
Beyond marketization and social protection – integrating the emancipatory dimension into the land grabbing debate

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Background & objectives

CDE is part of larger group of researchers investigating LSLA/LG and its implications in:

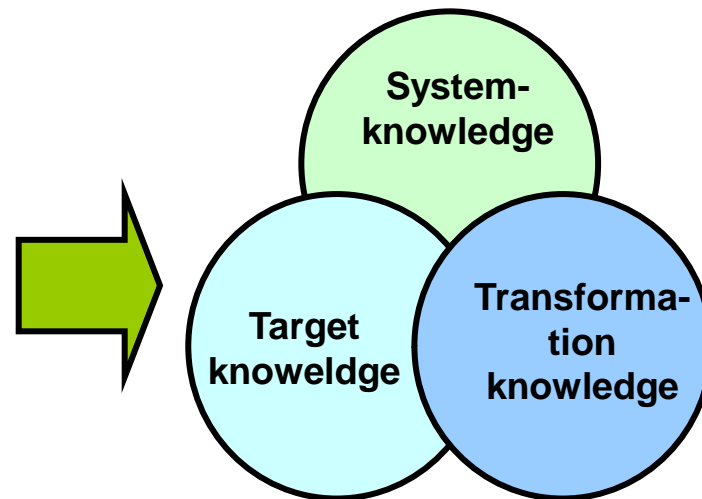
- an inter- and transdisciplinary mode of knowledge production
- CH: ISA, ICGS/IZFG, CRED, WTI, UniL, UniGE (human and bio-physical geography, agronomists, social anthropology, sociology, political economy, political ecology and international law)
- International levels: LandMatrix, ILC, Universities, NGOs, social movements
- Integration calls for conceptual framework beyond single participating disciplines
- What could be such a framework?

Sustainability principles

Economic efficiency
Ecological efficiency
Justice
Partizipation
Deliberative decision
making

(Brundtland, 1987; UNCED &
Agenda 21, 1992)

Application: transdisciplinary knowledge co-production



(according Hirsch Hadorn et al., 2006)

Controversy – societal negotiation of research questions

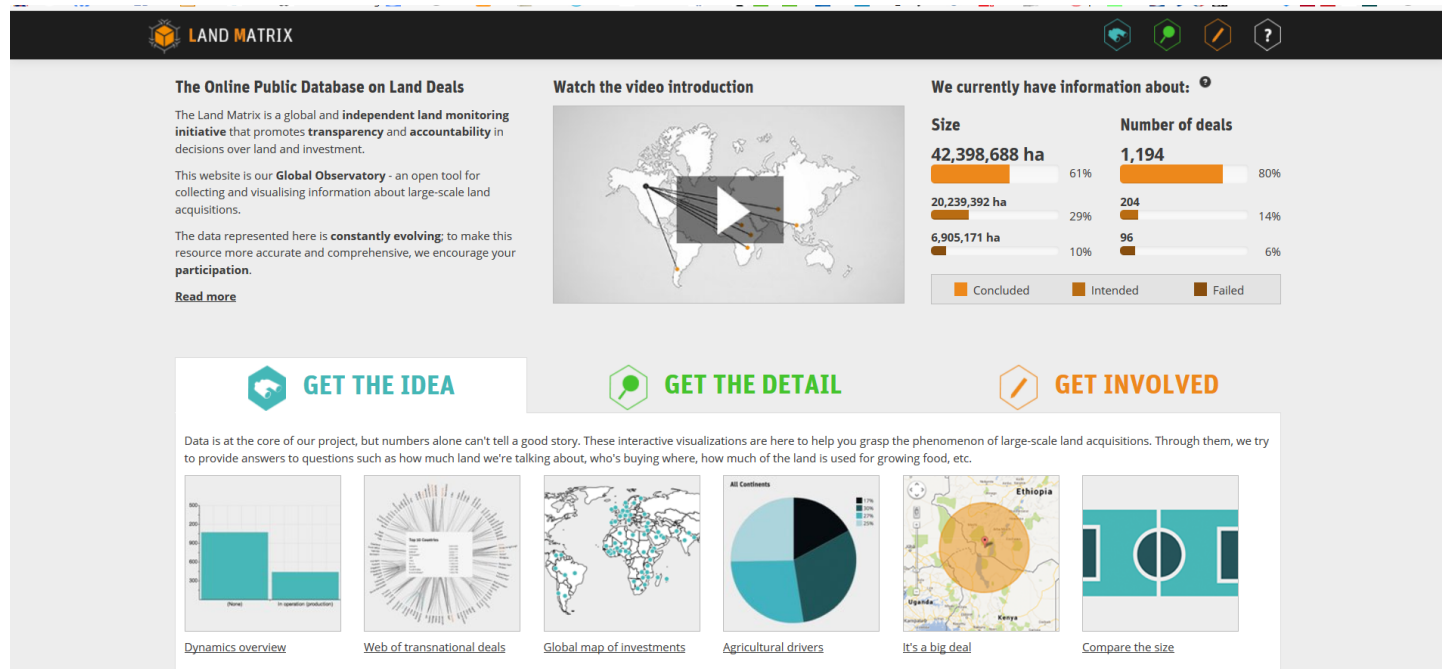


Social movements – effects on local people



Abb. 4-7: Eindrücke der Workshops in Ignacio Escudero und La Huaca

How extent of land grabs - Land matrix (crowd collection of information)



Research on geography of land deals

Legend for global map

Negotiation status

- Contract signed (115)
- Oral agreement (6)
- Under negotiation (9)
- No information (9)

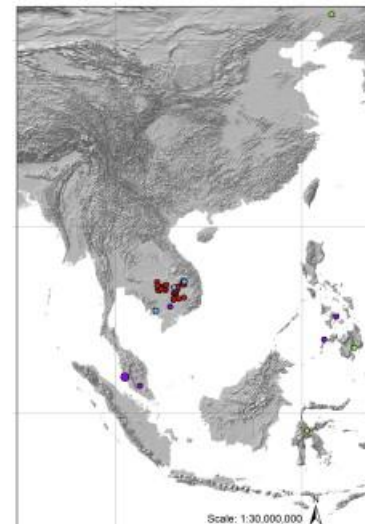
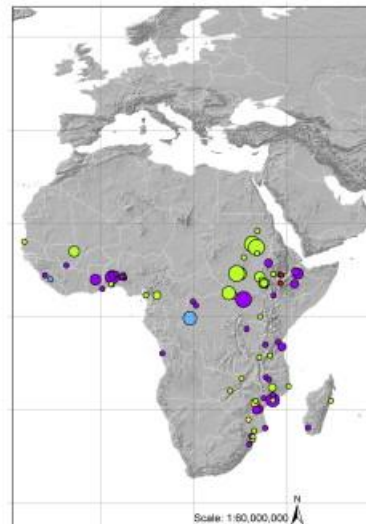
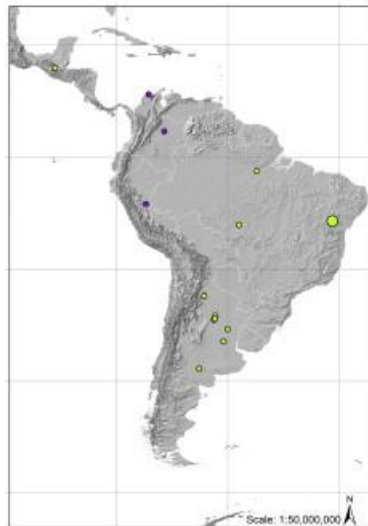
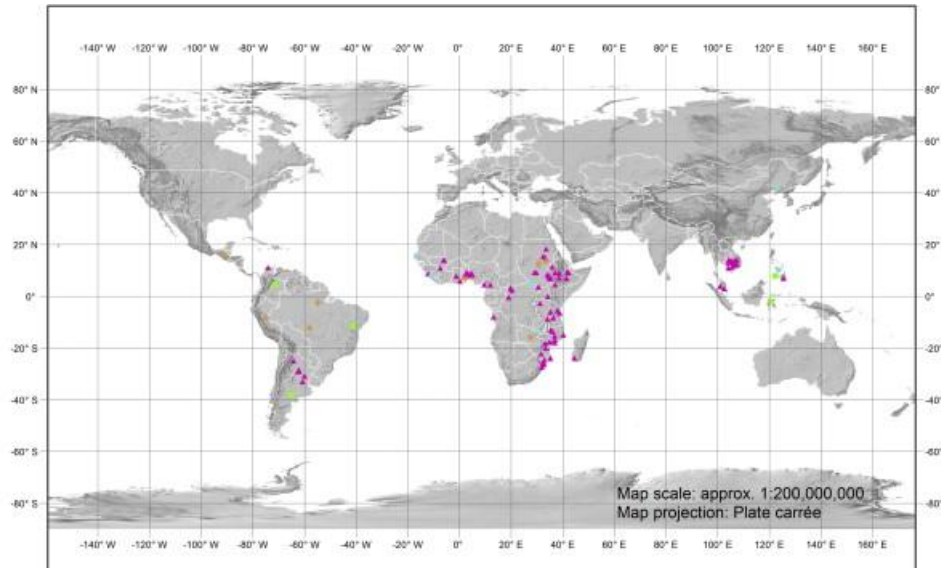
Legend for continental maps

Intended purpose

- Food crops
- Agrofuels
- Non-food agricultural commodities
- Agriculture
- Livestock
- Renewable energy

Contracted or intended size [ha]

- 0 - 20,000
- 20,000 - 50,000
- 50,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 200,000
- 200,000 - 1,000,000



The global map gives an overview of the large-scale land acquisitions documented in the Land Matrix database (situation in April 2013) with a spatial accuracy of <10 km. Colored symbols indicate the negotiation status of these land deals.

