



# The Lie of Capital

## 资本的谎言

Questioning the grand narratives of land grabbing  
拷问国际土地攫取的宏大叙事

# The little narratives 小叙事

- “Land grabbing is being done by foreign governments” “土地攫取是外国政府所为”
- “Land grabbing is occurring because of food insecurity after worldwide food crisis in 2007-2008” “之所以会出现土地攫取是因为2007-2008年世界粮食危机之后爆发的粮食安全问题”
- “Land grabbing is occurring where the land is not being used anyway” “土地攫取发生在土地未作任何利用的地方”
- “Land grabbing is taking place in countries where there is weak governance” “土地攫取发生在治理不力的国家”
- “Land grabbing results in dispossession when the people do not have secure land tenure rights” “如果人们没有明确的土地产权，土地攫取会导致土地剥夺”

# The grand narrative 宏大叙事

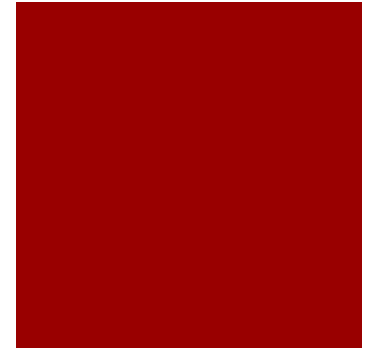
- “Large scale land acquisitions are important investments. They can revive agriculture, develop the countryside, and move rural populations out of poverty.” “大规模的土地征占是重要的投资。它们可以重振农业、发展乡村，使农村人口摆脱贫困。”
- “If controlled properly, large scale land acquisitions can increase our food security. They can give us energy security. They can protect and heal the environment.” “如果控制得当，大规模的土地征占可以提高粮食安全、确保能源安全、保护和疗治环境。”

# What's missing from these narratives?

## 这些叙事中遗漏了什么？

- Some narratives hide reality. 某些叙事掩盖了社会现实
  - They redirect our focus, they deflect criticism. 转移我们的焦点、避开批评
  - Or, they make something that is happening to appear as if it was inevitable (“going to happen anyway no matter what we do to prevent it”). 使正在发生的事情看似不可避免（“无论我们如何规避，事情总会发生”）
  - These “little lies” contain a grain of truth... “小谎言”中也有一丝真理
  - ... but they hide a complex reality. 但终归它们掩盖了复杂的社会现实
- Other narratives make fiction. 其他叙事纯为臆造
  - They are “make-believe”. 它们是“子虚乌有”之事
  - These “big lies” try to make us believe a thing that has no clear basis in reality. 这些“弥天大谎”企图让我们相信一件并无清晰现实根基的事情

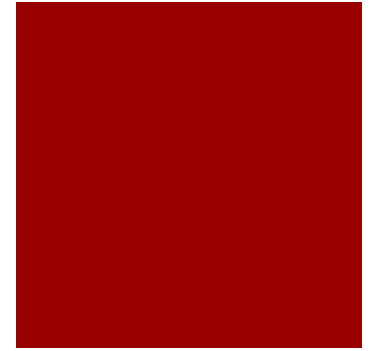
# The lie in the narratives about land grabbing 叙事中关于土地攫取的谎言



- The “little lies” are not telling us the real causes of land grabbing. “小谎言”并未告诉我们土地攫取的真实原因
- The “big lies” are not telling us the real consequences of land grabbing. “大谎言”并未告诉我们土地攫取的真实后果

# Overview 纵览

- Background 背景
- Analytical Approach 分析视角
- Challenging the little narratives 挑战小叙事
- Questioning the grand narratives 质疑宏大叙事
- Dilemmas 困局



