

Global governance/politics: climate justice & agrarian/social justice: linkages and challenges

International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)
The Hague, The Netherlands
4-5 February 2016

PROGRAMME

organized by:

Initiatives in Critical
Agrarian Studies (ICAS);
Transnational Institute
(TNI); FIAN International;
Mosaic Research Project,
Land Deal Politics Initiative
(LDPI); BICAS; Hands On
The Land Project;
EcoFairTrade Dialogue
Project; ISS Agrarian, Food
& Environmental Studies
(AFES); ISS Research
Group Political Economy of
Resources, Environment &
Population (PER)

Journal of Peasant Studies

With funding support from:

NWO, DFID, Ford Foundation,
Inter-Church Organization for
Development Cooperation
(ICCO), European Commission,
Dutch Development
Cooperation – Ministry of
Foreign Affairs, Oxfam
Solidariteit & Misereor

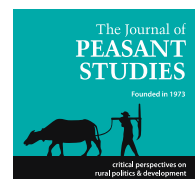


Global governance/politics, climate justice & agrarian/social justice: linkages and challenges

An international colloquium
4-5 February 2016

International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)
Kortenaerkade 12, 2518AX
The Hague, The Netherlands

Organized jointly by:



ECOFAIR TRADE DIALOGUE

With funding assistance from:



Important Information

WiFi Network: Eduroam
Username: etp33017@eur.nl
Password: Iss2016!

Follow us on Twitter:

https://twitter.com/ICAS_Agrarian

<https://twitter.com/TNIInstitute>

https://twitter.com/peasant_journal

Twitter hashtag: #ICASColloquium2016

Check for regular updates via ICAS website: www.iss.nl/icas

Colloquium livestream: http://www.iss.nl/iss_livestream/

Rooms

| | |
|--|---|
| Tea/Coffee/Lunch/Dinner | Atrium, 1 st floor |
| Keynotes and Plenaries | Aula B, ground floor and Attic, 5 th floor |
| Mega Book Launch | Atrium, 1 st floor |
| Tribute to Sam Moyo | Atrium, 1 st floor |
| Book Sales, Interviews and Information | 1.31, 1 st floor |

Parallel Sessions 1 – 4 February 11:45-13:15

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Panel 1 – Chair: Kees, Jansen | 3.26, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 2 – Chair: Les Levidow | 3.42, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 3 – Chair: Eric Vanhaute | 4.25, 4 th floor |
| Panel 4 – Chair: Laurence Roudart | 4.26, 4 th floor |
| Panel 5 – Chair: Murat Arsel | Attic, 5 th floor |
| Panel 6 – Chair: Max Spoor | 4.42, 4 th floor |
| Panel 7 – Chair: Rachel Bezner Kerr | 4.39, 4 th floor |

Parallel Sessions 2 – 4 February 14:15 – 15:45

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Panel 8 – Chair: Cristobal Kay | 3.25, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 9 – Chair: Bridget O’Laughlin | 3.26, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 10 – Chair: Mindi Schneider | 3.42, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 11 – Chair: Max Spoor | 4.25, 4 th floor |
| Panel 12 – Chair: Des Gasper | 4.26, 4 th floor |
| Panel 13 – Chair: Harriet Friedmann | 4.39, 4 th floor |
| Panel 14 – Chair: Jacobo Grajales | 4.42, 4 th floor |

Parallel Sessions 3 – 5 February 11:30 – 13:00

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Panel 15 – Chair: Ben Cousins | 3.01, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 16 – Chair: Mindi Schneider | 3.25, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 17 – Chair: Jan Douwe van der Ploeg | 3.26, 3 rd floor |
| Panel 18 – Chair: Oane Visser | 4.25, 4 th floor |
| Panel 19 – Chair: Sofia Monsalve | 4.26, 4 th floor |
| Panel 20 – Chair: Brid Brennan | 4.39, 4 th floor |
| Panel 21 – Chair: Lyda Fernanda Forero | 4.42, 4 th floor |

Context

The convergence of multiple crises: food, energy, environmental, climate change and finance – and its relationship to the rise of important global political economic players: BRICS countries and middle income countries (MICs) – has triggered profound agrarian and environmental transformations in the Global South and North. There is a global rush to control natural resources such as land, water, and forests in order to produce food, fuel, and energy for climate change mitigation and adaptation purposes and for increasing financialization of agriculture, nature, food systems and farmland. A related phenomenon is the rise of flex crops – crops that have multiple and flexible uses that straddle not only one single value chain, but interlocking value chains; indeed, a ‘value web’. How does one govern not just a ‘value chain’, but a more complex and fluid ‘value web’? Old issues requiring conventional international governance interventions have persisted. Land restitution remains a key demand for displaced people. New issues requiring different types of governance instruments and principles have also emerged. How does one govern not just a ‘value chain’, but a more complex and fluid ‘value web’? The character of nation-states and popular claim-making from below by ordinary villagers and grassroots organizations have been transformed, at least partially.

Global governance has been interpreted in various ways. The same set of international governance principles, e.g. ‘free, prior and informed consent’ (FPIC) can be invoked by fundamentally competing interests: by corporate interests or by poor villagers and their allies. All sectors and actors talk about ‘regulation’ and ‘transparency – but they interpret these in competing and even contradictory ways. Key state/non-state actors try to influence others, and/but in turn are themselves influenced by the process of these multi-actor/multi-level encounters.

How do we make sense of all these dynamics? What can academic researchers say that is useful to practitioners and activists – and vice versa? We are keen not just to map what everyone is saying about these complex converging policies and political questions. Our interest lies mainly in the intersection of social justice and global governance/politics – in the era of climate change and the continuing global land rush. That is, if one’s starting point is to seek social justice – partisan, partial and biased in favour of the marginalized social classes and groups in various societies of the world – amidst the changing patterns of social relations partly brought about by the changes in the international political economic and ecological terrain, then where do we locate questions of international or global governance (or politics)? What/which global governance principles, instruments, institutions, and actors can be mobilized to seek, defend, strengthen or extend social justice – and how? What are the contentious debates, and why does it matter for academics, practitioners and activists to take these seriously?

We have identified a very partial list of key themes that need deeper and further conversations – mostly focusing on complex intersections that have resulted in the intertwining of global governance issues. The focus is on *global* governance, broadly cast: (i) Intersection between climate change mitigation/adaptation policies, resource grabbing, and conflict; (ii) Intersection between multiple commodity value chains, forming ‘value webs’ in the context of flex crops and commodities; financialization of food systems, nature, and farmland; (iii) Convergence and competition within and between BRICS countries and middle income countries (MICs) on the one hand, and between them and the older hubs of global capital, e.g. North Atlantic powers; (iv) Transnational trade (e.g. Bilateral Investment Treaties or BITS, Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership or TTIP); New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, Global Redesign Initiative; (v) Competing international legal and policy

regimes, e.g., human rights, trade and investment, labor, environment and climate change, and competing understandings of global governance. Role, limits and possibilities of global governance principles, institutions, actors and instruments such as the UN Human Rights System, IFIs, UN specialized agencies including new bodies such as the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS), ILO, G7/G20, the UN Global Compact, corporate social responsibility schemes and philanthropic foundations and their potential for realizing social justice; and (vi) Intersection between social justice-oriented social movements: human rights, agrarian justice, food justice, environmental justice, climate justice, labour justice; local-national-international

The Colloquium

We are organizing an international colloquium in the tradition of our successful ISS colloquium series (see www.iss.nl/icas). It will be a packed two-day event, with extended hours of sessions, combining plenary sessions with parallel sessions in between, and a good balance between cutting-edge academic and practitioner/activist inputs and interventions. The aim is to have a respectful, critical dialogue on these issues.

Themes include the following clusters:

(i) Global Redesign Initiative (GRI), corporate take-over of (global) governance; New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition; Transnational trade (e.g. Bilateral Investment Treaties or BITS, Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership or TTIP); market/state mechanisms in governance questions around food security/extractive industries/trade/conservation; (ii) Intersection between climate change mitigation/adaptation policies, resource grabbing, and conflict; Intersection between multiple commodity value chains, forming 'value webs' in the context of flex crops and commodities; Financialization of the food system, nature, and farmland; rural-urban land use change/governance; Climate smart agriculture; (iii) Convergence and competition within and between BRICS countries and middle income countries (MICs) on the one hand, and between them and the older hubs of global capital (e.g. North Atlantic powers) on issues around climate justice, agrarian/food justice; (iv) Social justice-oriented alternatives and their global governance requirements: e.g. food sovereignty, agroecology, Peasants' Rights; (v) Competing international legal and policy regimes (e.g. human rights, labour, trade and investment, environment and climate change) and competing understandings of global governance. Role, limits and possibilities of global governance principles, institutions, actors and instruments such as the UN Human Rights System, IFIs, UN specialized agencies including new bodies such as the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS), ILO, G7/G20, the UN Global Compact and corporate social responsibility schemes and their potential for realizing social justice. Governance mechanisms on transparency/accountability; (vi) Intersection between social justice-oriented social movements: human rights, agrarian justice, food justice, environmental justice, climate justice, labour justice; rights/right to food.

Programme

Day 1, 4 February 2016

7:30-8:30 – Coffee/tea, registration

8:30 – 8:45 Welcome remarks

Chair: Fiona Dove, Transnational Institute (TNI)

ISS Rector Inge Hutter

Sofia Monsalve, Secretary General, FIAN International

Guilherme de Souza Campones (Brazil), La Via Campesina

8:45 – 9:30 – Keynote 1: Olivier de Schutter, University of Louvain (Belgium)
Chair: Sofia Monsalve, FIAN International

9:30-11:15 – Plenary panel 1: Politics of global governance institutions, principles, instruments & standards
Chair: Pdraig Carmody, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland

Panelists

Susana Hecht, University of California Los Angeles, USA
Suzana Sawyer, University of California Davis, USA
Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, Wageningen University, Netherlands
Ryan Isakson, University of Toronto, Canada
Peter Rosset, ECOSUR Institute for Research & Graduate Studies, Chiapas, Mexico & La Via Campesina
Nora McKeon, Terra Nova, Rome

11:15-11:45 – Coffee/tea break

11:45-13:15 – **Parallel Sessions 1**

Morning plenary anchor: Zoe Brent, ISS The Hague and Transnational Institute (TNI)

13:15 – 14:15 Lunch Break

14:15 – 15:45 – **Parallel Sessions 2**

15:45- 16:15 – Coffee/tea break

16:15 – 17:00 – Keynote 2: Raj Patel, University of Texas, Austin
Chair: Ian Scoones, IDS Sussex

17:00 – 18:45 - Plenary panel 2: Climate change, natural resource politics & agriculture
Chair: Marcus Taylor, Queen's University, Canada

Panelists

Peter Newell, University of Sussex, UK
Jennifer Clapp, University of Waterloo, Canada
Jesse Ribot, University of Illinois, USA
Esteve Corbera, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Nick Buxton, Transnational Institute (TNI)
Larry Lohmann, Corner House, UK

18:45 – 19:30

Mega launches of new books, journal special issues & major reports

Tribute to Sam Moyo

Afternoon to early evening plenary program anchor:
Alberto Alonso-Fradejas, ISS The Hague and Transnational Institute (TNI)

19:30 – Drinks & Dinner, ISS atrium

Day 2, 5 February 2016

**8:30 – 9:15 – Keynote 3: Maria Fernanda Espinosa
Ambassador of Ecuador to the United Nations
Chair: Fiona Dove, Transnational Institute (TNI)**

**9:15-11:00 – Plenary Panel 3: Politics of TNCs & corporate alliances, trade & treaties
Chair: Brid Brennan, Transnational Institute (TNI)**

Panelists

Sophia Murphy, University of British Columbia
Lorenzo Cotula, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), UK
Flavio Valente, FIAN International
Alberto Villareal, Friends of the Earth International
James Ritchie, International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering,
Tobacco and Allied Workers Associations (IUF)
Hanny van Geel (Netherlands), European Coordination Via Campesina (ECVC)

11:00 – 11:30 – Coffee/tea break

11:30 – 13:00 – Parallel Sessions 3

Morning plenary anchor, Christina Schiavoni, ISS, The Hague

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch

**14:00 – 15:45 - Plenary Panel 4: BRICS & MICs, climate, agrarian/food/labour/social
justice issues
Chair: Harriet Friedmann, University of Toronto**

Ian Scoones, IDS Sussex, UK
Ben Cousins, PLAAS University of the Western Cape, South Africa
Alexander Nikulin, RANEP, Moscow
Yan Hairong, Polytechnic University of Hong Kong
Sergio Schneider, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul – UFRGS/Brazil

**15:45 – 16:30: Keynote 4: Godwin Ojo, Environmental Rights Action (Nigeria)
Chair: Lyda Fernanda, Transnational Institute (TNI)**

16:30 – 17:00 tea/coffee break

**17:00 – 18:45 – Plenary panel 5: Social/climate/agrarian/environmental justice, social
movements & alternatives
Chair: Nettie Wiebe, University of Saskatchewan**

Joan Martinez-Alier, Autonomous University of Barcelona

Maxime Combes, ATTAC-France
Anabela Lemos, Justicia Ambiental, Mozambique
Do'a Fayez A. Za'Taria (Palestine), La Via Campesina
Samantha Hargreaves, WoMin African Gender and Extractives Alliance
Sherry Pictou – World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP)
Antonio Onorati, Crocevia and IPC for Food Sovereignty, Italy

18:45 – 19:15 – Closing session

Chair: Ian Scoones, IDS Sussex

Paula Gioia, European Coordination Via Campesina (ECVC)
Max Spoor, ISS The Hague
Christina Schiavoni, ISS, The Hague
Harriet Friedmann, University of Toronto

Afternoon/evening program anchor: Ben McKay, ISS The Hague

19:15 – Drinks & Dinner, ISS Atrium

PARTIAL LIST OF SHORT BIOS of keynote and plenary speakers, chairs, discussants and secretariat

Keynote speakers

Olivier De Schutter, (LL.M., Harvard University; Ph.D., University of Louvain (UCL) is a professor at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research in Legal Sciences (JUR-I), Centre for Philosophy of Law (CPDR), University of Louvain (UCL) in Belgium. He is currently Co-Chair of the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food), and a former UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food (2008-2014). He is currently a member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. He is also a Member of the Global Law School Faculty at New York University and is Visiting Professor at Columbia University. In 2002-2006, he chaired the EU Network of Independent Experts on Fundamental Rights, a high-level group of experts which advised the European Union institutions on fundamental rights issues. He has acted on a number of occasions as expert for the Council of Europe and for the European Union. Since 2004, and until his appointment as the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food, he has been the General Secretary of the International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH) on the issue of globalization and human rights. His publications are in the area of international human rights and fundamental rights in the EU, with a particular emphasis on economic and social rights and on the relationship between human rights and governance. His most recent book is *International Human Rights Law* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010).

Dr. María Fernanda Espinosa was recently appointed Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the UN in Geneva. She served as a Minister of National Defence for the Republic of Ecuador from November 2012 to September 2014. She also served as the Minister of Natural and Cultural Heritage from October 2009 to November 2012, Special Adviser to the President of the Constitutional Assembly, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Integration in 2007. From 2008 to 2009 she was a Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the UN in New York. She was Regional Director of the South American Office of the World Conservation Union's (IUCN) in 2005 and 2006, served as the Social Equity and Conservation Officer and as an Adviser on Indigenous Peoples and Biodiversity Policy to IUCN from August 2000 to October 2005. Having started her career in 1989 as a Planning and Management Technical Officer for the Amazon Protected Areas Project, Fundación Natura in Quito, Espinosa has served as an Adviser for several projects over the years, including the Government Environmental Plan (1992) and the "Environmental Care and Children's Participation" project (Central Bank of Ecuador and UNICEF, 1993-1994). Espinosa has also been Coordinator of the project "Political Dialogues for Sustainable Development in Latin America", served as Environmental Adviser for UNICEF on environmental and girls' education in Niger and worked as

Liaison Officer on forest- related indigenous knowledge and intellectual property rights at the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests at the United Nations. Since 1994, she has taught courses at the Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences (FLASCO) in Ecuador and Cuba, the Institute for Political Ecology in Chile, the Third World Institute for Ecological Studies, as well as Duke University, Syracuse University and the University of North Carolina. She is a PhD candidate in environmental geography from Rutgers University in the United States, where she was also a post-doctoral Fellow in 1996-1997. She also holds a master's degree in interdisciplinary social sciences and a post-graduate degree in anthropology and political sciences from FLASCO and a Bachelor of Arts in applied linguistics from the Catholic University of Ecuador, Quito. Espinosa has published more than 30 articles and co-authored five books.

Godwin Uyi Ojo is a political ecologist, activist cum researcher, and one of Nigeria's foremost environmentalist and human rights advocate. He Co-founded the Environmental Rights Action which is the Nigerian chapter of Friends of the Earth International. ERA/FoEN is an environmental advocacy group founded in 1993 and Godwin is currently the Executive Director. He obtained his PhD from Kings College London and teaches political ecology, environment, development and politics at Nigeria's private premiere university, Igbinedion University Okada, Nigeria (Part-time). As Chevening Scholar, he obtained his MSc in Environment & Development from the University of East Anglia, UK. He is an alumni of ISS on short term courses in 1997. He is concerned with environment and social justice issues, pioneering with others the campaign to leave fossil fuel under the ground and as part of the global energy transition to renewable sources. He is a member of several professional bodies including Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society London. He has published some articles and books on these subjects.

Raj Patel is an award-winning writer, activist and academic. He is a Research Professor in the Lyndon B Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin and a Senior Research Associate at the Unit for the Humanities at Rhodes University (UHURU), South Africa. He has degrees from the University of Oxford, the London School of Economics and Cornell University, has worked for the World Bank and WTO, and protested against them around the world. He has been a visiting scholar at UC Berkeley's Center for African Studies, an Honorary Research Fellow at the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and continues to be a fellow at The Institute for Food and Development Policy, also known as Food First. He has testified about the causes of the global food crisis to the US House Financial Services Committee. In addition to numerous scholarly publications in economics, philosophy, politics and public health journals, he regularly writes for The Guardian, and has contributed to the Financial Times, LA Times, New York Times, The San Francisco Chronicle, The Mail on Sunday, and The Observer. His first book was *Stuffed and Starved: The Hidden Battle for the World Food System* and his latest, *The Value of Nothing*, was a New York Times best-seller. He is currently working on a ground-breaking documentary *Generation Food* with award-winning director Steve James.

Plenary speakers & plenary/parallel session chairs (short bios)

Murat Arsel is Associate Professor of Environment and Development at the ISS. He works on the political economy of the relationship between capitalism and nature by focusing on extractive industries in Turkey and Latin America (especially Ecuador). He co-edited *Development and Change Forum 2015* debate section on 'Critique, Rediscovery and Revival in Development Studies' and is currently working on a book on the contradictions between post-neoliberalism and ecological sustainability.

Rachel Bezner-Kerr, Associate Professor, Development Sociology Department, Cornell University, New York. I have four major areas of research: 1) historical, political and social roots of the food system in northern Malawi; 2) sustainable agriculture, food security and social processes in rural Africa; 3) social relations linked to health and nutritional outcomes and 4) local knowledge and climate change adaptation. My general approach to food systems has been holistic, interdisciplinary and collaborative, drawing from both the natural and social sciences. I examine the social relations and processes that interact with environmental, political and economic processes within food systems. I often collaborate with researchers in different disciplines, including those working in agricultural and nutritional science, public health and ecology. Most of my research is also applied, community-based and participatory, involving local organizations and community members addressing ways to develop a

sustainable food system. A major theme of my work is a deeper understanding of the historical, political, economic and social dimensions of agricultural practices and policies in southern Africa. My long-term collaborative research project has shown evidence-based improvement in nutrition, food security and soil management in Malawi.

Brid Brennan has been with the Transnational Institute since the early 90s. She is a political economist and activist and has coordinated key areas of TNI's work and is currently participating in the Economic Global Justice, Corporate Power and Alternatives programme. She has an MA in Women's Studies from the University of Westminster and has extensive experience in working with social movements in Asia and Latin America. She was also a co-founder of the European Solidarity Center for the Philippines and participates in RESPECT, a Europe-wide anti-racist network campaigning for the rights of migrant domestic workers.

Nick Buxton is a communications consultant, working on media, publications and online communications for TNI. He has been based in California since September 2008 and prior to that lived in Bolivia for four years, working as writer/web editor at Fundación Solón, a Bolivian organisation working on issues of trade, water, culture and historical memory. He is co-editor of a forthcoming book, *The Secure and the Dispossessed - How the military and corporations are seeking to shape a climate-changed world* (Pluto Press, November 2015). His previous publications include "Politics of debt" in *Dignity and Defiance: Bolivia's challenge to globalisation* (University of California Press/Merlin Press UK, January 2009).

Guilherme Campones (La Via Campesina), Member of the National Coordinating Committee of Brazil's Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB). Guilherme is currently accompanying the MAB's efforts in Mariana, a town in Minas Gerais where a deadly dam burst in late 2015 left dozens killed and injured. The dam, a 50-50 partnership between Australia-based BHP Billiton Ltd, the world's largest mining company, and Brazilian partner Vale, the biggest iron ore miner, is considered one of the worst mining disasters in Brazilian history.

Pádraig Carmody is an Associate Professor in Geography and Fellow at Trinity College Dublin, and visiting Associate Professor at the University of Johannesburg. His research centres on the political economy of globalization and economic restructuring in Southern and Eastern Africa. He has published in a variety of journals such as *Economic Geography*, *World Development* and the *Journal of Environment and Development*. The second edition of his *New Scramble for Africa* is forthcoming with Polity Press in 2016. He is editor-in-chief of *Geoforum*.

Jennifer Clapp is a Canada Research Chair in Global Food Security and Sustainability and Professor, Environment and Resource Studies Department at the University of Waterloo, Canada. She has published widely on the global governance of problems that arise at the intersection of the global economy, the environment, and food security. Her most recent books include *Hunger in the Balance: The New Politics of International Food Aid* (Cornell University Press, 2012), *Food* (Polity, 2012) and *Corporate Power in Global Agrifood Governance* (co-edited with Doris Fuchs, MIT Press, 2009).

Maxime Combes is an economist and member of Attac France. He is currently a PhD candidate exploring biodiversity offsetting schemes and actors. He is engaged in social mobilizations about environmental issues (climate, energy, biodiversity...) both at national and global levels. He's also a contributor to Basta online magazine! (bastamag.net) and he co-authored books published by Attac, like *La nature n'a pas de prix* (Paris, LLL, 2012), and several others. He is also co-author of *Stop Climate Crime!* (Seuil, "Anthropocene", August 2015). He has just published "Sortons de l'âge des fossiles ! Manifeste pour la transition" Seuil, coll. Anthropocene, (October 2015).

Lorenzo Cotula is an expert in law and development. He works on international investment law, human rights, land rights and legal issues related to "land grabbing", as well as the political economy of natural resource investments. He leads IIED's work on Legal Tools for Citizen Empowerment – a collaborative initiative to strengthen local rights and voices in natural resource investments. He has extensive experience in low-income countries in Africa and Asia.