Idle lands? - Main affected areas

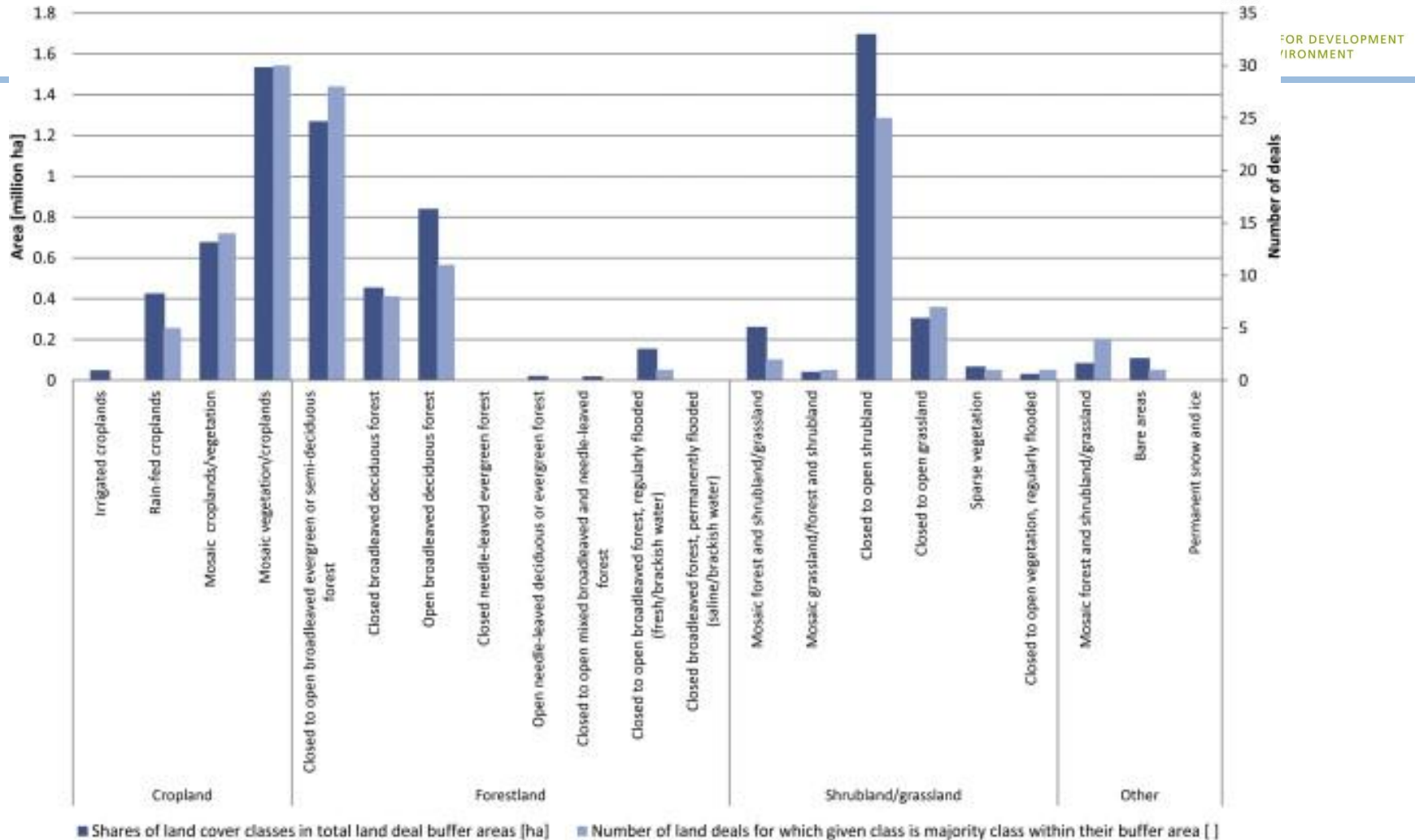


Fig. 2 Shares of land cover classes in total land deal buffer areas [ha] and number of land deals mainly affecting each class within their buffer area []. $N = 139$. Land cover classes were grouped into four broader types: cropland,...

Sociology/ethnography of land deals

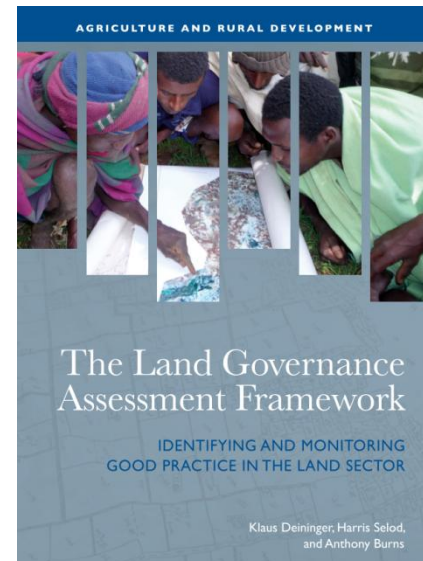
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- ➔ What is enabling Large Scale Land Investments, what are their effects on livelihoods and institutional mechanisms regulating access to, and use of natural resources?
- ➔ Where do local actors perceive alternatives?

Case study in Peru (Piura)

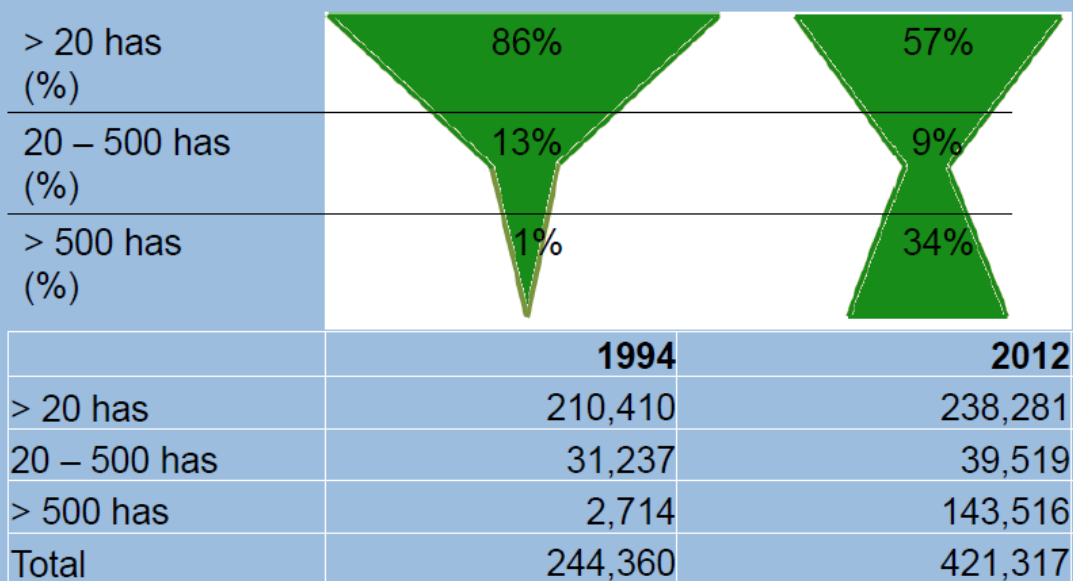


Imágenes de los campos de producción de caña de azúcar y de la fábrica de etanol de Cofia Brava.



Transformation land tenure 1994-2012 in Peru

New «post-agrarian reform» setting: Co-existence of large-scale investors and small-scale farmers



Reconcentration of land

Landscape transformation

> Akquisition of 6'670 has through «Caña Brava»



