Drugs, (dis)order and agrarian change
The political economy of drugs and its relevance to international drug policy

Expert Workshop, Schedule

Venue: Main Building, Room 4429 and Brunei Gallery
SOAS, University of London
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG

Sunday May 11th

19:30  Informal drinks for those who have arrived
Venue: The Marquis Cornwallis
31 Marchmont St, London WC1N 1AP

Monday May 12th

9:00 – 9:30  Arrival and coffee

9:30 – 10:30  Introductory Session: Political economy perspectives – challenging orthodoxies
Welcome and introduction to the goals, working hypotheses and structure of the workshop. Introductory inputs which map out the research agenda on the political economy of drugs, (dis)order and agrarian change.

Chair: Jonathan Goodhand
Speakers:
Chris Cramer: What is a political economy approach?
Julia Buxton: The political economy of drugs: An overview
10:30 – 11:00  Coffee break

11:00 – 12:30  Case Studies: Understanding Production I
Presentation of case studies of the drivers and dynamics of drugs production followed by plenary discussion.

Chair: Helena Perez-Nino
Speakers:
David Mansfield: Opium cultivation and frontier regions in Afghanistan
Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy: Hashish production in Morocco
Patrick Meehan: Opium production in Burma’s borderlands

12:30 – 13:00  Lunch (RS T102)

13:00 – 15:00  Case studies: Understanding Production II

Chair: Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy
Speakers:
Ricardo Vargas: Coca, development and conflict in Columbia
Axel Klein: Khat in the Horn of Africa
Francisco Thoumi: Drugs production in the Andean region

15:00 – 15:30  Coffee

15:30 – 17:30  Thematic Session 1: Drugs and agrarian change

Chair: Chris Cramer
Introduction: Helena Perez-Nino: Comparative analysis of cases
Speakers:
Michael Eilenberg: Frontier development and agrarian change
Kevin Woods: Agrarian change and ‘post war’ orders

Plenary Discussion
The session seeks to examine the implications of narcotics production for rural livelihoods, participation in labour markets (including the implications of shifts out of drug production for rural wage employment and welfare), characteristics of labour relations, interlocking of markets (labour, credit, land), patterns of migration, rural inequality and capital accumulation (including its spatial dynamics and the ways in which capital is accumulated through the illicit drug economy and by whom; and the impact on systems of land ownership and processes of territorialisation).

18:30  Public Event: The political economy of drug production and violent conflict – alternative frameworks and approaches
Venue: Brunei Gallery Room 102

20:30  Workshop Dinner
Venue: TBC
Tuesday 13th May

9:30 – 11:00 Thematic Session 2: Drugs, political (dis)order and state formation

Chair: Jonathan Di John
Introduction: Patrick Meehan: Comparative analysis of cases
Speakers:
Ivan Briscoe: Drugs, primitive accumulation and statebuilding
Teo Ballve: Illicit resources and violence on the margins

Plenary discussion
The session explores the role that illicit drug economies play in trajectories of state formation – access to the means of coercion, the creation of state territory and the establishment of tax regimes, and the state’s relationship to sites and trajectories of capital accumulation through narcotics production and trade.

11:00 – 11:30 Coffee

11:30 – 13:00 Concluding Session: The way ahead: implications for theory and policy

Chairs: Jonathan Goodhand, Helena Perez-Nino, Patrick Meehan
Speakers
Francisco Thoumi: Rethinking counter narcotics policies
Eric Gutierrez: Drugs and development policy
Joanne Csete: How to engage policy makers

Plenary discussion
This final session explores the major findings of the workshop, with a view to assessing the value that a historical political economy approach can offer to theoretical, empirical and policy approaches to drugs and possible follow up activities.

