

Land grabbing, conflict and agrarian-environmental transformations: perspectives from East and Southeast Asia

An international academic conference
5-6 June 2015, Chiang Mai University
UNISERV Hostel, Chiang Mai University
Address: 239 Nimmanhemmin Road, Tambon Suthep, Mueang District, Chiang Mai

Organized by:

BRICS Initiatives for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS); Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI); Mosaic Research Project; Transnational Institute (TNI); Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation (ICCO); Focus on the Global South, Chiang Mai University



In collaboration with:

Demeter (Droits et Egalite pour une Meilleure Economie de la Terre), Geneva Graduate Institute
University of Amsterdam WOTRO/AISSR Project on Land Investments (Indonesia/Philippines)
Université de Montréal – REINVENTERRA (Asia) Project
Mekong Research Group, University of Sydney (AMRC)
University of Wisconsin-Madison

With funding support from:



Contact information: Queries from academic researchers on conference papers, programme or participation, please contact: Jun Borras at junborras5@gmail.com, or Ben White at white@iss.nl, or Chayan Vaddhanaphuti at ethnet@loxinfo.co.th. Queries from civil society organizations and other non-academic researchers and experts, please contact Jennifer Franco or Pietje Vervest of TNI: jennycfranco@tni.org; pietje.vervest@tni.org. Queries on paper formats and conference website matters, contact Liu Juan: juanlcau@gmail.com. Queries on other logistical issues, please contact Chanida Puranapun at chanidarcso@gmail.com.

Chiang Mai conference Programme
1 June version

TENTATIVE PROGRAMME

Note:

We will follow the LDPI conference format: largely academic, with selected key activist and policy experts' participation; combining keynote/plenary panels and parallel sessions; packed in two days.

Papers published online in advance for public open access. Paper authors are given not more than 10 minutes each to frame/summarize their arguments/findings.

This will allow for more discussion time. Good time for break time to allow for informal exchanges and networking; breakfast, lunch, dinner provided free for all registered participants.

We expect about 75 papers submitted and with author-presenters present in Chiang Mai.

** 6 parallel sessions, 4X (with max 4 papers for discussion in each session = 10 minutes each = 40 minutes input, and 50-60 minutes discussion*

Plenary talks:

**The four keynote speakers will be given 20 minutes for their input, with 25 minutes open plenary discussion. Three keynote speakers will have their full papers or Discussion Notes circulated before the conference.*

**Plenary panel speakers: not more than 8 minutes each. We encourage them to circulate full papers or at least 'discussion notes' before the conference.*

There will be no introductions for keynote speakers, plenary panel speakers, and parallel session presenters. Chairs will not do this – to save us time, so that we can have more time for open discussion. The Conference Programme will include the short bios of all plenary speakers and individual conference organizers/secretariat, including institutions co-organizers of the conferences. All parallel session speakers should have included their short bios in their conference papers that are open access from the conference website.

This conference format aims to maximize time for exchanges and discussions.

We will print the final version of this programme and include it in the conference bag. So, no need for participants to print their own copy.

TENTATIVE PROGRAMME

Day 1: 5th June

7:00 – 8:00 am -- registration

8:00 to 9:00 - Opening/Welcome remarks by conference organizers:

Chair: Suraya Afiff, University of Indonesia

Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, RCSD Director, Chiang Mai University professor
Co-coordinator of the Mosaic Research Project, and Chair of ICCO Southeast
Asia Regional Council

Host and co-organizer, Welcome/Opening Remarks

A brief 'report from the field' on land grabbing in Myanmar
Summary of the grassroots action research carried out jointly by
Land In Our Hands (LIOH) alliance

Presenter:

Khu Khu Ju, Land In Our Hands (LIOH) alliance

Opening Panel: academic/NGO conference collaborators

University of Amsterdam, Rosanne Rutten

University of Montreal, Dominique Caouette

University of Sydney, Philip Hirsch

University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ian Baird

Geneva Graduate Institute, Christophe Gironde

Kees de Ruiter, ICCO-Cooperation Southeast Asia

9:00 – 9:45 Keynote 1

Chair: Anan Ganjanapan, Chiang Mai University

Henry Bernstein, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of
London, UK

Food regime and food regime analysis: a selective survey

9:45 – 10:45 – Plenary Panel I

Chair: Dominique Caouette, University of Montreal

The rise of BRICS and MICs and implications for global agrarian-
environmental transformations

* Southeast Asia in the context of the rise of China and middle income
countries, Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Chiang Mai University

* Brazil in Latin America – Sergio Sauer, University of Brasilia, Brazil

* South Africa in Africa – Ruth Hall, PLAAS, University of the Western Cape,
South Africa

* China in Latin America – Zoe Brent, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague; Food First & Transnational Institute (TNI)

10:45 – 11:15 coffee/tea break

11:15 – 12:45 – Parallel Sessions I

12:45 – 2:00 pm – Lunch break

2:00 – 2:45 – Keynote 2

Chair, Ian Baird, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Tania Li, University of Toronto

'After the land grab: Infrastructural violence and the monopoly system in Indonesia's oil palm plantation zone'

2:45 – 3:45 – Plenary Panel II

Chair: Peter Vanderveest, York University, Canada

Intersections of agrarian and environmental issues and implications for land politics and agrarian-environmental transformations

Nancy Peluso, University of California, Berkeley

Esteve Corbera, Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB)

Murat Arsel, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague

Ngin Chanrith, Royal University of Phnom Penh

3:45 – 4:15 – coffee/tea break

4:15 – 5:45 – Parallel Sessions II

6:00 – Dinner for all participants

Day 2, 6th June

8:00 – 8:45 -- Keynote 3

Chair: Philip Hirsch, University of Sydney

Yan Hairong, Hong Kong Polytechnic University

'Chinese Agrarian Capitalism: From Above and Below, Going In and Out'

8:45-10:00 Plenary session III: challenges to and responses from international governmental & non-governmental institutions

Chair: Christophe Gironde, Geneva Graduate Institute

* John W. Bruce, former Director of Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison; former World Bank senior land tenure specialist

* Marianna Bicchieri, Land Tenure Officer, FAO Asia and the Pacific

* Karin Eberhardt, Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC)

* Vuthy Eang, Equitable Cambodia (EC)

* Roman Herre, Foodfirst Information and Action Network (FIAN)

10:00 – 10:30 coffee/tea break

10:30 – 12:00: Parallel Sessions III

12:00 – 1:30: Lunch break

1:30 – 3:00 – Keynote 4 & Plenary Panel IV

Chair: Shalmali Guttal, Focus on the Global South

on and by agrarian social movements from Southeast Asia

Keynote 4: Henry Saragih, La Via Campesina

Mary Ann Manahan, SARA Philippines

Prue Odochao, Indigenous Peoples network of the Northern Peasant Federation of Thailand

Hong Chinda, Action Research project and CPN, Cambodia

Zainal Arifin Fuat, Indonesian Peasant Federation (SPI)

Paul Sein, Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN)

3:00 – 3:30 – Coffee/tea break

3:30 – 5:00 – Parallel Sessions IV

5:00 – 6:00 – Plenary Panel V: Towards equitable and sustainable agrarian-environmental transformations: prospects and challenges

Chair: Rosanne Rutten, University of Amsterdam

Ben White, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Ye Jingzhong, China Agricultural University (Peasant Agriculture and the Modernization Encounter in China)

Eduardo C. Tadem, University of the Philippines

U Shwe Thein, Land Core Group, Myanmar and Mosaic Research Project

6:00 -6:30 Concluding Plenary Panel

Chair: Ruth Hall, PLAAS, South Africa

Kyaw Thu, Paung Ku

Rodolphe de Koninck, Université de Montréal

Jamaree Chiangthong, Chiang Mai University

6:30 – 7:00 Mega Book/Journal special issue launch

(Publications From Fall 2014 onwards)

Anchors:

Laura Schoenberger, York University

Zoe Brent, Institute for Food & Development Policy (Food First), Transnational Institute (TNI) and International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague

Short introduction by authors/editors, *including*:

Henry Bernstein, *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*, Bahasa and Thai editions

Jacqui Baker and Sarah Milne, guest editors, June 2015. Dirty Money States: Illicit economies and the state in Southeast Asia. *Critical Asian Studies*, special issue

Christophe Gironde, Christophe Golay, and Peter Messerli, editors. 2015. Large-scale land acquisitions: focus on South-East Asia. *International Development Policy Series No. 6*.

Marc Edelman, Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, Ben White and Wendy Wolford, guest editors (2015). 'Global land grabbing and political reactions from below'. *Journal of Peasant Studies* special issue, 42(3).

Carlos Oya, Jingzhong Ye and Qian Forrest Zhang, guest editors (2015). Agrarian change in contemporary China. *Journal of Agrarian Change* special issue.

Annie Shattuck, Christina M. Schiavoni and Zoe VanGelder, guest editors (2015). Translating the politics of food sovereignty: Digging into contradictions, uncovering new dimensions, *Globalizations* special issue,

Eric Holt-Giménez, Alberto Alonso-Fradejas, Todd Holmes, and Martha Jane Robbins, guest editors (2015). Food sovereignty: convergence and contradictions, condition and challenges. *Third World Quarterly* 36(3) April 2015, special issue.

Kristina Dietz, Bettina Engels, Oliver Pye, and Achim Brunnengräber, editors (2015). *The Political Ecology of Agrofuels* (Routledge ISS Studies in Rural Livelihoods). London: Routledge.

Tania Li (2014). *Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier*. Duke University Press

Ragnhild Lund, Kyoko Kusakabe, Smita Mishra Panda and Yunxian Wang, 2014. *Gender, mobilities, and livelihood transformations: Comparing indigenous people in China, India, and Laos*. London and New York: Routledge

Sarah Milne and Sango Mahanty, eds, 2015. *Conservation and Development in Cambodia: Exploring frontiers of change in nature, state and society* (Earthscan Conservation and Development). London: Routledge

7:00 pm: Special Dinner for all participants

Notes on keynote speakers, plenary speakers, chairs & secretariat

Suraya Afiff had been working with one of the major national environmental groups in Indonesia before in 2005 she began to teach at the graduate program in the Department of Anthropology at University of Indonesia. Her research focus is on the field of political ecology. Her research interests include climate change issues, green development, land use politics, agrarian conflicts, and environmental movements. Since 2007 she also serves as the head of the Center for Anthropological Studies.

Murat Arsel is associate professor at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, Netherlands and an Editor of *Development and Change*. He is a broadly trained human geographer, specialized in the political economy of environmental change and societal transformation, paying particular attention to natural resource conflicts, rural and agrarian development, and state-society relationships. Much of his empirical has focused on Turkey, with developing interests in (Western) China and Latin America (particularly Ecuador). He received his PhD from Cambridge in the Environment, Society and Development research cluster of the Department of Geography. He also has an MPhil in Environment and Development from Cambridge, an MSc in Politics of the World Economy from the London School of Economics, and a BA in Economics and Government from Clark University. Before taking up his current position at the ISS, he was based at the University of Chicago as a Lecturer and Research Associate in Environmental Studies.

Ian Baird is Assistant Professor of Geography at University of Wisconsin-Madison. He has a PhD in Geography, The University of British Columbia and M.A., Geography, The University of Victoria. His main geographical area of interest is mainland Southeast Asia, especially Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. His research interests include: Political Ecology (mainly rural), Human-Environment Relations, Insurgencies and political opposition in mainland Southeast Asia, Development and Postdevelopment Studies, Post-colonial Studies, Social Movements (in mainland Southeast Asia), Social Theory, Social and Spatial (Re)organization, Hydropower Dams in the Mekong Region and Inland Fisheries, Large-scale Economic Land Concessions/Acquisitions, Identities and Identification, Indigeneity in Asia, Upland peoples in mainland Southeast Asia. He has published widely on these topics.

Henry Bernstein is Emeritus Professor of Development Studies in the University of London at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and Visiting Professor in the College of Humanities and Development Studies, China Agricultural University, Beijing. He was an editor of the *Journal of Peasant Studies* from 1985 to 1999, and a founding co-editor of *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 2001-2008 (with Terence J. Byres). His 'little book', *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change* (2010, ICAS book series and published by

Fernwood in English) has been translated to nine (9) languages.

Marianna Bicchieri is a Land Tenure Officer with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) - Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. Specialized in public international law, she has more than 13 years' experience working on land and natural resources rights, capacity development and legal empowerment of vulnerable groups, gender issues and HIV-AIDS related tenure insecurity. She has written and peer-reviewed publications on access to justice, land *tenure and gender issues and has recently co-authored a book for FAO entitled When the law is not enough: Paralegals and natural resources governance in Mozambique.*

Sharmini Bisessar-Selvarajah is the research program administrator of Political Economy, of Resources, Environment and Population (PER) and is part of the Management and Support Organization (MSO) Secretariat at ISS. She holds a Master's degree in Management and Marketing, and a professional certificate in Total Quality Management from the United States. Sharmini joined ISS in November 1998 as an administrative assistant to the assistant editor of Development and Change. Sharmini is also the administrator of: Initiative Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS), BICAS, the Development Research Seminars at ISS (DRS), MSO, and other initiatives within the PER team. She is currently busy with pursuing her studies in the childhood and youth field.

Saturnino ('Jun') M. Borrás Jr. is Professor of Agrarian Studies at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands, Adjunct Professor at China Agricultural University in Beijing, and a Fellow of the Amsterdam-based Transnational Institute (TNI) and of the California-based Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First). He is a founding member and co-convenor of Land Deal Politics Initiative and of the BRICS Initiative for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS). He is project Co-Coordinator, together with Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, of the Mosaic Research Project. Jun is a Filipino agrarian social movement activist, and is on the board of the Rural Poor People's Institute for Land and Human Rights Network (Rightsnet) in the Philippines. He is the Editor-In-Chief of *Journal of Peasant Studies*. Email: junborras5@gmail.com

John W. Bruce has worked and published extensively on land policy and law in Africa and East Asia. Dr. Bruce researched land tenure issues during the 1970s in Ethiopia and Sudan, and later served as Director of the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Land Tenure Center. In 1998 he joined the World Bank as Senior Counsel (Land Law)/Senior Land Tenure Specialist. He retired from the Bank in 2006 and currently consults, based in Beijing.

Dominique Caouette is Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of the Network on Transnational Dynamics and Collective Action (REDTAC) University of Montreal's Montreal Centre for International Studies (CÉRIUM). He has also taught at the University of Ottawa and worked with Inter Pares. He holds a PhD from the University of Cornell and a master in International Affairs from the University of Carleton

Chanrith Ngin is Dean of the Faculty of Development Studies (FDS) at the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP), Cambodia. He holds a PhD in International Development from Nagoya University, Japan. He was an NWO-funded post-doc fellow at VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands, where he worked on community-based networks and multi-stakeholder engagement in land conflicts in Cambodia. His research works comprise community development, civil society, decentralization, migration, land issues, climate resilience, and natural resource management.

Jamaree Chiangthong is Associate Professor and Head of Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University. She earned her Master's Degree in Sociology, University of Manchester, UK in 1983 and Ph.D. in Anthropology from SOAS, University of London, UK in 1996. Her research focuses on agrarian studies and peasant society in northern Thailand and the Laos border.

Hong Chinda is respected human rights activist from Sihanouk city in Cambodia. She is a member of the Community Peace Building Network (CPN) and a founding member of the Action Research Team (ART). The ART is an informal community based network of land, forest and fishery rights activists from seven provinces in Cambodia. Ms. Chinda has personal experience of land grabbing, forced eviction and abuse by a legal system biased towards economic elites and the military. Through the ART and CPN, she has organized communities facing land-natural resource conflicts and gathered information on impacts of such conflicts for advocacy.

Esteve Corbera is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Environmental Sciences and Technology (ICTA), Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and a Research Associate at the School of International Development, University of East Anglia. His research focuses on the governance of land-use management options for climate mitigation across scales, including analyses of climate-policy and biodiversity conservation related instruments, such as Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) and carbon offset projects, and more recently also of large-scale agriculture for biofuels production. He is a member of the Editorial Boards of the journal *Global Environmental Change* and the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, and has been both a lead and a co-author in the 5th Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

Rodolphe de Koninck is Canada Research Chair of Asian Research and Professor of Geography at the University of Montreal. His recent book is co-authored with J.-F. Rousseau, *Gambling with the land. The contemporary evolution of Southeast Asian agriculture* (2012, NUS Press). He is one of the world's leading authorities on recent developments in Southeast Asia. He is especially well-known for his research into the green revolution in Southeast Asia, into the way small farmers spearhead national land use and, in general, into the array of development strategies implemented in Asia. He describes an Asia with several distinct models of agricultural development, one of which is specific to Southeast Asia and has been at the heart of the region's recent

success. He further believes that this model's present course may compromise economic renewal in the region. His ongoing research will ensure a better understanding of (1) the roots of Southeast Asia's dynamism, especially the rapid changes in its agriculture, (2) the environmental consequences of these changes, particularly deforestation, (3) the nature of relations between governments and small farmers, and (4) the role of agriculture in the move towards industrialization.

Kees de Ruiter. Currently Kees works at ICCO and is involved in the Kerk in Actie. He is the regional manager for South East Asia, based in Denpasar, responsible for managing the regional office with 20 people from the region, working in 6 countries (Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia, Vietnam and PNG) with more than 200 local organisations in South East Asia. The programme has its focus on access to and control over natural resources (land, water, forest, and so on). In addition it works towards empowering the rural poor and excluded groups so they become capable in realizing their agenda of getting a fair and sustainable access to and control over natural resources and economic opportunities. **Email:** kees.de.ruiter@iccokia.org

Zainal Arifin Fuat is from the Indonesian Peasant Federation, SPI.

Jennifer C. Franco is the Coordinator of the Agrarian Justice Program of the Transnational Institute (TNI) in Amsterdam and an Adjunct Professor at China Agricultural University in Beijing. She is part of the TNI Burma Team and works closely with the emerging national network of grassroots agrarian movement in Myanmar, namely, Lands In Our Hands (LIOH) Network. She also coordinates the work package on 'international governance instruments' of the Mosaic Research Project in Myanmar and Cambodia. She has researched on the issue of land politics and agrarian movements in the Philippines since the early 1990s. She has an ongoing action research with social movement groups that are members of the IPC for Food Sovereignty and FIAN-International in four countries in Africa: Mali, Nigeria, Uganda and South Africa, funded by IDRC Canada (2014-2018). jennycfranco@tni.org

Christophe Gironde is a political economist, currently working as a lecturer at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva. He received his Ph.D. in Development Studies from the University of Geneva. His main research fields are agrarian change and human development, with a focus on Vietnam and more recently on Cambodia.

Shalmali Guttal is Executive Director of Focus on the Global South (Focus) and based in Thailand. She has been researching and writing on economic development, trade-investment, and ecological and social justice issues in the Asia for over 20 years. Focus works with social movements, civil society, legislators and policy makers to stop the privatization and commodification of the commons and build alternative systems of use and governance. Focus is committed to ecological and climate justice, food sovereignty, and securing land and resource rights for local communities. Shalmali has been involved with social movements, CSOs and other actors on campaigns linking human rights with the commons, trade, investment and development issues

Ruth Hall is an associate professor at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape, and holds a DPhil in Politics from the University of Oxford. Her research focuses on land and agrarian reform in South Africa, and she also does research on land rights agricultural commercialisation and 'land grabbing' in Africa. She is a founding member and co-convenor of the Land Deal Politics Initiative and the BRICS Initiative in Critical Agrarian Studies, is the coordinator of the Future Agricultures Consortium's work on land in Africa and coordinator of its regional hub for Southern Africa. Email: rhall@plaas.org.za

Philip Hirsch is Professor of Human Geography in the School of Geosciences at the University of Sydney. He specialises in natural resource management, rural change and the politics of environment in Southeast Asia. Phil leads the Mekong Research Group, which carries out engaged and collaborative research on a range of natural resource governance, livelihood and development themes in the Mekong region. He has been working on and in Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia since the early 1980s. Phil is fluent in Thai and Lao, and also speaks and reads passable Vietnamese and some Khmer. Recent book: Hall, D; Hirsch, P; and Li, T, 2011, *Powers of Exclusion: Land dilemmas in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Singapore University Press.

Dr. Kyaw Thu is current Director of Paung Ku, a consortium initiative designed to innovate methods for supporting Myanmar civil society. Paung Ku's work focuses on poor and marginalized communities with an emphasis on improving the delivery of services, strengthening networking and organizing advocacy projects. Kyaw Thu has over 15 years' experience in the development sector in Myanmar including work with CARE and HIV/AIDS Alliance, and has extensive knowledge of civil society in the region having worked frequently with networks in India, China, Thailand and Cambodia.

Naw Julia Aye (Khu Khu Ju) joined Lands in Our Hands network in mid 2014 as Research Consultant and currently working as Program Manager. She is supporting for LIOH data collection and evidence-based research on land grabbing cases and intensity of land grabbing, identify actors involved and success stories and challenges. She is also supporting the systematically development of LIOH network including networking structure, human resources, program management, and other internal management system within the network. She used to work at Leadership and Management Training College (LMTC), Karen Education Department, Mae La Refugee Camp, Thailand for four years and Karen Human Rights Group for three years. She graduated from Dagon University in Yangon with Bachelor of Arts (Economics) in 2005 and Bachelor of Art (Communicative English) from Karen Baptist Theological Seminary, Yangon, Burma in 2007.

Tania Li is Professor and Canada Research Chair in the Political-Economy and Culture of Asia, University of Toronto early research in Southeast Asia concerned urban cultural politics in Singapore. Since then she has focused on culture, economy, environment, and development in Indonesia's upland regions. She has written about the rise of Indonesia's indigenous peoples'

movement, land reform, rural class formation, struggles over the forests and conservation, community resource management, and state-organized resettlement. Her book *The Will to Improve* explores a century of interventions by colonial and contemporary officials, missionaries, development experts and activists. *Powers of Exclusion* examines agrarian transition to see what happens to farmers' access to land in the context of competing land uses (e.g. conservation, urban sprawl, plantation agriculture). Her 2014 book *Land's End* tracks the emergence of capitalist relations among indigenous highlanders when they enclosed their common land. Her current writing project is an ethnography provisionally titled *Living with Oil Palm*. It explores the forms of social, political, cultural and economic life that emerge among people in the orbit of this massively expanding plantation crop. Future work will focus on the problems faced by people who are pushed off the land in contexts where they have little or no access to waged employment.

Juan Liu is an Assistant Professor at College of Humanities and Social Development, Northwest A&F University, China, and Post-doctoral Researcher at The International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague. She holds a PhD in Development Studies. Her research interests include internal migration and social policies, rural politics, land politics, and political economy of agriculture, environment and food. Email: juanlcau@gmail.com

Nancy Lee Peluso is Professor of Environmental Social Science and Resource Policy in the College of Natural Resources and the Program Director of the Berkeley Workshop in Environmental Politics, housed in the Institute of International Studies. She serves as a faculty member in the Society and Environment Division of the Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management, where she teaches courses in Political Ecology. Her research since the 1980s has focused on Forest Politics and Agrarian Change in Southeast Asia, primarily in Indonesia. She has done field research in various parts of Indonesia—West and Central Java, East and West Kalimantan and in Sarawak, Malaysia. Her work addresses questions of property rights and access to resources, forest policy and politics, histories of land use change, and agrarian and environmental violence. She is the author or editor of three books: *Rich Forests, Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java* (UC Press, 1992 – still available); *Borneo in Transition: People, Forests, Conservation and Development* (Oxford Press, 1996 and 2003, ed. with Christine Padoch); and *Violent Environments* (Cornell Press, 2001, ed. with Michael Watts.), and nearly fifty journal articles and book chapters. Professor Peluso speaks or reads four languages besides English. In 2003, she was awarded a Harry Frank Guggenheim Fellowship and is finishing a book manuscript tentatively titled, "Ways of Seeing Borneo: Landscape, Territory, and Violence". She is currently working on a comparative study on the formation of "political forests" in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand as well as a book examining the entanglements of violence and territoriality in landscape history in West Kalimantan. Nancy is a member of the Editorial Collective of *The Journal of Peasant Studies*.

Mary Ann Manahan is a senior program officer with Focus on the Global South (Focus). Manahan is a Filipina activist researcher and campaigner

working with social movements and communities for equality, social transformation and justice, reclaiming the commons and expanding democratic spaces. At Focus, she works on agrarian reform and land, water, climate and environmental justice and investments issues. Manahan has a degree in Sociology and is the first activist fellow of the Initiatives for Critical Agrarian Studies hosted by ISS at the Hague, Netherlands.

Prue Odochao is a Karen (Par-Kor- Ka- Yor) activist who has been part of the peoples' and land movement in Thailand for more than 20 years. He has been organizing and advocating for the recognition of rights and dignity of forest dwellers especially in northern part of the country. In recent months, Prue has been working with land, peasant and indigenous people movements, and local communities across the country affected by the "Forestry Master Plan" issued by Thailand's Internal Security Operations Command in July 2014, to advocate and protect their basic rights to access to land and natural resources.

Chanida Puranapun is an officer of Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University. She earned her Master's degree in English from Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University in 2006. She has worked for RCSD for 6 years: managing research grants for the researchers from GMS countries, facilitating special guest lecturers, visiting scholars and delegations with logistic arrangement, administrating for academic collaborative processes and supporting academic events. Current Affiliation: Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai.