Neoliberal policy reforms land and water

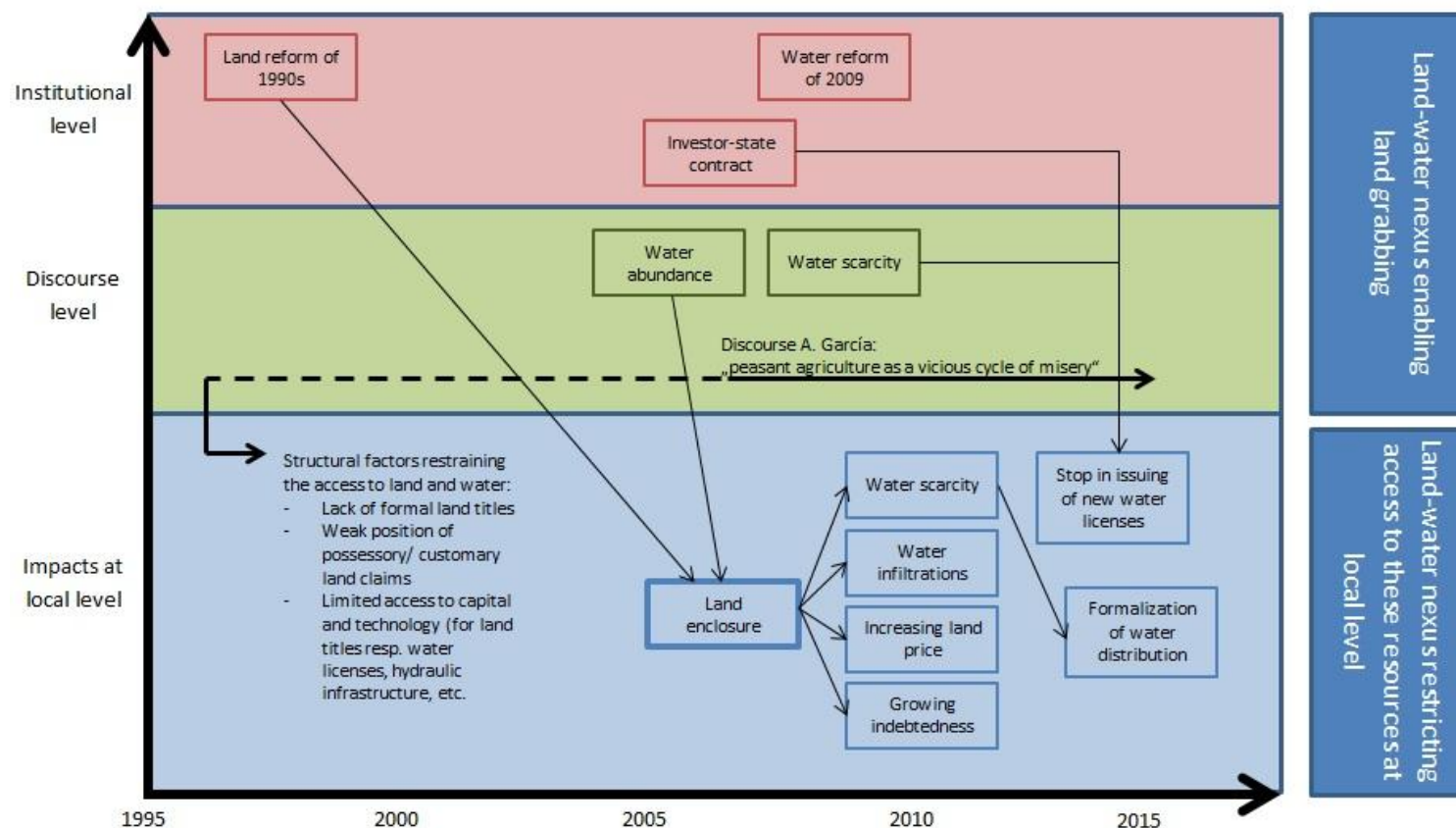


Figure: The land-water nexus in Peru

Tejada et al. (2016)

Local expressions

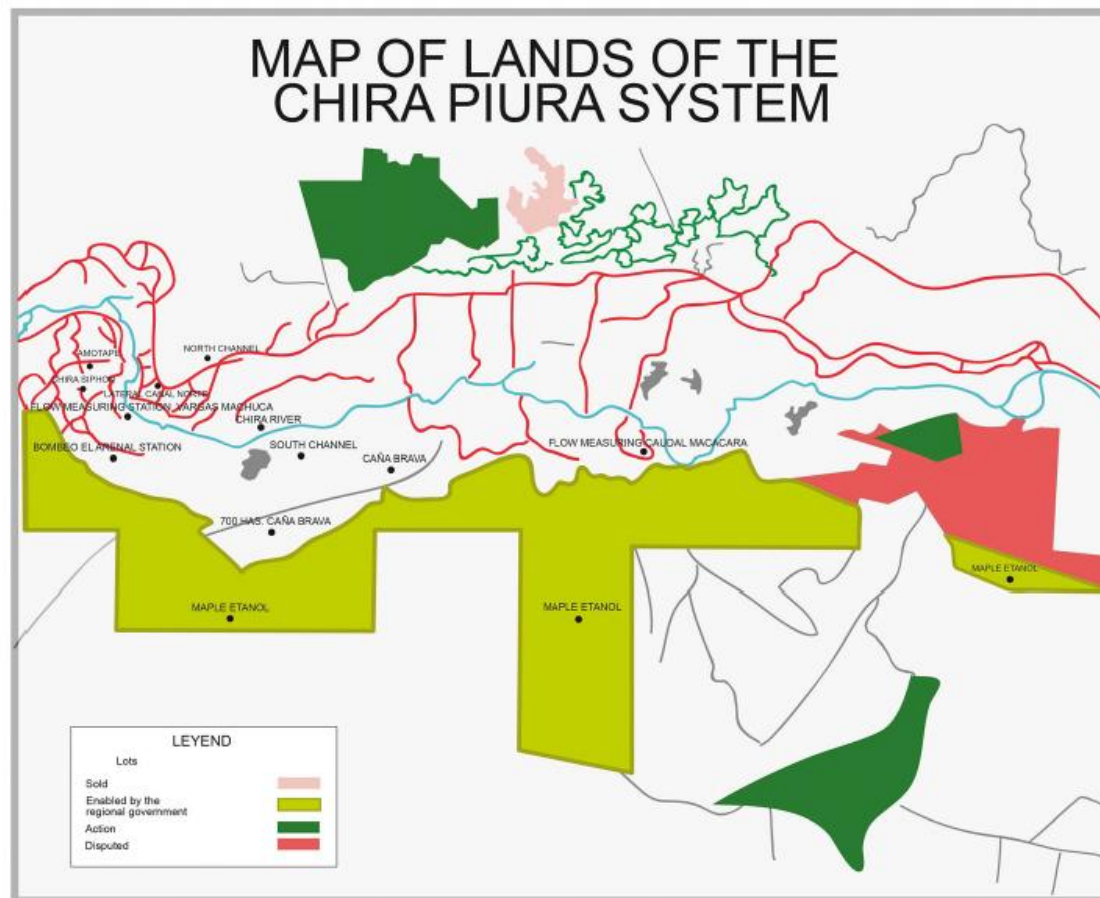


Figure 3: New lands incorporated into the Chira-Piura system Urteaga-Crovetto, 2016

Multiple factors of access to benefit from resource use (land, water) in Piura

Bundle of rights	Outgrower-campesinos	Sugar cane company
Land rights	Formal, collective unalienable	Formal, private, alienable
Water rights	Collective, exchangeable	Collective, exchangeable
Bundle of powers, access through:		
Technology	Unappropriated, capital intensive	Made for large-scale use
Capital	No specific institutions, no private reliables	Banks, reliables, government loans and guarantees
Markets	Indirect access through contractor	
Labor	Scarce and costly	Abundant, low cost, special agrarian labor regime
Authority	Conflictive relation with private and state elites	Full alliance between private and state elites
Identity	Complex web of private, individual and collective preferences	Rather simple aim of gaining profit and growth
Social relationships	Formation as social movement, direct action, alliances with NGO, religious organizations, personalities	Formal and informal organizations of professional, political and personal lobbying

Perception of systemic transformations



We lost our commons
and now we need true
land reforms and
constitutional change
made by people

Here, where I stand before there were trees and crops. We took out wood for the houses, and during the rainy season people went to cultivate sorghum and maize.

Now we all have to earn money for buying our food.

But the money is insufficient for that, we cannot survive; there is no other option we have to defend our land and resources; they are not made for being sold as if they were a commodity; we can sell the products resulting from labouring our land, but not the land and water.

Now they talk to us of the need financialization of agriculture, land and houses, but we cannot eat finances...

→ Questioning commodification of land/nature,
labour/social relations & money (as exchange means)

Is this “development”?



Sr. Luis Leiton Pasache, Presidente de Asociación de Cañicultores del Bajo Chi ha sembrado, en el sector La Esperanza, Distrito Pueblo Nuevo Colón.

Before we were looking for nature, but now nobody cares. We lost our touch with nature.



Questioning values underlying to
“development”

Local resistance

Against the repressive, corrupt, exclusionary state, which promotes marketisation pushing for the commodification of land, labor and money

Cinco personas mueren en un choque múltiple de autos en Piura

La carretera Paíta-Sullana ha sido bloqueada por pobladores del caserío de Buena Aventura, distrito de La Huaca (Piura).



La carretera Paíta-Sullana ha sido bloqueada por pobladores del caserío de Buena Aventura, distrito de La Huaca (Piura). Ellos reclaman por la quema de cañaverales, que realizó la empresa Caña Brava, perjudicando así la visión de los conductores quienes protagonizaron un quintuple choque durante la noche del lunes.

El alcalde Juan Carlos Acaro Talledo, a través de resolución municipal prohibió el pase de vehículos hacia el fundo y denunció a la empresa como responsable del accidente.

Por su parte, las personas del caserío exigen el cierre del paso del agua hacia la empresa Caña Brava.