Ben Cousins, DST/NRF Chair in Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies and Senior Professor, PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Cousins' research is strategic and use-oriented, for

policy-makers and civil society groups concerned with reducing poverty and inequality through redistributing assets, securing rights and democratising decision-making in rural areas. In 2013 he received an inaugural Elinor Ostrom Award, in the senior scholars category, for his contribution to scholarship on the commons. His research is interdisciplinary, drawing on theories, concepts and insights from anthropology, sociology, development studies, political studies, history, economics, law and environmental studies. The main body of scholarship that informs his work and to which he contributes is the political economy of agrarian change, but he also draws heavily on the anthropology of law and land tenure. His work focuses on three key issues: the politics and economics of land and agrarian reform (in particular on the role of small-scale agricultural producers within such reforms); legal recognition or formalisation of customary land rights; and the changing nature of rural social organisation and systems. The scope of his research extends beyond South Africa to Africa more broadly, with a particular focus on southern Africa.

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.

Fiona Dove has been Director of the Transnational Institute for 20 years. Prior to this she was an anti-apartheid activist and feminist, who worked in the South African labour movement. Fiona earned an MA from the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague, and a BA Honours in Industrial Sociology from the University of KwaZulu Natal in South Africa.

European Coordination Via Campesina (ECVC). The European Coordination Via Campesina regroups presently 27 farmers, rural, and agriculture workers organizations from 18 European countries . It succeeded in 2008 to the European Farmers Coordination, founding member in 1993 of the international farmer's movement La Via Campesina. La Via Campesina brings together on international level millions of farmers and peasants, small and medium-sized producers, landless, women and youth of rural, indigenous, migrant and farm workers. La Via Campesina is structured into eight regions: Europe, Northeast and Southeast Asia, South Asia, North America, Caribbean, Central America, South America and Africa. It has about 150 local and national organizations in 70 countries. It defends the small-scale sustainable agriculture as a means of promoting social justice and dignity.

Harriet Friedmann is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Fellow of the Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto, and Visiting Professor at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. Her publications in several social science disciplines span several aspects of food and agriculture, notably through the food regimes approach which she developed with Philip McMichael, and more recently on food system transformation and emergent governance across scales, from urban regional foodsheds to the biosphere and ethnosphere. Her current project is *Global Political Ecology of Food*. Friedmann was Chair of the Toronto Food Policy Council within Toronto Public Health in the 1990s, and is now in her third term as councilor. She serves on several editorial boards of food, agriculture, and global change journals and the boards of USC-Canada, which supports small farmers in its Seeds of Survival projects across the world, and of the Toronto Seed Library, the International Urban Food Network. She served as Chair of the Political Economy of the World-System Research Section of the American Sociological Association, and participated in the IAASTD Global Report. She received the 2011 Lifetime Achievement award by the Canadian Association of Food Studies. www.harrietfriedmann.ca

Des Gasper is professor of States, Societies and World Development at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) of Erasmus University Rotterdam. In his research he seeks to combine and connect human development, development ethics, and public policy. 'Human development' refers to here human-centred socio-economic development, including extension of people's ability to live in ways which there is reason to value. This field links to work on human rights and human security, and he works on such links, both in theoretical and 'applied' research. He participated in a project with

groups in Norway, South Africa and the USA on climate change discourses, which led to several publications; and started a cooperation with the Norwegian climate change research institute CICERO on climate change adaptation governance. He will participate in a project to monitor during 2014 and 2015 the societal reception of the 2014 IPCC Fifth Assessment Report.

Paula Gioia (La Via Campesina) is originally from the urban areas from Brazil. She lives in Germany, where she became a small scale farmer as a personal political response to the multiple crisis the world is facing today. She lives in a collective farm and is beekeeper. Paula is member of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (AbL) is committee member of the European Coordination Via Campesina and represents the European youth in the International Coordination Committee of La Via Campesina.

Jacobo Grajales, is an associate professor at the University of Lille (France), where he teaches comparative and international political sociology. As a member of the CERAPS (Center for European Research on Administration, Politics and Society), his research program is focused on the link between armed violence and the political economy of land. This work extends some aspects of his PhD research (to be published in French and in Spanish in 2016) that was focused on the link between paramilitary groups and the state in Colombia.

Dorothy Grace Guerrero is an author, political educator and organizer oriented on global justice and system-change perspectives with over 25 years of work experience in development NGOs, social movements and academe. She has worked in national, regional (Asia) and international levels and played key roles in a number of significant international networks. She earned her MA degree from the International Institute of Social Studies (PADS 1996) and was a PhD candidate in Political Science (Duisburg University, Germany). She is originally from the Philippines and now based in London, UK. Her published works in English were translated in German, Spanish, French, Italian, Russian, Korean, and Chinese.

Samantha Hargreaves has a long history of work on land and agrarian reform, specifically in regard to women in South Africa and the Africa region. She has worked as an ally and support to rural women's, landless peoples' and more recently extractives' organisations and movements for more than two decades. In her formal employment she has worked as field worker, researcher, campaigner and programme manager in local, national and international non-governmental organisations including the National Land Committee and its affiliates in South Africa for 12 years, and in Action Aid International for eight years. She has led WoMin since its conception in early 2013, balancing the roles of strategist, researcher and writer, alliance-builder, fundraiser and director. Samantha holds a master's degree in Development Studies from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (South Africa) and is associated to the Society Work and Development Institute (SWOP), also at Wits University.

Susanna Hecht is Professor in UCLA's Luskin School of Public Affairs in Regional and International Development; and Environmental Analysis and Policy. She holds additional appointments in the Institute of Environment and the Department of Geography. Hecht is a specialist in land use change in the Latin American tropics, especially Amazonia. She has explored the drivers of tropical deforestation including the politics of land speculation in the livestock sector, the rise and politics of agroindustrial soy systems. Her work, however has also focused on alternatives to deforestation and into the "Social Lives of Forests". She has done extensive research on the agroecology of indigenous production systems, documented how the highly fertile, human made "Amazonian Black soils" were formed. She has worked extensively in small farmer systems, small scale production and agroforestry systems and forest management for non timber products both as ecological, institutional and political as well as biotic terrains. To this end she has worked with extractive communities associated with rubber, babassu palm as well as more recently in the study of Quilombos, or runaway slave communities and the role of social movements in transforming land politics. Recent research and practice focuses on the "Forest Transition" or forest recovery in the tropics, now a widely documented phenomena and suggests a new realm of new policy interventions and practices. Her work on globalization, migration remittances and natural resources has focused on how larger scale processes influence forest recovery in Central America especially El Salvador and the changing "nature" of rural economies in national development and the politics of place, the "New Rurality." Hecht is also interested in environmental/ecological history. She has just finished a volume called the Scramble for the Amazon and the Lost Paradise of Euclides da Cunha about global imperialism, and "wars at the end of the

world” at the end of the 19th century as Europe and western hemispheric aspirants vied for control over gold fields and rubber forests in Amazonia. This conflict frames the Amazon writings of one of Brazil’s most iconic writers, Euclides da Cunha, and places what are seen as among the most untrammelled parts of Amazonia firmly within a dramatic social history. Hecht’s work has been funded by NSF, National Geographic, NASA, MacArthur Foundation, ACLS Guggenheim among many others. She is a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, and Stanford’s Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences.

The International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty is an international network that brings together several organizations representing farmers, fisherfolks and small and medium scale farmers, agricultural workers and indigenous peoples, as well as NGOs, providing a common room for mobilization that holds together local struggles and global debate. Therefore the IPC constitutes, on the global level, the only platform aggregating large organized bodies that represent together hundreds of millions of food producers, aiming to play an active role in the debate on global governance and accountability (and effectiveness) of the international institutional architecture in order to support or undermine the ability of national governments to protect the interests of small food producers and consumers. The IPC opens a new path, to broaden the opportunities of political negotiation for people organizations and movements within FAO, with the aim of establishing an effective democracy, not only bringing new social actors right where decisions are taken, but also their contents, working methods and militancy.

S. Ryan Isakson is an Assistant Professor of International Development Studies and Geography, University of Toronto. His research and teaching interests are in the political economy of food and agrarian transformation, particularly in Latin America. He has conducted research on peasant livelihoods and the cultivation of agricultural biodiversity, land reform, agro-food certification, and compensation for environmental services.

Kees Jansen’s research focusses on the intersection of political ecology and critical agrarian studies. He is based in the Social Sciences Department at Wageningen University, the Netherlands. His current work examines pesticide risk governance, the multi-level governance of plant diseases, and the greening of the agrarian question. He has a long-term interest in rethinking linkages between social justice and risk theories, understanding technology/nature-society interactions and developing critical political ecology. Among his publications is *Agribusiness and Society* (2004; Zed); recent publications can be found at www.keesjansen.eu. His main field work experience is in Latin America.

Cristóbal (Cris) Kay is Emeritus Professor in Rural Development and Development Studies at the ISS; Professorial Research Associate of the Department of Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. His research interests are in the fields of rural development and development theory, with particular reference to Latin America. He has published several books, about 40 book chapters and over 95 articles in a variety of professional journals. He has taught a variety of courses mainly at postgraduate level on rural development, development theory, development policy and Latin American studies. He is an editor of the *Journal of Agrarian Change* (JAC).

La Via Campesina is the international movement, which brings together millions of peasants, small and medium-size farmers, landless people, women farmers, indigenous people, migrants and agricultural workers from around the world. It defends small-scale sustainable agriculture as a way to promote social justice and dignity. It strongly opposes corporate driven agriculture and transnational companies that are destroying people and nature. La Via Campesina comprises about 150 local and national organizations in 70 countries from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. Altogether, it represents about 200 million farmers. It is an autonomous, pluralist and multicultural movement, independent from any political, economic or other type of affiliation.

Anabela Lemos is an environmental justice activist and founding member of Livaningo, Mozambique’s first environmental organization (founded in 1998). Anabela was the Vice-Director of Livaningo and coordinated several initiatives. She left Livaningo in 2004 to start *Justiça Ambiental* (JA!). She is a founding member of JA and has been the Director of the Board since the founding. She has always undertaken her activities, at both JA and Livaningo as a volunteer. She has been working on environmental justice issues over 18 years. From the creation of JA, aside from being the Director of

the Board, her responsibilities have also included JA's strategic planning process, governance, fundraising. She also co-coordinates the Mphanda Nkuwa dam campaign and is also involved with other activities such as research, campaigns, fieldwork. She sits on the editorial council of JA's newsletter. Anabela received the Mozambican National Environmental Prize in 2005. Beyond JA, she is also involved in a number of other NGOs. She is one of the founder members of Global Alliance for Incinerator Alternatives, GAIA (an alliance between individuals, NGOs, community-based organizations, academics and other parties, that work together to stop incineration all over the world). She is currently on GAIA's Steering committee. She is also on the Advisory Board for the Southern Africa Global Greengrants Fund and also one of the founder of NRAN (NO REDD in Africa Network) and a co-coordinator. JA is a member of FOEI.

Les Levidow is a senior research fellow at the Open University, UK. His research topics have included the following: (un)sustainable development, agri-food-energy innovation, bioeconomy, agri-cultural research priorities, short food-supply chains, agroecology and European integration. He is co-author of two books: *Governing the Transatlantic conflict over agricultural biotechnology: contending coalitions, trade liberalisation and standard setting* (Routledge, 2006) and *GM food on trial: testing European democracy* (Routledge, 2010). Email: l.levidow@open.ac.uk

Larry Lohmann is an activist working with The Corner House (www.thecornerhouse.org.uk), a research and advocacy organization based in the UK. He has contributed to scholarly journals in sociology, politics, development, science studies, law, social policy, environment, accounting and Asian studies. His last book was *Mercados de Carbono: La Neoliberalizacion del Clima* (Quito, 2012).

Joan Martinez-Alier has been since 1975 Professor in the Department of Economics and Economic History in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in Spain. Over the last quarter of a century he has become recognized as Europe's foremost student and spokesman of the new field of "ecological economics." In 1987 he joined with international colleagues from around the world and became a founding member of the International Society for Ecological Economics. He has had extensive international experience in a wide variety of educational institutions around the world. From 1990 onwards he served as the Editor of the journal, *Ecologia Politica* (Barcelona). His publications are numerous and in English include: *Labourers and Landowners in Southern Spain* (London, 1971), *Haciendas, Plantations and Collective Farms (Cuba and Peru)* (London 1977), *Ecological economics: energy, environment and society* (Oxford, 1987), with Ramachandra Guha -- India's leading environmental historian, *Varieties of environmentalism: Essays North and South*. (London, 1997) and *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation* (October 2003). In addition, he is the author of the article on Ecological Economics in the the International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. His current research focusses on ecological economics and languages of valuation, political ecology, environmental justice and the environmentalism of the poor.

Nora McKeon studied history at Harvard and political science at the Sorbonne before joining the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations where she worked to open FAO up to organizations of small-scale producers. She now engages in research, teaching, and advocacy around food systems, food governance, small-scale farmer movements, and UN-civil society relations. She closely follows the reformed Committee on World Food Security. Publications include: *Peasant Organizations in Theory and Practice* (with Michael Watts and Wendy Wolford, UNRISD 2004), *Strengthening Dialogue with People's Movements: UN experience with small farmer platforms and Indigenous Peoples* (with Carol Kalafatic, UN NGLS 2009), *The United Nations and Civil Society: Legitimizing Global Governance-Whose Voice?* (Zed 2009), *Global Governance for World Food Security: A Scorecard Four Years After the Eruption of the "Food Crisis"* (Heinrich-Böll Foundation, 2011), and *Food Security Governance: empowering communities, regulating corporations* (Routledge 2015). She has co-edited a special issue of *Globalizations on land-grabbing and global governance* (Vol. 10, Issue 1, 2013), contributing an article on land grabbing, transnational rural social movements and global governance.

Sophia is a PhD candidate in the Resource Management and Environmental Studies programme at the Institute for Resources, Environment and Sustainability at the University of British Columbia (UBC). She is a Vanier scholar (awarded by Canada's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council), a Trudeau Foundation scholar, and a Liu scholar at UBC's Liu Institute for Global Issues. She has 25 years of experience as a public policy analyst, focused in particular on food security, rural

development and international trade. She read Politics, Philosophy and Economics at Oxford University and earned a distinction in her Masters in Social Policy and Planning at the London School of Economics. She is an senior advisor on trade for the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), Minneapolis, an organization with whom she has collaborated since 1997. She was a member of the UN Committee on World Food Security's High Level Panel of Experts and is a member of ActionAid USA's board.

Peter Newell is Professor of International Relations at the University of Sussex. He has worked on issues of environment and development, especially climate change, for over 20 years. He also worked extensively with and for NGOs including Friends of the Earth and Climate Network Europe. He is co-editor of the European Journal of International Relations, associate editor of the journal Global Environmental Politics and sits on the editorial board of Global Environmental Change, the Journal of Environment and Development and the Journal of Peasant Studies. His publications include the books: *Climate for Change: Non State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse*; *Development and the Challenge of Globalization*; *The Business of Global Environmental Governance*; *Rights, Resources and the Politics of Accountability*; *Climate Capitalism*; *Governing Climate Change*; *Transnational Climate Change Governance*; and *Globalization and the Environment: Capitalism, Ecology and Power*.

Alexander Nikulin is Professor and Director of the Center for Agricultural Studies of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), Moscow, Russia. He specializes in economic and agrarian sociology, history of the peasantry, and the current state of farming in Russia. E-Mail: harmina@yandex.ru

Bridget O'Laughlin is retired from the Institute of Social Studies but is linked to the research group on the Political Economy of Resources, Environment and Population and is a research associate of IESE (the Institute of Economic and Social Studies) in Maputo, Mozambique. She has a long-term interest in the gendered politics of agrarian change in southern Africa and is currently involved in IESE research on work and health in large-scale agro-industries in Mozambique. Her last publications (2015) are: 'Trapped in the Prison of the Proximate: Structural HIV/AIDS Prevention in Southern Africa (*ROAPE*, 42) and 'The Politics of Production, Frelimo and Socialist Agrarian Strategy in Mozambique', in A. Shah and S. Feuchtwang (eds), *Emancipatory Politics: A Critique*.

Antonio Onorati is president of the Italian NGO Crocevia. Antonio has a long and deep involvement in Italian and international agrarian movements and their struggles for social justice.

Sherry Pictou has volunteered and worked in various capacities for several Indigenous organizations and in particular, for her home community the Bear River First Nation, Nova Scotia, Canada. She is a former Chief and is currently an Interdisciplinary PhD candidate at Dalhousie University and serves as an associate member of the Bay of Fundy Marine Resource Centre and the International Small Scale Fisheries Learning Circles Project. Sherry also continues to serve on the Coordinating Committee for the World Forum of Fisheries Peoples (WFFP). The focus of her research is on her community's learning in interrelated local, national and international contexts of struggle for livelihoods.

Peter M. Rosset, Ph.D., is a professor and researcher in the Agroecology Academic Group of the Department of Agriculture, Society & Environment of the ECOSUR Institute for Research and Graduate Studies, in Chiapas, Mexico. Among his books are *Agroecology* (McGraw-Hill, 1990) and *Agroecological Revolution (La Via Campesina)*, (2013).

Jesse Ribot is Professor of Geography, Women and Gender in Global Perspective, Natural Resources and Environmental Studies, and faculty of Beckman Institute, University of Illinois. Before 2008 Professor Ribot worked at World Resources Institute, taught at MIT, and was a fellow at The New School, Yale, Rutgers, Max Planck Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, and Harvard. He is an Africanist studying local democracy, resource access, and social vulnerability.

James Ritchie is the Assistant General Secretary of the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers Associations (IUF) and is based in Geneva, Switzerland. He holds responsibility for work in the meat, dairy and catering sectors in the IUF and works with others in the IUF Secretariat on trade and the right to food policies. James is a New

Zealander with over 30 years' experience as an active trade unionist. Before taking up a position with the IUF in 2012, James spent 9 years as the National Secretary of the NZ Dairy Workers Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the NZ Council of Trade Unions. During this time he was active in international union work, monitoring the international framework agreement between the IUF and the NZ dairy TNC, Fonterra, advocating for the establishment of the IUF Dairy Division. He led the trade union side in the 2008 the International Labour Conference negotiations to develop an action plan on Promotion of Rural Employment for Poverty Reduction.

Laurence Roudart is professor of Agricultural Development in the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, where she occupies the chair devoted to The agrarian issue in developing countries. She heads the Master in Development Studies and is director of the Institute of Sociology in this University. Her research and teaching focus on matters relating to agricultural policies, land policies, and food security policies in developing countries. She has carried out fieldwork in Indonesia, Egypt, Senegal, Mali and Burundi. She is a member of the editorial committees of the journals *Mondes en développement* and *World Food Policy*.

Suzana Sawyer is an associate professor, University of California Davis. Her research examines struggles over resources in the Ecuadorian Amazon, focusing specifically on conflicts over land and petroleum development among forest peoples, the state, and multinational oil companies. Her, *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*, explores how lowland peoples have challenged neoliberal economic policies to privatize their lands and increase petroleum production within indigenous claimed territory. Her current research project examines an on-going transnational lawsuit in Ecuador against the Chevron Corporation for industrial negligence and environmental contamination. Her evolving research project analyzes the lawsuit and its history from three different angles--critical legal studies and corporate law, science studies and epidemiology, and studies of networks and transnational social movements.

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

Sergio Schneider is Professor of Sociology of Rural Development and Food Studies at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Porto Alegre, Brazil. Currently he is Academic Visiting Scholar at the Centre for Food Policy at City University London, UK. Since 2003 Sergio Schneider has a research scholarship from CNPq (National Council for Science and Technology) for high scientific productivity in social sciences research. His main research topics are sociology of food, rural development, food security, rural non-agricultural activities, family farming, territorial development and rural policies. He has been working and cooperating in several international projects in Latin American (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay and Argentina), Africa (Cape Verde, Mozambique and South Africa) and Europe and with international organizations like FAO, IFAD, IICA, WHO. Sergio Schneider is deputy president of the Latin American Rural Sociology Association (ALASRU), and between 2011-2013. His main books are *Rural Development and the Construction of New Markets*. 1. ed. Londres: Routledge, 2015 and *Políticas de Desenvolvimento Rural no Brasil*. 1. ed. Porto Alegre: UFRGS, 2015. 624p . And *Aspectos Multidimensionais da Agricultura Brasileira: diferentes visões do Censo Agropecuário 2006*. Brasília: Livraria Ipea, 2014.

Ian Scoones is a Professorial Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, UK. He is a co-director of the STEPS Centre (www.steps-centre.org) and has been a joint convenor of the Future Agricultures Consortium (www.future-agricultures.org). He is a founding member of the Land Deal Politics Initiative (www.iss.nl/ldpi) and is a member of the editorial collective of the *Journal of Peasant Studies*. His recent publications include *Zimbabwe's Land Reform: Myths and Realities* (www.zimbabweland.net) and the recently released small book, *Sustainable Livelihoods and Rural Development*, Halifax: Fernwood; UK: Practical Action (2015).

Max Spoor is Professor of Development Studies, and is with the Research Programme Political Economy of Resources, Environment and Population (PER). His research is related to rural and environmental issues, such as land grabbing, access to water resources, poverty, and inequality, and

social exclusion. This research is geographically focused on Asian transitional economies such as China, Vietnam and the countries in Central and Eastern Europe (in particular former Soviet Central Asia), while he continues to do research in Latin America and the Caribbean (in particular Cuba and Nicaragua). Currently his work focuses on the following research projects: 1) Land Grabbing in Eastern Europe and the CIS, collaborating in the ERC Starting Grant that was won by Dr. Oane Visser. 2) Quality of Life and Social Exclusion in Rural Central and Eastern Europe. 3) Small-scale Cotton Producers and Livelihood Change in Xinjiang, China. He is the Chair of the International Advisory Committee for a large research project entitled NEBE ("Nationalization of Extractive Industries: Conflict and Cooperation in Bolivia and Ecuador"), financed by NWO/CoCoon (2011-2017); and is participating in another large research project MOSAIC ("Climate Change mitigation policies, land grabbing and conflict in fragile states: understanding intersections, exploring transformations in Myanmar and Cambodia"), also financed by NWO/CoCoon (2014-2017).

Marcus Taylor is an Associate Professor in Global Development Studies at Queen's University, Canada. He has written on diverse issues in development studies, including the political economy of social and labour policies in Latin America through to questions of microfinance and livelihoods in South Asia. His most recent book is *The Political Ecology of Climate Change Adaptation: Livelihoods, Agrarian Change and the Conflicts of Development* (Routledge, 2015), which is the first critical analysis of the idea and practice of adaptation in rural Asia.

Jan Douwe van der Ploeg is Professor of Transition Studies at Wageningen University, the Netherlands, and Adjunct Professor in Rural Sociology at China Agricultural University, Beijing. Professor van der Ploeg has worked with peasant organizations in Peru, Colombia, the Netherlands and Italy. Recently he co-authored an HLPE report on 'Investing in smallholder agriculture for food security' that was written on request of the Committee for World Food Security of the FAO. His most recent book is *Peasants and the Art of Farming: A Chayanovian Manifesto* (2013, Fernwood)

Eric Vanhaute is Professor of Economic History and World History at Ghent University in Belgium. He has been Visiting Research Fellow at the Weatherhead Initiative of Global History, Harvard University, the Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton and at Utrecht University, Fellow-in-Residence at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences, and Visiting Professor at the University of California at Berkeley, The Institute of Economic and Social History at The University of Vienna and The Institute for Social Economy and Culture at Peking University. His scholarly work includes projects and publications on rural history and the history of the peasantries, on world history, global studies and world-systems analysis, on the history of labour markets and labour strategies of families, and on historical statistics and historical information systems. See his website <http://www.ccc.ugent.be/vanhaute>.

