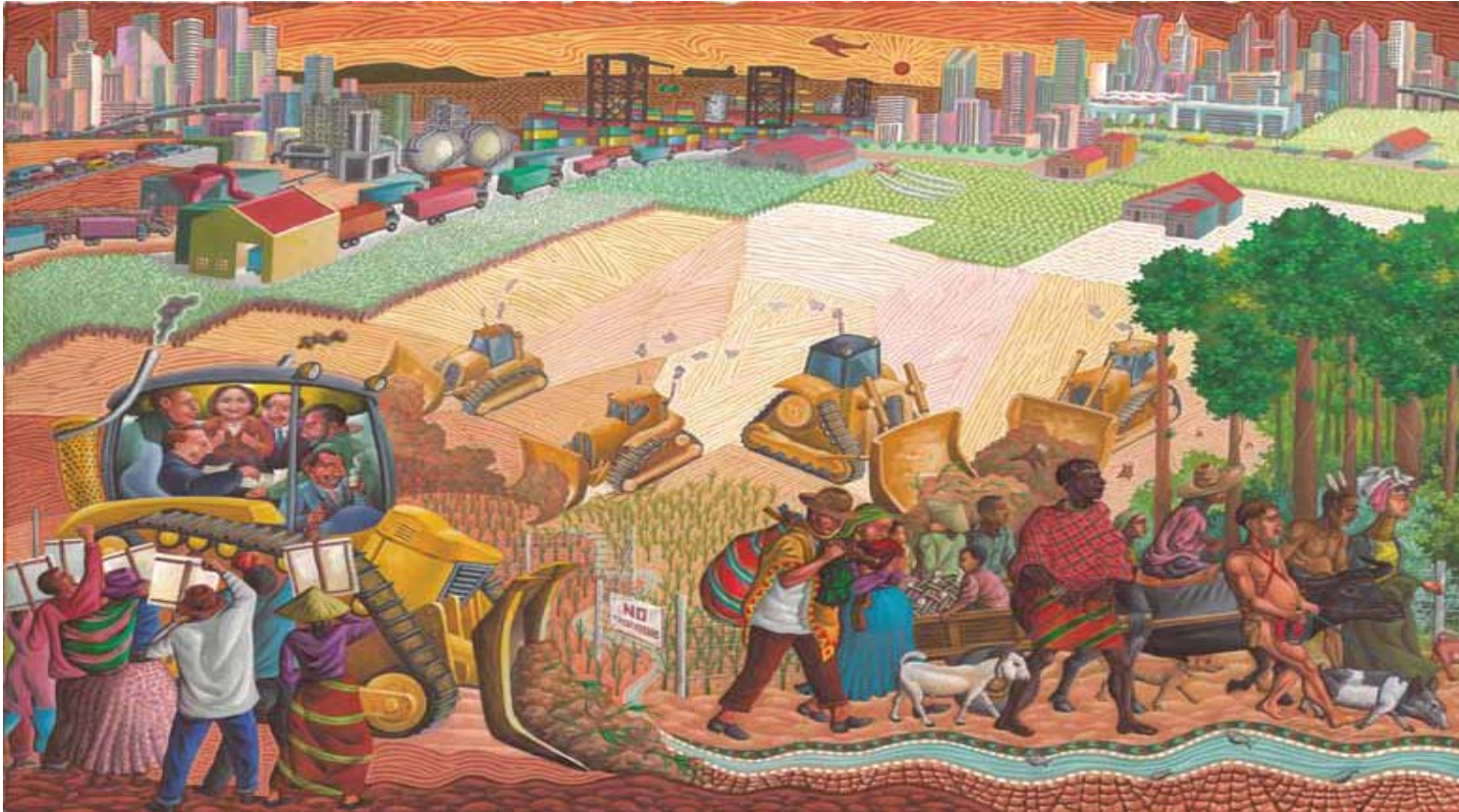


# *Why does land politics matter?*

**Politics of global land grabbing (insights from Latin America)**

**土地政治缘何重要：全球土地攫取的政治学（拉美的经验）**



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**COHD, 15 Nov 2012, Beijing**

# Land politics 土地政治学

- *'who gets which land, how and how much, and for what ends?'*  
*“谁得到了哪块土地，以怎样的价格，怎样的方式，为怎样的目的而得到的？”*
- Land politics have become, and will remain, at the centre stage (again) of contemporary development discourse and practice.  
土地政治已经成为，也必将一直是当代发展话语与实践的中心。

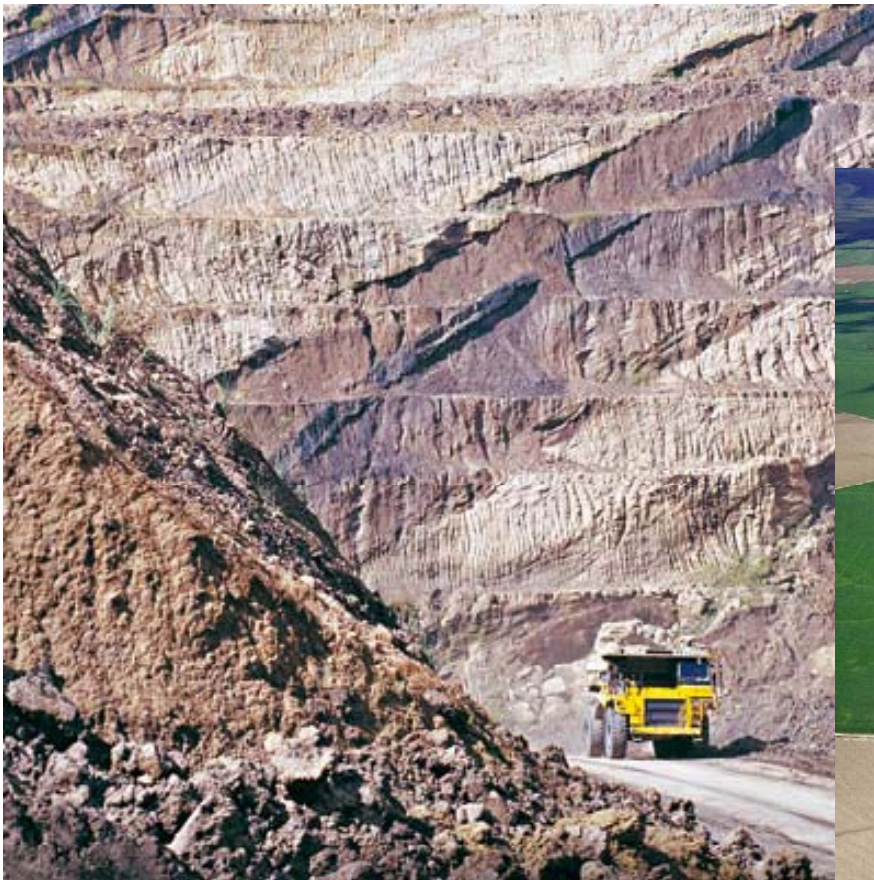
## Key assumptions: 主要假设:

