakes Region)

The execution of this project brought in **new partners**. The team organised a gaming session with pedagogical specialists of *Louvain Learning Lab*, whose input helped to further crystallise the game. Together with the AFD team of *Louvain Cooperation* (NGO that works in close collaboration with UCL), a professional design of the game was elaborated (objective 1). A French version of the game was elaborated (objective 1). And the team worked out short pedagogical videos to explain the purpose of the game; the rules of the game; and the core messages of the game (objective 2). All these materials

were posted on a website (www.land-rush.org) that offers the whole package in open access mode (objective 2). A scientific publication was elaborated², later published in *Simulation and Gaming* – the authors insisted on a copyright agreement that kept the publication open access (objective 1).



As for the realisation of the third objective of the CSES and Wernaers projects, An Ansoms brought in her team of PhD students, each of whom would play an important role in the later phases of the project. Next to Klara Claessens (PhD student who was among the game initiators), she involved Aymar Nyenyezi and Emery Mudinga - two Congolese PhD students who had just started their PhD on land grabbing in the Great Lakes Region; and Giuseppe Cioffo - who had started a PhD on rural dynamics in Rwanda. Together, these five people (An, Aymar, Emery, Giuseppe and Klara - further referred to as team 2) coordinated **multiple game sessions** to familiarise an academic and non-academic public with the game:

- In 2013-2014, several game sessions were organised in **Belgium with NGO people** from Louvain Coopération, 11.11.11, and CNCD.

- In May 2014, the game was presented at a conference in Bukavu, (Sud Kivu, République Démocratique du Congo) 'Politiques publiques et résiliences paysannes', organised by ISDR (local University) and UCL. This conference was an occasion for the team to discuss its work with policy makers, academics from the South, the local civil society and the regional press. After the conference, a game session was organised with about 50 students of the Faculty of Agronomy of the Université Catholique de Bukavu.



- In July 2014, a game session was organised at the conference 'Green Economy in the South: Negotiating Environmental Governance, Prosperity and Development', **University of Dodoma** (Tanzania). This conference brought together a large public of academics (mostly from the South) working on rural dynamics all over the world. About 60 people participated in the game session.
- In the autumn of 2014, a game session was organised with **local Rwandan NGOs, working on rural development** (and embedded within the consortium CCOAIB, partner of 11.11.11) in Kigali. About 30 people participated in the game session.
- In November 2014, the game was presented at the **African Studies Association** 57th Annual Meeting: 'Rethinking violence, reconstruction and reconciliation', (Indianapolis, USA). This conference brought together a large public of academics (mostly American) working on Africa. The game was presented in a panel on the Great Lakes Region.
- In July 2015, a game session was organised at the annual LandAc conference on 'Land Governance for Equitable and Sustainable Development' organised by the **University of Utrecht** (Netherlands). This conference brought together a large public of academics (mostly from the North) working on land dynamics all over the world. About 30 people participated in the game session.
- In the autumn of 2015, the game was presented to the **partners of the CNCD consortium** (umbrella organisation gathering a variety of Belgian NGOs of which many are active in the Great Lakes Region; and during a lunch session of **CREAC** in the Belgian House of Parliamentaries, in front of a public of academics, politicians, business people and civil society organisations with a special interest in the Great Lakes Region.
- Throughout some of the game sessions, participants started to reflect around the possibility to use the Land Rush game within the framework of **other research or teaching activities**.

² Ansoms, A., Claessens K., Bogaerts O., and S. Geenen (2015) "Land rush: simulating negotiations over land rights", *Simulation & gaming* 46 (6): 742-762.

Pierre Merlet of the University of Antwerp has for example used Land Rush in his research on **forest enclosure in Colombia**. He worked with research participants to adapt the game to the local research context. In September 2015, a game session was organised with the Louv4Water group. During this session, the idea popped up to make a **Water Rush version**, an idea that remains to be explored

Next to the Land Rush project as such, An Ansoms and Aymar Nyenyezi elaborated a **MOOC (Massive Online Open Course)** on 'Ressources naturelles et développement durable', (<https://www.edx.org/course/ressources-naturelles-et-developpement-louvainx-louv4x-0>). The course was launched for the first time on the EdX platform (consortium of MIT and Harvard, in which UCL is a partner) in February 2014. Two other editions were organised in 2015 and 2016. The MOOC included a special section on the Land Rush game, accessible to all students. Several students worldwide have used the materials to organise their own gaming session with a couple of friends.

Phase 3: Pilot exercise of the Land Rush Theatre in South Kivu (DRC) and Burundi

In a final phase of the CSES and Wernaers projects, team 2 envisaged to bring back the game to the farmers in the Great Lakes Region. However, during brainstorming sessions, two ethical constraints were singled out to the **realisation of game sessions with rural dwellers in the Great Lakes region**.

- 1) First, board games with money, turns, penalties and rewards are a typical occidental past-time, of which few African smallholder farmers have any experience. It is a tool that does not necessarily appeal to their world.
- 2) Second, it soon appeared evident that these sessions would have excluded those farmers who were analphabetic, as the game does require basic reading and counting skills. Neglecting these farmers' experiences would have excluded a significant, possibly majoritarian, part of farmers in the Great Lakes.

During a late-night brainstorming session on the terrace of a nice Italian restaurant, team 2 took inspiration from the previous involvement of some of the team members with community theatre, with methodology of the 'Theatre of the Oppressed', and with the libertarian pedagogy introduced by Paulo Freire. Throughout the following brainstorming, the team members started to consider the possibilities a **participatory theatre methodology** could offer. They identified three important advantages.

- 1) First, participatory community theatre does not require reading or writing skills. It allows the participants to participate in their common language.
- 2) Second, in the same way as the game, the theatre could allow for the creation of fictive situational sketches that are linked to but not too closely related to real-life-like dynamics.
- 3) Third, the participatory element of the methodology allows for the engagement of actors and non-actors alike in the questioning and discussion of the theatre dynamics. This could open up a repository of information to the attention of the researchers and participants alike.

These three elements were the starting point for transforming Land Rush from a game into a participatory theatre. However, we decided to move forward not in isolation but **in collaboration with local civil society organisations** working on micro-level community building and conflict resolution. In DRC, we decided to work with APC, a local NGO working on land conflict resolution, and previous working environment of Emery Mudinga, one of the team members. In Burundi, we decided to work with JJB, a local NGO working on youth development, and previous working environment of Aymar Nyenyezi, another team member. Next to the local animators, we also involved professionals with experience in scenario writing and theatre plays. In DRC, we hired a scenario writer and actor working for *Benevolencia*, an NGO developing theatre sketches on reconciliation for the local radio. In Burundi, we involved a theatre group from Esperanza, a Rwandan organisation with experience in participatory theatre; and from JJB, a Burundian organisation working on conflict mediation through theatre.

Together with the local civil society partners, team 2 worked out a **community theatre protocol** that was tested out in eastern DRC (Kalehe region) and in Burundi (Ngozi region) in May 2014. For a short video on this theatre protocol, see <http://youtu.be/bJUdR4roVk4>. The protocol consisted of different phases:

- 1) The UCL team developed a training for the local partners around the Land Rush game. After playing the game, they involved the local teams in a structured debriefing session on the key dynamics of the game; and a reflexion on their relevance in the local setting. In a next step, the field animators in collaboration with the theatre professionals translated certain game dynamics - those relevant to the local setting - into a theatre sketch.
- 2) The whole team then organised a theatre session for local community members. In both settings, we opted for a limited public of 40-50 people from diverse socio-economic categories on the basis of suggestions from the local partners.
- 3) After the theatre sketch, a local animator engaged the public in a discussion on whether and how the theatre sketch reflected everyday life dynamics. In line with a consolidated practice in participatory theatre, the animators involved the participants to take the place of one of the theatre actors to replay a particular scene in an alternative version (in Burundi). Interestingly, in both settings, the discussion spontaneously transformed into a joint reflection on how to respond – at the local level - to the challenges introduced in the sketch.



Initially, we did not necessarily perceive this community theatre method as a tool for research as such. We rather saw it as a tool for service delivery, a fun way of ‘giving back’ research results to the local populations. And, potentially, through the gathered testimonies, an important tool for sensibilisation of policy makers. However, during the experience, all researchers in the room realised how rich the experience was beyond the intended objectives. By placing the controversy out of the real context into a fictional one, participants were able to discuss real-life conflict in a non-confrontational way. This helped frank discussion on very sensitive matters, and allowed the researchers to gain access to certain parts of the hidden discourses around land conflicts that often remain hidden or concealed for outsiders. Also the civil society partners involved realised how useful and rich the experience was in deblocking difficult discussions on land conflict matters. However, the whole team also realised that one rather improvised experience was far from enough to speak of a consolidated methodology. The protocol had to be further tested, in different circumstances, and in the framework of a coherent research program.

