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Martha Lilly Peediyakkan is a final year PhD scholar and a Graduate Teaching Assistant at the Sociology department of the University of Auckland. Martha holds a bachelor's degree in psychology and two master's degree in public administration (MA and MPhil) with specialization in Development Administration. She also has diverse work experience in the corporate sector, civil society, as well as in academia. This exposure has encouraged her to adopt an inter-disciplinary approach while engaging in her PhD thesis work titled, Hegemonic Land Struggles: A Historical Materialist Study of Sikkim State in India.

From cash crop to carbon crop: The case of large cardamom in Sikkim, India

The ongoing debates on the shift from subsistence agrarian practices to commercial agriculture, supported by the 'developmental' moral rhetoric of poverty alleviation, have only gained momentum following the advent of neoliberal land grabbing. This paper intends to contribute to this debate by studying the political economy of global carbon trading, cash crop promotion, and related green grabbing in Sikkim, India. Based on empirical research and a critical analysis of state-NGO reports, the study critiques the state-driven promotion of organic large cardamom production in the Himalayan state. It discusses the transition of large cardamom production practices from traditional indigenous agroforestry to state-driven monocropping of hybrid varieties. It critiques the forest ban imposed on indigenous people that not only led to dwindling crop productivity but also intensified rural disparity. In continuation, empirical evidence highlights that poorly planned developmental projects in the eco-sensitive mountainous terrain of Sikkim have also contributed to the agrarian crisis. In 2018, Sikkim became the first Indian state to adopt 100% organic farming. In recent years, ecologists have emphasized the potential of Sikkim's organic large cardamom to act as a carbon-sequestering crop making it eligible for carbon funding. This is against the backdrop wherein the processing of large cardamom using renewable energy has already been attracting climate-resilience financing. As of now, following the advent of the REDD+ projects, the state has taken special efforts to attract global carbon trading to 'enhance' the production and processing segments of the large cardamom supply chain. The paper argues that the lack of transparency around state-driven carbon trading processes appears to suggest that it is mostly the elites: the state-international aid agency-NGOtraditional landlord nexus that benefits from these initiatives. It highlights how, consequently, the prevalent forms of elitist land grabbing have aggravated in Sikkim. While traditional landlords such as the Kazi class rush to buy off the land from poor indigenous Sikkimese; the state is taking measures to convert fallow land to large cardamom plantations. Overall, the study concludes that more than a cash crop, Sikkim's organic large cardamom has today transitioned to a carbon crop.

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María-Clara Torres holds a Ph.D. in history from Stony Brook University, New York. Her ethnographical and historical research on coca peasants in Colombia has been funded by the Social Science Research Council, the Inter-American Foundation, the Tinker Foundation, and CLACSO. She is the author of the chapter "The Making of a Coca Frontier" published in the book *The Origins of Cocaine: Colonization and Failed Development Programs in the Amazon Andes* (Routledge 2018). She is also the author of the book *Coca y Estado en la frontera colombiana* (Cinep 2011). Prior to her Ph.D., she worked for a decade in several cocagrowing regions.

The Twilight and Revival of Coca: Northern Cauca, Colombia, 1950s-1980s

My article traces the distinct historical trajectory to coca-cocaine in Northern Cauca between the twilight of native coca consumption in the 1950s and the spread of illicit coca in the 1980s. I contend that these turbulent decades gave rise to strong indigenous resistance. Struggles for the protection of communal lands and the reassertion of ethnic identity clashed with official models of agrarian reform, government repression, and entrenched racism. From the early 1980s on, the already shrinking use of indigenous coca took on different uses as its relevance became increasingly linked to its capacity to produce cocaine and to provide cash for indigenous families. Yet, indigenous *Nasa* people contained the most disruptive effects of the drug boom. They held on to their communal lands and invested the illegal revenues to consolidate their autonomy, political organization, and collective entrepreneurial ventures. In sharp contrast to Colombia's agrarian frontier where illicit coca bred intense violence and fragmented the social fabric, Northern Cauca exemplifies an attempt to bring into play a market-oriented local economy, community solidarity, and ethnic identity. In sum, my article challenges drug-war ideologies by showing that the cohesive *Nasa* community could self-regulate coca-cocaine production and use the proceeds to strengthen their larger ethno-development project. It also provides a grounded historical microcosm for Colombia's regionally varied transformation into a major coca-cocaine country.

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Rangarirai Gavin Muchetu is a research fellow with the Sam Moyo African Institute for Agrarian Studies based in Harare, Zimbabwe. He is also a recent PhD graduate (March 2020) of Doshisha University (Global Studies) in Kyoto, where he is also a post-doctoral fellow. He is passionate about analysing the growth trajectory, opportunities and constraints in the agrarian commodity exchange system, land use, food security, productivity, woman land rights, youth unemployment. His PhD focused on agricultural cooperative development in Japan and Zimbabwe. Rangarirai is a YARA member and attended the 2017 inaugural conference at the University of Western Cape.

#### Peasant Differentiation and Cooperative Development: From Alexander Chayanov to Sam Moyo

As scholarship incessantly engages in debates to resolve various aspects of the classic and contemporary agrarian questions, for Southern Africa, where the realities of radical land reforms manifest, it has become ever more vital to understand the nature and character of the resulting agrarian structures. Recent literature reveals the dominance of the peasantry with limited access to finance, inputs and outputs markets, especially in the post-land reform countries. In this respect, agricultural producers are forced to engage in collective bargaining through such things as informal supply and marketing groups to reduce transaction costs. In this article, we peruse the conditions necessary for the formation of formal and sustainable agricultural cooperative in rural areas. We do this from two (theoretical and empirical) fronts. First, we analysed Alexander Chayanov's theory of peasant cooperatives in which he argued that there exist six different classes. These classes played different roles in the formation, maintenance and sustainability of agricultural cooperatives. The classes converged into two major classes, capitalist and market-oriented farmers. Agrarian structures with higher proportions of market-oriented farmers were ideal for cooperative formation because capitalist farmers had less motivation to be in cooperatives. Secondly, using data collected from Zimbabwe's Goromonzi district through a household survey, we analyse the Fast Track Land Reform Program's resultant agrarian structure using factor and cluster analysis. Our data produced five different classes within the peasantry; three of these had statistical and significant differences across settlement models. The data converged towards Moyo's (2009) tri-modal national agrarian structure theory which had three basic classes. Therefore, the article provides how Chayanov's bi-modal theory of peasant cooperatives can be re-conceptualized within a tri-modal post land reform agrarian structure in Zimbabwe. Our examination of data revealed that the resultant agrarian structure after the FTLRP has a high potential for the formation of sustainable agricultural cooperatives.

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I am Agostina Costantino, an Argentinean economist, graduated from a public university (National University of the South -UNS). I completed my Master's Degree in Social Sciences (2012) and my Ph.D. in Social Sciences Research from FLACSO in Mexico City (2015). During my PhD, I made a research stay at ICTA, at Autonomous University of Barcelona. I returned to my country, after almost 6 years, under a program of repatriation of scientists at the end of 2015. Since June 2017, I am a researcher at the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research of Argentina, and teacher at UNS.

## Land grabbing and food security in Argentina. Tensions between neoliberalism and neo-developmentalism

Since the late nineteenth century, Argentina has often been called the "world's breadbasket" due to its ability to produce grain and other foods. In the same vein, the media and many political leaders often state that "we can" feed millions of people. However, Argentina's food outlook has worsened in recent years. Objectives related to food security and food sovereignty cannot be achieved simply through a country's ability to produce food, nor can they be achieved through simply the free play of market laws. Since the late 1970s-and more rapidly since the 1990s-Argentina has experienced a deregulation of markets in general, and food markets in particular, resulting in increased vulnerability for small producers, price liberalization and the complete disappearance of a great deal of the production supplying local markets. This set of measures is part of a new pattern of accumulation oriented towards the production and export of primary and manufactured goods based on natural resources (including food). Beginning in the 2000s, the intensification of this model gave rise to a phenomenon that also began to occur in other dependent countries: land grabbing, understood as the form taken by the historical process of land concentration within the context of the opening of foreign accounts and the free mobility of international capital. This phenomenon led to the expropriation of millions of hectares, which passed into the hands of foreign investors or governments. One of the most important dimensions that characterizes the process of land grabbing in Argentina during the 2000s refers to the objectives of the investors. This is because this dimension allows us to visualize how this phenomenon may be affecting the country's food sovereignty. The concept of food sovereignty was promoted refers to the right of peoples to decide on their own food and production system. The aim of this paper is to show the effects that this pattern of accumulation had on food security in Argentina. At the same time, we consider the potential effects of the phenomenon of land grabbing on food sovereignty (understood as the ability to decide what food is produced, how and by whom) in the long term.

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Siyabonga Nxumalo is a PhD candidate at University of KwaZulu in the Department of Historical Studies with an interest in farm workers experiences and land issues.

The untold story of the marginalized: The social history of the experiences of farm workers in Umvoti area, KwaZulu-Natal, c. 1960s to the 1990s.

During the apartheid era, law played a crucial role in structuring black and white lives in terms of accessing resources and jobs. Farm workers were among the most exploited people. They worked long hours and were underpaid. Working conditions were severe. Some were forcibly taken to work in farms if they broke notorious laws of apartheid. People who lived in farms found it more difficult during apartheid to access basic services in their black Group Areas, such as schooling. As a result, African people who resided on farms received little if any education. This then allowed farm owners to obtain labour easily. The division of labour and distribution of unequal wages between gender was crucial in farms during apartheid. The apartheid state served as a playground to exhibit imperial notion of masculine and feminine identities. Women were denied African male labour, instead they were burdened with households' chores to perform in white farms. Apartheid intrusion into African societies added new dimensions to the differentiation between the sexes. They also devised a strategy of controlling households in which a family head could move in a farm with his family but in return they had to work as labourers. The removal of Africans from white farms during the 1960s became increasingly high because of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No-42, 1964 and this caused a lot of hardships to farm workers. Inkatha was influential in suppressing African workers so that African people can be easily be accessible to white farmers as labourers. Also, by repairing the disciplinary structure that will reconstitute "traditionalism." So, in terms of this initiatives, the white authorities in Natal, who had regarded Zulu nationalists' identities as a threat to white interests in the 19th century, were beginning to see them as an instrument to be co-opted in defence of government and capitalist interests. They therefore seized an opportunity to revive them - albeit in a modified form, to give Inkatha a new lease of life and make it a bulwark against the thrust of emerging radical black community and working-class politics. This study focuses on the lives of farmworkers in the Umvoti region of KwaZulu-Natal. I chose this area in part because of my attachment to it. Growing up in the area, I used to observe members of my family and other locals waking up at dawn waiting for trucks to take them to work. Their struggles have been marginalized in the historiography and this article will help to give voice to them, but beyond that contribute to the emerging literature on farmworkers and their place in the political economy of South Africa. Thus, this study seeks to understand their experiences.

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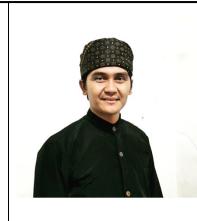
Angela Serrano is a Colombian scholar and PhD candidate in Sociology at University of Wisconsin-Madison. She studies how global industries shape agricultural livelihoods in Latin America. Angela's dissertation explores the incorporation of small-scale farmers into the palm oil industry in Colombia and, as part of this project, she works with an oil palm workers' union. Her research has also explored the effects of export policies in Colombia and financial land markets in the USA. She holds an M.A. in geography from King's college London and undergraduate degrees in economics and political science from Universidad de los Andes in Bogota.

### Small-Scale Farmers Growing Oil Palm: Mobilizing Local Knowledge to Confront Global Risks

Oil palm causes ecological damage that affects the long-term sustainability of soil, is a capital-intensive crop, and has caused violent displacement to small-scale farmers in Colombia. Yet, 68% of oil palm growers in the country are small-scale farmers. While the livelihoods of many of these farmers have grown more precarious, compared to before they grew palm, others have more secure livelihood sources now. How has this second group of farmers been able to confront the risks posed by an environmentally damaging and capital-intensive global value chain? A story about local organizing traditions, agroecological knowledge, and national and international NGOs explains the unlikely persistence of these farmers through oil palm crops. My research suggests that the use of agroecological knowledge and practices by small-scale farming communities, together with the mobilization of agroecological goals through organizations at regional, national, and transnational scales, has helped farmers confront the economic and environmental risks posed by global value chains. I focus on the participation of small-scale farmers as growers of oil palm in the region of Magdalena Medio, in northeast Colombia. Drawing on agrarian change literature, I highlight how the focus of the agrarian question on the possibilities that peasant farming holds for transcending the very contradictions of capitalist markets has historically ignored the possibilities that peasant farming holds for transcending the very contradictions of capitalist agriculture and global value chains that make it so difficult to engage in peasant farming nowadays. Small-scale palm oil growers point towards a path of transition to more environmentally sustainable and economically viable farming.

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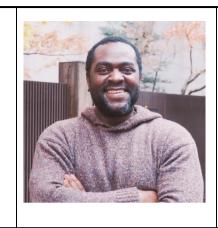
<u>Yance Arizona</u> is a PhD candidate at the Van Vollenhoven Institute, Leiden University, the Netherlands. His PhD research investigates the politics of indigeneity and legal recognition of customary land rights as a solution against land dispossession in Indonesia. He worked for ten years as an NGO activist promoting indigenous communities' rights in Indonesia (2007-2017). He received an *Indigenous Leaders Conservation Fellowship* sponsored by Conservation International (2014) and a *Sasakawa Young Leadership Fellowship* (SYLFF) from Tokyo Foundation (2019) for conducting visiting research on customary land rights in Australia and Japan. Yance has published some books and journal articles. His recent articles can be found <u>here</u>.

**Beyond Communal and Individual Land: Indigenous land recognition and reproduction of class inequality in rural Indonesia** The main assumption among indigenous land rights supporters is that legal recognition of customary land by state agencies will protect indigenous communities against land dispossession. Furthermore, state recognition would enable the community in governing communal land tenure arrangement to maintain social harmony and sustainable environmental management practices. This article challenges these assumptions. When all attention in research and indigenous land rights campaigns focusses on land dispossession because of mining and conservation projects, little attention is given to internal land dispossession by local communities' struggle to obtain formal recognition of their communal forests became intertwined with a process of informally certifying patches of that forest as private land. Consequently, the dichotomy between communal and private as well as between formal and informal becomes blurred. In such a situation, local leaders use indigeneity arguments for securing individual interests. Not the indigenous leaders but rather the elected village heads appear most influential in creating local land tenure arrangements, acting as an intermediary between rural community members, traditional leaders, district government and indigeneity NGOs. This research draws attention to the role of village elites and shows how indigenous mobilisation can support class formation at the local level. Instead of challenging land dispossession, indigeneity can be a means for the reproduction of class inequality.

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I am a Ph.D candidate in Global Studies at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan. My research investigates the politicaleconomic and socio complexities of depeasantization, by situating the crisis within the current phenomenon of landgrab. More generally my research lies at the intersection of agrarian studies, comparative politics, political governance, economic development, political ecology, state-society relations and global capitalism. I worked in the Liberian government as Assistant Minister/Special Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I am currently a member of the following academic societies: Japan Association of African Studies, Japan Society for Afrasian Studies, and the Liberian Studies Association.

#### Half Victory: Taking land rights advocacy beyond an end in itself

In the last decade, the discourse on land-grab has become more animated. This results from new waves of massive land acquisitions for agricultural uses, triggered by the 2007-08 global food and financial (Liberti 2013). Land-grab is described as the process whereby corporations, states or individuals acquire through leases, concessions, or purchases, sizable land areas amounting to 10,000 hectares or more in a third country and of a long-term nature, often for 30-99 years, utilized for the production of food for export (GRAIN 2009). In response, there has been a growing number of advocacy groups opposing land-grab and defending the land rights and livelihoods of rural people. More significantly, they have sought to reform governance policies and negotiate better deals for local people. But what do land rights advocacy groups do after they have successfully campaigned against land concessions that threaten to dispossess rural peasant communities, and land governance systems that promote state aggression toward communal landownership? Do they just fold up and retreat into oblivion, transition to other countries with new or persisting land rights issues, or do they remain and change the focus of their advocacy to mobilize empowerment support for peasants and smallholders? In Liberia, land rights advocacy led to the passage of a new Land Rights Act 2018. The Act protects communal land rights. This milestone was made possible by the combined effort of local and international land rights advocacy organizations. However, peasants and small-holders farmers continue to confront continuing vulnerabilities to food insecurity due to underproductivity. Most of the country's staple, rice, remains to be imported from Southeast Asia. Post-land rights advocacy is needed to address underproductivity. Such advocacy should be about non-market driven, soft policy interventions aimed at spurring growth in peasant productivity and promoting the sustainability of peasants' livelihoods. Particularly, advocacy should be about pressuring governments to increase allocations in their national budgets for agricultural inputs including seeds, fertilizers, tractors among others, for smallholders. Instead of waiting for governments to capriciously espouse these policy interventions, they should form part of the strategic goals of agrarian advocates moving forward. Affiliation: Sophia University

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I am a female Cameroonian Ph.D. candidate in rural sociology. My dissertation is on: The mobilization of socials cadets in response to the "jacqueries" in the SEMRY perimeter in the Southern Basin of Lac Tchad-Cameroon. I hold a Masters' Degree in sociology on peasant movements and another in Economic and Social History on peasant uprising. I am more than ever committed to the question of peasants and social cadets in sub-Saharan Africa and to the sustainable and equitable development in the rural milieu.

