

# Legitimizing Foreignization in Bolivia

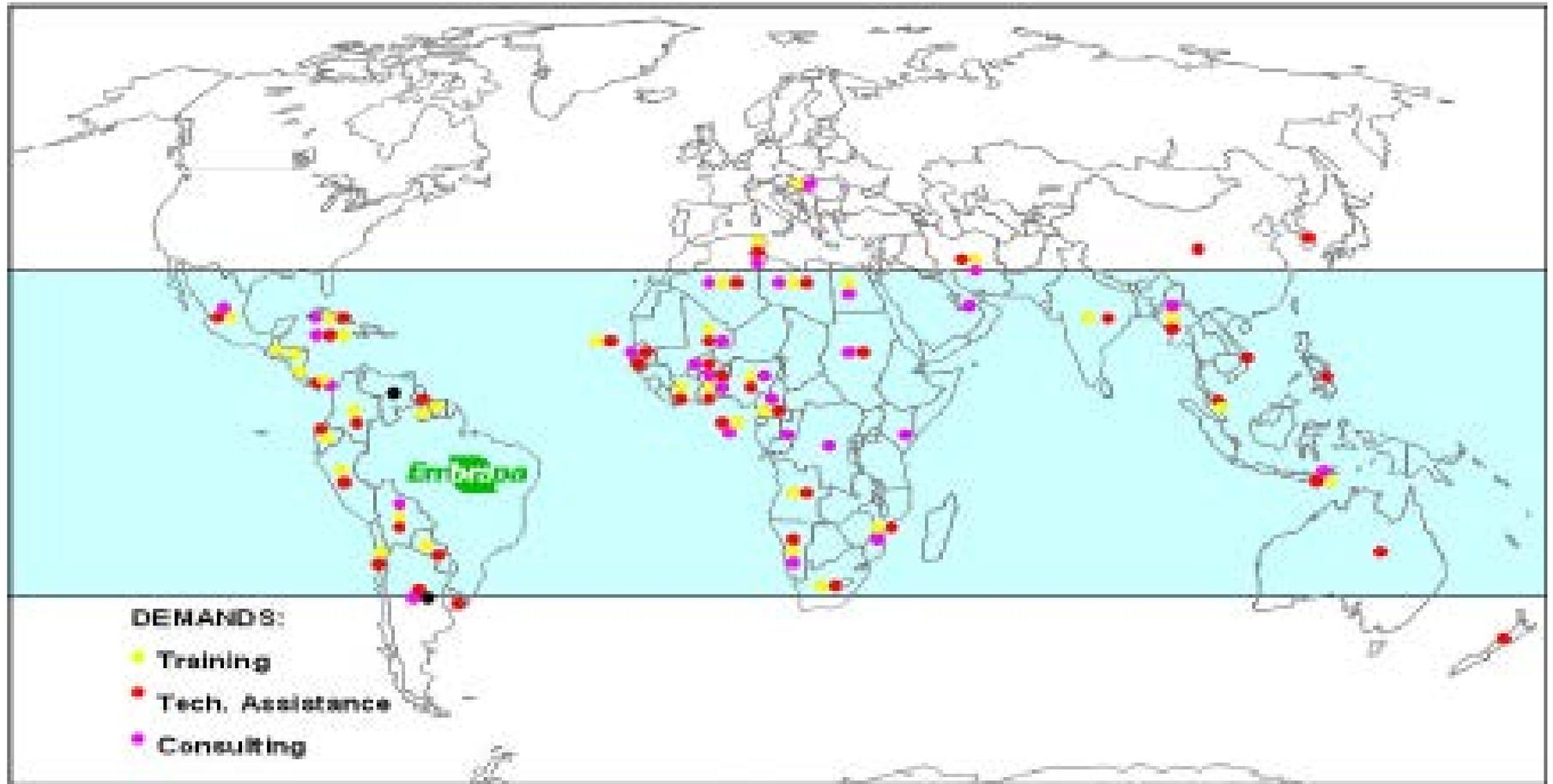
Brazilian agriculture and relations of conflict and consent in Santa Cruz, Bolivia

