

Critical Agrarian Studies in the 21st Century

10-12 October 2023
Beijing, China

Conference Summary



Conference website:

<https://www.peasantjournal.org/news/draft-programme-critical-agrarian-studies-in-the-21st-century-international-conference/>

Welcoming Remarks

Prof Ye Jingzhong welcomed participants. Prof Lin Wanglong, vice president of China Agricultural University, gave a welcoming speech on behalf of CAU. Prof Ruth Hall welcomed everyone and thanked COHD and CAU, on behalf of the co-hosts together with CAU: Journal of Peasant Studies, Transnational Institute, and the Collective of Agrarian Scholar-Activists of the South (CASAS). No notes were taken.

Plenary 1: Looking back at 50 years of Critical Agrarian Studies and Peasant Struggles

Henry Bernstein reminded everyone of how Terry Byres had been the driving force behind the creation of JPS in 1973 and acknowledged the revival of JPS under Jun Borrás's editorship. He then presented some provocations. First, he raised questions as to the character of critical agrarian studies and whether it heralds the disintegration of the Marxist paradigm which, while perhaps limited in terms of alternatives, presents the most compelling basis for analysing capitalism historically and capitalism today. So, if a hundred flowers bloom, how do we see the weeds among the flowers? Second, what is scholar-activism, and is it about university-based scholars linking with movements? Bear in mind that most important intellectual socialists who have shaped radical thinking have been embedded in movements, and not in universities. Third, what is the relationship between movements like La Via Campesina and Critical Agrarian Studies? JPS has become more expansive, embracing agrarian populism – populism being an analytical term 'of the people' rather than pejorative. In this sense, embracing the peasant way forward runs the risk of concealing heterogeneity of classes within modern capitalism.

Ye Jingzhong's input on agrarian change in China emphasised the multiple forms in the agrarian structure that have co-existed and proceeded alongside one another, and how these have been pragmatically managed. Within agricultural production, amidst modernisation and capitalisation, peasant agriculture is still important. The peasantry has been defined by migration, the left-behind and the stayers. Rural society is centred on memory, a hollowing-out and revitalization. In land tenure, historically, a shift from landlords to land reform to collectivisation to household responsibility system has seen a distinction between ownership, contract, transfers and certification. By 2020, more than a third of peasants had transferred out their land, with land transfers of 38 million ha (36% of contracted land). Land transfers of use rights are for 500-1000 Yuan/mu (15 mu is a hectare), and about 200 million certificates have been issued. And while 58% of the population is still rural, only 53% of these are the 'staying' population. Theoretical perspectives to explain how people are simultaneously profit seekers, subsistence producers, and exploited workers. Agricultural taxes were abolished from 2006.

Morgan Ody of La Via Campesina discussed how LVC has set out to and succeeded in establishing the peasantry as a political subject of rights, and peasantries as major political actors. There are different sides to this struggle: on the one hand, 'We are changing the world' but simultaneously corporate power in the rural world, in farming and food systems, are extending climate-destroying technology and livelihood-destroying technology. The 8th international conference with LVC will focus on the six programme areas: food sovereignty; agrarian reform; peasant rights under UNDROP; agroecology; and peasant feminism. Priorities are to dismantle the WTO and establish a new international trade framework; build the commons and agrarian reform in the UN system, including

a new conference on agrarian reform and rural development; limit the powers of transnational companies; agroecology schools everywhere; strengthen member organisations to contest power and respond to natural disasters; build alliances with other social movements; and promote a different narrative.

Questions and comments for further consideration: First, progressive politics and the place of class and populism in politics – is there a role for strategic socialism? Second, in an urbanising world, legitimacy will be achieved primarily from the urban sector; what does this mean for peasant struggles? And how do, and can, urban people feature in land and agrarian struggles? Third, what are Henry Bernstein’s problems with the term ‘scholar-activist’ and is it necessarily different from intellectuals in movements? And how can scholar-activists be useful to a movement like to LVC? Fourth, how does critical agrarian studies engage with Black Lives Matter and the #MeToo movements? Fifth, if development has been equated with modernisation and agrarian transitions, and therefore a threat to peasant existence, how do we understand the erosion of the distinction between urban and rural worlds?

Plenary 2: Climate Justice and Agrarian Justice

A longstanding debate about the ecological dimensions of agrarian transformations has evolved into more discussion about how climate change (and responses to it) articulate with agrarian change.

Michael Levien of Johns Hopkins University started off pointing out that northern countries have colonised the atmospheric commons, and climate justice requires rapid decarbonising, starting with the US, and using climate mitigation and adaptation to reverse rather than reproduce internal social inequalities within societies. His current work in Louisiana, a petro-rentier state, addresses how energy transition can look there, and he suggests three research programmes connected to the tradition of agrarian studies:

- Consequences: move beyond the resilience and adaptation and vulnerability narratives and homeostatic assumptions (climate sciences are colonising social sciences); Michael Watts’ Silent Violence and unnatural disasters.
- Adaptation: how adaptation framings entrench/disrupt power and property relations Kasia Paprocki’s Threatening Dystopias.
- Mitigation and energy transition: how to dislodge regional hegemonies; Green New Deal; inadequate to problems about material and political realities of working classes and working peoples. Ethnographic research is needed in APE tradition.

Amita Bhaviskar of Ashoka University argued that environmental justice needs to be reinserted back into the conversation about climate justice. Climate justice isn’t a new thing – it’s a continuation of and complicates environmental justice, and feminists have long argued that it needs to address social differentiation. Analysis needs to acknowledge how the world looks to people as the variability of environmental factors that were variable to begin with. What the national scale of negotiations has meant has been the hiding of inequalities within countries and – this is ‘hiding behind the poor’. Climate narrative pushes aside the increased consumption, consumerism and accumulation which underlie climate change. The overwhelming direction of development is still on driving more infrastructure, production and accumulation. Old problematic infrastructure projects are now being dusted off and rebranded as climate responses. Climate work can depoliticise and legitimise

development paradigms. Climate mitigation and adaptation plans can be band-aid for the larger problems that exist.

Lyda Fernanda Forero said that movements like hers, TUCA, in Latin America prefer the term climate crisis to climate change. Focus must be on how responses to the climate crisis entrench the inequalities that underpin it. Land concentration is going to deepen even more, with clean energy. Corporate capture of land and nature with digitalisation. A big risk for the working class is the 4IR – for both urban and rural working classes. People are not workers or peasants anymore. Everything is an enterprise, everyone is an entrepreneur, this is managerialism. Agrarian reform is a precondition for responses to the climate crisis. Just transition means a change of the energy system, but land, life and labour must be at the centre of the transition. What is being transitioned and from what to what?

On what kinds of politics underpin responses to the climate crisis, there was a discussion about how right-wing forces are ambiguously positioned – as climate denialists but also critics of neoliberal climate policies. False solutions include market-based responses to grab and commodify nature as ‘resources’, and related to trade and investment agreements. There is securitisation of borders and fortress conservation and fortress economies. Seeking alternatives, people are fighting to reclaim the fictitious commodities of land, labour and money from commodity relations. In many contexts, there is right-wing populist opposition to energy transitions, while climate mitigation policies take neo-colonial forms. So politics has many dimensions. Within the US, carbon capture and storage projects in Louisiana for blue ammonia are about keeping petrochemical plants going, bringing new pipelines to bury carbon under wetlands and lakes. This is reactionary mitigation that rural Republicans see as ‘far-left’ Biden administration and fossil fuel companies – they’re not entirely wrong. This is on former slave plantations, repurposed for petrochemicals, retaining large landholdings and sustaining racial and labour oppression, and high cancer rates in a former ‘freetown’ started by freed slaves. Both right-wing white activists and progressive activists are responding to these false solutions to the climate crisis.

What does this mean for resistance and responses? As Jim Scott points out, people are mostly finding ways of surviving. Even as we join hands in solidarity with people struggling on the ground, many people have lives too desperate to engage in struggles that are visible. People have been trapped in unsustainable farming; and so modest improvements within existing paradigms is largely where alternatives are framed. Across many contexts, structural racism shapes everything still – including black working class in the US dependent on jobs in the petrochemical plants. So the racial and class politics don’t coincide clearly, nor do responses to climate policies. We need a sociology of the energy transition, and see what kinds of alliances emerge or can emerge. Even understand and diagnose failures. We need a comparative research programme, with extended cases, based on micro-level analysis linked to macro-forces.

Parallel session 1-1: Gendered perspectives on land and social reproduction

Haroon Akram-Lodhi reframed Henry’s questions through a social reproduction theory lens. Three traditions of SRT: SR is productive of value; it also is not productive of value; lowers the value of labour-power and increases the rate of exploitation in a Marxist sense. Janet Seiz’s paper in 1991 on intra-household bargaining: collective decisions are the product of explicit and implicit bargaining, based on constrained self-interest and structurally-based material positions of individuals within a

household. Biological and daily reproduction are critical. Cooperative and conflictual bargaining are fundamentally material; dependent on the ability of individuals to control labour. There are structural foundations to patriarchal power – the control of labour. Tanzania: argument that women land managers were less productive land managers – 4-7 hours of unpaid work in the home per day; also because they could not mobilise men's labour. The class positions of household members are not necessarily the same; Carmen Diana Deere said this in 1998, and it was totally ignored.

Douha Djerbi social reproductive roots of agrarian contention of Tunisia. Experience of Tunisian uprising of 2011, and explores the agrarian movements and addresses peasant women. Tunisian uprising should be understood through the lens of a crisis of social reproduction; a site of deep exploitation and also marginality. Took up a job on a commercial farm; people forage, weed for sheep and goats, take water from wells as they don't have access due to 'water cuts'. This is against the backdrop of depleted resource access. Protests persist, with collective and individual acts of self-immolation. Regionally lopsided capital accumulation. Discourse resonates with the movements of protests, but women peasants and landless workers have been observers rather than active – demobilised. But participate in contentious politics every day. SR as 'contested labor', and as 'subsistence economies'. SR is not about care and household work; it is about the access and availability of resources for life (land and the commons). Landless workers have to negotiate access to resources through wage work in order to access farms. Spheres of re/production ontologically indistinguishable (Naidu). Over 100 privatised state farms were challenged by peasant movements, but the government has failed to resolve the confrontations.

Navpreet Kaur looks at the devaluation of women workers in 2 villages in Rajasthan (one more capitalist; one more peasant). The proportion of family labour on farms has declined in villages where crops are labour-intensive areas. More male labour expended in family farms, and the gender differential is increasing, and women are often the last to be hired for low-skilled jobs and least elastic – women as the shock absorber in labour demand., The relation between social reproduction and female participation in economic production between women and men differs between different classes. Implications are for classification and social differentiation. The implications are on how to classify: accumulation of capital, gendered reserve army of labour, and capitalist social reproduction. Examine these theoretically and empirically.

Ashley Fischhoff presented her study of social reproduction and agrarian questions of gendered labour (AQGL) in two informal settlements outside Stellenbosch, South Africa, amid migration – pointing out that it is important to theorise the distances of the lives that we seek to understand. Employing Jun Borrás's recent typology, workers are agrarian and rurally-rooted migrant workers living in urban land occupations, outside the formal control of the market and the state at occupations on land at Enkanini and Azania. Some are seasonal farm workers. AQGL allows for holding production and reproduction together with a focus on agrarian societies and all the work required. This is a non-productivist understanding of work, where wages don't cover the subsistence needs of households, under conditions of generalised semi-proletarianisation, where people are unable to survive exclusively either inside or outside capital-labour relations. Shivji's 'working people' notion transcends the rural-urban divide, looks at links between classes of labour, and emphasise conditions of generalised AQGL applied in an urban context. Households engage in trans-local householding. People looking for remittances are infrequent; relying on the movement of people and children. Methods: qualitative and quantitative; light time-use diaries. Two key points: first, land remains a vital resource for social reproduction mainly, but not exclusively for production of food for self-consumption. Second, who is reproduced where, is deeply gendered and generational. Household strategies for survival are translocal – there are not only remittances, but

movement of children. Sequential migration, with migrating before their children, bringing them later; autonomous child-led migration (grandmothers and aunts). This generates different household types. The goal is almost always joint migration, but it is often not possible. The means of survival relate to land and kinship, the significance of land is not confined to rural areas, intrahousehold dynamics have implications for social reproduction, and shape movement across urban and rural reproductive nodes. In her thesis, her focus extends to the political implications, the collectivisation and commoning of reproductive strategies, and women's engagement and disengagement in more formal politics.

Kwashirai Zvokuomba investigated how tobacco production affected intergenerational transfer of land and gendered access to land. Following fast-track, tobacco which had been a preserve of large-scale commercial farmers, has become a smallholder crop. But it is a gendered crop, which is unravelling the gender profile of land beneficiaries. Land being owned by women is slowly being transferred to male heirs – and a deliberate move by women to train their sons in agriculture to prepare them to take over. Bigger tobacco producers are more likely to be polygamous – a means of mobilising labour. Tobacco is attractive to young people, and keeps young men in rural areas while women migrate to marry. The rise of the middle class of farmers is creating an environment for patriarchy to reassert power and control.

Questions centered on whether, if there are different class positions within households, what are the political implications for actions and response? Traditional forms of mobilisation which left agrarian parties used in the 20th century assumed that households joined movements – and this is not necessarily the case. The unity of agrarian movements requires addressing patriarchal power as a precondition of advance. Second, there was discussion of custom as a powerful or 'unshakeable force' and more significant than the law which might prescribe women's land rights. What role do land governance systems in Africa play in agricultural productivity? Land governance is being created in urban contexts (using rural ideas?) and custom evident in the ceremonial fund – who is reproducing relations with the dead. Third, about Tunisia, how do Tunisian government policy regarding land reform affect political protests, and what are the aspects of agrarian contention? What is the effect of colonialism in this contention? Privatisation of communally held lands under green energy projects with EU funding, under title. In some areas people were dispossessed by the coloniser, then repossessed but paid for palm trees, then dispossessed again by the state.

Parallel session 1-2: Agrarian capitalism and migrant labour struggles

The papers in this session explored how varying forms of capitalistic use of land in different economic and political spaces is shaping labour patterns in the interests of capital. While employing different concepts, all the papers in this session highlighted the enduring struggles that marginalised communities face under the evolving patterns of land labour relations.

Mnqobi Ngubane highlighted how the unsettled land question in Lesotho has established migrant labour that is not only characterised by self-exploitation, but perpetuates the very tentacles of land struggles. Mnqobi questions whether subdivision of land that is taking place in Lesotho is beneficial to the fragmented classes of labour arising from historically embedded land struggles and whether the country will establish context-specific agrarian transition.

Enrique Castañón Ballivián showed how seemingly different capital-centric narratives on agribusiness and small farmers (innovation for smallholder farmers and agribusiness versus the vicious corporate capital) misses the capitalistic agency within both narratives. Through the example

of Campesino, the paper suggests that both of them are essentially capital-centric that produces precarious labour relations.

Deniz Pelek and Cemil Yıldızcan explored how seasonal agricultural workers in varying spatial contexts continue to face the same challenges of deepening health vulnerabilities. Through the case study of seasonal agricultural work in Turkey, the paper showed how immobility and nomadic mobility of the seasonal workers are interrelated.

Alexander Nikulin's paper on post-Soviet international migrant farmers in Russian agriculture highlighted how hostile socio-economic context is in which the migrant labourers not only limit them from benefiting from their work, but also subject them to social exclusion and informality. While all the papers advance an enduring dilemma about how utilisation of land can benefit labourers, participants observed that some of the terms mobilized to describe such processes requires more debate to generate consensus, such self-exploitation, precarious work.

Parallel session 1-3: Race, indigeneity, ethnicity and land

This session reflected upon gender dynamics in rural-to-urban migration, ethnic interactions in livelihood transformation processes, racial dimensions of legal mobilization, and gender experiences in retrieving seeds in indigenous communities after colonial times.

Yuqi Sun opened the session by workshopping her research on motherhood in rural-to-urban migration in contemporary China. Drawing upon qualitative in-depth interviews and participatory observation, Yuqi inquires what factors compel women to return to the countryside and how they negotiate different identities after massive migration to urban areas that was triggered by market-oriented reforms in the 1980s. Her work investigates identity negotiation in rural contexts where Confucianism advocates for hierarchical divisions and gendered division of labor. Yuqi argues that women negotiate their identity as mothers in urban areas where they should be an urban worker and a good mother at the same time. Although women grapple with economic inequality in urban areas, they also gain independence, develop modern thinking and self-esteem, and achieve bargaining power. In doing so, women give up rigid supervision and guardianship. Upon return to rural areas, women contest identity tensions grounded in local norms about motherhood and take up the traditional Confucian responsibility of filial piety by establishing kinship alliances with husbands to persuade mothers in law to share children supervision.

Xiaobo Hua investigates how the border geo-economic repositioning affects the agrarian livelihoods of different ethnic groups in China's southeast Asian borderland. He focuses on Ruili (a China – Myanmar borderland) and carries out paired comparisons of upland and lowland villages. Ruili is an enlightening case for this research question because it is home to relations between states based on regional markets and comparative advantages in land use crop, production labor, and capital. Xiaobo uses a multi-scale method design, which analyzes local, in-country, cross-border, and transnational interactions. Using geo-referencing data, Xiaobo shows that local households in upland and lowland villages have effectively used government policies and transnational economic linkages to transform land uses and improve livelihoods. Yet, different ethnic groups have adopted different strategies to market-oriented products and processes. The local and outside Han ethnic people now dominate the commercialized processes of cash crop expansion and diversification through land reallocation by land rentals. This may increase economic inequality in the short-term but may also contribute to the increasing development awareness of ethnic minorities in the long run.

Camilo Espinoza analyzes everyday human rights practices of a Caribbean village in Colombia where black communities have mobilized for collective land titling, land restitution after civil war dispossession, and citizenship. Building upon participant observation, interviews, timeline mapping workshops, and archives, Camilo argues that everyday human rights practices contribute to the survival of a community anchored to land. Although this black movement did not attain collective deeds over land traditionally held, nor did they receive reparations from the government for civil war violence, legal mobilization has enabled this movement to strengthen internal cohesion and retain land holding.

Celeste Smith from the Cultural Seeds organization and Oneida Nation in Canada explains a community-led project of seed preservation that seeks to reclaim indigenous peoples as agricultural leaders in their communities. Celeste reflects upon colonial subjugation in colonial times and Canadian nationalism, which expelled indigenous peoples from their lands and dispossessed them from seeds and other agricultural practices. To redress colonial injustices, this community-led project aims to serve as a reservoir of inter-generational memory of seed and agricultural practices, which were traditionally passed on from generation to generation by mothers and grandmothers. Particularly, this project empowers women and LGBTQTI people agency in agricultural practices within indigenous communities, drawing linkages between gender, indigeneity, and class.

Discussions opened with Nikhil Deb opening the floor, posing questions to the presenters. Nikhil invited Yuqi to further expand on how patriarchal norms vary through different stages of women migration. He also asked Xiaobo to elaborate more on case selection criteria in order to draw broader theoretical remarks for other cases. Nikhil then invited Camilo to distill what policy outcomes the black movement achieved through legal mobilization and Celeste to expand on gender dynamics in reclaiming agricultural practices in indigenous communities after years of colonialism imposed by the Canadian government.

Parallel session 1-4: Rural social movements and emancipatory politics

Three presenters and a discussant reflected upon critical political and economic factors shaping the emergence of transnational rural social movements and domestic rural mobilization against right-wing populism amid neoliberal policies. Katie Sandwell (Transnational Institute) served as a chair and Zainal Arafit Fuat (Serikat Petani Indonesia, La Via Campesina) served as discussant.

Thomas Patriotra opened the session by examining the historical formation of the Confederation of Family Producer Organizations (COPROFAM), which is a cross-national movement in South America. Drawing upon first-hand experience as a policy practitioner and interviews to peasant leaders, civil servants, researchers, and international organization staff, as well as archival documents, Thomas delved into the movement members' multigenerational struggles to achieve unity despite agrarian class fractions and territorial fragmentation. He showed that COPROFAM's base is comprised of three types of rural class fractions: capitalized small and medium producers located in or near temperate zones (e.g., wider Pampa region in Eastern Argentina, Uruguay, and Southern Brazil), small-scale peasants and agricultural wage laborers mostly living on drylands, savannahs, and subtropical humid zones (e.g., Northeastern Brazil, eastern Paraguay and Northern Argentina's Humid Chaco), and indigenous and traditional peoples and communities (e.g., Brazilian Amazon and Chilean Araucania). This paper further studied how COPROFAM strategically participated in

MERCOSUR's Specialized Meeting on Family Farming to introduce family farming to Latin American agricultural policy debates.