#### The mobilization of rice farmers in response to the SEMRY reforms around the Southern Basin of Lake Chad

The Government of Cameroon established SEMRY (Rice Expansion and Modernization Company) in 1976 to boost rice production in the Logone Valley to meet national and regional consumption needs. SEMRY's interventions included training farmers in rice farming techniques and providing them with state land on which to cultivate. The State suddenly withdrew this support and introduced new measures including reforms: performance contracts, policy of twinning and equalization, and the contract plan from 1987 to 2006 as part of its Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). For more than 3 decades these reform efforts were punctuated by violent local uprising called "iacqueries" in French. Since 2007, these jacqueries have been replaced by an increasingly diverse set of formal and informal initiatives deployed especially by young and female farmers aimed predominantly at surviving the socio-economic crisis that gripped the country for decades. Among these strategies: the practice of market gardening and rice outside SEMRY spaces, fishing, raising large and small livestock, conquering new markets. Combining ethnographic research, archival work and the analysis of established data bases, I explore the following questions: Why did a company that was intended to enhance local development, fail to contribute to rice production and descend into a crisis that has dragged on for more than three decades rousing local resistance. In what ways has the reform of SEMRY been located in local and national socio-economic processes? I adopt a Foucauldian approach in focusing not just on the ways in which SEMRY failed, but how its failure and subsequent reform fit into local and national political economies. I go beyond exploring the familiar story of economic crises, conflicts and social injustice, to use the story of SEMRY and rice cultivation to tell the story of the Far North of Cameroon, its interactions with central state authority in -away capital city Yaounde and its participation in regional networks in the Lake Chad Basin, which is now the site of the Boko Haram insurgency.

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Kranthi Nanduri is a Doctoral Student in the Economics Group at Indian Institute of Management Calcutta (IIMC), Kolkata, India. She works in the areas of Agrarian Political Economy and Regional Political Economy. Her doctoral thesis explores trajectories of non-agrarian informal accumulation in India from the standpoint of agrarian change. Ms. Nanduri completed her Integrated M.A in Social Sciences with a specialization in Economics from Hyderabad Central Univeristy (HCU). She served as student representative in Committees Against Sexual Harassment at IIMC and HCU. She runs an online channel 'Radio Sofia' for discussions on socioeconomic and political issues.

Variations in the nature of informality in India: A view from the standpoint of accumulation This paper studies variations in the nature of informality in Indian economy. It attempts to locate variations in the nature of non-agrarian informality within the broader accumulation processes. Mainstream approaches argue that, if supply-side constraints are eased, the duality between formal and informal enterprises gradually disappears. A strand of Marxian approaches (Kalyan Sanyal etc.,) describes the process of capital accumulation as an endogenous mechanism of reproducing formal-informal duality. Neither frameworks conceive informal enterprises as sites of accumulation. As a departure, this paper using the Petty Commodity Production Approach discusses how the differentiation within informal enterprises driven by the process of capitalist transformation may or may not allow transition to expanded reproduction. It suggests that there can be no apriori assumption that informal enterprises cannot be sites of capital accumulation and whether or not they are is a function, at least in part, of the nature of agrarian transition. Critical Agrarian Studies (CAS) scholarship mainly focuses on the impact of agrarian transition on the nature of rural and urban class formation within nonagrarian labour. However, it's impact on the nature of organization of production and the formation of different types of informal enterprises remains understudied. This paper hopes to contribute to CAS literature with an initial foray into the latter aspect. Major Indian states are divided into four groups based on per capita income and convergence (or divergence) between agricultural and nonagricultural productivities. We find that the productivity of non-agrarian informal sector enterprises in rich states is significantly higher relative to the poor states. Among poor states the differentiating factor is urban non-agrarian informal productivity whereas among rich states it is rural non-farm sector productivity. This implies that in rich states higher agricultural productivity is key to productivity and output growth of rural non-farm sector. The paper mainly uses the data from Government of India's National Sample Survey (NSS) on unincorporated nonagricultural enterprises (67 and 73 rounds), employment and unemployment surveys (61 and 68 rounds) and Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS 2017-18).

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Tamara Wattnem is a PhD candidate in sociology at the University of Wisconsin Madison. She holds a Master's degree in agroecology from the same institution. Broadly, her research interests include agrarian political economy, political sociology, environmental sociology, theories of development and economic change, (neo)extractivism, and Latin American history. She is especially interested in seed politics, the role of quality standards in agriculture and their implications for small-scale farmers, and more recently, the role of the state in shaping and regulating extractivism and land use priorities. Tamara was born and raised in Mexico City, Mexico.

## Neoliberal Nationalism: The Scramble for Mexico's Hydrocarbons

Pemex, the Mexican state oil company, was fiercely defended against privatization proposals throughout most of Mexico's neoliberal period. This article tells the story of how and why Pemex survived in the context of the systematic privatization processes that began in the 1980s. It asks: How can we explain defiance to neoliberal principles in the energy sector from political actors that enthusiastically enacted numerous neoliberal policies? Relatedly, how and why was nationalism mobilized in relation to hydrocarbons throughout Mexico's neoliberal period and with what consequences? Why was a far-reaching energy reform ultimately passed in 2013? I argue that oil was not opened up to private actors between the 1980s and 2012 for two major reasons, one political-economic and the other ideological. In political-economic terms, Pemex played a vital role in repaying the foreign debt after the 1980s debt crisis and served as collateral during Mexico's 1994 financial crisis, and hence much of the petroleum rent flowed to private banks and International Financial Institutions anyways. Additionally, the Mexican state increasingly came to depend on oil income to guarantee its financial needs, which allowed it to bracket the implementation of a profound tax reform, to the benefit of economic elites. In ideological terms, the meaning of oil in the Mexican collective imagination also partially shielded the energy sector from privatization attempts. In the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution and the 1938 oil expropriation, state sponsored versions of nationalism linked Mexican identity and sovereignty to "the Nation's" control over subsoil resources - especially oil. Respecting the notion that oil belongs to all Mexicans became central to electoral calculations in the context of emerging electoral competition. The ties between oil and nationalism weren't just affective or cultural; they were also built into the ways elites profited from the bureaucratic arrangements of the PRI and PAN administrations. Together, these simultaneous processes were a partial barrier to oil privatization in Mexico. Affiliation: University of Wisconsin Madison

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Arlindo Fortes is a PhD candidate in development studies at Lisbon School of Economics and Management (University of Lisbon), Assistant Professor and Researcher at the University of Cabo Verde where from 2012-2017 he was director and coordinator for undergraduate courses in agronomy. He also worked in East-Timor as a rural specialist. His main research focus is on Political Economy, Agrarian Change and Rural Development. He holds an MSc in International Cooperation and Development (Lisbon School of Economics and Management), a PGDip in African Studies and Development (Portuguese Catholic University) and a BSc in Agriculture Engineering (Instituto Superior de Agronomia). He has also participated in several international research projects.

Agriculture, Irrigation and Processes of change for Small Island Developing States: The Socioeconomic Impacts of Dams in Cabo Verde

The objective of this work is to critically assess the impacts of irrigation Dams on agricultural development in Cabo Verde. The government of Cabo Verde has focused its agriculture policy on expansion of dams for irrigation, in order to improve the contribution of agriculture to economic development, namely by increasing production and trade and improving the livelihoods in rural areas. The construction of dams has been mainly financed by foreign loans, which need to be repaid. This article will assess whether this policy is fulfilling its goals, focusing on whether dams have increased irrigated areas, have contributed to increase production of tradable goods, employment and real incomes in those areas, and are feasible and sustainable from an environmental point of view. The study covers seven dams built over three islands of the archipelago of Cabo Verde. The article will consist of four main parts. The first, a literature research, sets the theoretical framework, looks at international experience and defines the methodology. The second investigates the rationale for investing in dams in Cabo Verde as the key component of agriculture policy, and the assumptions associated with such a policy (that dams results in more irrigation, this in more production and trade, these in higher incomes, and so on). The third sets the model of assessment and explains the information to be used. The fourth presents the result and conclusions. Information to be utilised comes from the literature of this field of research. Mainly from secondary sources, official statistics and several empirical works (doctoral theses, master's dissertations, specific articles on environmental and social impacts, government and international institution reports as well as media news) since interviews will not be possible due to COVID-19 restrictions. The model referred to, above, in section three of the article, combines qualitative and quantitative (descriptive statistics) analysis. The dimensions of the model will include the social (rural population and people displaced as a result of irrigation development), economic (crop yields, farm incomes, relative value of agriculture in GDP, level of agricultural trade) and environmental (production sustainability, area affected) by salinity, use of chemicals and fertilizers, irrigated land area). This work is relevant intellectually, by adding to the knowledge and debate regarding dams, irrigation, agriculture and sustainability, environment and social implications and by providing detailed and systematic evidence about Cabo Verde (in the form of statistics and of historical and social narratives).

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I am a Ph.D. student at the Environmental Science and Technology Institute of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (ICTA-UAB), where I work for the ENVJustice project (ERC advanced grant). I hold an MSc in Socio-Environmental Studies from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO Ecuador) and a bachelor's degree in International Relations from the National University of Costa Rica. My current research interests are Political Ecology, Critical Agrarian Studies, Environmental Conflicts, and Health Environmental Justice. Before joining the Ph.D., I worked with different environmental NGOs and several social projects in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Brazil, and Guatemala.

Invisible within the invisible: Gendered aftermaths of DBCP in banana plantations in Nicaragua

This paper discusses how scientific evidence in a pesticide-contaminated rural area can shape social responses reinforcing gender inequalities. Grounded in a case study in Chinandega, (Northwestern Pacific Coast of Nicaragua), I explain how both male and female farmworkers were exposed to the pesticide Di-bromochloro-propane (DBCP), an organochloride pesticide used during the seventies and eighties to eradicate little worms that attacked the roots of the banana plant. In Chinandega, male infertility turned out to be the primary ailment considered in the struggle and women's illnesses were rendered invisible. I undo the local organization to analyze the gendered power relations among men and women and I analyze how this relation among companion workers is conditioned by the gendered role of medical evidence in this specific contaminated area. Theoretically, this paper intersects studies on agrarian studies, feminist political ecology, and environmental health justice. Methodologically, primary and secondary sources were revised, two months fieldwork during 2018, and in-depth interviews were carried out. Overall, this paper calls on the need to study local communities' power relations rather than essentializing them as homogenous actors and to look at intersectional inequalities in the reproduction of environmental injustices in environmental health-related struggles. The reduced categorization of "victim" and pesticide contamination across time, generation, and gender are discussed.

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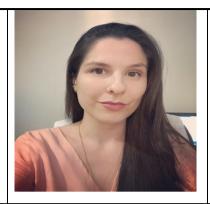


Dr.Dan Luo is an assistant researcher at Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Kunming, China, and she is also a postdoctoral fellow in the school of Yunnan University. Her academic training was in Anthropology and Developmental Studies. Her doctoral research focuses on the farming culture of mountain, the allocation of irrigation water resources, and "Mountain-Valley Lowland" community relations in the paddy field of Southwest China. Her research interests is in agricultural development during the agrarian change process of ethnic minorities, and the relationship between agricultural patterns, labor and capital. In recent years, she has led two major social science research projects related to the study of farming ethnic groups in Southwest China.

**Elite capture in agrarian change: insights from commercial rice production in mountainous ethnic region of Southwest China** Currently, large-scale commercial rice production has been promoted by Chinese government together private sectors. Even in remote and mountainous area of Southwest China, commercial rice production has been developed in name of intensive and efficient use of land, which however make a great transformation of local traditional livelihood practice. Increasing involvement from private sector together with ambiguity of land tenure system has made the complexity in this agrarian transformation. Across the country, commercial rice production was promoted via three typical models including "government + companies + agricultural cooperative + farmers", "government + agricultural cooperative + farmers", "local elites + agricultural cooperative + farmers". While those promotion, little is known about the effects on local livelihood in this transformation. As such, taking commercial rice production on local livelihood. By comparing different models of the commercial rice production operation, we reveal the critical aspect of elite capture during in this agrarian transformation. In the process of agrirain change, the "high value" of community resources is an elite-led value mobilization strategy. The paper argued the current power relations in rural society make possibility of elite capture which lead the success of commercial rice production in government report, but failed in reality.

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Camila Ferracini Origuéla is a Ph.D. in Geography at São Paulo State University (UNESP). She is a Collaborating Researcher at the Institute of Public Policy and International Relations at São Paulo State University (UNESP). She was visiting Ph.D. researcher at International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), in the Netherlands, working on Governance of Labor, Logistics and Sustainability (GOLLS) project. She has conducted research about agroecology, subordination, resistance and autonomy of peasants, territory and territorialities, peasants markets, and local agro-food system.

### Subordinate, Autonomous and Emancipatory Territorialities: Typology of Analysis of the Peasant Territories

Transnational corporations, as well as retail chains, increasingly control food production, distribution and consumption, as well as the means to do so – seeds, inputs, technologies, credit, markets and policies – as the capitalist food system. They can appropriate the territory or determine its use, producing the subordination of the peasantry. However, the peasants resist and construct alternatives based on another use of the territory, breaking with relations of subjection to the capital. The objective of this chapter is to study the experiences of production, industrialization and commercialization of conventional and agroecological foods developed by the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) in rural settlements in Rio Grande do Sul, as well as the contradictions that make up these processes. The conventional experience is represented by soybean production in rural settlements in the Centre-South region of the state. Here, peasants produce within value chains that have sufficient power to define prices, technologies, markets and policies. Peasants soon saw their territories increasingly controlled by the logic of the global market, producing subordinate territorialities. On the other hand, in the agroecological experiments, the case of vegetables and rice in the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre (RMPA) shows peasants struggling for autonomy by partially or totally disassociating themselves from industrial, commercial and financial capital, producing autonomous territorial resistance based on another use of the territory. This occurs through the deepening of autonomous and emancipatory socio-territorial practices. Where peasants build autonomous territories, they are determining the peasant food system through cooperatives, management groups and groups of families that produce, distribute and consume food.

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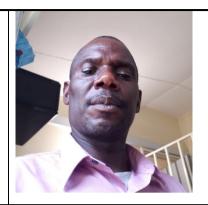
Trained as an architect and an urban planner, I am currently a DPhil student at the University of Oxford. My PhD project explores the role of the state, what I call the 'actually existing state', as a great facilitator in the marriage of convenience between 'liberal' neoliberalism and 'illiberal' Hindutva in a proposed Smart City project in India. While the key contribution of the thesis is in unpacking the state, it contributes towards other themes like development, authoritarian populism or actually existing neoliberalism.

# Protests, Neoliberalism and Hindutva amongst farmers: the case of Dholera Smart City

The article explores the dispersed protests of the local farmers in the Dholera Smart City, in the Indian province of Gujarat where a population of 39,000 across 22 villages are going to be severely affected. Studying the protests, it is difficult to find either resistance or consent as predominant themes in the subjective expressions of the farmers. Despite imminent dispossession from their farmlands, what emerges is ambivalence as well as aspiration as locals continue to vote for the ruling right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) while other Hindutva organisations remain predominant in the villages. To explain the continued rise of these organisations and the weak farmer resistance, the article proposes two theses by studying the everyday interactions of the state and the society: (a) Hindutva politics that deploys strategies like coopting protesting farmer leaders, using caste contradictions and caste solidarities simultaneously; and (b) disjuncture in neoliberalism through which the state departs from key neoliberal principles to deliver a neoliberal project. Existing scholarship on the overlap of neoliberalism and Hindutva fail to explain how these two ideologies interact in the everyday lives of the state and society. Such limitations have resulted in the failure to explain the continuing prevalence of Hindutva in rural areas or amongst farmers. When a project with essential neoliberal tenets, that is the Dholera Smart city, comes to these rural areas with the backdrop of continued support for Hindutva, the dynamics are further problematised. Through these two propositions, the article details out how the economic ideology of neoliberalism and the exclusionary cultural ideology of Hindutva help each other, and how they may depart from their own foundational principles, depending on the context in which they are implemented. Analysing these phenomenon, the article also contributes towards the scholarship on 'authoritarian populism' in rural areas around the world.