Rosanne Rutten is Lecturer at the Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. With Gerben Nootboom she coordinates the research program (Trans)national Land Investments in Indonesia and the Philippines: Contested Access to Farm Land and Cash Crops, financed by the WOTRO Science for Global Development Program. She is involved in long-term research in the Philippines on changes in power relations, land access and livelihoods in sugarcane plantation communities in Negros Occidental.

Henry Saragih was the General Coordinator of La Via Campesina from 2004 to 2013, and is currently a member of its International Coordinating Commission. He is one of the funder of the Indonesia Peasant Federation, SPI. He is from Medan, North Sumatra.

Sergio Sauer is a professor of critical agrarian studies at the University of Brasilia (UnB) in the Post-Graduate Program in Environment and Rural Development and a fellow researcher of CNPq (Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology). He was National Rapporteur on the Right to Land, Territory and Food of DHESCA, 2012-2014. He holds a PhD degree in Sociology and he has been deeply involved in agrarian movements in Brazil and internationally since the 1980s. His research interests include agrarian movements and politics, family farming, land policy and politics, territorial rights, food politics – in Brazil specifically and Latin America more generally.

He has published extensively on these themes, including the 2013 book (2a. edition) 'Agro-ecology and the challenges of ecological transition', 2011 book 'Land and Territory in the Amazon', and the 2010 book 'Land and modernity: the reinvention of Brazilian countryside'. He is a co-coordinator of the newly established BRICS Initiatives for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS) (www.iss.nl.bicas).

Laura Schoenberger is a PhD candidate in Critical Human Geography at York University, Toronto, Canada. Her dissertation examines recent changes to land control in Cambodia, land titling, and the counter-movements that have emerged to assert local rights to land. Before starting her PhD, she worked for Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa, Singapore and Cambodia, for environmental non-governmental organizations in Cambodia and Vietnam, and for the UN World Food Programme in Lao PDR.

Saw Paul Sein Twa is the executive director and co-founder of the Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN), a community-based grassroots organization working alongside Indigenous Karen communities in Burma. Paul has been working on social and environmental issues in Burma's conflict areas since 1996. Since KESAN's founding in 2001, he has built it into a widely respected organization collaborating closely with local communities to deliver practical, substantive and empowering community development solutions to large numbers of people in remote areas affected by one of the world's longest-running conflicts. As the leading spokesperson for KESAN and several networks of border-based organizations including Karen Rivers Watch (KRW), Burma Environment Working Group (BEWG) and Karen Peace Support Network (KPSN), Paul advocates for sustainable socioeconomic development solutions. Under Paul's direction, KESAN has become an effective force working to improve governance of Burma's lands, waters, forests, and natural resources, while promoting community-determined development in the context of ethnic peoples' vision of durable peace and genuine well-being.

Eduardo C. Tadem is Professor of Asian Studies at the University of the Philippines, Diliman and Editor-in-chief of Asian Studies (Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia). He has a Ph.D in Southeast Asian Studies from the National University of Singapore. He is also President of the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) and Co-Chair of the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (ARENA). His recent publications are "Technocracy and the Peasantry: Martial Law Development Paradigms and Philippine Agrarian Reform." 2014. Journal of Contemporary Asia; "Grassroots Democracy, Non-State Approaches, and Popular Empowerment in Rural Philippines." 2012. Philippine Political Science Journal. (Vol 33 No 2); "The Peasantry as a Class in the Philippine Context." 2012. Philippine Social Sciences Review. (Vol 64 No 1); "Marxism, the Peasantry and Agrarian Revolution in the Philippines," 2010. in Teresa Encarnacion Tadem and Laura Samson (eds), Marxism in the Philippines: Continuing Engagements, (Quezon City: Anvil Press).

U Shwe Thein is holding M. Sc. (Forestry) from Australian National University, Canberra, Australia in 1989. He is leading the Land Core Group in Myanmar as its chair. Land Core Group is promoting land use rights of smallholders including ethnic minority and women through program including evidence-based research, land rights and land laws awareness training, legal aid and policy change advocacy. He is leading various national level advocacy initiatives. He served for Myanmar government for over 18 years as a forester. He has over 15 years NGO service in various capacities of project – program designing and management.

Chayan Vaddhanaphuti received his BA from Chulalongkorn University, MPA from National Institute of Development Administration, MA in Anthropology from Stanford University and PhD in International Development Education with concentration in Anthropology from the same university. He has been working on ethnicity, development, multiculturalism, etc., and has promoted the intersection between social science and development. He is now Director of the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development and Center for Ethnic Studies and Development at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University. He is currently the Chair of ICCO Southeast Asia Regional Council. He is MOSAIC Project Co-Coordinator. Email: ethnet@loxinfo.co.th

Peter Vandergeest is an Associate Professor at York University, Canada. His research interests include: Political Ecology, Agrofood Systems, Cultural Politics of Development, Environmental Certification, Southeast Asia, Thailand. He teaches and writes in the areas of political ecology, agro-food studies, and the cultural politics of environment and development. Current and recent research encompasses agrarian studies in Southeast Asia, the history of scientific forestry in Southeast Asia, privatizing environmental regulation in industrial aquaculture, and democratization in natural resource management. He is a Visiting Lecturer, Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development. Chiangmai University (Thailand)

Eang Vuthy is an Advocate for Land and Housing Rights and the Executive Director of Equitable Cambodia (EC), an NGO based in Phnom Penh that focuses on securing housing and land rights for the urban and rural poor, including most recently assisting the Boeung Kak Lake and Rubber affected communities in seeking restitution. Eang Vuthy has been involved in civil society activism since 2003, when he began working with an NGO that provided legal aid to Khmer and urban poor communities. He later started a charity with some American friends that ultimately became Sustainable Cambodia, a group that provided technical assistance and alternative agricultural techniques to poor farmers. This laid the groundwork for his involvement with EC, where he seeks to use his legal background to help empower communities to advocate for policy changes at the national and international level. Vuthy received his Master Degree in Law and Political Science.

Ben White is Emeritus Professor of Rural Sociology at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague. His research has focused

mainly on processes of agrarian change and the anthropology and history of childhood and youth. He has been engaged in research on these issues in Indonesia since the early 1970s. Recent books include *Governing Global Land Deals: The Role of the State in the Rush for Land* (2013, co-edited), and *Growing Up in Indonesia: Experience and Diversity in Youth Transitions* (2012, co-edited) He is a founder member and co-convenor of the Land Deal Politics Initiative. Email: white@iss.nl

Yan Hairong is an anthropologist teaching in Hong Kong Polytechnic University. She received her PhD from the University of Washington and MA from University of California, Berkeley. Yan has published articles on not only China-Africa relations, but also Chinese proverbs, modernization in East Asia, and the discourse of development. She has been particularly active in discussion Chinese copper mining in Zambia. She has published a number of monographs and numerous journal articles, as well as op-eds and online contributions.

Ye Jingzhong is a Professor of Development studies and Dean of the College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD), China Agricultural University in Beijing. He holds a PhD degree in Social Sciences from Wageningen University. He was engaged in a range of rural project interventions as a development practitioner from 1988 to 1998, since then has focused his professional career on action researches and academic researches in the area of development studies. He has published quite widely in leading international journals and several books. His research interests include: development intervention and rural transformations, agrarian sociology, rural politics, rural social problems, rural left-behind population, rural education.

Notes on conference organizers and collaborators

BICAS. Established in 2013 in a meeting at China Agricultural University in Beijing, and publicly launched in 2014 at the University of Brasilia in Brazil, the BRICS Initiatives for Critical Agrarian Studies is a collective of largely BRICS-based or connected academic researchers concerned with understanding the BRICS countries and their implications for global agrarian transformations. Critical theoretical and empirical questions about the origins, character and significance of complex changes underway need to be investigated more systematically. In taking forward this research agenda, we are building on and intending to extend the focus of existing knowledge about the BRICS. The rise of BRICS countries has been accompanied by the rise of interest and academic research initiatives in recent years. Most of these initiatives are Africa-centric, tracking the impact of several BRICS countries on Africa. In building our network, our research focus and analytical frameworks differ from other research on the BRICS in at least four ways: (i) We are *not* primarily concerned with the BRICS as an organisation, but with the constituent countries themselves and the changes underway within their national territories, around them regionally (intra-regional), and their activities in other regions (inter-regional). Our aim is to ground our analysis at the national level in a critical understanding of agrarian, environmental, and agro-

investment policies, and to linking this through macro-level analysis and specific case studies to changes elsewhere in their regions and other regions. (ii) We are pursuing research and analysis framed primarily within agrarian political economy; unlike most BRICS research partnerships, we are not conducting strategic studies nor focused on international relations (IR) explanations. (iii) We are scholars rooted in the contexts of the BRICS countries and their neighbours. These are considered the world's new centres of capital accumulation, but they also need to become hubs for knowledge production, and BICAS is founded on a desire to shape the process and politics of knowledge production about the BRICS, from within them. (iv) We do not focus exclusively on the BRICS countries; rather, we want to examine them in relation to both the older conventional hubs of global capital in the North Atlantic, and the rising MICs. BICAS is an 'engaged research' initiative founded on a commitment to generating solid evidence and detailed, field-based research that can deepen analysis and inform policy and practice. In BICAS we will aim to connect disciplines across political economy, political ecology and political sociology in a multi-layered analytical framework, to explore agrarian transformations unfolding at national, regional and global levels and the relationships between these levels. BICAS promotes critical and collaborative research to deepen understanding and to inform responses at local, national, regional and global levels. For further information, see: <http://www.plaas.org.za/bicas> & www.iss.nl/bicas

LDPI. Established in 2010, the Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI) is a loose international network of academic research institutions and individuals carrying out research on global land grabbing. It organized two international conferences on this theme at IDS Sussex in 2011 and at Cornell University in 2012, and has taken the lead in the publication of cutting edge studies on land grabbing and related topics. LDPI is being jointly coordinated through the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Hague, Netherlands, IDS Sussex in the UK, PLAAS in South Africa and Cornell University in New York. The coordination work is shared by Jun Borrás, Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, Ben White and Wendy Wolford. See: www.iss.nl/ldpi.
Email: landpolitics@gmaio.com

MOSAIC Research Project. Mosaic is the research project: 'Climate change mitigation policies, land grabbing and conflict in fragile states: understanding intersections, exploring transformations in Myanmar and Cambodia' (2014-2018) funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) in collaboration with UK's DFID. It is a large collaborative consortium of academic research institutions, development organizations and grassroots networks: Land Core Group, Paung Ku, Metta Development Foundation in Myanmar, Equitable Cambodia and CPN in Cambodia, as well as ICCO-Southeast, Chiang Mai University, Foodfirst Information and Action Network (FIAN) – German section, Transnational Institute (TNI) and International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Hague. Chayan Vaddhanaphuti (Chiang Mai University) and Jun Borrás (ISS) co-coordinate the research project. See: www.iss.nl/mosaic

RCSD Chiang Mai University. The Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) was established in 1998 at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Thailand in response to the need for integration of social science and natural science knowledge in order to gain a better understanding of sustainable development issues in upper mainland Southeast Asia. RCSD has, since that time, striven to become a truly regional center for sustainable development issues, linking graduate training and research to development policy and practice. It does this by drawing upon the three-decade long research and teaching experience of Chiang Mai University in fields such as resource management, highland agricultural systems, social science and health, environmental impact assessment and ethnic and gender relations. RCSD was initially supported by a Ford Foundation endowment grant to the amount of US\$ 1 million, and this Fund has allowed RCSD to implement and run international graduate programs, non-degree training courses and other support activities whose aim to promote information sharing among scholars in the Mekong Region. Additional support from the Ford Foundation through scholarship funding for Vietnamese and Chinese students - to attend the M.A. program at RCSD and also PhD. scholarships for staff of the Faculty of Social Sciences, has helped significantly enhance human capacity in the Mekong Region, in the fields of social science and development. Recent scholarship support from the Heinrich Böll Foundation has also enabled RCSD to reach-out to Burmese students who would otherwise have little chance of progressing on to higher education. Tremendous political, economic and social change in the Mekong Region resulting from recent, regionalized development is a new challenge for RCSD, and will mean having to take another look at the region - both across geo-political boundaries and as an interconnected entity -from diverse and multiple perspectives. Timely and significant support from the Rockefeller Foundation, for the recently implemented 'Program on Knowledge and Educational Enhancement in the Mekong Region' (PKEEMR), has allowed RCSD to pro-actively work and collaborate with partner institutions in the Mekong Region, the aim being to promote understanding, information sharing and mutual learning regarding emerging issues, and to link these issues to a deeper and broader conceptual understanding of the regionalized context within which they are set, as well as understand their impacts at the local level. The PKEEMR includes a comprehensive range of activities, such as collaborative research, visiting scholar and non-degree research fellowships, inter-university collaborative workshops, regional and international conferences and also the writing and issuing of publications.

Transnational Institute. The Transnational Institute (TNI) is an international research and advocacy institute committed to building a just, democratic and sustainable planet. For more than 40 years, TNI has served as a unique nexus between social movements, engaged scholars and policy makers. See: www.tni.org

ICCO-Southeast Asia. ICCO Cooperation is an international development organization with roots in the Netherlands dating back to the 1960s. Today, we work in 44 countries in 4 continents of the world. The regional office in South East Asia & Pacific has more than 300 projects in 6 countries:

Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Philippines and Vietnam. Our mission is to help end poverty, injustice and exclusion to establish a full and dignified life for all. But we can't do this alone. Based on equality, co-responsibility and respect for diversity we seek to cooperate with organizations and companies that feel connected to our values: compassion, justice and stewardship. For the past 50 years ICCO has developed an expertise at providing support to the marginalized through grants and capacity building. For the next five years ICCO's role will be focused on: ICCO as knowledge and learning agency at local, regional and international level; Backbone/coordinator in bigger (external funded) programs whereby we are the linking pin between the inside players and also towards the outside; Facilitate country specific research and regional conferences and regional exchanges; Advocate at international level. At the forefront of our work, is basically how to find the right partnership between the private sector, the public sector and the development community. Business and Human Rights is a major advocacy as an important connection between the two pillars. ICCO believes that the private sector plays a very important role in development and eradicating poverty.

Focus on the Global South was established in 1995 to challenge neoliberalism, militarism and corporate-driven globalisation while strengthening just and equitable alternatives. We work in solidarity with the Global South - the great majority of humanity that is marginalized and dispossessed by globalisation – believing that progressive social change and Global South solidarity are imperative if the needs and aspirations of oppressed peoples, particularly in Asia, Latin America and Africa, are to be met. See: www.focusweb.org

University of Amsterdam (WOTRO/AISSR Project on Land Investments). The research program (Trans)national Land Investments in Indonesia and the Philippines: Contested Access to Farm Land and Cash Crops, based at the University of Amsterdam, analyses the drivers, power dynamics and social consequences of large-scale land acquisitions in diverse settings. Five researchers concentrate on resp. Papua, Kalimantan, Aceh (Indonesia) and Isabela and Mindanao (Philippines) to trace the processes of (contentious) interaction between investors and villagers and their outcomes. Coordinators: Gerben Nooteboom and Rosanne Rutten. Co-supervisors: Saturnino (Jun) Borras Jr. and Ben White. Researchers: Maria Lisa Alano, Laurens Bakker, Tania Salerno, Laksmi Savitri, Mohamad Shohibuddin. Financed by the WOTRO Science for Global Development Program.

Demeter Project, Graduate Institute, Geneva. Launched in March 2015, Demeter (Droits et Egalite pour une Meilleure Economie de la Terre) is a six-year research project that aims to empower women and men to exercise their right to food and gender equality in areas undergoing land commercialisation and agrarian transition. Funded by a Swiss initiative to support innovation and knowledge for sustainable global development, [Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.](#), this programme of applied research is a partnership between the Graduate Institute and the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, Switzerland, with the

University of Ghana and the Centre for Development-Oriented Research (CENTDOR) on agriculture and livelihoods in Cambodia, the locations of the country study sites. The study seeks to increase dialogue and debate among stakeholders and produce evidence to enhance human rights and gender equality approaches to food security.

Université de Montréal –The REINVENTERRA Network. At present, access to natural resources and the conditions under which they are exploited and developed represent crucial challenges which characterise and question the basis of the organization of resource rich societies, whether in Canada or elsewhere in the world. Issues surrounding access to these resources are most often approached from a sectorial perspective - mines, forests and farmlands, from a micro or macro perspective, or again, in a geographically specific manner (Asia, Africa, Latin America or North America). However, this type of compartmentalisation tends to overshadow and even mask the common underlying trends which accompany these transformations. It can also contribute to inappropriate responses with regard to the renewing of the regulatory and policy responses to the resulting tensions, conflicts and crises which characterise the global political economy (whatever the form these may take, whether financial, or crises related to energy, access to food, or climate change) and which arise at least in part due to these processes. In order to move beyond such compartmentalised approaches, this new interdisciplinary network brings together researchers from academic institutions and actors from civil society organisations from three regions (West Africa, South-East Asia and Latin America). Participants in the network share a common research programme and have as their objective to contribute to the renewal of holistic and cross-sectorial approaches and, more specifically, to the understanding of the transformation of the forms of appropriation of resources in general. The approaches privileged by the REINVENTERRA Network (Réseau d'études internationales sur la valorization et exploitation de la nature, des terres et des ressources en Afrique, Asie, et Amérique latine) reflect the contributions of the six principal partners : Centre interdisciplinaire de recherche en développement international et société (CIRDIS) at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) and the Centre for East Asia Studies (CÉTASE) of the University of Montreal in Canada, Third World Studies Center (TWSC), Quezon City, Philippines, South-East Asia, the Coalition pour la protection du patrimoine génétique africain (COPAGEN), Bamako, Mali, and the Groupe d'Études et de Recherche en Sociologie et Droit Appliqué (GERSDA), Faculté des Sciences Juridiques et Économiques, Bamako, West Africa, and a Latin American network coordinated by Centro de Investigación Sociedad et Políticas Públicas (CISPO), Universidad Los Lagos, Santiago, Chile and the Institut d'études stratégiques et politiques publiques (IEEPP), Managua, Nicaragua, as well as other partners who have been involved in the creation of a dialogue (i) among researchers and organisations working on specific sectors, and (ii) among networks from different regions. This new network aims to provide the conditions to permit its partners to contribute to the generation of knowledge and understanding, to stimulate the work and improve the quality of the results of the participants in the various research teams, to make results available to decision makers, and to improve the dissemination of research results on a regional and

international scale.

University of Wisconsin-Madison. The University of Wisconsin-Madison is a large public research university located in Madison, Wisconsin, USA with a long history of involvement in investigating land tenure issues around the world, particular through its long-standing Land Tenure Center. Today, faculty and students at UW-Madison are continuing to study the implications of large-scale land concessions and various other forms of land grabbing, as well as resistance to land grabbing, especially in Southeast Asia, but also in other parts of the world. Contact person for the purpose of this conference: Ian Baird, Geography Department.

The Mekong Research Group, University of Sydney (AMRC). The Mekong Research Group (AMRC), formerly the Australian Mekong Resource Centre, is a group of human geographers based in the School of Geosciences at the University of Sydney. The group is engaged in research, teaching and policy advocacy support in a range of issues related to development, environment and natural resource governance in the Mekong Region. The group is currently working with the Mekong Region Land Governance project to develop a publicly accessible repository and annotated bibliography of research-based materials on land governance and to conduct a political economy analysis of land governance in the Mekong Region. Contact person: Philip Hirsch.

PARALLEL SESSIONS: ORGANIZATION, SCHEDULE, TIME, CHAIRS

NOTE: Further below is the complete list of paper titles, authors and abstracts – and the session title with assigned session number and session chair.

Day 1, 5th June, 11:15 – 12:45 – Parallel Sessions I

1 GRABBERS (state-corporate) – 1

Chair: Ruth Hall, PLAAS University of the Western Cape, South Africa

4 CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION POLICIES/RESOURCE GRABBING-1

Chair: Chusak Witayapak, Chiang Mai University

10 AGRARIAN/ENVIRONMENTAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN
BROADER CONTEXT – 1

Chair: Murat Arsel, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Netherlands

6 ACCUMULATION & DISPOSSESSION, INCLUSION & EXCLUSION – 1

Chair: Andreas Neef, University of Auckland, New Zealand

12 STATES, LAND INVESTMENT/ACQUISITION & DISPOSSESSION – 1

Chair: Phil Hirsch, University of Sydney

22 IMPACTS, LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL
RESPONSES – 2

Chair: Tesa Encarnacion-Tadem, University of the Philippines

Day 1, 5th June, 4:15 – 5:45 – Parallel Sessions II

2 GRABBERS (state-corporate) – 2

Chair: Zoe Brent, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Netherlands; Food First & Transnational Institute

5 CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION POLICIES/RESOURCE GRABBING- 2

Chair: Tania Li, University of Toronto

8 ACCUMULATION & DISPOSSESSION, INCLUSION & EXCLUSION – 3

Chair: Yan Hairong, Hong Kong Polytechnic University

20 STATE, CAPITAL & POLICIES FOR LAND, FOOD & INDUSTRY – 3

Chair: Kanokwan Manorom, Ubonratchathani University

21 IMPACTS, LIVELIHOODS TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 1

Chair: Laksmi Saviti, University of Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

16 GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S CORPORATE RUSH TO LAND – 1

Chair: Clara Park, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Netherlands

Day 2, 6th June, 10:30 – 12:00: Parallel Sessions III

9 ACCUMULATION, SMALLHOLDER & CORPORATE INVESTMENTS

Chair: Peter Vandergeest, York University, Canada

7 ACCUMULATION & DISPOSSESSION, INCLUSION & EXCLUSION – 2

Chair: Nancy Peluso, University of California, Berkeley

13 STATES, LAND INVESTMENT/ACQUISITION & DISPOSSESSION – 2

Chair: Ye Jingzhong, China Agricultural University

24 IMPACTS, LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 4

Chair: Rosanne Rutten, University of Amsterdam

18 STATE, CAPITAL & POLICIES FOR LAND, FOOD & INDUSTRY – 1

Chair: Michael Dwyer, CIFOR

15 GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S CORPORATE RUSH TO LAND – 2

Chair: Mia Siscawati, University of Indonesia

Day 2, 6th June, 3:30 – 5:00 – Parallel Sessions IV

11 AGRARIAN/ENVIRONMENTAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN BROADER

CONTEXT – 2

Chair: Wolfram Dressler, University of Melbourne

19 STATE, CAPITAL & POLICIES FOR LAND, FOOD & INDUSTRY – 2

Chair: Peter Vandergeest, York University

17 MODES OF CORPORATE PENETRATION OF AGRICULTURE: CONTRACT FARMING

Chair: Eduardo C. Tadem, University of the Philippines

23 IMPACTS, LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 3

Chair: Dominique Caouette, University of Montreal

3 GRABBERS (state-corporate) – 3

Chair: Sergio Sauer, University of Brasilia, Brazil

14 GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S CORPORATE RUSH TO LAND – 3

Chair: Ben White, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Netherlands

SESSION TITLES AND NUMBER, PAPER TITLES/AUTHORS/ABSTRACTS

(1) GRABBERS (state-corporate) – 1

Chair: Ruth Hall, PLAAS University of the Western Cape, South Africa

Different Regions, Different Reasons? Comparing Chinese land-consuming outward FDI in Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa

Ariane Goetz

Research indicates that key parameters of “land grabbing” differ across regions (e.g., ILC 2012) – particularly in view of who invests and/or when the bulk of investments occurred. At the same time, my review of the “land grab” literature since 2008 reveals that hardly any comparative assessments of “land grabbing” from a home country perspective exist that study whether and/or in which way and why “land grabs” of a single investor country differ across regions. This paper assesses and compares the main empirical characteristics of Chinese land acquisitions in Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa since 2000 from a home country perspective. It addresses two questions: Firstly, the paper comparatively assesses the main empirical characteristics of how these investments occur, regarding the sectoral composition, actor constellations, timelines, and the role of land in both regions. On this basis, secondly, it studies whether and in which way China applies different rationales and strategies in these two regions, comparing significant ideologies, foreign policies, political economies, and institutions that have been identified during the assessment to play a role in how and why they take these “land grabs” occur. The data collection and assessment will be done by way of systematic process tracing and a comparative research design focusing on the two target regions from a home country perspective. This approach allows me to identify similarities and differences between Chinese regional “grabs”; as well as deliberate on the geopolitical dimension of Chinese land-consuming outward FDI more broadly.

Ariane Goetz,

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Chinese Agrarian Capitalism in the Russian Far East

Jiayi Zhou

This paper details the activities of Chinese peasants, workers, migrants, and investors that have been engaged in agriculture in the Russian Far East (RFE). These include Chinese agricultural laborers that since late Soviet liberalization have been setting up their own small and medium sized farms, to newer Chinese agribusiness and corporations that have seized on profit-making opportunities to rent relatively cheap and abundant Russian land. With the use of wage labor and other capitalized factor inputs, and the occurrence of economic differentiation among producers, Chinese agriculture in the RFE represents a stark contrast to China itself, where institutional and structural constraints still limit the development of full blown capitalist agriculture. This paper looks at Chinese agrarian capitalism as it exists in the RFE, with a focus on Chinese actors and social relations of production. It lays groundwork for more extensive research of Chinese agriculture in Russia, which in academic and policy circles has not yet been studied as its own separate topic.