Sergio Coronado shifted attention to domestic rural mobilization against right-wing populism and authoritarianism, focusing on Latin American politics between 2010 and 2020. He showed that Latin American politics in the 2010s was marked by the decay of the pink tide, the reemergence of different strays of right-wing rule, and arising disputes around extractivism and environmental issues. This paper studied how social mobilization challenged right-wing populism and authoritarianism by forging alliances between actors who allegedly carried out contradictory agendas and claims. In short, such mobilization represented emancipatory rural politics in the region.

Tammi Jonas discussed rural mobilization for food sovereignty in Australia, focusing on the Australian Food Sovereignty Alliance (AFSA). Relying upon first-hand experience as president of AFSA and structured interviews with the movement's members, this paper analyzes the emergence of AFSA as a nationwide movement for food sovereignty in a highly industrialized, neoliberal country. Tammi also argued that AFSA's theory of change is aligned with Olin Wright's (2018) concept of 'eroding capitalism' through targeted measures from building grassroots 'emancipatory alternatives'.

Parallel session 1-5: Environmental change and agrarian struggles

The session discussed the connections between environmental justice and agrarian action.

Bowen Gu's work is on the yellow river basin and the connections between water quality, water stress, land dispossession, soil contamination and health safety issues. The conceptual framing of ecological distribution and conflict formed a basis to discuss the 'black gold rush' for coal mining, 60% of which is concentrated in only three regions. Her four-case study covers water pollution, water stress, land subsidence, and open coal mining pits which lead to land dispossession. She used the environmental justice atlas database which is a global database to assemble the environmental social conflicts dynamics. There is a growing strong correlation between the coal mines and water pollution, which is informing public interest litigation.

Boaventura Monjane discussed the forms of struggle against the green mineral extraction and how to develop a comprehensive strategy against the green mineral extraction in southern Africa. He discussed the two approaches and discourses around the green mineral extraction: (a) a radical discourse that these green minerals remained under soil, and (b) resource nationalism discourse that promotes exploitations of green minerals for the energy transition and a developmental discourse that criticises those who are against the mining of these minerals. He emphasised that new movements need to capture the broader discourse on green minerals which serves the energy transition while also addressing local energy poverty.

Sinem Kavak and Zeynep Ceren Benlisoy discussed the Syrian migrant labour issue in pre- and post-earthquake Turkey. After the earthquake there has been a growing demand for labour in construction and agriculture has been experiencing a labour shortage, with Syrian refugees doing much of this gruelling work and still facing social discrimination and state oppression. Refugee workers are not integrated into trade unions and avoid joining collective action due to their precarious migration status. They also argued that the earthquake disaster gave the state an

opportunity to intervene in local land governance and take control of commons, with government departments annexing fertile agricultural land as landfill for construction material rubble.

In short, the session generated a debate around different forms of environmental actions as a tool to resist state oppression and broader capitalist development notions.

Parallel session 1-6: Political economy of global agribusiness

Angelo Beletti examined the relationship between agrifood production and macro-economic dynamics of soybeans in Brazilian South and China. He conducted food regime analysis in the comparative study and found historically constituted elements that currently shaped trade flows.

Yunan Xu presented on the political economy of China's agrochemical complex. She identified four stages of agrochemical sector development in China and argued that the agrochemical complex is embedded in agrarian transformation. However, further research is needed as the phenomena is insufficiently studied.

Irna Hofman and Kronenburg-Garcia addressed the blind spots and blank spots of Central Asia in the grabbing debate. This study reviewed the land grabbing discourse to understand the near absence of Central Asia in the literature on "grabbing,". From the discourse analysis, the author highlighted the 'slow grabs' that cumulatively result in concentrated control over resources. It was suggested that this phenomenon should be studied longitudinally.

Gabriel Bastos addressed a critical analysis of the legacy of conservative modernisation. He examined the modernization of agriculture during the dictatorship in Brazil and linked it to the agrarian question. He highlighted the 1964 coup as an important historical conjuncture which is followed by a major change in the country's land ownership and contemporary land access.

Xiaojun Feng presented on the 'Great Expulsion', namely the accumulation by exclusion in China's dairy industry. The author examined the market fluctuations, control and resistance in agriculture.

Parallel session 2-1: Migration and precarity across urban and rural spaces

Ziwei Zhang, talked about the debate about the rural surplus labor in China , emphasizing on care taking, infrastructures, social bonds, fertilizers and pesticides. She concludes with a critic on the necessity of redefining rural labor for a sustainable future.

Lihui Ma and his co-author, talks about the new dynamic of replacing cash crops with food crops in Shanghai by the migrants. She spotlighted the governance challenges in agricultural production particularities in Shanghai with the structures adjustments.

George Mudimu, talked about migrant workers from the land reform of the Zimbabwe- South Africa corridor. His aim was to question the social reproduction politics about these migrants.

Jackson Sebola-Samanyanga from University of Pretoria, emphasized the proletarianisation and the way agrarian life is shifting in rural South Africa.

Parallel session 2-2: Reassessing the commons: property rights and indigeneity

In this session there were three presentations which discussed indigenous land security questions and land property rights and land property organization forms.

Lorenza Arango presented on indigenous people and the commons amidst land grabs. Common land that is taken over by capital shows that recognition of property rights is not sufficient and moreover the indigenous land conceptualization cannot be dismembered from the wider analysis of capitalist development. To defend and ensure indigenous land rights, we need a 5R's approach i.e. recognition, restitution, redistribution, regeneration, representation/resistance together.

Shane Phiri presented on how land redistribution is producing new property relations in South Africa. On titled land, state ownership now sits aside community land-holding structures called communal property associations. In turn, these new institutions are changing what property means to people, who are essentially tenants of the state, but develop strategies to secure their tenure.

Vasundhara Jairath responded that land security is the real question in many contexts. Once it was not like that before the colonial period. In fact it is reverse because peoples don't want to restrict himself/herself to the limited land of peace but the land is becoming shrinking now land security is the central concern for the people and she argued through her Assam, India case studies of different villages that land is the central question and how peasants assert this politics differently like from the labour perspective, social reproduction, and nationalist framing like son of soil type jargon.

Sibongiseni Gwebani, as discussant, spoke about the tragedy of commons in sea spaces and, citing the South Africa case, how states are facilitating the big corporation for the fishing rights rather than providing the small fishing opportunity under the human right based approach. She said we need to look into a two-way approach: we need to avoid identity politics notions around indigeneity and on the other hand we also need to avoid the other extreme just by ignoring the legitimate demands and forms of agency of the indigenous people in the struggle.

The key takeaway of this session is that indigenous territory and common land conceptualization used in the framing worldwide and also taking space in the development discourse. Issa Shivji raised more philosophical questions around how we frame the concept of indigenous and indigeneity. What do we think about the settlers? And also, how the land security question is challenging for the capitalist framework.

Parallel session 2-3: Extractivism and farmer struggles

Murat Arsel discussed the clash of extractivisms, focusing on labour, accumulation and environmental conflicts in the Amazon. He identified four types of mining practices. He highlighted the need to understand why some ingenious people do not fight but incorporate in the mining. He opened a provocation to suggest that the concept of extractivism is not sufficient, since it does not do good analytical work.

Yukari Sekine discussed some key related concepts of 'objectification', 'estrangement', 'inner emancipation' and 'de-alienation'. She summarized 6 steps, including step 1 integrating theories; step 2 recognizing one's own alienation; step 3 removing layers of inner oppression; step 4

dissolution, dis-identification; step 5 experience of connectedness through non-dual 'ground state'; step 6; right action, emancipatory politics as consequences.

Alessandra Corrado discussed extractivism and eco-territorial conflicts by analyzing mining and social resistances in Ecuador. She focused on three cases. She engaged in the debates of (neo-) extractivism, global extractivism as a way of organisational life and governance etc.

Presenters commented on each other's presentation. Murat was asked about how to connect segments of society (including industrial workers in urban areas). There were discussions among the audiences and presenters around the definition and terminology of extractivism. Murat elaborated on the relationship between labour and accumulation and conflicts between capital and nature.

Parallel session 2-4: Debt as an agent of capitalism dispossession

The session titled 'debt as an agent of capitalist dispossession' included a discussion of three papers, all of which highlight the persistence of indebtedness among farmers but in diverse contexts of Cambodia, Ghana, and the Lebanese-Syrian border.

Nathan Green's paper titled 'The persistence of the moneylender: how informal debt shapes financialization in the Cambodian countryside' drew attention to how microfinance institutions (MFIs) in Cambodia keep farmers in persistent informal indebtedness. Given the rigid time discipline of repayment schedules, microfinance borrowers are often found to borrow further from informal moneylenders or sometimes from formal loans to repay the microfinance institutions on time due to the social pressures that are systemic to MFIs. This cycle of indebtedness is serving the interests of the formal banking institutions and facilitates subordination of debtors to capital. He emphasizes on the importance of studying the intersection of financialization with pre-existing relations of debt to deliberate on the agrarian question and necessary reforms.

Faustina Adomaa Obeng presented the paper 'the paradox of materiality- an account of producer-intermediary credit-debit relations in commodity chains' which also highlights the persistence of indebtedness among the cocoa farmers in Ghana. She highlighted that focusing only on visible cash flows ignores the invisible cash flows in the cocoa production supply chain coming from traders in towns and cities who lend the purchasing clerks who in turn lend to the cocoa producers. One common theme emerging from the Cambodian microfinance borrowers and Ghana cocoa farmers is the villainization of the intermediaries as the sole reason behind the over-indebtedness. Dr. Greene mentioned that given the hegemony of financialization and the idea of financial inclusion as development, abolition of intermediaries will not solve the problem of persistent indebtedness. Dr. Faustina mentioned that zooming out of the local supply chain and analyzing the national and global context in which the Ghanaian state, cocoa exporters, and finance institutions reproduce the conditions of materiality and tensions among producers and intermediaries is very important.

China Sajadian's ethnographic study of the relations of indebtedness of the refugee migrants with the 'Shawish' at the Lebanese-Syrian border, highlights that debt diffuses the collective strength of farmers. The increasing and often immediate need for cash is keeping the refugee migrants indebted to 'Shawish', an intermediary who lends money to them in return for the promise of agricultural employment. The Shawish utilized the flexibility provided by the systemic pre-war gendered wage labour differences and further deepened the feminization of agriculture labour. The refugees prefer to be locked in debt with them rather than formal institutions of rent and debt due to the flexibilities

offered by the Shawish such as unofficial maternity leave for women. She argued that the lens of social reproduction shows how these debt relations are reproduced in agriculture.

The chair of the session, Barbara Harriss-White commented that the nature of debt today is different from what was understood of it many years ago. She raised the question whether debt is really an agent of dispossession or if it is manifested to avoid or counter the dispossession by farmers and intermediaries alike. She noted that land is not the only asset that is fixed but other factors such as time and reputation are also fixed. Therefore, it is important to understand dispossession from land as a process and to pay attention to health insurance and education as credit processes. She asked: is debt really an agent of dispossession? Or is it manipulated by debtors and creditors alike to *avoid* dispossession? Is there a difference between being indebted and over-indebted, and what determines this? What are the methods for investigating the interlocked contracts that are . When does debt result in dispossession? And when not? Are perpetually indebted farmers who are holding onto micro-assets actually disguised wage workers? If they are effectively labour, then this is exploitation. If they are not a class of labour, then what is debt doing? If it is not exploitation. There is in fact a triple burden of production, reproduction, and repayment of loans (as the buck stops with women)? What are the causes of debt: seasonality, production costs, sickness and death, aspirations? Amid the neoliberalisation of Cambodian society: are there examples of public utilities that are now privatised for which people have to pay – is it another vector of debt? What does all this mean for policy, the state, and politics? What is to be done?

Parallel session 2-5: Land appropriation and rural politics

Guolin Gu discussed ‘creative dispossession’ and how peasants acquiesce to land expropriation, with reference to a case of railway construction in China. The government cut services like water and electricity to force the villagers to move and finally villagers had no option but to move to the roadside. Land expropriation without resistance has been a common phenomenon across China since the 2010s. The result was in-fighting among villagers over housing by the road, and not against the government which forced them to give up land and houses. The politics of land appropriation include resistance, strategies of the state to oppress and absorb, and stratification stories. In this case study, even the less advantaged villagers (those who ended up in casual construction work after expropriation) talked about land expropriation as something desirable, in the hopes of bringing them rental income. Dispossession engenders quiescence when it creates livelihoods that are not necessarily stable or lucrative right now but can offer hopes of a “better” future—incorporating the wants and interests of even the less advantaged. Dispossession created the following: Casual construction work: abundant work, good pay, and a steady stream of work from the continuation of land expropriation in nearby areas: expropriated villagers needed to build new houses, and fellow expropriated villagers were hired to do so, witnessing the urbanization and industrialization of the area. Everyone talks with each other about the value of new houses and the rental income they could bring. Creative dispossession therefore happens when dispossession creates new livelihoods (and new social positions) that are not necessarily stable or lucrative right now but can offer hopes of a “better” future—incorporating the wants and interests of even the less advantaged.

Jiexing Zhao’s work on rural gentrification and land rentals engages with cultural change in rural areas. China’s ‘The Beautiful Village and Rural Revitalization’ Policies. It is also rooted in middle-class anxiety as well as the impact of media that regarded the countryside as a Utopia. Besides, rural-urban migration of the youth and the rise of the left-behind population accelerated rural gentrification, land rental and cultural change. The general development of rural gentrification

research: 1960s to late 1970s—the initial stage of rural gentrification; 1980-end of 20th Century i.e., the expansion era; the 21st century where rural gentrification becomes the hotspot and frontier in international rural studies and from 2010 where rural gentrification research in China got a rise. The study aims to answer two questions: How did rural gentrification shape the countryside? How do the changing land users during gentrification affect rural culture? Methods: Anthropological fieldwork where direct observation since it is an anthropological study, participant observation and in-depth interviews are employed. Study sites include Bei village—located in the northern part of Tianjin city, surrounded by mountains and Nan village, North region of Zhejiang province with a forest cover of 79.9%. Agriculture is the main income source and villagers grow bamboo, rice, and seedling cultivation. Most of the young moved out of the village to urban areas. Similarity: spatial changes brought about by land rental include ‘aestheticization’ of rural space, ‘commercialization’ of rural space, ‘homogenization’ of rural space and ‘segregation’ of rural space. In Nan village, the new and old villagers formed a new social network. Traditional culture is being revived. The rural and urban cultures blend (cultural reinvention) while in Bei village, most of the land in the Bei village is rented out. The original social networks gradually disappeared. The rural areas became a ‘container’ for urban culture (cultural erasure). The reasons, why the two villages gentrified villages, present different cultural outcomes are The driving factors of gentrification vary (public good vs. private interest), Differences in land rental strategies, Differences in attitudes among local elites and Different roles and functions of government.

Brian Klein discussed the boom-and-bust life on Madagascar’s Extractive Frontier, a well-known mining site with a long history. Today, roughly 25,000 small gold miners are earning livelihoods through mining. Existing accounts of artisanal mining generally characterized the sector as poverty-driven. Based on this view, people participate in mining activities because they are poor and lack employment alternatives. In the efforts to explain these labourers’ heightened mobility, scholars have tended to focus on either structural, macroeconomic drivers or individual microeconomic decision-making. On the macro side lies the speculative global demand for capitalist capital accumulation. The reflection of migrant labourers in the mining sector is high and miners tolerate the assumed downsides of mobility, precarity, deficient housing, and insecurity but they see their hardships as temporary and expect their luck and lives to improve in the near future. What is argued here, however, is not that economic explanations are wrong per se, but that they are grossly insufficient for understanding how and why miners are from different places cultivating belonging on Madagascar’s extractive frontier. Miners’ cultivation of belonging has complex and paradoxical effects.

Debora Lima examined the valuation of land, water and environmental justice in Brazil, asking how the stock market and the state norms have been valuing land and water resources. She looked at how traditional communities and their immaterial aspects are (not) considered in cases of production of commons; collective/communal land titles and compensation and migration impacts by the state or companies. Land and water digitalization, the lack of supervision and administration of water use (especially groundwater) and its use licenses has been causing a water crisis related to mining activity in areas where traditional communities perceive land and water as commons. Mining disasters and the ‘economy of disaster’ is a turning point in discussing nature rights and their immaterial form, social organizations participation (PCTRAMAS, Associations, social movements and leftist parties), public Ministry, and other governmental institutions, universities and mining companies (i.e Vale S.A). The final reflection is that the land and the water have immaterial value for the traditional communities since they are not considered in cases of protection of commons; the Brazilian State recognized traditional communities as guardians and important to nature conservation but did not compensate them in cases of compensation and mitigation impacts; the

lack of laws and normative related to the immaterial value of nature leads a path for; Communities' protocols and state norms (i.e. Minas Gerais Province after several mining disasters have improved rights for traditional communities and nature in its immaterial form and challenges of Individual x collectives rights and mitigation.

Clarissa Mendoza presented on land appropriation and rural politics in the Philippines, in relation to agriculture, and the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP). By 2022 there was 22.5% of the workforce and by Oct. 2021 & 2020 there were 24.5% and 24.6% respectively. The New Agrarian Emancipation Act was passed as landmark legislation. Uninstalled farmers and fake accomplishments (over 500,000 hectares controlled by landowners through dummies); 80% or more of ARBs are unable to access quality and timely support services; Hastening of reconsolidation as the government gains propaganda mileage without validating the status on the ground. A range of cases was recounted. Major concerns are: the delay/reversal of agrarian reform implementation, government agencies (national, regional, LGU), politicians, corporations, influential families (former landowners), agents (security guards, military, community members). The Local Government Code is maximized by various actors to expedite land conversion; reversal of agrarian reform through belated exemptions and exclusions that result in cancellation of farmers' CLOAs/tenurial instruments; falsification of public documents was overlooked/allowed; agrarian reform vis-a-vis rural gentrification and green grabbing and criminalization.

Discussion on China addressed the extent to which China is unique – in that the state takes care of people – and what can be learnt from rural gentrification. Nowadays some young people call themselves 'digital nomads' as they can make a living from home if there is wifi. About social differentiation and mining: very few miners still engage in agriculture themselves. What exactly is creative dispossession? Is this dispossession material, moral or of imagination? On land appropriation, every individual takes care of themselves and even the village committee doesn't take responsibility for how the land is going to be redistributed. There are a lot of conflicts in the village but the village cannot do anything about it. After three years of the pandemic, many local government authorities ran bankrupt. Under such a situation, how would you predict land compensation? I am not sure if the amount of compensation can go on forever. When I went to the field last month I found that construction work is still booming and many villagers buy land in urban areas to build houses for their kids to go to school. Is there an effective subsidy in other countries too, where left-behind women subsidize their wages through the production of food to replace the wages of migrants? This is evident in several other countries, not only in China.

Parallel session 2-6: The politics of climate change

Diana Aguiar and **Marcela Vecchione**, scholars from the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil, discussed the topic "Climate Change Politics as Land Use Planning in the Amazon and the Cerrado: Insights on Contemporary Drivers of Land Conflicts in Brazil." They shed light on how climate change politics have led to a sophisticated regime of dispossession, justifying land grabbing and dispossession in the name of the climate crisis. They highlighted the historical mechanisms of dispossession at play, emphasizing the state's role in this process.

Mercedes Ejarque, in her presentation titled "Mitigation, Adaptation, Transformation? Environmental Politics in Patagonia, Argentina," explored the responses to climate change priorities in the study area. She pointed out the increasing inequality resulting from these responses, especially the productivist focus on sheep farming enabled by technocrats. This approach triggered

responses from local communities, state officials, and technicians, emphasizing the complexity of climate change-related policies and their social implications.

Corinne Lamain from the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam, focused on the potential conflicts over climate mitigation schemes in forests. She discussed the growing engagement of the military-industrial complex with climate change, particularly in the protection of 'vital infrastructure.' Drawing on empirical work conducted in Nepal and anticipated work in Myanmar, Lamain questioned whether the economic importance of forests (in carbon markets) and their role in mitigating climate change (as carbon sinks) might elevate their strategic significance. This rise could result in increased military interest and presence in forest areas.

Kirtana Chandrasekaran, representing Friends of the Earth International, offered insightful commentary on the political implications of climate actions. She highlighted the organization's growth from annual gatherings of environmentalists from various countries who united to campaign on critical issues like nuclear energy and whaling. Chandrasekaran emphasized that climate policy would be a significant driver of agrarian change. She acknowledged the pressure exerted by movements and cautioned scholars about carbon farming, warning that it might overlook the concerns of small-scale farmers, posing potential dangers.