- (1) Land itself is a very important **economic factor** of (agricultural) production to produce food and other primary goods: fiber, timber, and so on.

土地本身是（农业）生产中极为重要的经济因素，生产出了粮食和其他初级产品，如植物纤维，木材等。



(2) Land holds other resources:  
minerals, water, forest; making it a **key** natural resource.  
土地还承载着其他资源：矿物，水，森林等。这使土地本身  
成为非常重要的自然资源



(3) In some instances, land is key to capturing (cheap) labour (e.g. through contract farming, and so on).

在有些时候，土地是获得（廉价）劳动力的关键（比如，通过合同农业等）



(4) Unlike other natural resources, land functions in multidimensional ways for different people. It is a **‘territory’** for various communities of people.

土地不同于其他资源，对不同的人而言它具有多种功能。它是不同社群的“领地”。



To reduce land to just one of the four key features/dimensions cited above is problematical, and can lead to disastrous policy outcomes. It is critical to understand land from the four interlinked features/dimensions.

如果把土地的上述四种主要特征（维度）削减为一种，就会带来问题，带来灾难性的政策后果。至关重要的是要从这四个彼此关联的特征（纬度）去理解土地。







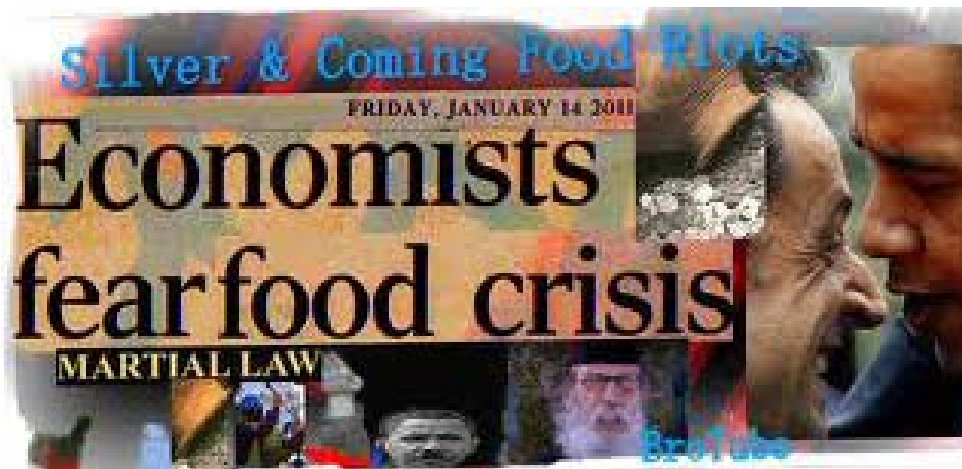


# Changed global context 变化了的全球背景

Re-valued land: Global capital dynamics:

土地被重新估价：全球资本的动态变化

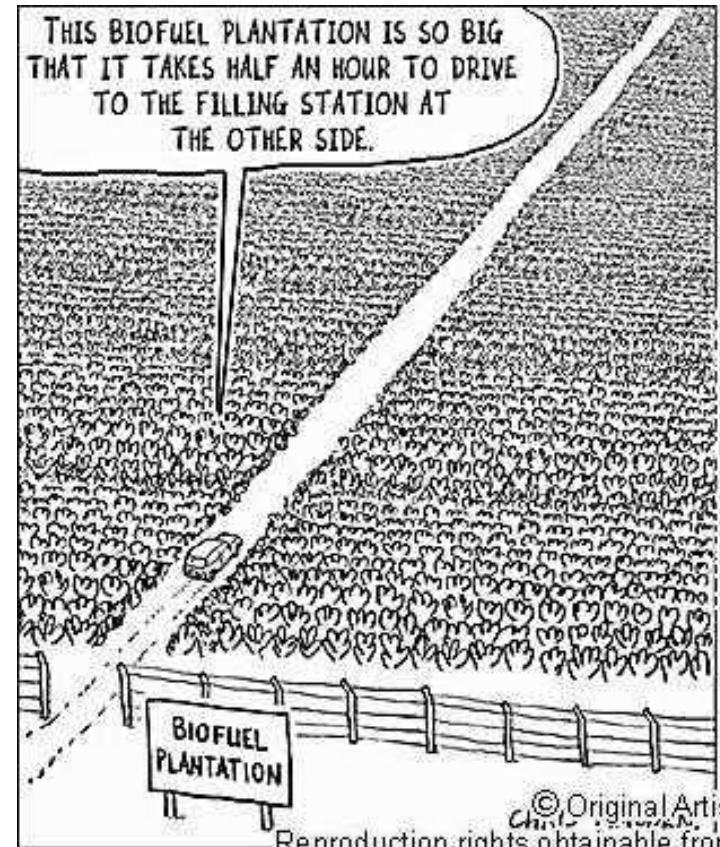
- (1) Food security concerns (the 2007-08 food price spike) 对粮食安全的担心 ( 2007 - 08年粮食价格达到峰值 )