Jiayi Zhou is a Research and Project Assistant at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), and nonresident WSD-Handa Fellow at Pacific Forum CSIS.

Corridor Development and Foreign Investment in Agriculture: Implications from PROSAVANA Program in the Northern Mozambique
Koichi Ikegami

Recently, discourses on international cooperation have been shifting from development assistance to private investment including foreign direct investment. Policy makers and major economists in the developing and developed countries are saying the same slogan that private investment is a crucial factor for agricultural development and solution of food problems. The PROSAVANA program in the Northern Mozambique is a typical one showing such intention. It is carried out under the triangle cooperation among Mozambique, Brazil and Japan. This program is closely related with Nacala Corridor Project, which is one of Agricultural Growth Corridor Development initiated by the G8. Many small farmers and civil societies (local and international) are claiming problems of the PROSAVANA. Especially, some of private companies are violating the rights and dignity of small farmers by land deals. Nevertheless, the related governments and international donors are attacking small farmers and civil societies for obstructing the agricultural modernization. In this sense, the PROSAVANA has turned a political issue in the local and international arena from economic development issue. This paper employs 'here and now approach' (White, B., et al, 2013) to reveal the problems small farmers are facing on the context of their livelihood and hope of future. Actual purpose of PROSAVANA is to increase productivity by supporting large agribusinesses. Small farmers are considered as 'partners' of contract farming or hired laborers. Such assumption will not help small farmers improve living standards but disturb their sustainable and endogenous development. As for the aspect of political issue, this paper suggests the possibility of the extra territorial obligations (ETOs). This approach is considerable to guarantee obedience of international agreements on human rights or to follow laws of mother country of agribusinesses.

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(2) GRABBERS (state-corporate) – 2

Chair: Zoe Brent, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Netherlands; Food First & Transnational Institute

Seeds, Grain Trade, and Power Off-land: Chinese Agribusiness in Global Agrarian Change
Matthew Gaudreau

When the initial discussion of land grabs began in 2008-09, China was identified as a primary source of actors engaged in land purchases leading to dispossession (GRAIN, 2008; Zoomers, 2010). However, since these early reports, the centrality of China's role in the global land grab has been questioned (Bräutigam & Zhang, 2013). This paper offers an

alternative perspective to the existing scholarship, instead using Chinese corporate actors in the grain sector (with varying attachment to the Chinese state) as a lens for understanding China's role in global agrarian change. I argue that to define China's role in global agrarian change with too strong a focus on grabbed land overlooks the massive changes in Chinese and global agribusiness, which themselves have tremendous implications for global land politics. Despite calls to broaden the focus from land (Amanor, 2012; Hall, 2013; White et al, 2012), land grab debates have remained centered on particular investments and expulsions at the expense of examining the broader restructuring of global agribusiness. Situating China's broader international agribusiness investments will help us to understand its broader orientation in global agrarian change, of which land grabs are only one part. As Lang (2010, 88) argues, focus must be on "food supply chains, beyond as well as including agriculture, because power and capital have moved off the land, controlling access to mostly urban markets." Off-land developments in the grain sector help to explain aspects of the land grab and understand emerging influence on agrarian change. With this in mind, cases from the seed and processing sectors will be examined to illustrate China's position in relation to global agribusiness and land grabs. In order to situate the implications of China's rise for global agrarian change, I will first examine China's place in land grab explanations and the context of the global agrifood system. I will then briefly examine current Land Matrix data and China's developing agribusiness networks in both grain (including corn, rice, soybean) seed and processing/trade industries. The implications of these changes for global land food, land, and environmental politics are explored, noting that off-land changes have important relationships to agrarian systems globally.

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Banks + Land Grabs: Research, campaigning + advocacy tools, sharing Oxfam Australia's experience
Shona Hawkes

In April 2014 Oxfam Australialaunched the report *Banking on Shaky Ground: Australia's Big Four Banks and Land Grabs*. Using case studies and policy analysis, the report shows how the banks are backing companies that face credible allegations of land grabbing in the agriculture and forestry sectors overseas. This paper shares key learnings from Oxfam Australia's Banks & Land Grabs campaign that links land grabs in Asia-Pacific, as well as elsewhere, to Australian financing. It contributes to the evolving understanding of financialisation and agricultural land grabs, and highlights one example of coordinated action that targets the banks for their involvement. Collectively Australia's big four banks have an exposure of billions of dollars in the agriculture sector and they are rapidly expanding into Asia-Pacific. The paper describes how Oxfam Australia uncovers links between Australian banks and land grabs in Asia-Pacific. Drawing on practical case studies, it explores avenues for financing land grabs – through loans, shareholdings and wealth management services. The paper also provides an overview of research tools, and outlines advocacy approaches in the follow-up to the report. This includes collaboration with affected communities and a campaign drawing on the power of Australians as bank customers and shareholders. Lastly, the paper focuses on the key campaign asks of the banks. Based on learnings since the release of the report, this section gives detailed examples of how a Zero Tolerance for Land Grabs approach could be put in place across a range of banking operations. This includes making investment information accessible to affected communities and their collaborators – allowing them to better identify bank links to land grabs. It also outlines policies and practices to deter banks from backing companies involved in land grabs, including processes for redress.

Shona Hawkes was born in Melbourne and now lives in Brisbane. She is the Sustainable Food Advocacy Coordinator at Oxfam Australia, focusing on the Banks and Land Grabs campaign. For several years she has been active in food and land rights movements in Timor-Leste and Australia. In 2011-2012 she coordinated the Timor-Leste Land Network's research into land registration, and previously worked on land rights with La'o Hamutuk.

Political economy of the rise of contemporary industrial tree plantation sector in Southern China
Yunan Xu

Industrial tree plantation (ITP), as a newly emerging sector, is expanding quickly and massively in Southern China, involving foreign corporations (including Finnish and Indonesian) tied to a variety of domestic partners, both state and corporate. In some places, the villagers embrace the land deals, while in others these land deals have provoked conflicts. The commodities produced are mainly for Chinese domestic consumption. The expansion of the ITP sector in southern China in the era of the global land rush fuelled by the convergence of food, fuel, environmental crises, is a pattern of land investment worth studying. Firstly, the ITP sector, despite its relative scale and links with the construction, paper and automobile industries has received much less academic attention compared to other sectors of food, biofuels, and mining in the context of studies about resource grabs today. Secondly, the foreign capital involved in the ITP case make this type of land investment even more complicated, because the role of China in the current literature on land grabs is framed either as a key “grabber” or as the main site for agro-products consumption- but never as a destination for the transnational large-scale land. For a more comprehensive understanding of the global land rush and the role of China in it, this paper examines the dynamics of the development of ITP sector in China through a political economy lens. It takes on the province of Guangxi, the key hub of ITP sector in China, as the regional focus. I found that four factors, namely, the domestic demands for the products, the agronomic conditions in southern China, the institutional conditions of land control and labour in rural China, and the financial capital from both domestic and international sources play a significant role in fuelling the development of industrial tree plantations in Southern China. I expect that the findings of this study will contribute to the understanding of the character and trajectory of the global land rush, especially the role of China in it.

Currently, I am a PhD candidate of Political Economy of Resources, Environment and Population (PER) in International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)-Erasmus University Rotterdam. My PhD research is about the political economy of industrial tree plantations in Southern China. During postgraduate study in environmental policy group in Renmin university of China, I focused on the trust of Chinese consumers on food and the environmental flows between urban and rural area.

(3) GRABBERS (state-corporate) – 3

Chair: Sergio Sauer, University of Brasilia, Brazil

Cargill's land deal strategies in Indonesia and the Philippines compared: alliances, elites, and capital accumulation
Tania Salerno

This paper presents how transnational agricultural capital leverages its position within the political economy of Indonesia and the Philippines to circumvent barriers to land acquisition via the formation of strategic alliances. The alliances of capital - and their nation-based formations - are presented and analysed using cases in Mindanao in the Philippines and West Kalimantan in Indonesia. Both cases involve Cargill, a traditionally agricultural company that is now involved in almost every element of the agricultural system and more - from food processing, agricultural production and trade, financial services, industrial products, shipping, and more. Part of the expanding reach of Cargill has led them to acquire control of land in a move that centralises Cargill further in global agricultural system and ensures a steady supply of agricultural output. Cargill utilises its company Platform to do so, which allows them to control land and its produce through financial means. This Platform acts as an instrument for the flow of information regarding crop shortages and surpluses as well as connections to allies in the national setting, both of which inform Cargill's land investment plans. In the Philippines, Cargill's private equity firm, Black River Asset Management, associates with a network composed of business groups, private sector allies, regional business associations, local land brokers and leaders and government workers. In Indonesia, Cargill's oil palm holding's company – Cargill Tropical Palm Holdings (CTP Holdings) – uses a network dependent on charismatic employees at the national and regional level who have connections

with local elites and government officials. The cases present how the forces at the transnational level –i.e. global finance and agribusiness – meet with specific powers from the national and local level –i.e. elite networks, relations, and the rules they have established in their country and their communities. By analysing the strategies of transnational corporate agricultural capital it is possible to see how these powers become interlinked in the land acquisition process, how they are negotiated within the land deal, and the way they frame the processes involved in acquiring land.

Tania Salerno is a PhD candidate in the Anthropology and Sociology Department at the University of Amsterdam. Tania is part of the research program, '(Trans)national Land Investments in Indonesia and the Philippines: Contested Control of Farm land and Cash Crops', funded by NWO-WOTRO. Her research interests include agrarian development, land, financialised corporate agriculture, and the global food system.

Chinese Agricultural and Land Investments in Southeast Asia: A Preliminary Overview of Trends
Elyse Mills

As BRICS-led foreign investment in agriculture has increased dramatically worldwide in recent years, China in particular, has begun to secure huge quantities of foreign land as an additional measure for securing future food and energy supplies. While an increasing amount of academic research has been conducted on the expansion of land deals in Latin America and Africa in recent years, Southeast Asian cases are just beginning to receive significant attention and have become the focus of some emerging academic and non-academic research. This paper offers a preliminary overview of some of the recent trends in agricultural and land investments that have developed, which involve Chinese companies in Southeast Asian countries. It also makes some tentative comparisons with other regions, highlighting the differences and similarities arising between Chinese investments in Southeast Asia, Latin America and Africa. The characteristics of five of the most prominent companies investing in Southeast Asia are also discussed and framed typologically in order to ground the discussion of trends at a more micro level. This overview can provide a useful, broader contextualisation for the many recent and on-going case studies that focus either on specific land deals or particular countries in the region. The interplay between public and private (or state and corporate) actors both from China and Southeast Asia, and the circumstances under which these linkages emerge are also explored.

Elyse Mills (elysemills@gmail.com) is a graduate student in the Agriculture and Rural Development department at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, the Netherlands. She has written and published on the issue of the future of farming and rural youth in the Global North, and her research interests include farming trajectories and access to farmland in countries with highly industrialised agricultural sectors. She is currently working on a research project on Chinese investments in Southeast Asia, and works at the secretariat of the Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS).

Opening up markets or fostering a new satellite state? Detangling the impetuses of Chinese land investments in Tajikistan
Irna Hofman and Oane Visser

New geopolitical dynamics and the surge for natural resources such as land, accompany the rise of the BRICS countries in the global arena. In this paper I discuss the case of Chinese agricultural land investments in the Central Asian state Tajikistan. Stemming from a Soviet past, Tajikistan seems to be on the way to become one of China's newest satellite states. Since the last five years Chinese engagement in Tajikistan is becoming more and more diversified, among which in land and agriculture, which points to the multifaceted drivers behind China's presence in the neighbouring Tajik republic. I thus use Tajikistan to explore the nature and drivers of Chinese land acquisitions in Central Asia, a region normally ignored in the debate on global agricultural land investments. Such an exercise is expected to raise more broadly applicable insights into how various, and I would argue often competing, drivers are constituting China's foreign land rush.

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(4) CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION POLICIES/RESOURCE GRABBING – 1

Chair: Chusak Witayapak, Chiang Mai University

*Learning from Green Enclosure Practice in Indonesia: Katingan REDD+ case study project in Central Kalimantan.
Suraya Affif*

In this paper I will analyze the way corporate new enclosure initiative under the banner of climate mitigation project has been implemented at a particular locality in Indonesia. Using a REDD+ project (Reducing Emission from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) that located in Central Kalimantan province, Indonesia, I discuss the multiple strategies that the company have developed to deal with multiple actors (NGOs, local governments, other company, and local communities) to gain support and to block resistance to the company land enclosure plan. The case study that under investigation is the Katingan Peat Restoration Project (KPRP), a REDD+ demonstration project that has been proposed by PT Rimba Makmur Utama (PT RMU). PT RMU was formed in 2007/2008 by two young Indonesian entrepreneurs who saw the opportunity to set up a new green investment in the forestry sector. On October 25, 2013, after about five years or more of intense negotiation with the national and local governments, the Ministry of Forestry finally granted PT RMU a Forest Restoration permit. However, the Ministry of Forestry only granted PT RMU an area of 108,255 hectares or about half of the total area of 217,000 hectare that the company had originally proposed to the national government. While in other REDD project that was funded by AusAid in Kapuas district, also located in Central Kalimantan province, resistance and protests from local communities and civil society groups against the project had emerged, in the PT RMU case, on the other hand, no open local protests that had been reported against the company initiative. To understand this puzzle, I explore the strategy that the company have developed with villagers who lived surrounding the project areas long before the government had even granted the company a formal forest restoration permit. I also explore the justification of the company strategy, the factors that were allowing PT RMU to conduct such strategies and how did the company deal with the local political actors as well as ways to prevent the villagers to mobilize open protest against the company. In this paper, I also attempt to debating the dynamic process of access and exclusion that have been took place in today Indonesia that caused by the new emerging of green enclosure initiative.

Suraya Affif currently, besides serving as the director of the Center for Anthropological Studies, also teaches at the graduate program study at the Department of Anthropology at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at University of Indonesia. She teaches courses on political ecology, critical development studies, anthropology and the state, and social movement studies for graduate students. Her current research interest has been about the following issues: REDD+, climate change politics, green development debates, land tenure politics, and agrarian and environmental justice movements in Indonesia.

*The Politics of the Land Grabbing-Disasters-Climate Change Nexus: Insights from the Small Island Community of Sicogon, Philippines
Maria Angelina Uson*

Land grabs in the wake of a disaster are nothing new. However, these phenomena gain certain particularities and interest when it happens within the current context of climate change policy initiatives and the global land rush. This nexus produces a new set of political processes containing new actors and alliances, legitimizations, and mechanisms of dispossession that set off a different pace for land grabs. The disaster – global land rush – climate change nexus was examined from the perspective of a local community in Sicogon Island, Philippines that was devastated by the 2013 super typhoon Haiyan. This experience showed that 1) the interplay of political processes of land grabs with humanitarian principles

and climate change adaptation strategies altered the political, spatial and institutional arrangements of land conflicts, 2) climate change discourse brought with it new legitimizations that facilitated and justified the use of different means of land grabbing, that is, through coercion and consent, 3) the state is not a powerless agency as it has within its structure pro-reform state actors that provide opportunities for social mobilizations from below to the state system, 4) the affected community is not the “passive victim” normally portrayed in mainstream media but a social actor that exercises its autonomy to define its claims and that have the capacity to maximize and create opportunities to advance these claims, 5) along with the structural and institutional environment, the interaction between the pro-reform community members and state actors determine the nature, pace, extent and trajectory of the land struggle, and 6) there is a recursive relationship occurring in the nexus where each element shapes one another. Thus, humanitarian principles and climate change adaptation strategies are given new meanings and constructions as it interacts with the politics of land grabs while the trajectory of land grabs are shaped by these principles. In conclusion, while climate change adaptation strategies and humanitarian principles have influenced the shape and trajectory of land grabs, the final outcome of these conflicts remains unpredictable as it depends on the interaction of state and society that is a dynamic entity in itself.

Angel Uson got her MA degree in Development Studies, Major in Agrarian, Food and Environmental Studies at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands. She worked for a long time at the Philippine country programme of the UK nongovernment development agency Christian Aid.

Climate change land-use mitigation, land grabbing and conflict

Carol Hunsberger, Esteve Corbera, Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Romulo de la Rosa, Vuthy Eang, Jennifer C. Franco, Roman Herre, Sai Sam Kham, Clara Park, David Pred, Heng Sokheng, Max Spoor, Shwe Thein, Kyaw Thu, Ratha Thuon, Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Kevin Woods and Courtney Work

Recent research highlights the potential for climate change mitigation projects and large-scale land deals to produce conflicts over land and resources. However, this literature generally views climate change policies and land grabbing as separate processes, and focuses on discrete areas where displacement or contested claims occur. We argue that additional research strategies are needed to understand the social and ecological spill-over effects that take place within larger areas where land-based climate change projects (e.g. biofuel production, forest conservation, or hydroelectric projects) and large land-based investments (e.g. plantations or mines) are found. We propose adopting a landscape perspective to study the intersections and complex interactions within and across social, ecological and institutional domains. By co-producing knowledge with local actors, building capacity with civil society groups, and informing advocacy that targets policy processes at multiple scales, we suggest that such research could contribute to preventing, resolving or transforming conflicts – even in places where difficult political transitions are underway.

The following authors are all members of the research consortium, Mosaic’ – focused on Myanmar and Cambodia principally, with secondary glances at the Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam. The project is funded by the Dutch NWO: Carol Hunsberger, Esteve Corbera, Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Romulo de la Rosa, Vuthy Eang, Jennifer C. Franco, Roman Herre, Sai Sam Kham, Clara Park, David Pred, Heng Sokheng, Max Spoor, Shwe Thein, Kyaw Thu, Ratha Thuon, Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Kevin Woods and Courtney Work

(5) CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION POLICIES/RESOURCE GRABBING – 2

Chair: Tania Li, University of Toronto

Contesting Moral Capital in an Extractive Frontier: Resisting REDD+ for Palm Oil on Palawan Island
Wolfram Dressler

In Southeast Asia, the role and legitimacy of civil society has been increasingly challenged in the context of new governance regimes overlapping with deepening commodity production in frontier areas. In an era of declining donor aid and deregulation, NGOs have negotiated new

objectives in line with intensifying local aspirations that are emerging at the intersection of commodity production and governance regimes. As these spaces intersect, NGOs and their allies have reflected on the legitimacy of their advocacy and interventions in terms of how local farmers view the contrasting benefits being promised from both governance and commodity production. This paper explores how a long-standing NGO network on Palawan Island, the Philippines, has drawn on its moral capital and legitimacy in forging a grassroots consortium that has cautiously adopted and implemented the carbon governance mechanism, REDD+-. While laudable at first, I argue that as the NGO consortium, CODE REDD, tried to reframe REDD+ as a means of supporting indigenous livelihoods and climate change mitigation, it has placed its own integrity and leverage at risk as other (more radical) NGOs and (pro-commodity) indigenous farmers reject the claims and promises of an NGO-driven REDD+. I focus on a case where the NGO consortium's efforts to reframe REDD+ in terms of indigenous, pro-poor discourse progresses well in some quarters, aligning with anti-palm oil social movements, but fails to meet the growing aspirations of former indigenous allies who question the consortium's practices in favor of more lucrative commodities. I show that in the interstitial spaces of governance and commodity production, NGO efforts to reframe a market-based mechanism as morally 'legitimate', pro-poor, and indigenous, fails in the face of powerful 'pro-biofuel' counter movements emerging from indigenous peoples who expand palm oil on ancestral domains. Ironically, these pro-biofuel movements draw on the same discourses of indigenous rights and institutions (that the consortium initially helped to create). The paper concludes by suggesting that as NGOs adopt new market-based governance approaches, and 'stray' from original political objectives, they may lose leverage in containing more lucrative commodity crop production.

Wolfram Dressler is an ARC Future Fellow in the School of Geography, the University of Melbourne, Australia. His research involves the micro-politics of conservation and development in upland Southeast Asia, with a focus on social movements and local resistance to boom crop production on Palawan Island, the Philippines.

Shifting Cultivation, Contentious Land Change, and Forest Governance in Eastern Borneo
Gregory M. Thaler

Swidden (shifting cultivation with fire) has historically been one of the most widespread land uses in upland Southeast Asia. In recent decades, swidden systems across the region have undergone rapid transformation. Understanding current swidden dynamics is therefore critical to a broader understanding of Southeast Asian land use change trajectories. This paper draws on qualitative fieldwork and household surveys in East Kalimantan Province of Indonesian Borneo to describe the swidden systems in two indigenous Dayak villages in the interior of Berau District. I focus in particular on the transformation of swidden systems in articulation with expanding industrial land uses, identifying territorialization and speculation as drivers of swidden expansion. I argue that these dynamics constitute a process of 'contentious land change' in village swidden systems. Swidden has also become a focus of forest governance initiatives in Berau, and I describe the activities of The Nature Conservancy, an international environmental NGO, which has been developing programs in the villages since 2010. I argue that while swidden has provided a locus for the development of multi-stakeholder forest governance in an area where environmental conservation has otherwise been elusive, the focus of forest governance on swidden systems has ambiguous implications.

I am a PhD candidate in the Department of Government at Cornell University, where I work on the political ecology of tropical land use. My dissertation project examines the role of environmental governance in land use transitions in the Brazilian Amazon and Indonesian Borneo. In 2014-2015 I am affiliated with the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) in Bogor, Indonesia, where I am collaborating on their Global Comparative Study of Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+). I previously worked on forest carbon issues as a consultant to UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme.

Growing the Economy: Oil palm and green growth in East Kalimantan, Indonesia
Zachary R. Anderson, Koen Kusters, Krystof Obidzinski and John McCarthy

Over the last decade Indonesia has positioned itself as a global leader in the development of the 'green economy'. This has included a commitment to reducing Indonesia's CO2 emissions by 26% against business-as-usual by 2020, or 41% with international support, the creation of national-level policies to address greenhouse gas emissions, the implementation of REDD+ carbon sequestration schemes, and renewable energy development, and the launch of numerous partnerships with international actors in support of green growth. At the same time, Indonesia intends to realize and maintain a 7% annual GDP growth rate, and become one of the world's ten largest economies by 2025. This research explores the ways that these expectations are playing out in the oil palm sector in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. We find that oil palm poses serious deforestation challenges to the concept of green growth, as 44% of land allocated for plantations is still forested. At the same time, there may be opportunities to avoid deforestation and pursue more sustainable oil palm development pathways, as 87% of concessions have yet to be planted, however it has yet to be seen whether the political will exists to pursue this shift in policy. To conceptualize what the development of the green economy means for changing sub-national environmental governance in Indonesia, specifically East Kalimantan, we consider several policy instruments and discuss the political, economic, and social issues associated with their implementation. The first possible option would be for the government to regulate the establishment of plantations in a way that is concurrent with its own REDD+ strategies. This means excluding high carbon stock areas from land allocation for plantation development. The second option would be for the government to follow through on existing regulations and enforce the mandatory private sector compliance with the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) standard, or RSPO. Both require the protection of high conservation value and high carbon stock (HCV/HCS) areas thus enabling significant GHG reduction. The third possibility is the institution of the legal framework and the incentive system for land swaps through which companies could swap the part of their concession that contain forest or peat areas for degraded land elsewhere. In reviewing these options, we consider the roadblocks to "greening" oil palm in Indonesia. These include Indonesia's nebulous land tenure system, conflicting definitions of 'degraded' land, a history of spatial planning that has created incentives for the corporate sector to prioritize forests over non-forested land, and the underlying political economy of environmental governance in Indonesia.

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(6) ACCUMULATION & DISPOSSESSION, INCLUSION & EXCLUSION – 1

Chair: Andreas Neef, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Squatters of Capital: Regimes of Dispossession and the production of subaltern sites in urban land conflicts in the Philippines

Christopher John "CJ" Chanco

Squatters of Capital applies the theory of accumulation by dispossession (ABD) to trends in land grabbing in the Philippine's urban and peri-urban peripheries. A critical review of existing

literature seeks to nuance Marxian approaches to primitive accumulation and address the lack of clarity on the concept in the context of the global south, where ongoing processes of accumulation by dispossession are leading not to idealised models of industrial capitalist development but to the production of subaltern spaces through uneven development. At the urban scale in particular, the dual expansion of vast pools of precarious labour and the expansion of investment in commercial real estate, large-scale infrastructure, and business districts by land-seeking elites are creating new cycles of capital formation and dispossession, resulting in the systematic exclusion of subaltern populations through gentrification and violent evictions of urban poor settlements. These subaltern spaces become sites of resistance or sites of alienation under regimes of dispossession, brought together by specific and shifting constellations of state power, capital, labour and population flows, hegemonic discourses of development, and neoliberal logics of exclusion. Legal and discursive mechanisms deployed by the state, as articulated through public-private partnerships (PPPs), echo global trends that elevate the private sector to the status of imprimatur of development. In turn, state articulations of subaltern populations as hindering such development, as through the othering of the urban poor as criminal elements draining state resources, offer justification for dispossession that amounts to structural violence. Similar trends are at work in neoliberal forms of disaster management shaping government responses to climate change. The imposition of no-dwelling zone laws along coastal areas affected by Typhoon Haiyan has prevented displaced residents, but not commercial investors, from rebuilding their homes in Tacloban City - to little avail. In Manila, discourses of fear and othering have been deployed in the clearance of squatter settlements along urban waterways (estero) that are considered a major cause of urban flooding. The insights of Urban Political Ecology and subaltern studies enrich the analysis, offering greater recognition to the production of urban space by informal settlers, the nature of slums as subaltern sites, the specific characteristics that these sites take on when under threat of dispossession – and the political subjectivities of resistance that result. The paper concludes that dispossession is not a one way process, but is mediated and shaped by diverse sets of actors acting at multiple scales. The ways by which slum dwellers, in particular, have mobilised their collective resources in the production and defence of the new urban commons add layers of complexity to geographies of fear, dispossession and contestation, while drawing attention to the politics of the everyday that have shaped the urban landscape. Social movements resisting evictions and mobilising around the right to urban space can gain from a more cohesive understanding of the factors driving dispossession in various contexts. Taking structural violence and accumulation by dispossession as lenses through which to deploy counter-narratives expounding on the inherent violence of state-backed capitalist accumulation, discourses of fear and othering can be replaced by imaginaries of resistance and hope.