Phase 4: Professionalization of the Land Rush Theatre through various research experiences

This research program had been constructed throughout the previous years. An Ansoms had deliberately selected a very complementary research team. The profiles of the researchers (rural development, political science, development studies, law, and economics), and their research topics (all converging around natural resource conflicts and rural development challenges in the Great Lakes Region) allowed for a fruitful cross-over of expertise in all the phases of the research. This complementarity – and a spirit oriented towards collective work by all team members - has proven to be crucial in the elaboration of the overarching project.

Overarching research project: Rural transformations and the scramble for land in the Great Lakes



This project studies the role of smallholder agriculture in the Great Lakes Region's development process. Global drivers of change - the neoliberalization of agriculture, land grabbing and climate change - have shaped and continue to shape agrarian transformations that currently take place. These global drivers interact with local drivers of change specific to the Great Lakes Region, more specifically: the extreme demographic pressure in a context where ethnic, economic and political cleavages have been anchored in the social tissue through multiple conflicts and severe forms of violence. We aim not only at describing the relations between global and local drivers of change, but also the way in which they interconnect with development policies (agrarian and land policies specifically) in Rwanda, Burundi and eastern DRC. Furthermore, we study how these policies and drivers of change interact with peasants' livelihood strategies in the context of increasing social differentiation in the rural milieu. We analyse smallholders' bargaining positions in the various arena (specifically with regards to their access to land), and focus in particular upon the resistances strategies they develop (potentially in interaction with the civil society) in reaction to the development policies.



Between 2012 and today, each of the researchers has engaged in in-depth analysis around specific case studies that were placed within the framework of this overarching project. At certain phases, researchers collaborated in joint field research phases³. The researchers also engaged in frequent exchange on theoretical concepts, field research results, and on the ethical challenges of doing research in conflictuous settings. Together, this resulted in individual and joint publications (see annex 2) and in communications at international conferences (see annex 3). Another interesting tool developed by one of the researchers (Emery Mudinga), and used by the research team during difficult phases of the research, is a security plan for difficult field research phases (see annex 4). However, the elaboration of the joint land rush theatre method allowed for an acceleration in the congruence around this overarching project. It reinforced the group dynamic, and allowed the team to converge the different methodologies around a common methodological tool. The Land Rush method was further refined throughout various individual and collective field research stages that followed.

CASE 1: Joint research on land conflict dynamics in South Kivu with entire team 2 in January 2015

In January 2015, the entire research team engaged in joint field research in a small rural setting situated approximately one hour from Bukavu (South Kivu, Eastern DRC). The purpose of the research was to follow up on earlier research experiences, in order to consolidate specific elements of the Land Rush Theatre method and test out new ideas. We played the game and elaborated the theatre sketches with local youth - coached by a theatre specialist and played in front of a massive public – within a setting in which none of us had previously done research.

The experience proved to be extremely useful – particularly because of its partial failure – and helped us to crystalize the important ethical challenges involved in the method. A first theatre sketch performance 'failed', mainly because of three main aspects:

- 1) We saw the Land Rush method as an interesting 'introduction into the field exercise'. We decided to embark in an unfamiliar setting in order to test the potential of the Land Rush

³ In October 2011, Emery Mudinga, Klara Claessens and An Ansoms engaged in joint field research, gathering data on the variety of land conflicts in South Kivu. In the summer of 2012, Emery Mudinga and Klara Claessens engaged in joint research on land access dynamics in South Kivu. In the autumn of 2014, Giuseppe Cioffo and An Ansoms engaged in joint research, gathering data on the impact of rural policies on local livelihoods in Northern and Southern Rwanda. In October 2015 and January 2016, Aymar Nyenyezi and An Ansoms engaged in joint research on the advocacy potential of local civil society organisations working in rural Rwanda.

method in early research phases. However, the setting was the scene of an intense long-lasting and occasionally violent land conflict that divided various stakeholders residing in the local setting. The fact that we were – initially – unfamiliar with the stakes in this land conflict resulted in the fact that *we did not realise the sensitivities that emerged below and above the surface during the transformation process from game to theatre*. Some of the actors (local youth) felt uncomfortable with playing a particular sketch, which posed important ethical challenges (see further).

- 2) Besides this very important ethical problem, we also realised that the Land Rush method was *far from efficient in giving researchers access to the 'who-how-where-when' dimensions of the land conflict*. More standard individual and focus group interviews proved to be more useful. The Land Rush method can however bring to the surface the 'hidden discourse' of stakeholders who feel more comfortable sharing about an imaginary situation in a fictive theatre sketch. But this only happens when the researcher is familiar with the research setting, trusted by the research participants, and capable to detect those hidden discourses.
- 3) The theatre sketch was *played in a very open-access environment* on a sunny afternoon, in open air, just after church service. A massive amount of people attended, with hundreds of children in front of the crowd. The theatre was seen as an interesting leisure time activity; however, people did not grab its research dimension. Engaging in an open discussion after the sketch proved to be impossible.



After an initial 'failed theatre experience', we decided to adopt more traditional interview methods in order to analyse the 'who-how-where-when' dimensions of the land conflict in question. This allowed us to get a good idea of the local-level sensitivities – although we all realised that long-term field research was way more preferable. In a final stage of our research stay, we decided to try out a second theatre experience; and this time, it worked out very well:

- 1) We were at that point way more aware of the local sensitivities in the land arena, and constructed the theatre sketch in such a way that the theatre setting was sufficiently different from the real-life situation. In this way, the local youth who performed as actors were way more comfortable with the theatre sketch.



- 2) We controlled the performance =setting and conditions by playing the theatre sketch in front of a more limited and invited public. This allowed us to really familiarise the public with the research dimension of our project, the fact that they were not participating in a sensitisation exercise or a leisure time activity, but in a discussion in which different points of view were to be shared and difference of opinion to be respected.

- 3) The theatre experience worked out very well in bringing up 'hidden discourses'. Our research participants engaged for example in an intense discussion about the legitimacy of the use of violence in land conflicts. This intense discussion inspired the research team during an intense debate about the ethical dimensions of the Land Rush Theatre method.

Extract from field research journal An Ansoms January 2015

Today, we had a very interesting theatre experience. We played a theatre sketch on various resistance strategies of smallholder farmers when facing land grabbing. The strategies referred to forms of collective peaceful protest, implying customary or formal state authorities, implying customary or formal judiciary instances, mediation through civil society networks, and ... the use of open violence. After the theatre sketch, a very intense debate emerged in which many dimensions were discussed.

However, at some point, the debate converged around the use of violence in resisting land grabbing. A large part of the public was legitimising violence as an important way – 'often the only way' – to react in the face of injustice. We gathered quotes like : « Vous savez, 'argent' veut dire 'pouvoir'. Comment voulez-vous qu'un pauvre paysan cherche sa cause



devant la justice ou devant les autorités ? La seule option qui lui reste est de prendre la machette. » The animosity in the room raised, a lot of people agreed. Emery did a very good decent job in coordinating the debate; his long-term experience in land conflict mediation within APC proved to be extremely useful. (Note: by the way, this again illustrates how important it is to have the right discussion coordinator, and sufficient familiarity with the research setting to understand what people are talking about.) However, while the debate evolved, I was sitting in the back of the room, feeling increasingly uncomfortable about what our theatre sketch was bringing up. It was with great relieve that I noticed how – further on in the discussion – someone questioned what violence in land conflicts had brought them; and that more moderate voices seemed to take over.

In the evening, the whole research team sat down to discuss the theatre experience. I brought up how uncomfortable I had felt during the discussion, and wondered up to which extent our theatre sketch and following discussion was in fact contributing to the legitimization of violence – or at least – to the legitimization of discourses justifying violence. We reflected on the fact that the participatory element of the Land Rush theatre exercise comes at the cost of partly risking to lose control over the whole process (f.e. during the construction of the sketches, or during the post-theatre discussion). We reflected upon the responsibility of the researcher throughout the whole process of the Land Rush theatre method.

On the other hand, I was quite intensely 'tackled' by Emery who p me a very interesting question: « An, tu me dis depuis toujours que tu ferais tout pour être la mouche sur le mur, pour pouvoir accéder au franc parlé de tes participants de recherche. (Note : Indeed, my whole research set-up in Rwanda is framed around gaining access to people's hidden discourses in non-confrontational ways.) Alors, aujourd'hui, ils nous ont partiellement fait accéder à ces discours. Ils nous ont fait part de ce qu'ils pensent réellement. Et si maintenant ces discours ne te plaisent pas, car ils ne correspondent pas avec tes valeurs, alors, tu vas les délégitimer ? » This brought us to a joint discussion on the ethical responsibility of the researcher more broadly, in giving an honest account of the voices he or she listens to; in providing space for research participants to share their voices with the researcher – also when the researcher does not necessarily 'like' the discourses developed by the participants.