In summary, the panel presentations delved into the intricate intersections of climate change politics, land use planning, inequality, military involvement, and grassroots movements, providing a comprehensive overview of the challenges and complexities in addressing climate-related issues.

Parallel session 3-1: CASAS Panel: Social mobilization against racial and extractivist capitalism

The parallel session permitted the discussion of different forms of mobilization and organization of agrarian movements in India, Colombia, and Ghana. Each of the discussed cases emphasized context-specific features and methodologies for understanding the nature, scale, motifs, forms, and outcomes of social mobilization in the countryside. The case of India focused on understanding the farmers' mobilization against a set of laws that pinpointed features of agrarian capitalism based on distinct forms of racial oppression. For the case of Colombia, we discussed the comprehensive analysis of the historical trajectories of campesinos, indigenous peoples, and rural black communities from the early 1970s until the 1991 constitution. The Ghanaian case dealt with the mobilization of salt harvesters' women over a disputed area and interrogated how shifts between different property regimes, from communal to public and private, have jeopardized their livelihoods and driven different forms of repression, including gender-based violence. The discussion addressed the interfaces between social mobilization, ethnic, cultural, and political identities, and the changes in the demands of agrarian movements. Participants also raised questions about the possibilities of political alliances beyond racial and ethnic boundaries and the limits of strategic essentialisms in contexts in which neoliberalism dominates.

Parallel session 3-2: Climate justice and sustainable agriculture

This session addressed the challenges that rural farmers face in maintaining their agricultural practices and food security in response to new technologies introduced from developed countries.

Such technologies were not in the interest of the communities, who could only respond through everyday forms of resistance.

Antoinette Danebei presented her paper on Cameroon, entitled 'Rice farmers between sustainability and resistance in the Lake Chad Basin: some trajectories of "fate-taming"'. She showed that the government preferred to import cheaper agricultural products, which local farmers could not compete with and threatened the sustainability of local agricultural production.

Daniel Ankrah presented on 'Agrarian struggles, contemporary capitalism and climate change mitigation: evidence from Northern Ghana'.

Muhammad Arfan presented 'Decolonizing climate-smart agriculture: climate justice and global agricultural value chains in Pakistan'. Here, tree planting projects exacerbated gender inequality as women worked land that they did not have formal ownership over and were at risk of losing access to. Additionally, traditional agricultural tools were replaced with tractors, increasing the cost of production.

Juan Liu presented on rural China, with a paper on 'Resigning from farming: an updated political economy and the sustainability challenges of agriculture in China'. She showed how the out-migration of young people to non-farm sectors has left only the older generation, who cannot cultivate the land nor have the income to hire labor. As a result, their land has been acquired by the government for development projects despite their desire to continue farming.

Across the case studies, farmers do not frame the problems they face in terms of climate change but more as a form of natural disaster. In sum, the problem of food security remains unsolved. The technologies that are introduced by NGOs working in developing countries to promote modern farming for reducing poverty and mitigating climate change are typically allied with the interests of the elite and the government. They are generally not effective in improving the livelihoods and agricultural practices of local communities, but instead make them worse.

Parallel session 3-3: Social reproduction during agrarian transitions

Kim Hyojeong from the Korean Women Peasants' Association presented on peasants' agroecology movement and changing interspecies relationship with ecology. This movement in South Korea was formed in the 1990s and joined La Via Campesina in the 2000s, leading the food sovereignty movement and agroecology movement. The relation between women peasants and ecology has been shifting, with the driving force of these changes originating from the transformation of the material components, namely soil and land. What direction do women peasants take in response to the climate crisis? How do women peasants manifest their new agency in the face of the double burden of discrimination and oppression posed by the climate crisis? The study's research method is a feminist qualitative research method in Sanju City, which was focused on one community and has eight women peasant communities. This case is the Y, a member of KWPA, which was established in 1990. Y participated in a CSA sister's garden and agroecology movement since 2009. The research reveals the process in which differences in the relationship and technology of care evolve based on the temporality that accumulates in the caregiving process. This study analyzes essentialist issues such as women's intimacy with nature and the feminization of care that have framed women through the materiality and temporality of care. This ecological transition process of the women peasants' movement provides a direction toward which the current women's movement provides a

direction toward which the current women's movement ought to head in the face of the increasingly critical problems of the climate crisis.

Su Yihui discussed dual commodification of social reproduction and domestic workers' double burden in China. China has had rapid urbanization since its economic reform. In the process of urbanization, there have been peasants who left their land and became rural migrant workers. A lot of scholars focus on unmarried female rural migrant workers focusing on manufacturing, retailing, and food service industries; and married rural migrant workers, focus on domestic work. Insights from social reproduction theory focus on the importance of female rural migrant workers' reproductive labour and the importance of interaction between production and reproduction. There are three arguments: 1) spatial and temporal separation of production and reproduction that impedes solidarity and facilitates the capitalist accumulation; 2) capital reorganizes the unmarried female rural migrant workers' daily labour production by constricting them in the dormitories adjacent to the factories in order to reduce cost and exert the labour control; 3) social-reproductive factors complicate the married female rural migrant workers' employment patterns, resulting in their dilemma. The research aims to answer unexplored questions such as the influence of rural-urban inequality, and female rural migrant workers' negotiation between the production and reproduction sphere. Data was collected from the project Chinese Domestic Worker Study from September 2020 to September 2023 in Shanghai and Beijing, which includes 100 semi-structured interviews (i.e., 36 urban clients and 64 domestic workers). Urban middle-class women relieve the double burden of working and childcare by having access to domestic workers. On the other hand, rural female women face the double burden of productive and reproductive activities. The negotiation between production and reproduction spheres includes the female rural migrant workers' three types of boundary work: 1) Negotiating for migration with their family members to avoid the temporal and spatial division between production and reproduction and seeking flexible work such as hourly paid cleaning job to make economic contribution and take care of their children at the same time; 2) Migrating seasonally between their hometown in rural region and their workplace in the urban region; 3) Focusing on their work in the production sphere and meeting the demand of familial social reproduction by remitting money to their family members to purchase reproductive commodities such as care service or house from the market.

Zhang Yanxia presented on ageing in rural China in the context of migration of young labour from rural to urban has led to the rise of ageing of the rural population, which is more prominent compared to the urban area. There is a rural-urban inversion of population ageing. This inversion of the population ageing will continue for at least two more decades. Traditional family care has traditional challenges in physical care and spiritual support, with disability and dementia, older people still prefer to stay in the countryside. But in the rural communities they have additional challenges such as in infrastructure, transportation, interior spaces, among others. 'Ageing in place' has become a very popular theme from simply helping older people to remain in their own homes for as long as possible to remain living in the community, either at home or in a community center, with some level of independence. In which, ageing in place is favored by the elderly, the family, and policymakers. The theoretical framework of the study is the Multiple Collaborative Governance model which looks at different kinds of stakeholders, government, social organizations, and markets. The study took place in Jiangsu Province, which takes the lead in AIP. Two research sites in Jiangsu provide a contrast in terms of economic development, the Shuyang which is underdeveloped, and Zhangjiagang which is more economically developed. There are three models of ageing in place in rural China: 1) home-based care; 2) daycare by community care centers; and 3) institutional care by village-based mutual-aid happiness homes. The home-based care model has two types: government-purchased services, and mutual aid and voluntary services. Time Bank is a type of mutual aid and

voluntary service in Zhangjiagang that started in 2020, in which younger senior adults and social organizations provide elderly people with daily care, spiritual comfort, and other services. The daycare model is a community and home-based care service center, which includes daycare, dining, entertainment, spiritual comfort, and other services. Another type of this model is the village-level elderly care service stations, in which care is further extended to old villagers. The institutional care model includes village-based mutual-aid happiness homes that are usually run by left-behind women in their houses. It is very welcomed by the elderly because it is family-oriented and they can remain in the village. The AIP in Northern Jiangsu is being supported by the government while in Southern Jiangsu is relying more on professional care enterprises and social organizations. The target of the service in Southern Jiangsu is not limited to the basic elderly care services and in Northern Jiangsu is mainly focusing on the basic elderly care services.

Kim Jeongyeol questioned whether there would be any peasants left in our town if the migration continues to happen. In the case of South Korea, peasants make up 4.2% of the total population, among these 'side farmers' make up 41.6%. Full time peasants are decreasing and side-peasants are increasing. The main reason would be the decrease in the farmers' income. The basic income for peasants is low in South Korea. This basic income takes up only about 27% of the whole income of peasants. The decrease in farmers' income happens for complex reasons, systematic inequality, climate crisis, free trade, chemical farming, food system, lack of access to land, gender inequality, and so on. In order to guarantee abundant peasant income, we need to guarantee the right of dignity as a peasant. There is a problem with female peasants and social reproduction, particularly the low birth rate in South Korea. This responsibility is being shifted to women. Care work is undervalued. This work overload shifts to female peasants and leads to more health problems for South Korean peasants. Female peasants are the ones who are in contact with nature, there is a cycle of co-dependence of human and non-human species.

Parallel session 3-4: Food systems and struggles for food sovereignty

Yishuai Ding and colleagues explored the Participatory Guarantee Systems (PGS) in the Beijing Organic Farmers Market, a platform for consumers and farmers to communicate with each other. They take Green Me farm as an example, exploring how smallholders participate in organic farming and how trust safety dependence is built between farmers and customers through PGS.

Abdoulkarim Issoufou presented his work on how food-insecure rural households and communities in developing countries build resilience. He explores the role of market gardens in securing rural livelihoods in Niger and their potential for guaranteeing livelihood security. He believes that market gardens could easily be multiplied with farmers' own agencies if the farmers select more appropriate technology and cooperation mechanisms without a lot of investment.

Sergio Schneider provided insight shifting from agrarian studies to food crises. He argues that we are living in a crisis of capitalism that is deeper than ever before. Food has become the driver of capital reproduction, so it has the capacity to reshape human-nature relations. Food as value can be the catalyst for transformative transitions from three aspects: individual levels—better livelihoods, more environmental resilience, and broader social justice. We need to move from value extraction to value creation (new food systems).

Ku Nurasyiqin Ku Amir's research is about 'Non-State Actors and the Construction of Food Sovereignty.' Her central argument is that, despite not having a massive peasant movement, food

sovereignty may become a unifying strategy for non-state actors in Malaysia. When questioned about why she did not mention too many public policies, her answer was that she aimed to observe local reactions to public politics and organization on the ground.

Parallel session 3-5: Land rights and commodification

Vong Nanhthavong presented on land deals in Laos. There are many types of land deals: never started, ceased, or stagnant. The failure of land deals happen in different ways, for example because of market failure and technology complexity (technology is too expensive, has not arrived in the country yet). The total failed land deals in Laos: 43% (37,759 hectare) out of 304 land deals. Most of the land deals organized by Laos' government have 'failed'.

Helena Pérez Niño presented a co-authored paper on contract farming, which means a system of vertical coordination between farmers and buyers. Buyers contract producers, provide guaranteed purchase, can provide credit, etc. Contract farming happens all over the world, with many faces. We don't really have a very systematic answer to many questions about a variety of practices in contract farming. In different regions it receives different attention and different names. The paper presents a theoretical consideration of contract farming from a Marxist perspective.

Hanze Xu presented on state-led relocation and poverty alleviation in China. President Xi Jinping proposals for poverty alleviation in 2013 identified relocation as a 'dilemmatic' program (number one "most difficult"). The question the research aims to answer is: why and how do unintended consequences emerge in the implementation of China's poverty alleviation program? Based on Polanyi's theory of "embeddedness" the presenter proposed a theory of "double embeddedness". First, the relocated are disembedded from their place. On the one hand, they no longer belong to the original place; on the other hand, they are not fully embedded in the new location. Second, social network disembedding arises as the poor households depart from their social network; however, urbanization makes life in the new locations even more disembedded. Third, the relocated lack political participation, having lost their voices at the old places, but in the new places the new social institutions are inspired by the old.

Plenary 3: Urbanization, labour and migration

This plenary session moderated by **Sinem Kavak** discussed the relationship between urbanisation, labour and migration. While drawing from different geographical and political spaces, the presenters highlighted how processes of urbanisation and migrant labour not only feed into each other, but also sustains the systems. Migration rural-urban linkages have implications for livelihoods and labour relations and political responses.

Lu Pan said that over 200 million rural migrants are living and working in Chinese cities. The marginalised status split labour reproduction which is split between rural and urban. Not possible to meet the reproductive demands of the labour force – therefore have to leave families in the countryside. This creates a split family model with the phenomena of left-behind children, women and elderly. This split family is very familiar internationally; maintenance of the labour force and renewal of the next generation of labour. Similarly elsewhere, this happens transnationally. The costs of reproduction of labour is externalised. That is similar to China – but what differs here is that the split labour reproduction is based on the dualistic rural-urban system. Focus is on children of

migrants. Children are left-behind living with grandparents and a single parent – this is 2/3 of children. The remainder are children who migrate with a parent. The rapid expansion since the 1990s, and since 2000 the population of children increased faster than parents. Government has been redefining this category so as to reduce the perceived phenomenon. A new generation of migrant labour is being reproduced. Most used to be left-behind children – they are now the migrants to the city. Education system is a key part that pushes children who fail to compete in school education into migrant labour. Sociology of education using reproduction theory: education shapes the imbalanced relations of dominance and subordination – not between classes but between rural and urban. The traditional sources of social support are under threat for this next generation of migrants – are their parents returned to rural areas to support their children. There's a need to entitle rural migrants to equal citizenship rights in the city, or revitalising rural society, and protect the integrity of the rural as a space for social reproduction.

Ricardo Jacobs presented his analysis of classes of the agrarian populace in the city of Cape Town – people have occupied land on areas as big as 240 ha, the smallest is 78 ha, where people occupied land and live through agrarian production. Why do fully proletarianised people engage in these kinds of agrarian activities, that look like agrarian relations? Why and how are agrarian relations established in urban areas. It highlights how we think about urban space. There's this notion of equating space and class. Fouad Makki encourages us to look at how space is constituted through material relations and practices. Cities aren't just geographic entities. This disrupts the linear idea that these are the stages in which we develop urban space. There's a Marxist tradition in South Africa, beyond the Stalinist debates – Archie Mafeje in the 1930, the conception of the landless peasantry. The agrarian question has urban dimensions, particularly in the way people contest space outside of the narrow labour conceptions. Here you have a class that embodies characteristics of the peasantry and a labour characteristic. The other dimension is a space where surplus populations constitute themselves, and where the reserve army of labour constitutes themselves. The notion that we have a separation between different forms of class constituted in the city. As a result of crisis, the agrarianisation of urban space in the current conjuncture. An outcome of neoliberalism, but also, why farming? Farming is in our blood. The contestation of this class has to be historicised; even since the 1950s when migrant workers came to cities, and tried to do this then. There are implications for politics. Question: if we have a narrow labour-centric idea of land in transcending capitalism, we miss these realities. The question is not about linking the rural and urban. This puts us on a different terrain when we think about the urban. The urban and rural have always been intricately linked in 2 ways: farm in urban areas, take livestock back to countryside. Question to be investigated empirically: what are the linkages between rural and urban. The discourse in SA is that there is no demand for land. If we want to transcend capitalist relations – even if there are such relations in the countryside, it does not preclude the transformation of social relations around urban space. The linkages between the housing question and how people are interacting. How do classes reveal themselves within the dialectical struggle?

Walter Chambati discussed the transformation of agrarian labour relations within Zimbabwe's land reform which dismantled the capitalist system of agriculture and transferred over 90% of the land that was in the control of the white middle class. The peasantry has persisted in the countryside, based on small plots of land with family labour. He challenged the dominant perspective of a post-peasant society after alienation and colonialism. Four theoretical conclusions. First, viewing peasants as only agriculturalists creates a false distinction – there is interdependence between farm and non-farm activities. Second, we cannot foreclose the trajectories of labour (as O'Laughlin argues) – the full proletarianization thesis and deagrarianisation thesis both presume this. An alternative exists between proletarianization, semi-proletarianisation and deagrarianisation – there is dynamism in

the peasantry and changes are amenable to reversals, influenced by shifts for instance during land reform. There was a drive during fast-track and before that during structural adjustment, a reverting back to the countryside. Third, during land reform, we see people disengaging from the urban industrial markets, suggesting that repeasantisation extends beyond – a type of labour resistance, a wish to delink from superexploitation in the wage economy. Struggles of farm workers were contradictory, around wages, but also aspiring to become peasants, and to survive on a post-wage economy. Semi-proletarianisation in settler colonies associated with supplementary production; but now we see workers remitting incomes as investments into farming. So the subsidy moves the other direction too.

Carmen Louw argued that the land question in SA and land has always been a very patriarchal structure in terms of black access to land was under customary control, mostly given to males. And with the commercial farms also controlled by white males. The precarious nature of women's work in commercial farming areas is linked to land inequality but also male control. Women's exploitation and oppression is controlled by the same patterns. A more feminised casualised agricultural labour emerged from deregulation and liberalisation, and the 1.2 million agricultural workers dropped to 600k or 400k in off-season. The result is highly seasonal hunger. In a study in the Northern Cape, 88% of households experience severe food insecurity during off-season periods. Women experience labour rights violations, and have more – women need to squat in the open, and exposed to sexual harassment and violations. And with technology, CCTV cameras and drones, surveillance and monitoring. Pesticides: SA commercial agriculture is pesticide-intensive and whole communities are exposed, not only the workers, but also children and adolescents. Migration from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho – and interprovincial migration – and migrants coming in occupy vacant land off-farm, and now evicted farm workers live there too, without basic services. Globalisation and financialisation of land is a big factor; a new countryside is emerging where farm dwellers and new gated country lifestyle communities are being created, for the super-wealthy and post-COVID virtual work is a driver of new demand for the countryside, and workers on the land being invisibilised. Wine value chains are globalised; an exporter has been taken over by Heineken which led to the labour force being further casualised, creating a further racialised polarised unequal countryside which is for the benefit of the rich.

Plenary 4: Agribusiness and petty commodity production

Jacobo Grajales convened this plenary which addressed the characteristics, transformations and relationships between agribusiness and petty commodity production.

Carla Gras discussed how corporate agribusiness capital intersects with other capitals in the case of Argentina, and the centrality of the oilseed sector. Corporate capital shapes the soy value chain, and also maize, wheat, sugarcane/bioethanol and meat. Influence on land use change, technological innovation etc. Argentina is a paradigmatic case in the region because of the mechanisms corporate capital has developed, as well as to actors along the value chains. Financial services to farmers, including working capital, agrochemicals, machinery contractors and so on. A recent mechanism is corporate convening of associations in food and agriculture systems. It's about convening powers.

Barbara Harriss-White discussed how corporate capital connects with petty commodity production via commodity markets in India. Now excited that it has non-performing assets in financial markets, and now keen to get in on the agricultural action, perceived to be relatively low risk compared to financial markets – for instance ITC is now involved in tobacco, Reliance is in fruit and vegetables.