Christopher John “CJ” Chanco is a graduate student in the Department of Geography at the University of the Philippines-Diliman, with research interests in political ecology and the geographies of dispossession and resistance. He works as a policy researcher on global development and civil society at Ibon International.

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A human rights impact assessment: Hoang Anh Gia Lai Economic Land Concessions in Rattanakiri Province, Cambodia
Natalie Bugalski and Ratha Thuon

Ratanakiri province has one of the largest populations of indigenous peoples in Cambodia. Many of the economic land concessions that have been granted throughout the province overlap with land traditionally possessed by indigenous communities. A Vietnamese company called Hoang Anh Gia Lai (HAGL) was granted tens of thousands of hectares of land in Rattanakiri to develop rubber plantations. In 2014, the authors conducted a human rights impact assessment of HAGL's concessions in thirteen affected villages or communities. Most of these villages are indigenous. Several methods were applied in data collection included key informant interviews, focus groups, including separate women focus groups, community mapping and household interviews. Results of the study showed that, in breach of the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, there was no attempt from the company to consult

affected communities or seek their free, prior and informed consent to conduct operations. The company provided no notification and very little information to affected communities prior to commencing operations. Since the concessions were granted, affected communities have experienced loss of both communal and household property. At the communal level, they lost access to state forests, grazing lands, water sources, reserved lands, spirit forests, burial grounds and other sacred sites. In addition, more than a hundred households in affected communities experienced loss of household property such as orchid lands, rice fields, animals, crops and structures. As a result of these losses, affected people experienced regressions in their enjoyment of the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to the highest attainable standard of health; and the right to practice cultural and spiritual traditions. Despite efforts to seek redress, affected people have been denied the right to an effective remedy for human rights violations. The experience of the villagers interviewed for this report suggest that the introduction of large-scale agribusiness into such settings can reduce local food security and sovereignty, shrink existing livelihoods while failing to provide appropriate and effective alternatives, and bring about a host of other damaging repercussions on the well-being and human rights of local populations.

Natalie Bugalski is human rights lawyer and co-founder and Legal Director of Inclusive Development International. She has authored and edited numerous reports and articles on housing and land rights issues and produced human rights analyses of draft laws, resettlement policies and eviction cases. She has researched and prepared reports for the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing and assisted her to develop Guiding Principles on Security of Tenure for the Urban Poor.

Thuon Ratha is the Senior Research Officer of Equitable Cambodia, which works to transform the national development model into one that respects, protects and progressively fulfills human rights. She holds a master's degree in Sustainability Science from the University of Tokyo and is currently a PhD candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands.

Crop booms inside China: the rise of industrial tree plantation, sugarcane and banana sectors inside seen from the contemporary global land rush literature
Liu Juan, Saturnino M. Borras Jr., Ye Jingzhong, Wang Chunyu, Hu Zhen and Jennifer C. Franco

This paper offers a preliminary exploration of a topic that is relevant to contemporary global land rush literature but is rarely addressed and problematized: crop booms inside China. Three sectors are examined: industrial tree plantations, sugarcane and banana sectors that have witnessed dramatic rise during the past ten years in terms area of expansion. Examining these against ongoing debates on current global land rush, we have preliminary observations that include: (i) incorporation, not expulsion, is the norm in terms of dealing with pre-existing land claims by villagers; (ii) incorporation manifests in a variety of ways: lease and contract growership as more common, (iii) there is a tendency to rent out or devote only a portion of farmland of a household, resulting in thousands of patches of plots engaged in these sectors, literally looking like a country quilt – resulting in thousands of individual contracts between villagers and companies, (v) conflicts are widespread but linked to struggles over terms of their incorporation into the enterprises, (vi) key corporate investors in these three sectors are foreign companies, with Finnish and Indonesian dominant in the industrial tree sectors, and Thai capital in the sugarcane sector. – alongside Chinese capital; (vii) there are significant conflict between state and corporate elite players within and between these three sectors over resource control and institutional issues such as environmental and taxation laws. Among others, this study reinforces earlier critique of the dominant discourse in current global land rush that tends to be too obsessed about ‘capital-rich countries’ crossing borders and grabbing resources from poorer countries, expelling people from the land, and setting up labour-expelling large-scale industrial monocrop plantations; a literature that remains too land-centric and too Africa-centric narrative. Our study reminds us to refocus our unit of inquiry to the logic of capital: it is never committed to any standard way of acquiring land, of setting organization of production, or direction of capital flows across national borders; it will go where it can make profit.

Liu Juan is an assistant professor at the Northwest A&F University, China.

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(7) ACCUMULATION & DISPOSSESSION, INCLUSION & EXCLUSION – 2

Chair: Nancy Peluso, University of California, Berkeley

From Smallholders to Land-Grabbers? Accumulation, Exclusion, and Incorporation along the Vietnam-Cambodian Border

Timothy Gorman and Alice Beban

While the large-scale transfer of land in Cambodia to foreign agribusiness interests has received much critical attention, another set of cross-border land deals has gone relatively unnoticed. In recent years, thousands of Vietnamese have crossed the border into Cambodia and acquired land for the cultivation of rice and farmed shrimp. Though these land deals are small in scale, they involve some of Cambodia's richest farmland and most bio-diverse coastal ecosystems, and thus their cumulative social and ecological impact may well rival that of the much larger and better-known Economic Land Concessions. In this study, we draw on ethnographic research, conducted in a rice-farming area of Takeo province and a shrimp-farming area in Kampot, to explore this phenomenon of small-scale land transfers, developing a comparative case study through which we examine processes of accumulation, exclusion, and incorporation as they play out along Cambodia's border with Vietnam. This paper has two objectives, the first of which is to broaden the discussion around cross-border land deals to encompass both large land concessions and the kind of smaller land transfers now taking place along the Vietnam-Cambodia border. These land transfers, we argue, are driven by dynamics of agrarian change both in the Mekong Delta region of Vietnam, from which most migrants originate, and in Cambodia itself. In the Mekong Delta, economic liberalization and global market integration have spurred the rapid development of a commercial agriculture sector from a smallholder base. Much like larger firms, Vietnamese farmers face competitive pressures that compel them to expand their operations, and many have looked to Cambodia as a source of cheap land and a new frontier for accumulation and commodity production. This accumulation, moreover, has been facilitated by the recent marketization of land tenure in Cambodia, smoothing the sale and rental of land to Vietnamese migrants. The second objective of the paper is to examine and contrast the dynamics of social and ecological change set in motion by Vietnamese land acquisitions in our two case study sites, looking primarily at inter-related processes of exclusion and incorporation. We argue first that exclusion has been experienced differently in the two sites, ranging from the dispossession of locals in Takeo, as migrants acquire more and more of the region's rice-growing land, to the loss of access to common-pool resources that has accompanied the conversion of coastal mangroves to shrimp ponds by Vietnamese farmers in Kampot. We then turn our attention to the way in which the Cambodian borderlands have been incorporated into new networks of exchange and circulation through these land transfers. We find again that incorporation takes varied forms, as Vietnamese shrimp farmers, bound by the perishable nature of their crop, form an enclave economy enmeshed in existing cold chains that tie them to Vietnam-based processors and exporters, but as rice producers in Takeo - both Vietnamese and Cambodian - exercise more flexibility, exploiting their position on the border to access input and output chains in both countries.

Timothy Gorman is a PhD Candidate at Cornell University. His research focuses on environmental transformation and agrarian change in the Mekong Delta region of Vietnam, and he is currently conducting dissertation research in Vietnam as an SSRC IDRF fellow. He has published in the *Journal of Agrarian Change*, the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, and *Sojourn*.

Alice Beban is a PhD Candidate at Cornell University. Her research interests include the political economy of development, agrarian studies, feminist political ecology, social mobilization, and Cambodian social and political life. She has published in *Antipode* and the *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems and Community Development*, and previously edited the New Zealand development journal 'Just Change'. She is in Cambodia for the 2014-2015 academic year, funded by a Fulbright Doctoral Dissertation grant, looking at the implications of land reform for men and women in rural Cambodia.

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Agrarian Change in Vietnam through a Political Economy Lens
Andrew Wells-Dang and Pham Quang Tu

Land tenure in Vietnam is becoming increasingly contested in the context of rapid economic development and growing inequality. Agricultural land in and around cities and industrial areas is targeted by domestic and foreign developers for conversion to commercial uses. In rural areas, farmers' access to productive land is restricted by the dominance of state-owned or state-connected farms and forest enterprises. As a result, the number of complaints filed over land issues has increased dramatically in the last decade, comprising up to one million land-related disputes of which authorities at best can resolve only half. In some cases, land seizures have prompted farmer demonstrations, such as two high profile cases of resistance in 2012 in Hai Phong and Hung Yen provinces. The paper will apply a political economy approach to processes of agricultural land concentration, conversion and exclusion through analysis of the interests and incentives of key actors within and outside the Vietnamese state; the gap between legal documents and policy implementation; and processes of interaction among multiple stakeholders over time. The revision of the Land Law in 2013 led to an unprecedented level of public participation in land policy formation, yet many recommendations from farmers, civil society, and local authorities were not reflected in the final version passed by the National Assembly. While political and economic leaders use overt, hidden and invisible power to marginalize farmers, agrarian communities seek influence of their own through network- and coalition-building, including via the media and Internet. Data sources include monitoring of official media and blogs, interviews with officials and experts, and the authors' direct experience in land governance coalition building via Oxfam's Coalition Support Programme and other local civil society-led initiatives. We will draw on an earlier political economy analysis of the land sector that we conducted at the inception of the Coalition Support Programme and assess what has and has not changed in the intervening three years. Case studies of successful and less successful local organizing around land disputes will be offered to deepen contextual analysis. In the discussion and conclusion sections, the paper will explore the extent to which emerging narratives of farmers' rights may challenge the dominant model of economic growth through resource extraction. Based on available data, we will also evaluate the prospects of policy reformers influencing the central government's desire for stricter land management as well as reducing elite capture by economic interests.

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Pham Quang Tu is Team Leader of the Advocacy Coalition Support Programme, a multi-stakeholder initiative of the British government implemented by Oxfam. He recently completed a PhD in development economics from the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. Tu has involved in regional programs and research on transboundary national resource management. Prior to joining Oxfam, he had 16 years of experience as a Vietnamese NGO leader, especially with the Consultancy on Development Institute (CODE). Contact: pqtu@oxfam.org.uk; tel. +84-4-3945 4448, ext. 712.

Untitled but not Informal: Land Politics in Formality's Gray Spaces – Evidence from Laos
Michael Dwyer

Since roughly 2006, growing land conflict related to transnational (but often South-South) agribusiness development has thrown questions of land tenure into sharp relief in Laos's farm-forest hinterland. For many observers (in Laos, as well as in Cambodia, Indonesia and elsewhere), this conflict is the result of a mismatch between formal property rights allocation, which has largely been limited to urban, peri-urban and well-defined lowland agricultural areas, and customary but informal property relations which persist in hinterland areas and, in the age of land concessions, are increasingly in conflict with "development" efforts. Using the case of northwestern Laos, this paper refutes and complicates this binary picture of formal versus customary property, and examines the struggles over formality that have emerged in the "gray spaces" where formal land zoning and in some cases land allocation have taken place in recent memory, but where land titling has not. As agribusiness-oriented land deals have brought land tenure disputes to hinterland landscapes, calls for communal land titling are growing, especially from in-country NGOs and international donors, but also from transnational policy advocates like RRI and the Munden Project. Communal land titling takes both political will and material resources, the amounts of which are needed depend on not only national and global policy contexts, but on local circumstances that condition how titling activities are received, how urgently they are seen to be needed, and the array of activities required to actually produce them. Landscapes like those at the heart of Lao's concession boom have been the target of land formalization schemes since the mid-1990s. In many cases, these schemes created a combination of formal zoning maps, village boundaries, and in some cases plot-scale household land allocations that are still relevant to questions of land tenure. This relevance, however, points in both directions: earlier formalization schemes were sometimes seen as threats to local land use autonomy; for others, they were important recognitions of village territories by the state. Earlier histories of land formalization have thus created a legal geography of village- and sub-village-scale demarcations that point in multiple directions vis-à-vis the current land rush. Seeing target landscapes as comprised largely or only of informal and/or customary land use practices misses the effects, both actual and potential, of earlier histories of formalization. By documenting and investigating examples of these "paper landscapes", this working paper adds an important dimension to debates about property formalization and the degree to which it may, in certain circumstances, help alleviate unjust and unsustainable land grabbing.

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(8) ACCUMULATION & DISPOSSESSION, INCLUSION & EXCLUSION – 3

Chair: Yan Hairong, Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Land Transfer and the Pursuit of Agricultural Modernization in China
Jingzhong Ye

Agriculture, countryside and peasantry have been priority concerns of the Chinese government, with land and agriculture being the most crucial. With a growing population, less arable land and often relatively low quality land, Chinese peasant agriculture has been undergoing a form of modernization. While peasants enjoy land contract rights as a result of the Household Responsibility System (HRS), the state has been promoting transfer of land use rights in order to promote modern agriculture. This paper seeks to understand recent developments in land and agriculture, particularly exploring the transitions of land and

agricultural institutions since 1949 and land transfers since the HRS. In so doing, this paper reveals that the state has been strategically responding to various challenges in order that land institutions and policies are always geared to achieving agricultural modernization. During the state's continual drive for modernizations, particularly agricultural modernization, peasants' livelihood is impacted and needs to be protected.

Jingzhong Ye is a professor of development studies and Dean of the College of Humanities and Development Studies (COHD), China Agricultural University. His research interests include development intervention and rural transformation, rural 'left behind' population, rural education, land politics, and sociology of agriculture. Corresponding author: yejz@cau.edu.cn.

Revealing the hidden effects of land grabbing in Laos through better understanding of farmers' strategies in dealing with land loss
Diana Suhardiman

This article examines changing contexts and emerging processes related to "land grabbing." In particular, it uses the case of Laos to analyze the driving forces behind land takings, how such drivers are implied in land policies, and how affected people respond depending on their socio-economic assets and political connections. We argue that understanding the multiple strategies farmers use to deal with actual land loss and the risk of losing land is crucial to understanding the hidden effects of land grabbing and its potential consequences for agricultural development and the overall process of agrarian transformation. From a policy perspective, understanding the hidden effects of land grabbing is critical to assess costs and benefits of land concessions, in Laos and elsewhere, especially in relation to current approaches to turn land into capital as a policy strategy to promote economic growth and reduce poverty.

Diana Suhardiman is a Senior Researcher at the International Water Management Institute, based in Vientiane, Lao PDR. Her research focuses on natural resource governance at the intersection of land, water, environment and energy in the Mekong region. Her most recent research looks at matching policies, institutions, and practices of water governance in the Nu-Thanlwin-Salween River basin. Diana received a PhD at Wageningen University, the Netherlands, where her research focused on the role of government bureaucracies in shaping water policy formulation and implementation in Indonesia.

Decentralization in Mangrove Restoration: a Critical Analysis – Case study in Central Coast of Vietnam
Hoang Hao Tra My and Shinya Takeda

Nowadays, the issues of "land grabbing" and "green grabbing" have become a subject of contentious debate. Although the terms of "land grabbing" and "green grabbing" are referred to frequently, they prove to be relatively new problem in Vietnam. In this paper, the issue of "green grabbing" will be examined by using a case study of mangrove restoration in Central Coast of Vietnam to gain a better understanding of the central government's control over resources and how right and ownership are transferred to different stakeholders. It is believed that human-nature interaction happens among stakeholders and that is the relationship between local people and nature or state and nature and it is need to have a joint effort among them. However, the fact is that the central government and local people have different views towards the restoration of mangrove. While the central government sees mangrove restoration from the angle of ecological services, local people views mangrove forest as a part of their culture and source of livelihoods. Another noticeable finding is the functional overlapping between two Ministries in the realm of forest and land management in Vietnam which leads to serious problems in terms of forest conservation policy. Local government acts as the connecting institution between local people and central government; however, local government's interpreting of mangrove restoration policy goes astray from the original one, causing misunderstandings in the implementation of mangrove restoration projects. Finally, local people's voice is not heard by the central government due to a variety of reasons. In this paper, the concept of decentralization, knowledge space, and livelihood strategies will be used to analyze the issue. It is believed that the controversies arising from mangrove restoration policy should be comprehensively discussed. The argument is that state policy

should tackle the issue of mangrove restoration not only from the aspect of conservation but also from social, economic and cultural lenses. Mangrove forests play an important role in adapting to climate change and global warming, in the meanwhile, they serve as crucial sources for local community's livelihoods. Hence, there is an urgent need to address any conflicts in policy which negatively affect local community's access to mangrove forests.

Hoang Hao Tra My is a M.A student in Social Science (Development Studies) in The Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Thailand. Her research interests are natural resources management, GIS and RS application to forest and ecosystem management as well as human geography and political ecology. She has participated in various conferences, workshops, and trainings related to natural resources management field in Southeast Asian countries. Her future research is the combination between natural sciences and social sciences in forest management and development studies.

Shinya Takeda is Professor in Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies, Kyoto University, Japan. He has "an interest in a wide range of areas from mainland Southeast Asia to the Himalayas" with long-term experiences in Myanmar, Laos, Thailand and India. His research interests are "tropical forests management which he concentrates on sustainable use and conservation of tropical forest as well as history of teak forest in Myanmar". He has various publications including in book chapter and journal papers in both Japanese and international Journal in this field. His future research direction is "the way forests have been regenerated and maintained to date through the respective cases and to obtain concrete suggestions for future tropical forest conservation"

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(9) ACCUMULATION, SMALLHOLDER & CORPORATE INVESTMENTS

Chair:

Investment in land for industrial crop production in Southeast Asia: smallholders, plantations and in between

Rob Cramb, Kem Sothorn, Vongpaphane Manivong, and Jonathan Newby

Much of the conflict over land acquisitions in Southeast Asia has been associated with the expansion of large-scale agribusiness investment in industrial crops such as rubber and oil palm. Though rent-seeking, speculation, and 'prospectus spruiking' are part of the motivation for this expansion, the fundamental driver is the underlying profitability of producing these industrial crops. The state has underpinned this profitability with policies that provide land and labour at low prices to favoured companies, but the long-term growth in demand for the end-products, particularly from China and India, is the driving force behind land investment. The expansion of investment in these crops has been associated with a resurgence in the plantation mode of production throughout the region, hence the perceived need to constrain or displace existing small-scale landholders. It is thus the association between crop booms and the plantation mode that is at the heart of the 'land grabbing' phenomenon. But why has the plantation mode – developed in the colonial era but subsequently outstripped by commercial smallholdings – reasserted itself as apparently the preferred business arrangement? What are the technical, economic, and political factors that favour or disfavour the plantation mode over smallholder production? What intermediate options are available that can enable agribusiness investment to enhance rather than displace smallholder livelihoods? What are the preconditions for such intermediate modes to take root and succeed? In this paper we compare a variety of agribusiness models for four booming industrial crops – rubber, oil palm, cassava, and teak – based on fieldwork in five Southeast Asian countries – Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. We analyse the incentives for agribusiness actors to invest directly in large-scale forms of production, requiring the acquisition of property rights to land, or to invest primarily in supplying inputs, technology, processing, and marketing, and engage in contractual arrangements with surrounding smallholders to ensure the supply of raw product. We conclude that, given a supportive policy environment and appropriate legal protections, smallholder and intermediate

options can be highly profitable for all actors in the value chain while removing the need for destructive large-scale land acquisitions.

Rob Cramb is Professor of Agricultural Development at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia (r.cramb@uq.edu.au). For the past 30 years, he and his colleagues have been engaged in research on ways to improve smallholder livelihoods in marginal farming zones in Southeast Asia. In the last decade this has included an examination of the expansion of industrial crops and the potential for smallholders to benefit from this expansion, whether as independent smallholders or through various contractual arrangements with agribusiness companies.

Disclosing recent territory-lift and rural development contributions of Cambodian large-scale land acquisitions
Amaury Peeters

Among the global phenomenon that represents now large-scale land acquisitions (LSLAs), Cambodia corresponds to a hotspot for land investments especially during the last decade. The commercial and investable characteristics of land have been boosted by a new land legal framework and a series of further laws and decrees promulgated by the government since the early 2000s. Authorities have made economic land concessions (ELCs) a key instrument of their development strategy with the argument that it will contribute to poverty reduction and rural development. Despite a recent moratorium on new land investments, granted concessions already cover 25 % of the national territory. The dynamics of this recent trend that reshaped the use of land raises the following questions: Who are the big players? Where have been granted these land concessions? What are the contexts of the areas where land acquisitions occurred? Based on a national database with spatial references built from different sources of information, the descriptive analysis showed that, surprisingly, national investors and regional stakeholders, like China and Vietnam, are the key players in the Cambodian land economic concessions arena both in size and in number of concessions granted. Moreover the forestry subsector is main sector of investments, largely exceeding the agricultural one and the main recent land deals are concentrated in clusters in the North and in the North-East of Cambodia. Additional aspects of the context of Cambodian land investments were then investigated by analysing the national data set in conjunction with several attributes like accessibility, poverty incidence, soil properties, protected areas and land cover. The results of this spatial contextual analysis of Cambodian ELCs contrasts with the official discourse and common belief that land investments are mainly led by international companies that create jobs in targeted remote and poor areas in the countryside.

Amaury Peeters is a Bio-engineer specialised in land use planning who holds a PhD in Agricultural Sciences from the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL). His research interests concern rural development issues combining cartographic and socioeconomic approaches. He has an extensive field work experience in both rural Cambodia and Vietnam. Based in Cambodia, his recent research activities at the Graduate Institute of Geneva include the spatial analysis of large-scale land acquisitions and the socioeconomic consequences of the related agrarian transformations on farmers.

Large versus Small Plantations in Southeast Asia: What's New?
Rodolphe De Koninck and Jean-François Bissonnette

Throughout Southeast Asia, land grabbing and consolidation concerns primarily land devoted to the cultivation of cash crops or to be devoted to such crops. This generally leads to the formation of large plantations which produce export crops, such as palm oil, and employ relatively few workers. The resulting agricultural landscape is one whereby both small and large scale farm operations are competing for land, while often appearing complementary through various forms of cooperation such as the ones applied in the nucleus-plasma model in Indonesia. The purpose of this paper is fourfold. It aims, first, to investigate to what extent, in the current context, this complementarity is or isn't "old wine in a new bottle", i.e. to what extent it may be reminiscent of forms of agrarian structures that were well established during the colonial era. Both before and after independence, particularly in Indonesia and Malaysia, two of the three dominant cash crop producers in Southeast Asia, national agricultural policies

favoured the consolidation and development of smallholder plantation agriculture (Courtenay 1965; Fisher 1966). Among the motives behind these policies were: 1) smallholder agriculture remained an adequate mean of providing an acceptable livelihood to rural communities while maintaining close at hand a sufficient labour force to be employed by large plantations if the need arose; 2) yields per hectare among smallholder plantations could be raised substantially and at limited costs, provided technical assistance was offered; this goal was pursued so successfully in Malaysia that yields obtained by FELDA settlers in Peninsular Malaysia, both for rubber and even more for palm oil, surpassed those achieved on large private plantations. The second purpose is therefore to try and reconstitute and compare the evolution of yields over the last fifty years or so, i.e. since the early 1960s, on plantations and smallholdings, in both countries and for rubber and oil palm cultivation. The third purpose is to reconstitute the evolution of the relative share of these “two sectors”, i.e. plantations and smallholdings, in terms of area cultivated, overall production and number of persons employed. The fourth goal is to try and compare these evolutions with current trends of the same indicators, i.e. area cultivated, yields, production and employment. The results should prove useful to the interpretation of the fundamental socio-economic dynamics of agricultural expansion and land grabbing and should help answer the following question: To what extent does land grabbing and consolidation favour land productivity, employment and overall production.

Rodolphe De Koninck is a Professor of Geography at the Université de Montréal, where he also holds the Canada Chair of Asian Research. He is the author of, among other publications, *Agricultural Modernization, Poverty and Inequality* (with D. S. Gibbons and I. Hasan, 1980), *Malay Peasants Coping with the World* (1992) and *Gambling with the Land. The Contemporary Evolution of Southeast Asian Agriculture* (with J.-F. Rousseau, 2012). From 2005 to 2010, he was director of the Challenges of the Agrarian Transition in Southeast Asia research project, which generated the CHATSEA book series published by NUS Press.