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch (RS T102)

14:00 Workshop ends

List of participants

Teo Ballve, University of California, Berkeley
Ivan Briscoe, Clingendael, Netherlands Institute of International Relations
Julia Buxton, Central European University, Budapest
Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris
Chris Cramer, SOAS, University of London
Joanne Csete, OSI
Filippo De Danielli, SOAS, University of London
Jonathan Di John, SOAS, University of London
Margarita Dinova, SOAS, University of London
Michael Eilenberg, Aarhus University
Jonathan Goodhand, SOAS, University of London
Eric Gutierrez, Christian Aid
Axel Klein, University of Kent
Priya Lukka, Christian Aid.
Dave Mansfield, SOAS, University of London
Patrick Meehan, SOAS, University of London
Jairo Munive, DIIS
Helena Perez-Nino, SOAS, University of London
Francisco Thoumi, International Narcotics Control Board
Ricardo Vargas, TNI
Kevin Woods, University of California, Berkeley and TNI
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Expert Workshop, List of Participants

Teo Ballve, University of California, Berkeley
Teo is a PhD candidate at UC- Berkeley. His research is anchored in the fields of geopolitics and political ecology with an emphasis on struggles over natural resources, illicit economies, development, and state governance. His current research is focused on the civil war’s economies of violence and struggles over the state.

Ivan Briscoe, Clingendael, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Budapest
Ivan is a senior research fellow in the Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute. He has recently carried out studies on the linkages between politics and crime in four Latin American countries, as well as in Mali.

Julia Buxton, Central European University, Budapest
Julia is Professor of Comparative Politics and a specialist on South America as well as on democratisation and transition, post conflict and conflict analysis. A published expert on the drug trade, Julia has a particular interest in the impact of narcotic drugs and counter narcotics policies on development, peace building, poverty and human rights.

Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris
Pierre-Arnaud holds a Ph.D. in Geography from the Sorbonne University (Paris) and is a CNRS Research Fellow specialized on the geography and geopolitics of illegal drug production and trafficking in Asia and in Morocco. He created and edits www.geopium.org.

Chris Cramer, SOAS, University of London
Chris is Professor of the Political Economy of Development at SOAS. He has worked in and on sub-Saharan Africa for more than 20 years, teaching and conducting research, on rural labour markets, commodity processing, violent conflict, the political economy of war and peace and post-conflict reconstruction.
Joanne Csete, OSI
Joanne is the deputy director of the Global Drug Policy Program of the Open Society Foundation in London. She was previously associate professor of health and human rights at Columbia University (New York) and was the founding director of the Health and Human Rights Program at Human Rights Watch. She worked on health programs in Africa for over ten years.

Filippo De Danielli, SOAS, University of London
Filippo received his PhD from SOAS with the Thesis: *Silk Road Mafias: The political economy of drugs and state-building in post-Soviet Tajikistan*. His research looks at the drugs-development-state-building nexus.

Jonathan Di John, SOAS, University of London
Jonathan is a Senior Lecturer in Political Economy of Development at SOAS. His areas of expertise are development economics, institutional economics and the political economy of growth and development in Latin America and Africa. His research focuses on political economy, taxation, corruption, and conflict and war in mineral abundant economies.

Margarita Dinova, SOAS, University of London
Margarita’s PhD research looks at Africa’s ‘drug problem’ as a central trope on the global insecurity-development nexus. She conducted fieldwork in Nairobi and Mombasa, documenting and understanding the complex networks of interdependence between street-level heroin dealers, anti-narcotics officers and community policing members.

Michael Eilenberg, Aarhus University
Michael is an Assistant Professor in Anthropology in the Department of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Denmark. His research focuses on issues of state formation, sovereignty, autonomy, citizenship and agrarian expansion in frontier regions of Southeast Asia. He is the author of *At the edges of states: dynamics of state formation in the Indonesian borderlands* (KITLV Press, 2012).

Jonathan Goodhand, SOAS, University of London
Jonathan is Professor in Conflict and Development Studies at SOAS. He has extensive experience in humanitarian and development programmes in South and Central Asia. His current research is on war to peace transitions, aid and non-governmental organisations in conflict situations, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, as well as borderlands and war economies.

Eric Gutierrez, ChristianAid
Eric is Christian Aid’s Senior Adviser on Accountable Governance. He is the author of *Rebels, Warlords and Ulama: A Reader on Muslim Separatism and the War in Southern Philippines* and *The Moro Conflict: Landlessness and Misdirected State Policies*.