Some are drawn and supported by state patronage and subsidies. Not only under this right-wing government, but also through centrist governments. The exemplar is Mr Adani, who has been doing this for the past 25 years, since a policy on bulk handling, storage and transport. In 2003, a food corporation bid for contracts for procuring grain. Invested in bulk silos, and now dozens of Adani silos in 8 states. A subsidiary, Adani ports, has a 'port to plate' slogan about infrastructure. And having done that, has started to do risk-free trade with the government, and is now exporting rice, sugarcane to China and Africa. Questions for India's agrarian scholars: is this a threat to agrocultural, as opposed to corporate capital? Family businesses, which are stratified by assets and caste, and are diversifying. Yes, the threat is enough for trade associations to start protesting about supermarkets, it's a threat to cooperatives for milk, potatoes, etc. No, because the intermediate classes are often diversifying out, happy to work as agents for corporates, and anyway are involved with sabotage of neoliberal regulations. What are the impacts of corporates on petty trade? Petty capital has the capacity to undercut other forms of capital which employ wage workers -by virtue of self-exploitation. Agriculture is differentiated, but 86% is under 2ha. There's a logic of PCP and minutuarisation and multiplication. There is petty trade, family trade, capital trade. Dispossession via interlocked contracts, via debt, through competition, and through dependency. Still, it is mostly PCP, so resources are extracted via buying and selling, via rent, via contracts – and redistributed through debt relations inside the post-harvest system. During COVID, India's government issued a thunderclap of 3 farm market bills to release storage limits; permission for corporates to buy from farmers anywhere; and direct contracts between corporates and farmers. But the protests and ultimate withdrawal of the bills, raises the question as to who wrote those laws? The agrocultural sector didn't really need these laws; they are doing these things anyway. Corporate capital has a project for the state – rather than the other way around. The state doesn't have a project for petty commodity production. (microfinance, scale-neutral technologies) but the state evicts people for SEZs, reversing land reform. Threatening PCP rather than promoting it. Tolerates it, creating marketplaces. India has unleashed a petty bourgeois revolution but doesn't have a project for it. The future for agriculture in India, and worldwide, has to be an agroecological one. Marxists have talked about a metabolic rift. How does this vary with size or agrarian class? Is small farming better ecologically? Energy use:

Forrest Zhang argued that a variety of capitals are engaged in Chinese agriculture. The entire agriculture sector is evidence of this – Lenovo computer's holding company has kiwi and blueberry plantations in western China, some internet companies are in pig farming. Domestic capital is involved in production! MNCs are expanding into Chinese agriculture, like a Thai conglomerate participating throughout the value chain in the oilseed market in China. There is a relentless process of accumulation from below, by PCPs aspiring to become small capitalists. Remittance income combines with such incomes to drive class formation. State-owned agricultural conglomerates in China, basically state farms, and now under policy of food security, the central government is pushing them to acquire more land across China, for energy-intensive grain production. So there is a whole gamut of different types of capital engaging in agriculture. Agriculture doesn't contribute anything to 'the economy' – there is now no tax and no revenue for the state. It's a huge population and revolutionary root of the Party. It is political; it is not about contributing to national GDP growth. The goal is food security and maintenance of the rural. Staple grains are a political challenge. Farmers have autonomy to decide what to grow.

Pramesh Pokharel from LVC in Nepal pointed out that corporate capital engaging with agriculture has predictable outcomes: displacement and dispossession; rural exodus; exclusion via price and markets. In Nepal, being part of the international trade system, and a member of WTO, peasant agriculture is closely linked into corporate capital, despite having a base of peasant agriculture.

Agricultural inputs and farming finance are among the ways that corporate capital touches farmers – as is food dumping.

Aniket Aga discussed corporate production of agrochemicals. Corporate capital accumulates from agriculture largely by controlling the terms on which farmers access inputs and sell outputs. Blurred boundaries between farming and corporate capital for the last mile of the sale of inputs and the first mile of sale of outputs are agents of corporate capital who sell inputs and purchase produce. The blurring of boundaries at the interface of corporate – from scheduled caste backgrounds. Young men are also the local agents of corporate capital – this is important to stabilise the incomes of farming households. They experience this as upward mobility and what Modi calls the ‘new middle class’. But this keeps farming subordinate to corporate capital. The blurring of boundaries defuses the potential for clashes. This is how agriculture becomes low-risk for corporate capital. The higher echelons of corporate capital are insulated from risk by this intermediary level of agents. Corporate biotechnology sector in India is the creation of the state, out of subsidies. Biotech over seeds; and then biotech seeds over farming. Knowledge and technology agendas are key to subordinating farming to capital. Keeping farmers divided and disorganised is also central. What is being lost are heirloom seeds, which are crucial for agroecology. Reasons for agroecology: cost, scale, biodiversity, soil protection, autonomy, knowledge.

The first round of questions addressed the characteristics, transformations and relationships between agribusiness and petty commodity production. **Carla Gras** mentioned that agribusiness expansion occurs in different value chains in Latin America, where Argentina is a paradigmatic case that developed different mechanisms that were transferred to other countries. Vertical integration, provision of advisory services for producers, financial services and the development of networks of capital corporations are some of them. For **Barbara Harriss-White**, in India, there is a new scale of corporate capital that was achieved with state support and she focused on the impacts it had on petty commodity production, such as differentiation and multiplication. This expansion of capital was both coercive and competitive. **Forrest Zhang** analyzed the participation of corporate capital in China, pointing out, for example, how big players in technology and other branches of industry invest in agriculture for profitability. In these cases, there is also state support. He also talked about the accumulation from below that can come from agriculture itself, either through scaling up or through remittances from migrating family members. **Pramesh Pokharel** focused on small-scale production and the processes of displacement, dispossession, rural exodus and market pricing impositions. Finally, **Aniket Aga** spoke about the interrelationships between capital and farmers, pointing out that while subordination continues to exist, the boundaries are also becoming blurred.

The second round focused on the role of states in these processes of change. **Pramesh** pointed out the differences among the states but the predominance of neoliberalism and arrangements with corporations. He also addressed the importance of collective action and farmers' struggles. In the same way, **Carla** discussed how public policies and state interventions are influenced by corporations, both in trade and in the definition of tax and exchange rate policies. The Chinese case is different, according to **Forrest**, because agricultural production does not contribute in terms of gross output but as part of state policy. **Aniket** also contributed by pointing out the importance of public policies in relation to GMOs and **Barbara** said that the state in India incorporates capital and not the other way around, and that it has a policy also for the small scale.

The last round addressed the environmental impacts of the expansion of corporate capital, the question of the relationship between efficiency, sustainability and scale of production, the responses provided by agroecology, the role of scientific knowledge in both identifying impacts and demonstrating the efficiency of alternatives, and the co-optation of certain practices by capitalisms,

such as green capitalism. In closing, questions from the audience were related to the presence/absence of resistances, the question of scale, the historical particularities of the petty commodity in each place, and the political project that agroecology implies, which differentiates it from just a proposal for environmental sustainability.

Parallel session 4-1: Roundtable Discussion on Agrarian Extractivism: what, why, where, how?

The roundtable discussion was chaired by **Alberto Alonso-Fradejas** from Wageningen University and **Sergio Sauer** from the University of Brasilia, with **Navpreet Kaur** from the University of Delhi, **Gertrude Dzifa Torvikey** from the University of Ghana, **Ben McKay** from Calgary University, and **Vong Nanthavong** from the Centre for Development and Environment, Lao PDR/University of Bern.

They argued that there is a growing interest in natural resource extraction especially land for many purposes including poverty alleviation and livelihood improvement. However, the overall process leads to resource depletion and destruction. The discussion began with the understanding of the term 'agrarian extractivism' where all the panellists were given a chance to define agro-extractivism based on their understanding. The panellists described that agrarian extractivism is historically rooted in the colonial era where capitalist export-oriented production was established to satisfy the needs of the industries in Europe. It is a particular way of organizing agriculture in a way that leads to the depletion and destruction of the natural environment. It is the mechanism in which capital exploits land and labour and this system of accumulation is mainly based on destructive logic. Agrarian extractivism helps to understand how capitalism is destructive, particularly in the agriculture sector.

The discussion, according to the chair of the roundtable discussion, only centred on crop and animal breeding agro-extractivism. The discussion was mainly guided by the book called "Agrarian Extractivism in Latin America" edited by Ben McKay, Alberto Alonso-Fradejas, and Arturo Ezquerro-Cañete published in 2021 (access at <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367822958>). The agro-extractive capitalism brings a contradiction between nature and capital as well as labour and capital. Agro-extractive capitalism is characterized by the monopolization of production and destruction of natural resources where natural resources are firstly monopolized and then depleted. Capital penetration in agrarian communities is sometimes indirect. In some cases, NGOs are at the forefront of agro-extractivist penetration into the countryside and this capital penetration is concealed.

Several questions were raised. What is the relationship between agrarian extractivism and green grabbing? I see agrarian extractivism as a useful political term but theoretically, I don't see much relevance. Can capitalist agriculture ever be non-extractive? Your debate mainly centres on two issues: form of accumulation and mode of production. Why did you say a bit more about the superstructure of agrarian extractivism? What exactly is agrarian extractivism? Alberto ended the discussion by clarifying a few issues raised by the members of the panel session.

Parallel session 4-2: Bio-politics of seed and species control

Pei Jiang presented on the "Biopolitics of breeding: a perspective of farming panopticism", focusing on the power dynamics of seed commodification. The research area chosen was Inner Mongolia,

Aohan Banner Chifeng city, due to its historical significance as an important agricultural center. In the past decade, millet average yields have doubled and at the same time, the growing area has also doubled. The reason for this increase is attributed to the use of more fertilizer and pesticide, better seeds, herbicide-resistant varieties, and the usage of mulch. The main research question revolves around the exercise of biopower in controlling and manipulating breeders' breeding practices. Biopower refers to techniques that subjugate bodies and control populations. Biopolitics, on the other hand, focuses on the governmentality of life, putting life in order. She discussed the biopolitics of breeding and the technologies of control used, such as registration systems for commercializing new crop varieties. The concept of panopticism was also mentioned, where individuals are constantly monitored without their knowledge. The technologies of control include spatial portioning, inspection, and registration. Breeding is a biopolitical practice and breeders are disciplined through various technologies.

Bin Yang discussed insights gained from studying Chinese agribusiness in Northern Laos through the lens of multispecies ethnography. The study examined the land rush process and its impacts on the social, economic, and environmental aspects of the region. It focused on three types of investments: long-term investments in rubber and tea, mid-term investments in bananas, and short-term investments in vegetables. Large-scale land deals and policy support alone do not determine the power dynamics in the region. The characteristics of the crops being cultivated also play a significant role. Smallholder farmers are not inherently opposed to market-oriented agriculture and can adapt to it but within certain limitations. A non-human perspective is important to understand agricultural investment and the land rush. The presentation called for a multidimensional analysis of the global land rush, discouraging the adoption of singular narratives and promoting a balanced examination of various perspectives. The research challenges simplistic portrayals of the relationships between Chinese agribusiness investors and smallholder farmers in northern Laos.

Michael Spies presented on the emergence and widespread adoption of Chinese hybrid rice seeds in Pakistan and Tajikistan. He explored the drivers and consequences of these developments and examined the uniqueness of Chinese companies' engagements in the seed sector. The study involved field research, trade data analysis, and analysis of grey literature. About one-third of the rice area in Pakistan is under non-Basmati varieties, primarily for export, with approximately 50% of non-Basmati rice being produced using imported Chinese hybrid seed. There is also a growing trend of local hybrid seed production through joint ventures of Chinese and Pakistani seed companies, as well as contract farming-like arrangements with local landlords. Farmers have a positive perception of Chinese hybrid seeds, citing higher yields and more reliable seed quality. However, there are downsides and risks associated with costly and sometimes risky seed investments. The dominance of hybrid seeds in the market has led to the disappearance of local varieties and increased dependence of farmers on seed providers and middlemen, increasing control of the input supply sector by transnational agribusiness, and increasing demand for water. The drivers of this trend include China's seed industry's overcapacity and the going-out strategy, as well as domestic factors such as liberalization of agri-trade and agricultural modernization agendas favoring hybrid seeds. The research sheds light on the influence of Chinese hybrid seeds in Pakistan and Tajikistan and the implications for local farmers and agriculture systems.

Feng Ba explained how human-elephant relations are shaped through governance processes in China. Asian elephant protection in the Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Xishuangbanna in Yunnan province. Asian elephants are an endangered species and have been protected by law since 1989. The Xishuangbanna National Nature Reserve, established in 1986, serves as their primary habitat. The

study examines the changing land use patterns in Hebian Village and the resulting overlap of living spaces between humans and elephants. A shift in livelihoods among farmers has resulted, specifically the abandonment of cash crops in favor of cultivating bananas due to wildlife elephant insurance. Human-elephant relations have evolved in response to policy drivers within China's governance system for wild elephant conservation. Social sciences are needed alongside natural sciences to address human-elephant conflicts, promote sustainable livelihood transitions, and implement effective protection measures. Integration of individual cases with a global perspective is suggested as an essential direction for future research on human-elephant relationships.

Questions raised in the discussion included: which other countries are China exporting the seeds to, and the nature of competition in the global seed market; the interactions of Chinese agribusiness investors with local government in Laos; and how insurance influences livelihood transitions in China.

Parallel session 4-3: Urbanisation and agrarian change

Sane Zuka gave a paper on urbanization and peri-urban land structuring in Malawi. He contended that peri-urban regions serve as focal points for private capital investment, the financialization of land, and the displacement of rural communities from their land. While there is hope that urbanization will boost economic growth and alleviate poverty, the expansion of urban areas is a multifaceted process that reshapes existing property rights and creates winners and losers. Delving into the notion of primitive accumulation by Karl Marx, he investigates how urbanization in Malawi is generating new land conflicts within the community. The study explores the nature of economic and social relations between new groups of people moving into the peri-urban area and those that inhabit the area. Addressing four research questions through the lens of primitive accumulation, Zuka drew the conclusion that urbanization is not only reconfiguring the land tenure system on the out-sketch, but it is also recreating income disparities between the indigenous communities and the recent migrants. Furthermore, he noted that the indigenous populations are not only grappling with land scarcity but also experiencing precarious livelihoods.

Lu Jixia presented research on how migrant farmers emerge and persist in China, and how livelihoods are transformed under urbanisation. She introduced a novel group of peasants who transitioned from agriculture to agriculture. A case study carried out in the peri-urban village of Kunming, China, focused on the emergence of new migrant farmers, the implications for modernization, whether it represents a temporary or continuing phenomenon and considerations regarding the future of these migrant farmers. Preliminary findings show that urbanization, land acquisition, restricted livelihood options, and the attraction of lower costs and higher profits are driving forces behind the emergence of new peasant farmers. Space is squeezed in peri-urban areas and the evolving relationships between people and the land, as well as changing dynamics between people and their communities. Agrarian changes in China are distinctive; one must distinguish between migrant farmers and migrant workers. The former group has distinctive roles, contributions, and impacts on the modernization process.

Discussion: four questions were raised. What is the impact of government policy on rural-urban migration in China? Does the urban hierarchy structure play a role in rural-urban migration? Are there cultural dimensions associated with peri-urban migration in Malawi? How does the state and policy influence the land dispossession process in Malawi?

Parallel session 4-4: Interface of new forms of capital and agrarian relations

This session discussed different ways (historical) capital inserts itself into the lives of rural people, as well as how rural people deal with such changes and legacies.

Bosman Batubara shared his analysis of NCICD in flood-vulnerable Jakarta as “grounded financialization”, where financial capital reclaimed land with the stated aim to build flood-resilient infrastructure, but it in fact aimed to develop and resell the land to investors to make money.

Yu Shiping shared a case of community road construction lasting 10 years in a village in Hunan, and how Qingli (invoking cultural obligations based on kinship and common sense) enabled villagers to persuade others harboring reservations to agree to the construction.

Li Jingsong shared findings from two surveys in upland southwestern China on the agricultural practices of farmers, showing great changes in land use, the structure of agricultural production, and the types of agricultural industries, reducing farmers’ autonomy: from paddy fields to dry land, intercropping to monocropping, a drastic decrease in the size of farmland, planting trees on farmland.

Soledad Castro shared the case of a former banana plantation in the floodplains of Costa Rica, where the waterscapes (drainage and irrigation systems) and pesticide use left behind by the plantation continued to influence how residents approach the land today.

Parallel session 4-5: Pastoralist communities at the frontier of changes

Zhang Qian presented her work on “Squeezed from all sides: pastoralists’ pressure under commodification, grassland protection and climate change”, she emphasized her presentation on agrarian changes and grassland degradation.

Abdoulaye Malloum Mahamat focused on “Agro-pastoral activities, emergence of “new peasants” and agrarian dynamics in Bas-Chari (Chad)”. He focuses his presentation on the “new forms” of pastoralism in a context of social dynamic “modus operandi” of land grabbing.

Moges Bantie explained his work on “Continuing land rush amid dynamic changes in the cast of participants and institutional mechanisms: a view from Ethiopia” draws the story of penetration of capitalism from the historical and institutional approaches.

Tsering Bum presented a (changed) paper on pluralistic governance through a comparative analysis between local state and NGO presenting a model of cooperation between governance and NGO on local governance.

Verdiana Morandi, as discussant, and representing European Shepherds Network and World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples, presented the situation of the pastoralists in Europe.

Parallel session 4-6: Energy transition in agrarian landscapes

The discussion was centered around dynamics of extractivism on resource frontiers connected to projects justified as imperatives of energy transition and decarbonization.

Geronimo Barrera de la Torre from Brown University presented the case of a carbon frontier in the ancestral land of the Chatino Peoples in the state of Oaxaca in Mexico through the lens of resource frontiers assemblage, analysing how carbon became a resource and is produced as a resource, linked to community-based forestry projects.

Zhanping Hu from North China Electric Power University presented the case of solar energy development in rural China, analyzing it as a story of the solar agriculture boom that is leading to solar extractivism, due to land grabbing and harm to local environments.

Emilinah Namaganda from Utrecht University presented the case of resource extraction of natural gas and graphite in the province of Cabo Delgado, in Mozambique, a region produced as a resource frontier due to the increased demand for minerals for low-carbon technologies, analyzing how this is deepening extractivism, with dynamics of exploitation of labor, population displacement and dispossession.

Pere Nogués Martín from City University of New York presented the case of the continuous attempts of lithium mining in Bolivia's Uyuni Salt Flat, analyzing it through the lens of frontier making, connected to land, resources and water grabs.

In the debate, the shared use of the idea of resource frontier by the presenters was highlighted and a conversation on the usefulness of the concept revolved around the question of "frontier for whom?". Some responses dealt with the idea of frontier for capital, linking the usefulness of the concept to the possibilities of comparison between different contexts that are at the edge of the state's reach and the potentials of connecting the idea of frontier making to insurgencies.

Parallel session 5-1: CASAS Panel: Agroecology, and agrarian politics

The session was chaired by **Mohammad Arfan** (CASAS & Centre for Climate and Environmental Research, Institute for Art and Culture Lahore, Pakistan) and the attendees were **Guadalupe Sátiro** (University of Brasília, Brazil); **Andrea Sosa** (National Scientific and Technological Research Council, University of San Matrí, Argentina) and **Anderson Antonio Silva** (peasant, from the Federal University of Goiás, Brazil)

Guadalupe Sátiro presented her work "Agroecology and Agrarian Questions: linking peasantry-capitalist to socio-ecological dimensions in Brazil". Her moving question is how to address a paradoxical process of depeasantization with the growth of agribusiness, and repeasantisation (*recampesinization*) through the agroecological movement? How relevant are the agroecological movements in the 21st century? She dialogues with a counter-hegemonic perspective of the agrarian question, such as the agrarian question of capital (Bernstein) and agrarian question of industrialization (Moyo, Jha, Yeros). Dialoguing with several authors, her understanding is that the exploitation in peripheral capitalism is an ongoing process, necessary for capital agrarian question, to reproduce capitalism itself. So, how to resolve the agrarian question in underdeveloped countries? Linking the agrarian question to agroecology: resistance of peasantry via repeasantisation (*recampesinization*) as a struggle for autonomy through reproduction of sustainable agriculture

development. Within this framework, we have two grassroots voices around agroecological and agrarian question in Brazil: the MST (for agrarian reform, historically speaking) which put in practice an adherence to agroecological education and the Agroecological Governance in Brazil, in the regard to public policies for family farming with promotion for food sovereignty. The institutionalization to these public policies only took place after the Marcha das Margaridas in 2011, but several family farming policies, such as those, were dismantled by the recent government of Jair Bolsonaro. The big picture is that we have a contradictory pathway coexist in a model of agriculture development where both agroecological policies and for agribusiness coexist.

Andrea Sosa presented her work entitled as “Populism, democracy and the State: Argentine rural movements in pursuit of sustainable development”, which is an ongoing work. She analyses rural social movement’s socio-economic relationships with the state. Which are the more suitable relationships to this end? Said that, her hypothesis is that the way forward for progressive social movements is to combine both strategies: engage with the state while mobilizing their independence from the state and autonomy from political parties. Within this framework, she asks herself: what are the possibilities of radicalizing democracy? What are the possibilities for rural social movements to engage in a broader movement? To this end, she makes a dialogue with Borras’s recent debates in his article. The current context in Argentina is that we are about to witness the victory of the far right-wing, with Javier Milei. It is very popular because of several failures of the previous governments. At the same time, it is evident that we have, since 1987, some municipal, national and provincial public policies supporting agroecology. Most of these policies come from the Peronismo developmentalist ideas, but also support agribusiness at the same time. All those public policies did not emerge from the state to promote agroecology, but rather from the pressure from civil society. This process led agroecology to develop some sort of legitimization for the great public. In general, these rural social movements struggle for both land and agroecology. Their main movements are the Rural Excluded Workers Movement (MTE-Rural) and Rural Workers Union (UTT). The first one participates and supports candidates in elections, the former is ideologically independent and although it engages with the State, it maintains autonomy and keeps doing public demonstrations. They both hold decision-making and technical positions in the State. They propose policies for the state, but they do not have a broader political agenda. She concludes that to counter right-wing forces rural social movements need to articulate between them and with other urban and rural organizations, and to propose a more political and less sectorial agenda.