(10) AGRARIAN/ENVIRONMENTAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN BROADER CONTEXT – 1

Chair: Murat Arsel, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Netherlands

How land concessions affect places elsewhere: Teleconnections and large-scale plantations in Southern Laos and Northeastern Cambodia
Ian G. Baird and Jefferson Fox

Over the last decade or so considerable research has been conducted on the development and the impacts of large-scale land concessions for plantations in Laos and Cambodia. These studies have variously illustrated that concessions frequently result in serious negative impacts on local people and the environment, often leading to dramatic transformations of landscapes and livelihoods. As important as this research has been, these studies have largely focused on the immediate impacts of the ‘enclosure’ process associated with gaining access to land by investors. In this study, however, we take a different approach, investigating the implications of large-scale land concessions in southern Laos and northeastern Cambodia with regard to places outside of actual concession areas, both within the countries where the concessions are located and beyond. These links have been referred to as ‘teleconnections’, and adopting this approach allows us to focus on particular relations between land-use change in one location and land-use change elsewhere, either nearby or distant, as the result of large-scale plantation development, both during the early plantation development period, and later when plantations are productive. It also provides opportunities for us to engage with Land Change Science (LCS) through Political Ecology (PE). In particular, we look at rubber concessions in Laos and Cambodia. Our preliminary findings demonstrate the value of framing research related to large-scale land concessions in relation to a PE-oriented and thus flexible and less structured variety of teleconnections, and the importance of recognizing the broader implications of these concessions beyond their official boundaries, something that has not yet been sufficiently documented for plantation crops in Southeast Asia.

Ian G. Baird (sole presenter) is an Assistant Professor of Geography at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is also affiliated with the Center for Southeast Asian Studies and the Nelson Institute of Environmental Studies. One of his research focuses is on the impacts of

large-scale land concessions in northeast Cambodia and southern Laos, which he has been studying for over a decade.

Jefferson Fox is a Senior Fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu. He studies land-use and land-cover change in Asia and the possible cumulative impact of these changes on the region and the global environment. He has worked in Bangladesh, Cambodia, China (Yunnan), Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Thailand and Vietnam.

The Plantation and the Mine: Agrarian Transformations, "Climate" Change, and the Smallholder Dilemma in Kalimantan
Nancy Peluso

Plantations and mines are the cornerstone of development plans and the driving mechanisms of agrarian transformation in Kalimantan, Indonesia. The amount of forested and agroforested land replaced by them in the last decade and a half is staggering. Smallholder lifestyles, swidden agroforestry as a source of livelihoods, and small farmer/peasant forms of land control are fading beneath the onslaught of corporate development strategies. At the same time, a dystopic land use—smallholder goldmining—has exploded and spread across West Kalimantan. Though it is both dangerous and destructive, polluting water and apparently killing future possibilities for agriculture where gold is found beneath the surface, goldmining offers jobs and a different means of engaging in or supplementing smallholder livelihoods. This paper will compare the regional histories and land control dynamics of smallholder gold mining and oil palm plantations in the hinterlands and expanded urban boundaries of Singkawang, West Kalimantan.

Nancy Peluso, Professor, University of California, Berkeley

Intersections of land grabbing and climate change mitigation strategies in Cambodia
Courtney Work

Thirty years after Cambodia's 'democratization' by the United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) the transition to a market-based economy is raging at full steam. Democracy remains elusive, but policy interventions from Cambodia's "development partners" color the political, social, and environmental landscape. This paper attends to the land grabs characteristic of market transitions and to the climate change mitigation strategies currently enhancing conflicts over land and resources in contemporary Cambodia. Climate change mitigation projects and large-scale land deals are highlighted in recent research as potential instigators in conflicts over land and resources. However, this literature often wrongly views climate change policies and land grabbing as separate processes occurring in discrete geographies where displacement or contested claims occur. Working at the intersections of large-scale land acquisitions and climate change mitigation strategies viewed through a landscape perspective, the MOSAIC project provides a lens with which to study complex interactions within and across social, ecological, and institutional arenas. Reviewing the literature on land grabs, conflict, and climate change mitigation strategies in Cambodia shows their interplay and the social and ecological spill-over effects embedded in the historical processes, institutional agendas, and environmental particularities in which they take place. The multi-layered interactions of historical conflict and resource use at the landscape level intervene into contemporary projects to increase gross domestic production while mitigating the effects of climate change. Timber barons, for example, politicians and military officers who acquired massive stores of capital during the post UNTAC years of conflict (fueled in part by trade in timber, touted early in the 'transition' to be one of Cambodia's few viable export commodities), are today holders of economic land concessions (ELC) through which they continue to trade in timber and develop industrial agriculture. Both the World Bank and United Nations Development Program (UNDP), referred to locally as Cambodia's "development partners", support these ELC. They encourage policy makers to promote "pro-business" environments and the intensification of industrial agriculture—increasingly pointed toward flex crops that stand ready for the market to demand clean-green biofuels. These projects play out in the undeveloped, but far from empty, landscape of Cambodia's forested hinterlands; their execution requires the forced removal of thousands of families and the violent destruction of hundreds of villages. Further, the trade in timber and the still-strong power structures of

politico-military elites are both embedded in the country's recent attempts to administer UN-REDD carbon-capture programs. Military land concessions and elite cultivation of logging capital conspire to both divest villagers of vital forest products and to thwart international attempts to capture the planet's few remaining forests. By attending to these intersections and spill-over effects at the intersections of land grabs and climate change projects in Cambodia, I argue that a MOSAIC lens can offer insights into ways of preventing, resolving or transforming conflicts into more cooperative scenarios.

Courtney Work is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow with the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague and the Regional Center for Sustainable Development at Chaingmai University. She received her PhD in Anthropology from Cornell University, an MA in Anthropology and Women's and Gender Studies from Brandeis University, and a BA in English Literature from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. She has conducted research in Cambodia since 2005 and is currently based in Phnom Penh investigating the intersections of climate change mitigation strategies and land grabbing with the MOSAIC project. Other research interests include the Anthropology of Religion, Development, and the Environment; the History of Southeast Asian political formations; Contemporary Political Economy; and the study of regional flows of people and power in Southeast Asia.

(11) AGRARIAN/ENVIRONMENTAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN BROADER CONTEXT – 2

Chair: Wolfram Dressler, University of Melbourne

Land Grabbing and the River

Oliver Pye, Irendra Radjawali and Julia

This paper looks at how waves of land grabbing in West Kalimantan, Indonesia are transforming the political ecology of the Kapuas River. Key land grabbing activities include the ubiquitous palm oil industry, mining (particularly bauxite and gold), logging and pulp and paper plantations, and a variety of green grabs (Heart of Borneo, national parks and REDD projects). Currently, concession permits cover 130% of the province, leading to land conflicts and to a politicization of the spatial planning process. In this paper, we want to look beyond these territorial conflicts by linking them, via the river, to "city-rural-river-transformation loops" characterized by specific networks of economic and political actors operating at different scales. We start this empirical inquiry with action research with "Citizen Research Groups" (CRG) in communities impacted by key qualitative transformations. We argue that while all the land grabs are ultimately driven by the "meta-network" (Castells) of the financial markets at the global scale, appropriation and accumulation strategies manifest themselves differently according to the materiality of the specific resource. While palm oil and bauxite mining are large scale operations by transnational corporations and enjoy intimate relations with national and provincial governments, gold mining is conducted by local start-ups and worker-entrepreneurs and is criminalized by the state. Each activity changes the ecology of the river in a particular way. The palm oil industry not only destroys the forest-river-ecosystem but also pollutes the river with run-off pesticides and fertilizers and with palm oil mill effluent (POME). Gold mining not only lays waste to riverine landscapes but also pollutes the river with mercury. In Tayan, large bauxite operations have laid a lake dry that was a key resource for fisherwomen. Pollution has created a crisis for fishermen and women as natural fish stocks have plummeted. In the poorer areas of the city, the river is so dirty that it can no longer serve as a site of social reproduction (drinking water, washing, laundry), with serious related health issues. Money and power flow up the river, while resources and pollution flow back to the city. Land grabs transform the river from a space of life and livelihoods to one of pollution and illness. At the same time, the river has the potential to connect and scale-up otherwise localized and segregated struggles over land grabs.

Dr. Oliver Pye is a lecturer in Southeast Asian Studies at Bonn University, with a research focus on political ecology and social movements. He is currently leading a DFG research project on "Connecting the urban and the rural: A political ecology of the Kapuas River (Kalimantan, Indonesia)." Recent publications include "The Palm Oil Controversy in Southeast Asia. A Transnational Perspective" (2012) and "A Political Ecology of Agrofuels" (2015, co-edited).

Irendra Radjawali is a Ph.D candidate in Geography at the University of Bremen, Germany, with a research focus on the social-ecological transformation of different ecosystems in Indonesia. He is working in a project on "Connecting the urban and the rural: A political ecology of the Kapuas River (Kalimantan, Indonesia)." where he has conducted an action research method called "participatory hydro-political appraisal." At the moment he utilizes do-it-yourself drones to promote spatial transparency in Indonesia, working with local communities and local NGOs to establish what are known as "community drones".

Julia is a presidium member of the Kalimantan Women for Peace and Gender Justice (AlPeKaJe), Indonesia. Her work focuses on research on and advocacy around women and environment issues. She is presently involved in a research project on the political ecology of Kapuas River organized (Bonn and Bremen Universities) where she is focusing on gendered riverscapes. Recent publications include "Gendered Experience of Dispossession: Oil Palm Expansion in a Dayak Hibun Community in West Kalimantan" (In: The Journal of Peasant Studies, 39 (3-4), 995-1016, 2012, with Ben White).

Intersections of land grabs and climate change mitigation strategies in Myanmar
Kevin Woods

Myanmar has recently positioned itself as the world's newest frontier market while simultaneously undergoing transition to a post-war, neoliberal state. At the same time the new Myanmar government has put the country's land and resources up for sale with the quick passing of market-friendly laws, there has been a well-documented renewed spike in global land grabs, particularly for industrial agricultural production. All the while the Myanmar government has been engaging in a highly contentious and largely failed national peace process in an attempt to end one of the world's longest running civil wars. The Myanmar government has aggressively pushed for foreign investment in large-scale private agribusiness concessions through the introduction of a new supportive legal framework, with regional, and to a lesser extent global, corporations signing concession deals - some of which are for biofuel production. Meanwhile, REDD+ Readiness and related forest conservation funds have been committed by IFIs and UN agencies targeting (post-)war high-value conservation forest areas. Climate change mitigation projects and large-scale land deals can instigate, conflicts over land and resources, but not just as separate processes occurring in discrete geographies, as the literature claims. Working at the intersections of large-scale land acquisitions and climate change mitigation strategies viewed through a landscape perspective, the MOSAIC project provides a lens through which to study complex interactions within and across social, ecological and institutional arenas. The Myanmar country case study clearly demonstrates the dynamic interplay of, and the social and ecological spill-over effects from, multiple layers of competing land conflicts - in this case land grabs and climate change mitigation strategies - being firmly embedded in the historical processes, institutional agendas, and environmental particularities in which they take place. The layered matrix of past and present land conflicts rooted in historical grievances and civil war must first be more clearly understood and then properly addressed in order to stem further aggravated land conflicts from climate change mitigation projects.

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Resistance against Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Bougainville's peace process under threat?
Anne Hennings

Responding to the academic void on resistance and its impact on peacebuilding, I turn to the opposition against large-scale land acquisitions in the post-war context of Bougainville. After independence copper mining triggered civil war on Bougainville - often referred to as the "world's first successful eco-revolution". Nowadays the province faces a new rush on its land and resources, which is embedded into the contemporary global phenomenon of large-scale

land investments for mining, agricultural, tourism or green purposes. Promising in terms of reconstruction and economic prosperity, this recent development may entail risks for reconciliation processes and long-term peace prospects though - due to the unjust distribution of negative externalities and benefits. Thus, resistance likely occurs, ranging from nonviolent to violent means. Besides community and state capacities, territory plays an important role in this regard, which is characterized by the dimensions of identity, authority and economic efficiency. Since territory encompasses interactions of social life and power alike, territoriality indicates exclusion and control mechanisms over people in a certain area. Applying assemblage theory, allows to analyze ever-faster social, environmental or technical transformations and changing configurations. Although less considered in peace and conflict studies, yet, assemblage thinking enables alternative perspectives on identity, capacities and power in plural post-conflict societies in times of land tenure shift, resource scarcity and reconciliation. Drawing from findings on the Bougainville case, my papers aims to reveal applied means of resistance and its impact on conflict transformation processes and, hence, to identify, if new (armed) conflicts may emerge along former conflict lines.

Anne Hennings is research fellow and PhD candidate at the University of Muenster. Her interdisciplinary PhD project analyzes resistance against large-scale land acquisitions in post-conflict settings, such as Papua New Guinea, Cambodia and Sierra Leone. With regard to ongoing peacebuilding processes, Anne's research focuses on the impact and conflict potential of coping mechanisms and (violent) resistance strategies applied by civil society and affected communities to oppose land investments. Moreover, Anne is speaker and co-founder of the research group "Nature-Resources-Conflict" and member of the research group "International and European Governance". Email: anne.hennings@uni-muenster.de

(12) STATES, LAND INVESTMENT/ACQUISITION & DISPOSSESSION – 1

Chair: Phil Hirsh, University of Sydney

Cambodia's Unofficial Regime of Extraction: Illicit Logging in the Shadow of Transnational Governance and Investment

Sarah Milne

Note: paper is coming out in *Critical Asian Studies* in June 2015

Cambodia has recently demonstrated one of the highest rates of deforestation in the world. While scholars have long explored the drivers of tropical forest loss, the case of Cambodia offers particular insights into the role of the state where transnational governance and regional integration are increasingly the norm. Given the significant role logging rents play in Cambodia's post-conflict state formation, this article explores the contemporary regime and its ongoing codependent relationship with forested land. Insights are distilled from comparative analysis of illicit logging in two ethnographic case studies. Both involve foreign investments by state-owned companies – a Chinese-backed hydropower dam and Vietnamese-owned rubber concessions – and both are nestled in prominent conservation landscapes that are managed with international donor support. Together, the cases reveal how Cambodia's current timber extraction regime works through the use and abuse of legal mechanisms associated with forest conservation and foreign investment projects, and the mobilization of elite alliances that conduct logging both for private gain and in service of the ruling party's interests. By implication, the government's remarkable facilitation of transnational projects for conservation and development must be reappraised and ultimately seen as constitutive of a predatory and extractive regime that continues to rely heavily upon illicit logging revenues.

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Politics of Land Grabbing in the Borderland: A Case Study of Chongjom Border Market, Kabcheong District, Surin Province

Watcharee Srikham, Jiraporn Smyth and Metee Methasit Suksamret,

Chongjom border is a contested area which reflects power-related relationship between center and its marginal space. From deserted borderland in the buffer zone during Khmer Rouge period, Chongjom becomes an emerging 4th ranking of cross-border trading between Thailand and Cambodia, where value of exporting goods have been increased up to 224.05 % in 2013. The politics of changes in land use and property relations change lead to widen of land grabbing in the area. This paper attempts to address a preliminary analysis through an analytical approach from data gathered by in-depth interviews and focus groups of local people, politicians, Thai and Cambodian traders and government officials in Chongjom border and Surin province. The results indicate that politics of land grabbing plays a vital role on directing border development in which local politicians and government officials are main actors. There are 3 main border markets that have been established and exploited by 3 main political figures in this study. Network of political power in the sub-district, provincial and national level with reciprocal benefits arrangement help to sustain and retain their exploitation of the land over 2 decades. Powerful actors continue their attempts to maintain their interests by using counter-strategies. They are also trying to maintain and regain their political status by getting re-election into the border sub-district office and the provincial office and nominating their family members for an election campaign. One of land grabbing strategy to expand border market is using Cambodian traders to build new contemporary shops over the government stipulated rental area. Land grabbing expansion without proper landscape planning, waste treatment system, and environmental awareness causes environmental degradation and health problems among local people. Incineration without materials separation to remove hazardous materials before combustion is commonly used in the market area. Some of the children in the area already suffer from asthma.

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The Special Economic Zones of the Greater Mekong Subregion: Land Ownership and Social Transformation
John Walsh

Special economic zones (SEZs) are geographical areas bounded in space and time that are aimed at encouraging inward investment by privileging capital above labour and above the general legal system. In the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMSR), which consists of Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Zone of China, SEZs have been used extensively and with considerable success according to quantitative measures. In general, these measures have promoted the Factory Asia paradigm of low labour cost competitiveness in import-substituting, export-oriented manufacturing. This is a paradigm that is limited in time and ends with the effect known as the Middle Income Trap, which now affects Thailand and can only really be exited by qualitative change in economy and society to promote innovation and creativity. In other parts of the GMSR, states have not progressed so far along this trajectory and, in Laos and Myanmar, are at the very early stages of their journeys. In the majority of cases, SEZs are built with public sector support and, in particular, with assistance in obtaining land. Often, as in the case of Dawei SEZ in Myanmar, this has involved the forcible relocation of the villagers from an area the size of Singapore. At least some of the dispossessed villagers have mounted armed resistance to this relocation and halted construction. This may be seen as a form of creative destruction during the process of what Polanyi called the great transformation. Social relations and social capital are among the assets that are transformed into market relations as land itself is redefined and reconfigured as commercially important space. This paper explores the variety of SEZs in the GMSR and the way they interact with the people who once lived on or near the land they now occupy. Remedial social policy options are explored.

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(13) STATES, LAND INVESTMENT/ACQUISITION & DISPOSSESSION – 2

Chair: Ye Jingzhong, China Agricultural University

Beyond the Countryside: Hukou Reform and Agrarian Capitalism in China
Shaohua Zhan and Joel Andreas

In the populous Chinese countryside, large-scale agrarian capitalism could not succeed without removing a large number of rural people from land. This paper will examine how hukou reform has been used to serve this goal by drawing and in many cases forcing peasants to settle down in the city. Contrary to the mainstream opinion that hukou reform is progressive and should be pushed further, this paper argues that hukou reforms over the past decade have gone hand in hand with changes in land policy, and that a main goal of these reforms was to reduce (permanently) the population in the countryside. Different from studies that focus on rural dynamics in examining the expansion of agrarian capitalism in China, this paper will direct attention away from the countryside and show how city government, urban-industrial capital and agrarian capital have developed common interest in hukou reform and formed a tripartite alliance in transferring rural populations to the city.

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Land Deals In Laos: First Insights From A New Nationwide Initiative To Assess The Quality Of Investments In Land

Cornelia Hett, Vong Nanhthavong, Thatheva Saphangthong, Guillermo Rodriguez Robles, Ketkeo Phouangphet, William Speller, Peter Messerli, Michael Epprecht, Andreas Heinemann

In Laos land concessions have increased dramatically over the last decade. To provide a window into the concessions landscape, we conducted a nationwide inventory between 2007 and 2011. In response to an order by the Lao Government to its ministries, we developed a methodology to update the inventory and complement existing data with a systematic assessment of investment quality in 2014. We investigated aspects of compliance as well as impacts on livelihoods and the environment. In this paper we present insights into the landscape of land concessions in Laos from the first national inventory and an overview of the approach to update and enhance it. We then present results from the first two provinces assessed - Luang Prabang and Xiengkhouang – through the second baseline study. Nearly 90% of the total area granted to investors in these two provinces was granted to foreign investors. There are many domestic concessions, but these are generally small in size. Household income and employment were the most common positive impacts as perceived by affected villagers, while the lack of land for farming and rising social conflicts were the most common negative impacts. FPIC was widely conducted in the agricultural and mining sector; it is completely missing in the tree plantations sector so far.

Cornelia Hett is a senior researcher with the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE) of the University of Bern. Her research focusses on landscape transformations in Laos under the influence of global change. She leads the on-going investigations on large-scale land investments in Laos by conducting a nation-wide inventory and analysis of concession and leases. Her second focus lies on the study of changes within traditional upland farming systems and sustainable management opportunities through agro-biodiversity and payments for eco-system services.

Vong Nanhthavong is a researcher at the Vientiane based office of the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE), University of Bern in Switzerland. His work centres on the assessment of land concessions in Laos where he has been involved in the development of the methodology to assess the quality of land investments, coordination of field work, and

data analysis. Vong holds a Professional Master in International Development Studies from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies Geneva, Switzerland.

Thatheva leads the Council for science and Technology, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF), Lao PDR. His main work is to monitor and ensure applied researches within MAF to feed the actual need of the Agricultural and Forestry Rural and Development's policy. He is Information Knowledge Management practitioner/manager with much experience focus on spatial planning, integrated watershed landscape management planning, programme monitoring, environmental and social impact assessment. Thatheva has initiated the Geo-Spatial Data integration as well as facilitates data sharing and exchanges cross sectors in the country for the past 10 years.

Guillermo Rodríguez Robles works as a research assistant at the Centre for Development and Environment's country office in the Lao PDR. His work focuses on governance of land and natural resources, quality of land investments and agro-biodiversity enhancement. He holds a MSc in rocket engineering from the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid and he is currently undertaking a MSc in Agricultural Economics at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

Ketkeo has been working with the Lao Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF) for more than 35 years. He is in charge of the Agricultural Investment and Business Promotion Division, Department of Planning and Cooperation, MAF, Lao PDR. He specialized on the Land Use Planning and Paddy Land reform. His work is focus on the agricultural and forestry investment concession endorsement, monitoring and giving the annual license and its extension. He has been working on refining of the MAF's concession inventory and monitoring since 2008.

Peter Messerli is the director of the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE) of the University of Bern. As a geographer his research interests lie in the sustainable development of socio-ecological systems in Africa and Asia. He thereby focuses on increasingly globalized and distant driving forces of rural transformation processes and their spatial manifestations in the Global South.

Michael Epprecht is a senior researcher with the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE) of the University of Bern. He received a PhD in Geography from the University of Bern. His main research fields include spatial dimensions of socio-economic disparities, market integration and agricultural transition, and on cross-sectoral information integration for development analysis and planning. He has 20 years of experience in development oriented research in various contexts and countries.

Andreas Heinimann is a senior research scientist and lecturer at the Centre for Development and Environment (CDE) of the University of Bern well as the Institute of Geography. His research focus on landscape transformations and related ecosystems and development trade-offs under global change as well as sustainability science and sustainable development research with a special focus on human- environment interactions in developing countries. He is also a member of the Scientific Steering Committee of the Global Land Project (GLP) of IGBP and Future Earth.

State brokerage in large-scale agricultural investment in Indonesia
Laksmi Adriani Savitri

This paper is aimed to unpack the processes of land deals in large-scale agricultural investment that utilised the power of brokering and translation, which were done by the state actors to launch, smoothen, accelerate, but also to stop the deals. State brokerage does not only channel the power of capital owners to appropriate land and landowners into their accumulation strategy or channel the landholders' counter-power against the capitalists' agenda of dispossession, but brokering creates and is instituted by its own power, and work in a particular way when it is played by state actors and takes place in a state system. In a case of a new wave of large-scale agricultural investment in Indonesia since 2008, the state actors play an important role to localize capital accumulation by inserting brokerage function into the state system as a mechanism to produce legitimation. The power of legitimation is created by the moral value, which therefore cannot work effectively if it is only interplayed with regulation,

force, and violence. But, land deals were justified as legitimate and able to produce control when it is also capable to create consent or 'morally acceptable and desirable reasons'. Brokering and translation are important mechanisms where consent is created and legitimation is finally produced. The case of land deals in Merauke and Ketapang explains that land deals only work effectively to gain control for the capital owners when it was taken into various state actors' interests, positions and strategies, who transform state's facilitating role into brokering function. Brokerage as a function becomes powerful when it is inserted into state system and structure, which makes possible its expansion and formalisation into a power network beyond the state's limit. It reaches out and incorporates various non-state actors at the village level who are influential in the everyday politics of rural landholders. Furthermore, this working of brokerage network that uses state system to create consent and legitimation to accept the deal, is invisible to the organized counter-movement. This invisibility is successfully gained because movement organisations failed to connect their advocacy agenda with the working of everyday politics that produces problem of fragmentation and factions at the grass root level. The invisibility has weakened and, even, inactivated the counter-brokerage, which makes difficult the consolidation of resistance from below. The large scale agricultural investment in Indonesia, therefore, continues to thrive because, among other reasons, the working of state brokerage and its implication to the organized counter-movement is not yet recognised.

Laksmi Savitri is a Researcher in AISSR-University of Amsterdam's project of "Transnational investment on land and agricultural crops in Indonesia and Philippines" and lecturer in the Anthropology Department, University of Gajah Mada

(14) GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S CORPORATE RUSH TO LAND – 1

Chair: Ben White, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Netherlands

"I saw the impact of the [Economic Land Concession] on the men." Notes towards a feminist political ecology of land access in Southeast Asia
Vanessa Lamb and Carl Middleton

While recent work on land grabbing in Cambodia examines the role of gender with regard to women's roles in Cambodia (Brickell 2014, Amnesty International 2011, Licadho 2015), in this paper we reflect on gender and land access in rural Cambodia, considering the impacts to gender not only as related to "women" but as related to male identity and masculinity as well as related to livelihood change. To do so, we draw on a case study of forced eviction and subsequent creation of a Social Land Concession (SLC) in Kratie Province in Cambodia's northeast. The paper is based on fieldwork and a systematic review of literature and policies of land access in Cambodia. Analysis of the case reveals that gender relationships were being significantly altered as a result of land title changes and struggles against eviction. We argue, furthermore, that it is not only women's gender roles and responsibilities that are changing – it is also male responsibility, identity, and belonging that are being significantly altered, which is an aspect too often overlooked in gender and land literatures.

