The food regime in the land grab Philip McMichael (Cornell University, USA)

Prepared for Sussex Land Grab conference. April 2011

Food regime change

- Transitional expressions in land grab
- Contradictions of corporate/surplus food regime anticipate new FR in making
- Institutional structures, rules & norms under construction
- Organizing principle tensions: elitesponsored agro-industrialization vs agroecology (repeasantization + s/movements)

Revaluing land & peasant ways

- In 2004, Vía Campesina: agribusiness power in pre/post-production, not in land.
- Developmentalist blind-spot: "peasant-like ways of farming often exist as practices without theoretical representation... Hence they cannot be properly understood, (concluding) that they do not exist or that they are (an) irrelevant anomaly" (Ploeg) \rightarrow self-fulfilling prophecy of 'unproductivity'

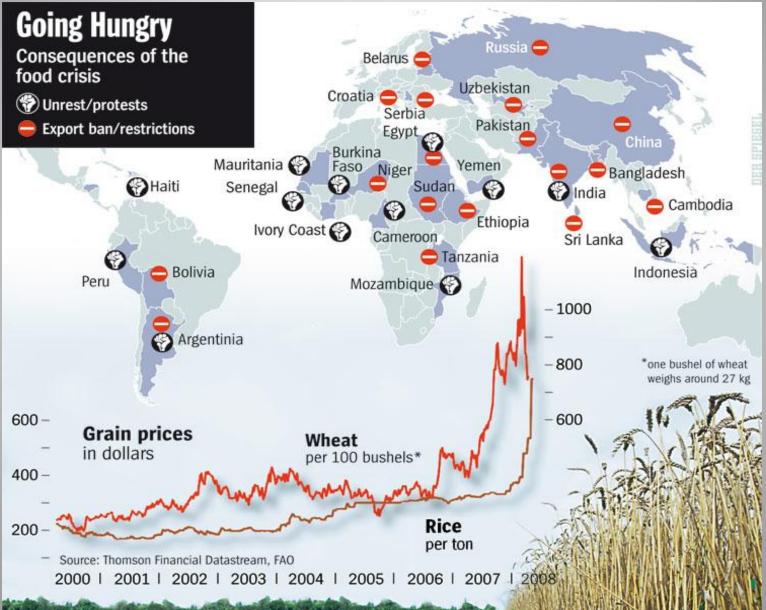
Global ecology perspective

- 'Rational planning of planet for Northern security' (Sachs 1993).
- Local commons renamed global commons
- N security now represented as global food, energy & ecological security ~ peak oil/CC
- \rightarrow grab for green fuel and food supply
- WB view: '
 productivity & farmland expansion in non-forested areas'

Political economy perspective

- 'Rationing what is left of nature' (Sachs).
- Relocating industrial/high-input agriculture
- Capital's profitability crisis → investment in agriculture as partial solution.
- Agr crops absorbed into financial chains: mix of crops (food/fuel/biomass) irrelevant to financial profit calculus.
- Food riots + override of 'free trade'

Export restrictions & food riots



Post-fossil-fuel biomass project

- Leading edge of new 'bioeconomy' = land enclosure to transform plant matter into industrial commodities.
- 'Land best suited for biomass generation (LA, SSA) is least utilized' (US Sec of En)
- '...low intensive agr management systems to be replaced by 2050 by best practice agr..' (European Report, 2004)
- 'yield gap' (WB) = productivity fetish vs multifunctional understanding of farming.

LG as vehicle of FR transition?

- Corporate ('cheap') FR: subsidized N dumping of surplus bulk cys in S mkts.
- N farm sectors losing global competitive advantage + new mercantilism: X bans &/or subsidies for agr/biomass offshoring.
- New investment patterns favor bulk cys eg, SEA: 83% land acquired for L-Term dedicated to row crops (Borras/Franco).

CFR: invisible hand at work

"the massive movement of food around the world is forcing the increased movement of people" (Via Campesina 2000)





Food regime transition

- Rephrase? Massive movement of capital around the world is intensifying the movement of people...
- Whereas food dumping (CFR) = crisis of low prices & depletion of peasantry, land grabbing = crisis of social reproduction.
- From surplus, to deficit, food regime.