## (2) Energy crisis/biofuels 能源危机 / 生物燃料



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### (3) Climate change mitigation strategies 减缓气候变化的战略



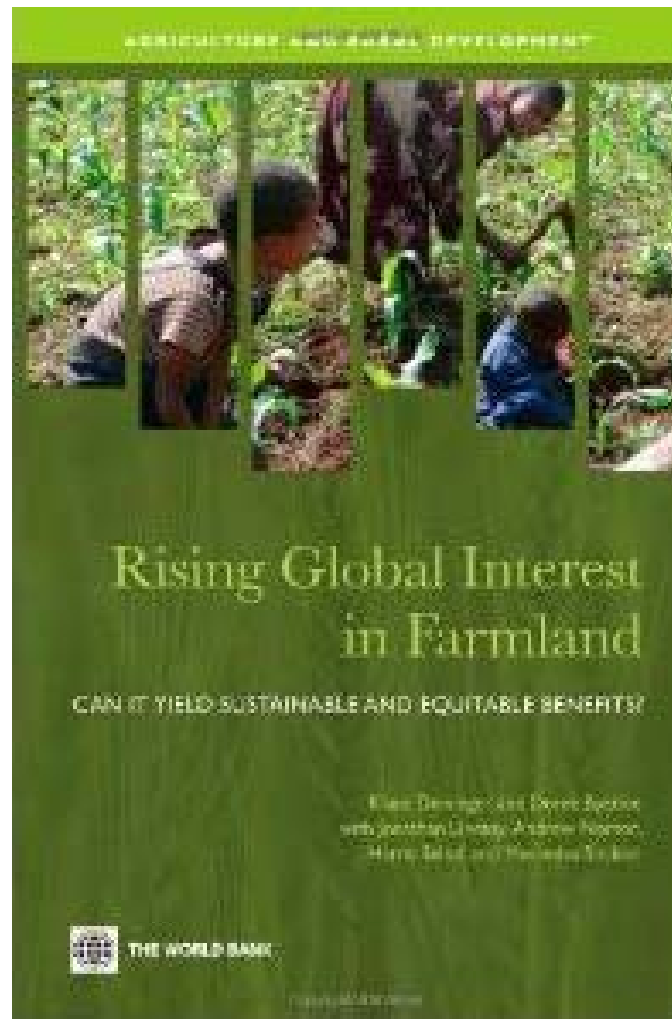
(4) Industrial demands from newer hubs of global capital (BRICS & MICs)

新兴国家对全球资本的需求（金砖五国与中等收入国家）



Hence: massive infusion of capital into land investments worldwide during the past decade

因此：过去的几十年中，有数量庞大的资本在全球进行土地投资



# The key assumption is simple: 主要的假设很简单:

There is a solution to the multiple crises. The solution lies in the existence of ‘empty, un-used marginal lands’ that can be converted to intensive (industrial) production to solve the crises.

有一个办法可以解决这些多重危机。解决之道在于现存的“无人居住、无人使用的边际土地”，这些土地可以被用于集约化的（工业化）生产来解决目前的危机。

Estimated by the WB to be: 世行的估计:

In the minimum: 445 million ha 至少有4.45亿公顷

In the maximum: 1.7 billion ha 最多有17亿公顷

# The key assumption is simple: 主要的假设很简单：

- But are these really empty, un-used, marginal lands?
- 但是，这些土地真的是无人居住，无人使用的边际土地吗？

Most lands are occupied, and are defined by different peoples differently! Cannot be reduced to a Western concept of standardized definition of what is marginal – often reducing land to simply just one of the factors of economic production.

大部分土地都是有主的；不同的人还对这些土地有不同的界定；不能按照西方对于“边际”的标准定义来看待土地——西方的定义常将土地贬低为仅有一种要素功能：经济生产。



- Dominant assumptions are: 主流的假设:
  - a) Too 'food-centred/food crisis-centered', 过于以“粮食为中心”或“粮食危机为中心”
  - b) Too 'land-centred', 过于“以土地本身为中心”
  - c) Too centred on 'foreignization of land' narrative, and in turn narrowly centred on few new emerging powerful countries: China, India, SK, Gulf States, 过于关心“土地的外国化”的叙事，并因此将目光局限于少数新兴的强大国家：中国、印度、韩国、海湾国家
  - d) Too Africa-centred 过于以非洲为中心
- \*\* the preoccupation about quantification of land deals!  
纠结于对土地交易进行定量描述！

# Features of contemporary land grabbing

## 当代土地攫取的特征

- Dominant assumption builds on a narrow definition of land grabbing: focused on the *scale of land acquisitions* (large), that often involve foreign powers (especially governments), undermining food security of host countries. *Procedural* rather than substantive features.

主流的假设是基于对土地攫取的狭义的定义：关心土地占用的规模（大），外来力量常常卷入其中（尤其是外国政府），破坏了被投资国的粮食安全。关注土地攫取的程序而非本质。

- These are important and controversial aspects, but limited/limiting  
这些也是非常重要和有争议的方面，但还是很有限的，也限制了（人们的思维）

- we offer the idea of three key interlinked *features of contemporary land grabbing*.

我们提出了当代土地攫取的三个主要的、相互关联的特征。

- ***First***, land grabbing is essentially: ‘CG-SMU-E/A’  
(*control grabbing, shift in meaning and/or use, extraction/alienation*)

首先，土地攫取是“CG-SMU-E/A”，即攫取对土地的控制权，变更土地的意义或用途，抽离 / 异化

- ‘*control grabbing*’ :  
grabbing the power to control land and other associated resources such as water in order to derive benefit from such control of resources.
- “攫取控制权”：夺得对土地和其他相关资源（如水）的控制权以从对这些资源的控制中获益。

- often linked to a *shift in the meaning or use* of land and associated resources as the new uses are based on the current accumulation imperatives of capital that has taken control over such key factor of production, land.  
（土地攫取）常常和土地（及相关资源）的意义或用途的变更联系在一起，因为新的用途受到资本积累的推动。为此，资本控制了关键的生产要素——土地。
- *‘Extraction’ or ‘alienation’* of resources for external purposes (national or international) is often the character taken by land grabs.  
为了外部的原因（国家的或国际的）而将资源“抽离”或“异化”，这常是土地攫取的一个特征

- Control grabbing is *inherently relational and political*; it involves political power relations.  
对土地控制权的攫取从本质上来说是关系性的，是政治的。它涉及到了政治权力关系。

- **Control grabbing manifests in a three major ways**, namely, ‘land grabs’ (capture of vast tracts of lands’ ), ‘(virtual) water grabs’ (capture of water resources), and ‘green grabs’ (resource grabs in the name of the environment).