Ex-post reflection by An Ansoms

That evening, and the following days, months and years, the discussion on the various ethical challenges of the Land Rush method – in relation to other research methods – continued to intrigue us. It has been a true privilege to work out this method in a research team with so many disciplinary and epistemological backgrounds, but most of all, a research team in which any taboos could be discussed without hierarchical levels playing a role. Indeed, while in the field, there was no promoter and no PhD student, we were just a bunch of researchers critically engaging with the method we were testing out. I made me realise once more that there are no 'good' or 'bad' ethical practices. Doing research in an ethical responsible way is a matter of continuous discussion on the 'shades of grey' – preferably through joint field experiences – and through continuous honest open-minded feedback.

So what did we decide with regards to this particular challenge – the risk of legitimising violence versus the importance of giving an honest account of the voices gathered during field research? The tension brought us to a reflection on the importance of placing the theatre experience within a broader action-research framework in which local NGOs could play a role in the follow-up of the research phase (see further).

CASE 2: Uncovering forms of resistances through theatre – Research of Emery Mudinga – July 2015

The PhD research of Emery Mudinga focuses upon land conflicts with a violent dimension in Eastern DRC. His field research is concentrated in three groupements of Kalehe (Mbinga Sud, Buzi and Kalima). The local context is characterised by a long-term trajectory of politico-ethnic conflicts in which violent means of oppression and resistance are frequent, and in which armed groups have played and continue to play an important role. Engaging research participants in an open exchange on their *vécus*, their strategies, and their discourses, is a huge challenge.

In a first stage, Emery Mudinga adopted more classic methods of data gathering. He engaged in individual interviews, focus groups (both homogenous and heterogeneous, depending on the subject discussed) in addition to participant observation. The complementarity of these methods allowed to gather a variety of data throughout the various phases of his research. Overall, the researcher gained an in-depth insight into the ongoing land conflict dynamics. However, the analysis revealed two main shortcomings. First, the information on the various forms of resistance within land conflicts – nonetheless a core research topic - remained limited, particularly in focus group discussions. Individual



interviews – often with key informants not directly involved in the conflict itself - proved to be more revealing. But the origin of the gathered information posed ethical challenges: how to interpret discourses and strategies on the basis of indirect accounts? Second, when probing our informants to reveal their views on their own ‘forms of resistance’, conversations often centred around the phrase ‘we cannot discuss everything here’, an indication of the level of suspicion, fear and distrust among research participants and between research participants and the researcher.

In a final phase of his research, and inspired by the joint pilot experiences, Emery Mudinga then decided to adopt the Land Rush theatre method, concentrating it around ‘forms of resistance’ in land conflict dynamics. However, the financial means of the researcher were limited, which obliged him to creatively adapt the method. In the three research settings, he engaged a team of 9 to 10 local actors in the joint construction of a theatre sketch around resistance strategies to land grabbing. The familiarity with the specificities of the local setting allowed him to select the ‘right’ actors for the play, and to elaborate a sketch around themes relevant to the local setting while making sure that the story remained sufficiently fictive. The sketches were then played in front of an invited public (maximally 25 participants at a time). The results were often impressive, and allowed the researcher to access sensitive information and striking testimonies. The gathered information proved to be of crucial importance for the research as a whole, and allowed to put into perspective a lot of the information gathered in previous stages.

At the same time, the experience inspired the researcher to a variety of reflexions on the strong points and the challenges of the method. First, it was of crucial importance that the researcher was already very familiar with the local research context. This allowed him to coordinate the theatre experience in such a way that participants were able to overcome their fear to talk about a sensitive topic. (In addition, his long-term experience in land conflict mediation proved to be very useful.) Second, the theatre setting ‘deblocked’ people’s fears by offering a fictive setting as a departure point. However, interestingly, both actors and participants often



turned to referring to real-life experiences. It was a continuous challenge for the researcher to manage the interaction between discourses referring to fictive and real-life reference points. Third, the theatre exercise offered 'weaker' social actors with an opportunity to talk about their day-to-day problems, and allowed them to denunciate the oppressive practices with which they are confronted. At the same time, the researcher had the impression to have generated a 'court case' against those in power, in which acts of resistance are per definition legitimised. Finally, the debates generated through the theatre exercise touched upon themes beyond the researchers' immediate research interest, linking up to broader land governance issues, to the role of the state, security, governance, etc. This allowed the researcher to gain a broader perspective, but also continuously confronted him with the challenge to make sure that the theatre and debate remained sufficiently focussed.

CASE 3: Putting the Land Rush Theatre method in a comparative perspective – Research of Aymar Nyenyezi – various stages in 2014 and 2015

The PhD research of Aymar Nyenyezi focuses on land conflicts as a result of land grabbing by local elites in Burundi, eastern DRC and Rwanda. Aymar analyses how power relations and resistance strategies evolve around these land conflicts. In the same way as Emery's research, also this research is a delicate undertaking, both psychologically as well as politically. The psychological challenges relate to the fact that these countries share a heritage of violent conflict of which the consequences continue to play a role in current times. The local population carries the psychological weight of this conflictuous heritage and often continues to live in a situation of constant uncertainty. This has important ethical implications for the researcher who has to enter the field with appropriate methods that do not further perturb the minds of the research participants. At the political level, the regimes in power in this so-called 'post-conflict' period are not necessarily hospitable to this kind of research topic. Indeed, research on power relations and resource grabbing in the land arena often mingles with the interests of local elites. This again imposes practical and ethical methodological challenges to the researcher.



The subtlety of the Land Rush Theatre method proved to be useful in such research context in order to overcome some of the shortcomings of too explicit traditional research methods. Aymar Nyenyezi engaged in various Land Rush Theatre experiences throughout 2014 and 2015 in all three countries. The theatre method proved to be relevant, even crucial, to understand the power dynamics and resistance strategies in cases of land grabbing. Also Aymar worked with local youth, preferably those with some experience in amateur theatre, for example during NGOs sensibilisation campaigns around AIDS, malaria, gender issues, etc. In interaction with these local actors, he worked out a theatre sketch around a particular land conflict – sufficiently fictive to avoid a direct link with local ongoing dynamics



but sufficiently linked to the local situation in order to allow for a useful discussion. The types of fictive land conflicts treated in the theatre sketches were different for the different settings. In Congo, the sketch turned around power disequilibria in land conflicts. In Burundi, the sketch focused upon the land conflicts involving returning refugees and other actors. In Rwanda, the sketch turned around the rural modernisation policies. All throughout the exercise, it was of crucial importance to create a sketch that kept an equilibrium between comical and dramatic elements. After the theatre sketches, the public was invited to reflect on the roles of

the actors, the scenario and the contents of the sketch.

Also in this case, the experience led the researcher to a variety of reflexions on the strong points and the challenges of the method. First, the Land Rush Theatre method allowed research participants to talk openly about very difficult topics without having to refer to names and responsibilities of concrete people and instances. In fact, the theatre offers an imaginary décor and world and leaves research participants with the choice to refer to this imaginary setting or to make a link with concrete situations. Their choice will depend on their own evaluation of the risks. The theatre allows them to escape from the ‘brutality’ of direct questions framed by the researcher. Second, this fictive theatre setting allows for a dialogue between stakeholders from various sides of the spectre. Indeed, the experience proved that open discussions between various types of smallholder farmers and local authorities was possible. After the theatre sketch, Aymar gathered accounts like « les personnes qui ont plus de ressources peuvent se permettre d’accaparer les terres des plus pauvres, souvent au-dépend des règles formelles », sometimes even followed by a round of applause. Interestingly, also local authorities agreed and even gave examples of land grabbing – in which of course they were not implicated and that often concerned neighbouring or further away villages. These were nonetheless important moments because indeed, all people involved did realise that the theatre has been realised on the basis of the local-level research of the researcher.

The theatre exercise allowed for concealed non-explicit discussions on concrete on-the-ground problems. They were important moments for all research participants involved. In addition, they allowed the researcher to gain an insight into the interactions between authorities and peasants, and in how power dynamics structure the possibilities of resistance of local actors in land conflicts. However, it is crucial to mention that a delicate moderation of such discussions is of crucial importance. The moderator has to manage the interactions in such ways that the discussion remains constructive and peaceful, with all opinions respected. The theatre experience may lead to individual follow-up interviews in which opinions can be discussed in more detail; but within the theatre setting, polarisation is to be avoided. Finally, the experience made the researcher gain more information than he expected, which in turn lead to an ethical reflection on the responsibility and reflexivity of the researcher: “What to do with what I’ve learned? Can I intervene in some way?” This nourished the discussion within the broader research team about the potential of a broader action-research project in collaboration with civil society actors working on the research themes who have the potential to intervene where the researcher cannot.

Phase 5: Introduction of the Land Rush Theatre Method in Belgian classrooms

From those very stimulating experiences ‘in the field’, the idea emerged to take this experience back to the classroom environment. An Ansoms teaches a course on natural resource conflicts, embedded in a variety of master programmes (development studies, anthropology, economics, and agronomy – the same cours in which the Land Rush game is played). After meeting Fiona Nziza – specialist in development education at Louvain Cooperation – during a theatre workshop, they both decided to experiment with the *Theatre of the Oppressed* method (developed by Augusto Boal) within this course. “The theatre of the Oppressed is a system of physical exercises, aesthetic games and special improvisations whose goal is to safeguard, develop and reshape this human vocation, by turning the practice of theatre into an effective tool for the comprehension of social and personal problems and the search for their solutions ” (Augusto Boal). In its initial form, the purpose is to play the theatre with potentially oppressed groups in order to allow them to practice how transforming seemingly hopeless situations into alternative outcomes. However, in the context of our classroom, we used the method in order to trigger the socio-emotional learning skills of our students through a very activating learning tool, in order to push them beyond a theoretical and factual analysis of natural resource conflicts.