Alberto Villarreal is a founding member of REDES (Red de Ecología Social - Social Ecology Network) - Friends of the Earth Uruguay, headquartered in Montevideo, and an active member in Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) and its regional Latin American chapter ATALC (Amigos de la Tierra América Latina y Caribe - Friends of the Earth Latin America and Caribbean). Has worked over 20 years on international campaigns against so called trade and investments liberalization in the WTO, FTAA, FTAs and BITs and their social-environmental impacts, and in the development and promotion of alternative policies to neoliberalism. He is currently leading FoEI's work on the international investments protection regime and its impacts, and is the regional Latin America and Caribbean coordinator of FoEI's Economic Justice-Resisting Neoliberalism international program. Since 2014, he is also co-leading FoEI's work in support of a binding treaty at the UN on TNCs and Human Rights, and is actively participating in the Treaty Alliance and the Campaign's to Dismantle Corporate Power input into the Open Ended Intergovernmental Working Group (OEIGWG) lead by Ecuador at the UN Human Rights Council. Alberto Villarreal studied Sociology at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (1973-1977), and Social Ecology at the Institute for Social Ecology in Burlington, Vermont (1994).

Oane Visser is an Associate Professor at ISS in The Hague. His current research interests revolve first of all around land acquisitions, farm investment and rural development in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet countries. He recently received a European Research Council (ERC) starting grant. This project (2013-2018) studies land investment strategies and their effects, looking at food security/sovereignty, labour issues and rural development. Furthermore, it studies the role of rural social movements in land governance. The research takes place in Russia, Ukraine and the border

area between Russia and China. The project includes also a PhD student, Natalia Mamonova, who focuses especially at responses of rural social movements to land investment. This project is conducted in collaboration with Judith Pallot (Oxford University) and Tatyana Nefedova (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow). Furthermore, Visser conducts research on financialisation and crisis in Eastern Europe and the West. Visser earned his PhD in Anthropology from Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Visser is an is editor of Focaal- Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology .

Nettie Wiebe teaches ethics at St. Andrews College, University of Saskatchewan and farms near Delisle, Saskatchewan, in the Canadian prairie region. She grows organic grains and pulse crops as well as raising cattle. Nettie served in elected leadership positions of the National Farmers Union (NFU) for ten years and was the first woman to lead a national farm organization in Canada. She also played a leading role in the development of the global peasant movement, Via Campesina, as the Coordinator for North America / Mexico, (1996-2004) and as the chairperson of the Via Campesina Women's Commission. She continues to serve as one of the alternates for the region on the International Coordinating Committee. Nettie is an active participant in public discourse on sustainable agriculture and rural communities, women's equality, human rights, peace, economic and environmental issues and food sovereignty.

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.

Doaa Zayed (La Via Campesina), Project Manager at Palestine's Union of Agricultural Workers Committees (UAWC). Doaa is Project Manager of several efforts aimed at enhancing food sovereignty for Palestinian farmers, especially women, through the establishment and support of many women's cooperatives in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Doaa is also manager of UAWC's Seed Bank Project which contributes in the increase of income of small farmers, protection, saving and documenting local seed varieties and traditional farming practices.

Colloquium Secretariat

Alberto Alonso-Fradejas is a PhD Candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), a researcher at the Agrarian & Environmental Justice Programme of the Transnational Institute (TNI), and a Fellow of the Guatemalan Institute of Agrarian and Rural Studies (IDEAR). He has (co-)authored a series of articles, monographs and policy reports on the politics and the political economy, ecology and sociology of agrarian change and territorial restructuring in Guatemala, Central America and South America since the early 2000s. Between 2003 and 2011 he has been a regular lecturer at the Schools of Political Sciences, History and Sociology in Guatemala's National University (USAC); a visiting lecturer at the Master on Conflict and Development Studies at the University of Ghent in Belgium (2015); and at the course on Politics of Development at the College of Humanities and Development, China Agricultural University in Beijing (2015). Since 2014 he is part of the teaching team of the course on Politics of Agrarian Transformation at the Master on Agrarian, Food and Environmental Studies at the ISS in The Netherlands. His academic publications in English appeared in *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, *Development Journal*, and *Third World Quarterly*. He co-edited (with Eric Holt-Giménez, Todd Holmes and Martha Robbins) the 2015 *Third World Quarterly* special issue on food sovereignty:
<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ctwq20/36/3>

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*. From 1999 to 2013, she worked as a teaching programme administrator for the office of educational affairs focusing on masters, diplomas, short courses, refresher courses and tailor-made trainings

affiliated to the Department of Rural Development, Environment and Population Studies. From 2010 until 2013, she was the staff group administrator of this department. From 2013 till present, Sharmini is the research program administrator of the PER team managing: PER financial portfolio, small research grants, consultations and networking, administrative and logistical matters, assisting in organizing conferences and supporting in academic events. 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.

Zoe Brent is a researcher with the Agrarian Justice team at the Transnational Institute (TNI) in Amsterdam, where she works on issues related to food, land and water politics. She holds an MA in International Relations from the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires, Argentina. And she is pursuing her PhD at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague where her research focuses on land access, the commons and food sovereignty in the global north. Formerly she coordinated the Land and Sovereignty in the Americas Collective and served as a Food First Fellow. Currently she is also an instructor in the postgraduate course exploring food sovereignty and agroecology in the Basque Country, coordinated by HEGOA, the Research Institute for Development and International Cooperation at the University of the Basque Country and the Basque Farmers' Union, EHNE Bizkaia. Some of her recent publications include Territorial Restructuring and Resistance in Argentina (2015) in The Journal of Peasant Studies; Contextualising Food Sovereignty: the politics of convergence among movements in the USA (2015) in Third World Quarterly with C. Schiavoni and A. Alonso Fradejas; and Sowing insecurity: Food and agriculture in a time of climate crisis, (2016) chapter in (eds) Buxton, N. and B. Hayes, The Secured and the Dispossessed, with N. Buxton and A. Shattuck. She co-coordinates ICAS (www.iss.nl/icas).

Saturnino ('Jun') M. Borrás Jr. is Professor of Agrarian Studies at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Adjunct Professor at China Agricultural University in Beijing, and a Fellow of the Amsterdam-based Transnational Institute (TNI) and the California-based Institute for Food and Development Policy or Food First. He co-coordinates the Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS), Land Deal Politics Initiatives (LDPI) and the NWO/DFID-funded Mosaic Research project. He is Editor-In-Chief of the Journal of Peasant Studies. His latest publications include: Edelman, Marc, James C. Scott, Amita Baviskar, Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Deniz Kandiyoti, Eric Holt-Gimenez, Tony Weis, and Wendy Wolford, editors, 2014. Critical perspectives on food sovereignty. Journal of Peasant Studies special issue; Edelman, Marc and Saturnino Borrás, 2016, Political dynamics of transnational agrarian movements. Halifax: Fernwood; UK: Practical Action; Franco, Jennifer, Sofia Monsalve and Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., 2015, Democratic land control and human rights, Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability, October 2015.

Lyda Fernanda Forero is an economist who carries out analysis and campaigning on trade and investment policies, the architecture of impunity created for transnational corporations, and new trends in financialisation and commodification of nature and life. Lyda is Colombian, she has a BA degree in Economics and has master studies in History at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, where she was teacher and researcher. She is a researcher for TNI's Economic Justice, Corporate Power and Alternatives program.

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

Juan Liu is an assistant professor at College of Humanities and Social Development, Northwest A&F University, China, and a post-doctoral researcher at The International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague. She holds a PhD in development studies. Her research interests include: internal

migration and left-behind population, social policies, rural politics, land politics, and political economy of agriculture, environment and food. Email: juanlcau@gmail.com

Ben McKay is a PhD candidate at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Hague. He is in the global secretariat of the BRICS Initiatives for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS, www.iss.nl/bicas) and is co-editor of the BICAS Working Paper Series. He is currently researching on the rise of BRICS countries and its implications for global agrarian transformation, with specific focus on the rise of the Brazilian state and capital and their influence on agrarian transformation in southern America, specifically Bolivia. He has published on food sovereignty, flex crops (sugarcane) and political economy of soy published in *Journal of Peasant Studies* and forthcoming in *Globalizations* journal.

Elyse Mills studied International Development at York University (BA Hons) in Toronto, Canada; Journalism at University of King's College in Halifax, Canada; and Agrarian and Environmental Studies (MA), with a specialisation in Agriculture and Rural Development at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, Netherlands. She has published research on young farmers' access to land in the Canada, Chinese land investments in Southeast Asia, and the development of the bioeconomy in the EU. Her research interests include future farming trajectories, access to farmland in the Global North, 'sustainable' agricultural agendas and agrofuels, and small-scale production in fisheries and agriculture. She is currently working on further research on land deals in Southeast Asia, fisheries policies in the EU, collaborates on research with the Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS), and works in the ICAS secretariat. Email: mills@iss.nl

Sofia Monsalve, Secretary General of FIAN International, Heidelberg, Germany. <http://www.fian.org>; co-coordinator of the Land Research and Action Network (LRAN) and the 'right to land' work area of the IPC for Food Sovereignty. She is a co-convenor of the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform (GCAR) of La Via Campesina, LRAN and FIAN. Her latest publication is: 'Grassroots Voices: The Human Rights Framework in Contemporary Agrarian Struggles', *Journal of Peasant Studies* (2012): <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showAxaArticles?journalCode=fjps20>

Christina Schiavoni is an agrarian and food movement activist originally from the US. She studied in Cornell University (BA) and ISS in The Hague (MA). She is currently completing her PhD at ISS as NWO Research Talent Grant holder. Her dissertation research is on the politics of food sovereignty construction in Venezuela. In the decade prior to joining ISS, she was deeply engaged in food sovereignty efforts as an organizer and advocate in the US and at the global level. These include involvement in the 2007 Nyéléni Global Forum on Food Sovereignty, the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC), and the Civil Society Mechanism of the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS). She was part of the initiatives that established the US Food Sovereignty Alliance as well as the Food Sovereignty Prize. Her publications include articles in *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Monthly Review*, *Development*, *Globalizations*, and *Third World Quarterly*. She co-edited a *Globalizations* special issue on food sovereignty with Annie Shattuck and Zoe VanGelder – <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rglo20/12/4>. She is a member of the international advisory board of *Journal of Peasant Studies*, and is a co-editor of the ICAS Book Series on Agrarian Change and Peasant Studies published in 10 language editions, in which Ian Scoones' *Sustainable Livelihoods and Rural Development* (2015) is Book # 4.

Pietje Vervest is the programme coordinator of the Transnational Institute's Economic Justice Programme. She is an economic anthropologist and has specialized in the European Union's trade and investment policies. Email: pietje.vervest@tni.org

Co-sponsors

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

Teaching Ecofair Trade is a joint EU project together with Caritas Czech, MISEREOR, Mendel University Brno and Heinrich-Böll-Foundation in cooperation with European Universities (including ISS in The Hague) to develop and pilot experienced based and multilevel teaching modules which enable European Universities to integrate the perspective of the human right to food as a key turning point for teaching agricultural trade and investment policy. The project is running over a period of three years with the main perspective of establishing a teaching framework which emphasises on a strong link between European and southern civil society and different European Universities to enable young future decision makers to actively understand the relevance of their studies and the political importance to eradicate poverty, promote justice and human rights. Since still more than 70% of the global poor and undernourished people live in rural areas and gain their livelihood from agriculture; coherence of agricultural trade and investment policies with inclusive development strategies, food security strategies and strategies for poverty eradication must be a focal point. However, today's agricultural trade and investment policy teaching concepts still have a strong focus on communicating micro and macroeconomic trade theory. The comprehensive intersectoral relevance of agricultural trade and investment policy regarding their impact on human rights are often neglected. Further, the impacts of agricultural trade and investment policy are difficult to communicate without knowing the perception of the vulnerable groups in the south. An experienced based teaching approach which enables the inclusion of these perspectives would promote a long time and active learning experience for the students as well as for those teaching at universities. This is of particular relevance since the agricultural sector environment has changed tremendously in recent years. Investments in the agricultural sector combined with bilateral trade agreements are of increasing importance. However, little knowledge is available on the impact on producers and farm workers from the human right to food perspective. The importance to address universities as one important element of the formal education system is threefold: first: universities are educating decision makers of tomorrow. Hence, it is of particular importance that students learn about the comprehensive interlinkages of agricultural trade and investment policy with poverty eradication and the human right to food. Second: those teaching at universities are among the most important political advisors in European countries. There is a close relation between researchers and governments of European countries. However, research on agricultural trade and investment policy often lacks the local perspective of vulnerable groups in southern countries. It is largely based on plausibility and theoretical considerations. Increasing the sensitivity of professors and researchers for the important linkage between agricultural trade and investment policy and the human right to food would though as well have an advocacy component. Thirdly, by establishing a framework of cooperation, information and experience exchange the project

will be a blueprint to ameliorate the cooperation between a) universities with a different academic field, b) civil societies in the north and the south, and c) different stakeholders from private economy.

FIAN International is an international human rights organization that has advocated for the realization of the right to food for more than 25 years. FIAN consists of national sections and individual members in over 50 countries around the world. FIAN is a not-for-profit organization without any religious or political affiliation and has consultative status to the United Nations. FIAN's mission is to expose violations of people's right to food wherever they may occur. The organization stands up against unjust and oppressive practices that prevent people from feeding themselves. The struggle against gender discrimination and other forms of exclusion is integral part of its mission. It strives to secure people's access to the resources that they need in order to feed themselves, now and in the future. FIAN analyzes and documents concrete cases of violations of the right to food. The organization raises awareness on the right to food among social movements, non-governmental organisations and governmental bodies and responds to requests from victim groups whose right to food is threatened or has been violated and mobilise support. With protest letter campaigns, advocacy and recourse to the law, FIAN exerts public pressure in order to hold governments accountable for violations of the right to food. FIAN follows up on cases until the victims get appropriate redress. Within the United Nations system and other legal regimes, the organization advocates respect of human rights in order to strengthen and improve the international human rights protection. FIAN's vision is a world free from hunger, in which every woman, man and child can fully enjoy their human rights in dignity, particularly the right to adequate food, as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments.

Hosted at ISS in The Hague, the **Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS)** has been established as a community of like-minded scholars, development practitioners and activists from different parts of the world who are working on agrarian issues. ICAS responds to the need for an initiative that builds and focuses on linkages -- between academics, development policy practitioners, social movement activists; between the world's North and South, South and South; between rural-agricultural and urban-industrial sectors; between experts and non-experts. ICAS promotes critical thinking, which here means: conventional assumptions are interrogated, popular propositions critically examined, and new ways of questioning composed, proposed and pursued. ICAS believes in and promotes engaged research and scholarship. This means an emphasis on research and scholarship that is both academically interesting and socially relevant, and further, implies taking the side of the poor. The focus is on contributing to the dynamics of 'change' - playing a role not only in (re)interpreting the agrarian world in various ways, but also in changing it – with a clear bias for the working classes, for the poor. For further info: www.iss.nl/icas.

The **International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)** is located in The Hague, The Netherlands. Its mission is to create and share state-of-the-art critical knowledge in relation to global issues in the areas of international development, social justice and equity. ISS research focuses on studying political, economic and social developments in Africa, Asia, Latin America, North Africa, the Middle East and transition economies. The Institute explores new developments in North-South and South-South relationships and the role of the BRICS countries, especially in relation to globalization and development. ISS research is accessible to the academic community in the Global South, and attempts to influence policy-makers and practitioners. The Institute aims to capitalize its unique methodology of co-constructing and co-creating new knowledge, and contribute to the education of a new generation of researchers and change agents in their own societies and on the world stage, amongst others through a large PhD programme. In terms of teaching and research, one of the most vibrant groups in ISS is the Agrarian, Food & Environmental Studies (AFES) group.
http://www.iss.nl/education/ma_programme/agrarian_food_and_environmental_studies_afes/

Throughout its history **ICCO Cooperation** has maintained predominantly, though not exclusively, a strong presence in rural areas. ICCO Cooperation has built authority on themes related to inclusive rural development, rural economies, food security and livelihoods, which always have been addressed from the perspective of human dignity and human rights, nurtured by ICCO Cooperation's core values: compassion, justice and good stewardship. The 2013 policy document 'Towards a just and dignified world', reaffirms this tradition and puts it in the light of actual and future developments. ICCO Cooperation aims to improve rural people's participation (voice in) in public policies on rural development and on land and natural resource governance, and empowers them to fully exercise their

responsibility (voice over) for their own livelihoods, their farms, their rural organizations, and their communities. Economic inclusion, small holder agriculture, rural entrepreneurship, and just and sustainable value chains and food systems are important strategies. Lobby, advocacy and concrete development programs mutually reinforce each other.

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

MISEREOR is the German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation. For over 50 years MISEREOR has been committed to fighting poverty in Africa, Asia and Latin America. MISEREOR's support is available to any human being in need – regardless of their religion, ethnicity or gender. Changes cannot be prescribed from outside. MISEREOR therefore believes in supporting initiatives driven and owned by the poor and the disadvantaged. This is because in MISEREOR's experience it is they themselves who possess the strength to improve their lives sustainably. We support them in their efforts in accordance with the principle of help toward self-help. On the ground, projects are run by local organisations. This ensures that the project work is geared to the needs and way of life of the people involved.

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, 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

The Amsterdam-based **Transnational Institute** (TNI) is a worldwide fellowship of scholar-activists founded in 1974. The Transnational Institute (TNI) was established in 1974 as an international network of activist researchers ('scholar activists') committed to critical analyses of the global problems of today and tomorrow. It aims to provide intellectual support to movements struggling for a more democratic, equitable and environmentally sustainable world. Over almost 40 years, TNI has gained an international reputation for: carrying out well researched and radical critiques – sometimes against the grain of current pressing global problems; anticipating and producing informed work on key issues long before they become mainstream concerns, for example, our work on food and hunger, third world debt, transnational corporations, trade, and carbon trading; supporting and enhancing social movements' work for economic and social justice worldwide; naming outstanding TNI fellows from many countries and backgrounds whose scholarship, analysis and research have inspired and educated generations of activists and whose writings continue to provoke debate; building alternatives that are both just and pragmatic, for example developing alternative approaches to international drugs policy and providing support for the practical detailed work of public water services reform; influencing policy makers thanks to its research and its direct links and engagement with mass movements, particularly those most affected by current global economic and social policies; remaining non-sectarian and able to bridge different political tendencies, thereby helping build coalitions of social movements that span regions and continents. One of the Work Areas at TNI is 'Agrarian Justice'. www.tni.org

The Journal of Peasant Studies is one of the leading journals in the field of rural development. It was founded on the initiative of Terence J. Byres and its first editors were Byres, Charles Curwen and Teodor Shanin. It provokes and promotes critical thinking about social structures, institutions, actors and processes of change in and in relation to the rural world. It encourages inquiry into how agrarian power relations between classes and other social groups are created, understood, contested and

transformed. The Journal pays special attention to questions of 'agency' of marginalized groups in agrarian societies, particularly their autonomy and capacity to interpret – and change – their conditions. The Journal promotes contributions that question mainstream prescriptions or interrogate orthodoxies in radical thinking. It welcomes contributions that explore theoretical, policy and political alternatives. The Journal encourages contributions about a wide range of contemporary and historical questions and perspectives related to rural development. These are issues that confront peasants, farmers, rural labourers, migrant workers, indigenous peoples, forest dwellers, pastoralists, fisherfolk and rural youth – both female and male – in different parts of the world. In the Journal Citation Report (JCR) by Thomson Reuters, JPS' Impact Factor for 2014 was 4.55. It is currently ranked 1/55 in Planning & Development, and 1/83 in Anthropology. For detail, see the website: www.informaworld.com/jps

PARALLEL SESSIONS

PARALLEL SESSIONS I 4 February 11:45 - 13:15

Panel 1 Governance in the interface of food and agriculture

Room: 3.26

Chair: Kees, Jansen, Wageningen University

Marcus Taylor - Queen's University

Climate Smart Agriculture and the Governance of the Global Food System

Climate smart agriculture (CSA) has become the discursive lynchpin of contemporary institutional strategies to shape the global food system. From the World Bank to CGIAR, CSA is heralded as the necessary means through which to ensure food supply for an anticipated 9 billion people by 2050. This paper deconstructs the discursive framework that underpins CSA, with a focus on the World Bank's approach outlined in 2015 as part of the Sustainable Development Goals process. It argues that, despite its calls for a paradigm shift in agricultural production, the current narrative deploys the spectre of climate change in order to reinforce an existing agenda. Three key pillars emerge within CSA. First, the discourse 'climatizes' the production and distribution of food by fashioning a narrative in which climatic change is seen to necessitate appropriate technical fixes at the level of production. Second, the ensuing framework operates upon a binary in which productivity goals are underpinned by universal principles of efficiency and intensification (based on a market liberalisation and technological advancement) whereas sustainability goals are presented as localised and particular fixes (climate smart production techniques). Third, the approach is to be disseminated by appealing to the utility maximisation of individual producers, so long as appropriate knowledge about cost-saving technologies can be transmitted to farmers. The paper shows how, together, these tendencies serve to naturalise and depoliticise the contemporary food system. As a consequence, CSA silently embeds the substantive irrationalities of the present system into its foundations.

Alberto Serra and Jessica Duncan - Wageningen University

European farmers and agricultural practices: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Common Agricultural Policy 'Payment for agricultural practices beneficial for the environment and the climate'

Agricultural production is facing a moment of unprecedented challenges. Across the European Union, the number of farmers has been declining in the face of a growing number of threats, including price volatility, high market competition, and difficulties related to intergenerational farm succession, and increasing climatic variability. Many actors, including the European Commission and national

governments, are developing policies that claim to address the increasingly complex agricultural issue that impact the environment and the climate, and which in turn affect and challenge food production. Notably, the revised Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (2015) aims to enhance competitiveness and improve sustainability and effectiveness of the European agricultural sector. However, not all actors within the agricultural sector are the same, nor do they have the same capacity to respond to such stresses or to adapt to policy changes. A growing body of critical research points to the unique experiences and challenges of small-scale family farmers, while also illustrating how these farmers currently address the interconnected challenges promoting access to healthy, culturally desired foods, supporting rural vibrancy, and producing food in a social-ecological way. Of interest in this paper is how the CAP regulation about the direct payment scheme on 'agricultural practices beneficial for the environment and the climate' intends to address the European agricultural situation. This payment scheme proposes three different agricultural practices that farmers have to comply with. In order to understand the potential of the CAP to address current challenges facing European farmers, and family farmers in particular, this paper presents a Critical Discourse Analysis of the direct payment scheme. By adopting a threefold approach (i.e., micro, meso and macro), this paper assesses the intersections across different layers of meanings to advance understanding of the payment scheme and to map out potential implications for farming practices. The paper concludes by arguing that the payment scheme minimally contributes to the objectives proposed.