对土地控制权的攫取有三种主要方式，即：“土地攫取”（获得大块土地），“（隐形的）水攫取”（掌握了水资源）；再次，“绿色攫取”（即以环境的名义攫取资源”）

*All three require capture of physical space, land.*

以上三种都需要获得物理意义上的空间：即土地。

- **Second**, study of current land grabs requires consideration of ***scale of land grabs***. But it is not only about the *scale of land acquisitions*
- 其次，对当前土地攫取的研究需要考虑攫取的规模，但规模只是土地攫取的一个方面。
- Land grabs entail large-scale transactions in 2 broadly distinct but interlinked dimensions:  
***scale & character of land acquisitions + scale & character of capital***  
土地攫取中的大规模交易包含了两个相互区别但又彼此相关的维度：**土地占用的规模和特征+资本的规模和特征**

- Bringing in the scale & character of capital will help us see beyond merely *quantifying* acquired land and *describing* the mechanisms of acquisition, which leads to discussions around purchase-versus-lease, long term lease-versus-short term lease, and so on, that we argue are not very useful points. The land acquisition-centred view remains largely within the descriptive **‘what’ and ‘who’ questions.**
- 我们还要考虑的是资本的规模和特征，而不仅仅是考察土地占用的数量和机制。后者常常引发关于购买还是租赁、长期租赁还是短期租赁的讨论。我们认为这样的讨论并无多少裨益。以土地本身的获取为中心的观点从很大程度上而言还停留在**“什么”和“谁”**等描述性问题上。

- Bringing in the dimension of scale and character of capital will tell us more about the **‘how’**, **‘why’** and **‘so what’ questions** of land investments: how and why capital has acquired a particular quantity of land in a specific location, what is the trajectory of development, and why does it matter? It will facilitate our understanding of why investors prefer a specific type of renting land (‘pools’) in Argentina, while other investors prefer contract farming scheme in Indonesia, and still others prefer land purchase where this is legally allowed.

考察资本的规模和特征将会告诉我们更多关于土地投资的“如何”、“为何”、“之后怎样”等问题的答案：资本在某个特定的地区是怎样获得某块面积的土地的？它为什么要拿这块地？拿到地后如何开发？为什么这些很重要？这样的考察能让我们了解为什么在阿根廷的投资者喜欢某种特别形式的（大片）土地租借，而在印尼的另外一些投资者更倾向于采用合同农业的方案，而还有一些投资者在法律允许的情况下更愿意购买土地。



- ***Third***, *what is distinct* in the current land grabs is that these occur primarily because of, and within the dynamics, of capital accumulation strategies ***in response to*** the convergence of multiple crises: food, energy/fuel, and climate change, as well as the emerging needs for resources by newer hubs of (global) capital, especially BRICS and some powerful middle income countries or MICs.

第三，当前土地攫取的特点是它之所以发生，是因为资本在积累的动态过程中必须对多重危机作出回应：粮食危机、能源危机、气候变化等，再加上（全球）资本对资源的日益增长的需求，特别是金砖五国和一些强大的中等收入国家。

# Towards a work-in-progress definition? 一个尚未成熟的定义

*“Contemporary land grabbing is the capturing of control of relatively vast tracts of land and other natural resources through a variety of contexts and forms that involve large-scale capital that often shifts resource use orientation into extractive character, whether for international or domestic purposes, as capital’s response to the convergence of food, energy and financial crises, climate change mitigation imperatives, and demands for resources from newer hubs of global capital.”*

*“当前土地攫取是在多种背景条件下，通过多种方式对土地和其他自然资源的控制权的攫取，这是资本对粮食、能源和金融等多重危机以及对气候变化的回应，是对来自全球资本的资源需求的回应，其中常常牵涉到大资本对资源开采式的利用，不论这种开采是为了国内还是国际的需求。”*

- Therefore the 4 key contexts for land grabbing are: (i) food security, (ii) energy/fuel security, (iii) climate change mitigation strategies, and (iv) demands for natural resources by new centres of capital.

因此土地攫取有四个关键背景：（1）粮食安全；（2）能源/燃料安全；（3）缓解气候变化的战略；（4）新的资本对自然资源的需求。

- One off-shoot of this recent development is the emergence of ‘**flex crops**’: crops that have multiple uses (food, feed, fuel, industrial material) that can be easily and flexibly inter-changed: soya (feed, food, biodiesel), sugarcane (food, ethanol), oil palm (food, biodiesel, commercial/industrial uses), corn (food, feed, ethanol).