Local alternatives



«Self-determinaiton, self-management, solidarity, cooperation recreates our dignity and communities and allow us caring for the land, but in new way than we did before»

Organic, fair trade banana cooperatives



Case study Sierra Leone



Recognizing and integrating informal institutions



Paramount Chief Bai Sebor
Kassangha II of Bombali
Sebor Chiefdom, Northern
Sierra Leone



Recognized by formal
institutions

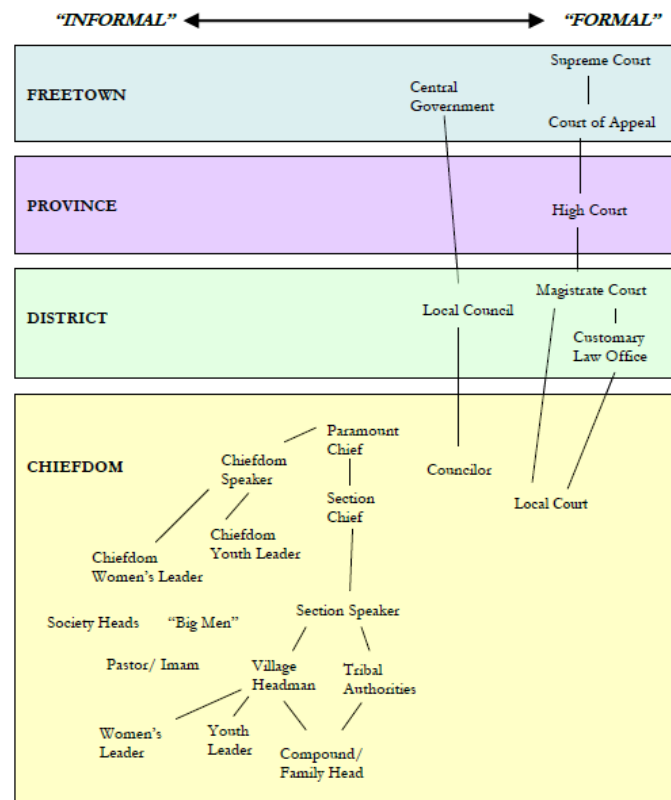


Sugar cane for ethanol (exportation in
EU)
267 Millionen Euro Investment of private
Swiss Investor and African Development
Bank and 11 other financial institutions

Land tenure system



Paramount Chief Bai Sebor
Kassangha II of Bombali
Sebor Chiefdom, Northern
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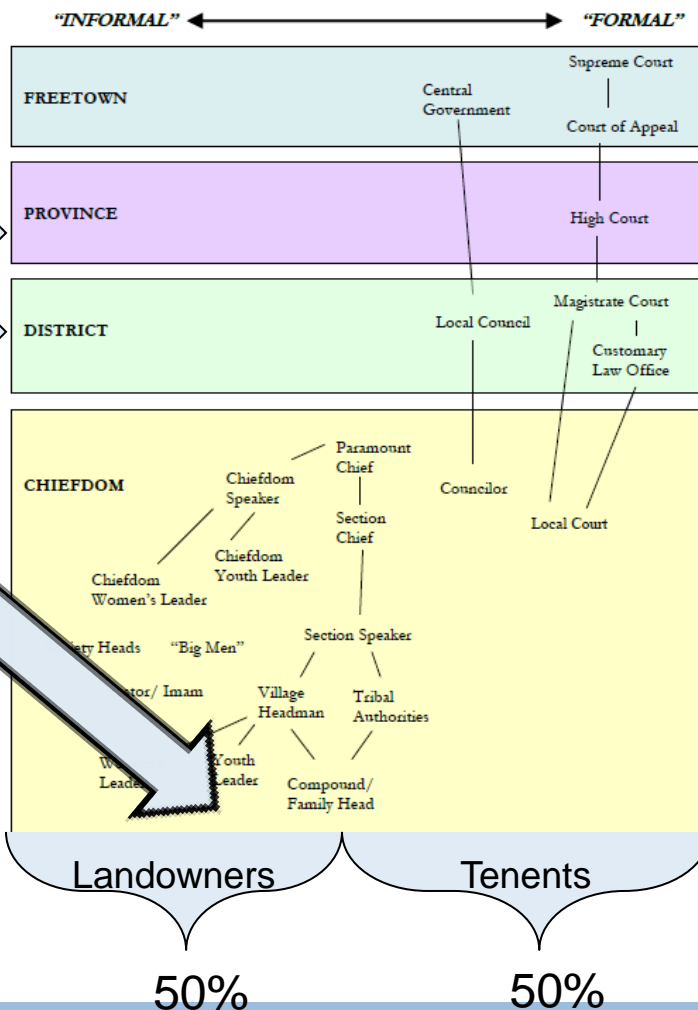


Manning (2009)

Linking investors and landowners

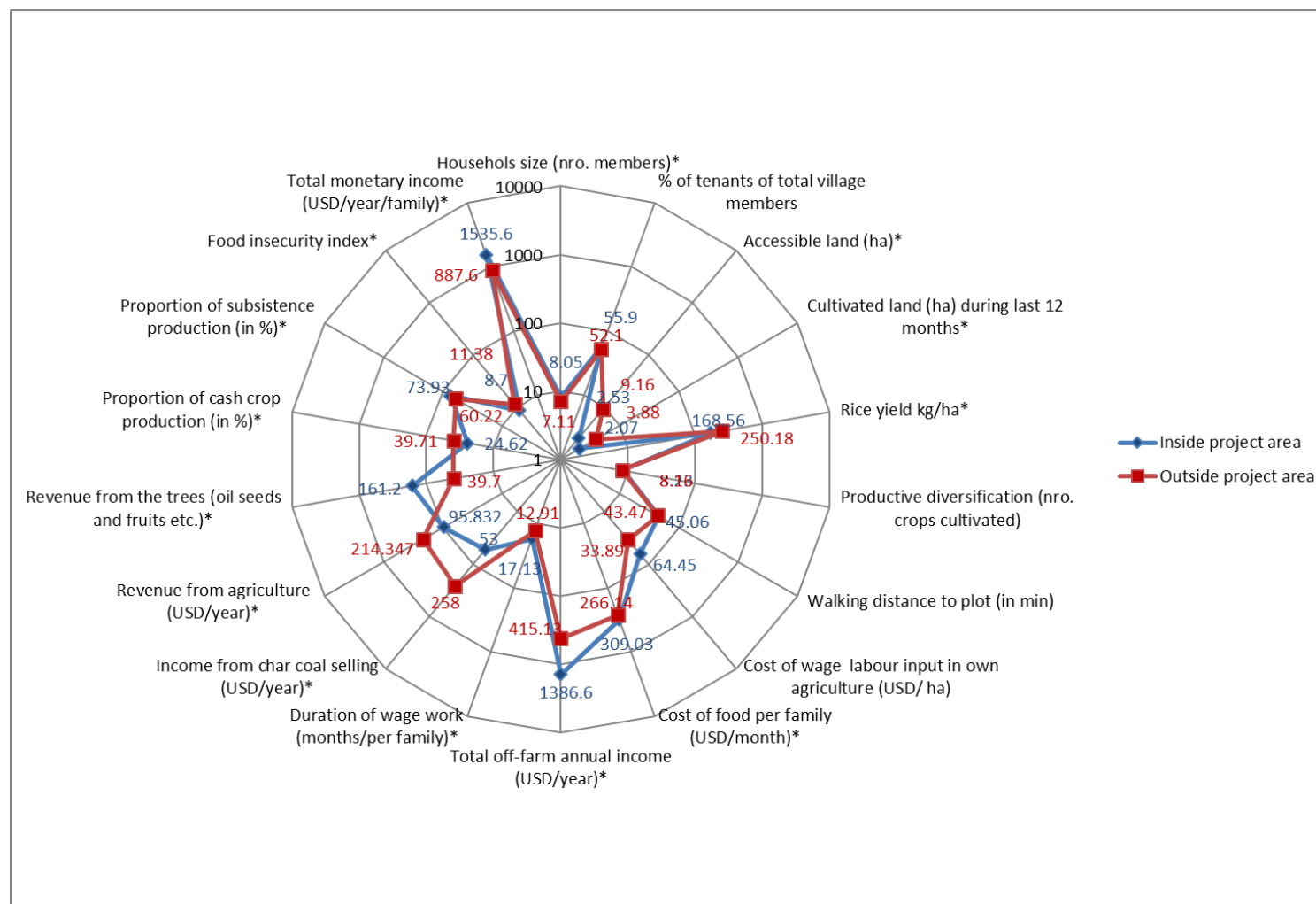


Contracts

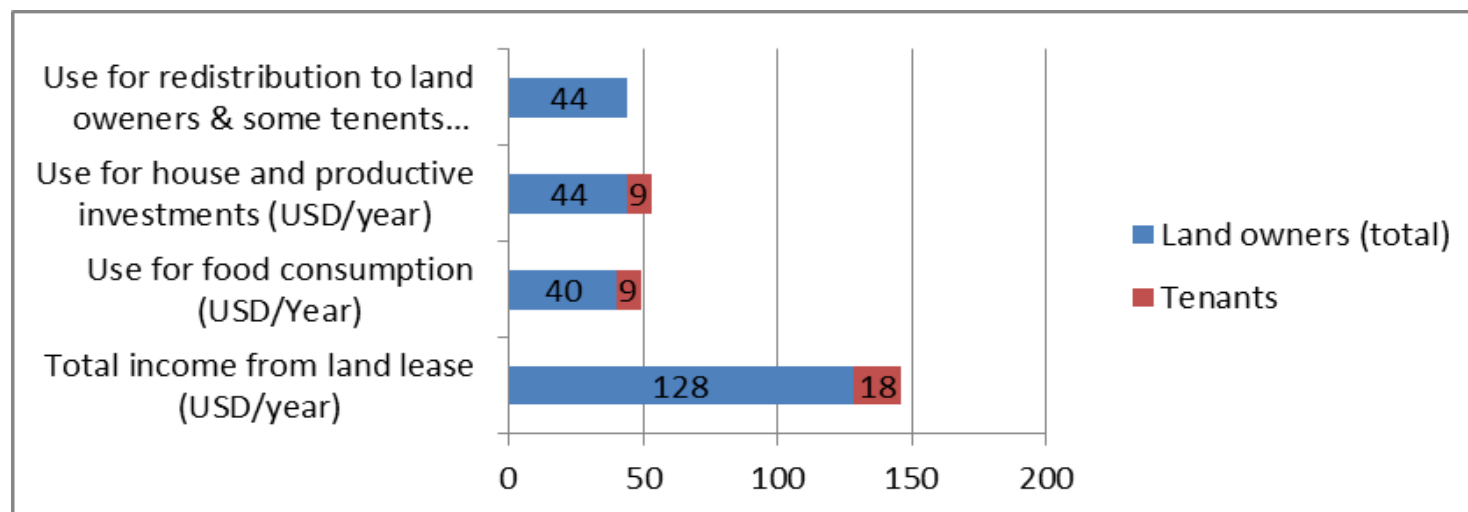


**AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
BANK GROUP**
Building today, a better
Africa tomorrow

Livelihood impacts (in-outside)



Systemic transformation - distribution of lease payments – elite capture



Bottazzi et al. (forthcoming)

Youth and gender perspectives

We **the youth**, are not yet sure if the coming of ADDAX is good for us; neither boys nor girls have land and we are not getting money from the payments of the company.