# Background 背景

- Convergence of global crises 全球危机的聚合
  - Land grabbing occurring in recent years in the context of numerous global crises 土地攫取是在近年来众多全球性危机的背景下出现的
    - energy, environment, climate, financial, food 能源、环境、气候、金融、粮食
- Rise in big (trans)national land deals 大宗国内（跨国）土地交易的兴起
  - Various estimates of the amount of land changing hands: 关于土地交易数量的不同估计
    - from 45 million hectares since 2007/8 (World Bank) 自2007/8年起4500万公顷（世界银行）
    - to 227 million since year 2000 (Oxfam) 自2000年起2.27亿公顷（乐施会）
- Known as the “global land rush” or “global land grab” 被称为“全球土地淘金”或者“全球土地攫取”
  - Trend is likely to continue 这种趋势可能会持续
    - World Bank in 2011 reveals the potential “suitability” of between 445 million and 1.7 billion hectares of land 2011年据世界银行透露，潜在的“适用”土地面积在4.45亿到17亿公顷
    - Available for land grabbing?? 这些土地都可用于土地攫取？

# New features 新特征



- Land grabbing not new, but today has exhibits some broadly new features 土地攫取并不新鲜，但在当下呈现出一些新的特征
- Trending toward large-scale acquisitions of land 趋向于大规模的土地征占
  - Media attention on upper end of the scale 媒体关注的是这些规模的上限
- Becoming global in scope 在范围上遍及全球
  - From sub-Saharan Africa & Horn of Africa 从撒哈拉以南非洲和非洲之角
  - To Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay 到巴西、阿根廷、巴拉圭
  - And parts of Southeast Asia (Cam, Laos, Phil) 以及东南亚的部分（柬埔寨、老挝、菲律宾）
  - Also Ukraine, Australia + （以及乌克兰、澳大利亚，等等）
- Occurring at a fast pace 进展速度之快
  - Numerous attempts to estimate aggregate area over time 很多关于未来土地攫取总面积的估计
    - from several 10s of millions, to 100s of millions of hectares of land over 5-10 years 在未来的5-10年间将达到上千万公顷甚至是上亿公顷



# A few examples – 一些例子



- Liberia – 220,000 ha in 2009 利比亚——2009年22万公顷
  - Sime Darby (Malaysian) for oil palm, rubber 森那美集团（马来西亚）用于油棕和橡胶种植
- Argentina – 1 million ha in 2002 阿根廷——2002年100万公顷
- Benetton (Italian) for wool, cereals, wood 贝纳通（意大利）用于羊毛、谷物和木材
- Nigeria – 30,000 ha in 2011 尼日利亚——2011年3万公顷
  - Dominion Farms (American) for rice Dominion农场（美国）的水稻种植
- Cambodia – 60,000 ha in 2006 柬埔寨——2006年6万公顷
  - Ly Yong Phat (Cambodian) for sugarcane LYP集团（柬埔寨）的甘蔗种植
- Mozambique – 63,000-140,000 ha for tree plantation since early 2000s 莫桑比克——自21世纪初开始的6.3-14万公顷的树木种植
  - Chikweti Forest (Moz, Swed, Norw, US, Dutch) Chikweti森林（莫桑比克、瑞典、挪威、美国、荷兰）

# Problem of measurement

## 关于测量的问题

- “Like pinning a wave to the sand” “如同以沙锁浪”
  - Impossible to “pin down” amount of land involved 不可能“栓定”所涉土地的数量
  - Various reasons: different stages of project planning, implementation, financing; unreliable recording 很多原因：项目规划、实施和资助的不同阶段；不可靠的记录
- High degree of indeterminacy (“fuzziness”) 高度的“不确定性”（模糊性）
  - We “know” that land grabbing is happening 我们知道“土地攫取”正在发生
  - But we can’t pin it down exactly 但是我们无法确切界定
- So how will we know land grabbing if we see it? 那么我们看到某个现象时，如何知道这是土地攫取？
- The answer is not obvious, suggesting a deeper problem for analysis. 答案并非显而易见，它意味着一个更深层的分析问题