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Bryson is a Malawian by nationality. He holds a PhD in Africa Studies (History) from the University of the Free State in South Africa obtained in 2018. He researches on subjects related to agricultural change, peasant production and international relations. Meanwhile, Bryson is a postdoctoral fellow in the International Studies Group at the University of the Free State. By applying for this writer's workshop, Bryson intends to strengthen his scholarly capacity to publish in high impact journals like the Journal of Peasant Studies.

### Maize, Ecology, and the State: Regulating Maize Production among the Peasants in Colonial Malawi, 1920s – 1960

Since the early 1920s, the Agricultural Department in Malawi expressed reservations on the ecological and nutritional implications of the monoculture of maize as the country's major staple food crop. According to the Department, excessive maize production had adverse ecological effects on the country's soil fertility. Since food production laid at the heart of peasant life, the colonial agricultural policy attracted a great deal of contestations that came to characterise relations between the state, peasants, and settler farmers throughout the colonial period. Yet despite the significance this development had on the country's food security, the Malawian historiography has remained allusive on maize's ecological history, not least state attempts to regulate its production among peasants. The existing historiography has predominantly treated maize tangentially within the wider studies of agricultural development and peasants' everyday experiences with food production and consumption. This article, therefore, examines the attempts by the colonial state in Malawi to regulate maize production and the responses of the peasants to the regulations from 1920 to 1960. Using archival evidence from southern Malawi, the study argues that, while the ecological impact of excessive maize production was understandable, the excessive use of power to control the production was unjustifiable in the context of rapid population growth, dwindling cultivation land and age-long culture of maize as a staple food among Malawian peasants. Similarly, the proposed state measures to increase maize production on small acreage with minimal damage to soil fertility such as the use of chemical fertilisers and hybrid maize varieties were far from peasants' capacity. Furthermore, lack of cognizance of local context and history as well as inconsistencies in policy implementation affected its acceptability among the peasants. In making this argument, the study demonstrates the extent to which global forces shaped colonial developments with serious implications on peasant food security.

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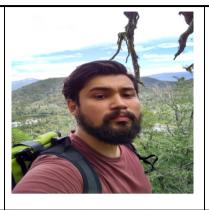
Mark Chatarpal is a Guyanese researcher. In 2014, he earned a B.A (Hons) in Caribbean Studies from the University of Toronto. The following year he received a scholarship and direct entry into the Ph.D. program at Indiana University's Department of Anthropology where he received an M.A. in Anthropology. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate specializing in Food Studies and Economic Anthropology. In addition to his research Mark has provided over two years of pro bono consultations to Guyana's government regarding amending the 2006 Amerindian Act in Guyana's constitution in order to provide an indigenous based interpretation of the term 'agriculture'.

What do you mean by 'food security'? Agrarian policymaking within the Caribbean Community (CARICOM)

Food security among indigenous communities in the Americas has been an issue addressed by governments, multilateral organizations, and other stakeholders for over four decades. Within the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Guyana is commonly referred to as the regions "breadbasket," but its food policies have not always engaged well with the concerns of Toshaos, a title given to indigenous leaders, or provided a stable level of food exports for the country. This project uses the case of cassava production in Guyana and CARICOM to understand how different groups conceptualize 'food security,' and how governmental food policies affect indigenous livelihoods. How do these conceptualizations highlight longstanding tensions between first peoples and settler communities and what policy mechanisms are there to include the voices of Toshaos? Finally, how does the concept of Creole Agrarianism, an interpretation of Shona N. Jackson's concept of 'Creole Indigeneity' (Jackson, 2012) provides a useful ideological platform to discuss this issue within other CARICOM member-states? I examine how these varying definitions of food security drive agricultural policy by engaging with the full spectrum of organizations at the international, national and local levels. With over thirteen months of fieldwork involving interviews and conversations with development experts, government ministers, parliamentarians, policymakers, indigenous rights activists, local offices of international organizations and NGOs, and Toshaos the researcher will discuss how varying interpretations of food security directly influences national policymaking.

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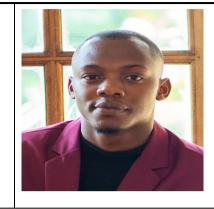


I am a second-year PhD student, based in the Centre for Rural Economy at Newcastle University. I have a strong background in sociology, with experience in carrying out ethnographies along with collaborative research. During that time, I had the opportunity to engage in different spheres of the ongoing struggles of Chilean indigenous communities. Currently, I am attempting to understand from an ethnographic perspective the agrarian structure that underpins the agroproduction of a region devoted to agriculture and characterised by its high indigenous component. Thereby, I am looking at the transition to fruits production as a way to reflect upon the agrarian structure.

Neoliberal mode of production and fruit industry; contestations and adoption of a profitable niche within an indigenous territory in Southern Chile

Chile, alongside other Latin-American countries, stands out as an agrarian commodity producer. Furthermore, under the context of neoliberalism, there is a trend to expand the agrarian frontier around the country by taking advantages of its competitive edges and its know-how acquired during the 80s, which are coupled with the shift of less valuable agro commodities into agrarian commodities with more value in order to meet international demand. The underlying process of making producers switch their crops and become marketorientated is the transition from traditional crops to more profitable ones, such as fruits. Along with a movement from subsistence or petty commodity production towards a mode of production fully-integrated into the market, when adopting these new crops. This transition has been promoted and supported by both the neoliberal agenda and different rural development schemes. Despite fruit production, can be considered as one of the paradigmatic forms of capitalism in rural areas due to its reliance on seasonal wage-labour and its high value on the market. There are an array of barriers emerging that impede fruit production to become fully-established in rural settings. This turn to be more evident when fruit production breakthrough indigenous territory, since their mode of production tend to be linked as a less market-orientated. In this way, this article examines those barriers faced by the indigenous peasants when deciding to embrace high-value agro commodities. Based on a case study in a region of Chile characterised by a high indigenous population and drawing on ethnographic data, the study concludes that the adoption of fruit production has contributed to further differentiation of the countryside and also a resurgence of old customs that permeate how fruit production is taking place. Affiliation: University of Newcastle

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Muinga David is presently a PhD fellow at the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), Makerere University. David's research interests center about Political Economy, particularly on the dynamics of Global relations and Power and their influence in structuring social orders. Part of these interests are grounded in examining how land use and land relations from pre-colonial to post-colonial society have been reengineered, recreated and transformed and how colonial structures have formulated and further engineered the forms of expression of power as well as peasant agency and resistance to power. David is also interested in research on Africa-China relations.

Landslides and the Problematics of Disaster Response and Peasant Relocation by the State: Bududa District, Uganda

In Bududa, one of the districts in eastern Uganda, the slopes of Mountain Elgon, have long been a hot spot for landslides. Dating back to the 1800's, more than 800 people have been estimated killed and countless thousands displaced with numbers highest in the recent years. The response of the Ugandan state to this disaster crisis, among others has primarily been relocation of disaster victims to public land in other districts. Whereas the state has employed and executed this solution, many disaster victims have since returned to resettle within the same disaster-prone areas. As landslides are gradually becoming an annual event, it is key to question the underlying factors as to why peasants continue to settle and resettle in these areas yet having knowledge of the endangerment that exists. More so, it is pertinent to query the execution of disaster response by the state and how this has created a series of problematics surrounding land in Bududa district and the surrounding areas of relocation. This paper debates that by the state relocating disaster victims, it has overlooked and aggravated an active land question from colonial antiquity. Through a quad faceted viewpoint, the paper posits that by relocation, a series of problematics are created in which peasants are not just relocated, but separated; Firstly, from their land - from which they gain subsistence; Secondly, from the utility of the land – which is not guaranteed in the areas of relocation; Thirdly, from their rights to land – which they do not hold in the public owned land: Lastly, temporary relocation in camps has separated peasants from their means of subsistence, engineering a culture of humanitarian and relief reliance. In doing so, the paper not only queries relocation as a solution to disasters in post-colonial states but also analyses the interplay between state power and peasant agency, and how societal structuring from colonial antiquity has engineered the form of peasant resistance to contemporary state power. Affiliation: Makerere University

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Zhen Zeng is a PhD student at the University of Helsinki. Her research interest is political ecology, consumerism and mass tree plantation projects. Her PhD project explores how Chinese society is evolving into the regime of green capitalism, and the social and political impacts of this process. She earned her B.A in Japanese, and M.A in both Finance and Asian Studies. During 2018 to 2019, she worked on two participatory action researches regarding community capacity-building in a Hmong community in southwest China.

Saving Environment by Being "Green" with Fintech: the contradictions between environmentalism and reality in the case of Ant Forest

The recent decades have seen a growing tendency towards 'green capitalism' which often manifests itself through market-based environmental schemes. Under the prevalent discourse of sustainable development and green economy, many believe that environmental problems can be addressed through these market-based approaches under the current capitalist economic regime. As a newly emerging business model, fintech (i.e. financial technology) is also believed to have the ability to deliver both social and ecological benefits. On August 2016, Ant Financial, the biggest fintech company in China, launched a gamified green initiative-Ant Forest, whose aim was claimed to be combating climate change through cultivating green lifestyle of its users. It allowed consumers to participate in nature conservation and afforestation projects by depicting the carbon footprint of their consumption records. By April 2017, the participants of Ant Forest increased to 220 million people, and 8.45 million trees had been planted in the real world. In contrast to its ever-increasing social influence, its engagement with and impacts upon the participants remained much under-explored. This research aimed at filling this knowledge gap by probing Ant Forest based on a conceptual framework derived from ludology and a theoretical guideline of Marxist ecology. It looked critically at Ant Forest as a gaming process, from the perspective of game users, to analyse the environmental value discoursed within the game settings and the actual influence exerted by the game rules. By conducting in-depth interviews with the users in two Chinese cities, it was found that Ant Forest enhanced reliability of the users on Ant Financial and created an inconsistency between the environmentalist mentality and the consumption behaviours of these participants. Further, it was also found that Ant Forest facilitated metabolic rift by creating a knowledge gap which impeded the games users from fully knowing the consequences of their consumption behaviours on the environment.

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I am a Ugandan, living in Kampala. I am currently in my third year as a Ph.D. Fellow at the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), of Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. I have a MSc. Degree in Development Studies (2017, Lund University, Lund-Sweden) and a Bachelor of Development Studies (2013, Makerere University, Kampala-Uganda). My research interests broadly revolve around issues of development and the state, colonialism, post-colonialism, and decolonization.

Land for Development? Compulsory Land Acquisition in Uganda and the Dilemmas of Land Reforms in a Post-colonial Neoliberal Context

The land question in Uganda has recently been galvanized by the government's proposals on Compulsory Land Acquisition (CLA). In these proposals, the government claims it needs 'land for development'. Critiques against this programme have concentrated on what should be done before compulsorily acquiring people's land, such as ensuring prior and adequate compensation, guaranteeing land rights of women and children and ensuring proper functionality of district land boards. What is taken for granted is the idea that the Ugandan state actually needs 'land for development'. By not questioning this official claim, discourse on CLA in Uganda has upheld the assumptions underlying the idea of the state needing 'land for development', including the implicit self-description of the state as 'developmental', and the idea that land is needed to advance 'public good'. This paper is a preliminary critical engagement with the claim that the state in Uganda needs 'land for development'. It does so by raising the question of the form of state prevailing in Uganda today, and the nature of 'development' that is sought for in the drive to forcefully obtain people's land. If, as literature on the state in Africa indicates, the 1980s' neoliberal turn fundamentally altered the form of the state in Africa and Uganda in particular, the central question pursued in this paper relates to the implications of reforms on land conducted by a post-colonial neoliberal state. What kind of 'development' does this state pursues on lands it compulsorily acquires from citizens? The paper critically reviews some past cases of compulsorily acquired land in Uganda in the post-1980s period to ascertain the kind of 'development' the state pursued on such lands from which many were oftentimes forcefully evicted. If the idea of 'land for development' has resulted into a coupling of a regime of forced land acquisition with the notion of a state-driven development; I argue that today we need to decouple them in order to allow for a historically and a contextually informed query on the implications of land reforms in a post-colonial neoliberal context. Makerere University Affiliation:

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Soytavanh Mienmany is a Lao PhD Scholar at the Fenner School of Environment and Society, Australian National University. Her research focuses on rural households' decision-making and livelihood outcomes in three Northern Lao crop booms – banana, cassava and teak. She holds a Master's Degree in Agronomy and AgroFood at SupAgro Montpellier, France, which included a research project entitled 'Agriculture beyond the oil palm development in Jambi Province, Sumatra, Indonesia'. Before starting her PhD in July 2017, Soytavanh was working at the Lao Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment in the fields of land use change, resource management and rural livelihood change. This paper is co-authored with Peter Kanowski, Lisa Robins, Hilary Smith & Keith Barney.

Livelihood outcomes of rural households' participation in the Northern Lao cassava boom

Rural Lao households are transforming from subsistence to agricultural commercialisation, facilitated by a series of Lao government policies opening up the economy to international markets. Cassava is amongst the most recent of a series of boom crops in Laos, reflecting increasing global demand for starch-based products. The livelihood outcomes of households' participation in this boom have been little-studied in Laos. This research explores the policy and market contexts of the Northern Lao cassava boom, the forms of households' participation in the boom and associated livelihood outcomes, and the policy implications for the Lao Government's promotion of green growth and rural development. This study draws from conceptual frameworks representing rural change and livelihood strategies, and from a suite of qualitative methods from fieldwork in two case study villages in Xayabouly Province, with different cassava markets. Results reveal that the cassava boom has been driven by the establishment of a Chinese starch factory and a trade agreement between Laos and Thailand, together with the low price of maize and the shift to a 'bust' phase in its production. Smallholder households participate in cassava production through cultivation of their own and/or leased land. New livelihood opportunities emerged from the cassava boom in the two case study villages. In Village 1, most households continued cultivating cassava and have begun investing in cattle rearing, transport services, and non-agricultural activities. The trend to cattle rearing was even more apparent in Village 2, where less than half of households surveyed cultivated cassava; the majority have shifted towards cattle rearing and/or non-agricultural activities, including some directly from maize to cattle rearing. All households in both villages maintained rice cultivation for subsistence and/or sale. Households face cassava production challenges in terms of decreasing yields, increasing crop diseases, and a shortage of planting stems. Responses have been limited to the application of chemical fertilisers by farmers and the promotion of 'clean agriculture' by the Lao government. These findings provide an insight into livelihood outcomes for smallholders participating in crop booms underway in Northern Laos, and illustrate both the significance and the limits of policy intervention in boom crop dynamics.

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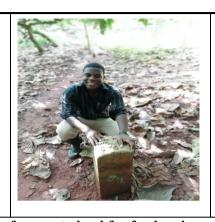
Yudi Bachrioktora is a PhD. Student at Institute of Social Anthropology at the University of Bern, Switzerland. He is also lecturer at History Department University of Indonesia and researcher at Agrarian Resources Center in Bandung, Indonesia. His research mainly focuses on agrarian and environmental issues in Indonesia. He is also interested in other field of studies, such as youth and cultural studies.

