



COHD 人文与发展学院
College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD)

The 4th International Conference of BICAS

Agro-extractivism inside and outside BRICS: Agrarian change and development trajectories

November 28-30, 2016

College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD)
China Agricultural University (CAU), Beijing, P.R. China

Abstracts of Papers and Bios of Authors

FIRST PLENARY PANEL: Agrarian Changes in BRICS Countries (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 09:30 – 10:30 November 28)

The Awkward Class

Teodor Shanin, Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences, Russia

Agrarian change in BRICS countries - Frameworks for comparative analysis

Benjamin Cousins, PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, South Africa

Parallel Panel 1: BRICS' Global Investments (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 11:00-12:30 November 28)

Great expectations: Chinese investment in Laos and the Myth of empty land

Juliet Lu (juliet.lu@berkeley.edu)

Abstract

Over the last decade, Chinese companies have been granted contracts to develop vast areas of land for agribusiness concessions in Laos. These vast areas, however, rarely come under Chinese company control in full. Analysis of seven Chinese agribusiness concessions finds that a significant gap exists between the large areas initially granted to companies on paper and more modest areas they gain access to in actuality. To understand this gap, this article explores tropes of Laos as having abundant 'empty', 'marginal' or 'underproductive' lands ripe for foreign investment which were used by the Lao government to attract investors, and by investors to justify their projects. It argues that these tropes reflect state and investor views of land, agricultural production, and rural development, which erase the presence of existing land users and complicated systems of overlapping land uses. Furthermore, land regulations and investment procedures in Laos are still developing, and the state institutions implementing them are fragmented by disconnect and internal competition. As a result, in each land deal studied, Chinese investors encountered distinct obstacles to obtaining land, depending upon local politics, systems of land governance in the area and Chinese investor characteristics. These findings complicate common narratives regarding Chinese investors as predatory land grabbers and of host states as passive victims or corrupt rent-seekers. Whereas fragmentation among land governance institutions and tropes of rural areas in Laos as empty or underproductive are often studied as tools for extending state power and foreign investor access, in this case they have inflated investor expectations and hidden local level obstacles and barriers to land access which in end have slowed Chinese companies' accumulation of land and resources in Laos.

Juliet Lu is a doctoral student at UC Berkeley's Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management, advised by Dr. Nancy Peluso. She worked from 2009-2011 at the World Agroforestry Centre in Yunnan, China and from 2012-2013 with the Centre for Development and Environment in Vientiane, Laos. Her research interests involve the impacts of China's growing demand for raw materials on land and natural resource management in Southeast Asia, and the political economy of Chinese development cooperation initiatives. Her dissertation research explores the mid-2000s boom in Chinese rubber investments and its implication for land markets and rural development in northern Laos.

Dragon heads and paper tigers: discerning Chinese agribusiness investments in Brazil

Gustavo de L. T. Oliveira (oliveira@berkeley.edu)

Abstract

Most literature on Chinese agribusiness investments abroad treats “China” as a homogenous entity with coherent, consistent, and state-directed interests and business strategies. However, such accounts ignore how the processes by which Chinese agroindustrial capital “goes out” to places like Brazil is very heterogeneous and highly uneven, featuring a wide spectrum of institutional actors and strategies, and yielding starkly different results in terms of capital accumulation and agroindustrial restructuring. I reveal how a few state-owned agroindustrial conglomerates undertook mergers & acquisitions (M&As) to successfully access Brazilian land, commodities, infrastructure, labor, and expertise. In contrast, I discuss how several other Chinese enterprises failed to establish similar M&As or launch successful direct investments of their own. In particular, I examine China Tobacco International (tobacco), ChemChina (seeds and agrochemicals), and COFCO (soy, maize, sugar, cotton, and coffee), and contrast their processes of transnationalization and capital accumulation with the failed negotiations and projects pursued by multiple other companies operating in similar regions and sectors in Brazil.

How and why do these different companies succeed or fail at formulating and undertaking effective investment strategies? I propose that their success hinges on substantial state capital to acquire access and control over Brazilian and transnational agribusiness expertise, bypassing social opposition and legal restrictions on foreign investments (particularly on farmland). Thus, I also investigate how Brazilian agribusiness actors, state agents, and civil society organizations have been able (or unable) to capture, regulate, transform, or even block these multiple flows of Chinese agroindustrial capital. I argue that Dragon Head (i.e. leading) enterprises adopting strategic partnerships with transnational capital enables their integration of a specific class of transnational agribusiness professionals – managers, lawyers, traders, infrastructure and agroindustrial engineers, and environmental licensing specialists – who already operate profitably; while Paper Tigers (i.e. failed enterprises) rely on Chinese staff and direct but tenuous partnerships with Brazilian agribusiness and government actors launching new projects. Consequently, Brazilian state and corporate attempts to channel Chinese agribusiness investments have largely failed to propel their own goals and priorities, and even though popular resistance and some state regulations may have been somewhat effective against the Paper Tigers, they have largely overlooked and failed to engage with the main flows of capital of the Dragon Heads.

I draw on 27 months of fieldwork on Chinese agribusiness investments in Brazil from 2011 to 2015, including (1) dozens of extended interviews and informal conversations with key agribusiness and state actors, (2) dozens of interviews with social movements, NGOs, and others contesting these projects, (3) field site inspections, (4) state and corporate documents and reports related to the investments and negotiations discussed, (5) extensive research of media sources and local archives, and finally, (6) engagement with the relevant secondary literature. This research speaks ultimately to the new and contested processes of agroindustrial accumulation emerging within and between Brazil and China, including their relation to global trade, investment, and inter-state relations; impacts on and resistance from smallholders, social movements, NGOs, and state regulatory agencies; and articulation with mainstream development models and alternatives within the BRICS.

Gustavo de L. T. Oliveira is PhD candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of California at Berkeley. His dissertation focuses on Chinese investments in Brazilian agribusiness and related infrastructure, geopolitics of the BRICS, hegemony, transnational class formation, and the political ecology of agro-industrialization. Oliveira has also researched the transnational soybean sector, land governance, and biofuels in Brazil and beyond. He is member of the Land Deal Politics Initiative, the BRICS Initiative for Critical Agrarian Studies, and guest editor with Susanna Hecht of a special issue on “Soy Production in South America” in the *Journal of Peasant Studies*.

Traveling technocratic rationality: Historical review of China-Africa agricultural cooperation

Xu Xiuli (xxl@cau.edu.cn)

Xiuli Xu is an associate professor of College of Humanities and Development Studies, China Agricultural University, Beijing, China. Her research interests are China's overseas investment and aid. Her recent publication is Science, Technology and the Politics of Knowledge: The case of China's Agricultural Technological Demonstration Centers in Africa, *World Development*, Vol. 81, pp. 82–91, 2016.

The evolving nature of Chinese land-based investments in Myanmar post-transition

Siu Sue Mark(suemark.yangon@gmail.com)

Abstract

With Myanmar's re-entry into the international market after its transition from a military to a multi-party government in 2011, new forms of transnational capital are returning to the country from the West that shape the state's relationship with the market in new ways. Given the sensitivity created by sanctions that have only been recently lifted, these new forms of capital appear to be offering more socially and environmentally attractive investment terms relative to those offered by foreign investors dominant under the military regime—led by the Chinese. At the same time, the transition emboldened the polity to claim the rights articulated by their leaders, albeit superficial in some cases. On the ground, public protests for past and on-going land confiscations intensified, particularly over land confiscations initiated in the military era (1988 to 2010), a time in which many Chinese investments were approved. In response to the “pull” of new investments and the “push” of public pressure, Myanmar's reformist state forces are attempting to put into place policies that will favour some types of capital over others, particularly those that can raise the social and environmental standards on investments broadly.

Drawing on Poulantzas¹ definition of the state as the “*specific material condensation* of a relationship of forces among classes and class fractions,” Bieler and Morten conceptualizes the relationship between the state and the market in the era of transnational financialization. They say that globalization has opened up states to transnational forces and relationships of production that are powerful enough to restructure them. When there are “class antagonisms between different fractions of (nationally- or transnationally-based) capital...,” the state- acting with relative autonomy from capital- mediates between “different class fractions of capital, which may involve a decision against the interests of a particular fraction in view of securing capitalist reproduction in the medium- to long-term.”¹ Additionally, the extent that Myanmar's state reformist forces can regulate in this way very much depends on its autonomy to make and capacity to implement these politically-loaded decisions. This is particularly challenging in relation to China—a country on which Myanmar had historically been politically and economically dependent. Simultaneously, the Chinese state is also exhibiting nascent efforts to curtail the excesses of its overseas investments.

In Myanmar, Chinese investments continue to occupy the largest share of foreign investments, mostly in the land-intensive extractive sector. While the role of civil society in advancing the reformist land agenda has been crucial and is included for context, in this paper I focus on the evolving nature of Chinese land-based investments in Myanmar since 2011 as shaped by the interaction between reformist initiatives of the Burmese state and the response by the Chinese state. This is demonstrated by looking more closely at the high-profile Letpadaung mine.¹ Involving over 7,000 acres of farmland confiscated in 2010, it was the first Chinese joint venture that agreed to increase its compensation package after a violent crackdown on demonstrators in November 2011. I conclude that the nascent changes have not been fully realized due to limitations on reformist state actors' autonomy and capacity to more strongly regulate Chinese investments.

SiuSue Mark is a doctoral candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, the Hague. She has been living in Myanmar since 2008 and working on the country's land reform issues since 2011.

Parallel Panel 2: Globalization and Modernization (008, CIAD Building; 11:00-12:30 November 28)***Chinese migrant workers in Indonesia from Colonial to neoliberal capitalist development: A history repeated?***

Laksmi Adriani Savitri (laksmi.adriani@gmail.com)

Abstract

The influx of Chinese labours to Indonesia in these last few years has been constructed by the media as ‘a shocking issue’ on two grounds, i.e.: 1) the workers are unskilled labours (mine digger, construction worker, farm labourers), while there are 7 millions unemployed Indonesians could have filled the same type of works, and 2) in a preparation for further influx of foreign labour, the Indonesian government had removed the requirement of language fluency for foreign workers due to tackle a slowing rate of foreign direct investment. These two acts were considered as a sign that Indonesia was opening herself *too freely* to the global labour market. Yet, this is not a new issue, since Indonesia has been receiving (privilege) foreign workers for centuries, including from China. So, why at this particular moment of history and only toward a Chinese group of workers such reaction emerged? From colonial era to the recent time, what has termed as ‘Chinese Problem’ in Indonesia, which points to the ‘inability of Chinese to assimilate and integrate’ is inseparable to any social reaction toward ‘Chineseness’. I argue that such conditions of existence makes difficult to confine racism from class analysis in migration and capitalist development nexus. This paper is aimed to explain the historical trajectory of Chinese migrant workers incorporation into capitalist development in Indonesia from colonial to neoliberal era and generate questions for further research. By understanding this historical pattern, I expected to show how the intersection of class and racism analysis is useful to question whether class and race relations has produced different pattern of incorporation either in the context of colonialism or in the context of New International Division of Labour (NIDL). This may further sharpened the analysis to question whether NIDL is a form of Neo-colonialism, and investigate deeper on how such form of capitalist development implies to the future structure of rural labour in Indonesia?

Laksmi Adriani Savitri is a lecturer in Anthropology Department, University of Gajah Mada, September 2012 – now

The logic of China-Africa agricultural cooperation: The imitation and adaptation of the institutions

Gubo Qi (qigupo@cau.edu.cn); Lerong Yu (yulerong@cau.edu.cn); Dawit Alemu, Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research, Ethiopia (dawit96@yahoo.com); Seth Cook, International Institute for Environment and Development, UK (seth.cook@iied.org); Xiaoyun Li, COHD, China Agricultural University (xiaoyun@cau.edu.cn)

Qi Gubo is professor of the College of Humanities and Development Studies/Research Centre for International Development at China Agricultural University (CAU). Qi Gubo got her PhD in Agricultural Economics at CAU in 1996. Her main research interests are: resource management and sustainable development, international development cooperation, and comparative study on agricultural development in China and Africa. The field sites of her research work cover more than 20 provinces in China and several countries abroad, e.g. Cambodia, Ethiopia, Laos, Mali, Mongolia, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Zambia. Dr. Qi is also the head of the Department of Development Studies providing managerial support to undergraduate, MSc and PhD programs of development studies at CAU, which were set up in 1998 and were the initiatives on development studies in higher education in China.