Many of us, **the migrants**, are not owning land and we therefore do not receive lease payments or compensations for lost land.

Maybe it would be good to **give land to every one**; yes the elders would not be happy, but we are not pleased about not receiving land lease money from ADDAX; but our behaviour and actions have never been violent, let alone to making protests.“

➔ Property (private) as a hope for emancipation from traditional social structures

Bottazzi et al. 2015

Hope for social reproduction through markets?

“My strong appeal on behalf of our children to the management of ADDAX and all stakeholders is to **make permanent the employment of our children**. If our children are employed on a permanent basis, then we are sure of them taking care of us in our old age. Terminating their services within two to three months causes more burden, frustrations and pains for our families. **Our children are our caretakers in our old age**”

Marketization as a possibility if social functions of economy are guaranteed....?

Bottazzi et al. 2015





EU Preis USD/gallon





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Latest update on Addax Bioenergy operation in Sierra Leone

24 MARCH 2016

AOG, as main shareholder, and Addax Bioenergy have extended the review process of their pioneering sugarcane bioethanol operation in Makeni, Sierra Leone.

This follows the [announcement](#) in June 2015 of their decision to downscale the operation and to conduct a 6-month review of all options for the future, in collaboration with H.E. the President of Sierra Leone and his government.

FOR SALE!

Theorizing land deals

Liberal perspective

Focus on potentials for (+/- responsible) expansion of capitalist modes of production based on “trickle down philosophy”

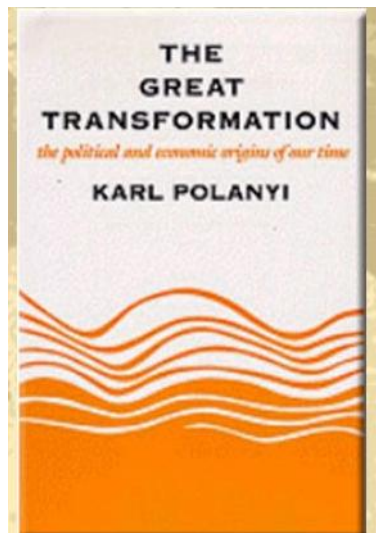
Improve “good governance” of land and NR

- Transparency
- Accountability
- Participation
- Due diligence (hard and soft law)

➔ Land rights securitization, training and market access

➔ Dialectic between marketization and regulation/protection of social rights by state

The great transformation reloaded?



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rSuz01zvOjE>

The great transformation

- **Labour** (human activity reproducing life from where it comes from), **land** (nature), and **money** (product of social relations symbolizing exchange values) turned into **FICTIOUSE COMMODITIES**, which actually were not made for sale.
 - “The expansion of market forces would sooner or later be met by a **countermovement** aiming at **conservation of nature, of man and nature**, as well as productive organization, and **using protective legislation and other instruments of intervention** as its methods” (Polanyi, 1944:134)
 - Sustainability as a countermovement to commodification?
-

Mainstream responses of societies

Marketization (“price of development”) alliance between governments, investors, and groups of local people

Focus on gradual disembedding of economic relations from social control

ONGs and more progressive governments

Regulation (hard, soft law, CSR, EIA, HRIA, HIA) assuming that if regulated LD are pathway to “development”, securing land rights, “good” (neo)liberal governance

Focus on gradual re-embedding of economic relations from social control

Land rush in critical perspective

Establishment of **new enclosures** (large land holdings, labour hiring companies, factories, special economic development zones).

Competition with, and dispossession of means of subsistence, commons, reciprocal relations **resulting in exacerbation of elite capture** of benefits and **power asymmetries** between actor categories differentiate by gender, age, class and ethnic belongings

Weakening of state's capacity to regulate “development” allowing long term tax exemptions and tax evasions, assuming financial debt for infrastructure construction

➔ Risk of overemphasising structural dimension of socio-ecological realities that might lead to paternalistic trap of social protection, perpetuating existing forms of domination

Extension to our times & the land rush



Triple movement...

Prof Nancy Fraser, Henry A. and Louise Loeb Professor of Political and Social Science and Department Chair at the New School for Social Research in New York

Emancipation/Self-organization
(non domination, overcoming
obstacles for full participation in
all forms of life)



Social Protection/States
(Social stability,
solidarity)

Marketization
(Individual choice,
freedom from
interference)

Links to large scale land investments?

Articulate local hopes, resistance and alterantives

Youth and gender perspectives



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Bottazzi et al. 2015

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Local alternatives



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Organic, fair trade banana cooperatives



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➔ **Rethink the current expressions of markets and states in terms of emancipation**

Beyond social protection and marketization?

- Rethink paternalist or ineffective social protection and marketization in function of emancipation of affected people
- Is a historic tendency surviving radical transformations of agrarian structures
- Hints for alternatives are manifold and existing:
 - Collective, communal, or **common property rights** (land reforms)
 - Self-managed and deliberative associative forms of organizing business activities (coops etc.)
 - Struggle for a state that is able to put **basic conditions and regulations in place enabling** self-realization of emancipatory skills, social, economic and trade relations ranging from local to global levels.
 - Become part of a **movement of movements** that without ignoring local diversity are able coordinating globally (fair trade, organic, agroecology, CBA, food sovereignty of *via campesina*, local currencies, social economy, etc.) a process of **de-commodification** of land/nature, labour/human capacities, money/social relations

Emancipation

(non domination, overcoming
obstacles for full participation in all
forms of life)



**Democratization/
deliberative
capacity**

Social Protection

(Social stability, solidarity)

Marketization

(Individual choice,
freedom from
interference)

Thank you!

Where to go from here?

Move towards dynamic, multi-level alliances of social and political grass root movements addressing single, several or all seven spheres of action heading towards:

- Thinking and moving beyond the systemic boundaries set by current forms of liberal or state capitalist societies
- Creating new forms of social organizations based in multitudes and commons (Negri & Hart) that are able to embed economic relations in wider societal structures
- Agency and structure relations that favour emancipation, democratization of economic activities and the “rights of nature” as part of wider nature-society relationship.

Beyond social protection and marketization.....?

Struggles related to land rush are part of longer tradition of **resisting the enclosure of commons and the dispossession of property rights controlled by local people**

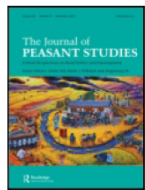
However, **just going back** to how it was before is often not claimed for

Collective imaginaries are expressing search for **different re-embedding of markets** into the wider societal fields representing socio-economic and cultural creativity of local people (*land reform, different notion of wage related to social reproduction, new notions of “development and society-nature relationships...”*)

A common feature is the search for more **emancipatory relations** of agency and structure

Every day politics

Politics in peasant societies is mostly the everyday, quotidian sort. Hence, if one looks only for politics in conventional places and forms, much would be missed about villagers' political thought and actions as well as relationships between political life in rural communities and the political systems in which they are located.



The Journal of Peasant Studies



ISSN: 0306-6150 (Print) 1743-9361 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tjps20>

Everyday politics in peasant societies (and ours)

Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet

To cite this article: Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet (2009) Everyday politics in peasant societies (and ours), The Journal of Peasant Studies, 36:1, 227-243, DOI: [10.1080/03066150902820487](https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150902820487)

Dimensions of sustainability research and pathways for transformation (Jerneck et al. 2011)