目前土地攫取的另一个现象是出现了“流变作物”，即具有多重用途的作物（可以作为食物、饲料、燃料和工业材料），它们可以很轻易地在这些用途之间转换，比如大豆（饲料、食物、生物柴油），甘蔗（食物、乙醇）；棕榈油（食物、生物柴油、商业/工业用途），玉米（食物、饲料、乙醇）

# Land grabbing in Latin America

## 拉丁美洲的土地攫取



## The limits of the original 2011 FAO study 联合国粮农组织2011年的研究的局限

Table 1: Land investments, land grabbing, and food security in selected countries

表1：拉美部分国家的土地投资，土地攫取和粮食安全

Presence of recent large (foreign) investments in land 近期对土地的大量(外来)投资			Presence of foreign 'land grabbing' 外来的“土地攫取”		Negative impact on food security of investment recipient country 对投资接受国的粮食安全的负面影响	
High 高	Medium 中	Low To None 低或无	Yes 是	No 否	Yes 是	No 否
Argentina 阿根廷 Bolivia玻利维亚 Brazil 巴西 Chile 智利 Colombia 哥伦比亚 Ecuador 厄瓜多尔 Paraguay 巴拉圭 Peru 秘鲁 Uruguay 乌拉圭 Mexico 墨西哥 Nicaragua 尼加拉瓜 Dominican Republic 多米尼亚共和国 Guyana 圭亚那	Costa Rica 哥斯达黎加 Guatemala 危地马拉 Panama 巴拿马	Trinidad & Tobago 特立尼达拉岛和多巴哥岛	Argentina Brazil 阿根廷 巴西	Bolivia玻利维亚 Chile智利 Colombia 哥伦比亚 Ecuador 厄瓜多尔 Paraguay巴拉圭 Peru 秘鲁 Uruguay 乌拉圭 Mexico, 'but' 墨西哥, 但也有: Costa Rica 哥斯达黎加 Guatemala危地马拉 Nicaragua尼加拉瓜 Panama巴拿马 Dominican Republic多米尼亚共和国 Guyana圭亚那 Trinidad & Tobago特立尼达拉岛和多巴哥岛	Argentina 阿根廷 Bolivia 玻利维亚 Brazil巴西 Chile智利 Colombia哥伦比亚 Ecuador厄瓜多尔 Paraguay巴拉圭 Peru 秘鲁 Uruguay乌拉圭 Mexico墨西哥 Costa Rica 哥斯达黎加 Guatemala危地马拉 Nicaragua尼加拉瓜 Panama巴拿马 Dominican Republic多米尼亚共和国 Guyana圭亚那 Trinidad & Tobago特立尼达拉岛和多巴哥岛	

Table 2: Land and capital concentration, by country and sector 表2: 土地与资本的集中, 按国家和部门分类

Country 国家	Sectors where recent significant (land & capital) concentration has occurred (土地和资本)高度集中的部门
Argentina 阿根廷	Soya, wheat, livestock, sugarcane, tobacco, fruit, conservation ...保护区
Bolivia 玻利维亚	Soya, livestock, forestry 大豆, 牲畜, 林业
Brazil 巴西	Soya, sugarcane, poultry, livestock, fruit, forestry 大豆, 甘蔗, 禽类,
Chile 智利	Fruit, dairy, wine, seeds, poultry, conservation
Colombia 哥伦比亚	Oil palm, sugar beets 甜菜, sugarcane, soya, rice, corn, forestry
Ecuador 厄瓜多尔	Banana, sugarcane, oil palm, forestry
Paraguay 巴拉圭	Soya, corn, wheat, livestock
Peru 秘鲁	Fruits, vegetables, sugarcane, oil palm
Uruguay 乌拉圭	Soya, dairy, wheat, rice, livestock, forestry
Mexico 墨西哥	Corn value chain, sugarcane, fruits, flowers, coffee, barley 大麦, tequila 龙舌兰
Costa Rica 哥斯达黎加	Banana, pineapple, oil palm
Guatemala 危地马拉	Sugarcane, oil palm, forestry
Nicaragua 尼加拉瓜	Livestock, rice, oil palm, sugarcane, citrus 柑橘, tourism, forestry
Panama 巴拿马	Banana, coffee, rice, oil palm
Dominican Republic 多米尼加	Sugarcane, banana, fruits, vegetables
Guyana 圭亚那	Sugarcane, livestock, rice, pineapple, forestry
Trinidad & Tobago 特立尼达和 多巴哥岛	Sugarcane, cacao, fruits

## Versus 然而

a broader framework that leads us to see a different coverage and extent of the phenomenon...

一个更广的框架让我们看到这一现象有不同的覆盖面与程度。

Table 3: Presence of land grabbing in selected Latin American and the Caribbean\*

表3: 某些拉美和加勒比海国家的土地攫取现象

Presence of recent large investments in land 近期的对土地的大规模投资			Presence of land grabbing (domestic & foreign capital) 土地攫取(国内和外来资本)			Country with major land investors into other countries in the region 本地区内对其他国家进行大量土地投资的国家
High 高	Medium 中	Low to None 低或无	High 高	Medium 中	Low to None 低或无	
Argentina Bolivia Brazil Chile Colombia Ecuador Paraguay Peru Uruguay Mexico Nicaragua Dominican Republic Guyana	Costa Rica Guatemala Panama	Trinidad & Tobago	Argentina Bolivia Brazil Chile Colombia Ecuador Guatemala Paraguay Peru Uruguay	Panama Mexico Nicaragua	Costa Rica Dominican Republic Guyana Trinidad & Tobago	Argentina Brazil Chile Colombia Panama Mexico Costa Rica



**Towards a broader view:**

**Seven characteristics of land grabbing in  
Latin America**

一个更宽泛的观点：拉美地区土地攫取的7个特征

**(1) Land concentration and ‘foreignization’ as central features of the land grabbing narrative in Latin America**  
**拉美地区的土地集中与“外国化”为主要特征的土地攫取的叙事**

- (i) ‘Foreignization’ of land/space: involving foreign state, corporate and personal/individual entities 土地/空间的“外国化”：牵涉到其他国家，外来的公司和个人
- (ii) Land concentration 土地集中

**Key point:**

*land grabbing/foreignization is an important land issue but is NOT the only critical land issue today!*