The adaptation of globally important agricultural heritage systems to modernization: Three village cases in Qingtian, south China

Anthony Michael Fuller (tfuller@uoguelph.ca); Siyuan Xu(xusiyuan708@163.com)

Abstract

This paper illustrates the diverse responses to modernization taken by three villages in Qingtian County, Jiajiang Province. All three villages are designated as Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems by FAO, based on terraced rice-fish farming systems practiced for over 1000 years. The villages share the same geo-political and social backgrounds. Using principles of Complex Adaptive Systems thinking (CAS), the dual effects of modernization, in the form of labor loss and land abandonment, have been ameliorated by different village strategies. One has self organized around overseas migration, remittances and new leadership, another has adopted a strong individualistic approach to tourism and the third has followed the agro-technology path making scientific inputs to the old farming system. What is learned is that places with similar systems are resilient in that they adopt new strategies that reflect their natural and social assets and are within keeping with the sustainability tenets of the GIAHS designation. All three examples illustrate forms of village self-organization, flexible local government support and opportunistic village members who draw upon their migration experience to initiate adaptation.

Anthony Michael Fuller, University of Guelph (retired), Canada. He was a Visiting Senior International Scholar China Academy of Sciences, Geography and Natural Resources Division in 2014 and 2015.

Agrarian extractivism in Bolivia

Ben McKay (benedict.mckay@gmail.com)

Abstract

The rise of emerging economies such as the BRICS coincided with a commodities boom and the so-called 'pink tide' of progressive-left governments in Latin America. New and increased economic and political relations have since transpired, as emerging economies seek new sources of raw materials as well as less saturated (or less regulated) markets for capital investment. Bolivia, a country rich in natural resource wealth, has experienced considerable changes in its political-economic relations with both Brazil and China. This paper analyzes these new political-economic relations and the role of both Brazil and China in the extractivist (minerals, hydrocarbons) and agro-extractivist (soybeans) sectors in Bolivia.

Over the past ten years, China has become a key trade, investment and finance partner for Bolivia's three-pronged extractivist development strategy centered on mining, hydrocarbons and soybeans. In 2015, Chinese companies were awarded the majority of public contracts from the Bolivian state, while China's Import-Export Bank has become the country's largest financier. As bilateral trade increased 11-fold since 2005, China has surpassed Brazil and the United States as Bolivia's primary source of imports. Meanwhile, Brazil remains Bolivia's most important export market, almost entirely based on natural gas. Brazilian farmers and agro-industry have also played an important role in the development and expansion of Bolivia's agro-industrial soy complex, while agro-chemical inputs of Chinese origin dominate the Bolivian market. Furthermore, as China is the world's leading importer in the global soy trade, Chinese demand significantly influences soybean prices in Bolivia.

Bolivia's natural resource wealth and its strategic geographic location, particularly for Brazilian-Chinese trade across the Pacific, are also of great geopolitical importance for both of these 'emerging economies'. At the same time, Bolivia's interest in developing closer relations with both Brazil and China have certainly been part of the Morales' administration's broader foreign policy aims in order to

distance itself from US-interests and the ‘Washington Consensus’ imperatives. While for some these new relations are dubbed as a form of ‘South-South’ cooperation; for others, it is a new form of sub-imperialism (e.g. Brazil in Latin America). Using an approach grounded in agrarian political economy, this paper aims to unpack new dynamics, questioning whether and to what extent these new relations differ or not from those with the ‘old hubs’ of capital, particularly concerning trajectories of agrarian change and resource access and control.

Ben McKay is a PhD candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) researching on the political economy of the soy complex in Bolivia, focusing on state-society-capital interactions and formations in the context of the rise BRICS, particularly Brazil as the major agro-industrial power in the region. He has carried out research and maintains research interests on the politics of agrarian transformation in Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil and Colombia and has published on a diverse range of issues including food sovereignty, flex crops (sugarcane), political economy of soy in Bolivia, biofuels (forthcoming), and agrarian extractivism (forthcoming). He is also part of the BICAS secretariat and co-editor of the BICAS Working Paper Series.

Parallel Panel 3: Agro-extractivism and Financialization (004, CIAD Building; 11:00-12:30 November 28)

(Agro-) Extractivism and financialization

Nadine Reis (nreis@uni-bonn.de)

Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between financialization and (agro-) extractivist development models in BRICS and other MICs. Based on the case of Mexico and Latin America, I suggest a widened concept of extractivism that goes beyond a renewed economic primacy of agricultural products and raw materials, and that includes the mechanism of wealth extraction through debt, i.e. the financing of household consumption and state tasks through credit. Such a widened view is useful as it renders possible the capturing of extractivism as a counterpart of and model for success in the global finance-based accumulation regime and thus identify (some of) its structural drivers. In the Post-Washington Consensus world, where national economies are highly dependent on imports of goods and services from world markets, their traditional economies are largely destroyed, and formerly state-owned enterprises and tasks privatized and increasingly financialized, the faith of international ‘investors’ in their countries is a *sine qua non* for national governments. The constant threat of losing creditworthiness, capital flight, and currency devaluation serves as disciplining regime whose main exigency is the extraction of everything that serves the quick realization of profit for obtaining foreign ‘investment’, which is seen as necessary in order to keep state and economy running. In this sense, agro-extractivism is nothing new, but the mechanisms driving it have changed. I conclude that agro-extractivism in BRICS and elsewhere must be located within wider analyses of modes of capital accumulation, and that the unification of food sovereignty movements with other social struggles - such as movements for environmental justice and the right to the city - around the power of finance capital may offer a way forward.

Nadine Reis is an assistant professor at the Department of Geography/University of Bonn, and currently a visiting fellow at ISS, The Hague. She is on a 1.5-year P.R.I.M.E. fellowship (German Ministry for Education and Research and EU/Marie-Curie funded) from October 2015 to March 2017, affiliated with El Colegio de México (Mexico City) and ISS, awarded for her research project ‘Land Control and State Power: The Cultural Political Economy of Land in Mexico’s Urban Peripheries’. For her PhD, she investigated policy practices in rural water supply and sanitation in Vietnam’s Mekong Delta.

The BRICS New Development Bank: Its likely effects on international political economy

Shigehisa Kasahara (kasahara@iss.nl)

Abstract

The BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) has just begun its operation on infrastructure financing. While long-term speculation on its activities in the uncertain context is hazardously conjectural, it is possible to discuss its short-term implications. If the egalitarian principle – with an equal capital contribution among the BRICS members – should be firmly upheld, the growth of its financing will be determined by its weakest member (South Africa) and by new members (particularly non-borrowers). The former case will hinder the NDB from becoming a major institution and the latter case will dilute the founders' pivotal position in the institution. If China, the only founding member with financial clout, should be allowed to raise its own capital base, the NDB's financial capacity will be augmented, but its institutionalized egalitarianism will be compromised. Moreover, if intra-BRICS talks on the capital base and new membership should reveal serious acrimony, they will not only dampen global support but also discourage others to join the NDB. The paucity of creditworthy track record will also oblige the NDB to co-finance with other institutions, which, in turn, will prevent it from lending in a radically different fashion from the conventional practices. If the NDB should appear to fail bringing about major changes in the global financial architecture, many observers will question the merits of reinventing the wheel. Even worse, the NDB will be seen as a smokescreen to hide the exploitation of Southern countries at the best advantage of the BRICS members. At any rate, it is likely that the NDB will expand its operation, but its growth path will be slow and unsteady. At least, in the foreseeable future its effects will not be as significant as many observers have hoped.

Shigehisa Kasahara is a PhD researcher at the International Institute for Social studies (ISS), the Hague, the Netherlands. Currently, he was also a consultant for UNCTAD (the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) which he previously served as a staff member (1987 to 2013). My UNCTAD career was always in the area of development research (for annual reports and other publications). Prior to the UN career, he attended the Graduate Faculty of the New School of Social Research, New York City, the United States, for MA (1987) and PhD programmes in economics (up to ABD).

Financialization of Chinese agriculture: Private equity companies, agribusiness and governments

Xing Yang (yang.xing.62s@st.kyoto-u.ac.jp); Shuji Hisano (hisano@econ.kyoto-u.ac.jp)

Abstract

This paper examines the evolving tendency of financialization of China's agriculture. While focusing on the role of private equity, agribusiness companies and local governments, it seeks to shed light on the underlying elements and the modus operandi that explain the surge of corporate capital investment to the countryside after the financial crisis of 2007-08. We situate the present study within the context of the transition of the Chinese economy and the evolution of the capitalist system while drawing our theoretical sources stemming from food regime and Marxian literature on financial capital and financialization. Based on the fieldwork in Shanghai and Shandong Province and interviews with farmers and managers working in agriculture and financial sector, this paper argues that Chinese agriculture is exposed to financialization in the process of corporate investment.

Corporate capital has vividly participated in the farmland transactions and has been integrally involved in the organization of farming activities. Our analysis highlights that Chinese food industries use their new business of the finance supply chain to improve profitability and strengthen their power over other players along the food chain. Local governments are important players in the process and in fact promoting the financialization of agriculture.

Keywords: Financialization, China, SCF, Peasant, Agriculture

Xing YANG is a PhD Candidate of Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto University, Japan. He graduated from School of Economics, Fudan University, China in 2011. His research interest includes rural development, peasantry and rural finance.

Shuji Hisano is Professor at the International Political Economy of Food and Agriculture, Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto University. His research activities started in the early 1990s with exploring the historical process of the industrial development of agricultural biotechnology with a special focus on corporate strategy of transnational agribusinesses and their interaction with national and international government regulations from a point of view of political economy. While keeping attention on agricultural biotechnology and agribusiness issues, his research has gradually shifted to focus on the following subjects: (i) transdisciplinarity of science and technology (e.g. ethicisation of biotechnology, and politicisation of biotechnology ethics), (ii) dynamic interaction between agency and structure in terms of Gramscian approach to power relations (i.e. hegemony and counter - hegemony in the realm of ideology as well as material capabilities and political organisations), and (iii) global governance of agriculture and food, especially concerning the role of non - governmental actors such as international organisations, transnational corporations, and international NGO/CSOs. Recent years, he has been following the discourse and politics of food security and food sovereignty, while also paying much attention to the legal and discursive regimes of human rights, including the right to food, as a tool and space to counter the hegemonic regime of neo-liberalism.

The development trajectory of vegetable oil industry based on the global oil-crops in agro-extractivism: An example of Japanese sogo-shosha and oil-related industry

Midori Hiraga (midorihiraga@gmail.com)

Abstract

The global vegetable oil complex is a major driver behind agro-extractivism for oil crops namely soybean and palm oil while facilitating demand increase flexibly in food, feed, and fuel market. Although existing literature focuses more on feed and environmental aspect, more vegetable oil is produced and consumed in Asia, more for food industries rather than biofuel. For example, as China transformed from almost self-sufficient with vegetable oils in the 1980s into current top importer of soybean and palm oil, it also became the world largest producer of instant noodle (most of them deep fried) thanks to Japanese and Taiwanese incoming investment, amid of deregulation and trade liberalisation.

In order to reveal the structure and characteristics of the global vegetable oil complex with Japanese example, this paper first outlines the expansion of Japanese instant noodle industry now to India and even to Africa, together with her oil-industry and sogo-shosha investing in BRICS countries, even when Japanese vegetable oil demand has plateaued and soybean import has decreased. Second, the paper studies how Japanese sogo-shosha and oil-related industries developed as a part of the global complex in the Food Regime frameworks, hoping Japan's development trajectory can provide a better understanding of current structure in other developing countries which facilitates demand increase for vegetable oil and agro-extractivism for oil-crops around the BRICS countries.