It is important to mention that the theatre exercise is embedded in a longer trajectory of teaching activities. After magisterial theoretical courses, the students are summoned to follow the online course *Ressources naturelles et développement durable* through which they are familiarised with various resources conflicts around access to and control over land – water – underground – forest. Students then have to elaborate their own case study, presented in class through an analytical one-pager, further discussed with fellow students. Only after this trajectory, students are coached to work out a theatre sketch around a natural resource conflict in line with the



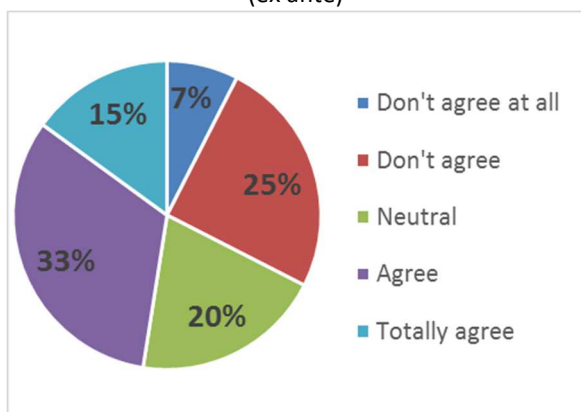
Theatre of the Oppressed method. In a final session, the sketches are performed in front of the other students, and serve as a reference for an in-depth discussion. During the discussion, students in the public propose alternative options for the oppressed character, which are tested out when a student takes up the role of the oppressed to play the alternative version. It is important to mention that the purpose of the ‘replacement’ phase is not to come to easy solutions, but rather to a more complex understanding of the problem and the character of oppression, being a result of individual people’s actions but also of more systemic factors and power disequilibria. The discussion often allows students to go beyond the stereotypical categories of ‘oppressor’ and ‘oppressed’ to reflect on the broader societal dynamics within which all actors are embedded.



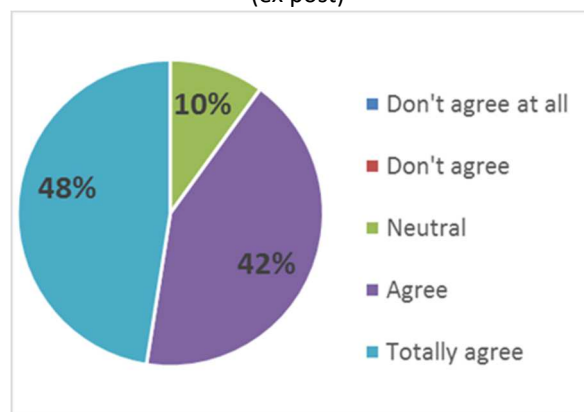
Overall, the experience was well appreciated by the students. Whereas in the initial phase, many students did not feel entirely comfortable to perform theatre in a university classroom, the experience was appreciated as relevant, both within the course, within the broader university curriculum, and within students’ future professional trajectory. All students agreed that the exercise was sufficiently relevant to be repeated in following years. For a short video on the experience, including students’ testimonies, see <https://youtu.be/e-8UIAYwTQs>.

Graph: Appreciation of theatre exercise by 40 students (2015)

I feel comfortable to engage in this theatre exercise
(ex ante)



This exercise is relevant in my university curriculum
(ex post)



Source: Anonymised ex-ante and ex-post survey among students participating in theatre exercise

In a qualitative survey, students highlighted the importance of the theatre experience in stimulating group dynamics, in stimulating creativity, and in concretising and putting to practice the theoretical background of the course. Students raised that the theatre experience had allowed them to ‘put

themselves in the skin' of real life persons which added a socio-emotional dimension to the learning process.

Phase 6: The consolidation of the method through overarching research projects with academic partners and civil society actors in the North and South

But let us turn back to the three case studies in the Great Lakes Region of Africa where the theatre method was tested out. Crossing the reflexions generated through these experiences brought the team to an **overarching discussion** about the potential but also ethical challenges involved in the Land Rush method. Several points were made.

- 1) The Land Rush Theatre method is **only suitable for later research stages**, when the researcher is well acquainted with the local setting and with potential sensitivities. Implementing it in the early phases of research as a tool for quick 'information-gathering' imposes practical but—more importantly—ethical problems. Indeed, it turned out that the method was not the most optimal tool to give the researcher insight into the 'who-how-where-when' dimensions of the land conflict. Ethically, the implementation of the method could turn out to be problematic when the researcher does not capture the local sensitivities during the construction of the sketches and during the discussion after the play.
- 2) The Land Rush Theatre method **can be adapted to different research themes** in which the researcher is interested. In our case studies, we implemented it in order to analyse land access dynamics, to understand resistance strategies to land grabbing, to focus on power relations within the land arena, and to discuss the impact of agrarian and land policies on local livelihoods. All these themes are embedded within the Land Rush game, and can be the core topic of the Land Rush theatre sketches. However, it is important for the researcher to make a clear choice, and coach the theatre group into that direction. If not, the theatre experience may divert the research participants away from the core research theme and make it useless for the research as such.
- 3) The Land Rush Theatre method proved to be particularly useful to **bring to the surface participants' 'hidden transcripts' in non-confrontational ways**. Indeed, the theatre sketch provides a fictive reference point to which participants can refer in the discussion. The possibility to talk about real-live concerns but in a fictive setting, helps to stimulate frank discussion. However, at the same time, this comes with important **analytical and ethical challenges**. (1) How to interpret the gathered discourses? Do these data allow to establish facts (rarely so), or should it be analysed as opinions? How to link up the discourses framed within the fictive theatre sketch to real-life dynamics on the ground? (2) What is the responsibility of the researcher by offering a platform in which certain opinions and discourses are formulated (particularly when those discourses legitimise the use of violence)? (3) How to manage conversations in which stakeholders in opposite positions participate? How to make sure that debates remain peaceful and constructive? These remain important challenges that are specific to each research environment.
- 4) The **participatory nature** of the Land Rush Theatre method is overall very well appreciated by the research participants. However, the improvised character of the exercise imposes important challenges upon the researcher. There is a real **risk of losing control** over the exercise, for example when the focus on the core research theme is lost in the elaboration of the theatre sketches; when the exercise is hijacked by a particular group of protagonists; or when the group discussion becomes too heated and particular groups may feel targeted. The



Land Rush Theatre method should only be implemented by experienced researchers with a deep understanding of local level issues. Particularly the role of the discussion coordinator is of crucial importance. Such person should speak the local language, know the local culture, and have elaborate experience in conflict mediation or group coordination.

- 5) The Land Rush Theatre method is a useful research tool that allows local people to participate in very active ways. It often creates a very **stimulating and creative ‘buzz’** that is particularly welcomed by the local youth. Young people are solicited as actors, embedded within an



intensive training, coached by theatre professionals who help them with the scenario writing and with finding the balance between comical and dramatic elements in the performance. The local actors receive a salary and

a stage on which they perform in front of their community. In each of our trials, the Land Rush Theatre created an important momentum in the lives of the involved actors. But the **‘one-shot’ nature of the exercise** remained problematic. At the end of each exercise, the local actors expressed their interest in continuing the theatre dynamic and asked for follow-up coaching. However, this was not something the researchers could offer. This made us reconsider the importance of linking up this research experience to the activities of local civil society organisations. Whereas after the initial piloted exercises, we had not involved local civil society organisations in the three case studies theatres, we realised that it might be very useful to embed the entire theatre method in a broader action-research project in interaction with local civil society organisation active on the ground.

These reflexions allowed our methodology to gain maturity and to embed it in the funding applications of several **large-scale research projects**. Those funding applications were worked out by the entire research team, with very positive outcomes.

- In spring 2015, the research team won the 2015 ‘Compagnie du Bois Sauvage’ **prize** for this research project (12.500 euro).
- In January 2015, An Ansoms obtained a Mandat d’Impulsion Scientifique (**MIS** project elaborated by the entire team, 2015-2018) from the National Scientific Research Fund (FNRS) – 396.016 euro. This fund allowed to add an additional PhD student to the team.



Anuarite Bashizi (economist specialised in development studies; Congolese nationality, in the middle of the picture) focuses upon national resource conflicts in Eastern DRC, exploring the link between competition for land, water, forest space and underground minerals. The budget also allows to provide some of the PhD students currently involved in the project to be hired on temporary post-doc contracts, which will allow for a

smoother transition (both for the PhD students towards new post-doc careers, as well as for the project whose elaboration has highly relied upon their expertise).