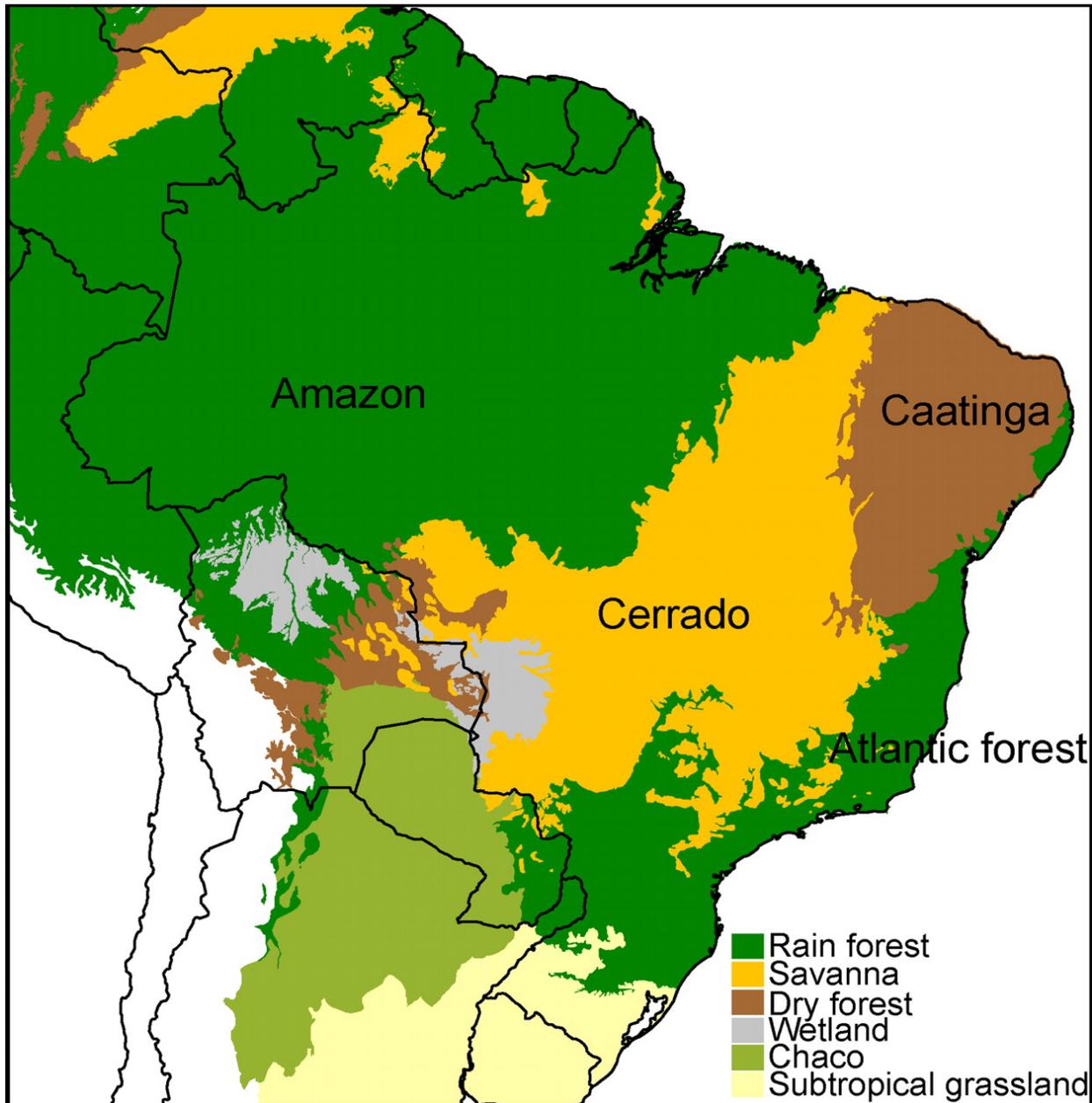
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# Brazil as global destination and driver of land-based investments

- *Yellow-green revolution* in tropical agriculture and biofuels innovation/production
- *Globalizing 78* bilateral agricultural cooperation agreements across the tropical world
- *New actors* with BNDES investments of \$69 billion dollars exceeding World Bank lending







# Background

- Brazilian landholdings in Santa Cruz from 1990-neoliberal soybean frontiers
- Purchase of titles from land-rich elites continues pre-existing patterns of unequal land distribution: limits of 1953 reform, land grants in 1970s and stimulus to agribusiness sector
- Land reform **process**: 1953, 1996, Morales government “redirects” reform, new constitutional limit of 5,000 ha not retroactive

# Case study: Santa Cruz, Bolivia

**Puzzle:** Land reform, resource nationalism, pro-smallholder but Brazilians consolidate landholdings

**Question:** What are relations of conflict or consent around Brazilian landholding in Santa Cruz?

**Methods:** Interviews and soybean landholding data

**Framework:** Transnational hegemony, technology as terrain of legitimation of landholding

# Soy land area by producer origin from summer 1994-2009, ha

<i>Producer origin</i>	<i>1994</i>		<i>1999</i>		<i>2004</i>		<i>2009</i>	
<b>Nationals</b>	<b>86,760</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>131,760</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>189,700</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>301,715</b>	<b>43%</b>
<b>Brazilians</b>	<b>19,075</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>166,700</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>185,500</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>175,886</b>	<b>25%</b>
<b>Mennonites</b>	<b>103,490</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>142,330</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>145,800</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>113,116</b>	<b>16%</b>
<b>Argentinians</b>							<b>70,480</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>Japanese</b>	<b>27,700</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>37,800</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>40,500</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>32,044</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>Others</b>	<b>4,768</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>30,450</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>40,500</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>7,090</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>241,793</b>		<b>509,040</b>		<b>602,000</b>		<b>700,331</b>	

“We came with *money*, we put in *technology*, it was really a *win-win* relationship. We all win, the Brazilians won, Bolivia won, and the Bolivian producer won.” –Brazilian producer in Santa Cruz

Relations of consent between in concert with economic relations of production

- Capital (silences about pol econ beyond land)
- Technology (also “neutral” technical relations)

# Technology as terrain of legitimation re: landholding

- “*Transfer*” of technologies between regions but also in informal relations across classes of producers
- *Brazil(ian) expertise* at technological frontier, conflation of producer with Brazil
- *Contestation* of production model through Brazilian position at tech frontier

# Conclusions and next steps

- Not linear increase in landholding
- Analysis beyond agrarian producer capital to include infrastructure, extractive, financial interests – state
- Technology as terrain of legitimation in land deals (construction of marginal lands), transfer, expertise, but contested
- What's old, what's new?
- What's “intra-regional”, what's global?
- Mechanism of technology in Brazilian globalization in land based-investments