Axel Klein, University of Kent
Axel is a Lecturer in the Anthropology of Conflict, Criminal Justice and Policy at the University of Kent. Eric has studied drug offenders, penal regimes and the criminalisation of migration. His research includes work on conflict analysis and conflict resolution in Africa. He currently studies piracy in Somalia and Nigeria in the context of development and the moral economy.

Priya Lukka, ChristianAid

David Mansfield, SOAS, University of London
David is an independent consultant, advising a range of bilateral, multilateral and non-government organisations on both policy and operational issues with regard to illicit drugs and alternative
livelihoods in Afghanistan where he has done extensive research on the dynamics of the farm-gate trade in opium.

Patrick Meehan, SOAS, University of London
Patrick is a PhD candidate in Development Studies at SOAS. His research focuses on the political economy of drugs and state formation in post-colonial Burma. He has been conducting field research in the Shan State and on the Thai-Burma border since 2011. He is the author of Drugs, insurgency and state-building in Burma: Why the drugs trade is central to Burma's changing political order.

Jairo Munive, DIIS
Jairo is a PosDoc researcher at DIIS in Copenhagen. His areas of interest include Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants; Youth employment and socio-economic reintegration in fragile states; forced migration and displacement; Liberia, Sudan, Colombia.

Helena Perez-Nino, SOAS, University of London
Helena is a PhD candidate in the political economy of development. Her research looks at long term processes of agrarian change and the post-conflict transformation of systems of production in the Mozambique-Malawi borderland. Since 2010 she is the Editorial Assistant of the Journal of Agrarian Change.

Francisco Thoumi, United Nations International Narcotics Control Board (INCB)
Francisco was the founder and director of the Research and Monitoring Center on Drugs and Crime, in Rosario University (Colombia). He has been the coordinator of the World Drug Report (UNODC), and has extensive research experience on the economy of Drugs in the Andean Countries. He is a member of the International Narcotics Control Board and the author of Illegal Drugs, Economy, and Society in the Andes.

Ricardo Vargas, TNI
Ricardo is the author, among other texts, of Fumigation and Conflict: Anti-drugs policies and the delegitimization of the Colombian state (Tercer Mundo, TNI and Acción Andina, 1999); Drugs, Armed Conflict and Alternative Development (Acción Andina Colombia, 2003); Alternative Development in Colombia and Social Participation: Proposals for a change of strategy (DIAL, 2010). He writes frequently for various publications and journals, both in Colombia and internationally. He also does international consultancy on issues of development, illegality and security.

Kevin Woods, University of California, Berkeley and TNI
Kevin is a PhD Candidate in Environmental Science, Policy and Management at UC-Berkeley. His research examines current resource governance regimes and rural land dispossession within the political histories of war, (counter)insurgency and drugs in northern Burma/Myanmar.
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Expert Workshop, Concept Note

Introduction

The purpose of this initiative is to facilitate dialogue between scholars working on the political economy of drugs, conflict and rural issues in Asia, Africa and Latin America. International drug policy has singularly failed to study and incorporate the lessons and insights generated by an emerging body of research on the political economy of drugs and the role that illicit economies play in broader processes of state formation and agrarian change. One of the reasons why this body of work has not translated into meaningful shifts in policy is the absence of systematic, comparative work on the political economy of drugs.

Mainstream policy debates related to liberal peacebuilding/state-building and development have been heavily influenced by rational actor models and greed/grievance frameworks. These in turn have had a powerful impact on analytical approaches to illicit drugs, encouraging a reification of the perceived linkages between drugs, conflict/instability and state fragility. However, in-depth analysis from a range of drug-producing and trafficking countries reveals that this discourse often provides only a partial, and in some cases a deeply misleading, insight into the political economy of drugs. The purpose of this workshop is to move beyond limiting normative assumptions surrounding the political economy of drugs and instead embrace the insights that can be derived from empirical and historical analysis regarding the relationship between illicit drug economies, processes of state formation, conflict and agrarian change. Acknowledging that illicit drug production and trafficking tends to gravitate to state margins the workshop also explicitly seeks to address the specific spatial dynamics of processes of state formation and agrarian change, the influence of borderlands and frontiers on these processes and the nature of centre-periphery relations.