重点：

土地攫取/外国化是一个重要的土地议题，但绝不是今日土地问题中的唯一关键！

# Foreignization narrative and its problems

## 外国化的叙事及其问题

- Does land grab necessarily and always require foreignization of land property? Not really. 土地攫取必然而且一直是土地从本国人转移到外国人手中吗？不尽然。
- Conversely, does foreignization of land always imply land grabbing? – as one wonders about the small- and medium-scale individual land acquisitions by natural persons from Brazil in Paraguay or Bolivia – as part of the everyday forms of dispossession by differentiation which we exclude from our definition of land grabs (including diaspora) 反之，土地的外国化一定意味着土地攫取吗？比如巴西人在巴拉圭或玻利维亚购买了小块到中等大小的土地。这是日常形式的因分化而进行的剥夺，我们并不将其纳入土地攫取的范围中。
- Instead of *overly* focusing on foreignization of property it is more useful to look into the *character and direction* of change in social relations of property. 我们不应当过于强调资产的外国属性，而应该考察资产的社会关系发生变动的特征和方向，这更有益处。
- **Nationalist versus class/gender issues/analysis** = that has far-reaching implications on how we think about (rural) development policies. 民族主义与阶级和性别分析 = 这能为我们思考（农村）发展政策提供更为深远的建议。

***(2) Land grabbing, land concentration and foreignization in the region started to gain ground and momentum earlier than the 2007-08 food price spike***

***土地攫取、土地集中和外国化在2007—2008年粮食价格达到峰值之前就开始显现了***

- leads us logically to question a food crisis-centric explanation of current land grabbing 让我们开始质疑以粮食危机为中心来解释当前土地攫取的逻辑是否合理。
- A more relevant approach is to use the notion of *converging multiple crises* of food, energy, climate and finance as well as the rising demands for commodities from newer hubs of global capital 一个更相关的途径是用粮食、能源、气候和金融的多重危机的叠加，以及全球资本对商品的需求，来解释。

**(3) Land grabbing, land concentration and foreignization occur in the food sector – and beyond**  
**土地攫取、土地集中和外国化：发生在粮食部门之内和之外**





Table 4: Flex crops in South America and Central America, Area harvested (in ha), 1961-2009  
 表4: 南美和中美洲地区的流变作物, 收获面积(公顷)

<b>South America 南美</b>			
	<b>Soya 大豆</b>	<b>Sugarcane 甘蔗</b>	<b>Oil Palm 棕榈油</b>
1961	259,534	2,124,775	38,700
1970	1,443,590	2,485,528	57,081
1980	11,467,985	3,623,922	83,088
1990	17,725,284	5,290,929	210,906
2000	24,156,087	5,995,162	341,709
2009	42,792,479	9,878,744	448,313
<b>Central America 中美</b>			
	<b>Soya</b>	<b>Sugarcane</b>	<b>Oil Palm</b>
1961	9,943	500,207	22,910
1970	111,844	761,258	21,986
1980	155,287	882,750	35,447
1990	309,996	875,047	57,197
2000	85,992	1,071,684	109,430
2009	83,444	1,231,025	239,204

Table 5: Land grabbing by country, by sector 表5: 土地攫取: 国家和部门

Country	Flex crops and other food sectors	Non-Food
Argentina	Soya, wheat, livestock, sugarcane, fruit	Tobacco, conservation
Bolivia	Soya, livestock	Forestry
Brazil	Soya, sugarcane, poultry, livestock, fruit	Forestry
Chile	Fruit, dairy, wine, seeds, poultry	Conservation, Forestry
Colombia	Oil palm, sugar beets, sugarcane, soya, rice, corn	Forestry
Ecuador	Banana, sugarcane, oil palm	Forestry, minerals
Paraguay	Soya, corn, wheat, livestock	
Peru	Fruits, vegetables, sugarcane, oil palm	Minerals
Uruguay	Soya, dairy, wheat, rice, livestock	Forestry
Mexico	Corn value chain, sugarcane, fruits, coffee	Flowers, barley, tequila, conservation
Costa Rica	Banana, pineapple, oil palm	
Guatemala	Sugarcane, oil palm	Forestry
Nicaragua	Livestock, rice, oil palm, sugarcane, citrus	Tourism, forestry
Panama	Banana, coffee, rice, oil palm	
Dominican Republic	Sugarcane, banana, fruits, vegetables	
Guyana	Sugarcane, livestock, rice, pineapple	Forestry
Trinidad & Tobago	Sugarcane, cacao, fruits	



Table 6: Regional Plantation Area and Increase in (Tree) Plantation Area During 2000 to 2010 (in 000 ha)  
 表6: 地区种植面积与(树木)种植面积的扩大(2000—2010年间) 单位: 1000公顷

	Africa	Asia	Oceania	Europe	Caribbean	Central America	North America	South America	World
Plantation Area, 2010 (000 ha)	15409	115783	4101	69318	547	584	37529	13821	264084
Annual Increase (000 ha)	245	2855	78	401	15	16	809	376	4925
Annual Increase (%)	1.75	2.87	2.12	0.60	3.34	3.14	2.46	3.23	2.09

**(4) Large-scale land investments are driven mainly by regional capital**

**主要被本地区资本驱动的大规模土地投资**

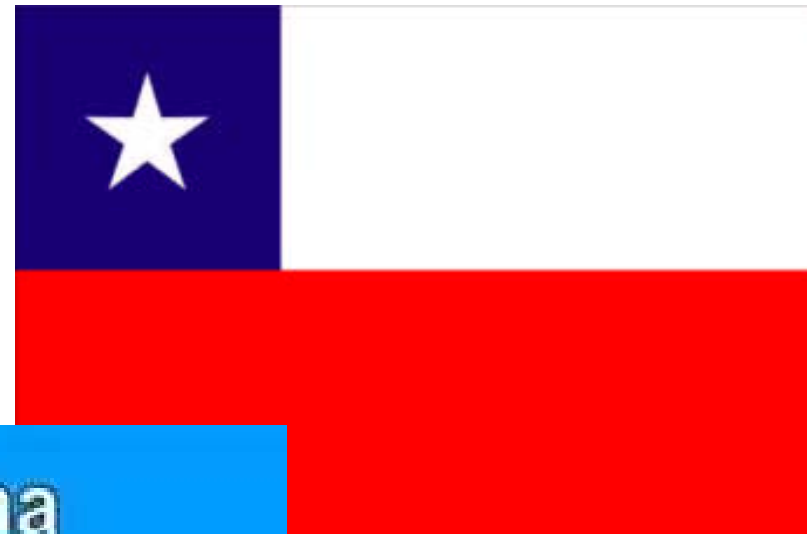


Table 7: (Trans-)Latin American land investors in Latin America and the Caribbean (partial)  
 表7: 拉美及加勒比海部分地区的(跨)拉美土地投资者