Vanessa Lamb is an assistant professor in Ryerson University's Geography and Environmental Studies Department and is an affiliated research with the York Centre for Asian Research, York University (Toronto, Canada). She has worked and conducted research in Southeast Asia on natural resource access for the past 10 years. Dr Lamb completed her dissertation, *Ecologies of Rule and Resistance* (2014), focused on the politics of ecological knowledge and development of the Salween River, at York University and in 2014 was awarded an ASEAN-Canada Fellowship for continued Research.

Carl Middleton is a lecturer at Chulalongkorn University's MA in International Development Studies (MAIDS) program (Bangkok, Thailand). Dr. Middleton holds a PhD from University of Manchester, UK. He has been based in Southeast Asia for the past 10 years, working with International Rivers and other regional environmental organizations on issues of land and water rights.

Gendered dynamics of land property relations within a large-scale sugarcane investment in

Isabela, Philippines
Lisa Alano

The paper illustrates that the way land access and control is understood and practiced in the local context may vary with state interpretations and this impacts on the land claims of women and men small-scale farmers. It argues that the formal procedures of the investor and the implementation of the state's land governance policy that confines the parameters of tenure rights to formal land ownership complement to allow the transfer of effective control of the land in favor of the company. The policy is implemented in a way that disproportionately benefits men more than women into becoming owners of individually titled lands. The use of both coercive and incentive mechanisms by the investor, local state actors, and community elite enable the investor to consolidate land through short-term lease arrangement and contract farming. These new production regimes transfer effective control over land in favor of the investor. Furthermore, it shows that women farmers may be incorporated into corporate agriculture in ways that threaten their rights to land. At the same time, however, they are able to maneuver and utilize non-state spaces to claim and retain their effective control over land, contrary to the largely negative outcomes experienced in other cases of land deals.

Maria Lisa Alano is a PhD Researcher at the University of Amsterdam, in the Netherlands. Her research on gender and agrarian change in relation to large-scale land investments is part of the research programme '(Trans)national Land Investments in Indonesia and the Philippines: Contested Control of Farm Land and Cash Crops,' which is financed by the WOTRO Science for Global Development programme of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). Her past and current research interests include land policies, indigenous peoples, gender and agrarian change in the Philippines. She has extensive experience in development work in Mindanao, Philippines.

The Praxis of Access: Gender in Myanmar's National Land Use Policy
Hilary Oliva Faxon

In Myanmar, heated struggles around land grabs, acquisition, and formalization fail to acknowledge the complexity and heterogeneity of existing land relations. Gender dynamics are key to shaping these systems, and have been neglected in current research and policy. This paper examines women's access to land and the emergence of gender discourse in land policy debates through a participant ethnography of the National Land Use Policy consultation process. I explore both ways in which land access is lived by rural women, and feminist contributions to land-based social movements. Attention to the differentiated yet interlinked spheres of the household, customary law, and land formalization enhances understanding of land politics, and women's presence, gender concerns, and the nascent common identity of the pan-Myanmar women can catalyze effective advocacy for just land reform in Myanmar.

Hilary Oliva Faxon is a PhD candidate in Cornell University's Department of Development Sociology. Her current research focuses on struggles for land and women's rights in Myanmar, and interlinked processes of resource governance and democratization in South Asia more broadly. She currently works as technical adviser to the Gender Equality Network and is based in Yangon, Myanmar.

(15) GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S CORPORATE RUSH TO LAND – 2

Chair: Mia Siscawati, University of Indonesia

"These Days We Have to Be Poor People:" Women's Economic Trajectories Following Forced Evictions in Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Colleen McGinn

This paper explores how forced evictions affect displaced women's economic conditions. Forced evictions – "the involuntary removal of persons from their homes or land, directly or indirectly attributable to the State" (OHCHR, 1996, p. 2) – are a worldwide phenomenon, and

one of the most common triggers of forced migration globally. They are widespread in Cambodia. Twenty-seven in-depth narrative interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of 22 displaced women to explore post-displacement adaptation. Economic circumstances proved to be crucial to understanding overall risk and resilience. The nature and degree of economic harm experienced by participants varied widely. Harm affected different groups differently, along patterns that were consistent with pre-displacement socioeconomic status and influenced by the degree to which their financial and social capital was embedded in their former neighborhoods. Harm to livelihoods affected renters who were unable to earn incomes in new locations. Harm to assets affected homeowners with relatively stable incomes, but lost enormous value of their properties. A third category lost both livelihoods and assets in a catastrophic double blow; this group tended to include shopkeepers others who both lived and worked on their property. Finally, some women reported that forced eviction had had a relatively benign impact on them. Narratives in this category were idiosyncratic. However, overall these women had superficial ties to their former neighborhoods or else found new housing nearby, and had intact livelihoods. This paper argues that a housing/shelter focus to advocacy, policy, and assistance strategies is too narrow, and poorly addresses the livelihood crisis that are experienced by the displaced. Key recommendations include: compensation at full market value for seized properties, and broad urban planning measures to protect and encourage affordable rental housing within the city, proximate to diverse livelihood opportunities.

Dr. Colleen McGinn is a Cambodia-based social research consultant. She has a PhD from the Columbia University School of Social Work. Her doctoral dissertation examined the psychosocial impact of forced evictions in Phnom Penh. Prior to her PhD studies, she worked as a frontline humanitarian aid worker across the world, including such trouble spots as Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, and the Balkans. An expert in stress, coping, and resilience among populations under stress, her current research interests focus on applying disaster management theory and practice in new arenas, including forced evictions and climate change adaptation.

Landscapes of control and appropriation: the missing Indigenous woman
Clara Mi Young Park and Margherita Maffii

A number of dramatic changes have adversely affected Cambodia's indigenous communities over the last decades subverting their social, cultural and resources rich systems, and reshaping women and men's role and status and gender relations. Such changes include, among others, the transition from shifting cultivation towards market oriented production, the increasing inflow of non-indigenous settlers and, more lately, the encroachment over indigenous people's territories by way of Economic Land Concessions (ELC) and individual titling. In July 2012 the Cambodian government issued Directive 01BB which suspended the granting of ELCs, calling for all competent authorities to monitor the implementation of ELCs, in particular with respect to the principle not to affect land belonging to 'indigenous minorities and citizens' way of life. However, through issuing individual land titles to IP community members, the Directive not only has captured their right to communal titling, but has also undermined their traditionally free and open access to natural resources with implications for their livelihood, system of beliefs and social fabric. Based on field work carried out in several communities in Ratanakiri province, this paper analyses the trajectory of land reform and changes in land tenure in Cambodia focusing on the implications of the seizure of land access and control on indigenous groups, gender relations and gender roles. This is not to suggest that gender is the one and only perspective from which changes in land tenure in Ratanakiri should be analyzed. Instead, the aim of the paper is to provide evidence and bring forward gender as one of the variables, which in interaction with other social differences, contribute to shaping these changes. Ultimately the paper aims to make indigenous women visible, re-centering them at the core of the transformations occurring in their societies and of the instances of resistance that such changes have provoked.

Clara Mi Young Park is a PhD candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies in The Hague and a gender officer with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. Her research has focused mainly on agricultural and land policy, tenure and property rights, gender and social inequalities and

women and minorities' rights. She has recently co-authored a paper on gender and food sovereignty, a book chapter on 'The gendered political ecology of agrofuels expansion' and on 'Gender, land and agrarian transformations in Lao PDR'. Email: park@iss.nl; clarampark@gmail.com

Margherita Maffii is a Gender and Social researcher based in Cambodia. Her research focuses on gender as a social, economic and cultural variable, reflecting and reacting to societal changes, constantly reshaping and restructuring women's and men's relations, role and status. Her research work with indigenous women in Cambodia has started a decade ago and has been made available by a series of publications over the years. Email: mafpol@gmail.com

Gender analysis of economic land concessions in Cambodia and in Northern Laos: Case of rubber plantations
Kyoko Kusakabe

This paper gives a gender analysis on the rubber land concessions in Cambodia and in Northern Laos. Many reports pointed out the deprivation of land by such economic concessions in Cambodia. In Northern Laos, there are different types of contracts arrangements made between the companies, district offices and the communities as well as individual farmers. With the drastic decrease in rubber price, the relationships between the companies and the farmers are also changing. Although the effects of the rubber plantation on small holders' livelihoods have been documented, there has been little gender analysis being conducted. Many times, the decisions to go for rubber plantation have been made by men. Women, more often than men, work as plantation workers as well. Hence, women's experience of rubber land concessions would be different from that of men. This is a work in progress research on the gender differences in their involvement to rubber plantation and its effect and implication to their livelihoods and social relations.

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(16) GENDERED AND GENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA'S CORPORATE RUSH TO LAND – 3

Chair: Clara Park, International Institute of Social Studies

Navigating investment and dispossession: gendered impacts of the oil palm 'land rush' in East Kalimantan, Indonesia

Rebecca Elmhirst, Mia Siscawati Bimbika Sijapati Basnett

In Southeast Asia, oil palm has played an important role in driving 'land deals' and in providing a focal point for activist and advocacy responses to this phenomenon. In Indonesia, and particularly on the island of Kalimantan, investment in oil palm has been associated with accelerated forms of land acquisition and investment, and the dispossession of small-scale farmers and indigenous people, signalling far-reaching implications for well-being and equity. To date, limited attention has been paid to the gender dimensions of oil palm investments, despite there being clear links with parallel debates on gender and land rights, and despite recent calls to centre labour (productive and reproductive) in land grab analyses. In this paper, we use a feminist political ecology optic to explore the dynamics of gender within the current oil palm-led 'land rush' in Indonesia, with the aim of unsettling overly simple dualisms such as those around foreign and domestic land grabs; smallholder and plantation modes of operation; and migrant and 'local' communities; male capacities and female vulnerabilities. The paper draws on data from an ongoing study of the gendered impacts of investments in oil palm in five communities in East Kalimantan which have been substantially affected by large scale plantation development as well as smaller scale investments in oil palm by migrant entrepreneurs. Here, a simple land grab narrative is complicated by contrasting experiences and responses of different kinds of land users, and conflicts within communities. Together, these point to the ways oil palm becomes one of the technologies that simultaneously

changes the meaning of land, legitimates particular forms of exclusion and produces particular forms of gendered agency amongst both investors and the dispossessed. Our study points to the importance of bringing a material and materialist feminist perspective to bear on the analysis of the global land rush in a context where local communities are not singular, where the social qualities of land reflect gendered histories of resource investment in the context of socio-political change and where oil palm's agency and effect is wrought through its gendered socio-political history in this context.

Rebecca Elmhirst (University of Brighton, UK), Mia Siscawati (University of Indonesia), Bimbika Sijapati Basnett (CIFOR)

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Land concessions and rural youth in southern Laos
Gilda Senties Portilla

Scholars have produced valuable insights on the question of recent "land grabbing" in the global South. They have, however, insufficiently studied the issue from below, particularly from the point of view of a crucial group in the land conundrum: the rural youth. This paper brings to the fore the perspectives of Laotian rural youngsters amidst a hasty agrarian transition, in which the borisat (company) –in the form of large monoculture plantations– has permeated both the physical landscape and the daily narratives of people. Critical stances on the Foucauldian approach of governmentality are useful to challenge the idea that (young) rural populations facing agrarian change are mere 'subjects of power'. Through ethnographies in the province of Champasak, the paper analyses how do young people's aspirations of a 'better life', either verbally expressed or enacted through other media, play a role in the way they understand and cope with outcomes of livelihood change vis-à-vis more powerful actors, including their root households. Although young people's aspirations reflect a growing material impossibility to inherit or acquire farmland, there are also subjective meanings that unveil a preference for salaried work (off-farm), which more rapidly fulfil needs of autonomy and peer identification. Land concessions for rubber and coffee plantations, which predominantly target young labour in the studied sites, have become a source of such salaried work –not without major constraints and exploitative situations for the majority.

Gilda Senties Portilla is a PhD candidate in Anthropology and Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (HEID), Geneva, and an Affiliated Researcher at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen. She is writing her doctoral thesis on the livelihoods of farming households and young people amidst land concessions for commercial agriculture in Lao PDR.

Plantations and inter-generational displacement
Tania Murray Li

The expansion of plantations and associated smallholder settlement schemes is sometimes accompanied by the eviction of former landholders. In Indonesia, the practice is more often to leave the original landholders in place, confined to a more restricted area of land. Hence large scale schemes are surrounded by people tucked into small spaces known as enclaves, which may fall within a plantation or on the border between one plantation and the next. My paper explores the intergenerational dynamics of this practice. At the time of land acquisition, setting aside land in enclaves and avoiding eviction reduces opposition. If the enclave is big enough, farmers may be able to continue to farm as before, and retain access to forest gardens. Farmers may not yet see land as a scarce resource. As one elder in West Kalimantan explained, "when the company came we thought our land was as big as the sea." The real land squeeze begins a generation later, when land in the enclave proves insufficient for the needs of young farmers. As more plantations come, the surrounding forests are also converted, closing off the land frontier. If the plantations are associated with smallholder settlement schemes, scheme members who are typically assigned just 2 ha per household are also severely squeezed for land for their children. Seen from an inter-generational perspective, the term "land grab" is misleading. It suggests a catastrophic, sudden loss. In fact, full displacement emerges slowly, step wise, and unevenly: some households still have

enough land, others have none. This kind of piecemeal displacement has significant implications for politics.

Tania Murray Li teaches in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, where she holds the Canada Research Chair in the Political Economy and Culture of Asia. Her publications include *Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier* (Duke University Press, 2014), *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia* (with Derek Hall and Philip Hirsch, NUS Press, 2011), *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics* (Duke University Press, 2007) and many articles on land, development, resource struggles, community, class, and indigeneity with a particular focus on Indonesia. Together with Pujio Semedi, she is currently conducting ethnographic research on the social, political and economic relations that emerge in Indonesia's oil palm zones.

(17) MODES OF CORPORATE PENETRATION OF AGRICULTURE: CONTRACT FARMING

Chair: Eduardo C. Tadem, University of the Philippines

CP maize contract farming in Shan State, Myanmar: A regional case of a place-based corporate agro-feed system

Kevin Woods

The Bangkok-based Sino-Thai company Choern Pakard Group (CP Group), Asia's largest and most prominent agro-food/feed corporation, has led an industrial maize contract farming scheme with (ex-) poppy upland smallholders in Shan State, northern Myanmar to supply China's chicken-feed market. Thailand, as a Middle Income Country (MIC) and regional powerhouse, has long tapped China's phenomenal economic growth and undersupplied consumer demand. The study presented demonstrates how changes in multi-scalar political economies and subsequent agro-food/feed systems creates concomitant effects on rural smallholder producers linked into the globalising production-supply chains. Thailand's agribusiness sector 'going out' aimed to reduce domestic input production costs, supported through neoliberal regional investment and trade policies and crafted behind close doors by CP executives. Since then ethnic minority populated uplands in Shan State, northern Myanmar has become a major CP maize production zone for China's market. This has triggered an historically significant agrarian transformation in Shan State from low-input subsistence economies to cash cropping of high-input, company-owned seeds for a foreign export market. The CP maize smallholder production scheme tends to trigger differential socio-economic outcomes and redistribution of wealth within the village. The differential dispossession outcomes is shaped by differences in village-level household capital, lack of smallholder access to affordable rural finance, ethnic Chinese migrations and (il-)licit border economies tied to Cold War-era politics. The particularity of places, such as differences in political history, migrations, agro-ecology, geography, and relationship to the opium economy, also influence the dynamics of village- and household-level differentiation of wealth due to CP maize cultivation in Shan State. This paper therefore showcases through empirical village-level field research how the corporatisation and regional-/globalisation of the chicken feed market has radically transformed agrarian relations and structures of debt and dispossession in rural upland Shan State.

Kevin Woods is UC-Berkeley, Ph.D. Candidate, and is MOSAIC Research Fellow (Myanmar) at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands and Chiang Mai University.

Small-scale land acquisitions, large-scale implications: The case of Chinese banana investments in Northern Laos

Cecilie Friis

In the context of the 'global land grab', the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic has been identified as a hotspot for large-scale land acquisitions sought by capital strong foreign investors. However, in the rapidly commercialising agrarian landscape of northern Laos, other

and more subtle forms of land acquisitions are also taking place. These are mainly pursued by smaller companies and private investors promoting cash-crops in contract-farming arrangements or renting agricultural land from farmers on short-term contracts; often with little or no initial involvement of the government actors. This paper investigates such 'small-scale' land acquisitions in relation to the recent boom in banana investments in Long District, Luang Namtha Province. Here, banana investments have increased rapidly since 2008-9 with Chinese investors establishing plantations on land rented for 3 to 6 years in the easily accessible and fertile lowland areas along the main district road. Taking point of departure in the experiences of a small minority community in Long District, where two different banana investors established plantations in 2011, the paper focus on the network of actors involved in bringing about banana investments, the strategies employed by investors for gaining access to land, and the agrarian transformations that follows in relation to local agricultural production. The paper is based on data collected through fieldwork in Laos in April-May and August-December 2014 using semi-structured and group interviews, informal conversations, participant observation, and household questionnaires. Two aspects of this study contribute to the ongoing discussion in the 'global land grab' debate. Firstly, the results show that despite the small scale of the investments and the short term contracts, the actual land use transformation induced by the plantations represent a strong alienation of land. Secondly, the analysis reveals how the banana investors, circumventing government actors, establish a network of local land brokers and middlemen, relying on personal relationships and 'snowballing' techniques to identify suitable land areas and facilitate negotiations over land directly with farmers. Furthermore, the investors employ the full range of 'powers of exclusion' (Hall et al., 2011) to gain control over the land. Thus, while these 'small-scale' land acquisitions might appear to represent a less dramatic enclosure than long-term and large-scale concessions, the contractual arrangements and the land use conversion they entail have significant implications for changing access to resources, land and general livelihood opportunities for the local communities involved.

Cecilie Friis is a doctoral researcher at the IRI THESys (Integrative Research Institute for Transformation of Human-Environment Systems) at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her research is funded by the German Excellence Initiative. The focus of her research is how people navigate for livelihood opportunities and access to resources in an increasingly interconnected and telecoupled world, as well as on the theoretical and empirical development of telecoupling as an analytical heuristic. She studies the case of Chinese banana plantation development in northern Laos, and her conducted field research in Luang Namtha Province in April-May and August-December 2014. She is currently working on her dissertation.

Corporatisation of rural spaces: Contract farming as local scale land grabs in Maharashtra, India
Mark Vicol

Debates concerning contemporary land grabbing in the Global South have predominantly understood such phenomena as global-scale acquisitions of land by foreign capital motivated by export food or biofuel production complexes, industrial development, tourism or urbanisation. In a much cited contribution, Zoomers (2010) labels these processes as the 'foreignisation of space'. Here, land grabbing involves the (coercive) transfer of land ownership or access ('enclosure') from traditional or customary uses (usually small-holder agriculture or forest lands) to corporate agriculture, special economic zones (SEZ), housing developments or nature conservation. While no doubt significant, this paper argues that the dominant focus on acquisition in debates around changes in global land relations ignores other evolving local forms of land control that are facilitating corporate accumulation and influencing agrarian change. In India, where laws have restricted large-scale foreign and domestic investment in agricultural land, these processes have been paramount. Consequently, domestic and foreign agro-capital is coming to control farm land in India through 'non-equity' means such as contract farming. Contract farming allows firms to circumvent both local land laws and difficulties in acquiring land, as well as locating the production and asset risks associated with farm land with small farmers. While land is not changing hands, the spread of contract farming is leading to the 'corporatisation of rural spaces', where new modes of accumulation predicated on relations of credit and debt

increasingly dominate rural land use. Of obvious concern then is what consequences contract farming, as a non-equity mode of controlling land, will have for patterns of agrarian change in rural Indian villages. Research into the impacts of contract farming on rural Indian villages and households has so far been dominated by economic analysis of the individual income or welfare outcomes of contract participation, with little attention given to how contract farming schemes are inserted into wider agrarian landscapes. These schemes present new opportunities for some households, yet it is unclear how contract farming will influence patterns of social and economic differentiation at various scales. To address this gap, the empirical contribution of this paper uses evidence from a recent case study of potato contract farming in Maharashtra, India to argue that by understanding contract farming through a grounded rural livelihoods lens, we can reveal the nuances of how different rural households and their land are incorporated into contract farming schemes, and what this means for livelihood pathways in rural India. In doing so, this paper aims to broaden perspectives on global land deals by incorporating analysis of non-equity modes of control of agricultural land into global land-grab debates.

I am currently a PhD candidate in human geography at the School of Geosciences, University of Sydney, Australia. This paper draws on my thesis research into contract farming in India. My research focuses on how processes of value-chain modernisation in India influence processes of uneven development and agrarian change, with a particular focus on rural livelihoods. I was previously part of a research team investigating the multifaceted role of land in rural livelihoods in north India.

(18) STATE, CAPITAL & POLICIES FOR LAND, FOOD & INDUSTRY – 1

Chair: Michael Dwyer, CIFOR

The political economy of land governance in the Mekong Region: contexts of policy advocacy
Philip Hirsch, Satomi Higashi and Natalia Scurrah

As the framing of this conference suggests, land deals are shaped by context. The regional scale at which the conference defines context has relevance in terms of certain agrarian structures and social ecologies of land-based production common to the region, intertwined regional histories of agrarian change, and subjection of local livelihood systems to region-specific influences, dynamics and actors that shape land governance and contestation in this part of the world. However, context also matters at other scales of analysis and intervention, from the very local political ecologies that shape land deals between local and non-local players, to the national scale at which political economy sets the terms for the land deals themselves. A political economy approach explores the contextual configuration of interests that shape contestation, and the approach brings to bear the salience of political histories of land relations to current processes, debates and struggles. Political economy also sets the conditions for current policy advocacy, both in terms of the exclusionary issues at stake and in terms of the openings and constraints for progressive policy reform. In this paper we will conduct a comparative political economy of land governance in the Mekong Region. The primary emphasis is on Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (the so-called CLMV countries), but the paper also takes into account the regional role and land governance experience of Thailand and China. The paper explores the salience of political histories, particularly in countries that have gone through socialist regimes or communist revolutions and whose post-socialist experiences have played a significant part in “laying out the turf” for land deals. We will explore the ways in which land deals are done, legitimised, understood and contested from within and without each of the countries concerned. The analysis will also identify the key types of players involved in each case, from militaries to land tycoons to different types of international land investors, and of course to rural smallholders who are party to or affected by these deals. The paper draws on a research mapping and political economy analysis being conducted by the authors for the Mekong Region Land Governance project, funded by the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (SDC). The purpose of these exercises, in parallel with the project’s identification of key reform actors, is to consider the most promising pathways to influence policy and practice toward a more secure and equitable future for those most vulnerable to exclusion from land and land-based livelihoods. We will conclude our paper with reflections on the role of research and its engagement with advocacy and policy agendas in the fields of land grabbing and land governance.

Philip Hirsch is Professor of Human Geography at the University of Sydney. He has worked in and on the Mekong region for more than 30 years and has published extensively on environment, development and the social science of land and natural resource governance. He is co-author (with Derek Hall and Tania Li) of a recent book on land in Southeast Asia, *Powers of Exclusion: land dilemmas in Southeast Asia*, (Singapore, Singapore University Press, 2011). He is fluent in spoken and written Thai and Lao, speaks and reads intermediate Vietnamese and elementary Khmer.

Dr Satomi Higashi has been based in Laos for a decade and has worked extensively on land issues associated with policy on shifting cultivation and forest and land allocation in that country. She is director of the Lao program for Mekong Watch, a Japanese NGO that has extensive experience of research-based advocacy work in the region. Dr Higashi has collaborated with the Mekong Research Group at the University of Sydney on a BICAS project exploring agrarian responses to Chinese land-based investments in Laos and with research mapping of land governance issues in the Mekong Region. She is a native speaker of Japanese and has excellent English, Thai and Lao.

Ms Natalia Scurrah is a researcher affiliated with the Mekong Research Group (AMRC) at the School of Geosciences, University of Sydney. She has extensive research experience in the Mekong region on topics related to environmental politics, river basin management, rural livelihoods, and participatory action research. Current research examines livelihood adaptation to natural resource pressures in the Nam Ngum River Basin, Lao PDR; the role of law in Mekong river basin governance, and the political economy of land governance in the Mekong region. She has native speaker fluency in English and Spanish and speaks Thai and Lao.