### Exploring the cultural commons as a political agenda for rural-urban movement in Indonesia

At this time, it is no longer possible to differentiate problems between rural and urban. Various complex problems, such as environmental, social and economy actually show the interrelation between urban and rural. The question about the strategy used by the people, both in urban and rural areas, to navigate the flow of complex local-global pressure becomes more important recently. Two case studies discussed in this paper show how the local communities – representing urban and rural areas – negotiate with this situation. An Indonesian scholar, Melani Budianta and her network called the Kampung Nusantara Network (Jaringan Kampung Nusantara) navigate the communities in this situation by promoting the importance of cultural aspects to empower the community. By continuously working on an agenda, namely Lumbung Budaya (cultural commons), as a concept for organizing or reorganizing the people in rural and urban areas. Lumbung is often interpreted as a 'symbol' of the accumulation and management of local resource of wealth. The resources are not only agricultural and livestock products, or from natural resources, but also include both material and intangible "wealth". In other words, it comprises all knowledge about the life of the community including their cultural identity. Through this agenda, Budianta and Kampung Nusantara Network engage to build cultural identity and mutual cooperation that can continuously support rural-urban communities without forgetting their identities. This identity needs to have cultural roots, which are not only inherited from the past but are also future oriented. This means that the village's or urban's identity must be reproducible and sustainable. The aim of this paper is to elaborate the concept of *cultural commons* and its possibility as a political agenda of rural-urban movement. Affiliation: University of Bern/Universitas Indonesia

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Ghana



Eric is a Ghanaian with a B.Sc and an M.Sc. in agroforestry and natural resource governance respectively from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana. Currently, he is a DAAD funded PhD Candidate researching the cocoa-forest nexus in Ghana. Eric is passionate about landscape approaches to rural development, writing and activism. A former development worker, Eric has won and implemented projects funded by the FAO, the EU, the Dutch Government and the Norwegian Development Agency. He is the founder of <u>Breakout Africa</u>, a blog dedicated to how youths can contribute to good governance and economic development in Africa.

Criminals by necessity: Dynamics of access to land for food and cocoa production along Ghana's cocoa-forest frontier Emerging studies highlight the importance of land access to address hunger and extreme poverty in rural Africa. Access is argued to transcend ownership and entails diverse mechanisms actors employ to secure, control and maintain their ability to benefit from resources. Recent efforts to examine access dynamics in areas characterised by protected forest encroachment do not provide a full account of how historical land grabs for forest conservation and permanent tree-crops production can undermine food security in communities along forest frontiers. Instead, farmers along such frontiers are depicted as villains that are relentless in destroying forests and the environment which leads to conflict-ridden management regimes. This study assesses the linkages between land access for food production in Ghana's Juabeso landscape where forest conservation and cocoa production are the predominant land-use options. Data was collected through participatory mapping and semi-structured interviews with 487 cocoa farmers and 54 other key informants that work in and around the landscape. The study found that with support from state and non-state actors, farmers have traded their land for crop cultivation for cocoa production. The farmers have become "cocoa trapped" and can only produce food crops by encroaching into the last remnants of protected forests. However, as a legally proscribed activity, farmers are met with resistance, including beatings and imprisonment which only lead them to deploy more sophisticated access mechanisms. Thus, in this frontier, the contest to regain land for food is riddled with criminality-a battle that is won by guile, brute force or both. But even the most decisive victory is ephemeral and uninheritable. A futuristic solution may lie in embracing the realities of the "necessary criminals" and a willingness for stakeholders to jointly navigate context-specific solutions. Without this, neither conservation nor food security aspirations are attainable within the landscape.

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Aayushi Malhotra is a PhD student in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at BITS, PILANI, Rajasthan in India. She is working on the socio-ecological transitions in pastoral systems in Himachal Pradesh, India, using an ethnographic approach. As a part of her research project, she is mapping the interdependent domains of livelihoods, resource usage and governance as well as the emerging identity of actors from the shifting development discourses. Aayushi is a first-generation doctoral candidate and aspires to be an applied social anthropologist to contribute towards the betterment of society by using holistic and relativistic development approaches.

Does increasing political representation enable securing of alternative livelihoods? Mapping the process of de-pastoralisation and emerging political leadership among the Gaddi community of Himachal Pradesh in India

Gaddi, a traditional agro-pastoral community of Himachal Pradesh in India, is gradually diversifying to several formal and informal economic avenues. Their de-pastoralisation is a result of complex interactions between various socio-economic, political and ecological forces in play. In this paper, I specifically aim to map the role of increasing political foothold of the Gaddi community in influencing the status of their traditional agro-pastoral livelihood. The available pastoral literature generally highlights the missing political linkages of pastoralists as a primary reason for their continued vulnerability and peripheral socio-economic positions. It also suggests their underrepresentation or absenteeism from the decision-making platforms to be responsible for sidelining of the pastoral profession. However, in the case of Gaddis, despite their strong political influence and increased decision-making powers, a declining trend in their traditional agro-pastoral occupation is observed. Whereas, increased instances of choice-making for the alternative livelihoods and income diversification guided by the mainstream development thinking are on the rise. It presents a paradox where the role of increasing political leadership from within the communities in influencing the status of their traditional livelihoods remains unclear and unquestioned. Therefore, in this paper, I broadly address the two following questions- How the emergence of political leadership from within the community affect their traditional occupation? and does it strengthen the traditional livelihood practices or facilitate the alternative livelihoods to enable the effects of larger political economy to trickle down to the local level? Through both these questions, I aim to capture the process of de-pastoralisation among Gaddis in the context of their increasing political stronghold within the state of Himachal Pradesh. This paper fills a gap in understanding whether the community based political participation helps in strategically promoting the traditional livelihoods (in this case, pastoralism) or ends up borrowing the existing mainstream ideas that discard these practices as a backward occupation in need of replacement with the more modern and diversified alternatives.

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China



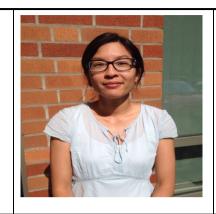
I'm PhD candidate at Yunnan University. My research focuses on Chinese agricultural investment abroad, particular on land grabbing issues in Mekong region, such as the governance of the invested land, the relationship between the investor and investee, social and environmental effects for local communities, etc. Previous to my PhD study, I have spent almost 10 years on agriculture and development issues in international organizations and two years research work in University. As a minority grew up at mountain area in China, my personal experience was also deeply involved in agricultural activities before I entered the University.

Between land grabbing and sustainable development - Chinese Agricultural investment in North of Laos

Chinese oversea agricultural investment raises rapidly in the past decade. In Laos, since this landlocked country opened its land markets to foreign investment in the early 2000s, foreign capital has poured into the country. Chinese Agriculture investors constitute a large portion of this influx of capital and in the late 2000s China overtook Thailand and Vietnam to become the top investor in Laos. The investment results land use change in north of Laos significantly. In addition, China has renewed its global outreach agenda through the debated Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Laos ties this initiative by launching the China-Lao railway project. They study foresees more Chinese agricultural investment and land use change in north of Laos. Many criticism has label China as "Land grabber" that draw considerable attention globally for study. Media headlines proclaimed a Chinese takeover of northern Laos. Some researchers see land grabs as a major threat to the lives and livelihoods of the rural poor. Others see economic opportunity for the rural poor, although they are wary of corruption and negative consequences. However, there are lack of quantitative studies which reveal the land use change and livelihood of the local people where the Chinese investment concentrated. Meanwhile, most of the empirical studies carried out by western researchers got the in-depth information from the indigenous people, governmental officials and NGOs, but ignore the voices from the Chinese investors, and rarely pay attention on the historical reasons and cultural sectors, which the interaction between China and Laos have existed for hundreds years. Consequently, the research aims through the in-depth field work in Oudomxay, a province in north Laos next to China-Lao boarder, mixing quantitative and qualitative methods, to present a holistic picture and impact of Chinese agricultural investment and land use change in north of Laos, and reveal the complex relationship between the Chinese investors and local stakeholders instead of one-sided analyses.

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Yukari Sekine is a PhD Candidate in Development Studies, Political Ecology, at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague. In Myanmar, her PhD research covers rural politics, the intersection of climate change mitigation and land grabs, and struggles for agrarian climate justice. She has conducted fieldwork in the southern Tanintharyi region, a hub of palm oil, extractivism, conservation and land related conflicts, and is also interested in reflecting on potentialities and challenges of scholaractivism. She has an M.A. in Global Studies from Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan, and a B.A. in Journalism from the Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, in Brazil.

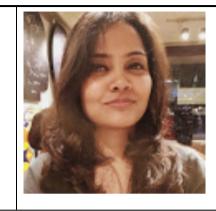
Bridging the rural-urban divide: The challenge of including peri-urban struggles in the wider pursuit for agrarian climate justice in Myanmar

Recent debates on the peasantry and the changing relations in the countryside have looked at how the traditional concept of 'peasant' may not apply to the diverse classes of working people, who may be landless workers, semi-proletarian, petty commodity producers, or have diversified livelihoods. Sometimes, their livelihoods include seasonal migration, selling labor occasionally or hiring in labor for those who are small-holders (Bernstein, 2010). Urban farmers and food producers also tend to be overlooked by agrarian movements for food sovereignty (Siebert, 2020). While land for agricultural purposes has been at the center of struggle, land in peri-urban areas, for example, often has multiple functions, including as crucial site for building homes and houses and serve also for those who seek proximity to jobs, health care and education in the cities. Urban expansion means that agricultural lands are being swallowed by the city. In Myanmar, as we see a deepening of liberalization, influx of foreign capital and the promotion of infrastructure development, connectivity and urbanization in a strive to 'modernize', we see a simultaneous increase in prices of urban lands due to speculation, the tendency is toward expanding urban areas and engulf small-scale farming, sometimes through piecemeal dispossession and debt (Boutry et al., 2017; Forbes, 2016). Based on research in one small peri-urban town in southern Myanmar, Dawei, located in a region set to be the hub of a Special Economic Zone, port and road link to Bangkok, this paper looks at what began as a small-town land struggle in small agricultural land area engulfed by speculation, urban development and coercive government-led dispossession. It highlights the challenge of maintaining a cohesive struggle over time, under surmounting pressures from the market (speculative interests and high value of land) and coercive, authoritarian pressures from the local and regional governments in collaboration with the police, as activists are jailed, threatened and sued. It discusses the challenge of current struggles for agrarian climate justice (Borras and Franco, 2018), which are simultaneously trying to scale up to national levels, while including these diverse struggles.

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Raya Das is currently enrolled as a final year Ph.D. student at Centre for the Study of Regional Development in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. She is working on her Ph.D. thesis titled 'Agrarian relation in Global South: a case study of West Bengal'. The purpose of the study is to identify the hindrances faced by the small farmers in interlinked market transactions, intra-household labour allocation, the opportunities and risks faced by them, feminization agricultural work and migration from agricultural households based on field evidence. She did her M.Phil. on economic sustenance of farmers in India, based on household-level data of large official agricultural household survey in India.

# Interlinked Market Transaction and Rural Inequality in India: Evidence from Field

Critical Agrarian Studies (CAS) is an extension on theoretical development of the political economy approach focusing on the complexity of agencies and power asymmetry at countryside. This paper analyses the interlinked market transaction in organisation of production relating it to rural inequality from the empirical evidence from three villages of rural West Bengal in different agroecological regions. The objective here is to identify the process of interlinkage and the extent of surplus extraction in the sphere of agrarian production and output market exchanges in study villages, which are at different levels of agricultural development. The interlinkage is related to the process of agrarian change influencing the production relations, decision making, risk-taking behaviour, market participation of farmers and intra household labour allocation. The nature of interlinkages from field evidence are of four types; lease induced interlinkage, credit interlinkage, farm labour-employer linkage, and output market interlinkage. The conditions of entering interlinked transactions depend on the position of the agents in the class and social hierarchy. In terms of historical roots of the power players, one is hereditary power controllers, and second is emerging business class within or outside the village. Primary controllers of the interlinked mode of production in the villages are input dealers, landlords, rich peasants, nonfarm traders (arotdars), and commission agents. The main reasons of the interlinkages are social history of dominant caste groups, high seasonal demand of agricultural labour, landlessness, competition in tenancy markets, lack of working capital, limited access to market due to high transportation cost and delay in payment, lack of access to institutional credit, fluctuations in input and output markets. For example, due to the high demand of labour during peak seasons, labourers get land seasonally on fixed rent on terms of working on landlords' land as labourers during paddy cultivation. Lack of availability of working capital leads to purchasing inputs on credit in exchange for agreeing to sell the produce to input dealers at a lower price compared to market rate. The unequal power position and the bargaining power in the interlinked contracts further depend on the caste, gender, ethnicity, and intersectionality. The study further assesses the impact of such informal contracts on the economic sustenance of small peasants, intra-household labour dynamics, and suggests policy formulations.

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Nwet Kay Khine is a former journalist and writer from Myanmar. Nwet joined the Master program for International Development Studies in Chulalongkorn University and later enrolled in the Erasmus Mundus Masters in Journalism, Media and Globalization in Aarhus University, Denmark and later in Hamburg University, Germany. She completed her doctoral study at the Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies in Mahidol University with a thesis titled "Press Censorship in Myanmar From Colonial Days to Democratic Transition in The 21st Century". Nwet has been an active member of civil society movements for environmental justice and democracy in Myanmar since 2008 and Nwet's post-doctoral project will be embedded within the effort to build strong autonomous social movements initiated by agrarian civil society groups led by Paung Ku and its partners. Nwet is examining how neoliberal capitalism, authoritarianism and populism came about to converge in today's Myanmar to form a tripodal axis of power, how does the latter operate, and how have such reactionary forces impacted on the emerging autonomous social movements.

# Actions for food sovereignty: Resisting neoliberal agricultural policies in Myanmar

Under the National League for Democracy Government, neoliberalism finally gained quick momentum into Myanmar. Policy makers have been crafting agriculture policies and laws with an aim to boost industrialization of agriculture and to increase competitiveness in the international market. It is loud and clear that these land, seeds and other policy regimes have negative impacts on wellbeing of small-scale farmers and poverty reduction. Food sovereignty approach is taken up by a number of civil society organizations to counterchallenge the neo-liberal discourse that directly and indirectly harm pheasants' rights and autonomy, social justice and environmental sustainability. Yet, forms of struggles for food sovereignty are still in nascent state. A straightforward struggle against neoliberal capitalism even in societies with liberal democratic institutions and strong autonomous progressive social movements is extremely difficult. Nevertheless, there are growing concerns and emerging calls for raising the speed and volume of resistance actions by using "food sovereignty" concept as an intellectual and practical tool. This paper will try to analyze individual and collective actions of the civil society for food sovereignty awareness among respective stakeholders and how their experiences can best offer lesson learned in defending the farmers from unfair trade and property rights regime driven by agrobusiness conglomerates.

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Malvern Kudakwashe Marewo is Doctoral Student based at the Centre for African Studies (CAS) at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. His main research interests are land reform, agrarian labour, social transformation, agricultural livelihoods. His thesis is titled *Fast track land reform and belonging: Examining linkages between resettlement areas and communal areas in Zvimba District, Zimbabwe.* His study seeks to fill in a gap in literature and policy by bringing in a fresh dynamic of understanding social relations and labour after land reform in Zimbabwe.

# Agrarian labour and social relations after Fast track land reform in Zimbabwe

Studies about Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe have explored several factors such as the violent dispossession of white farmers, livelihoods, agricultural production, agrarian livelihood, dynamics of land occupations such as the displacement of farm workers and political violence in the countryside (Sachikonye, 2003, Richardson, 2005). With regards to former farm workers, much of the analysis has been on factors such as few farm workers receiving land, loss of livelihoods and politics of belonging. However, there are limited studies that have explored the social relations between former farm workers and resettled farmers as well as people in adjustment communal areas. Using a case of Machiroli Farm, Zvimba District, Mashonaland West, Zimbabwe, this paper explores how former farmworkers use of agrarian labour to establish and maintain social relations with A1 resettlement and communal areas communities to their benefit. The narrative as argued by scholars such as Magaramombe (2004), Sachikonye, (2003), Hartnack (2005); Magaramombe (2003) and Rutherford (2004) is that most former farm workers lost their livelihoods and homes as the FTLRP disenfranchised them, as the right to residency on a farm was tied to the employment status of the individual. This paper, on the contrary, shows that this is different in other cases as former farm workers resident in compounds have established strong relations with FTLRP beneficiaries and people in communal areas through which they have accessed various resources such as land thus establishing a sense of belonging. Thus, former farmworkers have therefore accessed various land-based livelihoods. This paper concludes that through social relations, former farm workers use their labour as a bargaining asset to negotiate access to land, resources and employment and through these activities farm workers have become part of the social and economic fabric of A1 resettlements and communal areas communities.

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A Brazilian researcher-activist, PhD student in Social Sciences, Development, Agriculture and Society at the Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro (CPDA/UFRRJ) and member of the Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (PSOL). Gabriel worked in research for the State Truth Commission of Rio de Janeiro (CEV-RJ), investigating cases of human rights violations, conflicts and repression of the corporate-military dictatorship in rural areas of the state. Currently, he is deepening this research in his PhD thesis. His main research interests are collective memory about repression and corporate-military dictatorship; land conflicts and peasant social movements.