Before and during the world wars, many of Japanese sogo-shosha, namely Mitsui&Co. and Mitsubishi Corporation, established with strong governmental support in the effort to capitalistic development of modern Japan, and they worked for the imperial state to expand colonial occupation in Asian countries. Japanese vegetable oil companies, the origins of today's dominant oil-industry, also developed in this effort as they transformed Manchuria soybean into a global commodity around the 1890s to 1930s in the First Food Regime. Sogo-shosha and oil-industry collaborated with the state especially during wars when military demand for oils and fats was critical. Then after WW2, this strongly established vegetable oil complex shifted their main market into industrial mass diet in the Second Food Regime, when more or less same players became the Japanese counterparts to receive US grains, as they

processed wheat and oil crops in factories built on coast area and facilitated the development of particular Japanese food industry based on these imported grains, including instant noodle. Today, many of these Japanese food companies became transnational, and they have expanded overseas together with sogo-shosha in the Global Corporate Food Regime.

In conclusion, the paper suggests that once this structure is established to provision industrial mass diet based on global grains and oil crops, it shall be rather easy to continue accumulate capital while sourcing raw materials from shifting producing countries, like Japan has developed its soybean crushing industries while extracting resource for soybean from Manchuria to USA to Brazil, and now to Mozambique. The similar structure can be found in other countries as they are sucked into the global vegetable oil complex and become the extracting forces for oil crops around the BRICS countries. (498 words)

Keywords: food regime, vegetable oil, soybean, palm oil, sogo-shosha

Midori Hiraga is a PhD student for the International Political Economy of Food in the Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto University, Japan. She achieved MSc (Food and Nutrition Policy) from the Centre for Food Policy, City University London, UK. She now researches the international political economy on provisioning vegetable oils for industrial mass diet with the case of Japan transforming vegetable oils into everyday foodstuff, as well as researching the developing trajectory and the structure of the global vegetable oil complex.

SECOND PLENARY PANEL: Global Investments in Agriculture (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 14:00 – 15:30 November 28)

Relations between Brazil and China and some impacts in Latin America

Sergio Sauer, University of Brasilia, Brazil

Losing ground: The effects of investor buy-ups and land concentration on family farms, women, and communities in Saskatchewan, Canada

Nettie Wiebe, St. Andrew's College, Canada

Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Chiang Mai University, Thailand

Parallel Panel 4: Agriculture and Accumulation (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 16:00-17:30 November 28)

Accumulation by dislocation: Enclosures and neoliberal developmentalism in contemporary Turkey

Murat Arsel (arsel@iss.nl)

Abstract

The notion of primitive accumulation continues to have much purchase in its various incarnations (e.g. accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by contamination, etc), to describe processes that shape the space-state-capital nexus in a variety of settings within contemporary capitalism. The scholarship around this concept reveals how non-economic forms of capital accumulation based on expropriation of space and nature are acquiring ascending significance in today's world.

While the concept has been used productively (yet) mostly as a descriptive device, we aim to take a different route. Our motivation is rooted in two interrelated observations: firstly, the notion of primitive accumulation, in its recent uses, has largely been divorced from the intertwined dynamics of changing forms of labour as well as the physical-spatial transformation(s) this implies. Secondly, the role of the state is often left unaddressed and/or implicitly assumed to be limited to passing

appropriate legislation while contemporary nation-states are more increasingly emerging as both setting the state machinery and participating in processes of capital accumulation.

We aim to operationalize a more refined understanding of enclosures and the dynamics of accumulation they are enrolled into by highlighting the broader constellation of markets, state and capital surrounding them. We explicate the recent regime of developmentalism in Turkey by drawing particular attention to (i) the changing nature of state's participation in accumulation processes (ii) the altered forms of land use enclosures giving rise to new forms of labor relations, both in rural and urban settings.

Murat Arsel is Associate Professor of Environment and Development at the International Institute of Social Studies (Erasmus University Rotterdam). His research concerns the relationship between nature, state and capitalism. He is currently working on the political economy of energy and infrastructure projects in Turkey and attempts to articulate a mechanism to monetize the value of nature without its commodification in Ecuador.

A global regime of accumulation? Actors, assemblages and controversies in the Argentine soybean seed industry

Clara Craviotti (ccraviotti@yahoo.com)

Abstract

In the Southern Cone of the Americas, the adoption of modern biotechnology is one of the factors that led to the strengthening of a development model that has an important pillar in the export of raw materials and its derivatives, and particularly of genetically modified (GM) soybeans. Some authors argue that in the case of agricultural biotechnology, there is an active attempt to build a global regulation regime that allows a small number of transnational corporations based in the US and Europe to operate in multiple markets. However, it should be noted that regulation refers to different domains: those related to the release of a genetically modified crop and the trading/consumption of the products obtained, and the IP (intellectual property) rights related to the access to seeds as the initial point of the production process. In this presentation I will focus on the latter, by examining the role of local actors in current controversies regarding IP rights. I argue that by focusing on local actors, a richer understanding of the networks that sustain the current development model and its possible fractures may be obtained.

For this purpose, I begin with an analysis of the mechanisms of accumulation currently employed by the seed industry, which have evolved from the input itself to the collection of royalties through the implementation of complex legal arrangements. Then I present an overview of the soybean seed industry in Argentina. In the remaining sections of my presentation I analyze current controversies regarding IP rights, which have been triggered by the soybean seed issue but have implications that exceed this initial framing.

Clara Craviotti is a research fellow at the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET), University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Her topics are urban/rural sociology, social stratification and sociology of development.

Accumulation and redistribution: An analytical framework to understand peasant differentiation in contemporary China

Wei Wang, COHD, China Agricultural University (wangwei901115@163.com)

The expansion of natural resource-intensive sectors in Brazil and the extraction of income and wealth

Daniela Andrade (andrade@iss.nl)

Abstract

In the aftermath of the global food price crisis of 2007/2008, world leaders, academics and civil society were asking: what kind of agriculture can ensure food security, livelihoods, environmental sustainability and economic growth? Who can feed the world; who will be fed? In the context of these debates, agricultural experiences in Brazil have been highlighted not only for supplying a growing and wealthier world population with food, feed, and biofuels, but also for meeting the targets of the domestic food security and poverty reduction agenda. These achievements have been largely attributed to a 'double agenda' of the Workers' Party, articulating a compelling set of policies. The Ministry of Agriculture supported a successful commercial agricultural sector for exports, while and the Ministry of Agrarian Development engaged small-farmers in social and productive inclusion. Agriculture has been, therefore, a stage for conveying the idea of a possible compatibility between 'growth and equity' – neoliberalism and social justice. The administration style of the Worker's Party has created a prolific debate about 'neo (or social) developmentalist' character of the state, one of the characteristics of which is precisely the peculiar coalition of class interests. Critical agrarian scholars, in turn, have praised the initiatives on the 'family-farm' camp, but condemned those on the agribusiness. In other words, they have contested the compatibility of the two prevailing 'agricultural development models'. Moving away from dualistic analysis and normative views of agricultural/agrarian development requires an adequate contextualization of agricultural development in this period. These two 'models of agricultural development' underline (and are better described as) dynamics of accumulation from above and from below, which reflect historical economic and social structures, but also the current economic and social links with the prevailing patterns of accumulation and growth managed by the state. This paper will discuss the different economic and social roles that agriculture has played in the context of the economy as a whole, reflecting the main conditions, structures and conflicts of capital accumulation in Brazil during the year of the Worker's Party administration. The character of the state is then discussed in the light of the type of property, forms of production and accumulation it nurtured and secured.

Daniela Andrade has dedicated much of her energy into the study of rural poverty and agrarian development. She has a degree in agronomic engineer and has been trained in social science research. She holds a Master in Environmental Science from the University of Sao Paulo (USP, 2003) and an MA in Agricultural and Rural Development from the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS, 2009). She currently lives in the Netherlands, where she began a doctoral program in Agrarian Political Economy at ISS, in the spring 2013.

Parallel Panel 5: Boom Crops and Agriculture (008, CIAD Building; 16:00-17:30 November 28)***Banana boom and its implications inside and outside China***

Juan Liu, Northwest A&F University, China (juanlcou@gmail.com); Nuo Chen, Northwest A&F University, China

Juan Liu is an assistant professor at College of Humanities and Social Development, Northwest A&F University, China, and a post-doctoral researcher at The International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague. She is in the global secretariat of the BRICS Initiatives for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS, www.iss.nl/bicas) and is co-editor of the BICAS Working Paper Series. She holds a PhD in development studies. Her research interests include: internal migration and left-behind population, social policies, rural politics, land politics, and political economy of agriculture, food and environment. Email: juanlcou@gmail.com

The tobacco boom in Southern Africa: Interrogating its foundations and its implications for farmers in low-income countries

Helena Pérez Niño (hperezniño@plaas.org.za)

Abstract

Tobacco-producing countries in Southern Africa are emerging as a frontier of dynamic expansion, fuelled by the widespread adoption of contract farming across the region. Over the past two decades the combined tobacco production of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania has doubled and together these countries now account for 30 % of global exports. Furthermore, tobacco is the main agricultural export in all five countries. However, the rapid growth of tobacco output is difficult to reconcile with accounts of stagnation in the wider agricultural sectors in the region. By interrogating global value chain analysis with insights from agrarian political economy, this paper contends that the tobacco boom is in fact another facet of the crisis. As agricultural sectors were liberalised, international leaf traders increasingly turned to African farmers as a way of diversifying their leaf sourcing and lowering their costs. As a consequence of adjustment and the rolling-back of the state, African farmers had largely lost access to state-provided pre- and post-harvest services in agrarian based economies with limited non-agricultural employment. In this context, thousands of farmers had few options other than entering into production contracts in outgrower schemes, in many cases the sole providers of agricultural finance, technical support, access to inputs and guaranteed market outlets. However, through contract farming schemes, leaf traders had also gained indirect access to the land that farmers had retained (as in Mozambique) or regained (as in Zimbabwe) as well as to unpaid household labour and other types of informal and precarious workforce. This development in South East Africa is consistent with the global trend in tobacco production shifting to low-income countries. Through the comparison of local dynamics of agrarian change and based on emerging field research, the paper unveils how global pressures combine with the agrarian political economies of South East Africa to recreate forms of production based on the cheap labour contained in export commodities. This analysis unveils hitherto unexplored regional dynamics and has implications for the tobacco sectors of the other three largest producers and exporters, namely, China, India and Brazil.

Helena Pérez Niño is a Postdoctoral Fellow at PLAAS, the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies at the University of Western Cape in South Africa where she conducts research on agrarian political economy in Southern Africa. Her work on contract farming and tobacco agriculture focuses on the production relations within households and between farmers and workers in agrarian frontiers. Prior to joining PLAAS, Helena was a teaching fellow on agrarian development, post-conflict transitions and the political economy of development at SOAS, University of London where she obtained her PhD with a dissertation on postconflict reconstruction and the tobacco boom on the Malawi-Mozambique borderland.

Fight against exclusion or resist within inclusion? Political reactions from rural villagers within the rise of industrial tree plantation sector in Guangxi, China

Yunan Xu(yunan@iss.nl)

Abstract

Recently, Industrial Tree Plantation (ITP) sector gained ground and expanded rapidly and massively in Guangxi, China, leading to massive land-use changes (more than 1.65 million ha in 2010) and land control changes involving both international and domestic investors. Towards the expansion of ITP sector in Guangxi, affected villagers reacted in a variegated and complicated way: some of the villagers get incorporated, while some are excluded; some of the villagers embraced, while some, even those who have already incorporated in the sector, expressed grievances; some of the grievances remained acquiescence, while some turned into distinct forms of resistances, being either overt or covert and against different actors (including corporations, the state and other villagers). So, the question arises: how do affected villagers respond differently to the rise of ITP sector in Guangxi,

China, and what are the respective political-economic reasons behind it?

About political reactions from below, “rural villagers resisting against the expulsion/ dispossession” is the most popular scenario portrayed by recent land grabbing literatures. However, it cannot fully capture the reality. Firstly, “the villagers” are not homogenous with same interests and similar resources endowments (e.g. land, labour and social resources). Secondly, villagers’ positions within the value web are impacted by certain political-economic environment, including relevant institutional settings, market access and the intervention of the state. In this sense, encountered with the expansion of ITP sector, some villagers are able to incorporate into the value chain, while some are excluded, either actively (voluntarily) or passively (forcedly). It means, for those affected rural villagers, expulsion/ dispossession is not the sole possible outcome. Correspondingly, villagers’ attitudes towards ITP sector inevitably differ, which lead to their varied political actions.