Food lines



Food riots



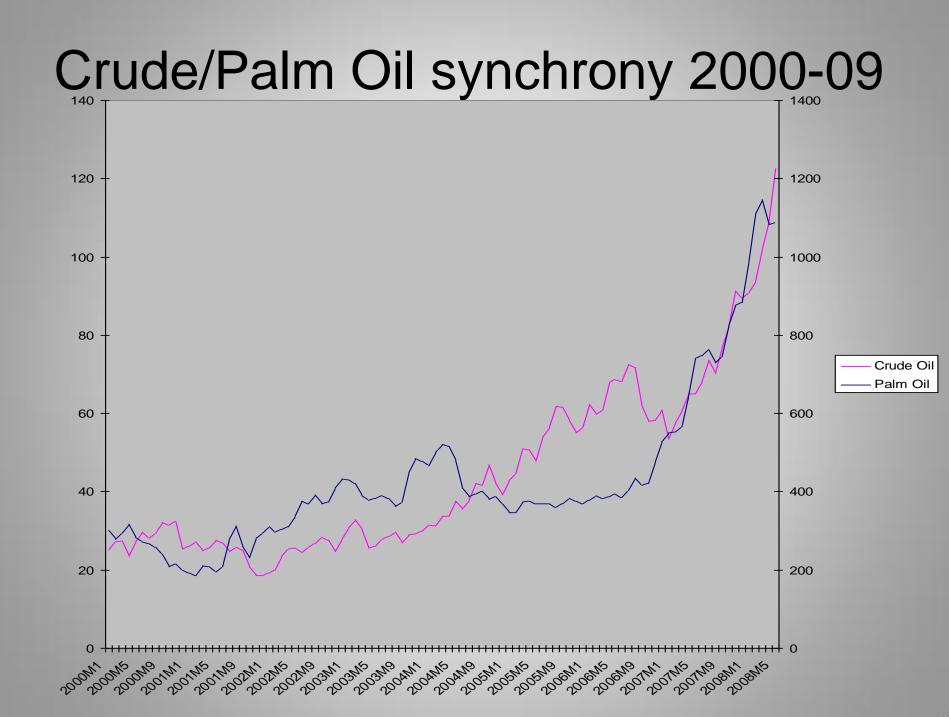






Transition..

- Shift in foundations of capital accumulation towards a <u>new extractive food/fuel regime</u> enclosing world's remaining land & water.
- Agro-industrialization, where natural limits force, perversely, <u>final solution for Nature</u>.
- <u>Peak oil</u> → price inflation of agricultural commodities → (speculative) investment in land.



Deforestation in Sumatra for pulp and palm [Greenpeace, *The Guardian* 8-20-10]



Land grab drivers

- Energy crisis, mandates/subsidies rising price of N land, Kyoto protocols, accommodating host gov'ts in South.
- Financialization: converts agr'l contracts to speculative derivatives → food price inflation, & speculations in land, food/fuels.
- 2003-08: cy index holdings **↑**\$131-\$317m
- 2004-07: venture cap in biofuels ↑ 800%

Crisis of agro-industrialization

- Declining profitability of ind'l agriculture.
- Loss of biodiversity & ecosystem services
- Rising cost of 'biophysical override' (Weis)
- Rising energy costs & climate change risk.
- Recognition in IAASTD Report (2008).
- → offshoring of agro-capital...

Land grab enablers

- Domestic construction of land rents + *new* mercantilist approach to food security.
- Enabled by W/Bank: rhetoric of 'yield gap' & 'agriculture for development'
- IFIs: modernize agriculture w value chains
- AGRA: GR as <u>export</u> agr (agribusiness mkts) & 'land mobility' (Gates Foundation)
- <u>Publicly-enabled</u> global enclosure of nat res. (cf subsidized cheap food regime).

In sum: food regime shift..

- Agro-industrialization relocating = enclosure of nat/res W for global mkt.
- Shift in geo-political co-cordinates, eg,
 N→S/EE, S→S, Oil states → S...
- LG <u>deepens</u> Corp/FR: 'agr w/out farmers'
- LG signals turning point: geo-pol patterns & bioeconomy: capital centers on biomass (final subord'n landed property & ecology).
- Opposing (self) organizing principle: 'repeasantization'/agroecology…