Memory, identity and peasant resistance in Pedra Lisa, Rio de Janeiro

The main intention of this work is to analyze how the process of the social construction of memory takes place in the region of Pedra Lisa, located in the countryside of the cities of Nova Iguacu and Japeri, State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which went through intense land conflicts in the decades of 1950 and 1960 and political repression during the corporate-military dictatorship. In these decades, the region's association of rural workers was engaged both in a judicial and armed struggle against attempts of forced displacement carried out by farmers and land grabbers, making articulations with the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), the Social Democratic Party (PSD), the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), unions, the progressive local press and a state federation of rural workers. The peasant struggles were understood by the military as possible guerrilla preparation outbreaks and treated with extreme violence. The theme is extensively explored in the Military Police Inquiry (IPM) 709, which investigated the actions of the Communist Party: On several passages of this document, there is a clear concern about land conflicts surrounding the city of Rio de Janeiro, which was the federal capital until 1960. After a process of political persecution and repression in the decades of 1960 and 1970, carried out by the military, which consisted in arrestments, kidnappings, physical aggressions, murders, torture and the destruction of the association's headquarters, houses and crops, the peasant political mobilization returned to this region only in the decade of 1980, inspired by the liberation theology, in the context of the end of the corporate-military dictatorship, involving former actors and continuing past conflicts. Nowadays we find in Pedra Lisa multiple agents of elaboration and interpretation of this memory under different identities and mnemonic interpretations. Categories such as "peasant", "invader", "land grabber", "squatters", "communists", "military coup", and "revolution" are within a dispute both of identity and memory. Thus, through an ethnographic and historical documental analysis of the region's land conflicts, we seek to comprehend the social memory dynamics of multiple agents, such as families, members of different political associations and former and current activists in this rural community.

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Promise Eweh is a PhD Candidate at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. His current research focuses on the implications of GM crops for food security in Ghana. This study has become crucial as academic and policy research have pointed to the enormous benefits of biotechnology for addressing issues of food insecurity in Africa. Besides agricultural development, other areas of interest to Promise include Employment and the Informal Economy in Africa.

## Seeds are small, why should we be concerned about them? A political economy of the 'African green revolution'

In recent years, the agrarian literature has focused on land grabbing in the Global South. Food has received considerable attention in these discussions, with the food crises being recognised as one of the factors that triggered land grabbing. This study seeks to show that increasing commercialisation is not restricted to the land sector but to other means of production as well. The study argues that analyses of food security based on commercialisation models or studies that emphasize increasing farmers' access to inputs are inadequate as they fail to highlight the political economy of the seed sector. However a political economy perspective remains crucial particularly at a time when there are intense discussions about the potential of newer methods of seed development including genetically modified (GM) crops for improving productivity, food security and human health. The productivity literature, which promotes the adoption of GM crops, however fails to examine the important role played by agribusiness in these developments, and the likely implications these may have for farmers who have for a long period depended on practices such as seed saving and informal seed exchanges. To address these issues raised by the study, three main research questions were formulated: what factors determine the adoption of modern seed varieties; to what extent have the predominant seed systems in the different agro-ecological zones informed seed policies and laws in Ghana; and which actors are involved in seed policy making in Ghana and what influence do they exercise. Preliminary findings from the review show that farmers' adoption of modern seed varieties is determined by several factors including their wealth and gender. Thus, there is a strong interaction between technology and existing social structures. This highlights the importance of viewing farmers as a dynamic group, instead of viewing them as an undifferentiated whole. Also, farmers are unlikely to benefit from the introduction of new technologies such as transgenic seeds as the entry of private corporations into seed production and marketing in the past two decades has eroded the rights of farmers to save, exchange and sell seeds due to the enforcement of intellectual property rights. Affiliation: University of Ghana

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Bablu Chakma is a PhD candidate in International Development Studies at the Institute of Development Research and Development Policy (IEE), Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany. His current study focuses on survival strategies, social movements and identity politics of Tanchangya peasants. His interests include human rights advocacy and activism, social movements, identity politics and indigenous peoples issues in general. Mr. Chakma comes from the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region of Bangladesh and belongs to the Chakma indigenous group.

# Revisiting Moral Economy in the Context of Tanchangya Peasants in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

This paper examines the survival strategies of Tanchangya *baor pada* or culantro (*eryngium foetidum*) cultivators of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region of Bangladesh in the context of the ongoing rapid transformation towards capitalism. The main focus is on the constant manoeuvring of peasant households for their present survival as well as better future. Thereby, it puts particular emphasis on how locality, kinship and a membership-based traditional social structure named *samaj* shape individual peasant struggle. In doing so, I utilise two main propositions of the moral economy model proffered by Scott (1976): the subsistence ethic, and the community redistributive arrangements that guarantee minimum subsistence to peasant families. Grounding my ethnographic study conducted in 2019 on Scott's propositions, I put forward two arguments. First, while it is plausible that peasants tend not to put subsistence at risk, they are far from being conservative with regards to livelihood choices and strategies. Many peasants make use of flexible strategies in order not only to save family from going below the threshold of subsistence, but also to augment family resources so that future aspirations can be fulfilled. Second, the *localised* forms of redistributive arrangements are embedded in customs, kinship and other relationship networks of the peasant community that do not only provide them with insurance in extraordinary moments of life course (e.g. death, marriage and birth), but serve as protection rackets against the claimants of the family resources in quotidian peasant struggles. Thus, the paper shows that Tanchangya culantro cultivators continue to reproduce a localised form of moral economy even in times of domination of market economy.

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I am a third year PhD scholar at the Faculty of Economics, South Asian University in New Delhi, India. My research interests include agrarian political economy and development economics. My dissertation work focusses on understanding the processes of agrarian change that characterise the Indian state of Punjab in the context of stagnant productivity and ecological crisis which have gripped the state over the last few decades. My dissertation work is motivated by a curiosity around various puzzling phenomena at work in Punjab agriculture such as reverse tenancy, interlinked credit markets, and petty rentierism.

Living beyond means in the Indian Punjab: Addressing the question of ecology in an agriculture led development strategy

The question of ecological limits continues to remain a blind spot within development economics. With a view to correct this lacuna in a small way, this paper undertakes an analytical review of the agriculture led development strategy pursued in the Indian state of Punjab. In doing so, it unravels the extractivist logic that is rooted in the productivity fetish of mainstream development economics and policy frameworks informed by it. The paper draws on qualitative findings from the field in Punjab as well as analysis of scholarly works and empirical evidence on the condition of natural resources and agrarian livelihoods in Punjab to deconstruct the complex interaction between agriculture, natural resources and inequality in the state. The Indian state of Punjab has been widely regarded historically as a rare success story of an agriculture-led development process on the basis of its dynamic agricultural sector. While evidence from various national databases reveals that Punjab continues to be the most agriculturally prosperous state in the country, academic research draws attention towards a situation of widespread distress amongst the small and marginal farmers of the state over past few decades. In fact, five decades of resource and input intensive farming has created a situation of an ecological as well as an economic crisis which jeopardizes the future viability of farming in the state even as the structural transformation of the state continues to be elusive. A retrospective look at the Punjab case reveals how a quick turnaround of the fortunes of the state through a rural development strategy premised on an appropriation of nature has given way to a disequalising and exclusionary growth process. The paper argues that mainstream as well as heterodox approaches to development fail to adequately address the question of ecology but a political economy approach holds the promise of helping us understand through what processes a society continues to prioritise the prosperity of the few over crucial ecological thresholds. Ultimately, a case is made for reformulating our conception of development to adequately address the missing link of ecological limits.

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I am pursuing a doctorate in Economics from the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Delhi, India. As part of my Ph.D fieldwork, I spent the previous year in a village in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh. Prior to this I obtained a Masters degree and an M.Phil in Economics from JNU. My two-year stint as an Officer with the State Bank of India gave me an opportunity to work with people residing in the Indian countryside at close quarters and acted as a source of inspiration for my Ph.D research.

# Regional Patterns of Accumulation: Class, Caste and Agrarian Change in a Narmada Valley Village, India

Based on fieldwork conducted in the central Indian state of Madhva Pradesh during 2018-19, this paper studies the processes of agrarian accumulation from the axes of class formation and caste-based divisions, and explores how agrarian relations are reconfigured, as a result of capital accumulation within agriculture. With the advent of canal irrigation in the Narmada Valley region in the 1970s, the cropping pattern changed from a single annual crop to three crops per agricultural year and there was tremendous expansion in the production of wheat. This was followed by introduction of soyabean as a new cash crop in the region. The surplus accumulated by the cultivating households in the village during the next two decades, owing to high yields and prices of wheat and soyabean, translated into construction of *pucca* houses, setting-up of shops in the village, purchase of two-wheelers and consumer durables, increased spending on medical care and education. It also resulted in increased investment in agricultural equipments and arrangements for alternative irrigation mechanisms, which in turn enabled the produce of another short-term commercial crop during the summer months. This period also saw heavy mechanisation in the region. However, the trajectory of growth has been far from homogenous for the village households, and the inequality in wealth and asset ownership has gone up. Land, which is the main source of economic power in rural India, continues to be concentrated in the hands of the upper-caste Rajput households in the region. Economically and socially strong households have drawn upon a combination of strategies to emerge as the accumulating agrarian classes. Livelihood diversification in allied agri-business, use of their position in the established power hierarchy to benefit from government schemes and access formal credit, high return investments in education, and foray in input dealerships are some of the ways in which wealth is being amassed by these households. This paper tries to study agrarian change in India from the lens of accumulation dynamics. Thereby, it brings into sharp focus the solidifying economic, social and political cleavages in rural India.

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Nitika Dhingra is a PhD candidate and a Senior Research Fellow (UGC) at Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Previous academic pursuits include M.Phil. from the Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, JNU and Master's degree in Sociology from the University of Delhi. She worked on M.Phil. dissertation titled, ' Political Economy of Land Acquisition Law in India: The Interplay of Efficiency and Justice'. Currently, her PhD research engages with parliamentary debates and judicial decision-making concerning land acquisition for a public purpose in South Asia. Broadly, her research includes political economy, sociology of law and politics of development.

### Legal-Institutional Dimensions of Land Acquisition in India: The Interplay of Efficiency and Justice

Large-scale land acquisitions, or land grabbing, especially for resource extraction, have recently escalated across the developing world and has become particularly significant in India. With the dawn of a new era of developmental history from the 1980s onwards, India embraced globalisation. The role of private enterprises to conduct their business with minimal strictures on their operations escalated, which significantly enlarged the scale of land acquisition. The conflicting interests of farmers, peasants and indigenous people resulted in resistance due to different expected returns from the land acquisition. So to address both the concerns of the dispossessed and private investors, the State adopted the new land acquisition law in the form of Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARR), 2013. The stated objective is not only to overcome the ambiguities and massive mismanagement associated with large-scale acquisition purported by the colonial Land Acquisition Act, 1894 but also to address the two concerns of efficiency and justice, which in this view is not mutually exclusive. The historical trajectory of accumulation and increased interest to acquire land for the 'public purpose' importantly draws attention to how the State unfolds amidst "competing for interest". The State often institutionalises various course of action by law and sometimes even used it as a recourse to seek relief from these results. With an inclination to understand the 'land' in one-dimension, that is, a dehumanised and impersonal abstract entity, and by employing the concept of 'efficiency', the policy-makers tilts towards mere price signals. And if "efficiency" is the primary goal driving land acquisition laws, does it requires a revision of the idea of justice? The interplay of 'efficiency' and 'justice' debates and its philosophical underpinnings necessitates one to examine the social, cultural and historical, that is, to what extent conceptual categories are inclusive of spatial and temporal diversities in the life of people and nations. This paper examines the political economy of land acquisition law and judicial decision-making in the context of 'efficiency' and 'justice' debates, which can highlight a series of interrelationships between the State and the market in capitalism.

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My name is Carol Hernández, and I am from Mexico City, Mexico. I pursued a Ph.D. in Sociology at Portland State University (PSU), Oregon, which I completed in June 2018. The title of my dissertation is "The Dispute Over the Commons: Seed and Food Sovereignty as Decommodification in Chiapas, Mexico." My dissertation research focused on the analysis of the emerging seed sovereignty movement in Chiapas and its intersections with the Zapatista movement for indigenous autonomy. My research interests are focused on agrarian social movements, mainly on the topics of seed sovereignty, agrobiodiversity conservation, and adaptation of peasant agriculture to climate change.

Contesting Seed Sovereignty in the Global South: Seed Certification Laws, GMOs, Subsistence Agriculture, and Indigenous Struggles for Seed Sovereignty in Chiapas, Mexico

When analyzing threats to native seeds, most of the seed sovereignty literature focuses on the issues of enclosure through the imposition of intellectual property rights and seed laws, increased concentration of corporate power in the seed sector, and potential genetic contamination caused by exposure to GMOs. However, little attention has been placed on the risks that ongoing deterioration of subsistence agriculture, the primary mechanism through which peasants reproduce native seeds, poses to the preservation of agrobiodiversity in the global South. Drawing on ethnographic research in the indigenous central region of Chiapas, Mexico, where the insurgent Zapatista movement controls substantial autonomous territory and seed sovereignty initiatives are spreading, this paper examines some of the factors underlying such deterioration and how communities have responded to them. It also analyzes how those factors intersect with the threats to native seeds identified by scholars and activists of the local and international seed sovereignty movements. The study includes 51 communities: 25 non-Zapatista communities and 26 EZLN autonomous communities; from these, 47 have a predominantly indigenous population and three have a majority mestizo population. As expected, native seeds continue to be a vital component of local subsistence agriculture, and these communities largely retain sovereignty over their seeds. Our findings suggest that the deterioration of subsistence agriculture-mainly due to environmental factors such as resource scarcity, environmental degradation, and climate change—is the most immediate threat to these communities' seed sovereignty. Certification, enclosure, and genetic contamination are only potential risks so far. The political discourses around these potential external risks, nonetheless, have attracted a broad constituency among indigenous communities in the region around more structural issues such as agrobiodiversity conservation, strengthening of subsistence agriculture, and adaptation to climate change. From this study, it is possible to identify two interconnected dimensions of the local seed sovereignty movement. First, an external and political dimension-common to other national and international seed sovereignty movements-focused on organizing communities against such potential external threats. Second, a more internal and pragmatic dimension focused on enhancing subsistence agriculture and improving the environmental conditions for its sustainable reproduction.

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Harrinson Cuero Campaz is a black scholar and a member of a black organization in Colombia focused on defending collective rights, such as identity, territory and selfgovernance. He is a PhD student on sustainable planning for Black communities. Graduated in ecology, specialized in environmental law and holding a master's degree in territorial planning and environmental management. He has extensive experience in territorial planning, coordinating multidisciplinary working groups with civil society and local authorities and designing community-based protection strategies. Harrinson has published several articles on the participation of peasant and afro- descendent communities in decision-making.

Buenaventura, Colombia & The model for the construction of social minefields

This article presents the preliminary results of my doctoral thesis, which analyzes the elements that underlie the socio-cultural and economic conflict in the port city of Buenaventura, Colombia, and the role that the model of territorial planning has played in a scenario where a important economic dynamics of the country converge with the highest rates of multidimensional poverty. Materials and methods: social minefields are a conceptual framework proposed by Cesar R. Garavito (2012). This framework allows to analyze the complex process of spatial sedimentation of territories, from a diachronic and synchronic perspective, as well as, from the angle of political ecology and human geography. The methodology and framework proposed offers a systemic view of key issues in territorial planning and management such as, environmental (R. Keucheyan, Joan M. Allier), economic, social (Laura Pulido and Foucault), and, above all, cultural (Arturo Escobar) issues. The places studied here share: a historical social and economic importance, a position as economic centers in neo-liberal dynamics, high sub-regional populations, and high levels of violence, which are the result of the armed conflict to control land and its resources. Results and discussion: The approach of the social minefields allows to identify different actors, visions and instruments that confront to control territories in strategic regions. The tsunami of social unrest resulting from the deepening of the capitalist and neoliberal model has removed the social sediments long rooted in the region and it allowed previously established indigenous and black management processes to arise. Conclusions: The preliminary results presented here highlight the added value of social minefields as a framework for the analysis of spatial sedimentation processes of territories (ordering and management) in economically promising regions; and proposes methodological alternatives for the approach of new socioenvironmental scenarios marked by the resurgence of key actors, politically and/or economically historically marginalized, in a clear process of appropriation and re-adaptation of old institutional structures.