Anderson Silva presented his work entitled “The New Brazilian agrarian issue and the role of agroecology in expanding the social function of the land”. His main consideration is that agroecological experiences create partialities and contested spaces, contesting spaces undo hegemonic space-time adjustments. Undoing it allows us to speak about another political economy. This other political economy is possible, and its name is the political economy of agroecology. In other words, there is a subversive framework in agroecological politics. But, on the other hand, it is needed to break hegemonic spatio-temporal logic, excluding value from the politics of agrarian economy. These points lead us to think about a new type of space production. The debate was mainly around the following question: how can the current relations of power, that prevent agroecology from being a mainstream policy of development, be overcome? Also, it was debated as to what extent networks of agroecology are related to internal markets and how they produce another time nature.

Parallel session 5-2: Peasant actions and social movements

Ricardo Barbosa presented his paper with Gustavo Oliveira on digitalisation and social movements in Brazil, entitled 'Technology and the New Agriculture Revolution'. Building on the recognition that digitalisation of farming is driven by private firms (Birner et al 2021) and have reinforced corporate dominance over the agricultural sector, they point to new entrants like the tech giants Amazon, Microsoft, Google, Alibaba into agrofood systems (ETC Group 2022). Investment in agriculture is considered lucrative and data curation is becoming an important strategy for capital. They argued, though, that the same technologies that corporates deploy may also hold the potential of being strategic sites of resistance and emancipatory struggles. Technology may not save us – data can be captured and subverted for political ends. Digital techs of industrial capital (Stock and Gardezi 2022) but equally there are subversive and emancipatory potentials (Rupper et al 2017, Bigo et al 2019) yet there are ambiguities (Dencik et al 2016) and data assemblages (Iliadis and Russo 2016). Data do not speak for themselves (Ratcliffe 1982) and data must be narrated in order to become legible (Dourish and Cruz 2018). In view of this, a new frontier of data activism is about data justice (Dencik et al 2016, Hummel et al 2021, Braun and Hummel 2022, Global Partnership for Sustainable Data Development 2022). There is established scholarship that bridges data justice with environmental justice and establishes that data is a site for critiquing capitalist technology services and devices. Faxon et al (2023) calls for scholarship on data practices to be rooted in agrarian struggles. The two cases Ricardo and Gustavo study are:

- Data produced FOR agrarian activists: Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) on Brazilian agrarian question which documented and released data on rural violence.
- Data produced AGAINST agribusiness conglomerate (eg. COSAN data acquired through data hack, release of over 100 Gigabytes of data on landholdings, contracts, audits, reports)

They conclude that agrarian justice can be knowable, legible, and liable. Data's capacity for domination of grassroots movement goals are not inherent but about how they are configured, who owns and accesses, and what they do with it. Digital technology incorporates ideas and struggle! The authors set an agenda for how CAS can incorporate data justice in aims of agrarian justice and urge our field to pay more attention to the political economy of data and digital tools in agriculture and agrarian contexts.

Daniel Yeboah's research on farmer-herder conflicts showed how these reconfigure the authority of political and legal institutions in Ghana. Drawing on Sikor and Lund's (2009) notions of power and authority in relation to property, the study takes the case of Asante Akim North Municipality and looks at institutional forms of authority and how these are remade as property is contested. Municipal assemblies have certain authorities at local level, while chieftaincies. The arrival of herdsmen in the 1990s and early symbiotic relations, growing demand in 2000s, followed by allocation of land by chiefs, generating conflicts over land rights and encroachment. Farmers appealed at different times to municipal assemblies, as well as to a paramount chief. The refusal of these authorities to intervene prompted violent protests, with an attack on a palace and call for destoolment, prompting a ban on funerals over the Fulani 'menace'. This led to the nullification of a lease (whose?) in 2011. Confrontations also against the municipal assembly, with a legal suit in the Kumasi high court, a ban on political activities in 2016, and a ban on cattle in 2018. It's not all about the power conferred on an institution; they need to sustain authority through managing property and responding to conflicts. Authority is not absolute, and conflict is important as a source of authority, and constitutes as well as complicating governance.

Sai Sam Kham discussed land and commodity rushes amid political transition in Myanmar, noting that whenever there is a regime transition, the first thing they do is try to change the land law. Land

politics is almost always class and ethnic politics that is connected with state-building. Wasteland idea informed a Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Land Law, making millions of farmers criminal for working on their ancestral land, defining them as squatters. Commodity and land rushes reported around 2007-08, and while some argue these have decreased, they are also converted into concessions (Borras). Anna Tsing's economy of appearances and intentional 'spectacle' versus more incremental changes. Land nationalisation in 1948 removed most absentee landlords, bringing about a structural transformation. Type of regime cannot alone determine if progressive legislation can be implemented. He discussed the character of the state in terms of various class fractions, and pre-emptive constitution-making. Capital accumulation-political legitimacy and empirical-capitalism and colonial history. Political transition linked with land politics: types of regimes can't determine if progressive legislation agenda will be set and implemented and state as an arena for climate and agrarian justice.

Eric Arnulfo Fernandez Conte from LVC in Panama, argued that technology can be used as an instrument against us. For us, the farmer, the technology may look far away, but at the same time we are shown that they are again using our struggle, and using technology to establish more centralised control. Can technologies help our social movement? 'Struggles without some theory are blind', he said, because we need some base to explain to a person what the programme of a movement comes from.

Discussion: enlist youth in rural areas to work with researchers to engage in data activism and to develop and deploy digital skills to serve agrarian struggles. Around the world, capture of personal data is happening rapidly, and citizens are unaware of how we are ceding this information. Feminist Africa has a call out now for a conference next year on digitalisation, artificial intelligence and feminist agendas.

Parallel session 5-3: Modernization, agrarian change & new actors

Mengzheng Yao discussed how the shifting political, social, economic, natural and cultural environment from the 1990s made the emergence of the new gentry class possible in rural China. The session began with the question, "Who are the rural gentry?" He defined them as a group of individuals composed of low ranking scholars, retired officials, and landlords who used to perform various functions in respective townships and were quickly eradicated after the establishment of the PRC. However, the author raised an intriguing question about why the population deemed unfit prior to the PRC resurfaced, and these are the new rural gentry who have emerged in the last decade or so with similar functions but vastly different demographics. They are mostly small-scale business owners who had previously established themselves in urban areas before returning to their home villages to serve in key positions. His paper identifies three aspects: political shifts, which included the establishment of the household responsibility system (HRS), and administrative institution reform, which included a) the abolition of people's communes, and b) the establishment of township government and village committee; economic shifts, which included a) marketization in the agricultural sector, b) the development of TVEs and the emergence of migrant workers, and c) decentralization and recentralization. To summarize, the author stated that political shifts provided opportunity; economic shifts provided viability and valuable human resources and wealth accumulation; and environmental shifts provided motivation.

Sinem Kavak addressed cross-class alliances and urban middle classes with peasant characteristics: A historical- spatial approach to agency in territory-based rural mobilisations in Turkey. The study

focuses on small-scale river-type hydropower plants (SHPs) as a means of promoting climate change and government economic growth. Questions centered on how much water remained in the river basin after, as well as the social and agricultural implications. "What is the weight and manifestation of agrarian structures in contemporary territory-based mobilizations?" was the main research question. In what ways are they related to class positions and agrarian political economy differentiation? In this case study, the author used a historical spatial approach. Arhavi was chosen as a case study because it has high precipitation rates, so production does not rely on irrigation, a large number of SHPs and mining projects, and commercialized cash crop production such as tea and hazelnuts. Due to household capital accumulation facilitated by state-supported tea production, commercial tea production resulted in outmigration and depeasantization in rural Arhavi. The main key findings were centered around: a) Resistance, b) Struggle Revival, c) Urban Middle Classes with Peasant Characteristics, where material and immaterial factors were combined, and d) Cross-Class Alliances.

Yue Du presented work on 'holistic gentrification and the recreation of rurality', arguing that in China, a new wave of rural gentrification is taking place, particularly in impoverished rural areas, taking the case of the transformation of River County, a polluted town, into a sought-after destination for gentrifiers. The study investigates the causes and consequences of this extensive gentrification process. This process has resulted in significant displacement of residents and a devaluation of farmland. Peasants are forced to abandon agriculture and work as migrant workers, while developers monopolize farmland and oppose raising land lease rates. This situation has resulted in the absence of local competitors and the marginalization of agricultural production. Another significant aspect highlighted in the study is the representation of rurality, which has resulted in tourism promotion. However, when applied to small plots of land, this method is ineffective. Finally, the study emphasizes the importance of closely monitoring the negative effects of widespread gentrification and developing innovative farmland protection policies.

Jin Xu delivered a talk on the new rural construction in China, and its links to rural development and China's modernization process. The focus of the discussion was on the initiatives taken by China Agricultural University to revitalize 37 villages through experimental approaches. These villages vary in terms of their geographical conditions. The author cited several examples, such as Hebian Village in 2015, Kunming, and Yanta Village, among others. Of particular interest was Damiaozhai village in Zhaotong, which introduced new economic activities to generate income. The author introduced a theoretical framework centred around the concept of a new economic space, which encompasses increasing economic value, creating new employment and living spaces, improving the welfare of farmers, establishing a new market entity with farmers at the centre, addressing organizational gaps, and involving new farmers and villagers to enhance human resources in underdeveloped areas. It is important to note that this new rural construction movement is primarily driven by the state, with the state being the main actor. The goals of this movement encompass political, social, economic, and environmental dimensions, with a focus on promoting the interests of farmers, agriculture, and rural communities.

Discussion focused on what is the idea of modernization, is China's idea of modernization different from the West, and what was the nature of economic activities of the villagers across the case studies? Say for example the nature of their business/ accumulation of economy in the rural areas? This is a state-driven approach, entirely funded by the state, at about \$1 million USD for every village. The resurgence of the movement, the economic integration between the urban and rural lives, the funding of rural construction, and collective decision-making by villages were all discussed.

Parallel session 5-4: Nature commodification and governance

Yu Wang presented on unravelling irrigation governance, and the findings of a systematic review of global transformations amid agricultural modernization and neoliberalism. This presentation was drawing on a literature review (instead of an empirical data-based case study as many did in the conference). Yu Wang presented debates and explained the need to have a critical approach to the irrigation technologies. He emphasized the importance of water in the agricultural sector, the modernization of which was partly dependent on irrigation technologies (yet there is a lack in irrigation-focused analysis in critical agrarian studies). Mainstream literature focuses too much on “efficiency”—hence the need for critical water studies. The review identifies 3 main research themes: “modern hydraulic infrastructure and technology; neoliberal water rights and market institutions; participatory irrigation management and organization”. This existing literature, Wang suggests, has two limitations: i) majority of the studies are too place-specific and ii) they focus on a single and biophysical dimension of water (i.e., its utilization/control).

Ping Pang presented co-authored work on ‘keeping seed sovereignty in the fields’, looking at how smallholders’ practice improves the resilience governance of germplasm resources security - a case study based on the ethnic minority areas in western China. This presentation suggests that germplasm resources security (GRS) serves as the foundation for ensuring food system resilience. Yet there are challenges in GRS’s application which highlights the need for maintaining seed sovereignty in the fields. Pang’s study focuses on this need by looking at the GRS conversation dynamics across several rural regions in western China.

Nikhil Deb shared his work on ‘a climate of disasters in neoliberal Bangladesh’, which emphasizes the connection between climate change and land grabbing dynamics and the transformation of the agrarian landscape, against the background of disasters. He drew on fieldwork in Koyra Upazila in Bangladesh (20 in-depth interviews, 3 focus groups, survey of 100 families). Bangladesh is the 2nd most market friendly nation in the world and the consequences of the market-driven practices in the country are attributed to climate change. To this end, Nikhil showed how climate-induced disasters in Bangladesh have been exploited while leading to further implications (commodification of nature, locally-oriented climate justice agendas, etc.).

Chuanghong Zhang presented a paper on the expert-government-community coalition for development in rural China, and how the power of knowledge and bureaucratic power articulated with one another. Rural development has been prioritized in China’s policy and development agenda since the early 2000s, yet there has been no clear guidance or clarification of specific targets. This policy ambiguity, Chuanghong Zhang suggests, provides space for experts to play a role. The presentation critiques the inner workings of hierarchical bureaucracy in China, on which there is not enough literature. The study contributes by focusing on the relation between experts and bureaucrats and in so doing it builds on Weber and Parson. The empirical data in this study is gathered through participatory observation as well as autoethnography (because the authors themselves are experts working with the gov’t). The study observes an embeddedness of hierarchy in professional expertise in the China context.

Parallel session 5-5: Cross-border migration, seasonal labour and livelihoods transformation

Xingyan Chen presented a co-authored paper entitled “Re-examining Semi-proletarianization in Rural China: Insights from Typologies of Peasant Workers' Livelihoods”. This work contends that previous research on semi-proletarianization has primarily focused on rural migrant workers who earn wage income in urban areas while maintaining family reproductive activities in rural regions. Challenging this traditional concept, Chen’s work introduces a new typology that examines diverse patterns of migratory livelihoods in China. The livelihoods of peasant migrant workers are categorised into four principal types: rural-based, trans-local, urban-based, and reversed trans-local. Each type presents distinct patterns of spatial (re-)configuration in peasants’ productive and family reproductive activities. While the shift towards urban-based livelihoods has led to a dominant narrative advocating for further urbanization and the scaling-up of agriculture, the findings reveal that this shift often exacerbates financial and caregiving burdens on rural families. They also result in an extended working lifespan for rural laborers and a subsequent gap in care and support when these laborers can no longer work. The study advocates for a more nuanced approach that considers the complexity of peasant livelihoods and calls for the creation of spaces that support rural-based livelihoods.

Nguyet Dang’s work on the cross-border labour regime in the Northern Vietnam-southern China region explores from a historical perspective the capital flows from capital-rich countries to resource-rich countries. Her work covers the transborder migration of Vietnamese workers who migrate into China for work. Many migrants are from upland agrarian homes in rural Vietnam, who enter into China as farm laborers on sugar-cane farms. As a result there is the rise of ‘left behind’ populations in rural Vietnam. This migration has risen in recent years due to the rise of flex crops and also is influenced by the rise of state-led modernization activities in China. The labor is to a large extent exploited because of the presence of labor brokers.

Qian Zhang’s co-authored paper focused on land markets in rural China, which form a critical source of income for rural households. They ask: how important is farmland still for rural livelihoods in developing countries - and answer this with reference to China. While these incomes are complemented by subsidies from the state, these subsidies are not enough. Factors that influence levels of rental amount are land size and location, with plots that are more accessible costing more to rent. The growth of urbanization has also shaped farmland markets. Drawing on a sample of 3,000 households involved in land markets, the author argues that more should be done to make these markets sustainable.

The discussion explored the wider implications of growing land markets for rural transformation in China, how the authors locate their study on these markets within the wider dynamics of labour markets, and therefore migration, in China. Participants suggested that a focus on labour migration needs to attend to issues of social reproduction both in the sending regions and the receiving regions. The landscape approach used by Nguyet was acknowledged to provide a wider picture of the agrarian dynamics

Parallel session 5-6: Commons and communities: collective practices in rural China

Ling Ding discussed collective practices of a herder community, based on research with Yan Hairong. They showed how the Guacuo community in Tibet resolves free rider problems, adjusts labour division, arrives at collective decisions, circulates leadership elections and collects land share rent, promoting sharing of benefits in the village.

Yu Huang discussed farmers' organization for eco-socialism, through the case of agricultural extension cooperatives in X Village in Northeast China. The initiative set up the cooperative village of a Korean ethnic minority that produces ecological rice, showing how collectivization is a way to achieve ecosocialism.

Ming Gao presented how village leaders play a role in making 'new collective villages', arguing that leaders of T Village, in Her Nam Province, play a role in constituting a new collective village – which is different from a new collective economy of a village. The possibilities contain potential problems which may impede the development of the public of the village. The collective development and equal sharing is related to a local leadership aligned with the communist party.

Yiyuan Chen showed how the rural collective economy is organised and reorganised. Rural society, and the Red Star village, can be organized in developing a collective economy. The amount of collective income and dividend payments should not be the key indicator of a collective economy.

Discussion: there were questions about gender roles and participation in collective processes; differentiation of collective villages and impacts on shareholding; control of community parties into the villages beside their organization and autonomy; challenges and common features of the cases present that can be replicated, how to highlight small cooperatives and collective villages in China and; to audiences outside China and the next China land reform governmental decisions.

Parallel session 6-1: Contemporary land grabs and labour extraction

Gabriel Ndimbo argued that contract farming is not a win-win business model that equally benefits farmers and capital, but a concealed approach to control and exploit peasant land and labour from a political economy perspective. Through contract farming, agribusiness capital penetrates rural areas and takes control over land and commodifies the existing social relations in a variety of ways. Based on a case study in Tanzania, the study explores how contract farming is used by agribusiness capital as a form of 'disguised land appropriation' and 'land control' as well as 'disguised employment' for peasants. It suggests peasants should be compensated for their land and strategies should be set to ensure that farmers in contract farming are provided with all social benefits.

Itayosara Rojas Herrera examined the political contradictions and tensions in the process of contemporary land struggles which are pursued distinctly by three social groups including Indigenous peoples, black communities and campesinos in the Colombian Amazon. While emphasizing the impressive gains of sectoral land struggles, the study, using elements of the 5Rs framework (Recognition, Redistribution, Restitution, Regeneration, Representation), elaborates how the divide-and-conquer strategy of state and capital have created the basis for tensions within and between the three social groups and prevented the emergence of solidarity based on class and non-

class politics. It suggests class-wide and across-the-board solidarity should be built among social groups with 5Rs as a framework to bypass the fragmented and sectorally distinct land struggles.

Sandeepan Tripathy focused on the identity of migrant labour from agrarian townships in Odisha to Surat's Textile Industry based on ethnographic fieldwork for 17 months in India. Migration experience shapes migrant labour's perception of farming as well as their identity and relation to land. It has found that those migrant labourers who work in operating power loom machines in Surat refer to themselves as workers. Despite making tangible and intangible investments in maintaining their land, they refuse to identify as farmers.

Parallel session 6-2: Agriculture in the cities

Forrest Zhang contrasted agro-industrial commodity chains with rural-urban food linkages, and discussed sustainable alternatives in China's food system. This study is connected with the urban-rural linkage. The paper would like to talk about the rising alternatives to the rising industrial food system in China. China has a productive industrial agriculture regime, such as intensive use of energy, heavy chemicals, and large-scale mono-cropping, among others. However, there are bottom-up initiatives rising in China. The question is to categorize the alternatives into two types: 1) post-productivism; 2) anti-productivism. Post-productivism is more for the consumption of rural space and agriculture, driven by outside urban demands. Anti-productivism is a rural-based counter-movement to productivity, driven by rural residents' discontent with economic precarity and social decay. It's a direct rejection of the productivism agriculture model. The challenge is that they oftentimes, since they are urban elites, have an idealistic tradition of social justice. So, they go to the countryside but they encounter a lot of problems and most of the time fail, such as high rents for the land, a lengthy process for the agro-ecological venture, accessing the market, erratic weather changes, etc. Moreover, because of the small scale, they have to run through it and build an entirely new commodity chain. Delivery of the product to every member is quite high. The second type, anti-productivism, such as the case of Riverbend community, is a case wherein the community engages in a long process of social mobilization. They started with a group of women that danced at night and spread like wildfire to other villages. That social mobilization was the basis of this movement. After that, they provided social services to the community, such as elderly care by renovating abandoned houses, and childcare facilities, collecting traditional heirlooms and putting them in a museum, etc. After the initial failure of organizing agricultural cooperatives, in their second try, they did an agroecological production, in which the land is being used with an agroecological approach. After this, they became very successful. This is the most successful bottom-up movement in China, the reason for its success is that it has gone through 15 years of social mobilization.