Based on the secondhand data and the firsthand data derived from three fieldworks in Guangxi, China, this paper, firstly, analyses the diverse political reactions from rural villagers towards the rise of ITP sector in Guangxi. Secondly, it reveals four dynamics, namely, passive inclusion, active inclusion, passive exclusion and active inclusion of the villagers, which result in villagers’ different political responses. This paper hopes to contribute to a fuller understanding of the political reactions and the complicated engagement of villagers towards large-scale land control changes.

Keywords: political reaction, inclusion, exclusion, passive, active

Yunan Xu is a PhD Candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in Erasmus University Rotterdam funded by the China Scholarship Council (CSC). Her Ph.D. Research is about the political economy of industrial tree plantations in Southern China in the era of global land rush.

Sweet at Both Ends? False Claims, Real Struggles in a Sugarcane Plantation in China

Chunyu Wang (wangchyu@cau.edu.cn)

Abstract

When the land is taken away, the people on the land is usually not wanted, as many researches on land-grabbing have already found out, especially in the lands converted to sugarcane, oil palm, banana and other highly-mechanized cash-crop plantations. However, local government and agro-investors in Guang Xi Zhuang Nationality Autonomous Region (GXZNR, China) argued that sugarcane can benefit out-growers as well as agro-companies – the claim of sugarcane with both ends sweet. This claim is to some extent verified by the fact that the sugarcane plantations have been unable to fully apply machines in the production of sugarcane and lots of laborers are still wanted. A complicated picture is therefore exhibited: some local villagers became company managers, or long-term or short-term farm workers; new forms of power have been forged between Sugarcane Plantation Company, Sugar Company, local government and farm workers (from inside and outside the villages). Meanwhile struggles against land being taken way are going on in overt and covert forms: locking the doors of the Sugarcane Plantation Company, foot-dragging and gossiping etc. It is therefore necessary to examine in details as to who wins and who loses and how much, in order to contribute to the discussions on land grabbing and contract farming in China.

Chunyu Wang is an associate professor in college of Humanities and Development Studies, China Agricultural University

Parallel Panel 6: State, Market and Society (004, CIAD Building; 16:00-17:30 November 28)

Land and agricultural commercialization in Meru County, Kenya: Evidence from three farming models

Cyriaque Hakizimana (chakizimana@plaas.org.za)

Abstract

What are the relative pros and cons of different pathways of agricultural commercialisation in Africa? This paper examines aspects of three commercial farming cases, each of which represents one of the three most dominant models of commercial agriculture — small-scale outgrowers, medium-size commercial farms and a large estate — in the high-potential area of Meru County in Kenya. The paper provides a comparative perspective across the cases, examining their outcomes in terms of land relations, labour, livelihoods and local economic linkages. The study used a mixed methods approach, including a household survey and a range of qualitative methods, including detailed life histories. We find diverse dynamics across our cases: increasing land consolidation spurred by the rising class of commercial coffee farmers, but also land fragmentation as a result of population pressure and prevalence of inheritance as a pathway to land acquisition in the case of horticultural outgrowers. The plantation generates relatively better paid employment for permanent skilled workers, while the commercial farms create employment for casualised, insecure and poorly-paid seasonal labour. These labour regimes are highly gendered. The outgrowers combine family and hired labour. Across the three cases, farmers diversify income between on-farm and off-farm sources. The commercial and outgrower farms are dynamically integrated into the local economy, while the estate is less so. These features of the three models generate processes of social differentiation, which are reshaping the agrarian structure and rural economy in Meru County.

Keywords: agricultural commercialisations, land, labour, livelihoods, economic linkages, Meru County, Kenya

Cyriaque Hakizimana is a PhD candidate in PLAAS, University of Western Cape, South Africa. His research focuses on the role of agriculture in rural development and economic transformation. He joined PLAAS in April 2012. His training is in poverty reduction approaches and his research interest include agricultural development in Africa with special focus on the role of agriculture in fostering a broad-based, inclusive and sustainable rural development. Before joining PLAAS, he was involved in various research activities in the school of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu - Natal, including researching a Profile of Subjective Poverty in South Africa and UThukela Water Project (a partnership initiative between the University of KwaZulu - Natal and Water Dialogue South Africa). At present, he is involved in a study that investigates how agriculture can support a diverse local economy through multipliers that allow sustainable and broad based growth.

Dismantling agrarian economy: An appraisal of agricultural development policies

Karori Singh (karsiapc@gmail.com)

Abstract

The biggest challenge before the post-colonial South Asia under self-rule was to devise an inclusive policy, legislation and strategy for emancipation of the masses; not only to restore political rights but to enable socio-economic rights to the people whose mainstay was agriculture and, thus changes in agrarian structure became the priority. Large numbers of agrarian reforms have been contemplated in all the South Asian countries to attain the objective of the 'land to the tiller' promise raised during the freedom struggle. Structural changes in the agrarian structure have been introduced through land reform legislation. Simultaneously, mechanisation and use of bio-chemical technologies have been emphasised in order to meet the growing need of the food for increasing population. It resulted into 'Green Revolution' which by increasing food production resulted into new kind of imbalances in the agrarian economy and village society. Thereafter, policy emphasis has been shifted to overall rural development instead of agrarian development. The subsequent developments have fastened the

process of urbanisation and steadily agriculture became less significant. Mixed and dual economy was considered in consonance with the constitutional order and inclusive society. Such a model of economy was prevailed until the emphasis was shifted to the neo-liberal economy.

It is, therefore, imperative to invent new model of economic inclusiveness with South Asian characteristics like socialism of Chinese characteristics in which there must be some kind of balance among various sectors of the economy (some kind of checks and balances shall have to be developed among agriculture, manufacturing and services sectors).

Attempt has been made in the Paper to analyse the impact of past agrarian policies and strategies. It reveals that the though agricultural production and productivity have increased, the agrarian structure and its commensurate life of the people have been dismantled in the villages. The village people have become subordinate to the urban sector. The cities have become centre of power and wealth. The urban splendour has reduced the village people to the squalor leading to suicide by farmers. It is obvious that eighty percent of South Asian poor are still living in the villages as a burden on the agrarian sector. However, there is no focus on sustainable agricultural development in the growth-oriented policies inspired by neo-liberal economy leading to concentration of wealth and power in the urban areas along with multilayered conflict in the South Asian Societies.

Karori Singh, Emeritus Fellow, Former Director and Professor, South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan, JAIPUR-302004, INDIA.

The state-market-society nexus: Agrarian changes of the BRICS countries

Zhanping Hu, Singapore Management University (zphu@smu.edu.sg)

A study on the relationship between social grants receipt and engagement in agriculture/natural resource related activities

Felix Kwabena Donkor, PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, South Africa (1239639@students.wits.ac.za)

THIRD PLENARY PANEL: Understanding Agro-extractivism (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 09:00 – 10:30 November 29)

A Regionalized Approach to Land Relations Under Agro-Extractivism

Philip Hirsch, University of Sydney, Australia

On Taking and Leaving Behind: Agrarian Change and the Dialectics of Agro-Extractivism

Mindi Schneider, ISS, Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands

Agro-extractivism in the context of commodities boom: The case of Bolivia and its recent agrarian transformations

Gonzalo Colque Fernandez, Fundación TIERRA, Bolivia

Parallel Panel 7: Agro-extractivism and Impacts on Livelihoods (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 11:00-12:30 November 29)

Special economic zones and the peasantry: The case of the Aurora Pacific Economic Zone and Freeport Authority (APECO)

Eduardo Climaco Tadem, University of the Philippines (ectadem@gmail.com)

The impacts of land grabbing on the livelihood of small scale farmers in Tanzania; A case of SAGCOT areas in Ruvuma Region

Frank Ademba (ademba.frank@gmail.com)

In recent years, agriculture in Tanzania has been affected by repeated climatic and economic shocks, resulting in sustained low crop yields and leading to food insecurity at both household and national levels. The challenge for Tanzania is therefore to use the potential surrounded in agriculture to contribute towards poverty reduction, economic growth, and food security. In an effort to address the challenges and enhance the potential opportunities presented by the Tanzanian economy and her agrarian sector, the Tanzanian government introduced the Tanzanian Development Vision (TDV) 2025 Strategies for implementing TDV 2025 include: The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA I-II) and Agricultural First (KILIMO KWANZA).

The government of Tanzania has prepared the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor Programme (SAGCOT), to make southern parts of Tanzania a hub of food to feed the world. Ruvuma is among of committed region in Tanzania to transform Agricultural and has been identified a huge potential land of investment . In Lipokela village 5,000 acres of land, previously used by people within the village for cultivation, were transferred to the control of a Singaporean coffee investor, Olam-Aviv company which is a SAGCOT partner since May 2014, villagers unanimously agreed that it was without their consent. Montara Farm in Lutukira village control over 50,000 acres slated for investment as a part of SAGCOT plan . This is the same-grabbing land through force and without people consent. This paper informs how big investors become a threat to the survival of small scale farmers in Ruvuma .

The paper also cautions us that bragging ourselves that we have large piece of land for investors is deceiving nobody but ourselves. Land in SAGCOT is being offered cheaply to investors, often leasing at less than \$1 per hectare per year. This increases the reality of rural communities losing their access to and control over land, water, seeds and food to large investors, largely through policy commitments on land titling and land reform. It shows that some corporate partners involved in the New Alliance are already accused of taking part in land grabbing. Thus why land conflicts increase every single day. Today Tanzania has an average of five land conflicts every day, and of these five, three occur between big investors and small scale farmers.

Frank Ademba is affiliated with MVIWATA Kilimanjaro (Via Campesina Tanzania - see <http://www.mviwata.org>) as a Program Officer. He has extensive experience in community development work in Tanzania, particularly in agricultural practice and providing support to small-scale farmers. In his most recent research, Frank Ademba is trying to investigate the impact of large-scale government agricultural investments, specifically Southern Highlands of Tanzania, on small scale farmers and the rush for agricultural lands which is ultimately destroying peasant livelihoods, and resulting in deeper poverty. Frank has been, presenting papers in different universities in Tanzania, Kenya, Italy, Czech Republic, German, Spain and Netherland.

Where are Their Hometown? Land Transfer and Migrant Workers' Subsistence Rights in China

Ruiqin Gao (gaoruiqin@cau.edu.cn)

Abstract

Land transfer is merely concerned about the results of resources allocation in nowadays, without considering the relations in the process of production. Land transfer could impact the relations of

production on the four dimensions. In terms of ownership, rural lands transferring from migrant workers to owners of capital in a unidirectional strain. Operators on the land prefer the cultivation of a mono-crop in a given area, which makes the country's food security at risk. As for as distribution of products is concerned, the operators acquire most interests, while the trickle-down effect of the land transfer to migrant workers appear to be very limited. As a result, land operators squeeze the living space of migrant workers by extreme reproduction. The government should take account of migrant workers by providing them with the opportunity. Any option of migrant workers should be respected.

Dr. Ruiqin Gao is a lecturer in the College of Humanities and Development Studies, China Agricultural University. Her research fields are rural social disadvantaged groups, Administrative Law and Administrative Procedural Law.

Land reform and the fate of farmworkers: complexities of ‘belonging’ on community-owned capitalist farming enterprises in Levubu Valley, South Africa

Manenzhe Tshililo Justice(tmanenje@gmail.com)

This paper explores the evolving ‘cultural politics’ that shape, and are shaped by, access to and control over resources within community-owned large-scale commercial farms in Levubu Valley, in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. It discusses the tensions and conflicts that arise on such farms, and argues that such tensions can be attributed to the contradictory unity of capital and labour within community-owned enterprises, as well as cross-cutting ‘modes of belonging’ on such farms. These result in difficult choices to be made between enhancing social reproduction, or ensuring accumulation and profitability. ‘Modes of belonging’ can be understood as routinized discourses, social practices and institutional arrangements through which people make claims for resources and rights; they explain the manner in which people become incorporated in particular places as well as the social relations among actors. The paper is based on empirical findings from a study of commercial partnerships on farms transferred to land restitution claimant communities since 2005. The paper concludes by raising questions about the implications for agrarian transformation and suggests that policy makers should re-think assumptions about the benefits of community-owned large-scale farms, and reimagine alternatives that could result in more benefits to beneficiary households.