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Mercedes Ejarque is a researcher at the National Institute of Agricultural Technology (INTA). She is also Professor of Rural Sociology in a Master Program at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). She holds a Master's Degree in Social Research and a Ph.D in Social Sciences from the University of Buenos Aires. Her research focuses on society – nature relations around agrarian activities, social constructivism of environmental problems and political ecology in Patagonia. She has also published about methodological issues in agrarian research, rural labour markets and rural-urban tendencies.

Environmental problems, productivism and alternatives in peasant husbandry in Argentina's Central Patagonia

Different theories from environmental studies have stated that society interacts with nature in different ways, and that environmental problems have diverging interpretations. Comparing to agribusiness and extractivist models, some perspectives assert that peasant and indigenous communities produce in a more sustainable way due to its own cosmovision and 'traditional' livelihoods. It is even argued that they represent a form of resistance to the agrarian transformations and hegemonic modes of production. In contrast, other studies show that peasant's production is not necessarily 'ecological': it could also be 'conventional'. Avoiding this dichotomy, this article analyses how peasants value nature and how they affect and are affected by environmental problems in Chubut's drylands, in Argentinean Patagonia. Patagonia is a region where wool production has been central in its history of population and economy. This activity has developed based on a concentrated land tenure, extensive ways of production but intensive use of nature. Nowadays, this production is affected by land degradation and other environmental problems (droughts, volcanic eruptions, and climate change). These problems are some of the main drivers of the production crisis. The research shows that among peasant communities in this area are diverging interpretations about the environment and its problems but prevails a dominant valuation language related to productivism. Peasants explain these problems focusing on how nature contributed or restrained livestock production and what needs to be done to regain productivity. This dominant valuation language is the result of a historical construction. Several material and symbolic conditionings took part in this process, such as the unequal land tenure distribution; the tendency to specialize in only one race and product (Merino sheep); and the underestimation from the scientific and politic stakeholders of ancestral and empirical knowledge. In consequence, some practices, which led to the actual state of land degradation in this area, are still on-going and promoted by the technical agencies and experts. Despite this dominance, in the last decade, other valuation languages regarding conservation or livelihoods are promoting practices that combine adaptive responses to the environmental problems and alternatives to the historical and exploitative modes of production.

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# Agrarian extractivism, authoritarian populism and the political economy of agroecology in Brazil

The coronavirus pandemic, the result of the civilizational crisis generated by the convergence of crises produced by the world system, has generated much speculation about the creation of a new global public agenda, raising the question if this agenda will produce some subversive effect on the governance of the land market. and on capitalist accumulation strategies, based on agrarian extractivism. Based on the continuity of Brics cooperation, especially between Brazil and China, fundamentally based on trade in agricultural commodities, the argument is that it is not possible to confront authoritarian rural populism significantly without questioning the political-economic foundations of its development. Actions of solidarity of agrarian movements (in the donation of food on the periphery of Brazilian cities) will be examined, discussing the concept of food sovereignty dependent on the state, and that of food autonomy based on the articulation of community experiences of the movements. Centered on the need to invest in the construction of a political economy of agroecology, Karl Polanyi's thinking will be examined, focusing on the role of movements as political subjects in the process of social change. The article advocates that agroecology, seen since Polanyi's thought, returns, both to peasants and to society, the control of social relations, kidnapped by the belief of the free market. This belief separated from the others social institutions, until become a sphere autonomous, "self-adjusting", which intends to dominate the rest of society by transforming labor, land and money into merchandise.

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Luana Braga Batista is a Brazilian anthropologist. Member of the black collective Marlene Cunha of post graduate students at the National Museum - UFRJ. Widely interested in land reform, peasant communities, conflicts and violence, the political struggle for water, agroecology, gender discussion and the insertion of women in social and political movements in the countryside. She obtained her master's degree in social anthropology at the National Museum, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (2019). Currently a doctoral student in the same program, where she is a member of the Nuap.

## Historicising land struggles, land reform and land concentration in Brazil

This article intends to historicize and discuss how the dispute, the struggle for land reform and the concentration of land happened in Brazil, linked to economic models that generate inequalities and intensify conflicts such as the specific case on etnographic studies that I've been carrying out in Bahia backwoods. Therefore, the aim of this work is to analyze how rural workers have organized themselves in the past, accomplishing the *land Revolution* process, as called by them, and continued to build the political struggle in the present around a rural workers' syndicate, founded during Brazilian military dictatorship. The years of dictatorship were marked by strong resistance and articulation in the countryside. I've been conducting my doctoral research with rural workers in the backlands of Bahia – a semi-dry area with almost no rain. During the military dictatorship in the 70s, these rural workers founded a strong and important syndicate of rural workers in the city of Iaçu-BA, where their political efforts are organized and articulated to this day. This period was a time of intense conflict opposing the Medrado's family. Workers had their houses and cropping fields burnt, they were arrested, some of them killed. There were manifestations on the streets. The movement was widely supported by the Catholic Church, who helped during the two years of clandestine activity, until the syndicate was finally able to be legally founded. There were intense years of struggle that resulted in land reform and land demarcation by INCRA for local peasants who are still looking for land maintenance policies, access to water, etc.From the biography of these peasants, specially one of the main leaders of this movement, who is my grandfather Durreis, I describe and analyze the proposed thematic. I grew up hearing stories about my grandfather's fights and those memories took me back to Bahia, as an anthropologist to research inside the sindicate with my grandfather and his companions.

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Sol Mora is a Postdoctoral fellow of the Argentina's National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) at School of Politics and Government, National University of San Martín. She holds a PhD in Social Sciences from the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO-Argentina). Her research focus on the implications of land governance in China's land grabbing through infrastructure investments in Argentina. Moreover, land grabbing was the topic of her thesis for the Master Degree of International Integration and Cooperation (Universidad Nacional de Rosario) and the thesis for the B.A. in International Relations (Universidad Abierta Interramericana).

China's land grabbing in Argentina through infrastructure investments and land governance. Towards a typology of mechanisms

Land governance was relatively absent of the intense academic debate about land grabbing mechanisms. As a consequence, the centrality of the power relations between different actors at multiple scales that shape the access, use and control of land was overshadowed. Similarly, although China became one of the largest land investors, the simultaneity of this dynamic with the massive arrival of Chinese infrastructure investments to Latin American countries has not been yet explored. This paper analyzes the incidence of land governance in Argentina on land control by China through infrastructure investments. With this purpose, three ambitious Chinese infrastructure projects in different argentine provinces are studied: the Beidahung Group agri-food project in Río Negro; the La Paz-Estacas aqueduct and the irrigation in Mandisoví Chico in Entre Ríos; and the Kirchner-Cepernic hydroelectric dams in Santa Cruz. The article argues that there is not a direct and linear relation between China's infrastructure investments led to land control are conditioned by the conflictive relations of material, discursive and institutional power constitutive of land governance. The first part of the paper develops a critical approach to land governance based on the neogramscian perspective of International Political Economy and Political Ecology. The second section characterizes the extractive condition of land governance in Argentina and presents the Chinese infrastructure investments selected. This is followed by an analysis of the material, discursive and institutional power relations discursive and institutional powers and institutional power relations between the china's land grabbing mechanisms implicated in each case.

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Sinem Kavak snmkavak@gmail.com Turkey	Sinem Kavak is a critical agrarian studies scholar from Turkey. She received her Ph.D. degree in Political Science at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris Saclay and Boğaziçi University in May 2017 with a specialization on international political economy. Her Ph.D. dissertation, <i>Rethinking the Political Economy of Contemporary Water Struggles in Turkey: Space, Structures and Altered Agencies from a Comparative Perspective</i> , explores the links between livelihood transformations and peasant mobilizations against the commodification of rivers. The dissertation rests on comparative analysis of differentiation of peasant livelihoods and how these affects the discourses, agency and success of mobilizations. Her masters' thesis is on the neoliberalization of tobacco market in Turkey and explores the uneven transformation of peasant livelihoods and patterns of rural restructuring within the literature of new peasantry. She takes part in research projects on multiple export commodities such as hazelnut, cotton, tea and sugar beet. In these projects, she focuses both on relations of production and on rural labour (more specifically seasonal migrant workers). She published an article titled " <i>Syrian Refugees and Turkish Migrants in Seasonal Agricultural Work: A Case of Adverse Incorporation in Turkey</i> " and co-authored research reports in Turkish, on seasonal agricultural work. "She worked as a lecturer in Boğaziçi University where she taught " <i>Agrarian Change and Social Policy: Markets, Peasants and Rural Poverty</i> " Currently, she is a Raoul Wallenberg Institute postdoctoral fellow at Lund University, with a project problematizing forced labour-unfree labour binary rural labour.
What labels disguise: A critical assessment of private-led social justice in Turkish agriculture	
This article puts the voluntary sustainability standards and certification labels in agricultural commodity production under scrutiny. The political objective of	
the label is two-fold: to signal the consumers that they are buying socially and environmentally responsible commodities with the extra money they pay choosing	
the labelled one over the others sitting in the next shelf. Second is to encourage the producers towards implementing 'voluntary' sustainability standards, but	
are they voluntary for the farmers of the South? Focusing on the smallholders and seasonal migrant workers in hazelnut production, this article problematizes	

are they voluntary for the farmers of the South? Focusing on the smallholders and seasonal migrant workers in hazelnut production, this article problematizes responsible production and decent work claims of private-led certification schemes. Hazelnuts is a major ingredient in global chocolate market and Turkey produces up to 70% of the global supply. Hence CSR and third-party due diligence programs in cocoa productions extends into Turkey. Seasonal migrant workers in hazelnut production, who are the main labour force, have become the centre of this corporate agenda since 2010s. Drawing on 3 years of qualitative research, I analyse the roles of the market actors in hazelnut value chain (state, corporations, suppliers, local traders, producers, workers and third-party certifiers) and put forward that farmers and workers are subject to amplified pressure in the neo-liberal market setting with constructed uncertainties in pricing, weakened farmers' cooperatives and profit drive disguised in morality and ethics discourse disengaged from the material structures. I argue that the private-led standards do not result in redistribution as opposed to the premise; on the contrary, they contribute to the insecurity and vulnerability of the smallholders. Even though the main responsible of the certification programs seem to be companies, the cost of compliance is paid by the farmers, but contributes to the increased profits of companies through constructed price uncertainty felt by the smallholders during the harvest time. The 'monitoring fatigue' coupled with non-transparent and volatile market creates grievance towards the vulnerable migrant workers further undermining social justice.

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Emilinah Namaganda is a Ugandan national and a PhD student in Human Geography and Spatial Planning at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. Her research interests centre around the implications for people and the environment of the expanding mining frontier in various parts of Africa. Her PhD research specifically pays attention to how the processes of mining-induced displacement and resettlement in Mozambique are experienced, negotiated, and contested by the affected populations. Emilinah holds a bachelor's and a master's degree in Environmental Science from Makerere University in Uganda and Wageningen University in the Netherlands, respectively.

### Violent unrest or resistance to long-term marginalization? Examining the experiences of communities displaced by mega-scale mining in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique

Global ambitions for sustainability are debatably the new drivers of mega-scale mining in Africa and the related population displacement and resettlement. In Mozambique, the extraction of natural gas - famed by proponents as a 'bridge-fuel' to a low-carbon economy - stands to displace over 10,000 people in the northern province of Cabo Delgado. Since 2017, the Province has simultaneously been an epicentre of violent unrest, predominantly attributed to radical Islamic insurgency. In this paper, I examine the hypothesis that forced population displacement has contributed to the unrest. Displacement in Cabo Delgado can be dated back to the periods of slave trade, colonialization, post-independence civil unrest, and recently to mega-scale development projects. Drawing from empirical field research conducted in 2017 and 2020, I illustrate that repeated displacement of people in Cabo Delgado has influenced their experiences of and responses to contemporary mining-induced forced displacement and resettlement. Through the lens of Africana Critical Theory (ACT), I argue that the unrest in the Province can be understood as a form of resistance by the affected communities against repeated displacement and long-term marginalization. ACT critically analyses the common experiences of black peoples in past and contemporary conditions of slavery, (neo)colonialism, and socio-economic inequality to understand the constituent processes of domination and resistance. By historicizing the violent unrest in Cabo Delgado Province, this article presents a nuanced way of examining the implications of the resurgence of the forced displacement of communities in Africa to make way for large-scale projects. Affiliation: Utrecht University

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Suravee Nayak is a doctoral researcher at Centre for Development Studies (CDS), India and was a Visiting Doctoral Researcher (Jan-Mar, 2019) at the School of Global Studies, University of Sussex, UK. Her six years-long research engagement focuses on political economy of coal mining and dispossession in India, and its impacts on the rural communities by looking at the intersections of their caste, class and gender positions. Her ongoing PhD project concerns with labour process in coal mines in Talcher coalfields of Odisha. She has published with *Economic & Political Weekly* and a chapter in an edited book with *Routledge*.

### Coal Mining induced Dispossession: An Enquiry into the 'Classes of Labour' in Talcher Coalfields of Odisha

Coal mining has been a means of capital accumulation in both colonial and post-colonial India. The expansion of open cast coal mines soon after independence, not only resulted in the plethora of environmental destruction but also dispossession and displacement of agriculture-based rural communities. On this backdrop, the present paper attempts to contribute to the discussions on the differentiated experiences of rural communities in the process of dispossession, by addressing the pertinent questions of land and labour using the framework of 'classes of labour'. Drawing upon fieldwork using survey questionnaire, ethnographic interviews and participant observation carried out in Talcher coalfields of Odisha, the paper tries to, firstly, understand the land and labouring inequalities that existed before the land acquisition; secondly, analyse the negotiations between the different classes, state and capital for job compensation; and thirdly, examine how the 'classes of labour' produced and/or reproduced in the new capitalist settings of coal mining. The paper argues that the interaction of unequal agrarian relations with the processes of dispossession has resulted in different negotiating power for dominant class (Upper caste and Other backward castes- OBC landowners) and 'classes of labour'(Dalit and Adivasis landowners and landless) for job compensation with the state and capital. In particular, majority of Upper Castes and OBCs from the dominant class have been able to maintain their dominance through securing formal employment in coal mines. On the other hand, the 'classes of labour' comprises different hierarchical wage labour and self-employment in the informal works of coal mines such as emergence of local contractors for labour supply and societies for carrying out subcontracted coal mines work, and different kinds of contract and casual labour. Field findings suggest that most of the Dalits and Adivasis engage in contract and casual labour whereas Upper castes and OBCs are the labour contractors and members of societies. Moreover, at the bottom of the labour hierarchy are the landless Dalits subjected to variety of precarious informal work and coal collection. The paper concludes that the process of dispossession reproduces caste inequality and produces hierarchical 'classes of labour' in coal mining regions.

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Senait Getahun Worku is a PhD student at Utrecht University. Faculty of Geoscience International Development Studies Group (IDS). She works within the framework of Follow the Food research program which investigates the impact of foreign agribusiness investments on local food security in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Ghana. Her research specifically examines the different business models used by foreign agribusiness companies working in Ethiopia, how the companies include/exclude the local community in their business operations, what impacts does the inclusion/exclusion has on the food security situation of the local community.

Differentiated livelihood impacts of international agricultural financialization in Ethiopia

Creating market opportunities for poor people in developing countries is advocated as a way of mitigating development challenges such as poverty and food insecurity. This presumption is based on the belief that the cause of poverty of the rural poor is their exclusion from a beneficial market opportunity. As a result, many companies are incentivized by governments and donor agencies to include low-income people in their value chains. Some studies that examined the integration of farmers with companies' value chains found a positive impact on productivity and household income. However other studies also found that such kind of engagements favours high-resource endowed farmers leaving the resource-poor and most vulnerable ones. This leads to sustaining the traditional marginalization of resource-poor farmers. Moreover, when agribusiness enters a rural market as much as they create new market opportunities they also set a new resource allocation pattern in the locality. This new pattern instigate a different impact for different groups of rural society. This paper, therefore, seeks to examine the different impact pathways rural society experience as a result of their interaction with a proclaimed inclusive agribusiness in West Gojam zone, Ethiopia.

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I am Zimbabwean and in the final year of my PhD in Sociology at Wits University (Wits). My doctorate spotlights the everyday forms and practices of resistance by rural plantation labour. I hold a Masters in Migration *cum laude*, and an Honours in Sociology from Wits, and a Bachelor of Social Science, *cum laude*, from Great Zimbabwe University (GZU). Since 2012, I have taught and tutored Sociology and Political Studies at Wits. My research interests are in critical rural agrarian change and political violence. Currently, I am working on completing my PhD and drafting publication articles.