- In January 2016, An Ansoms obtained a Research Project (**PRD** project elaborated by the entire team, 2016-2020) from the Academy for Research and Higher Education (ARES, Belgian umbrella organisation grouping all Francophone universities) - 499.937 euro. The project has

been elaborated in collaboration with professor Philippe Lebailly from the University of Liège; and with Severin Mugangu, professor at the Institut Supérieur du Développement Rural located in Bukavu, South Kivu, DRC. This project foresees in multiple partnerships with actors at the local level, and foresees in working out the action-research angle in close interaction with local civil society organisations. The project will allow to recruit two PhD students, one specialised in social sciences and one in agronomy. (See below)

- Finally, the research team participated in the elaboration of an interdisciplinary research project (**ARC**, 2016-2021) funded at the level of the Université Catholique de Louvain itself, involving Vincent Legrand as main promotor, and Jean-Emile Charlier and Elena Aoun together with An Ansoms as joint co-promotors (budget yet unknown; final approval to be confirmed). The project is framed around the analysis of '*Resistance to international prescriptions and injunctions in Africa and the Middle East today*'; and aims to analyse those resistance strategies – in three domains (land and water policies, educational policies, and gender policies) within three specific contexts (Rwanda, Senegal and Jordan). The project will allow for the recruitment of three PhD students, of whom one will focus on local civil society's strategies (from appropriation to resistance) oriented towards land and water policies – embedded within a broader agrarian modernisation project – in Rwanda. The research project will explore the potential of using the theatre tool with civil society actors in the broader research project (so in relation to the three research themes and within the three countries). It will be a major challenge to exploring whether the know-how constructed through the Land Rush Project within the particular Great Lakes Region will allow us to adapt the method to different research settings and to different research themes.

PRD Land Rush: an action-research research project based on North-South and academic-civil society collaboration

Through **interdisciplinary action-research**, this project aims to identify and analyse land conflicts that evolve around land, underground and water grabbing in South Kivu. The project aims to formulate potential solutions, and to influence policy makers in the elaboration of better natural resource management policies. In the framework of this project, two Congolese PhD students will be hired, one in social sciences, another one in agronomy. They will play a crucial role in each phase of the project.

Le projet s'articule autour de **trois volets** :

1. Le premier volet concerne le renforcement des capacités. Les partenaires académiques locaux (y compris les doctorants) et de la société civile seront formés à travers une **formation méthodologique** orientée sur la **recherche-action** sur base du *Land Rush* (jeu de simulation) et du théâtre participatif. L'objectif de la formation est de promouvoir un dispositif de recherche innovant permettant de susciter un débat théorique et empirique sur la ruée sur les ressources naturelles. Ce volet concerne ensuite une **formation pédagogique** sur des outils innovants d'enseignement. Les bénéficiaires directs de cette formation sont les partenaires académiques du Sud (particulièrement les académiques et le staff d'enseignants). La formation les familiarisera avec le MOOC 'Ressources naturelles et développement durable' sur la plateforme edX. La formation permettra aux enseignants d'intégrer cet outil à leurs cours, et d'y impliquer les étudiants congolais.

2. Pour le deuxième volet, nous mènerons – en interaction avec les partenaires de la société civile - **une recherche-action** interdisciplinaire au sein de trois sites ruraux du Sud-Kivu. La recherche se focalisera sur les conflits fonciers liés à l'accaparement des terres, du sous-sol et de l'eau, et leurs liens avec la survie des ménages ruraux. Tout d'abord, les contradictions et lacunes au sein des politiques foncières en RDC seront analysées. Ensuite, les équipes académiques (cfr. les doctorants) mèneront une enquête ethnographique analysant le rôle des acteurs au sein des conflits, et une enquête qualitative et quantitative sur les stratégies agronomiques des populations concernées par ces conflits. Puis, l'équipe académique et de la société civile organiseront des théâtres participatifs (cfr. formation méthodologique, volet un) impliquant les communautés au sein desquelles la recherche est menée. Les données récoltées seront analysés sur base d'une approche interdisciplinaire et ces analyses seront publiées. Enfin, un dialogue sur les principaux résultats de la recherche sera organisé avec la population impliquée, en s'appuyant principalement sur l'expertise des partenaires de la société civile.

3. Dans le troisième volet, les résultats de la recherche seront diffusés et des actions de plaidoyer élaborées. La première partie de ce volet concernera un **plaidoyer** auprès des décideurs politiques et des bailleurs des fonds sur base des résultats de la recherche. Ceux-ci sont impliqués dès la préparation du présent projet. On envisage également un plaidoyer envers les autorités coutumières. La seconde partie de ce volet concernera la traduction des résultats de recherche vers la communauté scientifique (publications, organisation de conférences académiques), les médias et la société civile (reportages audiovisuels), et la communauté d'étudiants (module pédagogique sur le projet au sein du MOOC).

Phase 7: Execution of large-scale action-research project embedded in partnerships

We have currently arrived at the initial stages of the 7th phase. The project generates enthusiasm among all the team members, but without turning a blind eye to the challenges that arise:

- 1) As mentioned above, the research team has been able to secure **funding through a variety of channels and from donors with very different logics**. Whereas the MIS project is anchored around fundamental research and integrates a comparative perspective (DRC – Rwanda – Burundi), the PRD project focuses strongly upon the societal impact of the project and concentrates on the context of Eastern DRC. For the ARC project, the main angle for An Ansoms focuses upon land and water dynamics within the context of Rwanda; but through an analysis of the stakes and strategies of local civil society organisations rather than local citizens. The various logics of these projects offer opportunities, given that it will allow us to study our core research theme (natural resources conflicts in Central Africa) through different angles. However, the coordination between the different logics will surely be challenging.
- 2) A second major challenge lies in the fact that the current research team is composed of 4 PhD students who are all reaching the end stages of their research. The elaboration of both the overarching research project as well as the specific Land Rush Theatre method has been a collective undertaking, and has proven to be successful thanks to the know-how, expertise, and team spirit of each of the team members. Each of them will now continue his or her journey – some will hopefully continue to be involved in the project, others will not. However, the strong ties constructed throughout the years will surely continue to exist. But in any case, the **composition of a new research team** that has the same potential in terms of complementarity and team spirit will be a major challenge. Anuarite Bashizi (hired by the MIS project) is a first dynamic addition to the team. Others will follow. An Ansoms aims for a research team that is diverse in terms of disciplinary background as well as theoretical and methodological expertise. She also aims for a mix of women and men of various continents. This means searching for a ‘magical mix’.
- 3) A third major challenge lies in the **management of collaborations** with new partners, for example academic partners in the South, and civil society organisations in both North and South. New partners bring in new logics, which may be very dynamic and stimulating, but which might also increase the complexity of project management. It is for example important to realise that the priorities of local civil society actors will be different from those of the academic actors. Local civil society organisations are embedded in a continuous search for funding in order to survive. This research project may provide certain (rather modest) funding opportunities. However, in order to really make the academic-civil society interaction concrete, there has to be an appropriation of the project – particularly the Land Rush Theatre method - by those civil society actors. We are currently working out the already existing partnership with APC (organisation involved in the pilot phase of the research). But we are also exploring the potential of involving a Belgian NGO with various partners in the local setting. Initial discussions with 11.11.11 focusing on Burundi were set on hold because of the political crisis. We are now exploring the options with *Louvain Coopération* in the context of South Kivu.
- 4) A fourth major challenge lies in the team members’ ambition to adopt an **advocacy** role in the framework of this project, by transforming its findings and conclusions into concrete policy recommendations. Particularly the PRD project has an entire angle focusing upon this aspect. However, this comes with new types of challenges. First, the research results have to be translated in a language that is relevant to the policy setting. The researchers will have to adopt innovative means of



Interview of An Ansoms with Solange Lusiku, editor of *Le Souverain* and doctor honoris causa UCL, 2014

communication appropriate to reach the relevant policy makers (short presentations, short videos, informal meetings, ...). Second, the researchers have to invest in the elaboration of a network within policy circles, both at the national and regional political level as well as within international cooperation and diplomatic circles. Third, efficient advocacy strategies should also aim for informing the broader public opinion. This may occur through collaborations with relevant civil society organisations (an important dimension in the Land Rush Theatre methodology), but also through communication with the media – and specifically the local media. Working on this aspect will be challenging. The team already has quite intensive contacts with critical written press in Eastern DRC (for example with Solange Lusiku of *Le Souverain*). The researchers should think about how translating their research results to a broader public reached through such media. However, most common people in this region have access to radios rather than written information sources. The team aims to explore the potential of vulgarising research results through local radio stations with coverage in the rural settings – possibly through the use of ‘oral’ theatre sketches and interactive discussions on natural resource conflicts. An impact study of such project might eventually be an interesting idea for a large-scale ERC starting grant proposal (to be developed in a later stage), involving development studies specialists and psychologists.