# Problem of definition

## 关于界定的问题



- What counts as LG? 哪些算是“土地攫取”？
  - Only what is reported? Only above 1000 hectares? 只有被报告的数据？ 只有超过1000公顷的？
  - Only foreign grabs? Only food or fuel grabs? 只有外国攫取的？ 只有对粮食或能源的攫取？
  - Only “done deals”? Only those that harm food security? 只有“已经完成的交易”？ 只有那些到危害粮食安全的？
- If defined too narrowly, we may miss too much 如果界定得太窄，我们会错过太多
  - Narrative focused on food security is too narrow 集中于粮食安全的叙事太过狭窄
  - Limits scope to cases reported in news media – 将视域仅限于新闻媒体报道的案例
  - Gulf States, China, South Korea would seem to be main “grabbers” 海湾国家、中国、韩国应该被视为主要的“攫取者”
- If defined too broadly, we may lose what is distinctive about land grabbing today 如果界定得过宽，我们会遗失当今土地攫取的独特之处
  - Not all transfers of land are “land grabbing” in this sense 不是所有的土地流转都是这意义上的“土地攫取”
  - For example, certain kinds of distributive and redistributive agrarian reform; certain kinds of expropriation for public purpose? 例如，某些分配性和再分配性的农地变革；某些为公共用途而进行的土地征占？

# Alternative approach

## 其他视角

- How then to avoid these problems of definition? 怎样避免界定中的这些问题?
- Instead of searching for a definition (more descriptive), we can highlight the key defining features (more analytical) 我们可以强调核心的界定特征（偏重于分析性）而不是寻求一个定义（偏重于描述性）
- Step back from both actor-oriented definition (who are the “grabbers”), and from process-oriented definition (how the land transfer happens) 从行动者导向的界定（谁是“攫取者”）和过程导向的界定（土地流转是怎样发生的）后退一步
  - Both are relevant, but not definitive enough 二者都很重要，但都不够权威
- Use a combined political economy and political ecology approach to understand land grabbing 以政治经济和政治生态相结合的视角来理解土地攫取
  - To make more visible: 更清晰地揭示下列问题：
    - The changing nature of land use, purpose, control 土地利用、用途和控制的特征的变化
    - The changing relationship of humans with nature 人与自然关系的变化

# Defining features 界定特征

- Long-term lease, purchase, and other institutional arrangements 长期租赁、购买和其他制度安排
  - For example -- contract growing, supermarket contracts, (re)forestation, conservation 例如—合同扩大、超市合同、（重新）造林、保留地
- Large-scale extraction of natural resources 对自然资源的大规模榨取
  - Land, water, forests, fisheries, rangelands etc. 土地、水、森林、渔场、牧场，等等
  - Through the production of food and non-food goods; 通过粮食和非粮食产品的生产
- Capture and shift in control 对控制的获取和变换
  - Power to decide the meaning and purposes of the land, water and other closely linked natural resources. 决定土地、水和其他密切关联的自然资源的意涵与用途的权力

# Also ... 以及.....

- Various types of investors 不同类型的投资者
  - natural persons and corporate entities 自然人和法人
  - private, public and public-private groups 私有、公共和公私合营团体
  - domestic and foreign 国内的和国外的
- Lands in a variety of conditions & locations 不同条件和位置的土地
  - Agroecological conditions: 农业生态条件:
    - from productive plains to forested uplands 从生产力高的平原到森林密布的高地
  - Spatial locations: 空间位置:
    - from remote rural to peri-urban corridors 从偏远农村到近郊地带
- Lands under diverse property rights regimes 多元产权体制下的土地
  - private, community or state/public lands 私有、社区所有或国家/公共用地