Petr Blizkovsky and Vincent Berendes – Directorate-General B Agriculture, Fisheries, Social Affairs and Health and Goethe University Frankfurt
Fairness within the food supply chain: what role plays a legislative framework

The paper analysis unfair trading practices (UTBs) of the food supply chain among EU Members States. It provides for a scrutiny of the term of fairness concerning trading practices within the food supply chain. It analyse the of food specific legislative implemented by the EU Member tackling UTBs States including the measurement of the legislative efficiency of such measures. Finally the article tests a research hypothesis presuming that implementation of a competition law that focuses on protecting suppliers leads to increase the farmer's monetary share for their products. The hypothesis is tested on two food-chain segments, bread/cereals and milk sectors.

Panel 2 Natural resource-intensive climate change mitigation: Old wine in new bottles?

Room: 3.42

Chair: Les Levidow, Open University U.K.

Arnim Scheidel – International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) and Courtney Work – International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) / Chiang Mai University
'Sustainable' forest plantations for climate change mitigation? New frontiers of deforestation and land grabbing in Cambodia

The desperate search for ways to combat climate change gives rise to new mitigation policies and projects, with questionable impacts on people and the environment. Among these mitigation projects is the increasing support of large-scale 'sustainable' forestry plantations as part of the broader Clean Development Mechanisms. This commentary paper discusses several problems that may arise from such plantation projects, especially the missed mitigation potential through the involvement of local actors in protecting biodiverse forests. It draws on an empirical case study of a 34,007ha forest reforestation project granted by the Royal Cambodian Government (RCG) to a private Korean company. Located at the edge of the unique Prey Lang forest in an area of dense forest cover, this forest restoration project will "promote sustainable resource use" by "reducing local slash-and-burn activities" and actively "participating in Clean Development Mechanisms", according to the RGC documents. On the ground, the forest restoration project is causing widespread deforestation through active forest clear-cutting that includes burning the vegetation after the removal of market-bound timber. First and foremost, this act of clean development reduces current forest carbon stocks and increases greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, this so-called 'sustainable forestry' project comes with vast environmental and social costs, including the transformation of diverse forests to industrial monocultures, the marginalization of indigenous slash-and-burn agriculture, land grabs, and the exclusion of small-scale forest users from crucial livelihood resources. At the same time, the grassroots Prey Lang Community Network active in forest patrols to stop deforestation in the area are

confronted by the legalized clearing of forests they were recently protecting. The arbitrary character of climate change mitigation policies challenge the ability of grassroots forest protection activists to do their self-appointed jobs, which they say is, “protecting the forest for themselves, their grandchildren, and for all the people of the world.” Climate justice and climate change mitigation for present and future generations will be impossible as long as large-scale industrial plantations continue to deforest vast landscapes in the name of clean development and small-scale indigenous forest users who actively protect biodiverse forests continue to be marginalized.

Jenneth Parker - Schumacher Institute for Sustainable Systems
Restorative Land Use: The next agenda for climate mitigation and social justice

The living Earth system is being changed by human activity including land-use and food production. It is time that climate mitigation and adaptation strategies are looked at in a more holistic way and that missing strategies are developed and put in place. The paper refers to research and evidence about land-use and proposes a dynamic systems understanding of the relationships between land-use, livelihood and social justice to inform action, policy and new alliances for change.

Pablo Gilolmo and Agustín Lobo - Center for Social Studies (Coímbra) and Institute of Earth Sciences
On the relationship between land tenure and land degradation. A case study in the Otjozondjupa Region (Namibia) based on satellite data

Discourses promoting the privatization of the commons exist at least since the expansion of the so-called “green revolution” in the 1960's, and are well known thanks to, e.g., Hardin's formulation of the Tragedy of the Commons. Such discourses sustain that communal land tenure necessarily implies a higher degree of environmental degradation as a result of its presumed lack of economic rationality and subsequent inefficient use of natural resources. Livestock-based rural economies on arid and semi-arid regions are blamed for poor grazing strategies, high stocking rates and a “free for all” character, all supposedly concurrent with communal tenure. Namibia is a comfortable niche for this rationale, which in the Otjozondjupa region arguably underpins tangible privatization-like policies. Privatization has been counter-argued and resisted in Southern Africa and many other parts of the world as contributory to poverty increase, dependency deepening, social clash, rural depopulation and ultimately growth of urban slums. Although Hardin's assumptions have already been challenged, the debate is still high on the agenda of international institutions, since policies and interventions promoting privatization still find justification on them. The aim of this paper is to add evidence to this discussion through a case study in a semi-arid region where livestock is the main agrarian activity. We classified land tenure polygons according to climatic conditions in the Otjozondjupa Region (Namibia) and run a stratified analysis of time series of Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) from the Global Inventory Modelling and Mapping Studies (GIMMS). The resulting trends show no evidence of increased surface degradation in communal lands versus other land tenure types and yet, in half of the cases analyzed, plant productivity trends are significantly worse in private lands when compared to open communal land. In this way we show how accurate knowledge about land degradation can contribute to an environmental approach committed to social and agrarian justice, widening the scope and meaning of climate justice by unveiling biased statements.

Bente Hessellund Andersen - Friends of the Earth Denmark
Bioenergy in the EU – a case of internal contradictions driving excess and unequal land use for industrial biomass production

Looking at the development of renewable energy policies in the EU, a number of assumptions are repeated throughout the various policy papers, resolutions and directives, namely that the production and use of renewable energy will contribute to: reduced dependency of imported fossil fuels and increased self-sufficiency; regional development and employment in rural areas; and reduced emissions of greenhouse gases. It is also mentioned frequently as a reason for the increased use of renewable energy that this is generally favoured by the public. In relation to particularly bioenergy, it has all along been intended to play a prominent role in the transition to renewable energy. However, it was always implied that the biomass should be produced from the EU's own resources. Taking these assumptions into account, it becomes apparent that they are undermined by recent years'

development – with constantly increased use of bioenergy and an increasing share of the bioenergy being imported. For instance, although one of the main objectives of the renewable energy policy was – and still is – to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, it did not urge EU decision-makers to change direction when it became obvious that bioenergy did not meet the requirement to reduce emissions when used on a large scale. The EU has been leading the use of bioenergy, and this is largely considered by the public to be steps moving us in the right direction. EU and individual member states' policies are ignoring the documented damages and continuously subsidise the use of bioenergy although this is in direct conflict with the EU (and global) policies on biodiversity, climate and development. It is therefore of utmost importance that the social movements jointly speak out against the large-scale use of bioenergy and explain to the public that bioenergy cannot not be produced "sustainably" when the very scale is unsustainable. Public support was from the beginning a prerequisite for establishing common policies for increased use of renewable energy. Public education is therefore our best hope in order to stop the exploitation of land for bioenergy.

Panel 3: Social and rights perspectives on anthropogenic climate change

Room: 4.25

Chair: Eric Vanhaute, University of Ghent

Des Gasper – International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague

Where are criteria of human significance in climate change assessment?

How important are humanistic principles – judging in terms of all the valued impacts on all people – in assessments of climate change? The paper identifies how interests of vulnerable poor people are often marginalized, even when assessments are made by agencies supposedly accountable within the United Nations system with its commitments to universal human rights and human security. A major case considered is the IPCC Fifth Assessment Report (2014). A second example taken is the debate on impacts on human health from climate change. The burden of proof in climate change politics has been placed on the side of those who warn of dangers, and the precautionary principle often becomes configured in favour of not risking disturbance to the privileged. The paper generates a typology of ways in which vulnerable poor people are marginalized or excluded in climate change analyses. It discusses how this marginalization and exclusion might be countered, including looking at the recent Papal encyclical on the environment, *Laudato Si'*, to ask whether attention to the excluded requires perceptual reorientations of sorts that are not yet found in all human development discourse.

Andrew Fischer - International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague

Redistribution as social justice within the intersection of global governance and climate change mitigation

This conceptual paper addresses the intersection of social justice, global governance principles and climate change mitigation policies from a macro-structuralist perspective, emphasising that the global governance of climate change mitigation must be accompanied by a massive scaling up of redistribution from rich to poor countries as a foundation for substantive social justice. This scaling up must go far beyond the meagre levels witnessed in today's aid system, which has basically failed at instituting any significant degree of global redistribution (which is a different point than right wing critiques of the aid system that are essentially attacks on the principle of redistribution). Instead, what is required is a far more ambitious agenda for genuine redistribution on a global scale. This case is argued in three sections. First, maximising the potential for climate mitigation or, even more radically, for decarbonisation, while also allowing leeway for national development strategies of accumulation and poverty alleviation in poorer countries, requires constructing a capital infrastructure in these countries that would tend to be very import-intensive. Hence, it would require external financing or else risk running aground or being perverted through balance of payments constraints. Second, there is already a tendency in the global economy of siphoning of resources from South to North, in particular through the increasing control over flows of value and wealth by Northern corporations from their commanding positions within international networks. Southern productivity needs to be contextualised from this perspective given the risk that current climate negotiations lock-in the subordination of Southern countries within these global networks, rather than seeking ways for Southern producers to leverage more value for the output and carbon emissions they are already producing. Third, population and labour transitions in the South place relatively greater pressure than in the past on

employment generation in tertiary (service) sectors, in which distributive and redistributive processes play essential roles in bolstering labour demand.

Karijn van den Berg - Utrecht University
Neoliberal Sustainability? The Biopolitical Dynamics of “Green” Capitalism

This paper explores the various discursive strategies that are employed by governments and corporations to stimulate sustainability on an individual level. It critically examines the notion of “sustainable citizenship”: the idea that individuals should help increase social justice and safeguard nature through individual and collective practices (Micheletti, 89). Big corporations, celebrities and activists certify consumer products as a way to take responsibility for (food) production and consumption in a sustainable way. Such activities increasingly reflect the ways in which individual citizens can, and are expected to, become caretakers of the planet in their daily lives. This is for instance reflected in current trends such as eating organic, local and Fair Trade, and in supermarket campaigns to be more sustainable. Such campaigns seem to urge individuals to become sustainable and responsible actors in contributing to the wellbeing of our “Mother Earth”, but only in a manner that seems to be tightly interwoven with neoliberal capitalist agendas, as this paper will explore. To what extent is such an idea and promotion of sustainability actually sustainable and can it contribute to decreasing climate change? Or can and should it rather be dismissed as a neoliberal strategy to control consumers and their choices? And which subjects do actually get such citizen responsibilities? These and other questions will be explored in this paper through the notion of “biopolitics” as conceptualized by Michel Foucault, to look at governing practices, while additionally shifting focus to the actual subjects and actors that are affected by climate change and often left to die. Moreover, in order to move towards a less daunting approach to these pressing issues this paper will bring in Isabelle Stengers’ “cosmopolitical proposal” as a possible entry point and lens onto the contemporary issues of climate change, environmental degradation and the idea of sustainability.

Ben Neimark and Saskia Vermeylen – Lancaster University
Pushing the potential of a human right to science: Low skilled labourers and basic rights in conservation science and bioprospecting

Does everyone have the right to benefit from science? If so, what shape should benefits take? This paper exposes the social inequalities coalescing bioprospecting in Madagascar through a relatively neglected and underexplored Human Right, the right to benefit from Science (HRS). Although underexplored in the literature, it is acknowledged that conservation practices often rely on cheap ‘casual’ labour. In contrast to the critical discourses exposing the exploitation and misappropriation of indigenous peoples’ cultural and self-determination rights in relation to bioprospecting (i.e., biopiracy), the dependency of scientific advancements on the exploitation of a low-skilled labour force has only been scarcely examined and exposed from a human rights perspective. The reliance on cheap labour is not just limited to local biodiversity inventories (e.g. parataxonomists) but a whole set of other workers (ranging from cooks, to porters and logistical support staff) who are contributing (in) directly to the advancements of science, and moreover, whose contribution is barely acknowledged let alone financially remunerated. As precarious workers it is difficult for labourers to use existing national and international labour laws to fight for the recognition of their basic rights, neither can they easily rely on biodiversity and environmental laws such as the Nagoya protocol to negotiate the recognition of their contribution to science. In this paper we draw the attention to the role of the HRS as a legally binding mechanism to protect the basic rights of low skilled workers in biodiversity projects. Drawing upon the call made by the UN Special Rapporteur, Farida Shaheed that the human right to science encompasses (i) the opportunity for all to contribute to scientific research and (ii) the obligation to protect all persons against negative consequences of scientific research, we explore to what extent the HRS can be used to force national governments, research institutions and commercial companies to provide basic labour and social rights.

Panel 4 Land resource grabbing and climate change: A “chicken and egg” situation?
Room: 4.26
Chair: Laurence Roudart, Université Libre de Bruxelles

Nikita Sud - University of Oxford

Flexible governance: Connecting climate disasters and land transactions in India

Chennai, the capital of India's Tamil Nadu, a coastal metropolis of 8.7 million people, was recently deluged by an extreme weather event. The city experienced incessant rain in the wettest November for over a century. The results were catastrophic: the Adyar and Cooum rivers overflowed, 35 lakes breached their banks, and large parts of the city, including the international airport, were submerged. Chennai is suffering the consequences of our long-term abuse of nature. But how the furies of climate change hit us depends on our relationship with nature in the immediate surroundings. The Chennai floods have highlighted rampant disregard of town planning, as also of the basics of hydrology. To spell out some violations: the airport is built on the floodplain of the Adyar river; and the city's famed Information Technology and Knowledge Corridors encompass wetlands that would normally act as a sink for floodwater. Throughout its history, the modern state has sought to control nature via institutions, say through the damming of rivers. But today, with proliferating, competitive pressures on states, land and natural resources have become a pliant reserve for meeting the exacting demands of capital. Even as governments engage formally with private entities to change the face of our cities and hinterlands, there is also the proliferation of informal activity in land and building. National and international firms, a booming real estate industry, and consumers work with brokers, middlemen, government touts, moonlighting officials, political strongmen, and various other intermediaries to acquire and build on land. The informal ecosystem around the land economy offers insights into the processes and practices of 'illegal construction' that is being blamed for Chennai's plight. The government acknowledges that there are 150,000 illegal structures in the city, and 300 tanks and lakes have simply been built over. Informal actors are not beneath the radar of the state. They are tightly integrated with formal state actors and institutions. Land deals move in and out of formality and informality over their lifecycle, and expose the porosity and flexibility of governance mechanisms. This flexible ecosystem of land deals has barely been acknowledged in the global land deals literature, or in governance instruments. Continued neglect does not bode well for formal planning and governance at local, national and global scales.

David Olanya - Gulu University / University of Antwerp

The Politics of Capitalist Enclosures in Nature Conservation: Governing Everyday Politics and Resistance in West Acholi, Northern Uganda

This contribution examines the case of Appa village in the controversial East Madi Wildlife Reserve, how the people are attempting to resist and revoke their eviction by Uganda Wildlife Authority from the newly created Wildlife Game Reserve in 2002. This case analysis presents an important site of struggle illustrating the interplay of rationality [governing], everyday politics and political subjectivities. The legal and right-based practices only serve as interplay between governing and everyday politics through which the emerging subordinating groups is governed. This contribution presents the how power produces resistance against capitalism and its enclosures in West Acholi. This analysis is rooted in that power produces resistance that are embodied in particular actors or social groups emerging to challenge capitalist enclosures. It is presented in Foucault's notion of 'the will not be governed in order to portray the relationship between forms resistance that opposes governmental rationality in nature capital. The analysis is done within the 'analytic protests' of dissent, examining their mentalities, practices, and subjectivities, which constitute forms of resistance. The analytics of protest is empirically mapped around the categorical field of visibility, regimes of knowledge, techniques and technology, and political identity and subjectivities portrayed in West Acholi. In this analysis, mentalities are observed in terms of knowledge, rationalities and rationalities and visibility at the sites of struggle. Observable is how these enclosures movement has generated protests, contestations at the site of demarcations between nature and politico-administrative boundaries in the forms of naked protest. This is further illustrated when subaltern protesters invokes performative and moral registering to the extent of contrasting with or parallel to more scientific truth and rational arguments. Rather resisting enclosures through nature conservation shifts in between everyday politics to radical resistance. At the end, the analysis is focus on the how the state as a strategy can discipline the political society or dissent in multiple ways.

Sara Vigil - Université de Liège

Climate change, land grabbing, and human mobility: Interconnections, governance gaps, and pathways for collective action

Whilst the human rights consequences of land grabbing have been well documented, and the study of the connections between climate change and mobility have made substantial progress, very little attention has been given to the interactions between (in)direct climate change impacts, land grabs, and (im)mobility. Despite the connexions between land rights and migration, and some references to displacement and migration in the existing literature on land grabbing, the complex relationships between these issues still remain theoretically and empirically underexplored. Parting from a multi-case and multi-sited qualitative study in both Senegal and Cambodia, involving more than 150 participants in semi-structured interviews and focus groups affected by five different agribusiness projects, this paper will show how these three major contemporary challenges are interrelated, and what this will entail for governance mechanisms in the future. Notwithstanding context specificities, findings across all areas show that 1/ when land transactions fail to follow a human rights-based framework with full consideration of existing land rights, they result in added socio-environmental pressures that deeply affect forced (im)mobility outcomes, and that 2/ fragmented social movements and governance structures at the national, regional, and global levels on climate change, land rights, and migration hinder the possibility of effective responses to these challenges. Based on Global Public Goods Theory and drawing upon the most recent advances in environmental governance, migration governance, and land governance, this paper will explore the respective limits, pitfalls, and advances of the main governance mechanisms in these arenas, whilst indicating possible pathways for more coordinated action on these crucial and interrelated issues that still remain largely isolated in current research, activist, and policy debates.

Gironde Christophe, Christophe Golay (Geneva Graduate Institute) and Peter Messerli (CDE, University of Bern)

Large-Scale Land Acquisitions: Focus on South-East Asia

Large-scale land acquisition, or 'land grabbing', has become a key research topic among scholars interested in agrarian change, development, and the environment. The term 'land acquisitions' refers to a highly contested process in terms of governance and impacts on livelihoods and human rights. This presentation is based on the book that focuses on South-East Asia. A series of thematic and in-depth case studies put 'land grabbing' into specific historical and institutional contexts. The volume also offers a human rights analysis of the phenomenon, examining the potential and limits of human rights mechanisms aimed at preventing and mitigating land grabs' negative consequences.

Jacobo Grajales – University of Lille

Colombia: will post-conflict lead to land grabbing?

While the agrarian dimension of armed conflicts constitutes a promising research agenda (Cramer and Richards 2011), the growing interest of investors and international organizations in rural land may still add new complexity to the nexus of land and violence. As a matter of fact, the 'convergence of global crises in food, energy finance and the environment has driven a dramatic revaluation of land ownership' (Borras et al. 2011, 209). It has generated new dynamics of commoditization (Burnod et al. 2011, Silva-Castañeda et al. 2015) but it has also created incentives for the design of a global governance regime (Borras et al. 2013, Margulis and Porter 2013). One of the central issues of this growing body of scholarly literature concerns the link between land and processes of peace building and consolidation (Jensen and Lonergan 2012, Unruh and Williams 2013, Young and Goldman 2015). The attention granted to land-related conflicts appears as a pivotal element in the reconstruction of the social and economic fabric, as well as a guarantee for the establishment of durable peace (Bruch et al. 2009). Bearing on a study of the Colombian case, this contribution aims at studying the link between post conflict situations and the political economy of rural land. In Colombia, a post-conflict situation redefines the ways in which social actors can gain access to land resources and reconfigures the link between the domestic market of land allocation and the global market of natural resources. Post conflict is not defined as the mere de-escalation of collective violence. It should be analysed as a new figuration (Elias 1978), because the transformation in the status of violent resources affects the balances of power and the rules of the political game. It should also be seen as a paradigm (Hall 1993, Surel 1995), because it defines the intrinsic nature of social problems and the ways to handle them. The impact of post-conflict can be measured at distinct levels, whether in the formulation of public policies, or in the links between the political centre and the peripheries, or in the access to resources distributed by international cooperation agencies.

Panel 5 Climate change mitigation and the corporate capture of oceans and water

Room: Attic

Chair: Murat Arsel, ISS, The Hague

Mads Barbesgaard - Afrika Kontakt / Lund University

Blue Carbon: Ocean Grabbing in disguise?

While the global rush to control land resources is well established, similar 'power-grabs' in relation to aquatic resources are less well known and researched. Through on-going collaborative work between representatives of fisher peoples' movements, scholar-activists and social justice organisations such processes have recently been coined as 'ocean grabbing'. Increasingly, under the rubric of 'Blue Growth', global policy processes that purportedly align the needs of the poor with profit interests and environmental concerns are being pushed forward by burgeoning alliances of environmental NGOs, the private sector and international institutions. These blue growth policy proposals, drawing on market-based mechanisms, effectively open up for widespread commodification, yet are being advocated as the only 'sustainable' response to the increasingly dire straits of the ocean's 'health'. Coupled with this broader process of 'selling nature to save it', valuation efforts that also take the carbon storage and capture abilities of coastal ecosystems into account are increasingly being pushed as a crucial tool to fight the climate crisis. While proponents guarantee sustainable outcomes, similar market-based conservation efforts on land have had huge socio-ecological consequences for communities on the ground. Will blue growth projects have similar consequences for coastal communities? This contribution will, critically examine the policy proposals flowing from Blue Growth proponents and situate them within the broader discussion on multi-stakeholder governance and ocean grabbing.

Florian Dörr - University of Kassel

Blue Growth and Ocean Grabbing - A historical materialist perspective on fisheries in East Africa

Theoretically, this paper aims to extend the discussion on "green growth" and "land grabbing" to the fisheries sector and the governance of the oceans. Fishing supports the livelihood of hundreds of millions of people globally and the often-marginalized small-scale fishing is making an important contribution to global food security. Even though small-scale fishermen catch more fish per gallon of fuel and produce less by-catch compared with industrial vessels, industrialized countries heavily subsidize their fishing fleets and thus promote overcapacities, destructive fishing methods and a neo-colonial plundering of the oceans for the benefit of the capitalist centres. Every year, about 10 billion US dollars of direct or indirect subsidies in the form of modernization programs or fuel benefits are paid globally, of which 80% benefit fishermen from developed countries. This paper explores the link between the overfishing and pollution of the Somalian coastal waters by foreign industrial fleets after the collapse of the Somali central government in and its inability to control its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) with the surprising appearance of piracy in the twenty-first century. It conceptualizes the UN anti-piracy mission as 'hegemony armoured by coercion' and exemplifies the role of trade agreements and fisheries policy an imperial form of resource extraction. I argue that capitalist core countries attempt to circulate their own crises of over-exploitation and waste production by relocating them geographically to the periphery, which in turn leads to piracy and migration flows. As class based process, I argue that the EU fisheries policy serves the profit interests of European fishing industry with the policy objective of maintaining employment and securing the supply, processing and consumption of raw fish in the European Union by exporting the crisis of overfishing and overcapacity to the global south. The paper concludes that there is a parallel process of imperial and neo-colonial resource extraction enforced by preferential trade agreements as well as a class based implementation of fishery policies that creates financial incentives for fishing fleets and governments to overexploit fish stocks in their exclusive economic zones and beyond.

Jeroen Vos – Wageningen University

The contradictions of corporate water stewardship certification

During the last twenty years the value of export of agricultural products has quadrupled (FAOSTAT, 2015). Agricultural production for export has negatively impacted the environment in many places.