- 5) A fifth and final major challenge lies in **anchoring the know-how and expertise of the African PhD students within a long-term institutional reinforcement**. Emery Mudinga, Aymar Nyenyezi (and in the future Anuarite Bashizi) are young and very talented Congolese researchers who aim to return to their country and contribute to the education of future generations. However, while Congolese universities mainly focus on their education mission, it is extremely important that viable research expertise can find a channel through which it can thrive. It would be truly regretful if the currently built-up expertise would only be involved in consultancy work, or – something that often happens – subcontracted by Western researchers who are only interested in the data gathering capacity of local researchers without implying them in joint projects and publications. Within the African academic context, there are only few autonomous large-scale research centres. Nevertheless, it is such project that the research team envisages setting up. This project will have to start modestly, and will – in an initial stage – surely be very dependent on the involvement of An Ansoms in securing funding. However, in the longer run, the project will be viable. A dynamic group of Congolese *Doctors* coming from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and with PhDs from different universities is currently reflecting on this project.

Land and Conflict Focus Centre (LCFC): an interdisciplinary research centre in Bukavu (South-Kivu, DRC)

LCFC, basé à Bukavu à l’Est de la RDC, est un centre de recherche regroupant des chercheurs intéressés aux dynamiques des ressources naturelles en général avec un focus particulier sur les questions foncières en République Démocratique du Congo. Il a été créé en 2015 pour répondre au besoin de recherche, de consultance et d’encadrement des jeunes chercheurs travaillant dans, sur la RDC et dans la Région des Grands Lacs. L’idée de la création du LCFC résulte des multiples rencontres entre chercheurs du Nord et du Sud qui, au cours de leurs séjours à Bukavu, avaient senti l’absence d’une dynamique de recherche et d’échanges scientifiques malgré la présence d’une dizaine d’institutions d’enseignement supérieur et universitaire. LCFC conduit des recherches, crée la rencontre entre chercheurs, praticiens du développement et acteurs politiques, diffuse les résultats de ses recherches et autres idées à travers divers canaux (conférences, colloques, articles, ouvrages, posters, etc.).

Le centre se focalise sur les dynamiques foncières et les changements qui interviennent dans ce secteur tant au niveau local, national qu’international. Il étudie l’impact des divers changements politiques, économiques et sociétaux en lien avec la terre et les autres ressources naturelles sur les conditions de vie des populations. L’impact des changements qui interviennent dans les cadres normatifs étatiques et non-étatiques, les réformes, les régulations nationales et internationales diverses, les politiques publiques et diverses directives est étudié pour éclairer les gouvernants et gouvernés afin qu’ils comprennent les enjeux majeurs de ces changements sur le bien-être et le développement. Dans la même ligne, LCFC, à travers des consultances, appuie les acteurs publics et privés dans le cadre de demandes de recherche et de conseils divers que la thématique foncière et domaines connexes. De ce fait, il ne s’arrête pas à conduire la recherche, mais propose des recommandations et orientations pour les praticiens du développement et les acteurs publics et privés impliqués dans la gouvernance des ressources naturelles.

Mission

Dans une approche interdisciplinaire, LCFC a pour mission de promouvoir un espace de rencontre et d'échange autour des dynamiques des ressources naturelles et de développement rural entre chercheurs, praticiens du développement, acteurs publics et privés.

Objectifs

- Réunir les chercheurs dans un espace qui leur permet de répondre aux demandes des acteurs sociaux en rapport avec les questions foncières, la gouvernance des ressources naturelles et l'analyse des politiques de développement
- Accroître la visibilité des travaux des chercheurs
- Offrir un accompagnement scientifique de proximité et un espace d'apprentissage aux jeunes chercheurs
- Organiser sur une base régulière des séminaires de recherche, des conférences, des cafés scientifiques sur des thématiques foncières et autres domaines transversaux dans une approche interdisciplinaire
- Promouvoir des stages de recherche aux chercheurs sur base des collaborations existantes
- Offrir des services à la société en termes de consultance et d'actions résultant d'un processus de *Recherche-Action*.

Conclusion: Land Rush as an example of creative and ethical research

This project is the result of pure **coincidence and serendipity**. The origins of the Land Rush game lay around a kitchen table, and involved some researchers who wanted to have fun doing something different with their research results than only producing ISI publications. The translation of this game to an innovative action-research method was worked out around a nice dinner table on the terrace of an Italian restaurant, gathering the creative heads of passionate researchers who all feel very actively connected to their research settings. The ideas that lay at the basis of the Land Rush Theatre Method would never have been explored in an academic context in which the researchers were strictly bound by performing according to the quantitative academic rankings that are becoming more and more influential in research assessments. This brings us to a broader reflection of which type of academic excellence should be promoted. The current quantification of excellence may provide certain advantages, but entails the risk of *de facto* homogenising scientific practices. It is of crucial importance that **spaces of creativity** continue to exist within the academic setting, spaces in which out-of-the-box ideas can emerge and, even more importantly, where such ideas can take time to mature.

For our project, the research environment has been of crucial importance. In the end, we did publish a lot. However, we did not rush to a maximal number of ISI publications, or an optimal nourishment of our h-index. Our **publication strategy** was driven by three core objectives:

- 1) We only publish on sensitive parts of our results when the text has had time to 'mature'. Good publication-related practices should focus on the **ethical considerations that arise when publishing data**. Instead of rushing to publication, the researcher should have the time to ask crucial questions. How to make sure that participants keep their anonymity in the publication? Up to which extent must the researcher conceal interesting contextual data in order to protect research participants? How to deal with political instrumentalisation of research findings? How to report back to the communities involved in the research? How to avoid that carefully thought-out research methods are imitated in research projects that are driven by a maximal-publication outcome? Already since two years, we are working on a publication on the overarching Land Rush Theatre method. We have gathered many ideas, but will not publish this paper until we can frame the specificities of the method in a deep and thoroughly discussed ethical reflection on all the challenges involved.
- 2) We have invested a lot in **open-access publications**, particularly those available in the research region itself. A lot of ISI journals are not open access, or charge important fees to researchers in order to make their publication open access. The copyright agreements often oblige the researcher to cede his/her rights and make access to the publication payable. This leads to a *de facto* privatisation of scientific knowledge, which is all the more cynical when that research is based on the voices of very poor people in a troubled region of the world. For this reason, we have published a lot in *Annuaire de l'Afrique des Grands Lacs*, and in *Conjonctures*

Congolaises. Both publications are open access and aim for providing a floor to researchers with different backgrounds (including African researchers). They are accessible and broadly read by academics in the South, but also by actors from the civil society and international cooperation active in the region. Frequently, researchers have negotiated with Anglophone publication editors to regain the rights for publishing a French translation of the article in one of these two journals. With regards to the Land Rush Game, published in *Simulation and Gaming*, we have refused to hand over the copyrights to the journal (given that this would have rendered a large part of the materials on the open-access www.land-rush.org website inaccessible).

- 3) Finally, the entire research team has contributed to a very **collective publication spirit**. A lot of the publications are multiple-authored; which reflects the very intense forms of collaboration in which each of the team members engaged him- or herself. The complementarity of the various team members proved to be an important advantage, as it allowed us to combine theoretical strength (Aymar Nyenyezi and Giuseppe Cioffo) with analytical strength in originally dealing with research data (Klara Claessens, Emery Mudinga). This collective publication spirit will certainly continue in the future, for example through the take-over of the editorship of *Conjonctures Congolaises* by An Ansoms, Sara Geenen, Jean Omasombo and Aymar Nyenyezi as from 2016 onwards.

Our project could also inspire institutions responsible for the evaluation of **proper & responsible research procedures**. Current discussions on ethical concerns seem to focus on the necessity of installing *Ethical Review Boards* at European universities. Such boards could provide ethical clearance to researchers on the basis of a thorough assessment of their project, using a carefully worked out checklist of ethical practices. However, our project has shown how such checklists will always fall short of being able to take into account the divergent and fast changing dynamics on the ground. It is, for example, a very bad idea to oblige a researcher to negotiate firm and written consent in a context in which a large part of the population is analphabetic, and in which written documents are often used by local elites to support their claims. On the other hand, seemingly acceptable practices of anonymisation might prove to be totally unsuitable in a conflict-prone or high-surveillance setting. In addition, a lot of very specific ethical concerns pop up when a researcher is doing research on his own living environment – as was the case for our African researchers. How to balance between scientific honesty and self-censorship in order to safeguard the physical and psychological security of the researcher and his surrounding environment? Indeed, those dilemmas cannot be answered on the basis of a checklist. They need continuous reflection, and therefore an accompanying constellation that is there before, during and after field research. Creating an enabling environment in which discussions about one's doubts, mistakes, and misjudgements are not only invited but actively triggered, is the best way to deal with ethical dilemmas. Because indeed, there is often not one right choice; continuous joint reflection and feedback helps the researcher to develop ethical thinking all throughout the research.