# 'Farmzenship': Navigating the Plantation Labour Process from Below

This paper explores the everyday forms and practices of resistance articulated by rural wage labour to subvert domination in Africa's agro-forestry plantation sector. Often, to confront agrarian labour domination, conventional wisdom privileges the militant and episodic practices like strikes and demonstrations as archetypical of agrarian resistance. Yet, given the increasingly despotic, 'total institution' governance of capitalist plantation farms in Africa, chances for militancy can be few and far between. Also, trade unions often get coopted by the political elite. This results in a bipolar plane of either militant resistance or quiescence. What potentially happens in between these two polar ends escapes scholarship. Thus, I make an empirical exploration of an ensemble of the subtle, informal, mundane micro-political forms and practices of subversion which I coin 'farmzenship' which rural wage labour on a state-owned, commercially run forestry estate in Zimbabwe articulate as it aims for socio-economic reproduction. While the paper acknowledges James Scott's (1984) seminal scholarship on everyday peasant resistance, it interrogates and pushes past its biases towards practices predicated on purely class-based power relations. Thus, theoretically, the paper transcends a largely class-based analysis of everyday agrarian subversion to include its eclectic nature, fluidity and indeterminacy as underpinned by the historical cultural politics of what I call 'invited citizenship'. Relatedly, the paper interrogates and edifies the Scottian (1984) intention-oriented approach to mundane resistance by making a complementary methodological shift that invokes a practice-oriented approach. Based on ethnography on a vast, privately-owned Zimbabwean pine plantation estate, I argue that under neo-colonial, despotic agrarian capitalism, everyday farm worker resistance embodies more of uneasy, erratic, contradictory and shifting forms, practices and socialities imbricated with the material-cum-ideological logic of 'invited citizenship' than express the interests of a unitary class subject. I further propose that such mundane resistance does not necessarily challenge the material power base of the plantation capitalist labour process. Instead, it subtly subverts imposed claims, and subtly enacts and pursues own piecemeal claims vis-à-vis agrarian capital and the state.

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Katlego Ramantsima is a land reform researcher at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) in the University of the Western Cape. Her current work is on land redistribution in South Africa with a focus on strategic partnerships, gender politics and rural social change. Prior to this appointment, she worked as an Assistant Researcher for the Mining and Rural Transformation in Southern Africa (MARTISA) Project at the Society, Work and Politics Institute (SWOP), University of the Witwatersrand. Her research interests lie in the fields of gender, resource-based development, communal land rights, land reform, political economy, urban regeneration, and rural social change.

Inclusive business models, elite capture and corruption: The case of South Africa's agricultural land redistributive reform

This paper presents findings from research on elite capture in South Africa's redistributive land reform. It aims to contribute to the broader debates around inclusive economic growth in land reform and corruption. Inclusive business models (joint ventures) are promoted as viable avenues for the inclusion of the rural poor into profitable value chains. However, Oya (2012), Lahiff (2014) and Hall and Kepe (2017) show that inclusive businesses are exploitative and have excluded the rural poor. The Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS), the current South African Land Redistribution policy shifted agricultural farming into individualised economic activity. The policy is a market-led model embracing an ideological rhetoric of commercialisation. It presents emerging black commercial farmers to convey a prescriptive trajectory for commercialisation done in the context of inclusive business.

As part of the State's extensive Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) programme implemented across the economy, farm beneficiaries' partner with the strategic partner/mentor, as means to empower previously marginalised groups and to transform the dualistic unequal agricultural economy inherited from the apartheid regime. Joint ventures are to provide beneficiaries access to mainstream agricultural markets, move up the agricultural value chains, capacitate beneficiaries through training and skills transferral to deal with and; adapt to the continuously evolving markets and to promote employment creation. While the state funds the land transfer and also provides recapitalisation and post-settlement support to farm beneficiaries. The strategic partnership/mentorship model of land reform opened up opportunities for agribusiness and individuals to cash in on land reform through illicit benefit and in some instances later withdraw. Beneficiaries have not entirely benefited from the model. The paper presents South African cases where commercial partners and individuals remain in joint ventures through fronting, subsidy farming and farm flipping in order to continue to benefit from public funds. This experience presents a case that the renewed interest in inclusive business models in agriculture often excludes poor people and favours agribusiness at the expense of farm beneficiaries. The paper posits that, joint ventures not the appropriate way to approach land reform as they perpetuate elite capture. Policy-makers need to move beyond the pragmatic approach of joint ventures and to rethink alternative inclusive growth models.

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PhD student in Sustainable Development at the University of Brasília, UnB, with research focused on the diffusion of agroecological practices through public policies and the exercise of agri-food autonomy. Master's in international Cooperation for Development - University of Salamanca, USAL, with research on "South-South cooperation for development: technical cooperation in public policy between Brazil and Africa". Law degree from Tiradentes University, UNIT, with research on "The right to development as a human right and its constitutional and international protection". Participant in numerous summer schools, including the most recent on "Pathways to Sustainability" conducted by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and STEPS Centre in the University of Sussex, England in 2018.

Agroecology and the Agrarian Question in the 21st century: open-ended questions and current challenges

What are the contributions of studies in agroecology to the critical agrarian studies? Is there a contemporary agrarian issue when dealing with agroecology? How relevant are the agroecological experiences from the Global South to the agrarian question in the 21st century? Why are Brazilian experiences and public policies conceived as a contradictory process and movement of "despeasantization" with the growth of agribusiness sector and "recampesinization" through agroecological social movements? What are the connections between industrial farming practices and viral epidemiology as COVID-19? How to bring about a sustainable food regime through industrial agriculture? These open and unresolved issues permeate the debate on agroecology and the agrarian problems now. Whereas classical agrarian studies, with a predominant focus on the socio-political and economic dimension, did not address cultural and ecological issues centrally, agroecological debate has gained notoriety and greater prominence in recent decades. Particularly, for conceiving the socio-ecological dimension in an interdependent way and correlated with cultural, economic and political dimensions of agriculture and for considering the importance of traditional and indigenous knowledge in the construction and reproduction of possible and existing alternatives for a sustainable agriculture (Altieri et al., 1987). Classic agrarian questions over the reproduction of capitalism in agriculture and the peasantry transformations are still alive, though there is no consensus about its different analysis. For Marx (1988), agriculture play a subordinate role to industrial capital. In this sense, for Kautsky (1980), even if the peasant units were immune to the changes, they would succumb to the industrial mode of production that would, at least ultimately, constitute the vehicle for their disappearance. On the other hand, Chayanov (1974) stated that the peasant economy does not respond to capitalist laws in terms of mechanisms of social reproduction and self-exploitation. For Shanin (1980), the "despeasantization" was the main structural social change in peasant societies. Ploeg (2008), following Chayanov studies, stated the contemporary processes of the reconstitution of the peasantry through the "recampesinization". Meantime, in a sceptical view, Bernstein (2014; 2010) argues that there are no 'peasants' in the world of contemporary capitalist globalisation. Thus, the main goal of this paper is to conduct a debate on the points of convergence and divergence between agroecology and the critical agrarian studies addressing the Brazilian experience in the Global South context.

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Poonam Jusrut earned a PhD in Geography at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in August 2016. She has a BA (Hons) in Geography from the University of Delhi, India and an MSc in Development and Environment from Royal Holloway, University of London, UK. Originally from Mauritius, Poonam's research interests revolve around development studies. She is also interested in using geospatial analysis in her research.

"Instrumentalizing Gender: When Elite Capture Intersects with Gender-Focused Actions of Forest Management Projects in Senegal."

Gender mainstreaming in Senegal's two long-standing forestry projects, Wula Nafaa and PROGEDE, marked a milestone in forest management. Since 1998, rural communities can legally produce charcoal in their forests but not everybody within those rural communities is able to gain from the opportunities offered by this change. One of the initiatives of the two projects to promote equitable access to forest resources was through increasing the participation of women in forest resource management and exploitation. Despite the provisions made by the projects to include women in forest management and use, profits from wood-based charcoal production accrue mostly to women in privileged groups or to the male family members of those women. This paper shows how participation, an important component of the gender approach, is construed at different stages of projects and how it, in turn, affects who gets access to charcoal production and trade. The analysis focuses on how elite capture shapes the participation of women. It demonstrates that the avenues opened for women to participate in forest management and use do not challenge the specific gender-biased contextual contours of rural societies in Tambacounda. Efforts to involve women in the forest management and production end of the charcoal sector favor elite women over poorer and less advantageously positioned women, overlooking that stratification among women and within local population that prevented the building of equitable access.

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Ph.D. student in Sociology at El Colegio de México. I have published the books 'Our soul enemies': Landowner elites and racist discourses in Bolivia (Observatorio del Racismo, 2013) and From 'savages' to indigenous?: Marriage and ethnic strategies in the Indigenous Territory El Pallar (Observatorio del Racismo, 2016). Since the beginning of my postgraduate studies (2016), I have been working on a longrange project that I initially titled "The origins of peasant power in Bolivia" which, from a historical sociology perspective, seeks to understand the economic and political development of the Andean peasant regions in the 20th century.

The social consequences of the rural Bolivian Andes formal subsumption to capitalism at the end of the XIX century This article seeks to illustrate two contradictory processes that emerged from the articulation of Bolivia to world capitalism at the end of the 19th century by analyzing two of its rural Andean regions. I focus on the rural hinterlands of La Paz and Cochabamba in order to contrast the effects of the macro economical process on their local class structures and relations. The first process was one of permanent accumulation that took place through the dependent articulation of rural hinterlands to growing urban and industrial centers, and the concomitant transfer of value through increasing physical exploitation of the indigenous labor force. In the highlands of La Paz, this occurred through hacendal expansion at the expense of the indigenous communities; while in the high valley of Cochabamba, as a consequence of lower productivity in relation to other cereal supplying regions, it caused the progressive dissolution of the colonial hacienda and its conversion into small peasant plots. However, this accumulation process had its counterpart in a democratization process unleashed by the same capitalist-hacendal model. The urban centers grew in an unprecedented magnitude and this caused the rise of new groups contending for political power, and the emergence of a restricted democracy. At the rural provinces level, both in La Paz and Cochabamba, this was expressed in the emergence of local public spaces and political parties, and in the increasing polarization of the local society, which peasants used in their benefit through the establishment of alliances with elites and through rebellions in moments of inter-elite divisions. We propose that this model of coetaneous accumulation and democratization should allow us to have a better understanding of the growing crisis in rural Andean areas and its final outcome in the 1952 Revolution. Affiliation: El Colegio de México

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I completed my B.A. program in Sociology from St. Xaviers' College, Kolkata. Following my bachelors' program, I completed my M.A. program in Sociology from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, My areas of interests are food and agriculture, science and technology studies and gender and sexuality. Before joining IIT Delhi, Humanities and Social Sciences department, I was working as a research associate at Indian Statistical Institute, Giridih, Jharkhand for the project on contract farming in potato and corn at West Bengal and Jharkhand. While working in that project, my interest shifted towards understanding the alternative agricultural practices in India. After joining the IIT, I began to work on the same topic for my PhD. Project as well. I just completed my first round of fieldwork in two districts like Purulia, Burdawan and South-24-Parganas in West Bengal. I am presently working in the domain of labour practices and knowledge systems, part of the larger project on alternative agricultural practices in West Bengal. In the meantime, I did one month certificate course on Agroecology at Calcutta University, where I got to meet different stakeholders involved in different alternative agricultural practices across India.

#### The making of 'Green': Labour, Knowledge and Ecology

Conventionally the critique of green revolution in India is divided into two stark ideological camps. On the one hand, the conventional Marxist literature necessarily criticizes green revolution paradigm mainly from the political economy framework (Munster 2015). The literature criticizes green revolution paradigm on accounts of capitalist expansion, the transformation of rural-livelihood, the political economy of agrarian markets, and its impact on non-capitalist producers and unfree laborer. The major thrust was put on the change of land, labor, and capital and the impact land, labor, and capital have on agrarian crisis. But, the literature remains utterly silent on the question of the environmental aspect of agricultural change and the diverse cultural interpretations of everyday agricultural activities (ibid.). On the other end, very often practices like organic farming solely talking about input correction and Subhash Palekar's Zero Budget Natural Farming (ZBNF) advocating for Swadeshi, environmental puritanism opposed to hybridity and foreign intrusion in agriculture completely remains blind to the question of land, labour and capital and market and their connections to ecology as well (Munster 2015, 2016). Hence, there is a need for an interdisciplinary dialogue in order to study agriculture critically (ibid.). The requirement of incorporating 'agroecological' framework within the methodology of studying agriculture while challenging the age-old dualistic understanding between humans and nature, economy and ecology, science, and practice becomes significant to make that interdisciplinary dialogue possible. For the need of an agroecological framework to study agriculture critically, actor-network- theory (ANT) becomes significant tool to understand the assemblage between human and non-human actors (ibid.). In the backdrop of this larger critical discussion around the alternative agricultural practices in India, my ethnographic work tries to show the relevance of the assemblage between labour and ecology and how does the assemblage contribute in the making of an agronomical knowledge in the context of three districts (Purulia, Burdawan and South-24-Parganas) in West Bengal, located in the eastern part of India. The idea of green typically marks an ecological prosperity and perfection. Even the model of green revolution has had to keep green in its fact despite of the ecological hazard it has contributed to. Similarly, the idea of making green emerges in the domain of alternative agricultural practices too, where the purpose is to revive from the barren past of green revolution to an ecologically sound future. But can the making of green is possible without taking into consideration the human and non-human assemblage critically in the domain of alternative agricultural practices. The paper revolves around this question largely.

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Rahma Hassan is a social economic researcher from Kenya and a PhD fellow from the University of Copenhagen and University of Nairobi. She has worked in social development research, in government and globally on research on health, gender, and governance. Currently, she is researching community land rights among pastoralist's communities in Kenya. Rahma holds a Master of Arts degree from University Nairobi (Institute for Development Studies) and a Bachelor of Arts degree (First class honors) from University of Nairobi, Department of Sociology and Social Work.

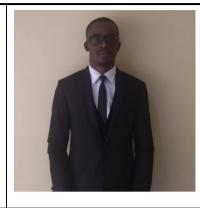
## Formal rights and the challenges of land access among pastoralists in Kenya

Access to land, is an indispensable component of pastoralists' livelihoods and lifestyles, and therefore their long-term resilience towards external stresses. International conventions, and national legislations are increasingly recognizing peoples' rights to lands they have traditionally occupied, owned, or used, through titling and other law-based measures in accordance with customary laws and traditional land and resource tenure. There is much attention to communal land rights, but there is also call for protecting individuals and women rights. Literature, however, debates the significance of law-based land rights and titling in relation to securing access to land. Some argue that formalization of collective or individual property is crucial for access and sustainable management. Others see law-based rights as just one of many aspects of access. Yet others argue that processes of formalization may just reinforce or change existing patterns of inclusion and exclusion. In Kenya, the Community Land Act of 2016 (CLA) reverberates the debate by focusing on formalizing community land in the country's pastoral land, and by containing provisions for women's land rights. Furthermore, the CLA has been said to be among the most supportive of communal property on the African continent. However, its implementation has only just begun, and its impacts are therefore still unknown. This paper aims at contributing to the debate about the relationship between law based land rights and access for pastoralist communities in discussing how formalization of community land rights affect pastoralists access to land, and thereby their resilience in the context of the on-going implementation of CLA in Kenya. Based on our own fieldwork in the counties of Kajiado and Samburu, we document challenges of land access experienced by pastoralists and argue that formalizing community land rights will not only create new winners and losers within pastoralist communities, it is also likely to contribute to exclusion and undermining pastoralism. While this is in contradiction to the letters of the laws and conventions, it may be necessary in the perspective of pastoralists' long-term resilience.

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Johannes Bhanye is an emerging researcher and academic. He is currently a Ph.D. student with the University of Zimbabwe, Center for Applied Social Sciences, under the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Ph.D. fellowship on 'Mobility and Sociality in Africa's Emerging Urban.' His Doctoral study focuses on "The dynamics of migration and land entitlement among migrants in Zimbabwe's peri-urban." Johannes also holds a B.Sc. (honours) degree in Rural and Urban Planning and M.Sc. in Social Ecology from the University of Zimbabwe. His research interests cuts across, land tenure, migration, urban informality, cities and social change and other development related topics in Africa.