Irrigated agriculture led to depletion and contamination of surface and groundwater bodies. In a response to this, global retailers and agribusiness companies have developed water stewardship standards, mostly as part of existing corporate social responsibility schemes (Waldman and Kerr, 2014). Examples are GlobalGAP, Better Cotton Initiative (BCI), the Round Table on Sustainable Biofuels (RTSB) and the Round Table on Responsible Soy (RTRS). Most products that are produced for the US or European market have one or more certificates. Most standards regard more “efficient” water use as the solution, and therefore often require producers to use drip irrigation. Other water stewardship criteria consider groundwater depletion or water accounting (Vos and Boelens, 2014). The standards are mostly set and monitored by private companies from the Global North. These standards are mostly not effectively monitored (Hazelton, 2014). Nevertheless, the criteria deprive smallholders from export possibilities, because they cannot afford the certification, nor the investment in technology like drip irrigation; or because they are using water from an aquifer that is being depleted. At the same time drip irrigation does not save water, but increases water use and concentrates water use rights in the hands of large multinational agribusiness companies. The hegemonic technocratic discourse about “efficiency” reinforces the neoliberal imaginaries that foment and legitimize national policies that allow and encourage accumulation by large-scale agriculture. Alternative imaginaries of small-scale agriculture for local food sovereignty, income distribution, and local democratic decision-making are not reflected in the global water stewardship standards. Thus, three major contradictions are highlighted in the paper: (1) the standards are a reaction to environmental concerns related to large scale agriculture, but legitimize water depletion and contamination, (2) the environmental labelling of products is based on an idea of “consumer influence”, but reinforce the hegemonic power of the major retailers and agribusinesses, and (3) standards claim a more moral and ethical production, but reinforce an universalistic technocratic discourse about “efficiency”.

Panel 6 Large-scale infrastructure, renewable energy, and extractivism: Development for whom?

Room: 4.42

Chair: Max Spoor, ISS The Hague

Alexander Dunlap - Vrije Universiteit (VU) Amsterdam

“The town is surrounded:’ From Climate Concerns to Life under Wind Turbines in La Ventosa, Mexico

The Mexican government’s unanimous approval of ‘The General Law of Climate Change’ April 2012 made Mexico the second country after the UK to ratify ‘comprehensive’ climate change legislation. This legislation, complementing the national development plan 2007-2012, put forward a commitment to reducing emissions, adaptation and mitigation strategies using Mexico’s natural resources to transition to a green economy. This emphasized harnessing and developing natural and renewable resources such as wind power. The Istmo region of southwest Oaxaca, Mexico was identified as being an excellent site for wind energy in 2003, becoming known as one of the greatest sites for wind turbine development in the world. La Ventosa was among the first towns to experience wind energy development, completing its first park in 2009 and exponentially growing to this day. Currently, La Ventosa sits surrounded by wind turbines and high-tension wires (80-95% enclosed), with some turbines operating 280 meters from houses. Research in this area reveals widespread discontent with the parks. While there are varying benefits for land owners, political authorities and what amounts to token civil works projects. Nevertheless, the majority of people expressed an intense dissatisfaction and apathy towards the wind companies and the local (casique) politics that brought these projects. Instead of collective benefits, the wind parks brought different degrees of health concerns, enormous increases in land, rent, food, and electricity prices as well as drug use and crime. These trends of rural gentrification have created an increase out-migration to find work, contributing to an overall negative impact on the town. While IWT development creates new opportunities for some, the findings demonstrate that renewable energy initiatives encouraged by climate change mitigation policies are intensifying pre-existing negative trends in La Ventosa.

Yukari Sekine - Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research

The case of Dawei Special Economic Zone, Myanmar

The recent political and economic liberalization in Burma/Myanmar, while indicative of some positive steps toward democratization after decades of authoritarian rule, has simultaneously increased foreign and domestic investments and geared the economy toward industrialization and large-scale agriculture. In rural areas, new institutional frameworks governing land, including a new Farmland Law

(2012) and Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law (2012) have effectively created a land market through private land-use property rights and a new registration system with new land administration bodies. In a country permeated by legacies of corruption, coercion and military-linked cronies, land governance procedures and implementation tend to favour the more powerful and well-connected, with little protection mechanism for the majority smallholding farmers in the country. The Dawei Special Economic Zone (SEZ), in the southern Thanintharyi division of Myanmar, to be developed trilaterally with Thai, Myanmar and Japanese investment, is set to become one of the largest industrial zones in Southeast Asia, covering an area of approximately 200km². The project plan includes a deep sea port, industrial estate, power plant and cross-border road and rail link to Thailand. The development of the SEZ, together with land speculation in surrounding areas and other confiscations linked to agricultural concessions, mining and military constructions has been met with collective mobilizations. The paper argues that although resistance against land confiscations are increasingly linked to global trends, such reactions are also responding to an expanding opportunity structure in the national political context. Collective action in the Dawei area takes advantage of histories of activism linked to democratic movements as well as human rights repertoires, social networks and trainings across the border in Thailand. Smallholding farmers, in alliance with activists, are also contesting land confiscations conducted by the military in the 1990s, encouraged by a greater political liberalization and testing the grounds for protest and engagement with the state. These contestations have implications for democratization and the transition of state-society relations more broadly. Although embedded locally, this process engages with transnational networks and alliances as well as global frameworks such as human rights, livelihoods and sustainable development.

Kei Otsuki, Murtah Read and Annelies Zoomers - Utrecht University

Large-scale investments in infrastructure: competing policy regimes to control connections

Global financial and political movements are intensifying to generate large-scale investments in urban and rural infrastructure. The investments are increasingly justified to contribute to climate change mitigation (through 'new generation and green infrastructure') and adaptation (through infrastructure for natural hazards control). At the same time, infrastructure keeps on inducing transformation of landscapes and displacement of people who are seldom guaranteed livelihood security in resettlement processes. Even if the dramatic spatial transformation does not take place, infrastructure such as power connections, water pipes and irrigation channels create service grids that produce fragmented spaces of inclusion and exclusion. Infrastructure can also work to raise land prices, negatively affecting already marginalised communities. In spite of the extensive influence that infrastructure generates on natural resources and social relationships, environmental and social justice frameworks have not been clearly dealing with the nature and extent of infrastructure as a proper unit of study. We discuss that this relative neglect of infrastructure stems from the current justice framework that is not adequate to deal with connectivity that infrastructure produces. Infrastructure is often a synonym to 'public work' but, in reality, its construction and management entail mobilisation of extensive networks of public and private sectors, local organisations, users and non-users. With the involvement of various actors, locations of development and spaces of negotiations are interconnected. Consequently, the question of who are accountable for the 'public work' becomes blurred. In addition, new ventures financed by emerging financial regimes such as the Chinese-led multilateral Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank keep on emerging, reshaping existing relationships between different policy regimes to ensure accountability, sustainability and inclusivity. Existing international cooperation programs are in fact gearing towards private-sector led infrastructure implementation and management, while trying to engage in national governments and global governance. Drawing on three infrastructure projects supported by the Dutch international cooperation – irrigation (rural) and port access road (urban) projects in Mozambique, and drinking water provision (urban-rural) in Vietnam – we propose to look into how different actors interact as infrastructure produces and connects spaces of inclusion and exclusion.

Giuseppina Siciliano and Frauke Urban – SOAS, University of London

Hydropower development and natural resource allocation between competing users and uses: evidence from Asia and Africa

In the pursuit of climate change mitigation and energy access hydropower is experiencing a new renaissance (World Bank, 2013). In the last years, new large hydropower projects have been planned

all over the world. Southeast Asia and Africa are the most targeted continents. In Southeast Asia, 72 new projects have been planned in Laos, 10 in Sarawak, Malaysia and at least 60 new projects are under consideration in Burma and in Cambodia. Moreover, many large hydropower dams are being built or considered in sub-Saharan Africa (International Rivers, 2014). Despite the importance of large dams for improving energy access in energy poor countries, water provision for irrigation and the production of clean energy, the interrelated dynamics between human populations and the environment are severely affected by the construction of big infrastructure projects such as dams (WCD, 2000). The severity of adverse impacts on local populations depends to some extent on how mitigation strategies are being implemented to secure a balanced natural resource access between competing users and uses. This paper aims to discuss the impacts of large dams on natural resource access and local resource use competition between different uses (food, energy, livelihoods) and users (villagers, urban settlers, local government and dam builders) in selected case studies in Asia and Africa, namely Kamchay dam in Cambodia, Bakun dam in Malaysia and Bui dam in Ghana. All dams are financed and built by Chinese banks and companies, highlighting the importance of Chinese actors in the hydropower sector in Asia and Africa. Linkages between water and land use, energy production and access, food security and governance of the impacts are at the core of the analysis. The paper illustrates from a political ecology perspective how divergence between national priorities of energy production and local development needs can result in the unequal distribution and conflicts over access to resources, such as water, land, forest between the national and local scales, as well as rural and urban areas. The analysis draws on extensive research and fieldwork in Cambodia, Ghana, Malaysia and China funded by the UK Economics and Research Council's (ESRC) Rising Powers programme.

Gordon Crawford - Coventry University
Conflict, collusion and corruption in small-scale gold mining in Ghana

The global rush to grab resources took an unexpected turn in Ghana recently. With the hike in gold prices from 2008 onwards, a large influx of foreign miners, especially from China, entered into the artisanal and small-scale mining sector (ASM), despite it being 'reserved for Ghanaian citizens' by law. Thus all were working on an illicit basis. An astonishing free-for-all ensued in which Ghanaian and Chinese miners engaged in contestation and conflict over access to gold, as well as collusion and collaboration, a situation described as 'out of control' and characterised by 'a culture of impunity' at its height in 2012 and 2013. Chinese miners in particular, numbering tens of thousands, introduced mechanisation and new technology, resulting in irrevocable changes to this traditional economic sector in a short space of time. Further, the intensification of mining caused incalculable environmental damage to both land and water bodies. Where was the state in this context? The government was very slow to respond, despite increasing media coverage of local conflicts and environmental destruction. Finally President Mahama established a Task Force to 'flush out' illegal miners, a military-style operation with the deportation of almost five thousand Chinese miners and small numbers of other nationalities. Yet the state was not absent pre-Task Force. Foreign miners were able to operate with impunity because they were protected by those in authority, i.e. public officials, politicians and chiefs, in return for private payments. Various state institutions failed in their responsibilities. Yet this was not due to weakness or lack of capacity. Rather public officials 'turned a blind eye' to illicit gold mining in return for a share in the 'millions of dollars' being made. Public office becomes a means of private accumulation rather than public service. The consequences of resource injustice for low-income rural Ghanaians who depend on ASM are explored, with discussion of the formalisation and regularisation of the sector that is required in order to achieve greater resource justice. The paper is based on fieldwork undertaken in 2014.

Panel 7 The global food system: Exploring new governance recipes from above and from below
Room: 4.39
Chair: Rachel Bezner Kerr

Laura Pereira - University of Stellenbosch
Mapping domains of food consumption: a conceptual tool for appreciating multiple perspectives within food system governance

Discourse on food systems is overly characterised by dichotomies such as farmers and consumers, urban and rural, and subsistence and surplus. These divisions have largely influenced the governance responses to the system, locating and limiting them within one of these dichotomies without recognising the complexities of the broader system. This is problematic because of the rapid changes that food systems are facing through globalisation, financialisation and 'modernisation'. This paper provides a conceptual framework that connects multiple understandings of the food system in order to make positionality more explicit and through this to open up decision-making. The framework is informed by two distinct definitions of the term food 'regime.' The first refers to political economy analysis by Friedmann and McMichael, which seeks to link international modes of food production and consumption to specific periods of capitalist accumulation or regimes. The second emerges from social-ecological systems theory where a regime refers to the combination of variables that constrain the way in which systems function and can be structured. The domains of food consumptions (DFC) framework uses these regime definitions to illustrate a set of domains through which people access food. In South Africa, there are two main axes defining the landscape within which food is consumed: the level of formality of value chains and the degree of food processing. This defines four quadrants: direct subsistence from agriculture/ gardens, informal retail, formal retail and 'restaurants' where prepared food is consumed. It is possible for different groups to map their perspectives of the different domain characteristics of each of these sectors. Using this framework, it is shown how various groups can map their own research or interests across various domains, as well as mark areas of intervention that can shift domains. Thus the DFC framework can be a governance tool for recognising multiple interests in the food system ranging from the food sovereignty movement to retailers. This paper develops the ideas behind the framework and references specific research and food movement groups that fit into each of the domains. It sets an agenda for furthering the framework to address specific governance outcomes for different interest groups, including government, research and civil society.

Mikael Bergius - Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU)

Expanding the Corporate Food Regime in Africa through Agricultural Growth Corridors: The Case of Tanzania

Agricultural growth corridors (AGC) have emerged as one of the key initiatives through which the corporate food regime seeks to expand its reach in Africa. Conceptualized as the concentration of agricultural industries and other relevant institutions – representing the entire value-chain – along a defined area of 'underutilized' lands, AGC's are by promoters thought to bring significant triple-win potential through poverty and food insecurity reduction, environmental protection, and corporate profits. Through the lens of the corporate food regime, this paper will analyze the introduction of an AGC in Tanzania: The Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor (SAGCOT). The SAGCOT initiative builds on the idea that the potential for a triple-win can be realized by making agriculture a business rather than development activity by linking smallholders to global agribusinesses especially through 'nucleus farm and outgrower arrangements'. The paper builds on empirical research carried out in Tanzania between August and January in 2013/14, in addition to a shorter fieldwork period in November 2014.¹ I argue that while smallholder farmers are held forward as the main beneficiaries of SAGCOT, the initiative has from the onset been driven from the top formed through the visions and needs of global agribusiness corporations. Hence, SAGCOT risks facilitating a subsumption of Tanzanian agriculture to global capital and may signify a 'control grab' whereby small-scale farming households risks surrendering their autonomy and rights to land and other vital resources. In laying out this argument, the paper will proceed by first examining how the initiative came into being and its overall set-up, before critical attention is turned towards the 'nucleus farm and outgrower arrangement' focusing predominantly on the issue of land.

Lydia Medland - University of Bristol

Misconceiving 'seasons' in global food systems: The case of the EU Seasonal Workers Directive

Global food production occurs at the intersection between ecological and social systems. As agents negotiating the relationships between social and ecological systems, food workers and farmers are caught between ecological rhythms and those of market and policy contexts. Two such dynamics at this intersection are seasonal production and circular labour migration. In this article I will consider changing dynamics of seasonal production in one case of counter-seasonal horticultural production, El

Ejido, Southern Spain. I use considerations of contemporary growing 'seasons' and seasonal migrant work to reflect on the new EU Seasonal Workers Directive. I argue that there is a mismatch between needs related to seasonal work and policies such as this Directive, which promote circular migration between regions of the Global North and South (such as between Spain and Morocco). The EU Seasonal Workers Directive is an instrument of both immigration and labour law. Although it covers all areas of seasonal work, earlier policy documents indicate that migrant work in agriculture was a particular focus for regulation in the development of the Directive. Seasonal work and circular migration can be seen as concepts that mutually support one another in this policy context. I consider how they underlie several of the problematic elements of the Directive. I look at particular problematic points such as: the lack of options for undocumented migrants already working in agriculture in the region who may become further marginalised; the potential for 'circular' migrants arriving to work in the EU to fall into an undocumented situation due to weak protections outlined in the Directive; and the weak protections attributed to seasonal workers in comparison to other categories of labour migrants in the EU. I argue that these and other points contribute to the creation and legal legitimization of a second class workforce in agriculture with weaker recognition of their human and labour rights. Underlying this I show how in relation to sites of production within global food systems, the notion of seasonality may be used in the policy context in a way that is damaging for migrant workers in agriculture and unhelpful for farmers.

Anika Mahla - University of Duisburg-Essen
The German Media Discourse on the (New) Green Revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa

The study reconstructs the latest discourse on the (New) Green Revolution on the German press by using an argumentative and narrative approach of discourse analysis. Shortly before the latest food crisis the Alliance for a Green Revolution (AGRA) was initiated in 2006 by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) and the Rockefeller Foundation. AGRA aims to eradicate poverty and hunger with the adoption of a "market-led technology" approach (Toenniessen et al. 2008: 233). The key question is: Which stories (narratives) and actors with similar positions (discourse coalitions) exist concerning the (New) Green Revolution in Sub-Saharan-Africa? It is stated that there are two different major stories: on the one hand an affirmative coalition of actors in favor for the industrialization of agriculture and on the other hand a critical coalition which prefers agro ecological alternatives. The affirmative coalition stresses the importance of productivity, growth, technologies, chemical inputs, competitive markets and value chains in order to reach food security. Central exemplary actors are multilateral institutions (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, International Fund for Agricultural Development), agribusiness companies (Monsanto, Cargill), nonprofit actors (AGRA) and research institutions (Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research). The critical coalition instead uses the concept of food sovereignty in order to claim the importance of access to land and other resources (e.g. seed) as well as the empowerment of people. In their view a democratization of the food system and hence participation are crucial pillars for a multifunctional agriculture which focuses on local production and environmental sustainability. International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IASSTD) is a classical actor invoicing alternative positions. Others are the former Special Rapporteur on the right to food, the peasant organization Vía Campesina and the Landless Worker's Movement (MST). The similarities and differences between these coalitions are outlined on the basis of the underlying storylines, actant structures and value-oppositions. In result a hegemony of the affirmative story can be shown and hence the demand for further industrialization of the food system, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

PARALLEL SESSIONS II

4 February 14:15 – 15:45

Panel 8 Global Governance of 'Illicit' Drug Crops: Changing Perceptions and the Challenges at the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on the World Drug Problem
Room: 3.25
Chair: Cristobal Kay, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Eric Gutierrez – Christian Aid (UK) and International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) The Hague
Drugs and Illicit Practices: Assessing Its Impact on Development and Governance

This paper explores the key difficulties facing drug control policy. The illicit commerce in drugs remains consistently paradoxical because it defies the categories that have been constructed for a systematic understanding of what it is. Drug traffickers are considered outlaws and 'outsiders', yet their very survival depends on remaining as 'insiders', with links to local communities, legitimate firms, and government institutions. It is not rare to find career criminals running for public office, and becoming the democratic choice of fully informed voters. The presence of illicit commerce is typically interpreted as a sign of state weakness, chaos, and violence. Yet as recent case studies have shown, this is not always the case: in certain instances and under certain conditions, illicit commerce and the corruption it entails could lead to political consolidation, for better or for worse. Hence, the illicit commerce in drugs could not be explained exclusively in terms of law-like generalizations. Poor households growing the crops, drug traffickers protecting the trade, and law enforcement agencies enforcing eradication rarely anticipate, let alone control, especially in the long term, the outcomes of their plans and decisions. There is such great discrepancy between design and outcome that 'unintended consequences' have become a regular occurrence. The paper concludes by proposing that global drug control policy needs to go beyond the narrative of prohibition vs. legalisation if it is to take a first step at resolving the conundrum it is facing.

Jacobo Grajales- University of Lille, France. Centre for European Research on Administration, Politics and Society.

Legalising the Illegal in Colombia: Criminals as Political Actors

This study discusses the details of how criminals become political actors on one hand, and how political actors become criminals on the other. It shows that wherever there is an accumulation of power and capital, opportunities emerge that both criminal and political actors can exploit to their mutual advantage. The discussion contributes to a theory for understanding the resilience and expansion of the drugs trade by showing how criminal actors, far from being outlaws operating outside the state, actually participate in the regular functioning of public institutions and at the same time are also actors in the legal economy – something often missed despite its prevalence, thus creating huge blind spots in analysis. In particular, this paper on Colombia brings up how drug traffickers took advantage of the franchise sold by the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia) or AUC, the country's federation of counter-guerrilla paramilitary groups. As in business enterprise, the AUC 'franchise' gave the buyer the right to use the AUC name, insignias, and official military ranks and titles within the federation. The buyers could avoid criminal charges and extradition on drug charges to the US, because they can claim that their drug-trafficking was a form of fund-raising for a political cause. In other words, the franchise turned common mobsters, for a fee, into armed political actors involved in counter-insurgency, who may even be able to demand seats on the peace negotiation table.

Mariam Morid- International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) The Hague

Opium meets Development: Exploring "the Opium Question" in Contemporary Afghanistan

In light of the forthcoming April 2016 UNGASS, it has been repeatedly emphasized that a change of the global order on drug policy should be made. Any outcome of UNGASS, whether reform or business as usual, will have essential developmental impacts on Afghanistan's economy, and especially on those involved in the agricultural production side of the opium economy that is farmers and farm-workers. Thus, the relevance of engaging with what is framed here as the "opium question", that is the forms in which the opium economy, its social relations and politics, shape and are in turn shaped by broader political dynamics of state-building. Particularly, this paper explores the ways in which counter-narcotics schemes, state-building and development shape each other in contemporary Afghanistan. This initial investigation of the nature and the political economy of counter-narcotics in Afghanistan aims to contribute to the debate on drug policy reform at national and international scales. In so doing, it abounds on counter-narcotics efforts in Afghanistan and examines the interplay of political actors since the military intervention in 2001. The paper discusses the initially dominant counter-narcotics approach, categorized here as that of "War on Opium", and articulated through an opium farming eradication strategy. Outcomes of this strategy are briefly argued as those shaping the

move to what is considered here as the emergent counter-narcotics approach of “Development for Opium”, ranging from around 2009 until today, and articulated through an alternative livelihoods strategy. It argues that this can be considered a “positive” kind of strategy, which seeks consent by opium farmers by means of (economic) developmental discourse as the preferred mechanism of implementation. The repertoire of actions is now allegedly broader and centered on opium crop-substitution. Discussions of the autonomy and capacity have been used to shine light on certain groups steering the current Afghan state to implement a counter-narcotics strategy beyond a ‘sectorial policy’ of opium combat and contributing to their state- building project. A project which, arguably, relies on (rural) livelihood improvement to strive for the pacification of Afghanistan’s majority of agrarian (an allegedly “unruly”) population.

Pien Metaal-Transnational Institute (TNI) Amsterdam

Grassroots contributions from coca, poppy and cannabis farmers to the 2016 UN General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on the World Drug Problem

The global policies for drug control are currently under review, with a new set of responses due to be approved at the forthcoming UN General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on the World Drug Problem in New York, from April 19-21, 2016. The UNGASS is being held three years ahead of schedule at the request of a few Latin American countries, who want more effective responses to drug trafficking. There is disquiet that the current approach and strategies are failing. Despite all the massive resources and huge efforts expended over the years, including a US-led ‘war on drugs’ since 1971 to achieve a ‘drugs-free world’, the commerce in illicit drug crops continues to adapt, expand, and distribute rewards across national borders. It is now virtually shaping the economies, governance, and the social fabric of entire nations. During a meeting in The Netherlands, small scale farmers of cannabis, coca and opium from 14 countries discussed their contribution to the UNGASS. The UNGASS will discuss all aspects of global drug control policies, including the worldwide ban on the cultivation of coca, poppy and cannabis, an issue the Global Farmers Forum demands that their voices be heard and taken into account.

Panel 9 Finance meets land resources: Historical trajectories and contemporary dynamics

Room: 3.26

Chair: Bridget O’Laughlin, ISS, The Hague

Elisa Greco - University of Manchester

Subordinate financialisation, agribusiness and the restructuring of rice farming in Tanzania and Uganda

The restructuring of the food-feed-fuel complex after the 2007/8 financial crisis has intensified the pre-existing dominance of South African agribusiness in East African countries which, being at the margins of the global financial system, are still influenced by its dynamics. The paper presents empirical material on role of private equity funds in the restructuring of rice farming areas in East Africa and it draws on cases of private equity fund involvement in Tanzania and Uganda, highlighting existing connections among financialisation of farmland and the devalorisation of labour. The two cases are then analysed to discuss the usefulness of the concept of subordinate financialisation (Lapavitsas 2010).