Grasian Mkodzongi gave a paper on economic crisis, de-proletarianization and repeasantisation in Zimbabwe's urban areas during a changing agrarian situation. This study is focused on the emerging aspects of urban agriculture in the context of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reforms. Zimbabwe experienced the world's famous land reform in 2000, but it's widely debated in scholarship which polarized the scholarship. The fact that the land reforms projected the literature neglected the urban dynamics. The urban land occupations were inspired by the need to address an escalating housing crisis in Zimbabwe's urban areas and the need for new livelihood opportunities. The urban poor took advantage of the government's populist program, such as Operation Garikai, but it did not address the urban land question. The government is generally against the urban informal settlements. By giving legitimacy to these informal settlements, it gives constituency to the party. So, the urban poor are a beneficiary of ongoing political contestation between the governing ZANU

PF and CCC opposition political parties. The formalization of these new suburbs has also opened up urban spaces to land-based livelihood opportunities. There is phenomenal growth in the urban agriculture sector, the production of grain, livestock production, and crop production across urban areas has dramatically increased. Sand mining and quarrying have also become a source of employment for urbanites. Some farmers are mechanizing their operations producing over 3 tons of grain and selling their produce to the local grain marketing depots. Some farmers hire up to 10 temporary laborers for land preparation, planting, and harvesting. The urban peasantry is socially differentiated. The wealthier urban peasants are able to hire labor for land preparation, tilling, planting, weeding, fertilizer application, and harvesting. Others utilize family labor to prepare land, plant, and harvest plants. An urban agrarian underclass survives through wage labor. Agrarian labor tends to be gendered in the South of Harare where women tend to seek work as agricultural laborers. In terms of theoretical implication, the dynamics is a deviation from the proletarianization thesis. Economic crisis and de-industrialization are a catalyst for de-proletarianization. The urban proletariat was decimated and forced into peasant-like forms of existence. The subsisting land tenure arrangements remain insecure and a cause for concern in terms of their sustainability. Zimbabwe's land occupations were not only a rural event as popularized in literature; it's also happening in the urban areas.

Marvin Montefrio presented on 'tilling the urban soil', exploring rural-urban alliances and the socio-material realities of radical urban agriculture. Radical urban agriculture is not just to produce food but it advocates for urban and food politics. The literature focuses its attention on urban renewal to claim the right to the city and close the metabolic rifts. There needs to be a bridge between urban studies and rural studies. It will explore urban agrarianism, and central to the scholarship is the interconnection of the rural-urban alliances. The objective of the paper is to examine the roles of rural-urban alliances in urban agrarian resistance by focusing on the case of radical urban agriculture. The study is situated in Metro Manila, where inequality persists. When rural people move to urban areas, they face a more dire situation. Two case studies were the focus of the study with the urban poor movements in Manila. The reason why they are doing urban agriculture is to resist the evictions, food security is just secondary. The initiatives were advanced by the food and urban poor movements. The organizations brought the movement of Bungkalan that emphasizes food sovereignty and continues the struggle for genuine land reform. It's quite an established movement but it's also vehemently attacked by the state. There are still serious challenges faced by rural-urban alliances, such as finding good soil for urban agriculture. For the remaining open land, most of them are enclosed and privatized. A lot of these highly contested lands turn into BPOs or residential estates. Another constraint is water, which they can only get from the overly polluted water systems of Manila. They can also acquire them through water service providers from private concessionaires. Exacerbating these material constraints is excessive military policing. The constraints likewise exist in the rural areas, much of the soil is eroded, the water is scarce, and military policing and red-tagging are rampant in the Philippines. Rural-urban alliances illustrate the fluidity and co-constitution of rural and urban struggles and resistance. However, urban struggles can pose unique challenges that may require creative alliances.

Jocelyn Parot from URGENCI, as discussant, argued that urban agriculture is often overlooked, such as the case in Zimbabwe where there is fetishism in the countryside. Urban agriculture in Zimbabwe can also be a source of food. Even in the Global North, we do not take into account an important aspect that is needed by some part of the population. The dynamics of community gardens and family gardens, allotments to workers are in demand, whereas the community gardens can be tricky to sustain. There is a diversity of CSA models. There are definitely some common principles from China, the USA, and Northern Africa, which is there is a long-term commitment from the members

everywhere; there is a consensus with risk-sharing. At the same time, it does not mean that CSA are all alike. In Germany, they have a different meaning of CSA. The dynamics among CSAs can be very different. CSA is not like a silver bullet but at the same time, we see some successful CSA farms. Urban-rural connection is like an exploratory field. We try to see if the type of CSA helps or prevents the urban-rural connection. It's interesting what was said about the example of the river bends, it might be the case of the very integrated CSA. It is difficult to get engaged when urban people are about to rent land and set up CSA. It is often indeed linked to the struggles that are going on, such as the case in Manila. There is a trigger and a reason why people come together. I think the panel reflected very well on struggles and mobilization to start the new urban-rural linkage. Recognition is needed from local authorities to frame this action to territorial transition that would pay tribute to the general transition going on in the field.

Discussion focused on the connection in terms of how the problems in the rural agrarian system interlink with what is happening in the urban areas, how the rural and urban areas are defined by space, not just by limiting to the physicality aspect of the area, how the urban and rural agriculture differ in terms of the target markets, and if rural people in the urban slums are a form of proletarianization.

Parallel session 6-3: Agroecology and the emancipatory agenda

In this parallel session on agroecology and the emancipatory agenda, several key themes were explored. The presenters discussed the political economy of agroecological transitions, focusing on metrics and indicators for agroecological transitions following its main dimensions: social metabolism, labour dynamics, markets and resources, social organizations, and policies and politics. They debated whether the focus should be on transitions or agroecological transformations. Additionally, a specific case study in Southwest China examined the role of women in agroecological transitions, emphasizing their involvement in seed exchanges and care work, and how these transitions are influenced by changing dynamics in social reproduction.

Raj Patel from the University of Texas reflected on the intersection of agroecology and counter hegemony, emphasizing the importance of care for both the soil and participants (farmers).

Pramesh Pokharel, as discussant, highlighted the decentralized and autonomous nature of agroecology, distinguishing it from big corporations and emphasizing values and sovereignty as its core principles.

Parallel session 6-4: Global international agrarian politics and the role of China

Shaohua Zhan discussed a China-centred food regime, and China's increasing influence in Southeast Asia's food trade, highlighting its impact on other countries in the region. China's influence in the food trade sector has increased in recent years. The Chinese share of the food trade has grown, with an increase of 4.6% from 2000 to 2018, reaching almost 16%. Regionalization is a key trend, as neighbouring countries increase their trade volumes with each other. China's influence on the region's food trade is expected to continue growing. He mentions the impact on various countries, with some having a high impact, such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia, and others with a more

moderate impact. China's influence on food trade is not limited to a few commodities; it extends to a diverse range of products, including cereals, rice, and others. China's demand for food is a significant factor but not the only one driving change in the region's food trade.

Yue Zhao explored the dynamics of agribusiness and organic farming in rural China and implications for environmental sustainability and smallholder engagement. Organic farming in China is different from Western trends. Agribusiness and local governments in promoting organic farming and the support provided by the Chinese government. Her study focuses on a specific area in Henan province, where water pollution control and organic farming promotion are significant. The speaker conducted interviews with farmers, agribusiness representatives, and local government officials. Key findings include the coexistence of various agricultural production models, with agribusinesses playing a prominent role. The central government's strict water pollution control policies drive local governments to adopt organic farming as a solution. Agribusinesses directly influence farming practices by hiring and training farmers, and have an indirect impact on subcontractors. These practices lead to reduced chemical usage but increased pesticide use. Smallholders who have practiced organic farming traditionally are less influenced by agribusiness, which may not fully align with ecological principles and national organic standards. While agribusinesses contribute to reducing chemical usage and water pollution, they may not play a strong leadership role in organic farming. Smallholders, rooted in traditional practices, remain less affected by agribusiness initiatives but also not having state support..

Wen Lei introduced research on Chinese agribusiness in Tanzania. She conducted fieldwork in the Kilosa district of Morogoro, Tanzania, and her presentation delved into the concept of simultaneity and its relation to time and globalization. The traditional concept of time, as depicted in ancient Chinese poetry, was based on natural and cultural events, like the phases of the moon and public folk festivals. The transformation of time through the advent of the clock time regime led to the establishment of absolute time. This change in perception of time occurred initially in Europe, but it expanded globally through processes of globalization. She explores the concept of linear time, where the arrow of time points from past to present and future, and how this relates to the modernization and development of different regions of the world. There is a tension between centralized time and the diverse temporal experiences that local contexts introduce within the context of globalization. She aims to explore how China is establishing simultaneity as a hegemony and the challenges it faces when encountering local temporalities. The case study involves a Chinese state-owned enterprise operating a farm in Tanzania. She discussed two phases of time going out: synchronizing the state's policies and the farm's development timeline. The second phase involves crossing the boundary between the Chinese and Tanzanian perceptions of time, which leads to cultural encounters and challenges in understanding and managing local workers. The establishment of *guanxi* (personal relationships) between Chinese managers and Tanzanians blurs formal hierarchies and influences power dynamics. The concepts of simultaneity and time within the context of global China's encounter with Tanzania, with a focus on agribusiness, need to be understood in view of history, culture, and economic factors that shape how time is perceived and experienced, both in the global and local contexts. There are complex temporal dynamics within this transnational venture.

Chunwen Xiong discussed the evolution, challenges, and future prospects of the past two decades of agrarian sociology in China. He cited two important figures: Chinese sociologist Lu Xueyi, who emphasized the need for understanding the unique features of Chinese agriculture, and Emile Durkheim, a key figure in sociology. Agricultural sociology since the post-World War II era has focused on understanding Chinese peasants and rural areas, and the multi-functionality of agriculture. about the various stages of progress in China's agricultural society and mentions key

researchers and their contributions (for example, Professor Zhu Qizhen). The speaker highlights the importance of translation theory, particularly within the Chinese agricultural context, and stresses the significance of active engagement with international communities and research projects for continued growth. He also discusses the introduction of undergraduate courses in agricultural sociology at Chinese universities. The presentation provides a systematic overview of the theoretical paradigm within Chinese agricultural sociology, covering four fundamental aspects: 1. the political economy paradigm, 2. the Chayanov school of small peasants, 3. the indigenous sociological paradigm, and 4. the evolving Weberian paradigm. There is a need for more research and answers in the field, as well as the challenges and opportunities for Chinese agricultural sociology. More interdisciplinary collaboration is needed to develop a holistic understanding of Chinese agriculture and rural society.

Parallel session 6-5: Scholar-activism and agendas

How do you see inequalities in knowledge production in agrarian studies?

Diana Aguiar identified three elements: language as a means of communicating but as a structure of thought; inequalities of infrastructure for research like access to journal articles; lack of resources to engage in international conversations like asymmetrical partnerships.

Bosman Batubara spoke of centre and periphery and argued there's a missed opportunity to build our community within the south – as an agrarian scholar, there only seem to be opportunities in the centre. Most scholars are influenced by theory of differentiation.

Deniz Pelek pointed out that the language and resource differentials are not only a problem for researchers, but for the nature of the literature; it shapes the canon of knowledge. Unequal research partnerships that treat southern researchers as consultants not theorists. There's a visa problem especially with Europe and North America. Research in the global south and north is a different process, sometimes with danger, censorship and so on.

Morgan Ody spoke about being a peasant in the knowledge field and domination in knowledge production.

What is scholar-activism in this context?

Diana Aguiar: What people do, and what they call themselves, can vary – depending on context, strategy, and political traditions. Still, the term helps us to dialogue on our roles. What needs to be specified is what is the project to which scholar-activists are committed? People often wonder 'how can my research be helpful?' but this isn't a problem for me, as my research is organic and arises from movements I'm involved in. It's clear that when I think about my research, I am thinking about who are the partners and users of the knowledge I am part of producing.

What are the outcomes of exclusion of global south scholars?

Deniz Pelek: Those who can publish in English are those of a certain class; so even if there are voices, it is often elites from within the global south, certain topics, certain regions, and certain people. Someone said 'publish locally or perish globally'.

Morgan Ody: Knowledge creation matters, and it is about structures of domination. Problems that are being treated are those that are made visible. If peasants are not visible, we are forgotten. If

women are not visible, we are forgotten. So to redress inequalities, a priority is to visibilise peasants and their struggles. COHD's mission to 'see them, narrate them' is highly political.

What needs to be done to recognise scholar-activism?

Diana Aguiar: For many of us, there isn't danger associated with being scholar-activists, but it threatens our careers because this is looked on as lesser scholarship. We need solidarity and create space in academia

Discussion: what scholar-activists can and should be doing is amplifying and promoting the agendas of movements, as well as constructive criticism. This happens a lot already. What needs to be done more is analysing power structures, so as to inform movement understandings and strategies. 'It is easy to kill, the challenge is to create beauty'. Academics should be aware of how to use their power, both to dislodge narratives, and to open spaces. One view was that academics should be self-aware enough to hold the space as having authoritative voices – rather than wanting to be accepted inside movements. If academics believe they have a monopoly on knowledge, this is imperialism – as Bruno Latour says. So this idea of academics wielding their status is dangerous.

Plenary 5: Agrarian politics, care and social reproduction

From social reproduction of labour power, to social reproduction of power – and how would you relate it to the land?

Lyn Ossome argued it is always to think about care economies in the global south is to think from the margins – the conditions, structures and institutions that sustain life and survival amid massive dispossession under which working people exist at present. What are the conditions under which people are trying to sustain themselves? You might think about land, water, nature, the commons – but you can also think of the state, community, wages, charity. But these conditions, structures, institutions, contain within them a political, social, economic dimension. The political dimension in relation to social reproduction might be thought of as the mode of incorporation of gendered labour into agrarian capitalist circuits. Both historically and today, these modes of incorporation are deeply identitarian – steeped in race, patriarchy, class, ethnicity, regional imbalances and so on. Colonial gender always functioned in relation to ethnicity, caste and race – it never functioned on its own. So we are not talking about a class, but a peasantry and a class that are mobilised along identitarian lines, posing new contradictions. There are both limits and possibilities. The reproduction of power involves feminist struggles. Economic dimension: Social dimension: the reproductive burden, and the fact that we have a system that cannot reproduce itself poses a problem for those who don't have the possibility of reproducing themselves within capitalism – the surplus populations – and at the same time are dispossessed of their domains of survival. This involves a deepening of dependence on gendered labour and the care economy, and determining which economies of care exist which actually support social reproduction. We cannot generalise these across contexts – across global north and south. Land retains a particular relevance in the global south. Which means that the contradictions within the peasantry have to be resolved – the other identitarian questions that this throws up.

Nancy Peluso: what is new in thinking about analysing social reproduction? What are the theoretical challenges you experience in collecting data, and what does this say for theory? In Eastern Java, migration is changing production and social reproduction on and around plantations. There is

circular migration which is central to the agrarian environment around the world. In the mountains, in agro-ecosystems, plantations with histories across 150 years, not oil palm but rubber, tea and former coffee plantations, in the years that Dutch were taking coffee. A brand new question was: how has migration explicitly played a role in social reproduction and production – and how have they played out, and in turn affected migration, and with what effects for families, communities and plantations? There are both globalised and localised histories of migration, as a complex force and process. Migration takes place in moments of crisis, or creates crisis, but people also seek out migration because the local situation cannot support them anymore – so migration can be a positive strategy. These are totally proletarianized people, 150 years as labour born and working on plantations – but now migrating out from plantations, for the first time, and diversifying their livelihoods. Their migration patterns are actually transforming forests in Java.

Suowei Xiao discussed how production comes together with social reproduction in urban and rural contexts. What are the impacts on the gendered impacts of women's migration? What are women's experiences? Feminisation of migration since 2000 in China. Previously it was 'working daughters' – young women working in factories. But in recent years there has been a rapid increase in married women – working mothers who are on the move. Their experiences are different from the younger women, which previous research documented. A driving force for female migration affects urban-rural relations. Different economic concerns: poverty reduction, versus improving the opportunities for one's children. In the earlier years, bringing the family out of poverty was a reason for migration, especially those whose husbands used to work in difficult or dangerous jobs. Women were forced to migrate. However, a lot of women migrate to improve living conditions for their families – rather than merely to survive. They do so to send their children to better schools, save for older children and the costs of their marriages. Rural education has been disadvantaged, as parents feel obliged to send their children to counties where schools are better. The costs of marriage have been increasing, which also pushes women's migration. Family provisioning and investments in children's futures are important drivers of migration. Younger women who migrate enjoy the autonomy of spending the money they make themselves – and the freedom of romantic love this might offer. While some women want to be close to their husbands, some want to leave their husbands – another driver for women to migrate, when divorce is not a feasible option. The state plays a role in this. A lot of public 'service work' for the state is geared towards women, and the state organises recruitment of rural women into domestic work, and funds training in domestic service for rural women. An anecdote with a respondent who came to Beijing in early 2000s: government officials came to persuade women to work as urban domestic workers, she wanted to do so to improve the life of her son but her husband's family refused – so she escaped from the back window at midnight and with women's association, got to the railway station and made her way to Beijing.

Arieska Kurniawaty: Comprehensive Agrarian Rural Partnership (CARP) opposed to WTO. The trajectory manifests in the regional trade agreements. ACP claims to be the counter to global trade. Free trade agreements signed by Pacific, SE Asia and 5 trade partners China, S Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand. ASEAN with China and Japan. Since 2012, negotiations have been shrouded in secrecy. The aim is e-commerce. Since it launched, India pulled out. There are two harmful investor-state dispute settlement mechanisms: first, it allows corporations to sue states before courts; second, the mandatory 1991 membership entrenches a 'race to the bottom' and contributes to the commodification of care, and treating it as a marketable product rather than a social necessity. The stakeholders recognised are 'productive' sectors – whereas women who provide care work, and are affected by the trade agreements, are not considered to be stakeholders. Capitalism needs a stable set of social relations to reproduce itself, including free trade and investment agreements.

Rama Salla Dieng: alliance between different movements – what does an understanding of the commons that sustain life and social movements, what about feminist movements? Lyn talked about the legacies about identitarian politics. Nancy talked about the migration for production. Legacies of development policies and how they need social relations for reproduction. I would like to share the experience of Senegal, colonised by France. Independent in 1960, and when we talk about organising and feminist movements. After independence, the strongest movements were left-wing anti-colonial revolutionary movements. Women were trying to bridge the rural-urban gap, articulating rights for all, and the right to be a full citizen, abortion etc. More progressive than current movements. These movements are situated at the intersection of three structures: colonial patriarchy; codified customary patriarchy; indigenous patriarchy. We produce cotton to export to Europe, peanuts, and since the late 2000s, also fresh fruit and vegetables – also to US, India and elsewhere in Africa. So the impact of development policies have been extroverted, preoccupied with responding to the food sovereignty needs of Senegalese. Migration has been impacted. What is the ‘productive use of land’? Land Law from 1964 is yet to be reformed; but for now, the state judges who is using land productively, and who is not. Women have been mobilising to have the same access to land rights. The younger generation is trying to bridge the divide between women’s movements and feminist movements which are mostly

What are the impacts on agrarian struggles and mobilisations?

Lyn: Issa made the point yesterday that the rural-urban binary is a false one. What we have is a social binary, with an intervening state. The 3 main classes of: labour, PCPs and subsistence farmers – are deeply articulated. It is impossible to think of their survival independent of one another – or outside the circulation of gendered labour that reproduces all three in different ways, and how each is contingent on land. Land raises questions of gendered labour. During hard lockdown in 2020, a striking photo appeared in Kenya: a bus carrying food, not for sale, but sent from rural households to their urban family members, to eat. This happened in Kenya. In Uganda, the government said that the food markets that normally operate 24 hours, must remain open. Women were allowed to go and sell food, and only in the markets. Government provided mosquito nets, and women were allowed to bring children to stay with them there. We saw the mass migration of labour back to the countryside. In Ethiopia, low impact of COVID on the survival as 80% depends on rural land. In Uganda, there was not only a reconstitution of labour, but embodied labour which compels women to labour. Even the colonial government resolved such problems in favour of the peasantry. What political impacts are evident? Land and social production are a site of struggle – not only for accumulation but very much a site of struggle over identity, meaning, ideology, social relations, rights. These are colonial questions. This means two things: care and social reproduction have to be grounded in a question of social reproduction, but also in a question of liberation – sovereignty over bodies, over food, over land. Social reproduction within which care is constituted is a critique of capitalism. It is a negative process. The persistence of economies of care need to be addressed in light of the persistence of the peasantry. Feminist literature that says we have to build a more caring society makes no sense; it suggests more bonded labour. Care is a potential site of resistance.