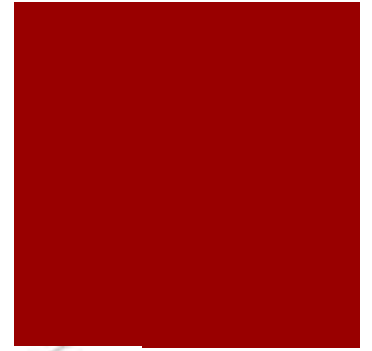


# And then finally ... 最终



- The basic land transaction 基本的土地交易
  - Variety of qualitative conditions 不同的质性前提
    - Legal/illegal (national law context) 合法/非法（国家法律背景）
    - Transparent/un-transparent (good governance) 透明/不透明（善治）
    - Coercion/ no coercion (human rights framework) 强制/非强制（人权框架）
  - Linked to recent global and qualitative changes in: 与以下问题中近来全球的质性变化相关联
    - Global food-feed-fuel complex 全球粮食-饲料-燃料综合体
      - Multiple “poles”, multiple “flows” 多“极”、多“流”
    - Idea of environmental protection 环境保护的理念
      - Green washing, green grabs 公司的绿色“清洗”、绿色攫取——以环保为名进行的土地攫取
    - Big financial investment flows 大量金融投资流
      - Into “safe” and profitable investments like land 流入“安全的”、有利可图的投资领域，例如土地
      - “financialization of agriculture” “农业的金融化”

# Challenging the little narratives 挑战小叙事





# “Land grabbing is done by foreign governments” “土地攫取是由外国政府所为”

- Media spotlight since 2007-08; powerful imagery of “land grab”: Northern colonizers → Southern victims 2007-08年以来的媒体聚焦；“土地攫取”的强大意象：北方殖民者→南方受害者
- But this doesn't tell the whole story:但这并不是故事的全部
  - More national elites/domestic companies taking lead role in LG in own countries 越来越多的国家精英、国内公司在本国土地攫取中扮演主导角色
    - Ethiopia 埃塞俄比亚60%
    - Nigeria 尼日利亚97%
    - Sudan 苏丹78%
    - Cambodia 柬埔寨 70%
  - More intra-regional flows (South → South)更多的地区间流动（南南）
  - Domestic governments facilitate, broker, partner 国内政府作为协助者、经纪人和合伙人的角色

# “Land grabbing caused by food insecurity after 2007-08 food crisis”

## “土地攫取是由2007-08年粮食危机之后的粮食安全问题所引发”

- Narrative is too much centered around food/ food security 这一叙事过于关注粮食和粮食安全
  - Justifies LG to increase and stabilize food supply 以提高和稳定粮食供应为土地攫取提供合法性
  - Assumption: more food = more food for all 假设：更多粮食=所有人都有更多粮食
  - But evidence shows the global land grab started earlier 但是证据表明全球土地攫取在此之前已经发生
  - Rush to increase “renewable energy” in transport beginning in early 2000s 21世纪初期就开始寻求在交通运输中增加“可再生能源”
    - Assumes “biofuels” reduces GHG emissions 假设“生物能源”会降低温室气体排放
  - Expansion of “flex crops” + livestock over past 10 yrs 在过去10年间扩大“灵活作物”和畜牧养殖
    - flexible use of crops for food-feed-fuel depending on price signals 根据价格信号灵活利用作物：可以作为粮食、饲料和燃料
    - oil palm, sugarcane, soya 油棕、甘蔗和大豆
      - Bolivia玻利维亚: 241,793 ha in 1994 → 700,331 a in 2009
  - Expansion of non-food production 非粮食生产的扩大
    - Mining 采矿
    - industrial tree plantation (“reforestation” to “capture” carbon dioxide) / 2% annual increase in tree plantation area globally (FAO 2011) 工业造林（“重新造林”来“获得”二氧化碳）/全球每年造林的增长率是2%（FAO2011）


# “Land grabbing is occurring in unused and degraded land”

“土地攫取发生在未利用土地和退化土地上”