Finally, the Land Rush project might inspire other researchers about the various ways in which researchers **can 'give back' to their research participants and the broader research setting**. This should be a key principle in ethical reflexions. However, 'giving back' should again be very thoroughly thought through. Bringing back a research publication to the local setting might in fact be very inappropriate when this might allow readers to identify certain anonymised accounts. Openly presenting research results at the local level may break with very subtle and locally-specific strategies to frame criticism in concealed ways. The Land Rush game and all the supporting video material has helped a broader public to gain insights into the smallholders' daily challenges. The Land Rush Theatre method has allowed local youth to actively engage in a research experience, and to be coached in theatre methods. It has allowed the public to discuss sensitive issues in an abstract environment. Our collaborations with civil society will, in the future, hopefully allow us to anchor our research expertise

in a longer follow-up. And – without wanting to claim too much credit - our advocacy efforts might one day play a small role in improving local living conditions.

Annex 1: Videos and on-line resources illustrating different angles of this project

www.land-rush.org: Web-site with various materials on the Land Rush game (all open access), and on the broader Land Rush Theatre method. Important note: the website is currently being revised. An updated version will be posted soon.

Video - What is the Land Rush Game: <https://youtu.be/VXfUqVkeQjw>

Video – What are the core messages of the Land Rush game: <https://youtu.be/zFq3pky61XY>

Video – What is the Land Rush Theatre Method (based on pilot): <https://youtu.be/bJUdR4roVk4>

Video – Theatre on natural resource conflicts in classrooms: <https://youtu.be/e-8UIAYwTQs>

Trailer of MOOC (Massive online open course): <https://youtu.be/l7nkobhUvwg>; subscribing to the course is possible on <https://www.edx.org/course/ressources-naturelles-et-developpement-louvainx-louv4x>.

Annex 2: Bibliography of all books, articles and chapters written in the framework of this project

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⁴ The EADI/CERES ranking system is increasingly used by Development Research and Training Institutes to assess the scientific performance of its scholars specialised in development studies. A-rated journals are ISI journals with the highest impact in specific domains; B-rated journals are other ISI journals; C-rated journals are non-ISI journals which use a referee system; the C level includes many journals that are important for development-oriented scholars.

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Annex 3: Overview of presentations at conferences / venues / gatherings of results in the framework of this project (only those of An Ansoms are included, others will be added in a later stage)

- Conference ‘The production of subjectivity under neo-liberal governance’**, Louvain La Neuve, 14-15 April 2016, Presentation ‘On danse la danse mais on garde notre rythme: farmers interacting with neoliberal modernisation in rural Rwanda’ (A. Ansoms).
- Public lecture ‘Modernising Rural Practices in the Valleys and Hills of Rwanda: Authority, Regulation and Resistance’ and coordination of workshop ‘Critical Data: The Ethics in Collecting, Translating, Transcribing and Analyzing Official and Field Data’** (A. Ansoms), Global South Studies Centre – University of Cologne, Cologne, 7 December 2015.
- Study day ‘Law and Development Studies in a Multidisciplinary Key’**, Ghent, 25 September 2015, Presentation ‘Legal pluralism in land dynamics in Central Africa’ (A. Ansoms).
- University of Oxford Africa Centre Seminar Series**, Oxford, 11 June 2015, Presentation ‘Looking beneath the surface: Rwanda’s developmental path versus local farmers’ strategies (A. Ansoms).
- African Studies Association 57th Annual Meeting: Rethinking violence, reconstruction and reconciliation**, Indianapolis, 20-23 November 2014, Contribution: Presentation of book ‘Losing your land: Dispossession in the Great Lakes Region (A. Ansoms)
- Conférence de Chaire d’Economie Sociale et Solidaire au Sud**, UCL, 18 Novembre 2014, présentation ‘L’économie solidaire en otage: contrôle étatique sur le mouvement coopératif au Rwanda’ (A. Ansoms), et ‘le jeu LandRush : Apprendre en s’amusant’ en interaction avec T. de Tillesse.
- Conference ‘Green Economy in the South: Negotiating Environmental Governance, Prosperity and Development’**, University of Dodoma (Tanzania), 8-10 July 2014, Organisation of panel ‘What grabbing? Natural resources and changing land relations in the Great Lakes Region’, and presentation ‘From individual patchwork to large-scale collective marshland cultivation in rural Rwanda: The ambiguous role of cooperatives in commercial agriculture’.
- Conférence ‘Politiques publiques et résiliences paysannes en RDC’**, UCL – ISDR, Bukavu (RDC), Mai 2014, Organisation de la conférence avec l’équipe des doctorants – présentations, échange et interaction avec décideurs politiques et société civile.
- World Bank Annual Conference, Washington D.C.** March 24-27, 2014, Integrating Land Governance in the Post-2015 Agenda: Harnessing Synergies for Implementation and Monitoring Impact”. Contribution: “Non-state actors and institutional innovations: understanding legitimacy and efficiency in a context of land crisis in the DR. Congo » (Emery Mudinga and Aymar Nyenyezi)
- Symposium ‘Property from below’**, MIT, Cambridge, USA, 28 February – 1 March 2014, presentation ‘From transgression to normative innovation: Land conflict resolution in South Kivu, DRC (A. Ansoms, E. Mudinga, A. Nyenyezi, G. Cioffo, K. Claessens).
- Matinée scientifique d’échanges sur les dynamiques de développement rural et la gestion des ressources naturelles**, UCB, Bukavu, RDC, 23 Janvier 2015. Présentations des doctorants et autres chercheurs, discussion sur les méthodes de Land Rush, théâtre participatif, le MOOC Ressources naturelles
- Conférence ‘Accapement des terres en Afrique et en RDC: le développement des pays africains à l’épreuve des enjeux globaux.** ISDR, Bukavu, Janvier 2014, Organisation de la conférence et présentation “Accapement des terres: la RDC à l’épreuve des enjeux globaux”
- Conference ‘Rwanda under the RPF: Assessing twenty years of post-conflict governance’**, SOAS, London, 4-5 October 2013, Presentation ‘Veils of disguise in rural Rwanda: public obedience, hidden dissent’ (A. Ansoms),
- 5thEuropean Conference on African Studies**, ECAS-AEGIS, Lissabon, 27-29 June 2013, Contribution: Presentation ‘Veils of disguise in rural Rwanda: public obedience, hidden dissent’ (A. Ansoms), Presentation ‘The Rwanda Food Crisis: National policy, local insecurity’ (J. Murison and A. Ansoms).
- UK African Studies Association**, Leeds, 6-8 September 2012, Presentation of paper ‘Modernising the marshes: Large-scale cultivation and local desperation’ (An Ansoms and Jude Murison).
- Seminar ‘Land governance and local livelihoods in the Great Lakes Region’**, LANDac, IKV Pax Christi, Van Vollenhoven Institute and African Studies Centre – in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 3 April 2012, presentation ‘Looking behind the screen: National development versus local survival in rural Rwanda’; and presentation of book ‘Natural Resources and Local Livelihoods in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Political Economy Perspective’ (Palgrave).

Annex 4 - Security plan for research entering difficult research zones

Conceived by Emery Mudinga in the framework of the Land Rush project (2015)

Important remarks

- For the construction of a useful security plan, it is of crucial importance to be **well informed** before going to the zone in question. Such information may be gathered through contacting local NGOs working in the region, other actors visiting the location, etc. A lack of basic knowledge on the updated conditions within difficult research zones may render the security plan incomplete, or even obsolete. The social and security situation in difficult research zones may change overnight. It is of crucial importance to update oneself on all possibly important information. Engaging in a reflection with other researchers or actors on the ground on the “do’s” and “don’ts” specific to the local setting is of crucial importance. If possible, it is useful to trace the itinerary the researcher will follow on a map.
- This document has to be completed before going to the field. It has to be sent to the **focal security point** who resides in the local setting (closeby city / centre in which means of communication are frequently available). It is of crucial importance that the researcher does not change the programme without informing the focal security point. It is also of crucial importance to make very concrete arrangements with the focal security point on when engaging in which action. (For example: After how many hours of unforeseen lack of contact does the focal security point engage in which action?) It is important to foresee that the focal security point disposes of the necessary communication equipment (f.e. telephonic credit cards) given that he/she is responsible to follow-up on the research programme and the well-being of the researcher and/or his/her research team.
- It is crucial for the researcher to understand that **this document is by no means a safeguard** when facing danger. It is only a tool that allows for a quick reaction in case problems occur. The tool does not replace the sense of responsibility that the researcher should maintain at all times. It is he/she in the first place who has to take decisions in function of the local context, and who has to avoid at all cost to bring him/herself and the research team in dangerous settings or situations.

The following elements have to be inserted in a security plan.