Tshililo Manenzhe holds PhD in Land and Agrarian Studies from the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. His thesis is entitled: *Land Reform, Agrarian Change and the Fate of Farmworkers: Trajectories of strategic partnership and farm labour in Levubu Valley, South Africa*. He works as a Content Adviser for the Portfolio Committee on Rural Development and Land Reform at Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. His research interests are land reform and rural livelihoods, and has conducted research on land restitution and settlement support mechanisms, in particular commercial partnerships between agribusiness and rural communities after land transfers. He also worked as a land rights activist with local NGOs to support rural communities to claim land rights with the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights of South Africa.

Parallel Panel 8: Food Sovereignty and Food Politics (008, CIAD Building; 11:00-12:30 November 29)

The Historical Process of Expansion of Global Soy Frontiers and “Sovereignty” Questions: Focusing on the Role of Japan in Northeast China, Brazil and Mozambique

Sayaka Funda Classen (sayaka.funada.classen@gmx.de)

Abstract

In recent years, we have been observing soy recognized as “one of the world’s most important agroindustrial commodities” (Oliveira and Hecht, 2016). As the expansion of global soy frontiers is

accelerating its speed, its econo-politico-social and environmental impacts began to attract the worldwide attentions.

Commoditization of soy, however, is not a recent phenomenon. As early as 1899, the export of soy produced in China's Three Northeastern Provinces (later occupied by Japan under the name of "Manchuria") exceeded the national consumption. By 1920s, "Manchuria soy" was used and exported as food, feed, fertilizer, cooking oil, fuel and industrial materials to Japan, Europe and the U.S. (Shu, 2014), and become one of the most important international commodities produced in and exported from Asia. Hiraga calls this case as "the First Food Regime in Asian context" (Hiraga, 2015).

The "multiple-ness" and "flexible-ness" of soy contributed to rise of Northeast China to be the first global soy frontier. After First Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, Japanese public and private actors rushed to the region and played a central role in commoditization of soy. Although the concept of "flex crops and commodities" is formulated and used for explaining the current phenomenon (Borras, *et al.*, 2015), "Manchuria soy" could be considered as one of the earliest "flex crop and commodity".

The rise of "Manchuria soy", however, needs to be understood within the historical context. It occurred under the period of colonial-imperialism, nationalism and regional-world wars, and led the following consequences: (a) the adaptation of modernization development plan connecting agroindustry with large-scale infra-structure development; (b) the rise of regional military cliques as "native capitalists"; (c) the deep involvement of the Japan's public-private actors (notably, the semi-national South Manchuria Railway, Mitsui and others); (d) deforestation and transformation of territory (expansion of soy fields) along the railway; (e) rivalry over hegemony of soy business; and (f) political assassination, colonial invasion and massive Japanese emigration promoted by the Japanese military (government).

Although the war defeat shattered Japan's ambitions and thirst towards soy, the world saw its revival with a similar developmental grand vision and approach in Brazil (1970s-80s), in Mozambique (2009-) and again in Brazil (2014-). This time, the Japan's involvement was not through colonial occupation but through "international cooperation". Yet, as it was the case of Northeast China, the large-scale plans and activities brought many changes to the societies. And questions about two forms of "sovereignty", that is, "national/state sovereignty" and "people's sovereignty" emerged in both cases. In this paper, the author explores the historical process of expansion of global soy frontiers initiated by Japanese actors. Specific focus will be given to its impacts over "sovereignty" questions raised in Brazil and Mozambique.

Sayaka Funada Classen (Ph.D. in International Relations) is a researcher at the International Peace Research Institute of Meiji Gakuin University (PRIME) and an active member of the Japanese civil society groups working on land issues. She served as an associate professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies from 2004 to 2015. She is the author of numerous articles and books concerning contemporary history, peace-building, developmental issues, and democratic transition in Africa. Academic awards for the following publications: *The Japanese in Latin America* (2004: Illinois UP) and *The Origins of War in Mozambique* (2013: African Minds). Others are: "Analysis of the Discourse of ProSAVANA" and "Post-Fukushima Anatomy of the Studies on ProSAVANA".

"Abundance" Illusion: Food Politics in a Southwest Village in China

Li Zhang (lili439666@126.com)

Abstract

From the 1980s to now, China has on the track of high-speed of development, which enables the whole society to reduce poverty and become prosperity. It helps solve the problem of food scarcity and even achieve to "abundance". However, this "abundance " is based on the great cost with much

apparent and hidden crisis. This paper is dedicated to examining the food and farming practice and its transformation led by the developmentalism in a national poverty-alleviation rural community in southwest China minority ethnic area, showing a grand narrative of food politics in China. This research using a qualitative research method conducts a participatory observation in this rural community.

Based on the rich field research material, there are some preliminary findings. Firstly, even though the rapid development brings the "abundance", while it is indeed an illusion since this output on material and sufficiency is based on the sacrifice of healthy and sustainability of human, society, and nature. Specifically, in a sphere of food, it represents the large quantity but poor quality. The food producer and consumer, especially the foodstuffs lose the sovereignty. Moreover, with the increase of food miles, the industrialization, commercialization, and globalization of food, food safety and food trust crisis become a problematic issue to the individual and the authority. For the authorities, with the top-down food regulation cost rising, it helps reduce some instant collective food safety incidents, while with the counterproductive result. For the public, the rising of food safety and trust crisis trigger them to engage in the bottom-up food strategies and food resistant actions. However, the bottom-up food strategy is struggling in the context of the grid of the authoritarian institution, the mainstream of developmentalism and the popularity of consumerism culture. Whether the illusion of "abundance" could be realized and reversed into the real sustainable alternative path is a vital project for China, the other developing countries, and even the whole globe.

Keywords: Food politics; Food sovereignty; Agrarian Extractivism; Authoritarianism

Li Zhang is a visiting PhD student (visiting fellow) in the Department of Development Sociology at Cornell University. She comes from the College of Humanities and Development Studies in China Agriculture University in Beijing as a third year PhD student. Her research interests are food politics, food safety, food and farming systems, and sustainable development. Her doctoral project ('Food Politics Behind Changes in the Food and Farming System: A Case Study in Two Chinese Rural Communities') engages into two field sites in Henan and Guangxi provinces in China. She gives this paper as a vital part of her doctoral research findings.

Creating space for Manoeuvre through Alternative Food Practice in Rural China

Congzhi He (hecz@cau.edu.cn)

Congzhi He is an associate professor at the College of Humanities and Development Studies, China Agricultural University. Her research mainly covers rural left-behind elderly people, rural development policy and food politics.

Parallel Panel 9: Food and Agriculture (004, CIAD Building; 11:00-12:30 November 29)

Heterogeneity of Agrifood Production in Search of Sustainability in Ecuador

Myriam Del Carmen Paredes Chauca, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO, Argentina (mcparedes@flacso.edu.ec)

The Changing Face of Transnational Agribusiness: TNCs in China...and China's TNCs

Mindi Schneider (schneider@iss.nl)

Abstract

This paper examines 'global China' through an examination of transnational agribusiness firms operating in, through, from, and in relation to China's ongoing agrarian and dietary transformations. It

considers the role of ‘traditional’ North Atlantic-based transnational corporations (TNCs) in China’s grain, meat, and retail sectors in particular, as well as the role of newly emerging, China-anchored firms. The paper starts from the premise that state and private elites in China are working together to consolidate a robust domestic agribusiness sector, as both an arena for national-level rural and economic development, and as a new frontier for access to resources and markets abroad. Particular attention is paid to three recent, high profile acquisitions by China-based firms: the WH Group takeover of Smithfield Foods in 2013, COFCO’s majority acquisition of Nidera and Noble Agri in 2014, and ChemChina’s purchase of Syngenta in 2016. At the same time that Chinese firms and capital are going out, ‘traditional’ TNCs continue to vie for position and power inside China’s food and agriculture sectors, in part to increase their geoeconomic power. Through analyses of policy documents, market share data, and ethnographic materials, I argue that China is not only a destination for ‘external’ transnational capital, but also an important site of agribusiness development. This has important implications for understanding the domestic socio-environmental implications of ‘global China’, for analyzing capitalist transformations, and for engaging global and localized agrifood politics.

Mindi Schneider is Assistant Professor of Agrarian, Food and Environmental Studies at the ISS. Her research and teaching interests are in the fields of development sociology, political sociology, and political ecology. She works primarily on agrifood transformations in contemporary China, and has published on the political economy of agroindustrialization, class relations in food security and dietary change, and human-nature relations under capitalism.

For Whose Scale and for Whose Agricultural Modernization -- Demystification of Economics of Scale in Chinese Agriculture

Huijiao Xu (xuhj@cau.edu.cn)

Huijiao Xu, Ph.D. candidate, College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD), China Agricultural University. She has dedicated much of her energy into the study of rural development and agrarian transformation. She has a bachelor degree in development studies in China Agricultural University and has been trained in social science research. She has committed 3 years of intense work and activism with nested market which connects rural producers and urban consumers in Beijing. She is currently interested in the development of market empire and food regime in contemporary China, understanding how market principle influences the modes of farming in China.

Getting the Data right: Main trends in China’s Agriculture and Food sector

Jin Zhang (zhangjin082448@163.com)

Abstract

This paper has four parts. The first part discusses the multiple agricultural production modes that currently can be observed in China. By dividing the existing modes into three types – household-led, cooperative-led and corporate-led, it will be shown that Chinese agricultural production still relies strongly on peasant farming. The key to understanding the agricultural production trends in China is to examine both internal changes within peasant household farming and external relations between peasant households and the newly emerging agricultural actors (other than peasants). Equally important is that the interactions between internal changes and wider external relations are taken into account. The second part explains that China’s relation with the global food market is influenced by the domestic agrarian change. This implies that China’s overseas food strategy and the domestic agrarian situation should be studied together instead of being separated from each other. The third part focuses on the internal changes of the agricultural production in China. Based on the thesis of “hidden agricultural revolution” as elaborated by Philip Huang, it is argued that dietary transition indeed plays a critical role in the restructuring of the agricultural production in China. But this is only an external condition. The internal drives of structural change in agricultural production is the rapid increase of

land rent and labour costs in China. The agricultural structural change is a process of mutual interaction between the external conditions and the internal forces. Finally, the paper indicates that the current discussion on capitalization in Chinese agriculture needs a developed analytical tool to distinguish the source and property of investment capital groups in Chinese agriculture and the food sector. I will propose an agricultural investment capital typology to analyse the economic forces and power relations in the agrarian transition and food system in China.

Key words: agriculture and food sector, China, agrarian transition, land, labour, capital

Jin Zhang is a PhD student in Social Science Department, Wageningen University & Research Center. Her research interests: are peasant farming and agriculture modernization in China, peasant livelihood, peasant resistance, land issue, food security and food sovereignty

FOURTH PLENARY PANEL: Peasants and Peasant Agriculture (Auditorium, CIAD Building; 14:00 – 15:30 November 29)

Alexander Chayanov and contemporary Russian rural development

Aleksandr Nikulin, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Russia

Accumulation From Below In The World Of Agro-Extractivism In BRICS Countries - There Is Room For Family Farmers

Sergio Schneider, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

BRICS countries, extractivism, expolary economies and alternative-oriented struggles

Jan Douwe van der Ploeg (jandouwe.vanderploeg@wur.nl); Jingzhong Ye (yejz@cau.edu.cn); Teodor Shanin (shanin@universitas.ru) and Sergio Schneider (schneide@ufrgs.br)

Abstract

In this paper for the 4th BICAS Conference to be held in Beijing in November 2016 we argue, firstly, that the so-called BRICS countries very clearly exhibit the dynamics and shortcomings of the extractivist economic model that increasingly dominates the world. Secondly, the paper explores the responses that are actively being constructed to counter the, often asphyxiating, effects of this model. These give rise to differently patterned economic systems that exist and interact within one and the same politico-economic setting. Following the earlier work of Shanin we refer to these different systems as expolary economies. We understand such economies as emerging out social struggles that are oriented at the construction of new socio-economic patterns that are alternative to the dominant mode of capitalist production. Thirdly, we argue that critical studies urgently need conceptual tools to better understand and describe these expolary economies and the associated, alternative-oriented resistance and struggles.