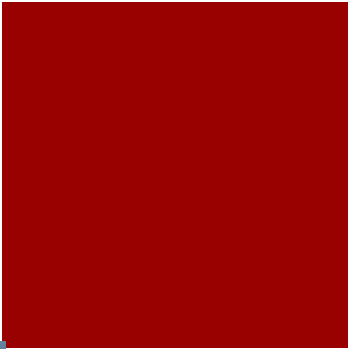
- The minimum “suitable” land of 445 million ha” (WB) “适宜” 土地最少在4.45亿公顷（世行）
  - Especially in Africa (201 m), LatAm&Car (123 m)尤其是在非洲（2.01亿），拉美和加勒比海地区（1.23亿）
  - Assumption: low populated, unused lands 假设：人烟稀少、未利用的土地：
    - Won't dispossess peasants, easy to acquire, positive outcomes (make productive something that previously wasn't)不会导致对农民的剥夺，容易征占，会产生积极效果（使之前没有生产力的地方变得有生产力）
  - Targeting such land makes the solution to the problem seem more acceptable: 对这类土地的瞄准使问题的解决方式看似更可接受：
    - “solution” – expand land / intensify production “方案” —扩大土地/集约生产
    - “problem” – “问题”

need to double/triple food supply; 需要双倍/三倍增加粮食供应  
need to “capture” carbon; 需要“获取”碳  
need to increase rural incomes 需要提高农村收入



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- But top-down assessments of “available land” are only possible by (over)simplifying reality (Scott 1998)但是对“可利用土地”自上而下的评估只有通过现实的（过于）简化才有可能实现（Scott 1998）
    - Satellite images – no people can be seen!卫星成像—看不到人！
    - Official census data – reliability is questionable官方普查数据—信度令人质疑
    - Standardization of key concepts based on an ideal type – but who defines what this ideal is and does it make sense across all situations and settings?基于一种理想型对核心概念进行标准化——但是谁来界定这种理想型是什么，它在所有的情境和环境中又都能有效吗？
      - “land” / “productive” “土地” / “生产性的”

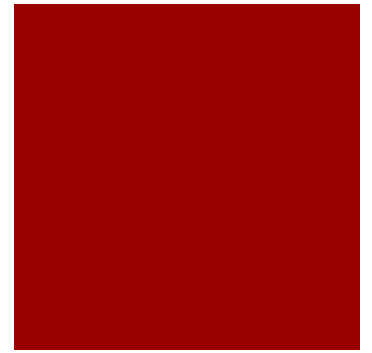
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- And much evidence points in a different direction: 相当多的证据指向另一个方向:
    - Much of so-called “marginal” land is populated, productive, biodiverse etc 很多所谓的“边缘”土地是有人口居住的、有生产力的、富有生物多样性的，等等
    - Many investors want prime land (Africa) 很多投资者想要最好的土地（非洲）
      - water availability and irrigation potential 有可利用的水资源和潜在的灌溉系统
      - soil fertility 地力肥沃
      - proximity to markets 靠近市场
      - availability of infrastructure 基础设施完备
    - In both cases, harmful outcomes – examples: 在这两种情况下都会造成有害结果——例如:
      - Unfavorable lease and labor contracts (Phil/Ecofuel) 不利的租赁和劳动力合同（菲律宾/Ecofuel）
      - Expelled from land, destroyed food production (Moz/Procana) 农民被驱逐，破坏粮食生产（莫桑比克/Procana）
      - Native forests replaced with tree monoculture (Moz/Chikweti) 原生森林被树木单一种植所取代（莫桑比克/Chikweti）