- the name and logo of the **university or organisation** for which one undertakes the research
- the **exact period** to which the security plan refers
- the names and contact details of the **researcher and his collaborators**
- the names and contact details of the **focal security point**. This person has been solicited by the researcher to follow up on the research program and the movements of the research team. He/she is the bridge between the researcher and the outside world, both to pass on relevant information about the local security situation to the researcher (who might not be aware of all the details while in the field), but also to transfer information about possible problems encountered by the researcher to the outside world (for example the promoter, employer, ...). The focal security point can be a family member, a colleague, a direct collaborator. All depends upon the researcher and his affinities at the local level. But in any case, the focal security point has to be a person who has the capacity to manage a possibly stressful situation, to communicate efficiently, and to think about solutions in the case problems emerge. The focal security point is preferably also a person located in a setting nearby the research environment in which the researcher is working.
- the **research objectives**
- a **description of the research zone** with a particular focus on **details about the security situation**. This description has to analyse the potential risks and give an estimation of the probability they occur (high, medium, low probability)
- a **detailed research program**, indicating location, number of days, specificities on each location; and a detailed planning of when and how the researcher will communicate with his/her focal point all throughout the research stay + an indication of what the focal point should do in case of non-communication
- the **itinerary**, indicating the roads that will be followed to arrive at the indicated places + time indications about when each trajectory will be undertaken. Reference points have to be mentioned (locations, parks, forests, important centres, roads, well-known reference points...).

- the presence of **important institutions on the itinerary** or in the research locations: police posts, army posts, militias, hospitals, official instances. If contacts of local people can be provided, they should be added.
- a description of **places where the researcher will stay** and their location: specify the presence of hotels, hostels. The security plan has to be specific on where the researcher will stay (or on the fact that he/she may have to improvise in certain locations). It is of crucial importance to reflect thoroughly on where to stay, and to choose the right locations in order to minimise security risks. In function of the situation, the researcher may have to change the location in which he spends the night. In that case, he/she has to do everything possible to communicate this to his focal security point.
- important **telephone numbers**: promoter , employer, colleagues, family, security services, journalists, diplomats, human rights organisations, embassies, ...
- **evacuation points in case of danger**: presence of airports, alternative roads, neighbouring countries
- **a medical kit** : the security plan has to indicate that the researcher foresees taking this medical kit to the field as a reminder of its importance (in order to avoid forgetting it). He/she also has to mention his/her blood type.
- **a charged telephone, reserve batteries, and extra communication credit**. The security plan has to indicate that the researcher foresees taking these equipments to the field. The researcher has to be reachable in those places where a telephone network exists. Forgetting to communicate or lacking communication equipment because of negligence may make the focal point and other persons panic for no reason.
- **Other important aspects**: the security plan should mention any observation that could possibly be important.
- The security plan should be **signed by the researcher**, and – if possible – by the focal security point. It is important for the security plan to be updated just before the departure of the research team in order to take up any last-minute information that may be relevant.

Annex 4B – Example of security plan elaborated by Emery Mudinga

UNIVERSITE CATHOLIQUE DE LOUVAIN

Plan de sécurité de la Mission de terrain effectuée à Minova, territoire de Kalehe du 29 juin au 05 Juillet 2015

Personnes en mission

Responsable de la mission : Emery Mushagalusa Mudinga

Titre/Fonction : Doctorant

Tél : (+243) 971 600 598

Noms des assistants/collaborateurs : Eric Byamasu et Blaise Mulanga

Tél. (+243) 971 026 029

Points Focaux sécurité des chercheurs en mission (à contacter si chercheurs injoignables)

P1. Sosthène Maliyaseme

Chargé de Programmes Action pour la Paix et la Concorde

Tel. (+243) 993 718 961/ (+243) 815 882 881

P2. Charline Nsimire

Epouse d'Emery Mudinga

Tel. (+243) 899 580 690

Objectif de la recherche :

- Collecter les données sur la résistance paysanne contre l'accaparement des terres à partir des études de cas vécus à Bulenga/Minova.
- Mener des théâtres participatifs sur les conflits fonciers et la résistance avec les habitants de Bulenga

La description du contexte de la zone

Minova est l'agglomération qui regroupe l'activité socio-économique et politique du groupement de Buzi. Il est situé à 150km au Nord de la ville de Bukavu et à 50km au Sud de la ville de Goma. Globalement, la situation socio-sécuritaire de Minova est calme. La police et l'armée nationales contrôlent l'entité avec l'appui du chef de poste d'encadrement administratif. Cependant, depuis quelques mois, l'on signale la montée d'une forme de criminalité des jeunes, parmi lesquels les démobilisés et jeunes délinquants, qui tracassent les gens la nuit, qui volent et violentent les passants à des heures tardives. Des mesures de sécurité plus strictes se prennent par l'autorité pour endiguer cette criminalité et mettre la population à l'abri du danger. Des sensibilisations sont en cours aussi pour décourager cette criminalité.

Bulenga où une grande partie de notre récolte des données va s'effectuer est situé à environ 12 km du centre de Minova. L'entité a été le théâtre des violences rangées au sujet des contestations foncières. Un des cas d'étude abordé dans notre travail est situé dans cette entité. Il est vrai que des actions de pacification ont été menées par divers acteurs et que la situation est redevenue normale, mais les conflits fonciers qui avaient conduit aux violences restent encore pendants.

Il a été rapporté que tout passage d'étrangers dans cette entité et tout intérêt sur l'un des conflits fonciers de cette entité sont souvent sujet à des soupçons de la part des habitants. Tel pourrait être le cas pour ce que nous comptons réaliser dans le milieu à travers le sketch et les focus groups. Mais nous espérons ne pas en arriver là.

Précautions en vue : mieux expliquer la mission au chef de poste et services de sécurité locaux et discuter des risques qu'elle comporte pour que tout soit clair pour eux et qu'ils rassurent la population en cas de besoin. Mieux communiquer sur les objectifs de la mission aux participants à la recherche. En cas de méfiance envers des activités ouvertes, abandonner le théâtre et utiliser les méthodes classiques. La probabilité pour que cela arrive est moyen. Mais nous restons confiants que dès nos explications, elle sera moindre.

Le programme

Date	Lieu	Programme	Contact avec point focal
29 juin 2015	voyage Bukavu-Goma-Minova	travail de mise au point et planification avec les assistants	matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 24h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms

30 juin	Bulenga, soir Minova	- contacts avec les autorités locales, - identification des jeunes pour le théâtre, - travail de montage du théâtre avec les jeunes ; - identification des participants au théâtre, - quelques entretiens avec les forces de sécurité (armée, police...)	matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 12h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms
01 juillet	Bulenga, soir Minova	répétition du sketch dans la matinée ; jouer le sketch devant les paysans + débat guidé par Emery et les assistants	matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 24h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms
02 juillet	Bulenga, soir Minova	focus groups discussion avec les jeunes et les femmes et quelques paysans directement impliqués dans le conflit de Kibirwa	matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 24h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms
03 juillet	Minova	entretiens avec les services de sécurité (FARDC, Police,...) et autorité locales	matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 12h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms
04 juillet	Minova	focus group avec des jeunes et femmes	matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 24h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms
05 juillet	retour à Bukavu		matin et soir ; si râté, attendre 24h avant de contacter le promoteur An Ansoms

L'itinéraire

Locale : entre Minova et Bulenga, 12 km. Le parcours est fait par moto qui traverse des villages. Pas de barrière militaire sur la route. Le village Kagarama est le fief d'un protagoniste dans le conflit étudié et regorge sa bastion de résistance. Des focus groups y sont prévus le 01 juillet juste après le sketch et débat à Bulenga centre. Nous nous appuyons sur le chef local pour la mobilisation et pour rassurer les gens. Ici, nous disons que la recherche vise la prévention et la transformation des conflits pour que les gens se rassurent. Nous collaborons avec les membres des Cadres de Dialogue et de Médiation (CDM) pour faire ce travail.

Bukavu-Goma-Minova : le voyage est fait par canot rapide de Bukavu jusqu'à Goma (3heures) et par moto de Goma vers Minova. Sur la route Goma-Minova, quatre barrières dont 3 militaires et 1 pour la Direction Générale des Migrations. Tracasseries moindres sur ces barrières, mais il faut éviter de passer le soir, ça peut être dangereux.

Numéros de téléphone importants pour la sécurité : voir points focaux sécurité. Le numéro du chef de poste de Minova, Monsieur Lebeau Byalenga : +243 990394172 ; An Ansoms (promoteur) : +32 473 848 499

Les points d'évacuation en cas de danger : si troubles sur l'itinéraire initial, possibilité d'arriver à Bukavu par route (150km), direction Sud de Minova ; ou prendre un bote sur le lac Kivu.

La description des logements : nous serons logés à l'hôtel de Kasereka à Minova. Sinon, trouver un autre Guest house sécurisé, lieu sera communiqué au point focal.

Autres aspects importants : pas de sortie nocturnes, téléphone ouvert tout le temps (réseau téléphonique couvre cette zone), contact régulier (chaque matin – midi – soir) avec les points focaux sécurité.

Kit médical amené sur place

Téléphone chargée et crédit de réserve amené sur place pour le chercheur et pour chaque assistant ; batteries de réserve amené par le chercheur

Fait à Bukavu, le 28 juin 2015, Emery Mushagalusa Mudinga, Chercheur