<b>Country of origin of regional investors</b> <b>投资来源</b>	<b>Countries active in</b> <b>投资者活跃的地区</b>
Argentina	Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay
Brazil	Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile
Chile	Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru
Colombia	Bolivia, Peru
Panama	Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay
Mexico	Nicaragua, Guatemala
Costa Rica	Nicaragua, Guatemala

***(5) Land grabbing, concentration and foreignization occur via land purchases and other modalities***

***土地攫取、土地集中和外国化的发生：以土地购买和其他形式***

Policies have intended and unintended outcomes, always. When laws were passed to prohibit foreignization of land, what companies did was to forge alliance with national capital.

政策总是可能产生预期之内或之外的结果。当法律不允许外来资本进行土地投资时，外来公司开始和国内资本结盟。

Hence = rise of mixed 'foreign-domestic' ventures, or 'national' but actually local subsidiary. 因此 = 混合形态的“合资”企业出现了，或者可能是“国内”企业，但实际上还是外国在本地的子公司

The phenomenon is widespread in South America as a direct response to the policies on foreignization.

这一现象在南美地区十分普遍，就是为了对付限制土地外国化的政策

Argentina – Change in Land Possession by Different Groups 2004-2010  
 阿根廷：土地在不同群体间换手 2004—2010

Type of enterprise 企业类型	Circa 2004 2004年左右	Circa 2010 2010年左右	Absolute change 变化的绝对数量	Percentage change 变化所占的百分比
Foreign 外资	6,322,700	6,722,700	400,000	6.33%
National 国内	1,609,900	1,632,800	22,900	1.42%
Mixed 混合	920,383	2,143,331	1,222,948	132.8%

Source: Murmis and Murmis (2011: 27)

**(6) Contradictory role of the States: facilitating capital accumulation and maintaining a minimum level of political legitimacy**

**政府的矛盾角色：促进资本的积累同时至少要保留一定程度的政治上的合法性**



# State and capital in intra-regional land grabbing

## 本地区土地攫取中的国家与资本

- Attention focused on foreign companies and foreign governments and their role in the global land rush.

关注外国公司和政府在全球土地热中扮演的角色

- But in LAC as in various others regions, the role of the central state in either promoting entry of (foreign) land investments, or promoting national companies to invest abroad has been key & critical.

但拉美地区和其他地区一样，政府要么就在鼓励（外来）土地投资，要么就是鼓励本国公司到海外投资。

- = implications for ‘global’ governance policy advocacy? Level of political actions/policy advocacy?

= 这是否在召唤“全球”（土地）治理政策？政治行动/政策动员的层面应该是什么？



- States engage in policy and administrative initiatives around the notion of ‘available marginal lands’, and its role in facilitating land investments in these spaces include some, or all, or a combination of the following: 国家的政策和管理是基于“可利用的边际土地”这一概念，它在促成土地投资方面所扮演的角色包括了以下部分：
  - (i) invention/justification, 创造机会/合理化
  - (ii) definition, reclassification, quantification, 对土地界定，分类和量化
  - (iii) identification, 确权
  - (iv) acquisition/appropriation and 征收/征用和
  - (v) re-allocation/disposition of these lands 对土地的再分配/处置

- to transform such scarce resources (most of which are within the political-legal control of central states) into productive factors of production for renewed large-scale land-based investments. 将稀有资源(大部分资源是在政府的政治法律控制之内)转化为生产要素, 继续进行大规模土地投资
- Each of these process requires recasting of existing public policies. And so, the phenomenon of land grabbing has witnessed widespread policy reformulation around these steps mentioned above. It is a mistake to see policy processes around these five dimensions in isolation. 以上过程的每一步都涉及到对现有公共政策的扬弃。因此, 土地攫取过程中发生了围绕上述步骤的大范围的政策重构。将这五个维度隔开分别分析是不恰当的。

**These state processes have different social impacts along class, gender and other fault-lines! 政府的这些过程对阶级、性别和其他社会分层产生了不同的社会影响!**

- It is almost always the *state-capital links* that drive land grabs. This perspective offers a better view of the constellation of land grabbers or classes of capital (in Bernstein's terms) that are in alliance with the state.

土地攫取中一直都有国家和资本的结盟。这一视角能让我们更好地理解与国家结盟的土地攫取者或资产阶级（用伯恩斯坦的话来说）

- The hallmark of land grabbing in LAC is the strong **intra-regional** character of the phenomenon – quite developed here compared to the South Africa-centred intra-regional process in **Africa**, although probably the former is closer to the **Southeast Asian** condition.

拉美地区土地攫取的特点是地区性的 — 该特点已经十分明显，特别是与以南非为中心的非洲地区内的土地攫取趋势相比较而言，东南亚地区的土地攫取的地区性特征也很突出。

- **Regionally differentiated** character of land grabs = a global 'one size fits all' policy is not going to work.