# “Land grabbing is taking place in countries with weak governance”

## “土地攫取发生在治理不力的国家”


- Assumption: LG is affecting less countries, and for reasons linked to the poor national laws and weak law enforcement 假设：土地攫取影响的国家越来越少，原因就是不完美的国家法制和脆弱的法律执行
- But the evidence shows: 但是证据表明
  - LG expansion in many more countries 土地攫取在越来越多的国家扩张
    - Throughout LatAm & Caribbean – expansion of “flex crop” plantations, livestock ranches, fruit farms, vineyards, mining, industrial tree plantations 拉美和加勒比海地区——“灵活作物”种植、畜牧养殖场、果园、葡萄园、矿场、工业造林的扩张
    - Throughout Sub-Saharan Africa – expansion of food, agrofuel, mining 撒哈拉以南非洲——粮食、农业燃料、矿场的扩张
    - Throughout Asia -- from India to Cambodia to Burma to the Philippines 亚洲：从印度到柬埔寨，从缅甸到菲律宾
    - And also in “unexpected” places – Australia, Serbia, Ukraine 以及一些“出人意料”的地方——澳大利亚、塞尔维亚、乌克兰
- Many of these settings could be described not as “weak states” but as “strong states” (compare Brazil vs. Burma vs. Philippines) 这些国家和地区中有很多并不能被描述为“弱国家”而是“强国家”（将巴西和缅甸、菲律宾相比较）





“Land grabbing leads to dispossession because land tenure rights are not secure” “由于土地产权不明确，土地攫取才导致了土地剥夺”

- This makes a number of assumptions: 这产生了一系列假设:
  - Normative: rights of tenure ought to be “secured” and recorded (formal, paper-titles) (or what? If not, then “fair game”? Inevitable loss?)  
规范性的：产权应该“明确”并且记录下来（正式的权证文本）（或者其他非文本形式的地方契约？如果在这里世代居住的人们没有权证文本，是否意味着这些土地可以被合法攫取？）
  - Regulatory: formalization of land rights is a mere technical-management process (rather than first and foremost a deeply political one)  
规制性的：土地权利的形式化仅仅是一个技术管理过程（而不是最首要的深刻的政治过程）
  - Prescriptive: rights of tenure of local people can be protected against land grabbing through voluntary “codes of conduct” / “corporate social responsibility” type approaches  
规定性的：当地人民的土地权属可以通过自发的“行动守则” / “公司的社会责任”之类方式免于土地攫取
  - Appears in all the major initiatives around regulation of land grabbing  
出现在所有围绕土地攫取规制的主要倡议中

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- What does the evidence say? 事实证据告诉我们什么?
    - Land titling is not necessarily “pro-poor” -- often is not at all in practice, leading to dispossession of poor people (e.g., Philippines, Vietnam +) 土地业权并不必然是“为了穷人”，事实上往往根本不是这样，而是导致穷人的被剥夺（例如菲律宾、越南等等）
    - Clearer land property rights do not necessarily mean that rights will be automatically protected from LG (e.g., Mozambique, Brazil, Indonesia +) 清晰的土地产权不必然意味着权利会在土地攫取中自动得到保护（例如莫桑比克、巴西、印尼等）
    - Secure land rights are necessary but not sufficient (See Cotula & Vermeulen from Africa) 明确的土地权利是必要的，但不是充分的
    - LGs are often brokered by corrupt officials and leaders who follow different set of rules. 土地攫取通常由腐败官员和遵循另类规则的领导者作为中间人



- LG is not just about physical dispossession but a broader sense of dispossession 土地攫取并不只是物质上的剥夺，也是更广泛意义上的剥夺
- Many proponents of LSLA say that smallholders can be respected, protected and benefit through incorporation into the project at hand, and that this is better than exclusion 大规模土地攫取的很多拥护者说小土地所有者可以通过融入到目前的项目中而得到尊重、保护并受益，这比被项目排斥要好
  - But compare “exclusion” vs. “adverse incorporation” 但是将“排斥”和“不利融入”相比较
  - Focus on contracts and contract negotiations because this is where terms of inclusion are decided 关注合同和合同谈判，因为融入条款就是在这里决定的
  - Contracts and the problem of power differences 合同和权力分化的问题
- What is at stake is the *power to decide* “who has what rights to which land for what purposes and for how long” 关键问题是谁有权力来决定“谁应该在哪儿土地上为何种目的、在多长时间拥有哪些权利”