Keywords: extractivism, expolary economies, alternatives, resistance

Jan Douwe van der Ploeg is an adjunct professor at the College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD) in China Agricultural University and a professor of rural sociology at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. His research interests include heterogeneity of agriculture, farming styles, rural development, and transition processes in agriculture.

Jingzhong Ye is a Professor of Development Studies and Dean at the College of Humanities and Development Studies, China Agricultural University. His research interests include development

intervention and rural transformation, rural society and agrarian change, rural-urban migration and the left-behind population, agrarian sociology and land politics, rural education and social problems.

Teodor Shanin OBE is a Professor Emeritus University of Manchester, Fellow of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences of RF, President of Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences. His research interests include epistemology, historical sociology, sociology of knowledge, social economy, peasant and rural studies, theoretical roots of social work.

Sergio Schneider is a Professor of Rural Sociology and Development in the Rural Development and Sociology Postgraduate Programmes of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil. He was also a CNPq/Brazil Researcher and held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Cardiff School of City and Regional Planning, Cardiff University, Wales, UK.

Parallel Panel 10: Agro-extractivism and Resistance-1 (Auditorium, CIAD Building, 16:00 – 17:30 November 29)***Brazil's landless movement (MST) and rights 'from below'***

Eric Hoddy (eth501@york.ac.uk); Jonathan Ensor

Abstract

Growing recognition of the value of food sovereignty and the human rights frameworks in contemporary agrarian struggles offers new promise for advancing the rights of the rural poor globally. Relatively little has been written however about rights as locally generated movement processes, which may be grounded in particular ideologies. This study considers agrarian movements' use of rights as collective action frames using Brazil's landless movement (MST) as a case study. The rights discourse of the MST between 1984 and 1995 was analysed as it appeared in the movement's monthly newspaper, *Jornal Sem Terra*. The findings provide evidence of three distinct rights discourses over the 11-year period which linked local issues, needs and grievances to the movement's broader political project for structural change. These discourses were more dominant at particular times: with democratic transition underway from the mid-1980s onwards, rights claims became less frequently articulated in liberation theology terms, with leaders instead drawing on socialism for advancing a new, more inclusive notion of 'agrarian citizenship' centred on land and land-related rights. With the neoliberal turn in the 1990s, movement rights claims assumed an increasingly cosmopolitan character and were reformulated as assertions of national sovereignty and self-determination in a context characterised by the decline of the developmental state and the expansion of capitalism in agriculture. The findings shed light on the role of movement-generated rights that emerge through processes of reflexivity and in response to dynamic social-political contexts.

Eric Hoddy is a PhD Candidate at the Centre for Applied Human Rights, University of York. He is presently completing his PhD thesis on the needs and priorities of poor sharecroppers in Tunisia as part of a larger ESRC-funded research project on 'Transformative Justice in Egypt and Tunisia'.

Jonathan Ensor is a Senior Researcher at the Stockholm Environment Institute, University of York. As a development practitioner (with the NGO Practical Action, up to 2012) his work centred on research for programme and policy influencing in relation to community-based adaptation and food and agriculture. Recently, his focus has been on the potential of participatory planning and social learning processes in adaptation and as a means of accounting for power and social justice in resilience thinking and adaptive governance. His work is informed by an interest in human rights-based and social movement framings of development.

Facing criticism: Agro-extractivism and its countermovement

Tijo Salverda (tijo@tijosalverda.nl)

This article analyses the interactions between corporations involved in agro - extractivism and a counter-- - movement concerned about their practices. This counter - movement, which groups together various critics such as NGOs, local communities, peasant movements, activist scholars and journalists, appears to have more impact on economic enterprises than is currently acknowledged. Initiatives such as FAO's Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure (VGGT) and Coca-- - Cola's pledge to ban 'land grab' in its supply chain, for example, result from the pressure critics have built up. Yet by no means has this proven to be sufficient. Many concerns remain. By means of discussing how corporations respond to their critics, with a main focus on European agribusiness operating in Zambia, this article hopes to contribute to a more fine-- - grained

understanding of the potential and limits for fairer outcomes.

Tijo Salverda works as a research fellow at the University of Cologne's Global South Studies Center. Prior to that he was a research fellow with the University of Pretoria's Human Economy Programme. He also worked for several years as a lecturer at the University of Amsterdam (Department of Anthropology), the VU University Amsterdam (Department of Anthropology), the University of Amsterdam (Department of Political Science) and the Erasmus University Rotterdam (Department of History). Stemming from his experience, his work especially focuses on the following: Elite and Power Research, Economic and Financial Anthropology, Ethnography. His current research focuses on global investment chains in agricultural assets.

Counter-movements in Brazil and China agrifood systems? Some experiences in linking production and consumption through the construction of new, nested market

Fabiano Escher (escher_fab@hotmail.com); Sergio Schneider(schneide@ufrgs.br)

Abstract

In BICAS Working Paper n.7, we presented a comprehensive Polanyian-Gramscian approach, intending to capture the 'double movement' between hegemonic forces of commodification and globalization of agrifood systems and counter-hegemonic forces driving the emerging rural development dynamics, both shaping the recent development trajectories of Brazil and China. This article builds on specific issues raised in that paper. The purpose here is to understand in more detail some concrete experiences that could be characterized as part of that countermovements in response to contradictory consequences of dominant trends of the agrifood systems of Brazil and China. Although corporate agribusiness and food empires are the hegemonic actors of the current food regime, there are other challenging forms of production, distribution and consumption of food that can coexist, persist or emerge, being marginalized or encouraged in this dispute arena. Examples of these challenging forms have been characterized as 'alternative food networks' as well as 'new nested markets'. They constitute responses of social actors, able to exercise its agency and to institutionalize collective action devices through social struggles. But such are not just confrontational struggles, against the system; they also involve the active construction of new social practices, livelihood strategies and economic institutions. In Brazil and China, these experiences have emerged from mobilization processes, especially in the realm of circulation, linking food producers and consumers – for what is possible to talk about 'new economic social movements'. Our empirical focus relies on emerging initiatives that are taking place in both countries. In Brazil, we describe the case of Rede Ecovida de Agroecologia, a set of local groups and regional nucleus of producers and consumers of ecological foodstuffs organized and articulated as an agro-ecology network. And in China, we describe the case of community supported agriculture (CSA) experiences, with groups of consumers around farming producers, making payments in advance, sharing risks and eliminating intermediaries by building direct relations. Both cases are related to the development of ecological agriculture practices, alternative logistical infrastructures and accreditation systems of food quality. Additionally, farmers' markets also relate very closely with these experiences and will be discussed to some extent. For analytical purpose, three general aspects are considered, in a comparative perspective, for the cases of Brazil and China. First, we investigate the social origins and the evolutionary dynamics of ecological agriculture and the markets for its products. The second point to consider regards the nature and character of the relations between producers and consumers and of both with the certification systems. And the third consideration concerns the challenges and perspectives of ecological agriculture and the construction of new, nested markets facing the problem of 'conventionalization' of organics. At the end of the paper we assess the meaning of these initiatives in the wider political economy context they are inserted in order to provide a better understanding of such experiences as part of concrete manifestations of the countermovement.

Fabiano Escher is an economist, Master and PhD in Rural Development by the Rural Development Post-Graduation Programme (PGDR) of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS).

Sergio Schneider is a sociologist, Master and PhD in Sociology and Professor in the Rural Development Post-Graduation Programme (PGDR) and the Sociology Post-Graduation Programme (PPGS) of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS).

Parallel Panel 11: Capitalization of Agriculture in China (008, CIAD Building, 16:00 – 17:30 November 29)

Overcoming the obstacles in developing capitalist agriculture: Capital accumulation by utilizing rural social networks

Yiyuan Chen (chenyiyuan1988@163.com)

Abstract

This paper attempts to explore how agro-capital could overcome the obstacles in managing large-scale farms in the Chinese context, with particular attention on how China's rural social relations are utilized in labor recruitment and supervision. Predicated on a case study of an agribusiness in China, this paper shows that other than all the obstacles in large-scale capitalist farming, China's agro-capital has to deal with the rural society when engaged in large-scale farming, as the only access to farmland is to contract land from the countryside. The major argument is that by incorporating *contracted tenant households* in its industrial chain, the agro-capital not only manages to transfer the problems in labor management to these households, but also to mobilize rural social resources of these households in farm operation, which contributes to the agribusiness's capital accumulation. The *renqing* relations and *mianzi* competition in rural society are utilized in labor recruitment and supervision, whereas the membership of a production team, which is a basic unit of the *shuren shehui*, allows local tenant households to use the public facilities for free. However, the employment of rural social resources has also been transforming the rural society, in the sense that the dynamics of social interaction in a face-to-face community is fundamentally diverged from that of the employment relationships.

Keywords: labor management; large-scale farms in China; mobilization of rural social resources; capital accumulation

Yiyuan Chen holds a Ph.D degree in sociology in the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, and teaches in the Department of Sociology in the College of Humanities Development at China Agricultural University since 2015. Her research interests include China's agrarian change, rural development and the food sovereignty movement.

“Pathogen Exclusion:” The bourgeois science of shrimp disease control and farmers’ drive to overproduction in South China

Yu Huang (yhuang@uw.edu)

Abstract

More than three decades after the implementation of the Household Responsibility System (HRS) that signaled the end of the socialist production of agriculture, scholars still have not agreed on the trajectory of agricultural capitalism in China. Populist economists maintain that capitalist relations have dominated only the sphere of circulation but not production as evident from the low percentage of employment rate in the countryside. In contrast, agrarian political economists argue that the low rate of wage labor actually reflect the massive application of the machinery and reduced needs for manual labor rather than family farmers' tenacity in resisting the capitalist tendency of proletarianization.

While political economists emphasize that capitalist relations have penetrated into the production process, their approach of class analysis is largely focused on the "relations of production," but ignores how, "forces of production"--scientific development--has forged new changes. In this paper, I speculate on the concept "bourgeois science" to trace how shrimp farmers in the Leizhou Peninsula of South China, have tried to applied the concept "pathogen exclusion" in shrimp disease control. Examples include two artefacts, Specific Pathogen Free (SPF) broodstocks and probiotics, which are based on a reductionist and instrumentalist framework. SPF broodstocks only exclude listed pathogens, but can never rule out hidden pathogens. The concept reduces virus as an ontological status, a property that an organism processes, but fails to investigate how the transportation of live species might alter pond ecology and incubates conditions for new pathogens to emerge. Probiotics seeks to address shrimp disease from the control of environment. However, as its concept of environment is restricted to the shrimp pond, it fails to take into considerations other environmental factors such as weather. This "bourgeois science" has pushed farmers to ride on the "treadmill of overproduction" as they change their practice from polyculture to monoculture. I show how this shift could be understood as capital's "formal subsumption" of labor that extracts farmers' surplus value in a disguised form. The uncertainty of agricultural production has forced capital to adopt forms of subsumption that is different from industrial manufacture. Agrarian scholars should attend to the dynamic change of capital's valorization and stop being oblivious to capital's control over the production process.

Yu Huang is a postdoctoral fellow at the Division of Social Science, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. Trained as an anthropologist, her research interests include agrarian change, Science and Technology Studies (STS), political ecology, aquaculture, science extension network, rural cooperatives, and labor studies in contemporary China. She has published articles in the Journal of Agrarian Change and Modern China.

The "Company + Peasant" model and the poverty of the Yi Ethnic Minority: Exploring the development of buckwheat industry in Liangshan Sichuan

Chiyin Ruan (chiyinruan@link.cuhk.edu.hk)

Abstract

In the process of China's agricultural development today, many scholars have debated about the causes of small peasants' plight. Some scholars consider peasants' problem to reside in the circulation realm. Given the competitive advantages in family farming in comparison with large-scaled capitalist production, farmers will see their income increased if they can gain market access independently. Others propose a change of crop to be the solution, as they see hope in the emerging high-value agricultural product markets. Despite their differences, they both champion the market's role in solving peasants' poverty.

In this paper, I argue against the above thesis which proposes that solution to peasants' poverty could found in the circulation realm. In agriculture, the production time is longer than the labor time, but the exchange value of agricultural products is usually determined by the socially necessary labor time. Therefore, peasants engaging in commercial production receive an income that is less than the full costs of labor reproduction. In the case of buckwheat industry, the Yi ethnic minority peasants even are paid less than the costs of their labor time for buckwheat production, while the processing companies have gained large profits from the buckwheat tea market. The so called "competitive advantage" contributing to the persistence of peasant economy is actually the cause of peasants' poverty.