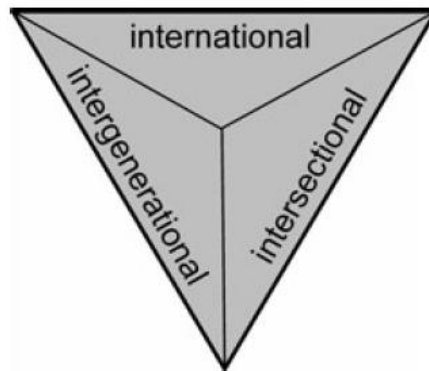


Fig. 3 Three dimensions of justice and fairness

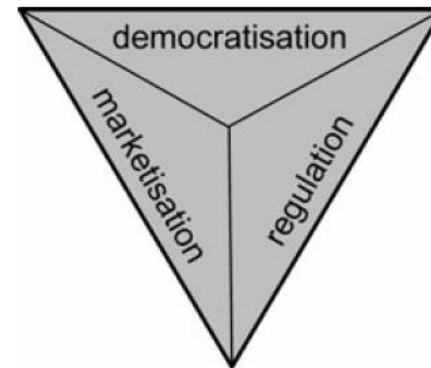
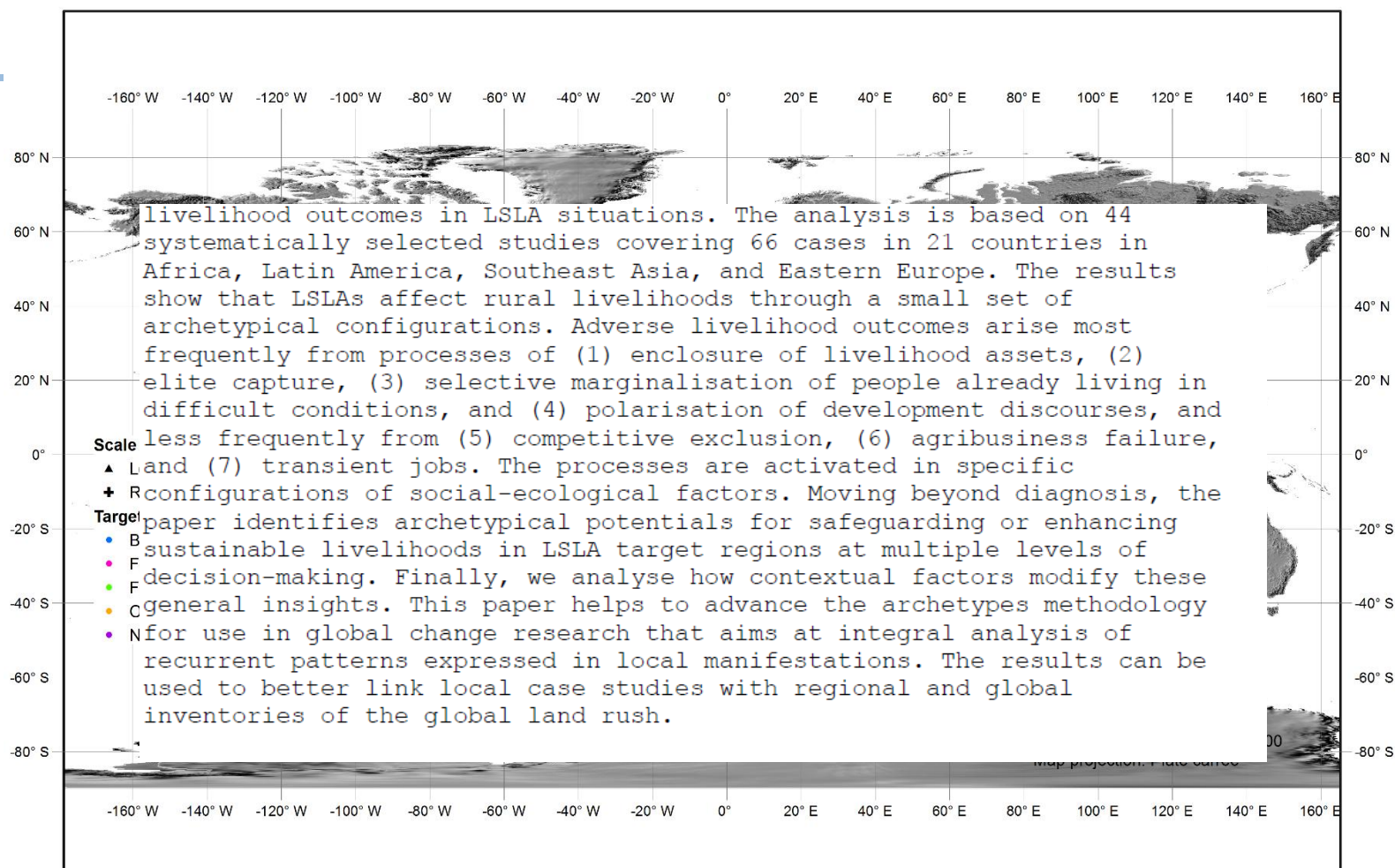


Fig. 4 Three domains of responses to sustainability challenges available for the state

Generalization



LOPMENT
IT

Every day politics and liveworlds

(Habermas' Theory of communicative action; discourse ethics)



Strategic action

Oriented in **ego-centric interests/utility**

- ➔ Negotiation processes
- ➔ Social-political economic system/structures



Communicative action

Oriented in **mutual understanding** as basis for collective action aiming at the **public good**

- ➔ Joint (collective) learning processes
- ➔ Life world

Empowerment & emancipation in the land rush

Marketization of formerly socially strongly embedded social relations e.g. into traditional societies or marginalized groups (women, youth), often bear potentials for **transformation beyond existing power relations**, e.g. securization of land, water and other resource rights, increasing political participation through decentralization etc.

However, potential benefits are often not realized by **elite capture** of additional wealth objectively produced.

This exacerbates – or, at least makes more explicit– existing asymmetric power relations between class, gender, generations, ethnic groups, etc.

New actors emerge (social movements, NGOs, competing companies) and make possible new political action

This opens **new alternatives when power relations inherent to markets and states** are questioned

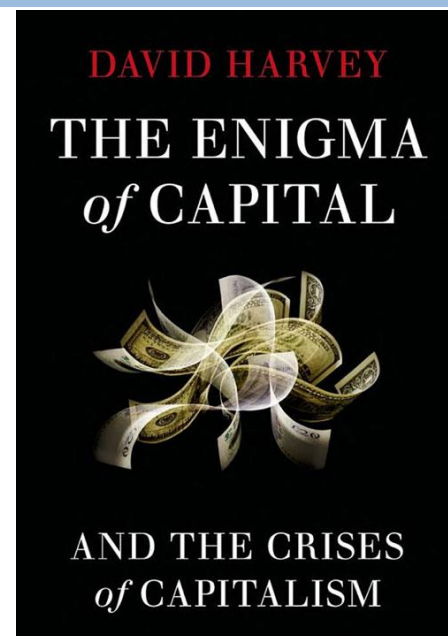
How to conceptualize the effects and prospects of land deals considering that they have to:

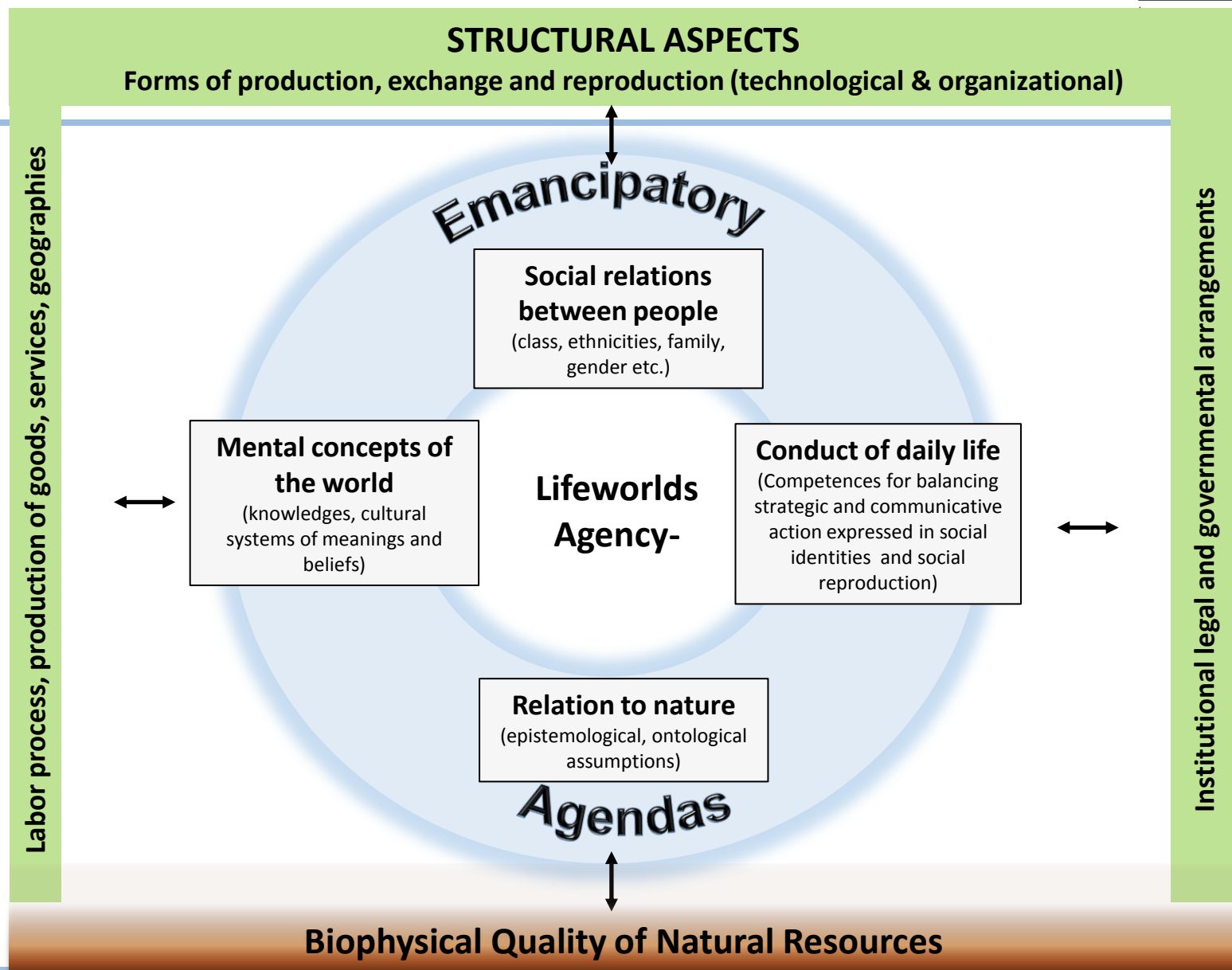
- express every day politics covering local to national levels?
- address the interplay of agency and structure in the view of emancipation of dominated actor-categories?
- embraces nature-society relationships?