By bringing together a small group of leading experts in this field, this workshop aims to begin a process of comparative analysis, with a view to developing a joint research and policy influencing agenda. The ultimate goal is to develop a more theoretically-nuanced, empirically-rich and policy relevant analysis of the relationship between drugs, (dis)order, agrarian change and state formation. The workshop is designed to establish an active network between scholars working on these issues.
and promote future collaborative work. It is hoped that if funding can be secured, there will be a follow up event in New York in Autumn 2014 involving policy makers and practitioners working on drugs issues.

Hypotheses
This workshop aims to build upon political economy insights that show that illicit drug economies are constitutive of transformative processes of state-building, agrarian change and establishing and maintaining order. Against the predominant tendency to view illicit drug economies as a cause of violent disorder and state fragility, we emphasize the need for an alternative conceptual framework, which engages with the politics of production and place, and acknowledges that it is not the presence of an illicit drug economy itself, but instead the political and social relations surrounding production and trafficking that determines the relationship between drugs, conflict and state consolidation/breakdown. An appreciation of the contested geographies of these processes is central to our approach. We argue that political theory has overlooked both the importance of borderlands to the construction of the modern state and the historical processes through which territorial sovereignty in these areas has emerged. In doing so it has given inadequate attention to the importance of bordering processes in shaping state formation and the role that the margins can play in shaping political developments at the centre. Finally, we argue that illicit drug economies can play a major role in instigating and shaping processes of agrarian change. Although illicit drug production is often portrayed as a response to the failure of development in peripheral areas, this ignores the transformative impact that the illicit drug economy can have on labour markets, patterns of migration, capital accumulation and systems of land ownership. In several contexts, revenues generated from the drug economy have helped provide social protection, start up capital for new businesses or been invested in centralizing the means of coercion. Therefore different configurations of institutions and security markets may lead to different kinds of relationships between drugs, statebuilding and development. We have no a priori position on the policy implications of this political economy research, except that it throws up considerable challenges to mainstream counter narcotics policies, and that it suggests that there can be no universalized and de-contextualized solutions to ‘the drug problem’.

Research Questions
Analysis will be focused on the following research questions:

The political economy of drugs
What are the similarities and differences in illicit drug economies across time and space?
✓ Developing comparative empirical analysis of illicit drug economies across space and time; historical experience of drug economies and regulation; contemporary crops and production cycles, producers and markets (the interaction of supply and demand), those who are involved (cultivators, traders, traffickers, investors, buyers), commodity chain analysis.

Illicit drug economies and processes of state formation
What is the relationship between illicit drug economies and processes of state formation?
✓ The role that illicit drug economies play in trajectories of state formation in terms of the impact they have on the state’s means of coercion, the creation of state territory and the establishment of tax regimes, and the state’s relationship to sites and trajectories of capital accumulation through narcotics production and trade.

What determines the extent to which these economies serve as a foundation for state consolidation or a cause of state fragility?
✓ How the drug economy is embroiled in the processes of coercion, opposition and brokerage that surround state formation.
To what extent does the state’s interaction with illicit drug economies result in processes of state formation that are distinctive?

- The specific ‘qualities’ of drugs as a commodity that determine the role it plays in facilitating order/disorder and state fragility/state-building. Are systems of order founded upon illicit economies qualitatively distinctive, and if so how?

What are the spatial dynamics of illicit drug economies and processes of state formation?

- The geographical location of illicit drug economies at the margins of states; the significance of borderlands to processes of state formation – the opportunities and threats which borderlands pose to the state; the nature of centre-periphery relations; how, and by whom, are these centre-periphery relations negotiated?

Illicit drug economies and processes of agrarian change

In what ways do illicit drug economies impact upon and transform agrarian economies?