Land Resettlement Policies in Colonial and Post-colonial Philippines-the Key to Current Insurgencies and Climate Disasters in its Southern Mindanao
Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang

American colonial policies aimed at increasing crop production, among others focused on opening up frontiers in Mindanao, southern Philippines. The settlement of its virgin lands through homesteading was considered the most contentious as it depleted government resources resulting to its abortion after almost seven years of implementation. However, the native Filipino leadership from Quezon up to Magsaysay regime considered that this form of resettlement not only answered the problems of economic development but also the peasant and labor unrests of the North and Central Philippines. Hence, the benefits, from the government's point of view, would eventually outweigh the costs of resettlement. Current insurgencies in the South such as that of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the New People's Army are attributed to the land laws started by the American colonizers such as that of Homesteading. It was averred by Moro scholars that resettlement had displaced the Mindanaoans such that land conflicts had become inevitable. It is also a common notion that the government solution to the problems of the landless farmers of the North and Central Philippines had created a bigger problem in the South. The depletion of the frontier lands became not only a political disaster creating insurgencies but also ecological/environmental crises. Using archival and oral history, this paper seeks to answer the following: To what extent has the Philippine government's adoption of colonial land policies such as homesteading, including its current land reform program (which are its answers to problems of landlessness) were exploited by big vested interests? Does resettlement hold the key to native-settler land disputes? Is homesteading by landless farmer effectively answer underdevelopment? What were the implications of these to political and ecological climate of the South?

Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang is currently the Research Coordinator of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mindanao State University, Marawi City Philippines. She holds a Ph.D History(1996), MA in Asian Studies (1982) and BA in History(1972) –all from the University of the Philippines, Diliman Quezon City Philippines. Her Ph.D Dissertation is entitled "EDCOR and Counter-Insurgency. A Study of the Economic Development Corps(EDCOR) Settlements in Mindanao (1950-70)" is about the resettlement of Huk

communists insurgents into Mindanao during the 1950s. Among her published articles are “Slaves and Migrants in Mindanao” , “Northwest Chinese Muslims in China :A Comparative Study on Minority Policies of China and the Philippines” “ Moros During the Filipino-American War”, “Magsaysay Resettlement Programs in Southern Philippines and their Implications to Peace Process” which appeared in MSU Graduate Research Journal, Moro Kurier, Dansalan Quarterly, Mindanao Journal and NHI Kasaysayan Journal. Her other interests apart from land resettlement in Mindanao are gender, slaves and minority social histories.

The agrarian transition and food sovereignty in contemporary Indonesia
Jeff Neilson

Indonesia is experiencing a profound agrarian transition away from agriculture, and poverty alleviation pathways are increasingly de-linked from farming. However, at the same time, Indonesia appears to be confronting the pressures of premature deindustrialisation and farm-based livelihoods continue to perform important social security functions for many millions of households across the country. This paper examines recent agricultural census data on land ownership and farming practices in Indonesia to identify patterns of contemporary agrarian change across Indonesia’s 34 provinces. Initial analysis suggests that the total number of farm households has declined, especially on densely-populated Java, but that the decline in predominately rice-growing households has remained surprisingly steady. Meanwhile, the incoming Jokowi administration has embraced a discourse of ‘food sovereignty’ and has made public commitments towards widespread land reform. This paper will examine how such discourses are being presented within the Indonesian political landscape and what role nascent peasant organisations are having in shaping Indonesia’s agrarian future. In addressing these twin issues of contemporary agrarian change and the political emergence of ‘food sovereignty’ discourses, this paper will provide an analysis of some of the most pressing and contentious development dilemmas facing contemporary Indonesia. It will assess the key issues and alternatives facing rural communities as they contend with shifting economic and political realities in the 21st Century.

Dr Neilson’s research focuses on natural resource management and economic development in South and Southeast Asia, with specific area expertise on Indonesia. Jeff is currently involved in research projects addressing: i) the shifting livelihoods of Indonesian coffee and cocoa farmers; ii) the impacts of sustainability and certification programs in rural Indonesia; and iii) the emergence of peasant organisations and a food sovereignty movement in contemporary Indonesia. He is the Indonesia coordinator for the Sydney Southeast Asia Centre at the University of Sydney and the Leader of a Food and Agriculture Cluster within the Australia Indonesia Centre.

Rubber plantation in the Northwest: Rethinking the concept of land grabs in Vietnam
Nga Dao

At first glance, rubber plantations in the Northwest of Vietnam do not appear as so different from ‘large scale land acquisition,’ which is quite common in the Global South. However, when we closely examine how many processes in plantations work, we can see that they are many different processes at work than those that take place in other countries where transnational or domestic corporations purchase or lease land for growing food, fibre or fuel crops. Rubber plantations have been strongly supported by the government and promoted as a way to industrialize and modernize the uplands, while claiming to narrow the economic gap between the uplands and lowlands. Drawing on fieldwork in two villages in Son La, and on a review of policy papers and documents, this paper identifies the political mechanisms and policies that have emerged as critical factors enabling the dispossession of land for the development of a market economy with a socialist orientation in Vietnam. The paper seeks to understand how institutional control over land and over the discussion of political subjects produces control. It argues that land grabs for rubber plantations in Northwest Vietnam are moves to strengthen state sovereignty. This land seizure has indeed created a new way of land governance that hitherto did not exist in Vietnam.

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(19) STATE, CAPITAL & POLICIES FOR LAND, FOOD & INDUSTRY – 2

Chair: Peter Vandergeest, York University

Tapping into the Rubber Market: Opium Replacement and the Role of Rubber in Developing Laos

Juliet Lu

Development cooperation is an increasingly prominent focus in Chinese foreign diplomacy, and a central justification for Chinese firms' engagement in large-scale land acquisitions (LSLAs) across the global South. China claims itself a success story of developing country industrialization and economic growth, and models its development interventions abroad after its own experience. This is exemplified by China's Opium Replacement Program (ORP), which aims to reduce opium production in Northern Myanmar and Laos by incentivizing Chinese companies to invest in agribusiness in those areas. Since its establishment in 2004, the ORP has catalysed a wave of Chinese investments in these areas, predominantly in the form of rubber plantations. This paper examines the ORP's implementation in Laos as a lens through which to understand the role Chinese firms play in China's vision for development cooperation. It compares the conditions under which rubber emerged in Yunnan, China to those of northern Laos, and demonstrates how incongruities between the two contexts complicate efforts to translate the Yunnan rubber model abroad. It then explores the political economy of ORP supported rubber investments in northern Laos, with specific focus on the growing commercial power and market access the ORP affords Chinese companies. The study finds that the ORP goes far beyond just incentivizing individual companies; it establishes a system that privileges Chinese firms to the point of their effective monopoly in the rubber industry in northern Laos. Since the drop in global rubber prices in 2011, ORP quotas for import tariff exemptions have made participating companies the only firms able to profitably process and export raw latex back to China. This may allow them to outcompete smallholders, contract farmers, and unsubsidized companies for land and inputs as well as to dominate processing and export – the most profitable activities in the sector. This case therefore questions the idea, central to China's development cooperation approach, of translating China's unique development experience into other country contexts, and the ability of Chinese companies to act as effective agents of development when investing in LSLAs.

Juliet Lu is a doctoral student at UC Berkeley's Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management. She worked from 2009-2011 at the World Agroforestry Centre in Yunnan, China and from 2012-2013 with the Centre for Development and Environment in Vientiane, Laos. Her research interests involve the impacts of China's growing demand for raw materials on land and natural resource management in Southeast Asia, and the political economy of Chinese development cooperation initiatives.

Responding to food security and land questions: Policy principles and policy choices in Kalimantan, Indonesia

John McCarthy and Krystof Obidzinski

Since 2008 we have seen the emergence of a conflicted policy field. Fear of new vulnerabilities related to climate change, price volatility and global food shortages, and the heritage of decades of agricultural policy neglect, present complicated policy and political issues. While the demand for agro-industrial commodities drive the rapid enclosure of upland agroforest areas of southeast. At the same time new developmental agendas seek to address the food security problem by pursuing the development of corporate driven food estates. Meanwhile other programs seek to extend the green revolution into marginal outer island landscapes. This occurs amidst competing and contradictory policy formulations regarding food security, food sovereignty and food self-sufficiency. Considering the case of Indonesia, this paper examines the effects of these policies across landscapes of Kalimantan. Considering their relation to emergent patterns of vulnerability during the agrarian transition, it draws conclusions regarding competing approaches to address vulnerability in these transitional landscapes.

John McCarthy works on questions of governance, institutions and rural development with a focus on forestry, agriculture, food security and land use. At present he has an Australian Research Council funded project regarding social protection and food security in rural Indonesia. John is Associate Professor at the ANU Crawford School, and coordinator of the Masters of Environment and Development. Associate Professor John F McCarthy | Coordinator Masters of Environment and Development | Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific | Crawford Building (132) | The Australian National University | Canberra ACT 0200 | Australia | Phone: +61 2 61250494 |

Changing Patterns of Land Management in Indonesian Palm Oil. What is changing? Who is 'land grabbing'? Who is deforesting? Will certification help prevent bad practice?
Lesley Potter

Despite much criticism of the social and environmental conditions under which oil palm is grown in Indonesia, some moves towards improvements may be detected. The demands of the market for a more sustainable product put pressure on large corporations such as Singapore's Wilmar International and Indonesia's Global Agri Resources (GAR) to produce statements predicting changed behaviour among all their subsidiaries ('No deforestation, no development on peat, no exploitation'[Wilmar 2013]). In July 2014 the Malaysian giants Sime Darby, IOI Corporation, and Kuala Lumpur Kepong, together with the Musim Mas Group and Asian Agri signed a 'Sustainable Palm Oil Manifesto', which similarly committed them to 'no deforestation, creating traceable and transparent supply chains, protecting peat areas, while ensuring economic and social benefits for the local people and communities where oil palm is grown' (Sime Darby 2014). In addition, certifying bodies such as the international, voluntary Round Table on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) and its Indonesian counterpart, Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) have emphasised adherence by all participants to local laws and sets of 'principles and criteria', designed to improve the industry's environmental and social performance. The newer ISPO, though slow in implementation (and with weaker criteria than the RSPO) is intended to be compulsory for all Indonesian plantations (including those from foreign countries such as Malaysia) and eventually for smallholder groups, with sanctions applicable for non-compliance. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture set minimal corporate standards for smallholder participation (at least 20% of land, previously within, now outside the plantation boundaries, is to be developed in association with smallholders). Provinces such as Central Kalimantan, famously slow in securing any involvement of smallholders, published new rules which included mandating attached smallholdings for all operating plantations, supposed to be achieved by 2013 (PERDA No 5 of 2011). The rise of independent smallholders (swadaya murni), especially in parts of Sumatra such as Riau and Jambi, but beginning to occur more widely, is shifting the boundaries between the huge estates and the tiny plasma holdings, whose recipients received some form of tied credit in exchange for land. While a comprehensive study of both plasma and independent smallholders indicated an average holding size of 2-3 ha (Molenaar et al 2013), many independent smallholders have managed to amass larger farms, while 60% of plasma farmers also owned independent smallholdings. Local elites, government officers and professional people, transmigrants and others from further afield may acquire 20, 50 or 200 hectares as independent or entrepreneurial smallholders. 'Investors' may own more land, perhaps up to 500ha. One might legitimately now inquire: what is a plantation? What is a smallholding? in the light of these changes. Small to medium investors and their properties will likely escape the improvements demanded by ISPO, at least in the short term, as that organisation deals with the large players first. Many independent smallholders (and some 'medium' holders) are inadequately enumerated by the current systems. Some of these smaller to medium scale 'land grabbers' may also engage in deforestation through invasions of peat swamps and areas designated as 'National Parks' and 'Fauna Reserves'. This paper explores the extent to which management of oil palm land may be changing and whether improvement can be detected as a result of the various regulations and statements of intent noted above, using comparative case studies from Central Kalimantan (Kalteng), Riau and Jambi. The role of the independent smallholders in this process will also be examined. The paper will provide some evidence to answer specific questions, especially: 'What is changing? What kind of evidence do we have? Can some change be ascribed to the RSPO and/or the ISPO?' Also explored will be the general themes: 'who is land grabbing?', 'who is

deforesting?', 'where?' and the corollary 'who is winning?' 'who is losing?' and 'why?'. The studies are based on recent fieldwork in the three provinces during March 2015, following previous field studies in Kalteng in 2011 and Riau in 2013 and the collection of available secondary materials.

Associate Professor Lesley Potter is a Visiting Fellow in the Resources, Environment and Development Group at the Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University. email: lesley.potter@anu.edu.au. She has carried out research in Indonesia (particularly Kalimantan and Sumatra) since 1983 and more specifically on oil palm since 1997. Her interests have generally focussed on small farmers coping with the cultural, economic and environmental changes resulting from shifts in government policy and on their relationships with larger players, especially international corporations. She has recently been engaged in a comparative analysis of oil palm landscapes across the humid tropics as part of a CIFOR-funded study entitled "Managing oil palm landscapes: a seven country study of the modern palm oil industry in SE Asia, Latin America and West Africa" (L. Potter 2015, Occasional Paper No 122, CIFOR, Bogor).

(20) STATE, CAPITAL & POLICIES FOR LAND, FOOD & INDUSTRY – 3

Chair: Kanokwan Manorum, Ubonratchathani University

The neoliberal agricultural modernization model: A fundamental cause for large-scale land acquisition and counter land reform policies in the Mekong region.

Christian Castellanet and Jean-Christophe Diepart

Large-scale land acquisition are not new in the Mekong region but have been encouraged and have gathered momentum since the end of the 90s, particularly Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. These acquisitions are realized by national and foreign companies from the region, particularly China, Vietnam, and Thailand in a movement strongly associated with economic globalization and neo-liberal policies which promote free flow of capital at the regional and global level and the adaptation of national spaces to the requirement of liberal and global markets (Peemans, 2013). It is striking to see how Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar, with different political regimes and histories, have shifted radically from a model based on land ownership by the State' with a relatively egalitarian land access by family farmers, to a model encouraging long term land leases that favor the emergence of large capitalist private and corporate owners and the abandon of land national sovereignty principles, sensu Borras and Franco (2012). In fact, the present policies favoring large scale concessions (largely at the expense of small holders and of indigenous peoples / ethnic minorities) can be considered as a "counter agrarian reform", the opposite of land reform policies promoted by both socialist countries and by the USA (Alliance for Peace) in the 60s, although with very different modalities and objectives. Although different factors can explain these policy shifts, in particular widespread corruption and patrimonial practices of the political elites, on the one hand and geo-strategy and political influence of regional powers on the other hand, this paper argues that this model of agricultural modernization through FDI and large scale land acquisition is being promoted through the convergence of actors such as the international agro-industrial complex, International Financial institutions (IFI), some bi-lateral donor or government state owned funds/enterprises. The claims of this model, largely shared by the region's middle class and intellectuals, can be outlined as follows: 1) an inflow of FDI – Foreign Direct Investment - is essential for economic development; 2) large-scale agriculture is more efficient than family farming in terms of economic development; 3) privatizing land facilitates investments and therefore increases land and labor productivity; 4) subsistence peasant and ethnic minority farmers are structurally incapable of agricultural development progress and would be better off if they become wage workers; and 5) the growing 'modern economy' will naturally absorb the work force coming out of agriculture and that of general population growth. All these assertions can be challenged to various degrees, both from a theoretical and empirical point of view. Available evidence indicates that economic benefits have not accrued at the level expected – either to family farmers or to the state treasuries – as cash benefits have been 'privatized' by domestic power elites hidden behind non-transparent one-party states, but also because many investments have produced disappointing results. The increase in number of landless farmers and rising number of land conflicts poses a serious challenge to the legitimacy and stability of the concerned states.

However, although numerous case studies can be found, the aggregated information available on the impacts of large-scale agricultural investments is scarce. This paper will conclude by proposing as a strategy aiming to challenge the dominant ‘paradigm’ of agricultural modernization based on large scale agriculture and FDI, by research-based initiatives and policy dialogue at the regional level, as a way to improve land policies in favor of family farmers and ethnic minorities.

Christian Castellonet is an agronomist and ecologist (PhD Institute of Ecology – UGA). He has been involved with Gret (an INGO based in France) in international cooperation in the field of action research for rural development and natural resource management in West Africa, the Caribbean, Brazil and Southeast Asia, and has been Visiting Professor in the Federal University of Para (Brasil) and C3ED (Paris) . He has published several books on the integration of environment and development. He is presently Deputy Team Leader of the Mekong Region Land Governance Project, based in Vientiane (Lao PDR) and funded by SDC. Contact address: castellonet@gret.org

Jean-Christophe Diepart is multidisciplinary agronomist. He has been a student of Cambodia since 2002 in the capacity of Scientific Collaborator with Gembloux Agro-Bio Tech (Université de Liège, Belgium). His research examines agrarian dynamics in Cambodia in an historical perspective and focuses on the transformations of household production systems, the political economy of agricultural colonization in the Northwest Cambodia and the resilience of peasant communities to environmental changes. Contact address: jc.diepart@gmail.com

Green Economy, Oil Palm Development and the Exclusion of Indigenous Swidden Cultivators in the Philippines
Marvin Joseph Montefrio

Current trends in land control have been associated with “green economy” programs in the global South. Many of these programs involve agro-industrial development projects in upland frontiers to ostensibly produce “low-carbon” commodities from food, fiber and fuel crops. With the concurrent intention of attaining “inclusive” economic growth, green economy programs specifically target marginalized populations, which in many cases include indigenous smallholders that continue to practice traditional forms of agriculture. This trend is particularly evident in the Philippine frontiers, where green economy programs for growing biofuel crops, oil palm and rubber are increasingly engaging and affecting indigenous swidden cultivators. Drawing from ethnography in the Philippine province of Palawan, this paper reports the micro-level political ecology of green economy programs (specifically oil palm development) in ancestral domains, particularly the processes by which indigenous smallholders are excluded from access to fallow land for swidden cultivation. It was evident how the persuasive powers of discourses on upland environments and identities, together with the coercive forces of land price escalation, enclosure and conflict, have become important interrelated factors contributing to the conversion of fallow lands into monoculture cash crop plantations. This systematic land-use conversion then erode reciprocity systems (borrowing of fallow lands) that allow indigenous smallholders to continue practicing traditional forms of swidden cultivation, especially in communities where land has already been distributed either through land reform or some other upland tenure arrangement. This situation then creates pressures for indigenous smallholders to either relocate to remote areas in the uplands or to intensify or drastically curtail swidden cultivation, which they are reluctant to do due to cultural and subsistence reasons.

Marvin Joseph Montefrio is assistant professor of environmental studies at Yale-NUS College in Singapore. Marvin’s broad research agenda examines the political ecology of and decision-making processes associated with contemporary environmental issues, in particular climate change and frontier land development. His current work focuses on analyzing discourses on Philippine upland environments and identities in the context of multi-level climate change governance (i.e. the “green economy” and “low carbon” development programs). His findings thus far have been published in *Society and Natural Resources*, *Ecological Economics*, *International Migration Review*, and the *Bulletin of Science, Technology and Society*. Marvin holds a PhD in Environmental and Natural Resources Policy from the State University of New

York College of Environmental Science and Forestry.

Commoditization of Energy (a case of Central Java Power Plant/CJPP Project)
Hilma Safitri

Despite to meet the people basic needs, the Government of Indonesia tends to release state assets that should be directly managed by the government to private sectors. Investment projects, either that managed by foreign company or national ones, are widely opened due to lack of fund for development. The rationale is mainly about positive contribution for increasing of national growth level through extractive economic activities in various regions. Because of that, a number of policies are adjusted to meet an adequate circumstance of investment, so it will continue and run smoothly, including investment in power investment as one of vital sectors. This paper will show how investment running by private sector will be taken over state asset, which is addressed to public systematically. The main instrument used is Public Private Partnership (PPP) scheme. In one point, state will be lost their task as an institution that guarantees the people basic needs. The case that will be taken is a preparation process of mega-project development implementation, which is not only taking agriculture land of local people, but it also will give its asset, i.e. power electricity, to be managed by private sectors. The case is mega-project of CJPP (Central Java Power Plant Project), located in Batang Regency, northern of Central Java province, which will use around 270 ha of agriculture land and will impact to around 2,000 local people, which are peasant and fisherman that live in entire area of the project. The main impact is, beside local people will lost their fertile land and fishing area, the electricity power will be no longer as basic services received by people, the project indicate to make the power as a commodity stuffs that should be bought and sold to whom need it, including local people. This paper concludes two fundamental changes of this mega-project development. Firstly, it is not only about land acquisition by private sector, but also about state asset and authority acquisition process in term of its function to serve people electricity as one of people basic needs. The ongoing preparation process explains that the project is addressed to meet the need of industrial sector that will be developed in entire of Northern Java Island, instead of dedicated to meet people needs of electricity power. It goes along with the development paradigm that only wants to increase or improve the level of economic growth on the paper. The physical impact in the future, the area will shift into industrial economic activities, as main infrastructures well developed. Secondly, a significant and worse of land control structures that tends to sharp an inequality condition. Through this process, the land structure will smoothly shift to a particular group of entrepreneur, who has capital to make and create extractive industrial sector over the agriculture land.

Hilma Safitri – Graduated from Anthropology – Padjadjaran University, Bandung-West Java and Master degree in Development Studies, with Agricultural and Rural Development specialization in International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, The Netherland, in the end of 2012. Currently, as a main researcher in Agrarian Resource Center (ARC) – Indonesia, located in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia. The recent researches are a Master Theses, entitled Economic Corridor Policy, Land Concentration and 'Social Exclusion' (2012), further research with the same issue funded by EADN, entitled Debottlenecking Principle in Indonesia's Economic Corridor (IEC) Policy: A Look at Sei Mangkei Industrial Area (KISMK) and Central Java Power Plant Project (CJPP) Projects (2013). Incoming research is aiming to look at interlinked between Indonesian Economic Corridor (IEC) and Asean Economic Community (AEC) 2015 initiatives, focusing to development of Bitung EEZ, North Sulawesi, as one of main entrance in Eastern Indonesia. In addition, a research about demography and copra commodity in North Sulawesi is also one of focus study during 2014.

(21) IMPACTS, LIVELIHOODS TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 1

Chair: Laksmi Saviti, University of Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Crop booms and changing land use and land control in Thailand's agricultural frontier
Natedao Taotawin and Preuk Taotawin

The spreading of environmentalism in South East Asia after 1980s led to policies for land protection, particularly forest land. In this context, frontiers of resource struggle became one

of the most concerned issue among academics in social science. Frontiers of resource struggle is a confrontation between different social groups to claim their rights to access and use natural resources. The main groups involve in this are the government equipped with natural resource conservation policies and the people who want establish their rights to these resources (Hall et al., 2011: 63). In such situation, from geography point of view, Hirsch (2009) suggested “agricultural frontier” concept which deals with the situation where the expansion of agricultural land invades into forest zone which was “closed” by the government to comply with the natural conservation policies. Agricultural frontier, therefore, means the area which agricultural lands meet the government’s protected land and are valued by both conflicting parties but for completely different reasons. This then creates high dynamics of change. From the late 1980s, Thai governments have been prioritizing forest conservation policies. This is the same period that there is an increasing demand for cash crops especially those from the highlands which are the “agricultural frontier” areas around Thailand. It is important for the conservation and social justice to understand the motivation and the changes in this agricultural frontier. Currently, the area around the forest zone under the Agricultural Land Reform office is more than 43 million rai and there is at least 10,866 villages in and around forest zone (Narkviboovongsa et al., 2007). In the past, there has been a prolonged conflict between the governments and people on the issue of land use in or around the forest zone. The conflict has been prolonged from government to government. Several committees had been set to solve this issue. Recently, with the military government and its absolute power, the conflict has escalated and become the most frustrated issue for many people (Focus On the Global South website). This article presents a case study on agricultural frontier in Ubon Ratchathani province. The case study area is in the agricultural frontier in the east, adjacent to Lao People's Democratic Republic. The agricultural frontier locates around a national reserve forest and a wildlife reserve. An expansion of rubber tree plantations in the past and cassava farming in the more recent years to answer to the demand from a large bio energy company in Ubon Ratchathani province causes the dynamic of use and access to the forest zone. This article bases from the research that obtained data from the fieldwork in 2014. It demonstrates the power of the market that changes the way people use and access the land with various strategies; the challenge and the ineffectiveness of the political machinery to conserve forest zones and; the way the market – which is a part of the socio-economic structure – becomes the mechanism which drives the over exploration of the land, the forest and the environment in which responsibility from the producers and the consumers is not required. The author suggests that such development is not sustainable and must be amended according to the following suggestions:

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Are the Odds for Justice ‘Stacked Against’ Them? Challenges and Opportunities to Securing Land Claims by Smallholder Farmers in Myanmar
SiuSue Mark

In 2012, the Government of Myanmar (GoM) passed the Farmland Law and the Vacant, Fallow, Virgin (VFV) Land Law—creating a formalized land market. In essence, this created a formalized land market. Land titling is often considered “the natural end point of land rights formalization” (Hall et al. 2010: 35). This thinking has become dominant among most governments and development agencies ever since De Soto (2000) popularized it in *The Mystery of Capital*, in which he argued that the developmental successes of the West has relied on a strong legally-enforceable institution of property rights, without which assets, particularly land, would become “dead capital.” In reality, there are at least two major obstacles in achieving this in Myanmar. The first is around the legacy of multiple regimes in creating “stacked laws” (Roquas 2002). This term refers to a situation in which a country has multiple layers of laws that exist simultaneously, creating conflicts and contradictions in the legal system, as well as challenges to creating a well-regulated land market envisioned by the Myanmar state with the passage of the two land laws. The second obstacle has to do with

the fact that like many countries in the world, access to legal justice in Myanmar is dependent on one's access to different material, social and political resources—directly to a history of patron-clientelism. Through a number of select case studies, this paper seeks to provide preliminary reflections on the following question: In Myanmar, a country with a porous legal framework, how do smallholder farmers engage with the law, and where relevant, informal norms to strengthen legitimacy of their claims to land against confiscations? This paper seeks to contribute to the literature on agrarian rural movements by focusing specifically on the way farming communities in Myanmar engage with the law, while paying attention to the complications they face when they engage with legal institutions that are porous and 'stacked'—a phenomena that is common to many countries in the early phases of rural democratization.