Christelle Genoud - University of Lausanne

Finance and land grabbing: the impact of sustainability certifications on human rights compliance in Latin America

The purpose of this project is to shed light on the relationships between finance and human rights through case studies of land grabbing in Latin America seen from the angle of multi-stakeholder biofuels certifications. To what extent have finance-led regulations impacted actors’ behaviour in ways that have shaped human rights compliance and therefore contributed to change on the ground? To answer to this question, we will analyze the significance of local contexts in conditioning the perspectives of implementation of sustainable biofuels certifications. In the academic literature, the relationship between finance and land grabbing has been mainly studied through the 2007-2008 food crisis, which created high price volatility and land speculation. However, land grabbing isn’t a new

phenomenon and the impact of finance on land grabbing isn't limited to speculation and investment. Resistance to large-scale land acquisitions has prompted various types of regulations either from the UN system or from multi-stakeholders initiatives (MSI). The latter, in which our project assumes finance plays a major role, responds to claims made by those struggling against large-scale acquisition by focusing on biofuels certifications and standardisations. The various social and ecological consequences of biofuels production, including land grabbing, have indeed been widely analysed in the academic literature. Moreover, the multi-stakeholder certifications of biofuels' legitimacy, their content, and the power relations shaping and positioning them have been a topic of concern for scholars. In addition, their ability to generate change, have also been analysed in the context of the emergence of a "global integrated biofuel network". However, their impact in terms of changes at the local level has not been adequately studied either from a bottom-up perspective or through case studies. These lacunae are especially striking for the Latin American region. This is because the cycles of land grabbing and centuries of land reform in Latin America provide both a longitudinal dimension to the problem as well as the possibility for specific case studies on land grabbing dynamics.

Eric Vanhaute and Hanne Cottyn - Ghent University

The Great Commodification. A Historical, Comparative and Global Perspective on Land Regimes and Land Reforms

This presentation applies a comparative and global perspective to regional trajectories of land reforms and rural change within a globalizing world (18th -21st centuries). The struggle over the allocation of (rights over) resources between owners of the land, users of the land and state structures acts as a centripetal force behind the intertwining of the rural areas with global processes of capitalist incorporation. The commodification of land is shaped by and has shaped different though connected regional histories of incorporation for about five centuries now. This process intersects with other historical developments, such as economic transformations in view of increasing resource competition, ecological changes, increasing state control and the social reorganization of peasant livelihoods, in which peasant and indigenous peoples appear as active negotiators rather than mere objects of assimilation or segregation. New public regulations pertaining to land use have been a primary tool for opening access to labor and commodity production. State-induced land reforms have acted as a crucial instrument in the deepening and widening of centralized land regimes and can be adopted as revealing research entries for historical, comparative and global analyses of trajectories of rural transformation. Bringing the regional trajectories of rural transformation into dialogue enhances our understanding of how shifting regulations of access and property rights over land mould into interconnected, "uneven" and intensely negotiated trajectories.

Oane Visser - International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Running out of farmland? Investment discourses, unstable land values and the sluggishness of asset making

This article critically analyzes the assumption that land is becoming increasingly scarce and that, therefore, farmland values are bound to rise across the globe. It investigates the process of land value creation, as well as its flipside: value erosion and stagnation, looking at the various mechanisms involved in each. As such, it is a study of how the financialization of agriculture affects the process of land commoditization. I show that, for farmland to be turned into an asset, a whole range of conditions have to be fulfilled, presenting a typology of asset making in the context of farmland. Asset making, like commoditization, is a process of assemblage, and it is less straightforward and less stable than generally assumed. Further, I argue that 'asset making' is not a one-way process. The article is based on an analysis of global data on land values and the case of farmland investment in post-Soviet farmland (Russia and Ukraine).

Panel 10 Social justice perspectives on the governance food and bio-mass amidst convergent crises

Room: 3.42

Chair: Mindi Schneider, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Les Levidow – Open University, UK

Flexibilising global agri-biomass value chains: a techno-market fix for resource burdens?

The bioeconomy 'value web' concept has been promoted as a means to make production systems more resource efficient and economically competitive. In the value web concept, various industrial sectors will become mutually dependent on each other for raw materials, energy and products. 'Value web' emphasizes a continuous strategic flexibility in sourcing raw materials and converting them into various products – by contrast to the familiar 'value chain', implying stable linear relationships. As foreseen by the World Economic Forum and other lobby organisations, a future bioeconomy will depend on technoscientific advance towards an 'integrated, diversified biorefinery', whose development has been massively funded by the EU and US. Thanks to a modular design, the same capital investment can flexibly convert various non-edible feedstock in response to variations in feedstock supplies, their price and market opportunities. In this flexible future, a value web offers African countries new opportunities to supply biomass – if only their governments change traditional land-tenure arrangements to facilitate agro-industrial production systems. This change is promoted as a means to overcome malnutrition by inserting producers into global markets. Such a win-win scenario can be imagined as plausible only by blaming resource inefficiency for societal problems (resource burdens, malnutrition, unfair distribution, etc.). Yet technoscientific innovation towards resource-efficient biorefineries has the same drivers as previous innovations expanding global markets for food, feed, fuel, etc. Their harmful effects have many historical precedents: Eco-efficient techno-fixes have intensified the resource problems that they were meant to alleviate, especially through rebound effects (originally called the Jevons Paradox). Global space has been reorganised through dispossession (e.g. land grabs, resource commoditization, cheap labour and materials, etc.) as a basis for new technology to become profitable. For socio-political forces resisting dispossession, several implications follow: Given the widespread claims for more flexible, efficient use of natural resources, especially through technoscientific advance, we must pose critical questions: What are the underlying drivers of a 'value web' future? How do techno-fixes disguise the basis of resource conflicts? How should research agendas start from different problems than inefficiency? How can technoscientific knowledge facilitate a different future based on commons and environmental justice?

Markus Kroger - University of Helsinki

The global governance of flex trees: considerations for environmental, agrarian and social justice

With the rise of 'bioeconomy', trees are receiving increasing attention. This paper conducts a preliminary analysis of the governance challenges and issues in the rise of new, flexible and multiple uses of trees, from the viewpoint of agrarian political economy/ecology. It assesses the potential political impacts involved in this transformation, which is simultaneously ongoing, anticipated and imagined. Notes are offered on the issues to be considered when the flex-crop framework is operationalized to include the study of trees, and additional conceptualizations that help in analysing the political economy of tree uses are provided. Areas needing further empirical study are identified and a preliminary governance agenda is suggested. The flexible and multiple use of trees and tree-derived commodities is having a large impact on power relations in the global political economy of forestry and the forest industry, the asymmetry of which is based on who is best able to flex or de-multiply, thereby controlling commodity webs and processing technology. It is argued that while flexing seems to increase diversity, in practice it typically increases this only for the processing industry; the converse occurs in terms of the unification of the productive base into monocultures. However, these two processes go hand in hand, and illustrate how flexing is a deeply capitalist process. The losers in this process tend to be environmentalists that would like to preserve rich biodiversity, all the other species lost with the biodiversity, communities who do not have strong land tenure, and soils. The Paris December 2015 agreement promises particularly challenging times for governing the issue of flex trees: several parts of the agreement, and signatory countries' claims after the meeting, suggest that 'carbon capture' by tree plantations, and other new tree uses, will become a huge issue in the coming years. In the absence of a global governance structure for this new global regime of flex trees, problems are bound to accumulate. Some of the key issues for governance are considered in this paper.

Global Production Webs and Transnational Spaces: Organising Flex Crop Workers in the Palm Oil Industry

Oliver Pye, Bonn University, oliver.pye@uni-bonn.de

One reason for the dominance of flex crops in agribusiness and energy markets is that exploitation levels make them globally competitive. But labour agency plays a negligible role in discussions on global governance (where ILO standards or CSR approaches are preferred) or in the movement for climate justice (where grassroots movements of small scale farmers are more prominent). But labour struggles will need to be a key element of socio-ecological transformation strategies in flex crop industries such as palm oil. This paper looks first at the historical and structural reasons for the low levels of union and political organisation in the palm oil sector. It then analyses forms of everyday resistance that are being practised particularly by the migrants who make up much of the workforce in the plantations and mills in Malaysia. It argues that the migrant networks and the transnational social spaces produced by them could provide the basis for spatially innovative organising strategies. Based on results from in-depth empirical research and ongoing action research with new trade union initiatives, the paper ends by exploring potential organising strategies that could link workers across transnational spaces and up the global production networks.

Naomi Hossain and Patta Scott-Villiers - IDS Sussex
Life in a time of food price volatility: popular politics and global governance

While the everyday lives of people on low and precarious incomes have been adjusting in different ways to higher food prices since the global price spikes of 2007-11, people in distinctly different settings are experiencing some common changes in their relationships to food. Relations to the production and consumption of food have become sharply commodified and customary rights relating to food are facing new challenges. Drawing on primary research into the sociology of recent food shocks, this paper will explore patterns of change in everyday life since the global food price spikes/rises of the early 21st century, with a focus on the implications for the popular political culture and global governance of food. The paper is based on longitudinal work in selected sites in low and lower middle-income countries between 2011 and 2015. This work sought to get beneath the global picture of food economies and hunger and nutrition statistics, to build a fine-grained, actor-oriented account of the mechanisms (or causes) of change through repeated rounds of research into the lived experiences of price spikes and how they were changing individual, domestic, local and national food practices. The paper will provide evidence to show how and why relationships between people and food have become commodified and discuss the implications of a more market-based relationship to food for family life, care work and how well people are eating. It will set these findings against the functioning of the local moral economy: including a 'common sense' understanding of the right to food, relating to protection during episodes of dearth, hunger or food quality risks, and the corresponding obligations of communities, families, and public authorities to act. The critical challenge is for global governance, including human rights approaches, to protect the right to food against likely future volatility, while promoting the vital functioning of local moral economies and popular political cultures in relation to food.

Panel 11 Systemic crises for whom? Inquiring multiple actors' responses from the BRICS countries
Room: 4.25
Chair: Max Spoor, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Jiayi Zhou - Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
Russia, China, and Evolving Food Geopolitics

This article will overview the evolving agricultural foreign relations of Russia and China, with regional and global markets, as well as between each other, since the beginning of the 2000s. As nations that have faced embargoes or otherwise suffered in agricultural terms during Cold War food wars or in post-Cold War economic liberalization, both countries have viewed the international market with a certain amount of suspicion: as non-neutral neoliberal spaces of political and geo-economic context in which the North (i.e. West) dominates. Food security is explicitly a matter of national security in both countries, and food self-sufficiency is therefore prioritized. The agricultural sector is seen through a securitized and politicized prism both domestically and in each country's foreign relations, and their perception of the external environment matters a great deal in state agricultural policies – but their current trajectories are divergent. In Russia, currently, the downturn in relations with the West contributes to and buttresses its drive for agricultural autarky. China, on the other hand, is slowly

liberalizing its agricultural sector for a variety of reasons. But this liberalization is also facilitated by an easing perception of its external environment in geopolitical terms. Another key example of how traditional inter-state relations shape agricultural trade and investment relations, are also the relations between the two countries themselves. Despite the 'strategic partnership' between Russia and China, issues of land and resources are highly fickle and sensitive to local and national political discourse. Overall, this paper will build on the still limited research on critical geopolitics in agricultural trade relations, by detailing how two of the most important emergent and increasingly established agropowers and BRICS countries are challenging older configurations of power, but more generally how they engage with domestic, regional, and global agriculture systems through a national (geo)-political lens. It is a case study of how cooperative and competitive dynamics are evolving in a world in which nation-states and political divisions remain relevant, especially as agricultural resource scarcity and constraints become more prominent.

Lidia Cabral, Arilson Favareto, Langton Mukwereza and Kojo Amanor – IDS Sussex
Brazil's agricultural politics in Africa: More Food International and the disputed meanings of 'family farming'

Brazil's influence in agricultural development in Africa has become noticeable in recent years. South-South cooperation is one of the instruments for engagement, and affinities between Brazil and African countries are invoked to justify the transfer of technology and public policies. In this paper, we take the case of one of Brazil's development cooperation programs, More Food International (MFI), to illustrate why policy concepts and ideas that emerge in particular settings, such as family farming in Brazil, do not travel easily across space and socio-political realities. Taking a discourse-analytical perspective, we consider actors' narratives of family farming and the MFI program, and how these narratives navigate between Brazil and three African countries – Ghana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. We find that in Brazil, family farming has multiple meanings that expose contrasting visions of agricultural development as determined by history, geography and class-based power struggles. These multiple meanings are reflected in the disparate ways MFI is portrayed and practiced by Brazilian actors who emphasize commercial opportunity, political advocacy, or technological modernization. We also find that African countries adopt their own interpretations of family farming and MFI, and that these are more attuned with mercantilist and modernization perspectives, and less mindful of Brazil's domestic political struggles. This has prompted a reaction from those on the Brazilian side fighting for an alternative agricultural development trajectory. The significance of this reaction is yet to be determined.

Ryan Nehring - Cornell University
Politicizing Agricultural Science and Technology: The Alliance of the State, Capital and Science in the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa)

Public agricultural research plays a fundamental role in the transformation of agrarian landscapes around the world. The global nature of technologies produced at these institutions provides a crucial look at how the politics of agricultural science and technology is linked to the political economy of agrarian change. This paper historicizes the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa), a public research institution that has overseen the transformation of Brazilian agriculture. Over the past forty years, their work in the Cerrado took Brazil from being a net agricultural importer to now one of the world's largest exporters. This paper uses the case of Embrapa's work in the Cerrado to analyze the global politics of agricultural research and to understand the ways in which U.S. science was strategically used to underpin Brazil's agricultural transformation. I argue that the material conditions of the Cerrado combined with foreign interests to produce an agricultural research institution capable of converting the region's scrubland into the modern agribusiness utopia it is today. The paper is based on over twenty interviews with Embrapa staff and archival work conducted in Brazil and the United States. Within the context of the Green Revolution, U.S. philanthropic organizations and the government worked in Brazil during the 1950s and 1960s to figure out the basic scientific problems in the Cerrado and to lay the institutional groundwork necessary for wholesale agricultural modernization of the region. This paper extends the geographical and ideological basis of the Green Revolution into Brazil and demonstrates how the alliance between the state, capital and science constructs access to natural resources and creates new agrarian frontiers. While there has been numerous scholarship on

the consequences of the Green Revolution, little attention has been paid to the legacies of public agricultural research, like Embrapa, in the continued transformation of agrarian landscapes. As Brazil rises on the global stage as an agricultural powerhouse, Embrapa is increasingly being used as a tool of foreign policy abroad. Their activities in over 40 countries throughout the developing world signify an important shift for how science and technology is being used to remake agriculture in the tropics.

Yunan Xu and Natalia Mamonova – International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Neither romantic peasants nor bloody capitalists: 'double cycles' of the small-scale Chinese farming in Russia

Whereas China's large-scale land acquisitions for agricultural and biofuel production, pejoratively called 'land grabbing', caught public attention worldwide, the cross-boundary migration of Chinese farming population slips under the radar. Meanwhile, these private small-scale land investments by Chinese citizens occur on a large scale and have a significant socio-economic impact on the host country. This research analyses the expansion of Chinese small-scale farming in Russian countryside, and discusses the process of cross-boundary farmers' migration within the global land grab debates. Based on the primary data, obtained through fieldwork in the Stavropol Krai (Southern Russia) in 2014, and secondary data analysis, we revealed that Chinese small-scale farming in Russia share many common characteristics, which are deviated from general discourses on land grabbing and China's foreign land investments as the 'rice bowls' for its national food security. We introduce and develop the concept of 'double cycles' of Chinese farmers' runaway capitalism. The first cycle is not associated with the orthodoxies of land grabbing: migrated Chinese and native Russian farmers resort to similar land accumulation strategies and do not directly compete with each other for land and associated resources. Chinese farmers, however, use farm inputs, technologies and traditions from China, which make their products cheaper and more competitive in Russian agricultural markets. Their profit is not invested to expand the production, as in capitalist societies, but is sent to China to maintain the subsistence of left-behind families, which represents the second cycle of runaway capitalism. Therefore, Chinese small-scale farmers are neither romantic peasants nor bloody capitalists. This study critically assesses social, economic and environmental impacts of Chinese small-scale farming in Russia and distinguishes rhetoric from reality concerning the scale, geography, goals, and production modes of Chinese migrant farmers. Our findings contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the character and trajectory of the global land rush and will help to disaggregate different actors, hidden under the name 'China' as the land grabber.

Panel 12 "Grassrooting" meanings of global natural resource governance

Room: 4.26

Chair: Des Gasper, ISS, The Hague

James Angus Fraser - Lancaster University

Recognition for Justice in Post-Colonial Tropical Forests of Amazonia and West Africa

Most people living in tropical forests are now citizens in post-colonial nation states modeled on Western liberal democracies. Citizenship is then formally based on equal rights to property and autonomy, yet in such countries both indigenous and postcolonial forms of injustice are perpetuated in an unequal distribution of land rights and freedom for different cultural and socio-economic groups – so called "differentiated citizenship". This paper presents a recognition-centered justice framework in order to make visible and help to understand occluded injustices in land and autonomy experienced by two very different subaltern populations, one in South America and West Africa. I ground the framework by tracing contrastive ideas behind the modern concept of the citizen in Locke (natural property rights) and Hegel (property as the means for self-realisation). Then, drawing on the work of Axel Honneth, I argue that a Hegelian notion of citizenship holds the most potential to make increased freedom through recognition possible whilst remaining within the framework of liberal states and governance. I illustrate the utility of this conceptual framework by using it to examine two ethnographic case studies. The first explores the politics of recognition in Brazilian Amazonia, focusing in particular on the positive and negative emancipatory potential of the extension of land rights on the basis of claims to indigeneity. The second investigates the conflicts over rights to land and self-determination between Loma youth and elders in NW Liberia, and the ways in which this was transformed by youth

participation in the recent (1990-2005) war. A concluding discussion draws out the lessons of the conceptual framework and case studies for governance, rights and justice in post-colonial states.

Emmanuel O. Nuesiri - Marie Curie BRAIN Research Fellow / University of Potsdam / University of Illinois Urbana Champaign

Deepening local democracy for a more just global governance regime

Initiatives like the World Trade Organization (WTO) administered Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) led Voluntary Guidelines on Land, Water and Forest Tenure (VGGT), and the United Nations (UN) led Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), show that global governance of life on planet Earth is deepening. A global elite is simultaneously emerging to lead these global governance regimes. To whom are these global elites accountable? The literature on democratizing the operations of international organizations look to global civil society actors including NGOs, social movements, and indigenous people groups to be the democracy watchdogs holding global elites to account. To whom are the global civil society actors accountable? Who do they speak for? Who has authorized global civil society to be watchdogs over the global elite? This paper probes these questions and go on to argue that 'salvation' lies in deepening local place based democracy. The paper then proposes how this deepening of local democracy can be achieved such that it contributes to a more just global governance architecture.

Zuhre Aksoy - Bogazici University

Global Governance of Traditional Knowledge and its Justice Implications: A Case for an Alternative Approach

The traditional knowledge of local and indigenous communities has increasingly become an object of political contention. On the one hand, the institutionalization of a global regulatory framework for intellectual property rights (IPRs) brought to the forefront where traditional knowledge stands in this scheme of privatization of knowledge. On the other hand, recognition of the significance of traditional knowledge in environmental protection, which became all the more pertinent in the context of global climate change, spurred debate about how this knowledge could be systematically integrated into international environmental efforts. In this regard, several institutional frameworks and agreements have been crucial in their recognition –and measures for protection- of traditional knowledge via a variety of mechanisms. These include the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITPGRFA) of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), among others. This paper aims to analyze the global governance framework for traditional knowledge provided by these international mechanisms, with a focus on traditional agricultural knowledge of peasants in centers of genetic origin/diversity. In these centers, mainly located in the global South, local farming communities, through their traditional agricultural knowledge, crucially conserve agricultural biodiversity. However, they are increasingly marginalized because of pressures to produce for global markets. In this context, the question the paper will address is: What are the justice implications of the existing global governance framework of traditional knowledge for peasants who are holders of traditional agricultural knowledge? Relatedly, the paper will examine alternative mechanisms for the governance of agriculture, and traditional knowledge related proposals by transnational peasant movements such as La Via Campesina. As the governance of traditional knowledge is embedded in comprehending local-global linkages, the paper will also refer to cases from one important Vavilov center of genetic origin/diversity, and how peasants are articulating their traditional knowledge and its link to agricultural production and livelihoods, based on fieldwork conducted in Turkey consisting of open-ended, in-depth interviews with peasants conserving agrobiodiversity. Through this analysis, the paper aims to contribute to the debate on justice implications of global governance mechanisms, and what alternatives to existing mechanisms are envisioned by transnational peasant movements for food sovereignty.

Rebakah Daro Minarchek -- Cornell University, New York

Customary law, state authority and resource politics in Indonesia

This paper investigates the critical intersection of land rights in conservation zones for vulnerable populations, specifically ethnic minorities and women. This project is based on research carried out from 2013-2015 in the Jakarta, Bogor, West Java, and Banten regions of Indonesia in a location where villagers (members of the Kasepuhan customary law community) are often acutely aware of the insecurity of their land tenure rights under statutory law. The people of the Kasepuhan Banten Kidul are at the heart of a national land battle involving the return of an estimated 40% of Indonesia's forest lands to adat (customary law) communities. A recent Constitutional Court ruling (MK35/2012) could possibly, if enforced, grant control of state-claimed forests to adat communities throughout Indonesian, including the Kasepuhan people. To explore the possible outcomes for MK35/2012, this paper examines the legal systems in place within the park and governing the area from provincial capitals and Jakarta through ethnographic methods and archival materials. Through the in-depth analysis of qualitative and quantitative data, this research found that the pluralistic nature of the legal systems governing the lives of the Kasepuhan people exists primarily in the statutory system itself. The system is conflicting and applied ad hoc in an inconsistent manner by authorities. Instead of creating a conflicting legal system, customary laws are enforced in a routine and systematic manner that creates a sense of security in the absence of national level legal conformity. More broadly, this paper sheds light on the disparity in the application of forest law and the effects of policies disconnecting communities from their natural resources.