Reproduction cycle of capital in present times

1. Mental conceptions of the world, embracing knowledges and cultural understandings and beliefs;
2. the relation to nature;
3. the conduct of daily life that underpins social reproduction;
4. social relations between people, including class, gender and family relations;
5. technological and organizational forms of production, exchange and reproduction;
6. labour processes and production of specific goods, geographies; services or affects ;
7. institutional, legal and governmental arrangements.

➔ **Permanent co-evolution within the whole cycle and within its seven components**







Comm. action in ideal-typical life-world

1. LANGUAGE: Understandable =
Philosophical discourse
2. OBJECTIVE WORLD: Truth =
theoretical discourse
3. SOCIAL WORLD: Justice=
ethical discourse
4. SUBJEKTIVE WORLD:
Authenticity = Personality,
identify discourse

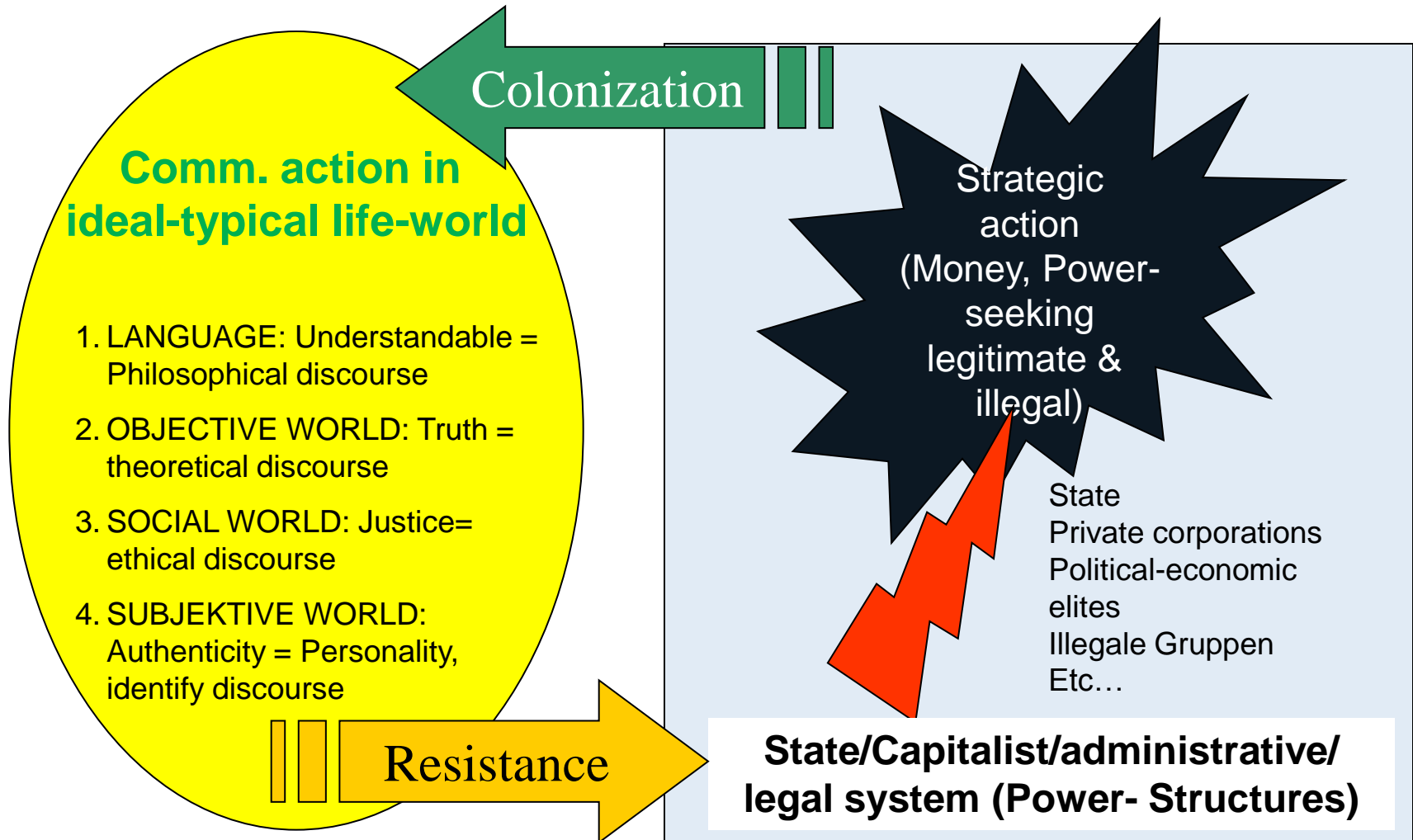
Why is communicative action prevailing?

Comm. action in ideal-typical life-world

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Why is communicative action prevailing?



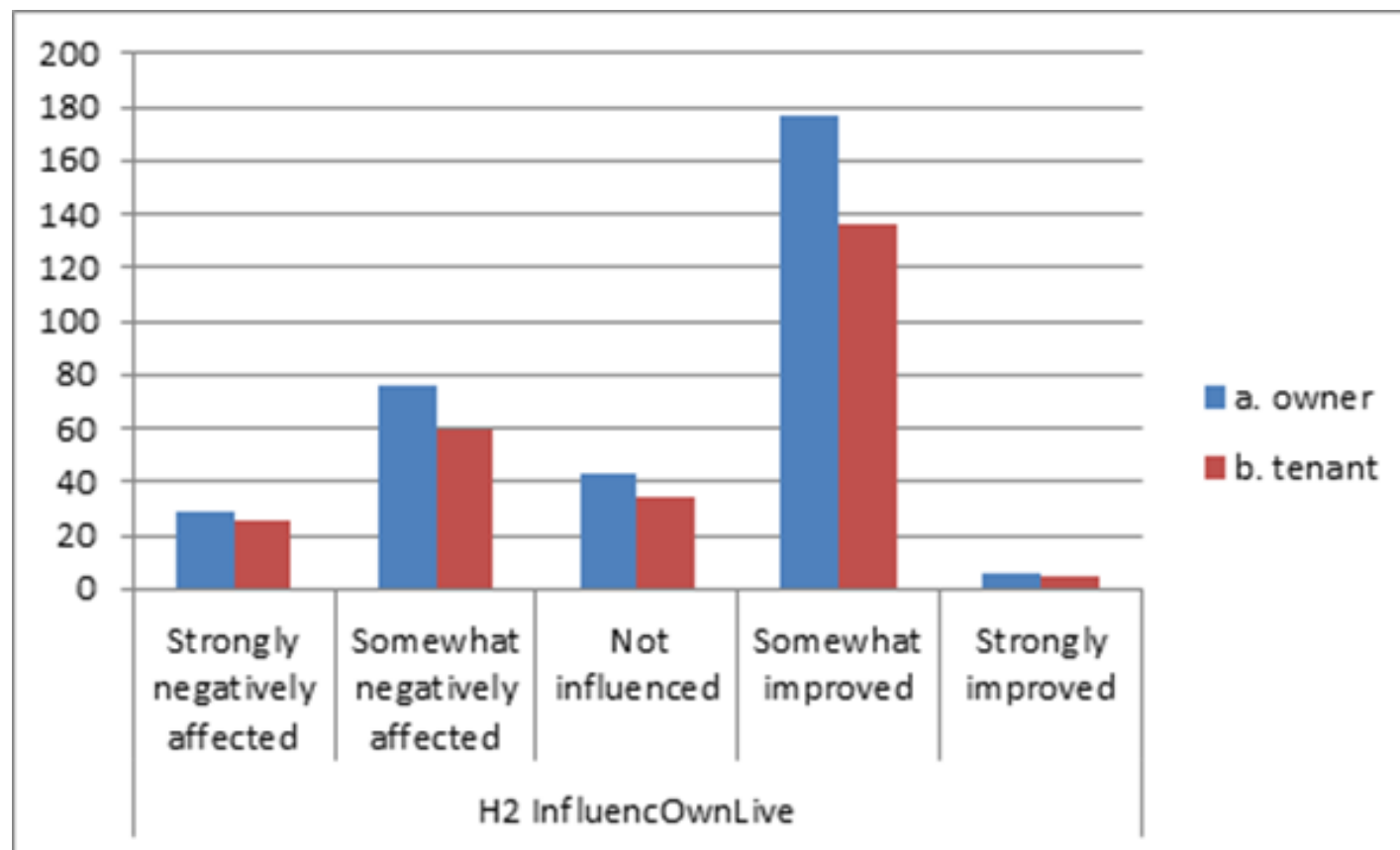
Emancipation

(non domination, overcoming
obstacles for full participation in all
forms of life)



Social Protection
(Social stability, solidarity)

Marketization
(Individual choice,
freedom from
interference)



Institutionality?

I.) Popular participation is indirect; citizens choose who make the decisions through the electoral vote.

II.) Popular participation is limited as the act of voting is limited to every few years.

III.) Popular participation is mediated; people are linked to the government through various institutions.

Liberal democracy

Representative democracy. Combines the liberal goal of limited government with a commitment to democracy and popular participation. Basic conditions are:

- Elections must respect the principle of universal suffrage and are to be free and fair.
- Civil liberties and individual rights are guaranteed
- The government must operate in a legal, constitutional framework
- A capitalist or private enterprise economy.