Suowei: This is the first time in 4-5 generations that most people can get off plantations and buy small plots with savings from farming. Crucial role of having livestock that can provide for social reproduction as well as incomes. But workers who are partially farmers also need to be employed, because workers get housing, and landless workers need housing. So because of being landless, Impression of benevolence – allowing workers to keep livestock – can also be understood as a way in which plantations mitigate costs of social reproduction, transferring these onto worker households (like a version of partial labour tenancy). There are about 30 million domestic workers and the

majority are married migrant women. Over 98% of domestic workers are women, 80% are rural migrants, 83% are married. Survey in Beijing and qualitative research in sending areas. Domestic workers are informally employed, as elsewhere in the world. Absence of medical insurance or pension. 77.4 hours per week, 57% work on weekends, only 10% get overtime pay. 2/3 work on public holidays. Average annual income was about 6,600 US dollars, about 71% of the average income of Beijing residents. With this, women become the main breadwinners in families. Most make 60% or more of the incomes of their families. They are hard workers but not neglectful mothers, despite the stigmatised image of women who leave their children behind. They perceive economic provision as part of a maternal role. Another reason is they do their best to – find surrogates and mothers from afar via technology – we found that Chinese migrant mothers engage in mothering, economic provisioning and care-giving. Intermittent migration: stay with kids from infancy to toddler years. Migrate when kids enter formal education. Take them to the city for summer breaks or special festivals. Return to rural areas for critical times of education, especially high school and final year of school – women return for these important times. Women quit jobs when they have difficulties at school or at home. They choose to work in domestic work, which is flexible, and is easy to quit. Nexus of production and social reproduction.

Arieska: what challenges for activists tackling these issues? Debates between the women's groups and feminist groups? Challenge between the feminist movements and social movements. In land grabbing, women are in the frontlines in front of the military – but then excluded from the redistribution of the reclaimed land. Invite women to the protest and rally, but don't get advantages. Co-optation by the governments. Some activists were taken by the government to be their campaigners, hijacking ideas of the movements like feminism, food sovereignty and agrarian reform – while erasing the political content of these concepts. Religious fundamentalists also target women, disciplining those who are activists. A grassroots woman who attended a discussion opposing land grabbing – accused of being a 'bad woman' because of going out at night without her husband. Three peasants were shot this week in Kalimantan – one passed away.

Rama: What is the emancipatory potential of horticultural wage labour – but there are alienating dimensions of this. In Luga, women have always migrated for labour – it's often depicted as new. Women have always migrated to earn a wage, and left their families behind to do so. It is the rise of fundamentalism that women should stay close to their families, which is reversing this. The horticultural farms are presenting this labour that enables women to stay close to their homes instead of migrating – as a way of re-domesticating women. This was labour that was previous footloose. Compare how horticultural firms work: reproductive work in households is allowing the rural migrant workers to do their work. They are using care chains across different spaces. Women are leaving their children. View that rural areas are a repository of women and children – but there is a link between work on horticultural farms. In Dakar, women are able to have fixed salaries. Marriage is a way of organising social reproductive labour. Polygynous: 40-50% of households are polygynous. The wives are able to organise which days they can go to work. If they are not in households with other wives. It is to the benefit of the farms; they don't have to pay the cost of social reproduction, yet benefit from care chains, kinship relations, and near-kin relations. Farms are using social networks, as free-riders, by externalising social reproductive costs of day and seasonal workers.

Discussion: Is social reproduction a burden? Or is it what makes meaning? There is not just the work of care, there are ethics of care; not only obligation but love. From economies of care to ethics of care. Our struggles are pointless if they don't allow us to enjoy ourselves. It must be possible to have production and reproduction without exploitation. Uganda is full of international agencies, and

cooperation practices, and African agency. Can we have male panellists next time we talk about social reproduction? Can identity politics be brought into core questions of political economy? Is it academic lethargy to fail to bring these into scholarly concerns? LVC is having a men's meeting against patriarchy. What about gender diverse identities – is the west imposing these issues in a neo-colonial way? There are migrant kampongs in cities. Domestic workers, migrant drivers, constitution drivers. The persistence of these social reproduction economies is a critique of capitalism. Capitalism can only if care can be fully socialised. Is it possible under the current conditions of capitalism to fully socialise care? No. Building a more caring economy is part of the narrative, but we often impose political economy framings. Women in Northern Uganda who stripped to protest land grabs – they were seen as challenging colonialism, but in fact they were defending social reproduction. The work on social reproduction is about situated knowledge, and grounded struggles. There are migrant kampongs in cities. Domestic workers, migrant drivers, constitution drivers. Is social reproduction a burden? Does it create meaning? How do households as a unit respond to women migrating out – how does it affect social reproduction at home? We tend to load framings onto the meanings people themselves attach to their actions. Questions of gender and sexuality are often bifurcated between culture and political economy. But the political economy must deal with identity! Rama acknowledges Lyn Ossome's work that has been so inspiring, and women feminists' shoulders on whom we stand.

Plenary 6: Forms of organisation and collective action

Sergio Coronado spoke about Colombia's agrarian movements. With the peace agreement between FARC and the government, it shifted the landscape when there had been an expectation that an armed movement would take over. People from the countryside are trying to organise in different ways. In Latin America, we see the consolidation of different forms of organisation – mainly through identity. One shift is the ecological and eco-territorial turn of agrarian struggles. We see a range of claims for recognition by these movements, including by indigenous people's platforms, the African diaspora, reorganising themselves to claim land and territory on the basis of a common history and background. It's not only about recognition, it is also about resisting the politics of representation (nobody can represent farmers or peasants, they represent themselves). There are political expressions of the claims to recognition – including reparation for violence, dispossession, extractive activities. A national strike in 2021 was where some of this was deployed, but was mainly urban, young people. They confront armed forces, strategise and organise – but they also have communal pots, they do art, they perform, they have music – a variety of forms of political expression. This has not been, but could be, connected with traditional movements, especially as it incorporates material demands for social justice.

Kranthi Nanduri discussed what led to the farmer protests that responded to the three farm laws. Farmer organisations perceived the threats these posed to autonomy and supply chains. The actors who blocked the highways – mostly farmers from Punjab, Haryana, and Andhra Pradesh – the farmers who had been the focus of the Green Revolution, encouraged to increase production of wheat and rice for national food self-sufficiency. Tendencies towards differentiation across these regions: large and medium farmers, alongside increased landlessness. Mostly the middle and upper-class farmers who responded to these input-intensive production technologies – and started to push the state for price support. Farmers brought to the fore the identity of kisan, although dominated by the interests of upper-caste peasants, and left out the interests of landless labourers. So the mobilisation in recent years has historical roots in the class formation that resulted from the Green

Revolution. It forged a unity between Hindu and Muslim farmers, and with scheduled castes – against a background of a rupture in the social fabric over time. The unprecedented scale of the 2020 protests was prompted by the shared vulnerability in the face of the withdrawal of state support, and the removal of the procurement agencies of the state.

Jeongeol Kim is a leader of the female peasants' movement in South Korea and spoke about this movement's strategies and practices. There are 2 organisations: KPWA (women's association) and KPL (league), both formed around 1990. They have fought for state support, against liberalisation and the WTO. The movement has promoted cooperatives, agroecology, and food sovereignty. KWPA is an example of how women peasants can have autonomy and can work for food justice.

Yan Shi presented the CSA (community-supported agriculture), a global movement which started from the 1970s in Japan and some European countries. In China, there is a big CSA network. There are several wars in regions of the world, but since industrialisation, we started to have a war with nature. By the 20th century, more countries after WWII started to use pesticides and fertiliser, waging war against nature – destroying insects. A further reason for CSAs is the nature of supply chains. Farmers can get only about 20% of the price in the market. This is why CSA rebuilds the link and trust between farmers and consumers. A third reason is climate change; agriculture contributes a third of carbon emission. So CSAs are about localising food systems, and working around seasonal food and ecological food. Soil is a living organism, but we treat it as dead – and requires inputs – just as we think that our bodies need medicine. No, we need food, just as the soil needs organic fertiliser. We don't have enough other minerals for the soil. Food waste is also a problem associated with the corporate food system. CSA is a way in which people can take action, to find channels to respect farmers' labour, and to meet the needs of consumers. China has 5,000 years of farming history, which was organic by default – and chemicals arrived in the 1980s. In the past years, then, alongside the turn to agroecology in western countries, there has been an organic industry for export. In 2008, a food scandal about infant milk formula prompted a demand for healthy food, and consumers wanted to connect with farmers. What needs to be done? And, as Chairman Mao said, who are our enemies and who are our friends? Is there a convergence of environmental politics, climate justice, women's struggles, and peasant politics?

Sergio: Right-wing populists are consolidating their domination, and undermining progressive politics as 'woke'. There's a material basis to neoliberalism, which is social fragmentation, which erodes possibilities of concerted social action and emancipation. Emancipatory politics – no-one emancipates alone, and needs to be considered in – working people – to build networks of solidarity, communities of care. My own place of political action is as a scholar, a human rights defender. We started a community of care four years ago, which is CASAS. We try to do research in a world which is dominated by ruthless competition. We try another way: not by competition but by taking care of each other. Alliances and collective action to care is a revolutionary act. Marx and Engels were a community of care. What about men in care?! Men can use privilege to build communities of care. The challenge is to scale up networks and movements in which care is valued. When the concerns of the most oppressed are at the centre, such care worlds are about solidarity. Trade unions solidarity with peasant communities affected by mine expansion – recognising that this restricts an employing enterprise. As Raj said: we have to do experiments to win the ideological battles. We need a socialism for K-poppers, a socialism for reggae stars. We need to take care of those who are alienated and to take care of them.

Discussion: Issa Shivji proposed a federated set of counter-hegemonic ideas and practices that transcend academia and movements.

Parallel session 7-1: Reflections on food system with practitioners from China

People's food sovereignty network promotes the idea of eco-socialism: recollectivisation and ecological production, in line with eco-Marxism and John Bellamy Foster's ideas (metabolic rift). Being China, there are no 'movements' or civil society or activism or resistance – but this also makes China's food sovereignty movement innovative. It is bottom-up and disconnected from government propaganda and policies. For farmers, it is about a way to make a living and migrate to the cities. There is a new phenomenon: beyond the left-behind and the stayers, we also see the *returnees*, who have their roots in the country to start farming again. The ways their parents and grandparents farmed is not a sustainable way, and they are trying something else – something value-added and having some autonomy. So there is another generation of farmers who are trying another way. Urban consumers have also joined the movement, connecting directly with farmers, because of food safety concerns initially – but they have also innovated, like contracting farmers to do spray-free farming, or started a buying club or consumer cooperative or CSAs. This does not necessarily translate into a specific ideology and set of practices – but there are bridges linking farmers and consumers and building cross-class solidarity.

China's history has an important legacy for today's experiments with food sovereignty. Notions of civil society are associated with western Enlightenment – nonetheless, there are social groups and organisations in China. There are shared concerns, but there are not organised networks. There is now a soybean crisis; whereas China used to be a net exporter, after it joined WTO around 2000, China became a net importer and now imports two-thirds of globally traded soybean. China is a net importer of food, overall. People associate this with China's appetite and population growth threatening world food security. Yet farmers in China who grow soybean have been squeezed out of the market by multinational agribusinesses that profit from it. This side of the story is never told – it is not known globally. We don't think about food security as about rights; we need to think about systems. Ecological socialism is an articulation of what we are lacking and what we hope to achieve. Farmers' rights and consumers' rights can only be accommodated within another system, and understood as system change rather than isolated 'rights'.

A debate on terminology: Chinese language has a word for food and we have a word for sovereignty – so you can combine the two. But sovereignty is associated with the state, so people are intrigued, even confused, by the concept of food sovereignty. Grain security is a more readily understood term – but it doesn't capture the same meaning. Security has military associations versus sovereignty has citizenship associations. There is a notion of people's sovereignty as well as state sovereignty. But autonomy and freedom are more important than sovereignty. Further, 'social embeddedness' is an important concept. When capitalism disembeds social relations by subjecting them to the market, the question becomes how to re-embed markets in society.

Three points are made and two are quite slippery. The state cannot adopt the concept of food sovereignty, because to do so is to contradict and oppose itself. As a political flag, it is absolutely important – to put on the table like rights to land, autonomy. Yet food sovereignty as a scholarly concept is full of difficulties: it is too large, where does it start and stop? Food sovereignty can be thought of in three distinct ways and each has different implications. Politically: impossible. Theoretically: slippery. Utopia: necessary. (one response was: you are making this into an ontological problem, whereas it is a political project and process).

Community pantries in the Philippines: people put out food that the family doesn't need, and people can just get the food that they need. That action transcended to different parts of the country. Community pantry members organised bulk orders from farmers – tons of vegetables, fruits, ordered from provinces to the city. But it is not sustainable: the logistical cost, the time and effort, and management. This is a good attempt (digital technology). There is something wrong with the food system, but there is something we can do to change the food system. Cooperatives are co-opted in China, as in the Philippines. When we discuss bridging academics and social movements, is it enough to talk about agrarian scholars? How about food scientists, horticulturalists, entrepreneurs – not only the social scientists. Digitalisation: youth engage with this and can contribute to the struggle via digital technologies.

The extreme right has adopted concepts similar to food sovereignty – for instance in Italy it has been subverted to mean the right to secure imports from outside the country – which means with weapons which means coercion and threatening others' right to food.

Research institutions and social movements are always cautious of the extractive nature of research institutions and academics can be a power on their own. But also it's important to push beyond our comfort zones, and partnerships are important. In our solidarity space, we have discovered that academics are social activists themselves, and in the alternative systems that have been created in China, are practitioners as well as being documenters of knowledge. In our struggle with pesticides, it is our partnership with academic institutions that helps us to document the realities which complements our activism. With regards to our land struggles, research institutions help to document and to guide the thinking of the struggles that peasants and landless people find themselves in.

A concrete step: we need something more long-term and sustained beyond this conference. I suggest having a course or study group where we can, over a year, study some key countries in Africa – their historical context, current struggles, and how concepts are being used and deployed. The group suggested that, by mutual learning, we can build the foundation for future collaboration and solidarity. TNI could organise this course.

Parallel session 7-2: Ecological thinking in theory and practice

The session was chaired by Shaila Seshia Galvin from the Geneva Graduate Institute, Switzerland.

Qinhong Xu from Wageningen University, The Netherlands. Qinhong presented on the topic "Rethinking ecological civilisation imaginary through hydrosocial territories in rural chain". Her presentation was part of a larger PhD project that focuses on the politics of water. The presentation was her attempt to place the case she studies in a broader analytical framework through the concept of social imaginary. Her main question was does a new ecological civilisation imaginary produce new social ecological order. She highlighted the importance of bringing social imaginary issues into environmental governance issues to bridge the gap between social and practical/material mechanisms. The material dimension focuses on how governmentality forms allow the material manifestation of social imaginaries. She indicated that this approach opens up the power dynamics in ecological issues by going beyond the notion that ecological issues are technical or material issues only. She indicated that this notion of ecological civilisation opens space to understand the real mechanisms that produce and reproduce the ecological challenges and to re-politicise the actions and responses to it.

Lamphay Inthakuon presented on the topic “Anti-Swidden climate policies, maize plantations and deforestation in the uplands of northern Laos”. Lamphay problematised global emphasis on climate change mitigation actions on targeting smallholders although the major causes of the climate crises are by large scale producers and corporations. She gave a context on the policy landscape in Laos which brought Laos into alignment with global donors in the bid to reduce climate change through REDD+ programmes. Her main question was on how local people who are usually not part of the policy process respond to such policies on climate change mitigation. She indicated that villagers still continued with their traditional livelihoods and traditional methods which did not align with REDD+ programme. The main concern of farmers was on government policies that limited their livelihoods. And the villagers saw REDD+ policies as the main threat to livelihoods and not climate change. Local officials were also not in tune with climate change policies in terms of its applications. Both villagers and local officials did not follow the policies by government and international donors on the REDD+ programme. Their refusal was not hidden as they overtly did everything to obstruct the programme. Lamphay indicated that their actions can be seen as a form of everyday resistance to dominant discourses on climate change and its mitigation through REDD+ programmes.

Minghui Zhang presented on the topic “compressed ecological modernization shaped by farmers practices under 70-year policy changes of the collective forests in China- Take a Dong ethics village as an example”. Minghui centered the notion of ecological modernisation in her talk. She indicated that this notion has been the main approach to solving ecological challenges such as deforestation. Her main question was that, from a peasant perspective, what does a compressed ecological modernisation look like? She brought insights from a 10-year field research (2012-2022) with community members in rural China into the discussions. She highlighted the interface between policies and peasants actions in this ecological modernisation. She highlighted how the actions of peasants showed evidence of resistance, slacking, fighting, and reinterpretation which culminated into a harmonious struggle against the policies on ecological issues. She indicated peasants mainly used their traditional knowledge on their actions which showcased a harmonious living with the forests. Minghui concluded that real ecological modernisation was peasants' routine practices.

Lyda Fernanda Forero from the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas, as discussant, highlighted that the role of political subjects to interact and shape the various notions of ecological thinking is key. And these need to be centered in the notion of ecological issues. She further indicated that, also connected and yet not explicitly mentioned, is the right to develop at one's own pace and what development model to follow. She highlighted how the three presentations showed the centrality of re-centring politics in the ecological and climate issue in order to think about solutions in more political ways.

Participants asked questions to open discussions around how political subjects are constituted through some of these peasant actions but also to reflect on the complexity of subject formation beyond the actions of peasants being seen as only weapons of the weak. And how the agency of different actors are seen in these class constituencies. The discussions also centered around how REDD+ projects are touted to offer livelihood transformations and whether they can ever do this. And also to reflect on how resistance to REDD+ programmes could go beyond issues of livelihood to include resisting these initiatives because they are a new frontier of accumulation. The discussion ended on the note that ecological issues are a power issue and it is important for us to identify where the power is and how to challenge it.

Parallel session 7-3: Land grabbing, proletarianization and farmers' strategies

This parallel session debated the various forms of land grabbing under different socio-economic and political landscapes. The papers highlighted how political and economic historical landscape matters in not only shaping the nature of land grabs, but also understanding their current manifestations.

Doi Ra presented on the plurality of state, capital, and societal actors as well as the meanings of land and its implications for land governance: insights from Myanmar case, highlighted how a series of historical, socio-cultural landscapes have shaped land grabs in Myanmar. Doi further demonstrated how Myanmar's environmental tragedy and ecological crisis need to be understood from what is happening in the political sphere.

Valdemar João Wesz Junior presented on "Land grabbing in Paraguay: disparities and particularities within the "global land rush", discussed the historical and current processes of land grabbing in Paraguay. This presentation highlighted how land grabbing is a threat to the livelihoods of the small farmers in a country characterised with growing land inequalities.

Johannes Bhanye's paper 'This is God's land' dealt with land seizures in Zimbabwe as a mechanism of land access for peri-urban farming among Malawian migrants in Zimbabwe", explained the plight of historically situated migrant labourers from Malawian in accessing land for livelihoods. Highlighting how informal strategies of accessing land are subjecting migrant labour to social insecurities, Johannes argued for the integration of migrant labour that are situated in colonial processes of migrant labour.

Hao Zhang presented a paper on "Land extension for another 30 years: What do farmers think? An empirical study based on the comprehensive survey of China's social situation in 2019" focused on the relationship between the farmer and land contracting and highlighted the disconnect between government plans and the farmers on land contract. Hao's paper broadly highlighted the sustainability challenges of government agrarian intervention where the interests between government and farmers diverge. One theme running through all the papers was the need for adequate conceptualization of the agrarian question in different political, economic, social and cultural landscapes.

Parallel session 7-4: Peasant actions and the reactions to green extractivism

Gerardo Torres Contreras presented a typology of reactions beyond resistance to fossil and green extractive activities in Ecuador and Mexico, distinguished between 'the visionary, the pragmatic, the powerless and the disengaged. Scholarship on extractivism is largely focused on resistance and opposition, especially when such activities are undertaken in indigenous territories, yet it is crucial to understand how extractive industries interact with socially and historically differentiated societies by class, gender, ethnicity, disability, and so on. Political ecology focuses on environmental impacts, ecological and cultural "difference" and the incommensurability of values. Two main frameworks explain opposition: ecological distribution conflict (Joan Martinez-Alier) and cultural distribution conflict (Arturo Escobar). Ethnographic methods and participant observation México and Ecuador showed some support for fossil and green extractive industries. The visionaries are those who see themselves as bearers of modernity in rural areas, usually aspiring to modernise and industrialise

agrarian settings with rents obtained from extractive industries. The pragmatic seek to receive benefits from these industries, be it in terms of annual rents or social compensation. The powerless feel disempowered vis-à-vis the expansion of these industries, accepting fatalistically that 'it will happen anyway'. The disengaged leave the decisions to landed elites or authoritarian. While stakeholders seem to comply with the expansion of extractive industries, they also show different layers of despair. Stakeholders tend to highlight injustices caused by the expansion of these industries (benefit distribution; procedural issues; environmental externalities). Why is this important? To understand the struggles of those usually forgotten by the scholarship and who may be silenced and abandoned due to their lack of opposition.