Hellen Kimanathi and Paul Hebinck - Wageningen University
'Castle in the Sky': Sauri Millennium Village in Reality

The Millennium Villages Projects (MVPs) were implemented across sub-Saharan African countries to catalyse the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and act as a proof that the MDGs are achievable. The MVP implemented interventions to cater for the eight MDGs in efforts to accelerate transformation of communities towards modernisation. This paper critically explores the MVP's 'quick win' strategy to achieve the MDGs with a focus on agricultural interventions, implementation and impacts on the local community in Sauri Millennium Village (SMV) in Kenya. The study builds on previous studies (Van Kessel 1998; Mango, 1999, 2002; Hebinck, 2001; Mango and Hebinck, 2004 and Hebinck, Mango and Kimanathi, 2015) exploring socio-technical and agrarian changes in western Kenya. These studies were done way before the MVP was implemented in Sauri. The longitudinal nature of the data allow us to an in depth ex-ante and ex-post situational analysis of the dynamics generated by MVP. We argue that the MVP has been prone to many tensions that not only constitute its failure and its rather limited success but also that the MVP-bureaucracy's reporting of results, outcomes and impact is extremely and continuous questionable. MVP stands for a continuation of the project model of development that has been in existence for decades. A model that is characterised by great discrepancies between policy objectives and implementation, and between planning and the existing everyday realities in the villages. Centrally, coordinated interventions, bound by time and budget and guided by a discourse that seldom resonates with the predominant local conditions, are often ineffective, inefficient and short lasting (Rondinelli, 2013; Olivier de Sardan, 2006; Scott, 1998; Long, 2001). Even though that MVP claims to combine top-down and bottom up approaches, it is generally underpinned by a blueprint and this includes a repeat of ICRAF-expert style 'model' of the 1980s and 1990s to exemplify development. MVP has been blind to individual agency and heterogeneity hence the resultant grassroots corruption, elite capture of agricultural inputs, injury of social relations and exacerbation of the existing inequalities within the community. Data collection included largely qualitative methods, including in-depth and key informant interviews, ethnographic observations, case studies, life histories and document and archival reviews. A two-month intense period of data collection in Sauri was concluded in 2014.

Panel 13 Systemic crises and indigenous peoples' responses
Room: 4.39
Chair: Harriet Friedmann, University of Toronto & ISS The Hague

Mark Tilzey – Coventry University
Global Politics, Capitalism, Socio-Ecological Crisis, and Resistance: Exploring the Linkages and the Challenges

This paper engages critically with a set of broadly Marxian-based approaches to the relationship between global politics and processes of capital accumulation. This is then used to inform analysis of the dynamics underlying the multiple but interlinked crises of food, environment (energy/climate/biodiversity), and finance. The first section assesses the work of Callinicos in his focus on renewed inter-imperialist rivalry, in which the USA is seen as wanting to secure access to, and control over, key resources to secure capital accumulation in intensifying competition with China and other capitalist powers. This approach is compared to the work of Panitch, Gindin, and Kiely in which they revive Kautsky's notion of ultra-imperialism – here US hegemonic power is assumed to lead other capitalist states in the re-organisation of the global economy. It is argued that, ultimately, both approaches examine only the external relations between the separate but linked logics of capital and global politics. They also neglect the crucial role of the biophysical domain in defining key parameters surrounding capital accumulation. In the second section, the paper develops an alternative approach to understanding capitalist expansion, its relation to global politics and current crises. By drawing from Rosa Luxembour's spatial account of the accumulation of capital and expansion into non-capitalist spaces through on-going processes of primitive accumulation, the structuring conditions of capitalist expansion are conceptualised. Through a critical engagement with William Robinson's work on the emergence of the transnational state, and that of Jason Moore on 'world ecology', the paper develops a conceptualisation of the agency of different class fractions within the inter-state system and their relationship to the crises of food, environment, and finance. In the third section, the paper addresses resistances to these crises. The hegemony of trans-nationalised fractions of capital, led by the US through 'ultra-imperialism', is challenged by sub-hegemonic national capital fractions of some BRICS, notably China and Brazil. But this merely perpetuates the crises of capitalism through policies of neo-developmentalism and neo-extractivism. These are challenged in turn by counter-hegemonic forces seeking food/land/territorial sovereignty. The dynamics of this relationship between hegemonic, sub-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces – between global politics, the state, and social movements – are examined, particularly in relation to Latin America.

Marie-Josée Massicotte - Université d'Ottawa

Weaving Resistance to Capitalist Extractivism: Indigenous Governance in Defense of Justice and Territories in Mexico

This paper draws from a political economy and ecology perspective to analyze the power dynamics and interplay between local and global forces, and between state and civil society actors involved in socio-environmental conflicts in Mexico. It highlights both the limits and opportunities that Mexican rural communities are facing in their struggles for social justice, collective autonomy and the "defence of the territory", especially in the state of Oaxaca. The main objective is to make visible the strategies used by indigenous rural movements resisting capitalist forms of extractivism, as well as existing local, state and interstate laws and regulations about property rights and the use of land and natural resources. Based on field research, interviews and document analysis, I argue that some of the discourses and strategies put forward by indigenous rural communities are challenging mining and agroextractivist models of development, and in doing so, they are offering important insights in rethinking global governance mechanisms and development models. Indeed, a diversity of rural and indigenous movements are decolonizing today's framework of analysis and visions of "development", "property", "livelihood", "natural resources" and "governance". The paper also highlights how indigenous discourses, cosmologies and governance practices, based on *usos y costumbres* (indigenous customary laws) and mixed with Western-based citizenship rights, are opening up spaces for alternative agrifood systems and modes of living that are more respectful of ecosystems and of a diversity of economies and cultures.

Asfia Gulrukh Kamal, Stephane McLachlan, Joe Dipple, Kendelle Fawcette, Steve Ducharme, Leslie Dysart and Ithinto Mechisowin Committee

Role of Indigenous worldview in global governance and climate change: A case study from northern Manitoba

In Canada, Cree culture of wellbeing is expressed through concepts like *mino-pimatisiwin* (living a good life) and *miyupimaatisiwin* (being alive well as a Cree). The unique perception of environmental stewardship as being alive well in relationship with nature defines Indigenous governance. O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation (OPCN), also known as South Indian Lake, is one severely affected Cree community that was flooded and displaced as a result of Manitoba Hydro's Churchill River Diversion

project (CRD). Drawing empirical insights from OPCN community members and their perspectives of relationship with nature this article will attest that the Indigenous worldviews of wellbeing is critical to transform global governance and vouch for climate justice and sustainability.

Suleyman Demi - University of Toronto

Indigenous Food Cultures: Pedagogical Implication for Environmental Education

Climate change is one of the most serious problems facing the world today. Recent happenings around the world: rampant and severe floods in parts of Asia, severe drought and water shortage in parts of Africa and extremely cold winters and warmer summers around the temperate regions, particularly American and Europe, have caused even the intransigent critics of climate change to recognize that it is real. One area that will experience the devastating effects of climate change is the food sector. Ironically, industrial agriculture has been identified as one of the leading causes of climate change across the globe. Studies have revealed that the global increase in methane and nitrous oxide in the atmosphere is primarily caused by agriculture (FAO, 2015). The global estimation of anthropogenic emissions in 2005 attributed 60% of nitrous oxide emissions and 50% of methane emissions to agriculture (Smith et al., 2007), and these proportions are expected to increase by 30% by 2050 according to recent estimates from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO, 2015). Current environmental education founded on Western science cannot address all the environmental challenges alone. The objective of this paper is therefore to explore the potential of Indigenous food cultures as a pedagogical tool to augment Western science to address current environmental problems. Using methodology of document analysis, this paper traces three knowledge traditions: Indigenous Knowledge, Islamic Science and Western Science and argues that each of this knowledge tradition makes sense within its own cultural context. The paper compares and contrast Indigenous food production system and the industrial agriculture and argues that indigenous food production is founded on sustainability and spirituality while industrial agriculture is found on capitalism and globalization. The paper further argues that every education must be environmental education and environment education must emphasize on spirituality i.e. relationship between humans and other creations.

Panel 14 Reclaiming global governance from below: The CFS' Tenure Guidelines as a tool for democratizing resource control

Room: 4.42

Chair: Jacobo Grajales, University of Lille

Zoe Brent – International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

The Challenge of interpretation and implementation of the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security in Latin America: Agenda for discussion and moving forward

The Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure, or Tenure Guidelines (TGs) are a highly relevant and important tool for protecting the existing tenure rights of marginalized communities, promoting better distribution of access to and control over land, fisheries and forests, and restoring tenure rights that have been lost by displaced or dispossessed people. In Latin America, there is an urgent need for the implementation of the TGs to address these diverse situations. We are also seeing a political opening in the region, where states are receptive to, and potentially influenced by, different interpretations of the TGs. This makes understanding the overlaps, divisions, and points of tension between different civil society and private sector visions about what the TGs are, how they should be used and by whom, especially urgent. This paper reveals how, the interpretation of the TGs is highly contested, and therefore the implementation is subject to the political tendencies of those actors who control it. The TGs are a potentially powerful instrument for holding states accountable to their existing commitments to respect, protect and fulfill the human rights of those living in their territories. In the spirit of human rights, the TGs prioritize the rights of those most marginalized groups. This means their full implementation will likely challenge the status quo and threaten powerful actors by redistributing control over resources. As implementation efforts spread it is crucial that extra care be taken to ensure a critical role for those most marginalized sectors of society, which suffer most from food insecurity and lack of or vulnerable tenure rights.

Ben McKay – International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

The Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security in Colombia: Towards democratic land-based resource control

In this paper, we will critically analyze the possibilities and limitations of the FAO's Tenure Guidelines in order to advance democratic land control and access in Colombia. This global governance instrument was negotiated over several years with participation and endorsement of the 125 member countries of the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) as well as actors from the private sector, civil society organizations, and academia and is thought to be "one of the most democratic institutional frameworks for global decision-making for international agreements ever" (Seufert, 2013:184). The main objectives of the guidelines are to "improve governance of tenure of land, fisheries and forest....with an emphasis on vulnerable and marginalized people, with the goals of food security and progressive realization of the right to adequate food, poverty eradication, sustainable livelihoods, social stability, housing security, rural development, environmental protection and sustainable social and economic development" (FAO, 2012:1). Though 'voluntary' in nature, the Tenure Guidelines are based on binding international human rights obligations related to land and natural resources, equipping them with more political weight and thus leverage in the context of international law (Seufert, 2013:182).

Jennifer Franco and Sofia Monsalve – Transnational Institute (TNI) and FIAN

"Why Wait for the State? Integrating the CFS Tenure Guidelines into "bottom-up" struggles for human rights and democratic control of land, fisheries and forests"

In this paper, we introduce an action research project that pivots away from natural resource policy making in the halls of the UN-FAO in Rome, in the form of the "Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security" (or TGs), to using these guidelines in struggles for "bottom-up" accountability. Since their adoption in 2012, it has been widely assumed that the next challenge is for States to implement them. Our project takes a different starting point: for people looking to claim or reclaim their rights to natural resources on which they depend, the next challenge is for subaltern/disadvantaged/ marginalised/ excluded groups to use the TGs, as part of a larger arsenal of "weapons of the weak", in their efforts to change the status quo in the direction of more democratic natural resource access and control. The project explores this idea in communities in four countries in sub-Saharan Africa: Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, and South Africa. The paper will locate the project historically, politically, and analytically to explain: (i) who we are and why we are concerned about "resource grabbing" (ii) why/how we privilege the TGs in this project (iii) why we choose an action research methodology and (iv) why we chose these four country cases. In the process, we hope to illuminate what is distinct about the project, as well as some of the challenges of trying to "use the TGs in reality".

Mauro Conti – Università della Calabria

Food sovereignty movement and CFS

The Food Sovereignty movement emerged in part as a mobilization in resistance to the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) and its imposition of multilateral disciplines on domestic agriculture policy. The emergence of vertically integrated value chains in international trade, including agricultural commodity trade, was not so much the result of the WTO AoA as other agreements, concluded at the same time, in Marrakech in 1994 (f.i. General Agreement on Services; Agreement on Trade Related Investment Measures). Beyond the WTO trade agreements, several other policy decisions created the conditions for global value chains to thrive: the deregulation of financial markets; the end of government interventions in agricultural markets; and the proliferation of both stand-alone investment agreements and hybrid trade-investment agreements. As a response, Social Movements internationalized the struggle for Food Sovereignty also in the UN Bodies. A major achievement of this struggle was the reform of the CFS, which has become a much more inclusive platform for different actors - governments, international organizations, UN agencies, civil society organizations, social movements and private sector - to work together to ensure food security and nutrition for all. This strategy to internationalise the struggle in has some implicit assumptions: 1) Creating spaces for CSOs in the UN inter-governmental Bodies that are posing international obligations to the States

limiting their sovereignty (interstate system) 2) The recognition of all the National Governments in UN as legitimate to define the food policies, implicitly recognizing also the Nation States formation, with their (colonial) origins as political units expanding the connections of the capitalistic economic network at global level (Arrighi,Hopkins,Wallerstein) 3) Food Sovereignty aims to a more general People's Sovereignty 4) Opening up a greater opportunity for Corporations to position themselves as part of the solution to global challenges, such as climate change 5) The implementation of the international instruments based on human rights will confront the attempt to reduce the Human Rights based approach to Property Rights (f.i cadastre, financialization of nature) coopting the role and wording of Social Movements The paper will discuss these implicit assumptions in order to analyse the coherence of the strategy of the Social Movements.

PARALLEL SESSIONS III

5 February 11:30 – 13:00

Panel 15: Resource grabbing from a Right to Food Perspective

Room: 3.01

Chair: Ben Cousins, PLAAS University of the Western Cape, South Africa

Hannah Twomey – Transnational Institute, Christina M. Schiavoni – ISS, The Hague and Benedict Mongula – University of Dar es Salaam

Impacts of large-scale agricultural investments on small-scale farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: A Right to Food Perspective

In light of the recent G8-backed SAGCOT initiative designed to attract private investments in the agricultural sector across one-third of the country, the paper examines the impact that large-scale agricultural investments are having on the right to food of small-scale farmers in Tanzania within four villages. A right to food perspective is employed to understand how food access has transformed, specifically by analyzing how residents' control over food production, the sale of food, as well as the food purchasing process has changed, and the specific challenges being faced by food producers. Among its findings is that the right to food is being violated through numerous channels: the presence of investors has restricted land access – a key resource in food production – sparking a shift toward poorly paid, insecure wage-labor that hinders adequate food purchase. Within the current policy and investment climate that fails to protect and realize the right to food, the study suggests that the patterns that generate right to food violations are becoming further institutionalized.

Christina M. Schiavoni – ISS, The Hague, Salena Tramel – ISS, The Hague and Benedict Mongula – University of Dar es Salaam

Alternative agricultural investment by and for small-scale food providers in Tanzania: A Right to Food & Food Sovereignty Perspective

The objective of this paper is to offer insights into what types of investment could support the right to food, and what types of investment are already supporting the right to food, of small-scale food providers in Tanzania, among them farmers, fishers, pastoralists, and women. This involves a much broader and more holistic understanding of 'investment' than the current narrow mainstream definition. It also involves recognizing the small-scale food providers that comprise the majority of Tanzanians as key protagonists in realizing the right to food, and as investors in their own right. Grounded in this context, this paper explores the question of what forms of investment support the right to food of small-scale food providers in Tanzania, both by looking at what is already working (and not working) in the field and hearing from food providers about their needs and visions. Our work is informed by a food sovereignty perspective, one that we see as critical to realizing the human right to food. It is the uncompromising opposite of the kinds of large-scale agricultural investments that are driven by the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition as seen in SAGCOT and mirrored elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Frank Ademba – MVIWATA Kilimanjaro/La Via Campesina Tanzania

Learning stories about agricultural investment on right to food, a case of SAGCOT areas in Ruvuma

The recent increase in investment in agriculture specifically in Tanzania, and evidenced in the Ruvuma region, is becoming a curse instead of a blessing to small-scale farmers. It has become a norm among big investors to use villagers' ignorance to amass very large plots with empty promises. The result is that small-scale farmers become either landless or exposed to unfertile land. This paper argues that big investors have become a threat to the survival of small-scale farmers in Ruvuma. The paper also offers caution to us, as Tanzanians, that bragging that we have large plots of land for investors is deceiving nobody but ourselves. Our experience shows that no investors who are interested to invest will look to the bushes, but will instead go to where people live because of infrastructure. This is why land conflicts increase every single day.

Boaventura Monjane – Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra (Portugal)
Land Grabbing and Resistance in Mozambique's Nacala Corridor, undermining the right to food

This paper will explore dispossession in the northern Mozambican agricultural hotspot, the Nacala corridor, which has become today one of the most contentious land grabs in Sub-Saharan Africa. The controversial agricultural development program in that region, Prosavana, although widely known by scholars, is not the only threat to the right to food. The paper argues that land grabbing in the Nacala Corridor is fundamentally violating the right to food in Mozambique, and especially for small-scale food providers such as peasants living in that region. Of equal importance, this paper tracks the Mozambican Peasant Union (UNAC) as they resist land and resource grabbing and build on grassroots alternatives—namely food sovereignty and agroecology.

Panel 16 Agro-ecology and food sovereignty: Reframing debates on alternatives
Room: 3.25
Chair: Mindi Schneider, ISS, The Hague

Rachel Bezner Kerr (Cornell University), Hanson Nyantakyi-Frimpong, Laifolo Dakishoni, Esther Lupafya and the SFHC organization
Food sovereignty, agroecology and resilience: competing or complementary frames?

Food sovereignty, a concept broadly defined as the people's' right to define their own food and agricultural systems, is often used as a rallying cry against large-scale political and economic factors that influence farmers' potential to produce food themselves, such as land grabs, climate change or international trade agreements. There is limited empirical research on linkages between food sovereignty approaches and outcomes for smallholder households' livelihood, health and wellbeing. Agroecology is a set of agricultural practices embedded in ecological principles such as recycling of organic material, mulching and minimizing toxic inputs. At the same time, agroecology is also a social movement(s) of like-minded organizations, which is increasingly being linked to food sovereignty in international events, development practice and in scholarship. Resilience, a concept borrowed from ecological theory, is defined as the ability to cope with, adapt and live with changes and uncertainty. There has been a surge in resilience-related development activities and scholarship in recent years, with increased focus by governments, development organizations and scientists on ways to build resilient communities in the Global South. In this paper these three concepts will be interrogated in light of an ongoing participatory action research project in Malawi with agrarian communities. We draw on over a decade of experience of smallholder farmers' efforts to use agroecological methods to improve food security, nutrition and land quality, using farmer-to-farmer educational methods. Using case studies from our long-term work, we will examine multiple perspectives on agroecology, food sovereignty and resilience, with data from surveys, interview, focus groups, observations and farmer-led experiments. We compare these contrasting epistemological and ontological frames, and consider the challenges and benefits of a combined approach. Contradictory conceptual groundings and complementary moorings are examined, and the implications of using these three concepts, both politically and empirically, are discussed. We will explore the question of whether food sovereignty is possible in this context, and if so, how we might work to achieve it. We will consider inclusive, just and ecological approaches to developing resilient agrarian communities in the face of multiple threats, and the broader political and sociological implications of a combined approach.

Faris Ahmed -- USC Canada
We Are The Seeds: Peasant Agriculture and Seed Sovereignty as a Response to Multiple Global

Crises

Farmers and food providers have created and maintained the genetic resources and biodiversity that is the basis for the planet's food supply, but is more threatened every day by the multiple crises in food, environment and finance. Seeds, biodiversity and peasant agriculture are now central in the discourses promoting food sovereignty, food system resilience, and sustainability. This presentation will outline the state of peasant agriculture, and some of the trends and policies in the food and seed industry that are threatening farmer livelihoods and food sovereignty. It will explore the solutions proposed by farmer organizations as social justice responses, and food sovereignty alternatives, to the alarming clampdown on farmers rights to save, exchange, replant their seeds. Finally, it will outline the policies and measures needed to support the organizations working towards protecting farmers seeds and genetic resources, their knowledge systems and agroecological practices. [This presentation is based on my article "Peasant agriculture, seeds, and biodiversity", published in Canadian Food Studies Journal, Special Issue Vol 2, No 2 (2015): Special Issue: Mapping the Global Food Landscape <http://canadianfoodstudies.uwaterloo.ca/index.php/cfs>]

Charalampos (Harry) Konstantinidis - University of Massachusetts
Erst kommt das Fressen": Food Insecurity and Food Sovereignty in Greece in a Time of Crisis

While public debt has become the focal point of public discussions of the Greek crisis, the rise in food insecurity, as measured by Eurostat and NGOs, illustrates the humanitarian aspects of the crisis. I argue that the rise in food insecurity is not only a result of declining incomes during the crisis but also the consequence of dismantling Greek agricultural production due to the precarious integration of Greece into the European market. I first show how the three structural adjustment programs implemented in Greece after 2010 deepened the productive stagnation by furthering the liberalization of agriculture and the centralization of the food sector. I then argue that a series of recent local responses, including urban gardens and direct consumer-farmer interactions, offer insight into a strategy of food sovereignty that can help rebuild productive capacity in agriculture and address food insecurity. I conclude by arguing that the recent experience of lender intervention into governance, and particularly lender veto-power over all proposed legislation introduced by the third Structural Adjustment Program of 2015, raises questions about the relationship between national sovereignty and food sovereignty.

Brendan Coolsaet - Université Catholique de Louvain
Towards an agroecology of knowledges: Recognition, cognitive justice and farmers' autonomy in France

Most collective agroecological initiatives in Europe today are built around a plurality of knowledge systems. Going beyond the well-documented instrumental goals of this knowledge-plurality, this paper highlights another, perhaps less obvious, objective: the pursuit of cognitive justice as a form of cultural recognition. The subordination of alternative farming to conventional agriculture leads to the misrecognition of peasant communities, which is exacerbated in today's 'knowledge society'. Challenging conventional agriculture hence requires both status equality between different forms of doing farming and an active engagement with different ways of knowing farming. Cognitive justice, a concept originating from postcolonial and intercultural theory, encompasses not only the right of different knowledge forms to coexist, but entails an active counter-hegemonic engagement across them. Using an example of participatory maize breeding in France, the paper illustrates how peasant movements in Europe organize what could be called an 'agroecology of knowledges' to reclaim autonomy from both market and state.

Rachel Wynberg, Elfrieda Pschorn Strauss, Rose Williams and Lawrence Mkhali - University of Cape Town
Intersections of advocacy for agro-ecology and seed sovereignty in southern Africa: the importance of multi-pronged strategies

African farmers, scientists and advocacy groups are increasingly taking up the call for agro-ecology and seed sovereignty, urging farmers to take control over their own seed, to revive, keep and share a diversity of crops, and to practice agro-ecology. Although lagging behind their Latin American and

Asian counterparts, such initiatives have escalated over the past twenty years, to the point of increasingly coalescing around a coherent and transformative voice for promoting alternatives to the dominant discourse of industrial agriculture. Focusing on Southern Africa, this paper provides a reflection from individuals closely involved in all three aspects of agro-ecology - the research, the practice, and the movement – reviewing the past two decades of collective action. This includes the formation of regional organisations such as the African Biodiversity Network; directed regional campaigns; the policy and practice of individual organisations such as Biowatch South Africa; and regional initiatives involving research institutions, policy experts and farmers. Critical perspectives are shared with regard to the form, nature and history of these initiatives, the innovative approaches they have adopted, and the extent to which such alliances can be mutually supportive. We also explore emerging tensions that threaten to destabilize the ground gained. Reflections are provided on an emerging community of practice around these approaches, including strategies, which have the potential to catalyse a shift in the discourse, institutions and policy that comprise agro-food systems. These include training, exchanges, evidence, and solidarity. We emphasise the importance of “research that matters”, and the need to think creatively about a research and innovation system that is rooted in local systems, that builds on collaboration and partnerships between scientists and farmers, and which is shaped by farmer needs.