Alternative institutions of securing space among migrants in the peri-urban: An ethnographic study of Malawian migrants in Zimbabwe

This paper focuses on how transnational migrants establish themselves in rough peri-urban spaces in destination countries. This aspect has remained unexplored in African urban research which has typically been overwhelmed with issues of process and consequences of migration. Data for this study was collected through ethnographic fieldwork among Malawian migrants in Zimbabwe's peri-urban. The paper specifically focuses on how Malawian migrants proceed to access coveted land in the peri-urban dominated by the indigenes. The finding of the paper is that, Malawian migrants resort to alternative institutions in securing land in peri-urban spaces. Migrants resort to various social networks including kinship and fictive kinship to access land. As well, migrants turn to political patronage for land where they can build their shacks. Bizarrely, migrants also resort to the occult, a religious and ritual based form of authority that is associated with deathly symbols. Because it is feared by adherence and indigenes alike, the occult is able to yield and guarantee land to those seeking it in its name. Finally, migrants also resort to more confrontational strategies like land seizures to access land. This is often a measure of last resort, and it is important to note that when migrants do this, it is because they have run out of normal options to deal with their circumstances. Very often they are no formal institutions that they can turn to. Based on these observations, the paper concludes that, migrant communities are often not as dead places as they are often read in literature. Migrant communities emerge as dynamic spaces with novel forms of structures, networks and strategies that migrants turn to in accessing resources. Thus, beneath the semblance of chaos that characterizes migrant settlements, there is another different 'world'; ordered and shared by those who constitute it.

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Felix Opola is a Kenyan PhD candidate at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. His research explores how the concept of inclusive innovation is understood and practised within the Kenyan agricultural sector. He is particularly interested in the discourses and social contexts that shape innovation processes and the resulting social impacts. Besides research, he enjoys interacting with people from different cultures.

# Examining the Legitimacy of Inclusive Innovation in the Kenyan Agricultural Sector

The past few decades have witnessed an increased political and academic interest in innovation processes that are perceived to be aligned to the needs, interests and opportunities of individuals and organisations with little resource endowments such as smallholder farmers or actors in the informal sector. Such processes have broadly been referred to as inclusive innovation. However, it has been pointed out that processes such as innovation involve multiple actors with different interests and backgrounds and that the understanding of the problems being addressed and the subsequent solutions proposed and adopted will embody the interests of powerful and influential actors such as the state or research organisations. While such influential actors have the resources to drive inclusive innovation processes through various interventions, little is known about how legitimate these interventions are to those they are targeted at. Using the context of Kenyan agriculture, and the different actors involved in this sector, this papers examines the legitimacy of inclusive innovation interventions to smallholder farmers. Legitimacy is conceptualised as the perception that actions of an organisation, individual or entity are desirable or appropriate. Preliminary results indicate that while interventions by various actors are considered to be morally legitimate by smallholder farmers who trust the actors involved, the same interventions lack pragmatic legitimacy since they are not aligned to the needs and interests of the interests of farmers.

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My name is Caihuan Duojie. I was born in 1983 to a Tibetan family in China's Qinghai Province I earned a BA in Tibetan and English languages from Qinghai Nationalities University in 2008. In 2011, I earned an MA in Sustainable Development in a joint program run by Paris Dauphine University and China Agricultural University in Beijing with a scholarship granted by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. Currently, I am a PhD student at the University of Canterbury. My research is about Tibetan farmers' livelihoods in northwest China. Before I began PhD study in 2018, I was a lecturer at Qinghai Nationalities University, where I began to work in 2013.

Livelihoods and Capitalization: Caterpillar Fungus Harvesting in Tibetan Areas

China's agrarian reform in early 1980s and its subsequent agricultural modernization project in mid-1990s has spurred the rapid growth of capitalism in the countryside. As a result, a drastic commodification of Tibetans' subsistence has occurred. Caterpillar fungus, a traditional medicinal substance, has now been commodified, and largely collected for exchange value on the Tibetan plateau. This new resource economy has attracted a vast number of Tibetan peasants to earn cash income, and now plays a pivotal role in household economies. In the face of rapid agrarian change in China, the successful integration of the caterpillar fungus economy into capitalist markets has caused waves of gold-rush-like impacts on Tibetans. Yet, while well-documented in the literature, the labor transformation and commodification of the caterpillar fungus economy have rarely been discussed. This paper engages with critical agrarian studies to pursue a better understanding of the labour processes of Tibetan peasants' involvement in the caterpillar fungus economy in China's Qinghai province. Based on perspectives from critical agrarian studies, I mainly discuss Tibetan peasant collectors' class struggles revolving around their agency, under the structure of capitalized caterpillar fungus economy. This paper has four sections. First, I give a historical review of the caterpillar fungus economy with special focus on the state's intervention and the rise of middlemen in the caterpillar fungus economy in the 1990s. Second, I discuss how rapid capitalization, mainly from below, began to dominate the caterpillar fungus economy since the late 1990s and early 2000s, which in turn reconfigured Tibetan peasants' labor arrangements and labor relations. Third, I discuss three kinds of models in which capitalist management was practiced during the collection period to control and manage peasant collectors and their labor process for more capital accumulation. Last, I discuss how capitalist managerial strategies, in tandem with overcollection, gradually exclude Tibetan peasant collectors from the caterpillar fungus economy, leading to a possible decline in caterpillar fungus harvesting. In doing so, the paper concludes with implications on the notion of sustainability in the caterpillar fungus economy in the wider context of agrarian change.

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Dr. Rama Salla Dieng, is a Senegalese writer, scholaractivist. She is currently a <u>Lecturer</u> in African Studies and International Development at the University of Edinburgh. Her research is at the intersection of critical agrarian studies, feminist political economy, and gender and development. Previously, she worked at the Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP) based in Senegal and at the UNDP in Mauritius. Rama is currently a member of the Governing Council of the <u>Development Studies Association</u> <u>UK</u>, in charge of Decolonising Development Studies. She is also the curator of the <u>African Feminisms in Dialogue series</u> and the Lead Editor of a collective anthology on <u>Feminist</u> <u>Parenting: Perspectives from Africa and Beyond</u> (2020).

The "neo-housewification" of cheap horticulture workers in Northern Senegal: Analysing the conjugated dynamics of Capitalist Paternalisms and Patriarchies

After 2007, a rising interest in farmland: the land rush, or "land grabbing", has been experienced in developing countries including in Africa that has been denounced by NGOs, think-tanks and the academia (Edelman et al 2013, Borras et al 2013, Oya 2013, Dieng 2017). While the drivers, scale and actors in this renewed interest in land (and labour) are still contested, there is a growing body of knowledge interested in its differentiated impact and outcomes (Hall et al 2015, Baglioni 2017, Pattenden 2018, Cousin 2018). This article seeks to understand which dynamics of agrarian change emerge out of those land deals by analysing some of the transformations led by the spectacular rise horticulture in the Senegalese River Valley Region between 2006 and 2017. Based on an ethnographic comparative study of three Fresh Fruits and Vegetables export horticultural firms in two regions of Northern Senegal, and combining feminist critical political economy and decolonial methodologies, I argue that the alliances and strategic complicities between corporate paternalisms and capitalist patriarchies is what holds together the 'exploitation without dispossession' (Berry 1993) or yet again 'control grabbing' (Borras et al 2012) of fragmented classes of labour by classes of capital following land deals. By straddling the domestic and 'professional' lives of workers, corporate players use a variety of strategies to control wage labour and transform it into cheap labourers (Mbilinvi 1986). I argue that this transposes the logic of the "domestic economy" to that of the market: firms have re-invented themselves as a new "family" in which capitalism-patriarchy disciplines and controls wage labour in order to reproduce labour markets while depreciating the value of labour, with the fallacious objective to "leave no-one behind". In return, wage workers also use a diverse repertoire of everyday forms of resistance to counter and renegotiate their subject positions vis-à-vis these capitalist enterprises. By studying up, studying down, and studying through, this article contributes to the debunking of single and narratives about outcomes of export horticulture on "the rural wage worker" through life-histories which can enable research participants to re-create their histories and reclaim agency over their own lives.

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Siddharth Joshi, is an activist and researcher based in Bangalore, India. He was awarded doctoral degree (Fellow Programme in Management) from Indian Institute of Management Bangalore in 2017 for the dissertation titled 'Resisting History? Agrarian Change and Farmers' Mobilization in Western Uttar Pradesh 1985-2015'. The dissertation explored the structural changes in agriculture which explained the decline of farmer movement in the western Uttar Pradesh region. Since completion of his doctoral degree, he has been working with various social movements on issues of urban social justice, climate change and human rights while retaining keen interest in agrarian issues and the praxis of farmer movements as both a fellow traveller and scholar.

'Resisting History? Agrarian Change and Farmers' Mobilization in Western Uttar Pradesh 1985-2015'

The 1980s and 1990s in India witnessed strong and strident organized mobiliziations by farmer groups which were referred to as 'New Farmer Movements', because of, among other things, their ability to mobilize agrarian groups across class and caste divides. These movements declined mid-1990s onwards as neo-liberal policies in India made their way to agriculture sector. The five years of Hindu right-wing government headed by Narendra Modi has seen a revival of sorts agrarian mobilizations around familiar demands but with a new vocabulary, idiom and strategy. While the mobilizations of the 1980s were led by organizations calling themselves 'Unions' having a singular hierarchical organizational structure, the recent agrarian mobilizations which began independently in various states culminated into the high tide of demonstrations at New Delhi on Nov 30, 2018 under the umbrella of All India Kisan Sangharsh Co-ordination Committee (All India Farmers' Struggle Co-ordination Committee) which is a collective of over 200 disparate organizations. They put forward two draft lesgislations, demanding a special session of the Parliament to discuss the agrarian and rural crisis and enactment of these legislations - one dealing with assuring minimum prices for farmer produce and the second one to deal with agrarian debt which has been reported as the primary proximate cause for the phenomenon of farmer suicides in India. Although the demands made by the group have so far not been accepted by the Union government, the continuous mobilizations around agrarian issues was successful in changing the narrative of Indian politics in that the 'farmer' emerged as an electoral category to which each party is increasingly required to make electoral gestures. Through a comparative analysis of farmer mobilizations in the 1980s and those in the last five years, this paper seeks an answer to following questions: What are the structural shifts in India agriculture in the last two decades and how do they explain some of the characteristics, strategies, demands and trajectory of the recent agrarian mobilizations? What explains the timing of the recent eruption of widespread agrarian protests across various parts of the country when agrarian unrest represented by farmer suicides and stagnant rural wages has been a constant theme all throughout the last two decades? What is the relationship of this resurgence of non-party agrarian politics with the emergence of – as the dominant party in the electoral system in India? Under what conditions is the 'agrarian' identity' a politically stable category, especially in its interaction with multiparty electoral politics in India? Do these protests signal a new dawn for the farmer movements which had been on decline after a brief crescendo in the 1980s and 1990s? The paper will draw from village-level field work conducted during 2015-2016 in western Uttar Pradesh, which was and continues to be a cradle of farmer mobilizations in Northern India.

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Thiruni Kelegama is a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Geography at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. She is an anthropologist and a political geographer whose research focuses on post-war reconstruction, development, militarisation and nationalism in Sri Lanka.

## Consolidating Control: Frontier Governance in Post-war Sri Lanka

This paper studies contentious forms of territorialisation and the spatial dynamics that have been part of state expansion processes into the northeastern Dry Zone frontier in postcolonial Sri Lanka. From early postcolonial attempts to civilise this frontier through high-modernist development projects, this region has continually been subject to long-standing state and military interventions driven by an objective to bring "development" to the peripheries, which continue to date. Through a discussion of such interventions and its post-war revival in 2009, I trace the manner in which the military assumed extra-ordinary powers and became critical to the carrying out of development projects and the militarised practices that enable this. Building on 11 months of ethnographic fieldwork, I argue the post-war state enabled the security-development nexus in a four-fold manner: by normalising the presence of the military, by ensuring the military is seen as charitable, by blurring the boundary between the military and the civilians and finally by portraying the work carried out by the military as transformative. The paper concludes by demonstrating how the military and militarised practices of exerting control are essential to the long-standing project of expanding and claiming of the frontier, and therefore critical to the postcolonial state territorialisation agenda.

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My name is Lorena Rodríguez Lezica and I am from Uruguay. I completed my undergraduate studies in the United States and my graduate studies in Ecuador. I am currently pursuing a PhD in Agrarian Social Studies in Argentina. I work at University in Uruguay, where I am part of different interdisciplinary groups on agrarian issues and women, feminism and social struggles. I also take part in the Latin American group Feminist Critical Views of Territory. My research activities have been focused on addressing social inequalities and resistance in rural areas both in the agricultural farmers' and wage-workers' world.

Women, struggles for territory and reproduction of life: the agrarian question revisited in Uruguay

The debate on the agrarian question has become more complex when taking into account the confrontation with unequal relations of different kinds. A decade ago Akram-Lodhi and Kay (2010) proposed seven analytical frameworks to study agrarian problems and address social transformation in rural areas. Among these, I am particularly interested in shedding some light on the agrarian question of gender and the ecological question. The first is a critique of the way in which agrarian struggle and change have been reduced to class struggle. The second focuses on the biophysical contradictions in capitalism. When intersecting both questions, by adopting both a feminist and an ecological perspective, reproduction of life becomes the centre. The struggle in defence of life has become central since the beginning of this century in Latin America's rural territories. Women, in particular, have in many cases become protagonists in social struggles for the territory and the commons, and against precarization of life. Particularly because their community's health and life in general is affected by the use of agrochemical inputs (Federici, 2014; Gutiérrez Aguilar, 2014; Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo, 2016). Uruguay is an interesting case as the progressive government has just come to an end, giving way to a right-wing coalition. The neodevelopmentalist project (2005-2020) implied a series of continuities and another series of changes with respect to the previous neoliberal stage. Regarding agricultural policy, policies aimed at historically excluded sectors coexisted with policies that supported agribusiness (Santos et al., 2012; Carámbula, 2015; Piñeiro y Cardeillac, 2018). In Uruguay, not much research has been undertaken to approach the role of women in social struggles for the territory in agrarian social studies. Not much attention has been paid to women's caring, reproduction and sustainability of life. That is why I pretend to address women's struggles in their territories against precariousness of life in an agro-extractive context. I am planning to do this through a feminist collaborative methodology, by analysing the struggles of women family farmers in disputed territories in rural areas in Uruguay.

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I am a right to food activist and academic committed to socially-engaged research. In 2016, I started a Ph.D. at the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Manitoba. Before coming to Canada, I worked with Ecuadorian peasants organizations, as well as regional and international networks working for food sovereignty. I have drawn significantly upon my 15 years of work as an activist advocating for the right to food and peasant's right to inform and articulate my academic research projects. My MA and my Ph.D. thesis shed light on agrarian policies in Ecuador and the land struggles of grassroots organizations.

# Food Sovereignty and gendered equity in the access to and control of land in Ecuador

In 2008, Ecuador endorsed food sovereignty as a constitutional goal, recognizing, among other aims, the importance of equitable distribution of productive resources and the critical role of peasants, especially women, in the production of food. However, there are contradictions between the food sovereignty discourse and the implementation of policies that reinforce large-scale agro-industrial actors. My analysis centers on the understandings and practices of peasant organizations as well as other public actors involved in the food sovereignty policy in Guayas province, a region that has not been the research focus of critical agrarian scholars and rural development advocates. This article sheds light on the specific ways the demands and practices of the peasant organizations overlap or differ from the state's official discourse and policies on food sovereignty. Importantly, my research looks at the role of women in building food sovereignty from below to break down adverse mechanisms that favour historical unequal and hierarchical power relations. My research is informed by 12 months of fieldwork in the province of Guayas in southwest Ecuador. It involved a comprehensive document review and 75 semi-structured interviews with peasant leaders, government officials and private industry representatives who are directly or indirectly participating in the public policy. The fieldwork also involved participatory observation of and engagement with the grassroots organizations based in the Hacienda Las Mercedes and La Indiana in many relevant activities, including advocacy work with public officials and regular assemblies. My research will contribute to existing research on the politics of food sovereignty in Ecuador by underscoring the contradictions between the state discourse of food sovereignty and its implementation of the land policy called Plan Tierras together with existing agrarian policies. This analysis is useful to better understand how Ecuador's rural development model fails to meet the gender equity goals of food sovereignty of peasants based in the area of study, and the kind of alternative networks women are implementing to foster sustainable, democratic, and gender-equal food systems and maintain their land.

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