土地攫取的地区化特征 = 一个全球性的统一政策很难奏效

***(7) Differentiated impacts within and between communities, differentiated political reactions from below***  
不同社区内、不同社区之间的不同影响，来自底层的不同的政治反应



When the land is needed, but the labour is not... (Li 2011)  
当需要土地，而不需要人时



Expulsion of people from the land (dispossession by displacement)

将人们从土地上驱逐出去（通过重新安置来剥夺土地）



**BUT: 但是:**

- **Land grabs do not always result in the expulsion of people from their land;** 土地攫取并不一定会涉及到驱逐人们离开土地
- Useful in policy thinking is the concept of **‘incorporation’** 一个对政策设计有益的概念是“卷入”
- ***differentiated terms of incorporation***, that is, ‘adverse’, ‘favourable’ and ‘somewhere in between’ 不同形式的“卷入”：“不利”，“有利”和“介于两者之间”

# Differentiated impacts, diverse political reactions

## 不同的影响，不同的政治反应

More useful to start by critically examining issues that unite & divide: 更好的出发点是将问题整合并区别来分析

(1) **class & other fault-lines**, 阶级或其他社会分层 (2) **ideological**, 意识形态的 (3) **institutional-political** = 制度—政治的

should in turn allow us to see further into two related dimensions: (a) critically see **synergies and tensions within and between organized CSOs and affected ‘communities’**; and (b) critically understand the dynamics of three thematic arenas of actions/movements: 这让我们看到了两个相关的维度 (a) 公民社会和受影响“社区”之间的合力和张力以及 (b) 对三个主要领域内行动/运动的动态变化进行批判性理解

(i) **agrarian** 农政的, (ii) **environmental**, 环境的 and (iii) **labour** (plus food movements, which straddles the earlier three). 劳动力的 (加上粮食运动, 这跨越了上述三个领域)



# Differentiated impacts, diverse political reactions

## 不同的影响，不同的政治反应

- = political reactions to land deals therefore are necessarily differentiated: against, in favour, and in between the first two 对土地交易的政治反应因此不同：反对，赞成或介于两者之间
- = generalizations such as ‘land grabs = expulsion of people from the land = resistance = is **problematic** (and at times, **romantic**). 将土地攫取泛化为将人们驱离土地从而必然导致抗争，这种逻辑是有问题的（有时是过于浪漫了）

## Uneven, differentiated, diverse outcomes 不平衡的、分化的、多样的结果

Sweeping *a priori* claims about ‘dispossession by displacement/expulsion’ as (the only and main) outcome of land grabs is not correct.

用一个主要的论断（通过重新安置或驱离来剥夺土地）作为土地攫取的（唯一和主要的）结果是不妥的。

Two broad outcomes in terms of poor people’s location in relation to property/production:

穷人的财产/生产处境的两个主要结果：

- (1) Dispossession by displacement (a la Araghi) 通过驱离被剥夺
- (2) (adverse) incorporation (a la Du Toit) （不利的）卷入

## Struggles are gaining ground in Latin America

拉美地区的抗争风起云涌



# Two broad fronts of struggle:

## 两个主要的抗争前沿:

(1) Struggle against dispossession by displacement/expulsion

反抗通过重新安置/驱离而剥夺土地

(2) Struggle over the terms of incorporation (either as workers or as contracted farmers)

反抗各种形式的卷入（不论是作为劳工或合同农民）

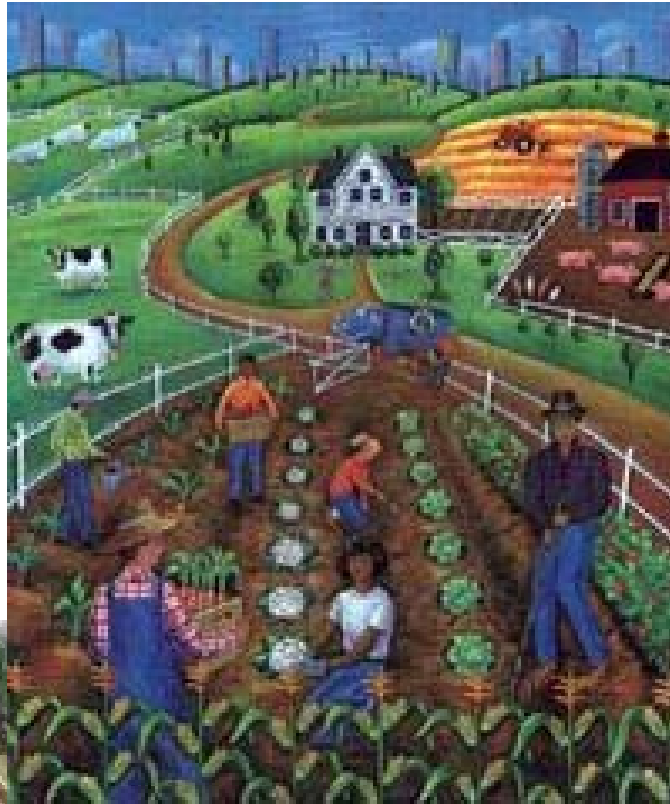
Underlying (old) polarized debate:

暗含的（古老的）两极讨论：

(1) industrial, large-scale, fossil fuel-based monocrop  
agriculture without farmers 工业的、大规模的、以化石燃料  
为基础的单一农业（没有农民）



**versus** (2) small-scale agroecological farming?  
与 (2) 小规模农业生态型的农业方式



***Stepping back, and looking at the big picture:  
退后一步，看到更宽阔的图景：***

Ultimately, struggles around land are, and might intensify as, struggles over competing meanings and visions of ‘development’ – and the central role played by land therein in the global context of the convergence of multiple crises.

最终，对土地的抗争会加剧对于“发展”的含义和愿景的抗争——以及对土地在多重危机叠加的全球背景下所起到的中心作用的抗争。

That is why ‘land politics’ – ***who gets which land, how and how much, and for what ends?*** – have become, and will remain, at the centre stage (again) of contemporary development discourse and practice. 这就是：为什么“土地政治”（*谁得到了哪块土地，以怎样的价格，怎样的方式，为怎样的目的而得到的？*）已经成为，也必将一直是当代发展话语与实践的中心。

## **Taking the side of the under-classes**

### **站在下层阶级的一边**

requires, first and foremost, that bottom line is that they are not expelled from their lands, and that they are empowered to negotiate for better terms of their incorporation in emerging development enclaves.

首先需要确定底线：他们不应当被从土地上驱离，他们应当被赋权，在被发展包围的土地上能够得到更好的卷入的条件

Equally important, if not more important: they have to be given the option, a real option, to explore alternative path to development as they define it.

同样重要的是，或者更为重要的是，他们应当有权选择，真正地选择，他们所定义的发展的其他可能方案。