Panel 17 Governing farming, governing farmers? Small farmers’ responses to converging crises

Room: 3.26

Chair: Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, Wageningen University

Max Spoor and Louis Thiemann – International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

"Who will feed Cuba?": Agrarian transformation, food production and the peasantry

This paper will investigate the origins and structural reasons for Cuba’s food import dependency, which in spite of recent reforms to partly liberalise peasant production and commercialization (Mesa-Lago and Pérez-Lopéz, 2013) and the initiatives towards local food sovereignty, the expansion of urban agriculture and the embracing (by circumstance or by choice) of agro-ecology (Altieri and Funes-Monzote, 2012; Rosset et al. 2011; Rodriguez, 2010), has been growing in recent years. It will look in the first section at the logic of the food import system, which was founded on the predominance (already pre-1959) of an export-led industrial agricultural sugarcane-based system, and trade-based food security paid for by exports (and later on by the foreign exchange coming in through services, remittances and tourism). In the second section, it will investigate the reforms that have been introduced by the government of Raul Castro since 2008, which have provided possibilities for a large number of new and old farmers to obtain usufruct rights on idle land and land that had formally been in the hands of UBPCs (*Unidades Básicas de Producción Cooperativa*, the heirs of the sub-divided former state farms). The latter had been formed in 1993 during the “Special Period” – Cuba’s euphemism for the economic crisis induced by the elimination of Eastern Block assistance with the collapse of the USSR (Nova Gonzalez, 2008, 2012; Rodriguez, 2010; Valdez Paz, 2011; Mesa-Lago, 2014a and 2014b). The third section will try and disentangle some of the reasons for these developments, in particular looking at the aspect “perceived tenure insecurity” (Van Gelder 2007, 2010; Ma et al. 2015; Rao et al. 2016), which is still very high in Cuba, causing a major disincentive for long-term investment and local capitalization. In the fourth section we will analyse another main reason for stagnation in the (rural) agricultural sector, in particular in food production, which is the continuing state interference in and control over markets, in spite of the more recent opening of small urban agro-markets where producers can sell directly to consumers, and the emerging whole-sale markets that started since 2013. There is still a situation of ‘missing markets’ (and partly also of ‘missing institutions’) that support the commercialization of domestically produced foodstuff and those that supply particularly small producers (such as the growing group of *usufructuarios* or individual producers with usufruct rights) with inputs and equipment. The paper will conclude by indicating some of the main bottlenecks of food production, in particular in relation to stimulating (and capitalizing) the large group of individual producers (small farmers, peasants, *usufructuarios*, and urban gardeners), in

order to reduce the large imports of food products, most of which can potentially be produced domestically, thereby “feeding Cuba”.

Susan H. Bragdon - Quaker United Nations Office

Reinvigorating public governance: The case of food security, small-scale farmers, trade, and intellectual property rules

The dynamics and trajectory of our increasingly globalized food system are heavily influenced by economic beliefs in the superiority of markets and the private sector in providing goods and services of all kinds. These beliefs influence not only how our food systems are governed and regulated but also how as societies we provide goods and services as diverse as prisons, education, infrastructure, security and healthcare. Neo-liberal economics emerged in the 1960s and with some differences – such as supporting limited monopolies for patent protection – is an updated version of the liberal economic views of prior centuries. For both, government intervention in general is considered harmful because it reduces economic pressure by restricting the entry of potential competitors through import controls or the creation of monopolies. The core of the neo-liberal agenda is deregulation and the opening up of trade and investment. The end of the Cold War raised the prestige of markets and “market thinking.” No other mechanism had been as successful at organizing the production and distribution of goods and generating prosperity.

Judith Hitchman - Urgenci International Community Supported Agriculture Network

Who controls the food system?

In a world of globalised industry, where many States’ policy has increasingly been dictated by private sector interests and transnational corporations, it is worth examining how the Right to Food and the emergence of social movements that represent peoples’ local food systems and food sovereignty are swaying the balance in their favour. Food is a fundamental right. We all need to eat. So obviously controlling the food system has, in the last 50 years become one of the key areas where TNCs are attempting to control the system. But before examining the various aspects of the power and interplay between corporate interests and those of our world’s current 7 billion inhabitants, we need to ask a few key questions. What is the history of our food systems? How are the corporations trying to control them? What strategies are they using? How is this affecting our social systems and food security? How are social movements responding? What impacts have they had so far? What are the next key stages in this struggle?

Panel 18 Voluntarizing global governance: An exclusive rationality governing resources and populations living on them

Room: 4.25

Chair: Oane Visser, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)

Stefano Golinelli - University of Sheffield

From “Foucauldian critique” to “Foucauldian politics”: Global benchmarking and the promotion of democratic land governance

A vast body of literature, often if not always drawing on Foucauldian concepts, recently engaged in a critique of “global benchmarking”, or “governance by indicators”. Here, scholars emphasize that, in spite of their supposed neutrality, indicators are social constructions bearing on particular values, assumptions and agendas. Furthermore, their influence is not limited to their direct financial or reputational implications of indicators based assessments. Rather, the most pervasive and significant power of benchmarks concerns the socialization of actors into particular webs of meanings that may come to be perceived as indisputable. ¹ Yet, whereas most of critical scholarship deploys these observations to denounce how indicators create, reinforce, and conceal neoliberal power relations, this paper sets up to explore different issue - i.e. whether, and how can global benchmarking be recast as a progressive “governmentality”, serving democratic and human rights-based land governance agendas.² Following Ferguson’s interpretation of Foucault,³ we argue that power features everywhere in the social world, and that a critique of existing power may be sterile if it is not combined by an active attempt to develop alternative “arts of government”. We conclude that indicators have no necessary loyalty to the neoliberal political program within which they were developed. Instead, to some extents

they have an inherent impetus towards the democratic change associated with food sovereignty.⁴ Accordingly, a serious engagement in processes relating to the production and use of benchmarks might well be worthy the candle. The paper proceeds as follows. After introducing Ferguson's call for a leftist Foucauldian politics, Section II moves on to elaborate on the "quiet power of indicators"⁵ and their centrality in contemporary global governance. Section III then reviews conceptual and ideological misgivings about these practices, both in general terms ⁶ and in the specific context of land governance. ⁷ In contrast, Section IV hopefully addresses these criticisms. In particular, it theorizes about models for human rights-based, transformative and "repoliticizing" citizen-centered indicators. ⁸ Finally, the concluding remarks wrap up the discussion and reflect on prospects for the future. Whilst acknowledging the manifold constraints, some contemporary trends that might facilitate the development and diffusion of transformative land governance benchmarks are identified.

Nelson Owusu Ntiamoah - Wageningen University
Exodus of the 'Surplus': Apprehending the Mediterranean Migration Crisis

Duffield in "Introduction: Development and Surplus Life" succeeds in articulating the relationships between development, security and biopolitics and underscores how the concept of 'security' has expanded beyond its traditional concern with State security to encompass the securitization of international development phenomena such as endemic poverty, environmental stress and societal breakdown; reckoning also the growing deployment of biopolitical technologies by key actors to intervene in such events. Duffield's introduction and other interesting papers cement the base for this paper given its ramifications on migration particularly South-North migration. I critically examine the current mass migration (via the Mediterranean) of majorly Africans to Europe from a securitized development lens. The series of development circumstances undergirding the migration and reckless loss of lives on the Mediterranean and the subsequent invocation of humanitarian as well as security concerns by State and non-State actors including the European Union in responding to the 'crisis' is carefully appraised from development and governance perspectives. I draw on de Vries' notion of "Ethics of the Real" in understanding the motivations of African migrants to embark on their 'risky' journey to Europe via the Mediterranean. I conclude that hope and hopelessness are both involved in the Mediterranean migration situation which is (re)produced through the constant invocation of security, development and biopolitics by the West towards Africa. Subsequently, I recommend effective interventions must divorce the politics of problematization that has overly leaned towards securitized development narrative in order to unravel the challenge from its very core.

Charis Enns - University of Waterloo
The master's tools: Voluntary social and environmental standards and the politics of legitimacy in Kenya's extractive sector

As a result of perceived governmental failures, voluntary social and environmental standards have emerged as an increasingly prominent tool of global governance. These standards are designed to institutionalize responsible corporate conduct through the creation of global norms and standardized procedures. However, voluntary standards often fail to alter or improve corporate conduct. In attempting to understand why, many have argued that voluntary standards fail because they operate in the absence of state enforcement, which allows transnational corporations (TNCs) to ignore standards without being held accountable. In this paper, I complicate such notions. I show that TNCs do not simply ignore voluntary standards but rather, they actively participate in creating and implementing them and possess expert knowledge of what voluntary standards entail. However, TNCs also use voluntary standards and corresponding managerial techniques - such as assessment tools, auditing processes and certification schemes - to legitimize their practices and activities without dramatically altering their conduct. Thus, instead of being governed by voluntary standards, I argue that TNCs use voluntary standards to govern. To make this argument, I use Kenya as a case study, examining how extractive companies participate in setting and managing voluntary standards in Kenya's emerging extractive sector. This case study illustrates how voluntary standards have been employed by extractive companies to legitimize their claims to land and resources. Aside from aggrandizing their commitment to voluntary standards in promotional materials, these companies also conduct assessments that verify their compliance with voluntary social and environmental standards. When there is pushback from impacted populations over access and use of land and resources, companies point to their assessments as proof that their conduct is legitimate and that resistance or

violence against them should be seen as illegitimate. Ultimately, this paper deepens and complicates current understanding of why voluntary standards fail by discussing the ways that TNCs use these tools to legitimize their activities, claims, and practices.

Benjamin Luig - Misereor

From the field to the lab – Stevia as an attempt to dematerialize the industrial sugar-sweetener complex

With the creation of new value webs, global sugarcane production has dramatically expanded over the last years and so have conflicts over land and water, labour rights and consumption (Richardson 2015). This paper understands the emerging global steviol-glycoside market as an attempt of key corporations of the sugar-sweetener complex to partly “dematerialize” its production. It describes the key corporate strategies: (1) Biopiracy: Ignoring the fact that Guarani people in Paraguay and Brazil have cultivated the knowledge over the sweetening properties of *Stevia rebaudiana* for centuries, companies monopolize the sector through patents. By the end of 2014, more than 1000 patent applications related to stevia have been filed, almost half of them by eight corporations such as Coca Cola, Cargill, PepsiCo and DSM. (2) Dematerialization: Instead of sourcing natural stevia leaves, corporations produce steviol-glycosides in a complex chemical process and source limited quantities of stevia raw-material from smallholders in China and Paraguay. In the near future, corporations will produce glycosides via synthetic biology, shifting the entire value creation from the farm to the lab. While social movements have struggled against resource grabs over the last years, new forms of “digital biopiracy” remain largely uncontested. With the current mode of commercialization, the same companies that source sugarcane from ancestral lands of the Guarani Kaiowá now violate their rights over knowledge, as enshrined in the CBD, the Nagoya protocol and in the UNDRIP. Unlike sugarcane or maize as a feedstock for high fructose corn syrup, the stevia plant is cultivated in diversified systems by smallholders in China, Paraguay and other countries. With the non-regulated development of synthetic biology and the discrimination of “natural stevia production” through food safety authorities (e.g. JECFA, FDA, EFSA), thousands of smallholder farmers are locked out of potential alternative forms of value creation through stevia.

Panel 19 Who runs the corridor? Contesting (agricultural) development mega-projects in Mozambique
Room: 4.26

Chair: Sofia Monsalve, FIAN International

Adriano Vicente – Activist (Mozambique)

Current Phenomenon of Resource Grab and Governance Situation in the Context of the Nacala Corridor Development/ProSAVANA: From peasants’ perspective

Ever since the concept of “economic corridor/development corridor” as an ultimate solution for the problems of “underdevelopment”, “stagnant agriculture” and “food insecurity and malnutrition” in Africa emerged and has been promoted by international and regional actors, the rush for land and other natural resources became apparent trends in Africa, and peasants were put on the front lines. This phenomenon has been observed strongly in the region along the Nacala Corridor located in northern Mozambique. The governments and private sectors of Japan and Brazil showed particular interest in the region, and established a triangular cooperation program for agricultural development, ProSAVANA, as one of the leading activities for the Nacala Corridor development in 2009. The primary objective of ProSAVANA was to attract foreign investment to develop “vast uncultivated land” in the region by “applying the experiences learnt from the Brazilian Cerrado”. Soybean was given the central role. Facing to the possibility of losing access to land and of environmental and social degradation, the peasants who represent 80% of the regional population stood up with the support of other peasants within Mozambique, of Brazil and of Africa and of civil society organizations of the three countries and the world in general in late 2012. Although these movements and activities succeeded in changing the official discourse regarding the objective of ProSAVANA, the initial plan went ahead. Numerous private investors rushed in and obtained land titles for large-scale soybean production, and land conflicts with local communities have been occurring along the corridor. What had been anticipated became a reality, and this is happening in the country that has “the most pro-poor/peasant” land law which came to exist due to its historical legacy of the armed liberation struggle fought for freedom and land mostly

by peasants. “History is back”, many local peasants say. This presentation will share: (1) how and what is happening to the region after the emergence of a great vision for “salvation”, (2) how the peasants and their supporters have been reacting; and (3) what are the remaining challenges, from the view point of the local peasants. Special focus will be given to the issues of governance.

Costa Estevao – UPC-N: Provincial Peasants Union of Nampula, Mozambique

Naoko Watanabe – Japan International Volunteer Center, JVC

“Reflections of Peasants-driven Research and Advocacy for Improving Local, National, Donors’ and Global Governance: A case of ProSAVANA”

In mid 2012, the details regarding the triangular cooperation along the Nacala Corridor, ProSAVANA, became public. The information was received with serious concern by local peasants of Nampula Province, where 10 out of 19 target districts of the program are located. Since Nampula Province is one of the most populous provinces in the country thanks to its fertile land and abundance of water, land pressure was already being felt among local communities. After a half year moratorium that prohibited any land transactions for large-scale biofuel projects, the results of the first national Agrarian Zoning were released in 2008. These indicated that Mozambique had 7 million ha of “available land” especially in the north, and large-scale land acquisition also began in the province in 2009, and more investments were forthcoming. The country’s land law gives provincial governors the power of authorization for issuing land titles to investors up to 1,000 ha, thus not only at national level but also at provincial level, unified peasants’ movements that could monitor the authority, and represent local peasants to protect their rights were badly needed. However, the consolidation process of the local peasants’ movements was still in progress in Nampula. ProSAVANA was inaugurated and the acceleration of land acquisition by investments aiming at soybean production occurred during this formation period of a provincial representation of peasants. When the provincial union was finally established in April 2014, there were already thousands of peasants who were losing or facing to lose their access to land and natural resources due to agribusiness. The Japanese civil society began its joint field research with local peasants organizations in Nampula Province in 2013. There have been five such joint research until now, and evidence-based detailed research and joint advocacy activities both in Mozambique and Japan have been producing positive outcomes for shifting Japan’s aid policy (ProSAVANA) from “investment-oriented” to “small-scale family farmers-oriented”, at least in the official discourse. This presentation intends to: (1) share the outcome of peasants-driven research and advocacy activities carried out in Nampula Province; and (2) present current challenges in order to contribute to active discussions and possible future collaborations.

Sayaka Funada Classen – International Peace Research Institute, Meiji Gakuin University, Japan

“A Historical Process: Seeking Common Grounds in Global, National and Local Governance for Food Sovereignty and Peasants’ Rights along the Nacala Corridor”

The purpose of this presentation is to put into context the previous two presentations, to provide a basis for the discussion of the main theme of the colloquium and to draw lessons for future. Based on primary sources, the historical shift of the discourse in policies and activities regarding the Nacala Corridor development and ProSAVANA, facing the resistance of local peasants and multi-dimensional advocacy activities, will be analyzed. Special focus will be given to the role of local peasants’ movement and of donor countries, in this case, the government and civil society of Japan. As a conclusion, the presenter would like to draw attention to the absence of “one fits all” norms/laws/regulations/principles/guidelines. The experiences of advocacy activities regarding the Nacala Corridor development and ProSAVANA remind us of the following three points: (1) the importance of combining the usage of local, national, regional and global ethics, norms, regulations, principles and guidelines in order to find common grounds with those who are involved; (2) the supremacy of the concept of “sovereignty”; and (3) the importance of promoting “precautionary principle”.

Panel 20: Peoples Sovereignty versus the Architecture of Corporate Impunity and Governance

Room: 4.39

Chair: Brid Brennan, Transnational Institute (TNI)

Ambassador Maria Fernanda Espinosa, Ecuador Permanent Mission to the UN and Chair of the ongoing historic OEIGWG process at the UN will speak on the challenges faced in ensuring significant

government participation towards putting in place a binding instruments on TNCs and other business enterprises in relation to human rights.

Flavio Valente, outgoing Secretary General of FIAN International will address the corporate capture of economic and political institutions in an aggressive push to replace the state multi-lateral system with diverse mechanisms of multi-stakeholderism which significantly erode the state role in government and places corporation at the center.

Brid Brennan who is leading TNI's Corporate Power work, will introduce the networks of social movements and affected communities which bring a new protagonism to tackling the corporate architecture of impunity and are evolving strategies aimed to roll back the economic and political power of TNCs and make visible new practices of peoples sovereignty through mobilisation in the Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power and the Treaty Alliance,

Valter Bittencurt, working with the Secretariat of the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA) and the Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT-national Trade Union Center - Brazil brings a Trade Union perspective on the current challenges faced in campaigning for workers rights and human rights in the corporate world and why a global campaign is urgently needed.

Alberto Villarreal is leading Friends of the Earth International's work on the international investments protection regime and its impacts, and is the regional Latin America and Caribbean coordinator of FoEI's Economic Justice-Resisting Neoliberalism international program and will speak on the role of the Environment movements in building this new convergence of civil society on the Binding Treaty.

Panel 21: Climate justice and system change: Movements' strategies to tackle climate and environmental crisis

Room: 4.42

Chair: Lyda Fernanda Forero – Transnational Institute

Martin Drago, Friends of the Earth-International Food Sovereignty Programme Coordinator. He also is the liaison person between FoEI and LVC as well have in charge the relationship with the IPC.

As the economic and food crisis, the environmental crisis is a symptom of the capitalist system. Transform this system demands structural responses abandoning the "sectorial" ones. There won't be environmental justice without social and economic justice and vice versa, so it is crucial to walk the learning by doing process of build the convergence of these struggles, always in favor of the popular sectors: the subjects of change. This premise must be internalized by the climate justice "movement" if wants to stop mostly being a "developed" world-white-upper middle class "movement", to become one of the engines of the system transformation. The transformation won't happen neither without a massive social mobilization that, without creating new "super structures", works on the strengthening and coordination of the various and diverse Peoples' struggles, from the local to the international. It's crucial recognize the centrality of social movements and fight the initiatives seeking to atomize the struggles of resistance and transformation. Finally, there won't Justice without Popular Sovereignty over the Territories: spaces for the development of Peoples' cultural, spiritual, social and economic life.

Valter Bittencourt. Since 2015, he is responsible for Environment and migrations areas at the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA). In 2011-2015 he was an advisor at the international relations department, CUT National Metalworkers Confederation in Brazil.

Trade Union Confederation of the Americas considers that the way out towards a new sustainable development model requires an urgent and structural response. It should have the unavoidable participation of social movements, as well s the different organizing expressions of the popular field. We defend the alliance between social movements and labour movement in order to effectively contribute to victories for environmental justice and the defense of the commons and the guarantee of the human right to water as well as the energy sovereignty and democratization with a sustainable energy matrix. The economic reconfiguration towards a new production, distribution and consumption paradigm for future and present environmental sustainability is needed in order to guarantee a just transition at the productive sphere as well as at the reproductive sphere of work.

Paula Gioia. Member of the European and International Coordination of La Via Campesina. She dedicates her work mostly to the youth processes within LVC and to the climate justice and environment issues.

By demanding Climate Justice, LVC struggles for a system change from below. Capitalism is a cruel and rotten model, which is both the cause and promotes false solutions to the climate crisis we are facing today. Some governments together with private capital are promoting those practices. The biggest victims are rural communities worldwide. LVC believes that real solutions are people-based solutions and that they can just come from below, from grassroots sectors and have the social movements as main actors to develop and to implement them. Furthermore, we believe that the food system has to be included in the climate debates, instead of being tackled silently. Different studies prove that industrial agriculture is responsible for about 50% of greenhouse gas emissions and for several social, financial and climate injustices around the world. At the same time small scale food producers have been working for decades and centuries with healthy practices, which respect the nature and social relations between communities. Since years LVC has been working together with its allies in the establishment of food sovereignty as a strategy to achieve a holistic system change, which is based on solidarity, humanity and respect to Mother Earth. In this sense, food sovereignty offers an umbrella for an extremely important convergence among the different sectors of the society. And we believe this is the only way to achieve a holistic system change.

Maxime Combes is an economist and member of Attac France

From our perspective, the climate justice movement has grown and is stronger now than after Copenhagen, and even stronger than one year ago, in 2015, especially in France and maybe at the European level. From the global divestment day (February 13 and 14), to the actions organized in Paris at the end of COP 21 (December 12); through Keystone XL freeze; the blockade of a coal mine in Germany (August 15th); the Alternatiba dynamics which has gathered hundreds of thousands of people in France over the summer; or the mobilizations against the funds that banks grant to projects which destroy the climate; we have multiplied actions and mobilizations over the last 12 months. We have to think how far we moved forward in a world getting worse and worse. The climate justice movement is not about to overturn the dreadful and loathsome policies going on, but we think we are able to win significant victories. Of course, the Paris agreement doesn't solve anything. It includes many clauses and commitments which open way to projects that will further disrupt our climate. This comes to no surprise. But once the agreement will be ratified, it'll be there to last: it won't be reviewed on the short and mid-term. Whatever your opinion about the Paris agreement is, let's think if we can use it, and how we can use it, to move towards climate justice.

Dorothy-Grace Guerrero – Transnational Institute (TNI)
The Climate Crisis Cannot be Solved by Capitalist Solutions

The development of modern capitalism, in its globalized form, is intimately connected with climate change. Climate change impacts unequally across regions, social classes, races and genders. It is one of the multiple deep crises of capitalism, and has always been both an ecological, and a social problem. Although climate change now is at the center of policy and development initiatives due to frequent and increasingly devastating natural disasters affecting millions, and despite making use of highly updated and sophisticated information and analyses, governmental responses are inappropriate. No governments are prepared to acknowledge that the capitalist economic model is based on plunder, waste and pollution. Free market ideology, big business and financial actors determine the dominant strategies in addressing climate change. The recently held COP21 in Paris, France will not deliver the much-needed results despite reported spin of its success by mainstream media, think tanks and governments. The post-COP15 policy landscape will further consolidate fraudulent business-oriented and market-controlled mechanisms disguised as climate change solutions. To start solving the climate crisis, three steps must be made: 1) a drastic and ambitious emissions reduction (through legally binding mitigation commitments (and without offsets), especially by historically huge emitters (developed countries). Emerging economies whose wealth and production is increasing, should also assume responsibility while deviating from wasteful and destructive consumption and production. The rest of the world will follow based on their capacities and development needs. 2) Leave 80 per cent of currently known fossil fuel reserves unexploited and come up with new socially transformative and just energy systems. 3) Start a shift towards a low-

carbon, post-capitalist and gender-fair society by changing the approach to development. This will require a change in the relationship between the forces of production, access to and management of resources, and to dramatically changing consumption patterns.