# Questioning the grand narratives 质疑宏大叙事



- Large scale land acquisitions, whether through long term lease or purchase, are needed to reinvigorate agriculture, develop the countryside, and deliver rural populations from poverty by providing jobs and boosting incomes. 需要通过大规模的土地征占，无论是通过长期租赁还是购买，来复苏农业、发展乡村，通过提供就业和提高收入来使农村人口摆脱贫困
  - No clear evidence for this claim yet 然而对这种宣称尚无明确证据
  - Growing evidence of just the opposite 越来越多的证据恰恰指向其反面



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- If done properly, large-scale land acquisitions can food and energy security, and protect and heal the environment. 如果运作得当，大规模土地征占可以提高粮食和能源安全，保护和疗治环境
  - What is “proper” land grab? 什么是“得当的”土地攫取?
    - Follow ethical codes of conduct, principles 遵循行动的伦理法则和原则
    - But these assume that high-tech, capital-intensive, industrial monocultures are the way forward 但是它们假设高科技、资本密集的工业化的单一种植是前进的方向
    - They ignore the issue that the underlying development model is part of the problem, so how can it be the main solution? 忽略了一个问题，那就是隐含的发展模式是问题的一部分，怎么能成为主要的解决方案？
    - Why need CoC, why not just do it? Same reasons companies do what they do now, is the same reason they will continue to do what they do in the future – maximization of profits 为什么需要行动准则，为什么不能就这样去做？公司企业现在为什么这样行为的原因也解释了他们将来会继续做什么，也就是利润最大化

# Highlights 要点



- Conventional definitions tend to define many (most?) cases of land grabbing “out” of the picture 传统的界定倾向于将很多（绝大多数）土地攫取的案例标划在边界之外
- The real picture of the global land grab is much bigger, more complex, more serious than earlier portrayed (which was already cause for concern)关于全球土地攫取的真实图像要比早期描绘的（已经引起关注）要大得多，也更加复杂和严重
- The impacts so far have been negative, harmful to people, livelihoods, ecosystems – or, at least not generating the benefits promised by advocates of large-scale land acquisitions 目前为止产生的影响对人、生计和生态系统是负面、有害的，或者至少没有产生大规模土地征占的支持者们所允诺的那些利益。



# The global land rush raises profound issues about the control of land 全球土地圈占引发关于土地控制的深刻议题

- Who ought to have what rights to which land for how long and for what purposes, and, how ought this be decided and by whom? 谁应该在哪块土地上为何种目的、在多长时间拥有哪些权利？这应该如何决定、由谁决定？
  - Should priority be given to local users/rights holders, small-scale food producers? 优先权应该给当地使用者/权利拥有者、小规模粮食生产者吗？
  - Should local governments and national governments also have a say, and if so how much? 当地政府和国家政府也应该有发言权吗？这个权利该有多大？
  - What about corporations – how much say should they have in determining the use and control of land now and into the future? 对于公司，他们在决定目前和将来土地の利用与控制方面应该有多大的发言权？
  - What about consumers – e.g., the end-users of whatever is produced on the land, including lands that are grabbed? 对于消费者呢？例如土地（包括被攫取的土地）上任何产出的终端用户？
  - Who among them should count as “stakeholders” in rural development? 他们中间有谁应该算作农村发展中的“利益相关者”？





# Dilemmas 困局



- LG vision of the future: Who will own the countryside? Where will we get our food and energy? Will have any real choices in where this comes from/ how its produced? 未来土地攫取的展望：谁会拥有乡村？我们如何获得食物和能源？对于这种来源还会有任何真实的选择吗？食物和能源又是如何生产的？
- If this is not what we want, what then? 如果这不是我们所期望的，那又是什么呢？
- And who will decide? 由谁来决定？

# The End 谢谢!

- Thank you for your attention!