A Liberal democracy attempts to balance the need for democracy with individual freedoms and rights.

Deliberative Democracy

(Dryzek, 2011; compulsory reading)

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1. Integration of **multiple perspectives** on complex issues
2. Prioritisation of **public goods** and generalizable interests over sectional, individual interests
3. Facilitation of **positive sum discourses** such as ecological modernization
4. **Co-existence** of moments of **consensus and contestation**

Towards a working definition...

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Deliberative democracy is a field of political inquiry that is concerned with **improving collective decision-making**. It emphasizes the **right, opportunity, and capacity of anyone** who is subject to a collective decision to **participate** (or have their representatives participate) in **consequential deliberation** about that decision. “Consequential” means deliberation must have some influence.

Deliberation is possible and practiced in progressive and conservative societies and organizations, as well as in organizations and states without competitive elections, e.g. Chinese Communist Party

Types of democracy

Three types of democracy

1. **DIRECT DEMOCRACY**- People make political decisions by themselves. Heads towards a form of self-government.
2. **REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY**- Indirect and limited form of democracy. People choose who make decisions on their behalf. Representative can be re-elected or removed during elections.
3. **DELIBERATIVE/PARTICIPATIVE DEMOCRACY** – Emphasizes on the **process and conditions of equal participation of all citizens**, beyond their participation in elections and referendums



Basic feature
of ancient,
traditional
and modern
collective
action



What is democracy?

- Democracy means “rule by the people.” (Demo//cracy)

Democracy is based on two values:

1. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION- where key decisions are made by the people, reflecting the notion of government by the people. In this context the “participants” are the electorate.
2. POLITICAL EQUALITY- where each citizen is free and has an equal opportunity to influence political decisions.

Three types of democracy

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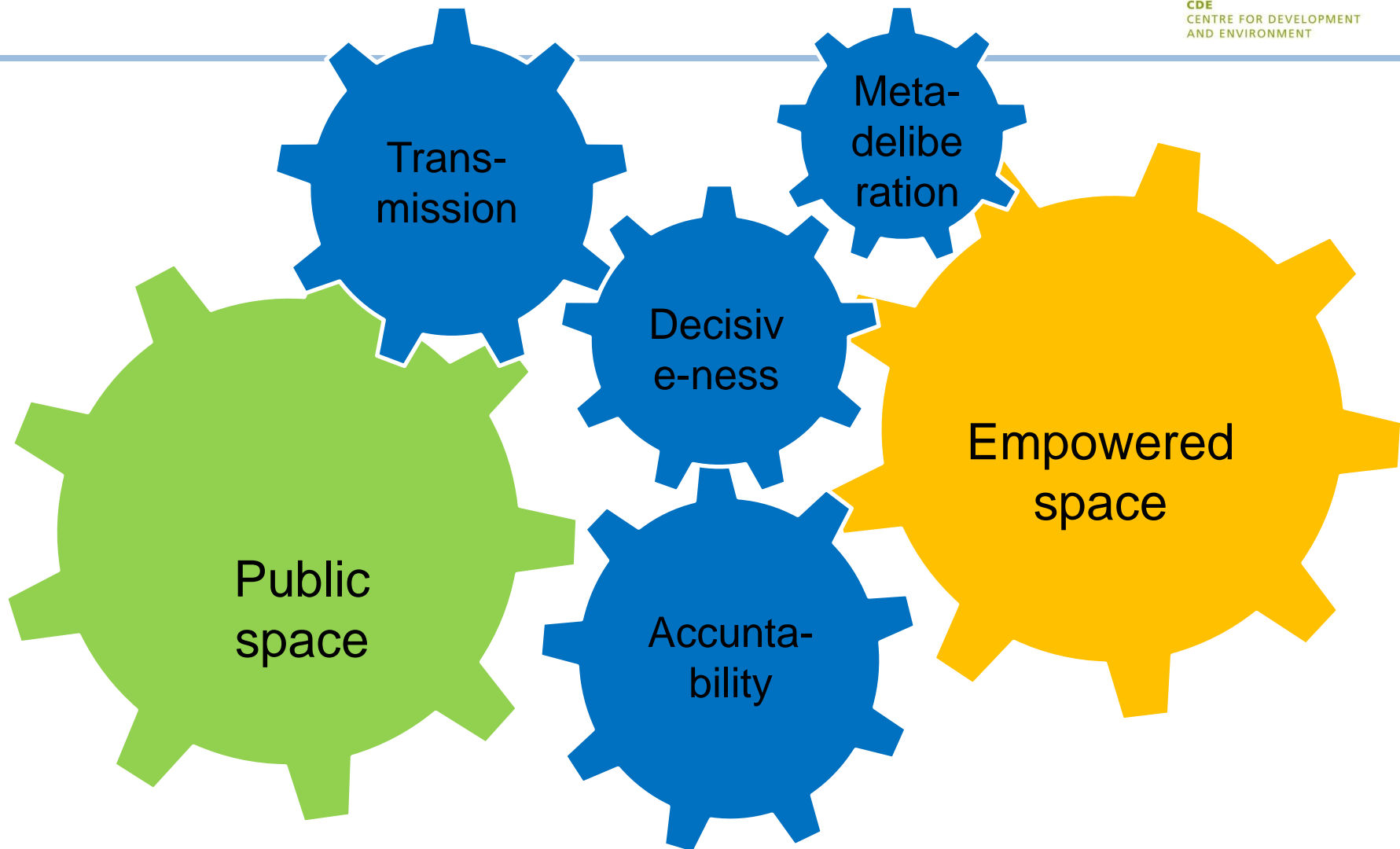


The deliberative system

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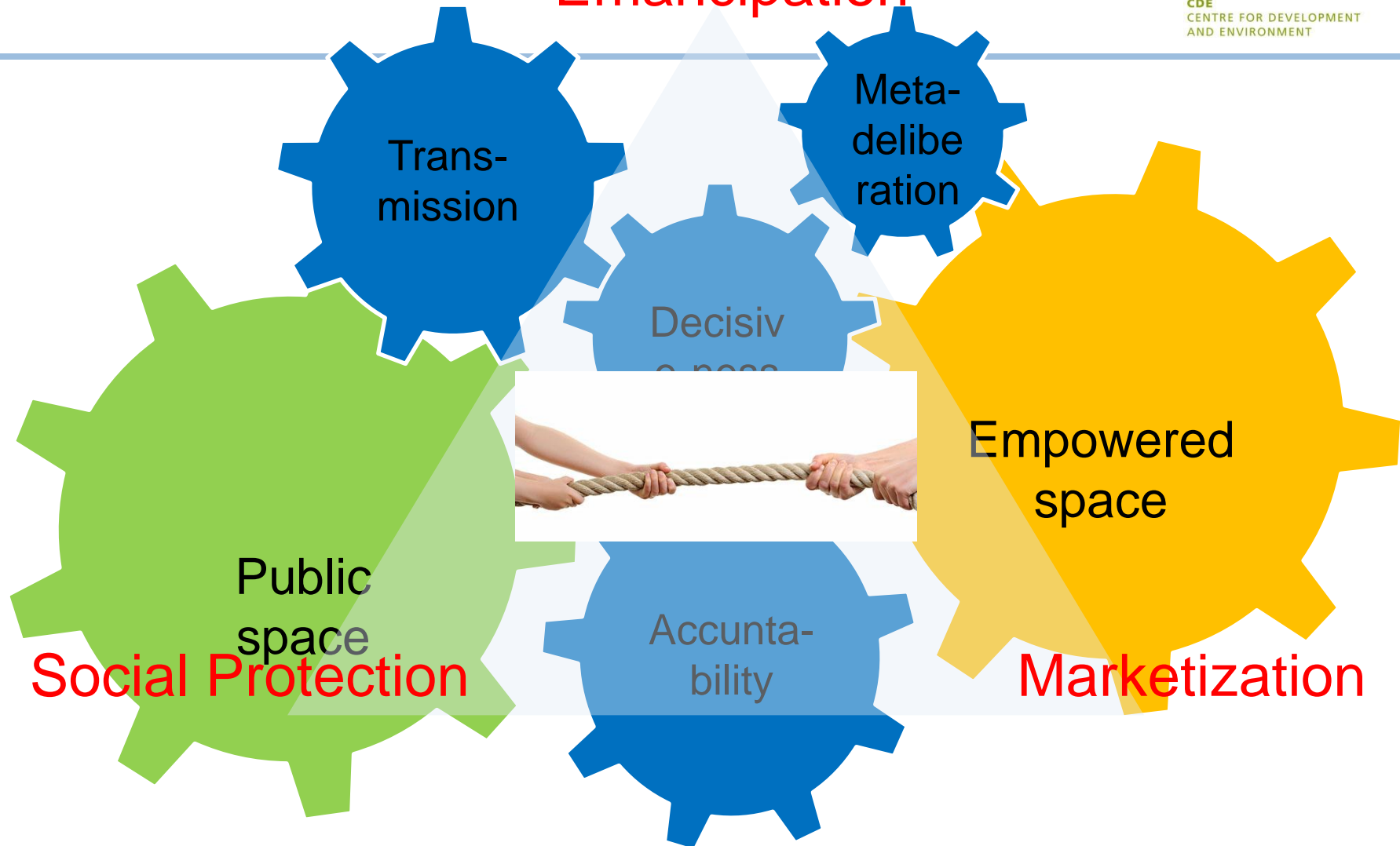
The deliberative system

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AND ENVIRONMENT

Emancipation



Why is communicative action prevailing?