Guohan Yin's paper on fishery resources and state territoriality in contemporary Morocco was titled 'Fish elsewhere!'. Focusing on rural dispossession in Morocco but also Western Sahara, they examined the fisheries crisis in the Northwest African coastline, where all major fish species have been either fully or overexploited. Most vessels use advanced technologies, which allow them to catch other fish not included in their fishing licence, and thus they usually destroy the unwanted catch. 73% of Morocco's annual fish catch by quantity and 63,26% of it by value in 2020 originate from the coastal area of Western Sahara, the only remaining colony in Africa under Morocco's military occupation. As one respondent said, "They are emptying the sea". State territoriality is evident in attempts by the state apparatus to affect, influence or control people, phenomena, and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. Capital accumulation is evident in capital using the biosphere, and pressuring the state to control it. The accumulation of capital, the pursuit of power, and the production of nature are differentiated moments within the singularity of historical capitalism. In this case, distant-water fishing from the Global North (mainly the EU) is to satisfy the international market demands for seafood and feed. The domestic fleet is comprised of offshore fisheries (larger than 2 metres, industrial, fishing for 4-10 days each time), coastal fisheries (16-22 metres, mechanised, fishing within 12 miles and 1-4 days) and artisanal fisheries (5-6 metres, low-tech, fishing within 12 miles and less than 24 hours). The offshore fleet mainly targets high-value, quality products such as white fish, molluscs, shellfish, and crustaceans for export; the coastal and offshore fleet mainly target cheap small pelagic fish for local market or family consumption. Fisheries governance is shaped by international agreements and a sector development plan, "Plan Halieutis", launched in 2009 after the global food crisis of 2007-08. Fishing resources are being exploited by the state of Morocco so as to strengthen its occupation of Western Sahara through techniques of territorialisation, by the occupying power, which in turn exacerbates the fisheries crisis in Western Sahara. This shows the co-constitution of state, capital, and nature: the Moroccan state and global fishing corporates have strengthened their geopolitical and commercial interests by engaging into the development of fisheries in Western Sahara. In this process, a crisis of fisheries was produced. This requires rethinking the state's role in the corporate food regime, and building solidarities between struggles for food sovereignty, resource sovereignty, national liberation, and decolonization across places and scales.

Cagla Ay presented on the Capitalocene and its discontents, with a paper on extractivism's confrontation with honeybees and rural beekeeping in southern Turkey. The total number of extractivism project proposals has increased by 840 percent in 2021 since AKP (Turkish acronym for the Justice and Development Party) came to power in 2002. Among those, the mining and oil sectors have the biggest share. The environmental impact assessment processes and public participation meetings are used to have a role in safeguarding the environment and local communities. While communities were able to stop the projects in the past, intensified extractivism under the AKP regime in Turkey has weakened their influence. The bees in Ernez would be put in the hives and the hives would be transported at times to maximise the honeydew they produce. Because the

beekeepers would take away all the honeydew in the hives they would feed the bees in the hives syrup to ensure their survival. In discussion, further information could augment this analysis, including on forced migration, workers' exposure to chemicals and living conditions.

Parallel session 7-5: Transformation of peasant identities

Mariana Reinach presented the legacy of insurgencies, and how ancestry, identity and memory feature in Brazilian actions for land. Teia dos Povos da Bahia (Bahia People's Web) in northeast Brazil brings together lenders and settled people, indigenous peoples, small farmers, homeless people, and various other communities. It was established with the aim of organizing indigenous and popular alliances under the banner of struggle for land, territory, and autonomy. Its social organization, values and practice are opposed to those of the dominant capitalist society. In its discourse it claims to operate independently of the state, criticizing the tactics and strategies of institutionalized left-wing movements. Social mobilization is focused on their own experience in socialist groups and residents' history, building counter-colonial narratives. By doing so, they question the official history and challenge Brazil's self-image as a homogeneous society under the terms of a racial democracy. Autonomy is a central discursive symbolic operator in this political alliance. This research is part of the theoretical effort to understand this tragedy, the theme of autonomy. Autonomy has become a new paradigm, in emerging American and Latin American social movements. Indigenous movements have been questioning the foundations of the political model centered in the nation, state, and colonial domination. A new paradigm of web and autonomy is centered on the native concept of autonomy.

Anna Zhu presented on 'The rise of flexible extraction: Boom-chasing and subject-making in northern Madagascar'. Primary research on vanilla and rosewood shows that people living in this region, a single person, can shift back and forth between farming and mineral or extractive activities. Depending on which of these sectors, and markets, is booming at any different time, people will join and leave. The concept of flexible extraction is used to describe the process of joining and leaving. This shows how people are inserted into a global economy which has become very materialized and speculative. The argument proposed in this paper is that the smallholder identity can be understood within the context of the gap between production and consumption. Flexible extraction refers not only to the terms of the material work people are doing, switching from one economy to another, but also in terms of the identities of the people engaging in this work and how they see themselves.

Mirza Buana presented on 'Precarious Workers and Peasants in Narito Kuala, Indonesia: Human Rights Perspective'. He talked about the constitutional guarantee that every citizen has the right to work and earn a humane livelihood. There is a paradox in practice: income is quite high, but poverty is increasing; unemployment is decreasing and poverty is increasing. In Indonesia land use is very high but poverty and discrimination still occur because of the high land use mostly for the extractive industry. Cases were presented, from three different villages - Semangat Baru, Puntik, and Jejanfkit. Policy focuses on a supposed trickle-down effect, ease of doing business, a flexible labor market. Government law breaches were highlighted.

Discussion focused on three questions. First, the inability of national governments to deal with the indigenous question. Second, whether the flexible extraction notion differs from the normal features of extraction from the peasantry, in which they engage in multiple strategies to survive and subsidise accumulation. What are the effects of relative prices on flexibility, and changes in labor processes

and practices between resources? Third, the three Indonesian villages all sound devastating, and it is unclear why people wanted to invest there, and how relationships with local people shaped this.

Plenary 7: Development, its multiple crises and its aftermath

Verdiana Morandi spoke of development as being an impossibility for pastoralists, who are largely outlawed. Whatever crisis comes along, we will remain outlaws, because no rights or duties are declared for us. Together with fisher communities, pastoralists being the other half of the sky, along with the peasants – or rather, the dark side of the moon. To scholars: don't fall too much with your data, don't ask us too many questions, but stick around when we need you. We appreciate your job, let's cooperate.

Alexander Nikhulin pointed to the many references to development in our programme, including our institutions. There is national development, socialist development, sustainable development. I maintain a classical tradition of Engels and Marx: contradiction is the source of development. To concretise development, Lao Tse was asked what is tao? He asked: who is asking? The question of what to do about the peasants is a very old question; still there is no convincing answer. What would we do without peasants?! Peasants are not the problem; they are the solution.

Nikita Sud argued that there is nothing inherently good or bad about development. It's a set of ideas like progress, modernity, human development (like Sen) and practices that emerge from those ideas. Provision of social goods and services can be included, but the politics of development is contestation over resources and ideas. That is how I see development: it is inherently political. The development of Britain is based on exploitation of its colonies. In the post-war context, Truman said the underdeveloped world must be pulled out of misery so as to avoid the pull of communism – it is always political. Authoritarianism, and India's Prime Minister Modi, in Gujarat the massacre of Muslims, immediately reinvented himself as a man of development. So development is a lens of legitimation. One always needs to ask who is winning, who is losing? What is development and who is it for? One should ask not how crises shape development, but how the idea of development produces crises. Industrial production produces environmental crises, and the way we are dealing with it is critical, with the current climate crisis as reduced to the materiality of heat, and want to reduce the materiality of carbon and zero carbon, through development, green development, sustainable development, which has various practices emerging from it. This fetishization of carbon has effects on people and places.

Issa Shivji pointed out that to even ask the question sounds blasphemous. The ideology of development is so hegemonic that we are not even meant to interrogate it. I will interrogate it even if there is a fatwa against me. If you want to understand the hegemony of the idea of development, you have to locate it within its historical context. There are 2 paradigmatic dimensions: the idea of progress, from one stage to another; the pursuit of modernity in contrast to a presumed backwardness. Always implicit is capitalist modernity. But even communists use the idea of modernity – though it is an idea that comes to us from capitalism. These are informed by specific histories of capitalist trajectories; whether it is said or not, the idea of development is Eurocentric. In terms of ideology, it is essentially a bourgeois ideology, which has been hegemonized, to the extent that even the critiques of development like dependency theory, are still situated in the idea of development. An abstract framework is a contentious concept; it is a chain of social struggles which are class struggles. Marxist-Leninist tradition of development is about the forces of production – leaving out human agency. China developed it further in CPSU in 1962. Development is a terrain of

class struggles, but a philosophical thought is that there is contention between the realm of necessity and the realm of freedom. The human struggle for freedom is age-old, and restricts the realm of necessity. Expanding freedom and constraining necessity is the objective of development. But whose? At whose cost? Development has been very destructive, because it has been capitalist development over the past 5 centuries – which has been a history of plunder of nature and human beings. By and large, that is what is responsible for multiple crises. Now we are in generalised crises – not only extractivism, but also wars. It is the very system you are living under. Modernisation is still widely used, not only in the west but also here in China. In Tanzania, the Maasai, who used to live with neighbours the agriculturalists. When the lands are enclosed by the state in the name of development, title is needed to secure land against others. This is what produces scarcity and conflict. Let's interrogate 'development'. The destruction of development includes land dispossession, ecological destruction and the creation of surplus populations. This type of agrarian development creates very harsh inequalities. The Gini coefficient has increased in my country as a result of agrarian development.

Discussion: development's power lies in its ambiguity. Some colleagues argue we should abandon the idea of development – or reframe and redefine development. Or, since it is hegemonic, is it better understood as a terrain of contestation? Since scholars and activists are all wondering about how to work better together, what are we actually saying will be done? Or done differently? There are intellectuals who are very much involved, and have an important role to play. The petit bourgeoisie led many revolutions – Amílcar Cabral – talked about the petit bourgeoisie committing class suicide. Intellectuals have an important role to play. Alienated intellectuals are our problem.

Plenary 8: Agrarian Futures

What have been the most important political developments in the past 3 decades? What are the most important political questions coming at us in the coming years? How should we go about answering these questions – that are different from the past?

Jan Douwe van der Ploeg said the radical left tends towards extreme pessimism. Six developments over the past three decades: (1) No death of the peasantry, as so often announced. There has been depeasantisation but also repeasantisation, including the creation of 'outlaws'; (2) Diversification, agroecology, new markets, all coming out of processes of struggles in production, as novel forms of struggles; (3) recognition that Chinese peasant agriculture shows how things can be done differently; (4) Peasant agriculture is not limited to the global South – alive and kicking in large parts of Europe, Canada, Australia, parts of the USA – and creates new collectivities; (5) Women and young people came to the fore of peasant struggles, fighting for recognition and visibility; (6) Emergence of La Via Campesina as a global, rooted movement. The many-sided gains of the past 3 decades are nutrients that should let a hundred flowers blossom, and produce the seeds for the next generation of struggle. I deny that there are only problems; there is hope as well. Engaged scholar-activists have been working together with peasants and farmers, in the fields, in the streets.

Yan Hairong pointed out some issues that are less covered in the conference. First, what are the implications for peasant farmers in the carbon-neutral objectives by 2050 or 2060, embraced this year by 151 countries? There are a lot of technology effects, with a great deal of substitution. Farmers can be participant observers, and experiment with alternatives. We need a coordinated way of scholars and farmer organisations bringing these insights together in a knowledge commons. Echo BHW that we need real material understanding of energy and ecology. This needs to be done in

collaboration between scholars and farmers. Second, what attention is needed to pay attention to the Global South? The global system is shifting, and the hegemonic powers are not as powerful and stable as before. There is a new emerging presence of the expanded BRICS, different from the Bandung movement and the non-aligned movement, but shows discontent with the global order. There's a need to take the global South and BRICS as a subject of study, without assuming homogeneity among them. There are analytical and practical implications. Proposal: can we engage with agroecological socialism? This requires attention to constructing the commons, at the core of this concept.

George Mudimu the land question and imperialism are tied, so understanding the hegemonic project comes from decolonisation and social injustice. Imperialism shows external domination of economic and political levers, changing discourse around redistributive land reform, replaced with jobs (and land governance), and the productivist stance. In Latin America, rentier states that support capital. Escalation of land conflicts, commodification of commons and public facilities. Rising urbanisation and transnational migration – mobile labour – and its agrarian implications. Generational questions, and land reversals (Enrique and Mnqobi).

Raj Patel we need to be doggedly materialist, which means that the planet shapes the possibilities of production and reproduction. A series of imperial wars, climate is heating, a world of climate change, it's in which domestic violence increases. Ideology filters climate change. The Eggs Benedict Option is a new book, which is a fascist book: transnational capital has taken over the food system, basically the Jews, immigrants, blacks and indigenous people. And calls for a return to yeoman peasant farming. It names migration and struggles over land; it names militarism; (the one thing the state doesn't retreat from under neoliberalism is militarism); pernicious implications for conflicts over land and water. We would be fools to think we won't have another zoonotic disease; we will have it under an industrialised food system. Elon Musk gets a vast slice of income from military contracts.

Sylvia Kay argued that the most urgent political issues for the coming period are energy and ecology and the struggle for agrarian climate justice – both the imperative to deepen the agrarian pillar of climate politics as well as the climate pillar of agrarian politics. Climate policies are among the prime leaders of land use change. The consequences both for the control of territories – land and ocean space – as well as determining who the key political subjects are. Focus should be on climate policies' impacts on territorial control and political subjecthood. The new extractivism linked to transition minerals amid the energy shifts is a priority topic. The requirement to acquire land, water and space for energy generation is under-estimated and under-explored in our field. Added to these are the implications of climate mitigation and adaptation policies – but involve extraction and appropriation of value, carbon, biodiversity and environmental services. This has vast implications for rural space and rural people. Popular farmer movements linked to far-right interests in some regions are evidence of conservative forms of agrarian populism that climate politics are producing.

Zainal Arifin Faut from La Via Campesina argued that, in Indonesia, we can define 3 periods: colonisation until 1945 (independence); Sukarno period until 1970 with effort to implement agrarian reform, but finally it is populist; then Suharto and they grabbed our land; then 1998 and the end of the dictatorship era. SPI (Serikat Petani Indonesia) started to reclaim land. From 2004-2009 there were promises to redistribute land under the National Agrarian Reform. Jokowi promised to distribute 9 million hectares. Market-based agrarian reform was embarked upon, but peasants pursued land occupations and practiced agroecology. Government has now promoted social forestry, but this is not real agrarian reform. The job creation law promoted Land for food, land for

animals, and land for energy, and land for forests and environment. So Indonesian peasants face land grabbing across all these. So we keep up the struggle to reclaim the land.

Way forward

Sylvia spoke about TNI's approach to social struggles: connecting the dots; don't cede the policy space to the technocrats; study the rich to eat the rich. TNI aims to constitute a platform across social movements, between movements and academics, and to enable learning. The next global gathering of the food sovereignty movement of Nyeleni, under the IPC, will take place in India in 2025. The theme is 'convergence' of the food sovereignty movement to other movements. Global governance institutions need to be contested; carbon neutrality targets, SDGs and others need to be contested. Yesterday, announcement of a new UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Peasants and other people working in rural areas. Susan George argued that in order to help the poor and the dispossessed, since those without means know very well what is going wrong with their lives, and need new information on the forms of power and wealth and put that knowledge in service of actors on the ground. 'Dismantling green colonialism' is coming out, and 'The politics of conservation' are publications coming out. We need to understand the workings of capitalism in order to move beyond it.

George pointed out that Marxists, populist socialists and moral economists are all here, and that imperialism controls knowledge production and the commons. A militant intellectual struggle is needed in view of the violence, and it must be pragmatic. As Chairman Mao said, sometimes I'm a monkey, and sometimes a tiger – so this pragmatism must be based on compassion.

Zainal reminded everyone that in 2006 the FAO held the ICCARD conference on agrarian reform and rural development in Porto Alegre, and LVC had a big delegation and pushed the FAO on agrarian reform. In 2014, FAO opened a window on agroecology. Since 2009 the human rights approach has gained ground, with the drafting of the UNDROP, which we secured in 2018. With the Charter we now have a tool to monitor the rights of peasants. This does not belong only to us, the peasants, but also to those in academia who were in this struggle. Zainal distributed copies of the UNDROP in Chinese to Chinese scholars. Now governments have guidance as to how to implement UNDROP for the peasants of the world. Please socialise UNDROP within your university and community!

Jan Douwe agreed that the climate crisis is amplified in right-wing populism, evident in Europe and beyond, and the nitrogen crisis. There are 4 poisonous elements: violent networks; big agribusiness capital; anti-parliamentarian populism that lead to fascism; technocratic solutions. Proposal: work with peasants to make peasant agriculture to make it less dependent on fossil energy; do the uneasy studies; and check energy use efficiency; document it; translate it politically. If we lose this battle, we are lost forever. Construct concrete alternatives that are convincing to different constituencies. That is a struggle we can win.

Hairong observed that 'eat the rich' is the practice of Chinese peasants. It is a Chinese phrase. New social relations are built on land access. There's a great deal we should learn from the rise of fascism. Ecological socialism in the new context. Degrowth has no purchase in the global South; it cannot be an appealing alternative for the future. The top 10% of the rich produce more carbon emission than the bottom 50%. At the national level, the same thing is happening. There are intersections of North-South as well as inequalities within countries. Degrowth cannot address this. The World Social Forum says 'another world is possible'. It is too ambiguous. Now is the end of strategic ambiguity; it's the time to specify the type of alternative world we want. More than just for the farmers, for consumers, a systemic change, we need to articulate this. Food sovereignty can only be guaranteed

under a very different social system. The experiences of people building new commons needs to be understood; what does it produce and make possible? Does it create solidarity?

Raj: A Gramscian notion of hegemony is achieved through coercion and consent through a historic bloc. Hegemonic power passes off a development project. Fascism is where the crises heap indignity on you – and then you get to heap those indignities on someone else. Fascism mobilises that. What's happening in movement spaces is a great deal of care work for movement members affected by the climate crisis. Che Guevara talks about 'great love'. Care is a way of recruiting away from fascism. What is a historic bloc that can become hegemonic? Peasantry, workers, working people, intellectuals, and others. Peasant-worker political parties and their possibilities. We can fit ourselves to the nooses of class suicide together.

Discussion: the land question is real and land reform remains important. The land question in the global North is also central – not land reform, but land back, are central to the future of Mexico, USA and Canada move forward. There should be more solidarity of activists to connect these struggles in the global south and north. In regard to the 'blue economy' and China's role in it, and exclusive economic zones, emerging geopolitical actions in pursuit of the conventions on the oceans, this gets the least funding and is marginal compared to carbon-neutrality for life on land. The path towards ecological socialism must not be restricted to the land.

Closing

Ye Jingzhong presented the conference group photo, and the conference image, explaining its combination of the historical context of peasant studies – regarding peasant struggles, revolution and the classical agrarian question, on the left, and contemporary forms of agrarian struggles for food sovereignty, climate justice, in the face of industrial agriculture and corporate food systems, on the right. Charting the way forward in the middle are the intellectuals and activists who are analysing the world in order to change it – by reading the Journal of Peasant Studies.

Prof Taisheng Du, CAU vice-president for international affairs, closed the conference by acknowledging the value of knowledge exchange, dialogue and experience sharing that took place over the three days of the conference, which included a total of 450 participants in 47 sessions.

Ye explained that COHD has 7 depts, 225 faculty members, 2000 students, (half bachelor, 200 PhD, 100 international students); 6 majors for bachelor enrolment; 30 postgrad programmes. Development visions are always without people – but in COHD videos, we see ordinary people in cities, and then the train brings us to the village, and see these realities. Then there are the 3 sentences: 'seeing them; engaging them; narrating them'. Teaching principles: adhere to the correct political direction; learn the disciplinary tradition; promote the distinctive agrarian characteristic; interpret and change the world; cultivate students through action; keep openness with global vision. CAU has as its core objective: to strengthen the agrarian sector and revitalise the agrarian sector. He presented four awards:

- Distinguished Chair professor of CAU: Jun Borrás
- 'COHD interpreting and changing the world award' as the most important prize
 - Teaching and research excellence: Jun Borrás
 - Teaching and research excellence: Jan Douwe van der Ploeg
 - Teaching and research excellence: Henry Bernstein