In Liangshan, local government promoted the "company + peasant" model of development that is hinged on the articulation between capitalist and ethnic family mode of production. This paper draws on 18 months of ethnographic research in the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture to understand the mechanism and the process of articulation between buckwheat companies and Yi peasants. The roles of policy and the aboriginal culture in the economic process will be analyzed as well.

Keywords: Liangshan Yi peasant, poverty, agrarian change, buckwheat industry, aboriginal culture

Chiyin Ruan is a PhD candidate at the Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her research interests include agrarian studies, food studies, environmental anthropology and ethnic studies.

Parallel Panel 12: Development and Rural Transformation (004, CIAD Building, 16:00 – 17:30, November 29)

Riding on food security: Agrarian capital and rural transformations in China

Shaohua Zhan (shzhan@ntu.edu.sg)

Abstract

This paper examines the interactions between the national strategy of food security and the rise of agrarian capital in China. To ensure food security, the Chinese state has issued a number of policies to stimulate grain production, particularly in major grain-producing areas. These policies, including grain crop subsidies, the incentive scheme for grain-producing areas, and the policy of nurturing new agricultural units, provide favorable conditions for agrarian capital to take root and expand in the Chinese countryside. In addition to an analysis of national statistics and policy documents, this paper will draw on my recent field research in Hunan, Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang to illuminate how grain policy has fueled the expansion of agrarian capital in China.

Shaohua Zhan is an assistant professor of sociology at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. His research focuses on rural development, labor migration, land politics, urbanization and comparative-historical sociology.

Commodification of land, labor and agro-food change in rural China: Observations from a village

Huifang Wu (wuhf@cau.edu.cn)

This research analyses how land commodification has changed agro-food system, and reshaped peasant production and peasant life, based on a case study in a village in Southwest China. Three main food includes rice, pork and rapeseeds oil were taken as the key example to describe the changes that brought by commodification of land. Furthermore, cash needs of each family increased. In the meantime, the newly appeared large farms employed women and the elderly that were freed from family farming, because they were cheap. Younger women were employed by local factories in the towns nearby. In this process, those previously family labours were commoditized, but at the same time were marginalized in low-paid jobs. Thus, by land commodification, the commodification of labour, land and life subsistence are further interweaved together. It has resulted in higher risk for rural elderly, and a semi-dispossession of peasant farming and lifestyle.

Huifang Wu is a professor at the College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD), China Agricultural University. She holds a PhD degree in development studies, and bachelor's and master's degree in sociology. Her research mainly covers gender studies, agrarian sociology, rural left-behind women, and sociological analysis of rural development interventions.

Fragmentation and fragility: The impacts of compensating for land expropriations in China.

Sally Annette Sargeson (sally.sargeson@anu.edu.au)

Abstract

Decentralized and diverse policy experimentation has long been viewed as a source of China's adaptability and resilience. Similar arguments have been made about diverse regional "models" compensating villagers whose land has been expropriated for urban development, each of which purportedly produce different sources of economic and social resilience in urbanising communities. In this paper we study land compensation impacts in sites in three of China's wealthiest provinces: Shanghai, Zhejiang and Guangdong. Theoretically, we question the temporal framing and economic principles that inform both contemporary land compensation provisions and scholarly evaluations of land compensation impacts. Methodologically, we devise a more comprehensive framework for evaluating the impacts of land expropriation compensation. Our evidence demonstrates that in these sites the models used to compensate villagers for land expropriation produced new sources of economic, social, political and environmental fragmentation and fragility that were not resolvable at the local scale. The findings highlight the importance of embedding impact analysis in local histories, geographic conditions and political economies.

FIFTH PLENARY PANEL: Agriculture and the Countryside (Auditorium, CIAD Building, 09:00 – 10:30, November 30)

Agriculture and accumulation in India: A ruptured link?

Anirban Dasgupta, South Asian University, India

Shall capital or cadres organize Chinese countryside?

Hairong Yan, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, China

The end of the cooperative road for Chinese agriculture?

Qian Forrest Zhang, Singapore Management University

Parallel Panel 13: Law and Gender (Auditorium, CIAD Building, 11:00 – 12:00, November 30)

Articulations of transnational law and policy in the context of land reform and agro-extractivism in South Africa: Insights from socio-legal studies

Daniel Huizenga (huizenga@yorku.ca)

Abstract

In conditions of neoliberal economic policy there has been a remarkable acceleration in the development of law, policy, and voluntary guidelines to protect communal resources. Transnational agrarian and indigenous peoples' movements, as well as powerful actors in the mining and agricultural industries, all participate in the development and implementation of transnational law and policy to govern the flow of resources. What tools do we have to illuminate this complex field of law and policy and the consequences of these developments for agrarian change? In this paper I bring perspectives on transnational law and policy from the discipline of socio-legal studies into dialogue with agrarian political economy to explore the promise and perils of legal activism aimed to protect communal resource rights in the context of agro-extractivism. The first part of the paper reviews socio-legal theory on law as a form of governance and regulation, 'hard' vs 'soft' law, and the interaction of law and policy regimes in conditions of transnational legal pluralism. In the second part of the paper I narrow in on struggles to secure land rights in South Africa in order to illustrate how socio-legal theory can provide valuable insights into the role and limits of law in community resistance to agro-

extractivism. I focus in particular on the articulation of three different arenas of law and policy development in South Africa: living customary law, international indigenous peoples' rights, and the protection of communal tenure via the FAO Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure. I argue that although these spheres of mobilization and legal activism are often approached separately there are important convergences between them in transnational and national law and policy. Understanding how these spheres of law and policy articulate together takes us one step towards theorizing the promise and perils of transnational legal activism for movements asserting communal rights in the midst of agro-extractivism. In conclusion I attempt to sharpen research questions about the role of transnational law and policy in protecting communal resources.

Daniel Huizenga is a PhD Candidate in the Socio-Legal Studies program at York University, Canada. His scholarship is characteristically interdisciplinary; while drawing from a background in international development studies, his dissertation research is grounded in the disciplines of socio-legal studies and political ecology. His work explores human rights and access to natural resources, with a focus on customary law and indigenous people's rights in South Africa. Daniel has been a visiting researcher at the Centre for Law and Society (University of Cape Town, South Africa) and held internships with the Legal Resources Centre (South Africa) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Ghana).

Property rights and the taking of land: Expropriation in historical perspective

Yonit Manor Percival (y.percival@qmul.ac.uk; yonitpercival@hotmail.com)

Abstract

Law provides an important prism through which both the discursive surfaces and material expression of agro-extractivism may be examined. It is emblematic of systemic rationality, unmasking it with starkness rarely found elsewhere. As a discourse, law represents a body of language, concepts and meanings. As an institution it provides the rules that translate the discourse into practice, locks in norms, and legitimises the power structures that formulated the discourse in the first place. These attributes render law an invaluable site of resistance in and of itself, as well as a base from which institutional and ideational reclamations may be launched.

With this in mind, this paper seeks to interrogate the concept of 'taking' in the international law regime governing the cross-border movement of capital, as it evolved from permissible taking of land in the context of colonial expansion ('appropriation') to prohibited taking by the post colonial state ('expropriation'). The paper argues that theorisation of property rights as born out of and sanctified by acts of 'improvement' explained and justified the former. With the grant of statehood to formerly colonised lands, same logic was employed, this time, however, to de-legitimise the latter. The post-colonial state is thus disciplined and penalised using a notion of 'expropriation' that is enforceable under international law. By contrast, 'appropriation' and intertwined violence by foreign private capital remain embedded primarily in soft law, or in what Santos conceptualises as the social territory on the other side of the dividing line, to which the lawful/unlawful dichotomy does not apply.

This, *prime facie*, contradictory if coalescing double movement of legitimisation of taking and counter-movement of its de-legitimisation is accorded theoretical integrity by the capitalist rationality that underpins private property rights. Possession of and customary rights over land deemed 'wasted' is marginalised, rendering it available for improvement, and ripe for the taking. Once improved, however, it may not be taken back except in prescribed circumstances and manner, including compensation that is commensurate with its enhanced value.

Ideologies and strategies of possession and dispossession thus form part of a single continuum, casting doubt over the break between colonialism and its purported dismantling. The paper will also consider the resistance put up by post-colonial states in their struggle for permanent sovereignty over natural resources, and capital's response to such resistance in the form of a network of bilateral investment treaties (BITs). In relation to the latter, the paper will focus on the ways in which 'expropriation' is

treated in the model treaties proposed by the formerly colonised/semi colonised BRICS countries of China, India and Brazil.

Yonit Manor Percival is a Visiting Lecturer at Queen Mary, University of London (QMUL). She specialises in the interface between law, society and corporations within the framework of the global political economy. She completed her PhD research in international investment protection law at QMUL. Previously, she practiced as a solicitor in the City of London and Shanghai. Dr. Percival teaches at QMUL and School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) on topics that include MNEs and the law, MNEs and human rights, globalisation and the law with focus on bilateral investment treaties and state-investor arbitration, and Chinese political economy.

The land assembly process in rural China: The prima facie step in the capitalization of agriculture

Chao Zhou (zhouchao@cau.edu.cn) and Anthony Fuller (tfuller@uoguelph.ca)

Abstract

The process of large scale land assembly is on-going in China. Land expropriated by the State is alienated from agriculture, but land transferred and assembled via land consolidation contracts, cooperatives and family farms remains in agriculture and represents a form of land consolidation. Land assembled for commercial forms of farming is the first step in the capitalization process as land is given value, and capitalistic agriculture can now take place. The implications are that farmers lose their direct connection to land and become agricultural laborers or ‘nonmingong’. They are proletarianized and become fully part of the cash economy. Land is farmed with chemicals and machines and non-local interests enter village domains often without any agricultural experience. Many rural areas in China are thus being transformed.

This paper traces the policy and legal origins of the land transfer process from 1949 to the present. It reviews scholarly work on the subject and accounts for the gradual process of dividing peasant rights into two and then three rights divisions. While continuously extolling the virtues of the collective ownership of land, as enshrined in the Household Responsibility System, the state gradually eases the control of land transfer under the national imperative of food security and economic development. Both the outmigration of labour and land abandonment contribute to this national narrative which ultimately results in open support and management through land transfer centers in many rural regions of China. Land assembly is most rampant in lowland, fertile areas and near to cities whereas mountainous areas in the West of China are less affected. Land assembly has already involved over 1/3 of agricultural land in China and has been achieved without great protest or resistance, but not without pain. Once assembled, land is available for major capital investments, scientific forms of farming, the capture of biodiversity and the greater control of materials for the industrial food system.

Chao Zhou is an associate professor in the College of Humanities and Development (COHD), China Agricultural University. Her research fields include international economic laws, food security laws and rural legal system.

Parallel Panel 14: Agro-extractivism and Resistance-2 (004, CIAD Building, 11:00 – 12:00, November 30)

Agro-extractivism, development and the resistance in the neoliberal era: Lessons from Latin America

Henry Veltmeyer (hveltmeyer@gmail.com)

Henry Veltmeyer is a Research Professor of Development Studies at the Autonomous University of Zacatecas, Mexico. He is also a professor of International Development Studies at Saint Mary's

University (SMU), Canada. He is a world-renowned sociologist with a specialized interest in the political economy of development and globalization. He received his M.A. in Education & Social Sciences (1970) and a second M.A. in Latin American Studies (1971) at the University of Alabama, and his PhD in Political Science (1976) at McMaster University, Canada. Since then, he has worked at Saint Mary's University (SMU), Canada and is the Founder of Canada's first program in International Development Studies at Saint Mary's University. He is an ex-President of Canadian Association for Studies in International Development Studies (CASID) and former editor of the Canadian Journal of Development Studies. He is also the founder and co-chair of the Critical Development Studies Network (CDS), and editor of the Routledge series of Critical Development Studies books. His research interests range from agrarian change and the political economy of Latin American development to social movements in the resistance against capitalism and imperialism.