Resistance to Land Grabbing and Displacement in Rural Cambodia
Siphath Touch and Andreas Neef

In rural Cambodia indiscriminate, illegitimate and often violent land grabs in the form of Economic Land Concessions (ELCs) have triggered myriad local responses by peasants facing evictions from private and communal lands. Drawing on fieldwork in Kratie and Koh Kong provinces, this chapter looks at the various forms of local resistance to government-sanctioned dispossession and displacement and discusses their effectiveness in bringing about socio-political and institutional change. Our case study results do not confirm the predominance of everyday politics as the preferred resistance strategy of peasants, as postulated by Scott (1986) and Kerkvliet (2009) for other Southeast Asian countries. Cambodian peasants have responded to dispossession and displacement by employing a myriad of resistance strategies, ranging from road blockades, open confrontations with security guards and military personnel, demonstration marches and petitions to various forms of advocacy resistance and everyday politics. Their selection from a range of resistance strategies does not follow a clear pattern, but appears to respond to the varying levels and strategies of oppression deployed by government representatives, concessionaires and members of the armed forces. This has created a particular dialectic between domination and resistance, reminiscent of Polanyi's 'double-movement' (Polanyi 1944). In the case of Cambodia this takes the form of a continuous oscillation between forced commodification of natural resources by domestic and foreign elites on the one hand and the combination of overt and covert resistance strategies by the rural peasantry on the other. Yet we also find that these local resistance movements have been mostly desperate, sporadic and atomistic vis-à-vis the powerful coalition of government authorities, concessionaires and the military. Cambodian peasants lack organization across village boundaries as a result of decades of conflict and unrest, and their voices have been ignored by the home governments of the investors, who continue to regard the country as a promising new haven of investment, trade and tourism, where displacement and dispossession of the poor is deemed unavoidable. Unless the rural peasantry in Cambodia finds a common and much stronger voice and gets support from national and international advocacy groups beyond mere lip service, powerful elite interests will continue to prevail over local people's rights.

Andreas Neef is professor in development studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. His research focuses on natural resource governance with particular emphasis on the ethics and politics of land grabbing, development-induced displacement, adaptation to climate change, and post-disaster response and recovery. He served two times as scientific advisor to the German Parliament on issues of global food security and on societal and political discourses on the commodification of biodiversity and ecosystem services. He is currently guest-editing a special issue on "Legal and Development Implications of International Land Acquisitions" to be published in the journal "Law and Development Review".

Siphath Touch holds a BA in Sociology from the Royal University of Phnom Penh and an MA degree in Sustainable Development from Chiang Mai University. Following his MA thesis research in 2009 on land and livelihood issues in a rural community of Kratie province, Cambodia, he co-authored a number of papers on economic land concessions, land grabbing and local resistance in Cambodia. He is Director of the Research Office under the Department of Research and Training, Ministry of Rural Development and is currently

working on the development of the Climate Change Action Plan for Cambodia's Rural Development Sector 2014-2018.

Land grabbing and deforestation: community perception on forest and forest land ownership in Dharmasraya District, West Sumatra, Indonesia

Yurike, Yonariza, Rudi Febriamansyah, and Syafruddin Karimi

Agrarian conflict is seen as the resistance of the population without land or whose land was seized by the capitalist. But it is different in Dharmasraya West Sumatra, where an area of 33,553.96 ha of remaining production forest, former forest concessions area (HPH) which has now become secondary forest being grabbed by local people amid its official status as state forest. Secondary forest is encroached upon and burned by the community, but the grabbed land is not directly cultivated. This happens since the concession was no longer in operation. This leads to massive deforestation and reduce ecosystems maintenance function of forest. This study asks the following question; what are people perception on forests (benefits and management), what are their perception forest land ownership. This study argue that the people grab and clear the forest land because they do not feel the benefits of environmental services generated from forest. They also perceive the forestland belong to the community and not of the state. By clearing a plot in the forest they hope to sell the cleared plot later on. Although people know the legal status of the forest is state forest, but people do not think of a land title as important proof of land ownership, small scale plantation can be practiced in the land without land title, customary right would be enough. The paper suggests that the government or agency authorized to immediately have a program that creates an incentive system that encourages people to use the land for production forests, so that the existence of their land in addition to increasing the sustainability of the economy is also improving the sustainability of ecosystems.

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(22) IMPACTS, LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 2

Chair: Tesa Encarnacion-Tadem, University of the Philippines

Winning back land in Cambodia: community work to navigate state land titling campaigns and large land deals

Laura Schoenberger

Control over land is highly contested in Cambodia where market forces and the state combine to drive populations, often violently, from the land to grow plantation crops. As land conflicts were peaking in 2012, the Prime Minister announced Order 01, a moratorium on concessions and a national campaign to rapidly measure and title land that specifically targeted areas with large land deals for agri-industrial plantations, forestry, as well as state forests and state land. The goal of this campaign was to legally transfer nearly 2 million hectares (ha) of land from both the state and concessionaires to the Cambodian smallholders who farm and use it. However, in spite of promises to continue land surveys and titling after the 2013 elections, there have been no new surveying activities and households and communities have been partially or entirely excluded from receiving legal title. In the context of this one-time flurry of activities to grant legal land rights to families near concessions, this paper explores how communities have since successfully negotiated the processes of making legal claims to land after being either excluded from the titling activities entirely or affected by the suspension of the campaign. In the broader context of tenure uncertainty and large-scale land dispossession, this paper considers what 'success' looks like in Cambodia in terms of asserting rights to land. I detail two cases situated in the Cambodia-Vietnam borderlands of Kratie province, a site of intense investment in rubber plantations by more than thirty concessionaires that takes place against a backdrop of massive logging. I consider two high profile cases of communities that in 2014 grabbed onto the loose ends of this land titling campaign to win back land from rubber concessions held by Vietnamese and Korean companies. One community successfully

advocated for the completion of land titling activities in their village such that they received more than 1,000ha of land that had been granted to a Korean rubber company in the form of privately titled land. In the other case, recent settlers inside a wildlife sanctuary who had been totally by-passed by the campaign nonetheless worked through a documented history of requests for tenure recognition, along with highly visible protest activities, to gain a 750ha social land concession. In both cases, the government responded to the communities' highly visible protest activities that spanned multiple scales and successful navigation of legal frameworks by excising land held by concessionaires and formally returning it to communities. Through these cases, this paper demonstrates how the land titling campaign has shifted what makes a land claim legitimate to state actors and how it has reinforced the effect of state sovereignty in new ways. In particular, Order 01 and the land titling campaign made clear the potential for the state to selectively discipline concessionaires and its potential power to re-claim land back from land deals, thereby reinforcing both state power and claims to land based in legal title as opposed to other possibilities for the recognition of people's land rights.

Laura Schoenberger is a PhD candidate in Critical Human Geography at York University, Toronto, Canada. Her dissertation examines recent changes to land control in Cambodia and the counter-movements that have emerged to assert local rights to land. She has a Masters in Geography from McGill University and a BA in International Development Studies, also from McGill. Before starting her PhD, she worked for Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa and Singapore, for environmental non-governmental organizations in Cambodia and Vietnam, and for the United Nations in Lao PDR.

Smallholder Bargaining Power in Large-Scale Land Deals: A Relational Perspective (Indonesia and the Philippines)

Rosanne Rutten, Laurens Bakker, Lisa Alano, Tania Salerno, Laksmi Savitri, and Mohamad Shohibuddin

What capacity do smallholders have to influence key decisions in large-scale land deals to their own advantage, in particular in their own localities? We discuss the bargaining power of smallholders vis-a-vis investors and state officials by exploring both vulnerabilities and potential strengths. We take a relational perspective, in the sense that we focus on the social relations through which smallholders may 'produce' power, access power resources, and produce leverage vis-a-vis investors and state agents. Drawing on research in Indonesia and the Philippines, we discuss four types of relationships of smallholders which can substantially affect their bargaining power: (1) 'Horizontal' relations of shared interests and identity which can enable collective action and power in numbers; (2) Instrumental relations with people of superior power, wealth and status, in particular relations of political and economic clientage, but also relations with specialists in violence (including warlords, militia leaders, guerrilla commanders); (3) Relations with supralocal advocacy groups; (4) Direct relations with investors and authorities within which smallholders may have some leverage; such leverage depends on how dependent the investors and authorities are on the smallholders concerned. The cases discussed in the paper cover small-scale landholders in different regions and power configurations: the Indonesian regions of post-conflict Aceh (Gayo Highlands), Papua (the major investment zone of Merauke), and West Kalimantan (the vast oilpalm district of Ketapang); as well as the Philippine province of Isabela, the site of the largest sugarcane-based bioethanol project of the country.

Short bios of authors, except for Bakker's, are available in other entries to this programme. Bakker's is below.

Laurens Bakker is assistant-professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. His research focusses on land law and land conflict in Southeast Asia, as well as on the influence of informal militias in Southeast Asian local politics, society and economy. His publications include *Who Owns the Land? Looking for Law and Power in Reformasi East Kalimantan* (Radboud University Nijmegen, 2009) and a wide variety of contributions to edited volumes and journals.

“Get Organized!.” Contradictions between Capital and Labor in a Nascent Shrimp Farmers’ Cooperative in South China
Huang Yu

China is now the world’s top aquaculture producer, accounting for 61% of world food fish aquaculture production in 2010 (FAO 2012). Shrimp remained the top indigenously produced export category to reach a value of US\$1.04 billion in 2012 (Li 2013). Right now the Leizhou Peninsula of Guangdong Province is the biggest shrimp aquaculture production base in China with an annual production of 68,000 tons, taking up over 30% of the national production (Bureau of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation of Zhanjiang 2011). In the last few years, the high intensity of shrimp farming has led to frequent disease outbreaks, rendering many family farms bankrupt. The withdrawal of small farmers soon led to land being concentrated and leased to some large industrialized farms that established production bases by adopting cutting-edge technology. Seeing the plight of the shrimp farmers, in summer 2012, I embarked on a project of “engaged anthropology” to mobilize some farmers in Leizhou to establish an aquaculture cooperative so as to resist the process of proletarianization. When the semi-proletarian farmers failed to make profits during the regular shrimp farming seasons of spring and summer, they formed a construction team to build greenhouses for agribusinesses during the winter season. How much bargaining power did the cooperative have against the agribusiness? How did the cooperative resolve the conflict between the external goal of efficiency and competitiveness and the internal mandate of equality and democracy? What kinds of dilemmas did the anthropologist encounter when she negotiated her role between a value-free observer and a committed activist? The shrimp farmers’ cooperative in Leizhou remains part of the broader movement of re-cooperatization that spread over the Chinese countryside since last decade. The registered cooperatives stood at around 100,000 in 2008, grew to 689,000 by the end of 2012, and was projected to reach 900,000 by 2015 (Zong 2013). Against the squeeze of agribusinesses, smallholder farmers band together to increase their bargaining power and competitiveness in market competition. This research explores the re-cooperatization movement in post-socialist China and analyze its significance both in terms of domestic social justice as well as global campaign of poverty reduction through alternative rural development.

Huang Yu is an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She received her Ph.D. degree from the University of Washington, Seattle in 2013. Her research interests include agrarian change, the re-cooperatization movement in China, and science and technology studies (STS).

(23) IMPACTS, LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 3

Chair: Dominique Caouette, University of Montreal

Authoritarian Resource Governance and Emerging Peasant Resistance in the Context of Sino-Vietnamese Tree Plantations, Southeastern Laos
Miles Kenney-Lazar

Over the past decade, Laos has experienced a land rush by foreign investors seeking to gain large tracts of land for hydropower, mining, and plantation projects. The rapid pace of the phenomenon has prompted significant concern by international observers, Lao civil society, and certain sections of the government, regarding the impacts upon farmers that are dispossessed of their land and communal resources. However, both investors and peasant communities alike have differing experiences with the investment process. Depending upon the power of the investor and their relationship with the state, some projects have been implemented much more quickly and forcefully than others. This paper argues that the relationships formed between international resource capital and the Lao state affect the opportunities for peasants to resist conceding their land and thus impact the success of the project in fulfilling their land quotas. Variations in resistance and project implementation have important implications for the pace of agrarian transformation resulting from plantation investment, and who is able to win or lose from the process. The paper problematizes the conception that investors from the Global South, particularly Brazil, Russia, India, China, and

South Africa (BRICS) and middle-income countries (MICs), are able to grab large amounts of land from weak states, dispossess marginalized peasants, and engender rapid agrarian transitions without constraint or resistance. These arguments are demonstrated by analyzing the process of investment for two tree plantation companies in Laos: Quasa-Geruco Joint Stock Company, a subsidiary of the state-owned Vietnam Rubber Group, and Shandong Sun Paper Industry Joint Stock Company, the largest private paper company in China. Field research was conducted in Vientiane Capital and eastern Savannakhet province, Laos between June 2013 and February 2015, and data were collected through semi-structured interviews with government officials at all administrative levels, plantation companies, village leaders and households, and civil society organizations.

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Local Resistance to Land Grabbing in Dharmasraya District, West Sumatra Province, Indonesia

Abdul Mutolib, Yonariza, Mahdi, and Hanung Ismono

Grabbing community forest land by state and private companies have been long time happened in Melayu Clan communal land in Bonjol Village, Dharmasraya District, West Sumatra. Land grabbing begun when State claimed that the land belongs to the state that must be maintained as forested area. Later on, the government issues concession right to a private company to reap rich forest resources contain there in. Once concession right terminated, the logged over forest then were divided into two parts, and the State issued further permit to a state run company to reforested the land with timber tree species and another half was given to a private company to carry out an industrial plantation. On the other hand, local community claims that the two companies were operating on their very own communal lands, especially the group of Melayu Clan who have resided since hundreds of years ago before the establishment of the state. In the past, during authoritarian government, local people could not resist against government decision on forest land grabbing, they only wait until the opportunity to grab back of their forest land. They got a moment around ten years ago. This paper answers the question of how the process of community resistance on land grabbing, what the result of their resistance, as well as what the factors support to resistance. This paper argues that the process of community resistance can occur due to vacancy management of land by government companies and private companies, and the coalition with influential the figures in the government. The result of such resistance is the community has managed to occupy the land earlier controlled by the companies, the land can be sold freely by the communal authorities. Another result is the case of privatization of communal land by outside investors for plantations. Factors that support community resistance among other are economic factors, factors increasingly strong recognition of the various parties on the form of traditional land ownership based on customary law, and other triggering factors are build community coalition with government officials and law enforcement officials. It is a form of resistance that is unique in this area.

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Transnationalization of Resistance to Economic Land Concessions in Cambodia
Peter Swift

The granting of economic land concessions (ELCs) over large parts of Cambodia has begun to attract global attention. It has also become a key focal point for civil society mobilization in Cambodia as well as for transnational activism directed at targets both within and outside Cambodia. Transnational actors play an important role in activism around ELCs in Cambodia, for example providing funding for Cambodian actors working on these issues, facilitating activities on the ground in Cambodia, contributing knowledge and experiences related to resistance to land grabs, influencing processes of identity-formation, and internationalizing campaigns around land-grabbing in Cambodia in various ways. This paper interrogates these and other existing transnational relationships related to resistance to ELCs in Cambodia, examining the roles of actors in Cambodia, elsewhere in the region, and in the West.

Peter Swift is a PhD student in the Department of Geography at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He lived in Cambodia between 1992 and 2006, working with a variety of civil society organizations involved in community development, natural resources management, and civil society development. He has published papers on local forest management practices and indigenous identity in Cambodia.

Agrarian Relation and the Maoist Movement in India
Pratik Rumba

The paper tries to locate the Maoist movement in the distorted agrarian structure of the Indian economy as opposed to the widely accepted belief of failure of neo-liberal policies. It was believed within the left circle that the advent of neo-liberalism would change the agrarian relation therefore the agrarian structure of the economy so the 'land to the tillers' has no relevance in present day globally integrated developing economies like India. The paper in contrast argues that the neo-liberal policy only intensified the contradiction which is fundamentally between the feudal forces and the masses, rather than changing the relation of production which is pre-dominantly semi feudal and semi-colonial in character, that in turn accelerated the momentum of the movement in India as ever before. The paper concludes with the note that 'land to the tiller' continues to be relevant, if not taken seriously the specter of Maoism will continue to hunt India.

Mr. Pratik Rumba is presently with the University of Hyderabad, India, as an M.Phil Research Scholar. He holds his master of arts in economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and had also been associated with Department of Economics, University of Delhi, as an Assistant Professor (on adhoc basis) from July 2012 to May 2013. His areas of interest are Agrarian Change, Marxian Economics and Political Economy of Development. His dissertation "Monopoly Capital and the Agrarian Relation in India" for the fulfillment of Master of Philosophy at School of Economics, University of Hyderabad, is expected to be completed by the mid of 2016.

(24) IMPACTS, LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS AND POLITICAL RESPONSES – 4

Chair:

Land Acquisitions in Northeastern Cambodia: Space and Time matters
Christophe Gironde & Amaury Peeters

Over the last decade, the highlands of Ratanakiri province in northeastern Cambodia have witnessed massive land acquisitions and profound land use changes, mostly from forest covers to rubber plantation, which has contributed to rapidly and profoundly transform the livelihoods of smallholders relying primarily on family-based farming. Based on village- and households-level case studies in two districts of the province, this paper analyses this process and its mid-term consequences on local livelihoods. We first look at who has acquired land, where, how and at what pace. The whole range of stakeholders – large-scale companies but also medium-scale ones, in-migrant households, and indigenous populations who also engaged into land acquisitions – is taken into account. The location and timing of acquisitions shows that the numbers of hectares at stake do not say much on the magnitude of assets lost

and the consequences for local populations. Land transactions are not always immediately synonymous with the occupation of land; and it takes time for companies to plant thousands of acres they have acquired. Second, we analyse the mid-term - over 5-7 years - transformations of livelihoods, including households' responses to new constraints and opportunities, and attempts to resist land acquisitions. The economic environment, in which local populations have to reorganize their livelihoods, has drastically changed. New opportunities have arisen with crop booms, stronger urban-rural interconnections and market development, but only few people can take advantage of these as they lack capacity to operate on the market. Indigenous families are increasingly in search of non-farming and off-farm activities, but this transition is hampered by the arrival of in-migrants who seize the majority of the new opportunities in trade, services and jobs. Third, social differentiation among families is analysed with respect to land assets, economic activities and capacity to engage into rubber. A typology of livelihood transformation shows that for the majority of the population, farming-based livelihoods do not provide anymore enough to meet family needs. Recent land assets changes show that social differentiation is increasing both between native and non-native, and among the different social groups. Insofar, populations have been left with some land, but areas planted with rubber trees are increasing, companies and family-entrepreneurs continue to try to expand their land holdings, and the flow of in-migrants is continuing. As space left to families is consequently shrinking, and because they are unlikely to diversify enough their livelihood systems with non-farming occupations or salary work, the majority of indigenous populations seem concerned in livelihoods that are not anymore sustainable if they only are local.

Christophe Gironde is a political economist, currently working as a lecturer at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva. He received his Ph.D. in Development Studies from the University of Geneva. His main research fields are agrarian change and human development, with a focus on Vietnam and more recently on Cambodia.

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Legal Pluralism and Land Administration in West Sumatra: The Implementation of the Regulations of Both Local and Nagari Governments on Communal Land Tenure
Hilaire Tegna

Land administration has always been a delicate issue in the history of nations, and Indonesia, a country where a significant number of the population lives a pastoral life is not exempt from this reality. This paper discusses land tenure issues in West Sumatra, an Indonesian province which is home to the Minangkabau people with their long existing village management system known as Nagari, established to settle disputes based on adat (custom) principles as well as to protect the rights of the community members. These rights include communal land (referred to as tanahulayat hereafter). Long before the Dutch occupation of Indonesian archipelago, the nagari government was vested with powers to regulate communal land in West Sumatra. However, this authority was constantly overlooked by the then Dutch colonial administration as well as the post independence governments (both central and regional). To reinforce the Nagari government as the guardian of the customary law (hukumadat) and to specify its jurisdiction, the Regional Government of West Sumatra enacted two laws between 2000 and 2008: Law No. 9/2000 repealed by Law No. 2/2007 and Law No. 6/2008 on communal land tenure. Although these two laws provide legal grounds to address land issues across the region, land conflicts still prevail among West Sumatran populations due to unsynchronized and contradictory regulations. The protests against the army (Korem) in NagariKapaloHilalang, against the oil palm company in NagariKinali, and against a cement factory in NagariLubukKilangan are cited in this paper as case references.

Key words: Local Government, Nagari Government and Tanah Ulayat.

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Counter-mapping Land Grabs with Community Drones in Indonesia.
Irendra Radjawali and Oliver Pye

Indonesia is up for grabs. In the division of labour in the newly liberalised ASEAN economy, it has taken on the role of providing natural resources to the more advanced economies in Southeast Asia. With its MP3EI "accelerated development programme," a national, state-coordinated land grab is taking place, in which different provinces are assigned different development foci (food and energy for Papua, palm oil processing for North Sumatra, mining for Central Kalimantan etc.). A key dynamic in this development plan is the commoditisation of space by spatial planning. Although the spatial planning process is supposed to be open, transparent and participatory in Indonesia, in reality it is the opposite. Maps are made by consultants and government offices favoring the interests of capital and local elites. Concessions are given mostly without the consent (and often without the knowledge) of local communities. Access to maps and spatial information is limited and commodified. This paper shares our experience of using unmanned aerial vehicles (drones) to generate high-quality community controlled maps to challenge spatial planning from above. Developed at first as a component of action research looking at the political ecology of the Kapuas River, the drone mapping soon developed its own dynamics. In one case of a large bauxite mining operation in Tayan, the community could use maps made with the drone to prove that the company had operated outside the concession and had destroyed a nearby lake that was important for their livelihood. This evidence led to the inclusion of a passage guaranteeing customary land rights within the provincial spatial planning law. In a further development, community members used drone photographs to give testimony before the constitutional court that was reviewing a challenge by large mining corporations to the 2009 national mining law. The court ruling subsequently upheld the stipulation in the law that requires mining corporations to build smelters and refineries. The drone technology is now being replicated, with a community training centre now set up at the Swandiri Institute in Pontianak, and with plans by the environmental justice network WALHI to introduce the technology across the country.

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Dr. Oliver Pye is a lecturer in Southeast Asian Studies at Bonn University, with a research focus on political ecology and social movements. He is currently leading a DFG research project on "Connecting the urban and the rural: A political ecology of the Kapuas River (Kalimantan, Indonesia)." Recent publications include "The Palm Oil Controversy in Southeast Asia. A Transnational Perspective" (2012) and "A Political Ecology of Agrofuels" (2015, co-edited).

Mapping context of land use for a non-traditional agricultural export (NTAE) product: case study of land use for coffee plantation in Paksong district, Champasak province, Lao PDR
Saithong Phommavong

General debate on the issue of land acquisition is usually related to large scale investment project. Taking land use for coffee production, a non-traditional agricultural export (NTAE)

product, as a case, the purpose of this study is to 1) investigate the pattern of land use in a non-traditional agricultural export (NTAE) product, 2) to examine the contribution of NTAE production to local livelihood improvement, and 3) to explore the impact of NTAE production on the ecological conditions. This research is a part of the research project for development (R4D), employment in sustainable development funded by Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and Swiss National Science Foundation. Qualitative method was applied to collect data in 4 villages and 5 coffee planters/exporters in Paksong district, Champasak province, Lao PDR. Stakeholder consultation was held in relation to promotion of NTAE. In total 34 interviews had been made. Data analysis for this paper included thematic analysis and narrative method. Findings show, land use in a non-traditional agricultural export (NTAE) product, case of coffee production in southern part of Laos takes forms of household, internal private, and foreign direct investment ownership. Different forms of land ownership in NTAE provide significant contribution to improve livelihood of local community and lift up the poverty. The coffee production has least impact to ecological condition of land and water. The NTAE production is well integrated with other vegetable and cash crops. Some policy implications are that greater attention should be paid to land allocation for the landless group, improving the yield of NTAE production of household land ownership, and minimize overuse of hazardous fertilizer by foreign direct investors in NTAE production.

Saithong Phommavong, a lecturer, a regional coordinator, and a senior researcher at the Faculty of Social Sciences, National University of Laos, recently involved with various research projects including feminisation, agricultural transition and rural employment (FATE), risk, coping and incentives in changing forest-agriculture landscapes research funded by Center for International Forest Research (CIFOR) project, and integration of mountainous regions of mainland Southeast Asia, 1960-2010: between adaptation and marginalization. His main research interest is socio-economic development and transformation, local livelihood impact, sustainable development, poverty reduction, pro-poor tourism, land use and ecological impact on land use.