Emerging forms of agrarian resistance under globalisation: Insights from Maharashtra State, India

Awanish Kuma (awanishkumar86@gmail.com); Silva Lieberherr,(silva.lieberherr@gmail.com)

Abstract

In the state of Maharashtra, India, agrarian changes have been limited in scope and future potential. The agenda of land reforms has been a failure and the economy has not witnessed structural transformation of the kind expected in the process of capitalist development. The class and caste character of surplus generating farmers have remained exactly the same over the years, because of the vicious caste-feudal order that remains unchallenged. Older social and economic networks continue to span the village, the town and the export markets. Non-big farmers have felt the shock effects of globalising agricultural markets of commercial crops such as cotton and sugarcane. In this context, the process of differentiation has taken a peculiar turn where pauperisation of a large number of farmers has given rise to the phenomenon of farmers' suicides. At the same time, older structures of labour relations and even bondage have reappeared in newer forms and the whole category of agricultural workers is under question with extreme casualisation of work both in agriculture and non-agriculture.

Against this background, a number of social movements have sprung up at the village level. They are quite different in organisation and forms of struggle. Based on two case studies in different agro-ecological regions of Maharashtra, namely Marathwada and Vidarbha, the paper describes the empirical changes in the field of agrarian societies in India with a special focus on emerging social movements and their visions for change. The first case study tries to reconsider the notion of a farmers' movement in India, linking it to other contexts such as South Africa or Latin America. The case study is situated in Vidarbha, which has been one of the most important sites of farmers' suicides in India. Talking about suicides come into the movements in particular to make the suffering of farmers visible that are pressured by the reality of neoliberal policies and the agrarian structures. The second case study looks at the demand for land redistribution led by formerly "untouchable" groups (now known as *Dalits*) who are still mostly landless or own marginal landholdings. It studies how the demand for land has changed in the context of newer opportunities, rise in education and negative profitability rates on small plots. In a rapidly changing interface between agrarian societies on the one hand and markets and state on the other, the paper tries to document how these social movements present new visions for agriculture and social progress.

Awanish Kumar, PhD Student, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India. He is currently teaching in the department of public policy, St Xavier's College, Mumbai, India.

Silva Lieberherr, PhD Student, University of Zurich, 8057 Zurich, Switzerland. Silva has an MSc in Agricultural Sciences (ETH, Switzerland). During her studies, she worked in Mongolia, Sri Lanka and Kyrgyzstan and has done a PhD with intense fieldwork in India. Her PhD investigates the mobilizations that evolve around the phenomenon of farmer suicides. While finishing her PhD, she now works for a political organization (Bread for all) supporting local pressure groups in their

struggles against land grabbing as well as new seed laws – while doing advocacy work in Switzerland. Silva has always been engaged politically, at the moment mostly with a political group (MultiWatch) campaigning against the Swiss agricultural corporation Syngenta.

Limits to agro-extractivism in Brazil and the Mekong: A comparative political ecology of resistance and policy responses

Bernardo Mancano Fernandes (bmf@fct.unesp.br); Philip Hirsch (philip.hirsch@sydney.edu.au)

Abstract

Much of the concern about transboundary investments in land-based production from BRICS countries such as Brazil and China has focused on the land grabbing phenomenon. There is mounting concern, however, over the extent to which such investments – whether in large scale plantations or through smaller scale contract farming and local leasing arrangements – are based in unsustainable, soil-mining, polluting and health-threatening practices. Agro-extractivism provides a conceptually significant hermeneutic to help characterize these aspects of the agricultural investment model, which also extends to the peripheries of BRICS countries themselves. Despite the hegemonic character of agro-extractivism, resistance and policy responses place limits on its continued expansion. In this paper, we draw on a collaborative project between the Sao Paulo State University and the University of Sydney to explore regional patterns in the political economy of response to agro-extractivism in Brazil and the Mekong Region.

Following a conceptual introduction, the paper gives an overview of agro-extractive practices within the BRICS countries concerned (Brazil and China) and those countries in which they are investing, as well as within their wider regions (Mekong and Latin America/Mozambique). We explore the processes of resistance against land grabbing manifested in disputes both over territory and over competing agricultural development models. For each country studied we analyze the main features of the disputes over territories articulated by peasants and their forms of resistance. The same methodological approach is used to characterise the differences and similarities of competition between different agricultural development models within these countries. In all countries studied, we also compare government policies for agro-extractivism and peasant agriculture, with a focus on the tension between food security and food sovereignty policies, on the one hand, and agro-investment policy associated with land grabbing on the other. Concerns by civil society, peasants and local government are documented, and examples of resistance and policy responses show the struggle between geographically mobile agro-extractive capital and local state, labour and smallholding actors increasingly aware of the need to seek alternative paths to sustainable and healthy rural livelihoods.

Bernardo Mançano Fernandes is full professor at UNESP (São Paulo State University) and UNESCO Chair in Territorial Development and Education for the Countryside at UNESP. Post-doctorate in Latin American Studies at the University of South Florida (2008), Bernardo has been an active researcher Fellow for Scientific Productivity of CNPq (Level 1B) since 2001. Currently, he is a visiting professor at Latin American universities: Equator, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, México and Mozambique. Since 2008, he has been member of the research group Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS) of International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), in the Netherlands. He also coordinates the editorial board of the book collection “Agrarian Change & Peasant Studies”. CV link: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/2836764800084585>

Philip Hirsch is Professor of Human Geography in the School of Geosciences at the University of Sydney. He is the founder of the Mekong Research Group (formerly Australian Mekong Resource Centre). He is co-author (with Derek Hall and Tania Li) of *Powers of Exclusion: Land dilemmas in Southeast Asia* (Singapore University Press 2011) and has written extensively on agrarian change and the political ecology of development in mainland Southeast Asia.

Parallel Panel 15: Water Issues (008, CIAD Building, 11:00 – 12:00, November 30)***Dynamics of transnational ‘Fisheries Justice’ movements: Framing their implications for food and climate politics***

Elyse Mills (elysemills@gmail.com)

Abstract

As concern over the impacts of climate change increases globally, old and new development initiatives are labelled (or relabelled) as climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies, provoked by climate politics that both perpetuate old conflicts and trigger new ones. While much debate on climate change has emerged around food, forest and land politics, the fisheries sector has only recently become implicated in these discussions in an important way. Yet, climate change mitigation strategies have multiple negative impacts on fishers (particularly small-scale fishers), such as the enclosure of fishing grounds and lost access to resources, that often occurs via the implementation of Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) and Blue Carbon projects. Mitigation strategies – overlapping with long-standing issues caused by the industrialisation and commercialisation of the fisheries sector – are causing widespread dispossession and frustration within fishing communities. As governments continue to neglect fishers’ rights, clashes with communities increasingly occur over resources, who has access to them, and how they are managed. In the context BRICS countries, the rapid development that has intensified resource scarcity narratives and conflict in recent decades, has also contributed to a two-fold crisis that is transforming the fisheries sector. This crisis has spawned a new wave of resistance among fishers worldwide, which is increasingly being linked with farmers’ struggles. While research on the dynamics of agrarian movements has received significantly more attention, fishers’ movements remain critically understudied in both academic and policy discussions. This paper aims to contribute toward addressing this gap, by exploring the dynamics of transnational ‘fisheries justice’ movements, transformations in the global fisheries sector, and how changing production/circulation/consumption patterns in BRICS countries may be implicated. It also explores how fishers’ resistance is implicated in the convergence of multiple resource justice movements, and offers four propositions for framing the contributions research on fishers can make to both food and climate politics.

Elyse Mills holds a BA in International Development Studies from York University (Canada), an MA in Agrarian and Environmental Studies from the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) (The Netherlands), and is a PhD researcher in the Political Economy of Resources, Environment and Population (PER) programme at ISS. Her PhD research focuses on the dynamics of transnational fishers’ movements in the context of climate change mitigation and converging resource justice movements. She has worked on projects on a range of topics, including young farmers’ land access in the Global North, agricultural investment in Southeast Asia, the development of the global bioeconomy, land grabbing by EU actors, and fisheries governance. Her recent publications include: *EU Fisheries Policy: A Primer* (Transnational Institute, forthcoming 2016); ‘The Impact of ‘Age-Class’ on Becoming a Young Farmer in Nova Scotia, Canada,’ Huijsmans (ed.) ‘Generationing’ Development: A relational approach to children, youth and development (Palgrave, forthcoming 2016); Borrás et al. (2016) ‘Land grabbing and human rights: The involvement of European corporate and financial entities in land grabbing outside the European Union’ (European Parliament study); and *The Bioeconomy: A Primer* (Transnational Institute, 2015). She currently collaborates with the Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS), and coordinates the ICAS secretariat in The Hague.

Beyond discourses of water scarcity: Water politics of the South-to-North Water Diversion Project in China

Hua Li (lihuacau@126.com)

Abstract

Different representations of water scarcity imply distinctive values on water allocation. Among the debates on water allocation, water scarcity is often taken as an undoubted naturalized fact. However, the concept of water scarcity doesn't necessarily mean the natural shortage of water. Water scarcity as discourses could be socially constructed, providing legitimacy for water diversion projects but obscuring the political questions of who gets access to how much water when and how, besides, how the costs and benefits of the water diversion project is distributed among different actors involved. Due to the finiteness of water, to supply more water for certain group indicates the reduction of water availability for other users. Taking the middle route of South-to-North Water Diversion Project (SNWDP) as an example, this paper tries to disclose the dynamics and mechanism of water allocation shadowed in the dominant discourse of water scarcity in the context of China. Based on a close examination of "thirsty north" and "the south with rich water", it has found that these two images in contrast are simplified representation in official discourses. The selective representation of water situation in both north and south reduces water scarcity as a technological problem. Although the SNWDP aims to ease the water scarcity in the north, but among the pictured north, urban areas have priority over rural areas to get access to water. Water demand of rural areas and agricultural irrigation is actually marginalized. In the "south", the abundance of water is also constructed since water users and livelihoods in the watershed are invisible. This paper argues that the SNWDP is not neutral but value loaded, the embedded water allocation process follows the economic growth centered, urban and industrial development oriented logic. The unequal access to water between rural and urban areas is reinforced and reproduced.

Hua Li has a PhD in rural development and management and is a lecturer in the Department of Politics and Law at the Taiyuan University of Technology. Her doctoral research is on water grabbing in the rural area. Her research is mainly on water politics.

Whose land, whose water and whose power: State manipulation, corporate exploitation and the politics of land grabbing for water in Indian Kashmir

Peer Ghulam Nab (suhailkopor@gmail.com); Jingzhong Ye (yejz@cau.edu.cn)

Abstract

Resource exploitation in the form of land and water grabs by multinational corporations has become a major debate in recent times world over. In Kashmir, where the neo-liberal corporations could not venture in due to present political turmoil, it is the India's public sector undertaking, National Hydro Power Corporation (NHPC) which has been exploiting water resources and grabbing land for building hydroelectricity projects (HEPs). Looking deeply at land and water grabbing debate, this paper argues that hydroelectricity development projects grab land and water together in order to produce electricity at the cost of depeasantization, dispossession, displacement, loss of livelihoods, forced commoditization of the local peasantry and severe damage to the ecology. While the 'kickbacks' and 'compensation' are being used as tools to lure the peasants to give up their demands, on the other hand, corrupting bureaucrats is the prevalent practice, used by the corporation to get unfair advantage. Understanding the questions of narratives and discourses surrounding these projects, this paper further digs on to understand how different actors; village elites, government officers, politicians, civil society actors, peasants and at the larger level India and Pakistan mobilize support to legitimate their claims. By bringing perspectives of different actors on the land and water grabs, this work addresses the tensions between *developmentalism*, *environmentalism* and national interest on the hand, and universal rights, national sovereignty, subnational identity and resistance surrounding these grabs on the other. Keywords: land and water grabbing, resource extractivism, displacement, dispossession, state dependency, resistance, Kashmir, India.

Peer Ghulam Nabi is from Centre for Research and Development Policy (CRDP), Chanapora, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, 190015, India. Phone +91 9419239910.

Jingzhong Ye is a professor and Dean at College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD),

China Agricultural University. He holds a PhD degree in Social Sciences from Wageningen University. His research interests include: history and critique of development, development intervention and rural transformations, rural society and agrarian change, labour migration and rural left-behind population, peasant agriculture and land politics, rural education and social problems.