- The implications of narcotics production for rural livelihoods, participation in labour markets, characteristics of labour relations, interlocking of markets (labour, credit, land), patterns of migration, rural inequality and capital accumulation

In what ways do illicit drug economies impact upon labour markets? How do counter-narcotics strategies affect these dynamics?

- labour market activity in illicit drug economies; and the implications of shifts out of drug production for rural wage employment and welfare.

What is the relationship between illicit economies and processes of primitive accumulation and capitalist transformation?

- The ways in which capital is accumulated through the illicit drug economy and by whom; and the impact on systems of land ownership and processes of territorialisation.

What is the relationship between local economies in drug producing regions and national and global economies?

- How local, national, regional and global economies are interlinked; how brokers and institutions connect and/or ‘jump’ between these different scales.

Policy implications

How does a political economy perspective on illicit drug economies offer insights into why counter-narcotics policies have experienced such limited success?

- Understanding why past counter-narcotics strategies have failed in a way that moves beyond simplistic, technocratic and depoliticised claims of poor implementation, limited resources and inadequate training.

What are the policy implications of the political economy perspective on illicit drug economies developed in this workshop?

- The policy implications of a political economy perspective on drugs in relation to post-conflict reconstruction, transforming war economies and state-building.

How can these policy implications be operationalised?
How to influence decision-makers responsible for counter-narcotics policies; establishing a dialogue between researchers and policymakers; looking ahead to the proposed New York conference in Autumn 2014

Date and location
The workshop will be held at SOAS in London on **12-13th May 2014**.

Structure of the workshop
The workshop will bring together a maximum of twenty leading researchers to ensure that the workshop is small enough to facilitate in-depth discussion and collaboration. We do not envisage a formal academic workshop involving panels and the presentation of papers, but instead a structured and facilitated discussion around key themes with short pre-prepared inputs by selected invitees. The scholars involved have many years of experience of conducting empirical research on drugs issues in a range of contexts including: Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Myanmar, Turkey, Burma, Kenya.

Conference Organizers
Jonathan Goodhand, Patrick Meehan, Helena Perez Nino, Christopher Cramer.

Intended outcomes of the workshop
The following outcomes will result from the workshop:
- A detailed workshop report;
- A NOREF policy brief on how a political economy approach to drugs, security and land/agrarian change can help to shape international drug policy, drawing upon empirical research from across the world;
- A Special Issue of the *Journal of Agrarian Change* addressing ‘Drugs, (dis)order and agrarian change’
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Expert Workshop, Directions

Venue: Main Building, Room 4429 and Brunei Gallery
SOAS, University of London
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG

Dear participants, here is some information which you might find useful:

Telephone Numbers

- Helena Perez-Nino +0044 (0)7946454023
- Patrick Meehan +0044 (0)7786117953
- Jane Savory, SOAS: +0044 (0)20 7898 4892

Travel Information

The nearest tube station to SOAS/the Bedford Hotel is Russell Square (on the Piccadilly Line) but all the following stations are all within walking distance:

- Goodge Street (Northern Line)
- Tottenham Court Road (Central and Northern Lines)
- Euston (Victoria and Northern Lines & Mainline trains)
- Euston Square (Circle, Hammersmith & City and Metropolitan Lines)

Directions from Heathrow Airport (LHR)
Heathrow Airport and Russell Square Station are both on the Piccadilly Line (approximately 45 minutes).
Directions from Gatwick Airport (LGW)
From Gatwick trains run into Victoria Station (approximately 30 minutes) then take the Victoria Line to Warren Street or King’s Cross/St Pancras.

Hotel Information
We have booked you into the Bedford Hotel which is just a few minutes’ walk from SOAS. Both the hotel and SOAS are 5 minutes’ walk from Russell Square tube station. The hotel is in close vicinity of Covent Garden, Oxford Street, Soho, the City. The British Museum is just round the corner.

Breakfast and internet are included. All other expenses must be paid by the guest.

Bedford Hotel
83-93, Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HD
info@imperialhotels.co.uk
Call: + 44 (0) 20 7636 7822
http://www.imperialhotels.co.uk/bedford

Welcome Drinks
For those of you who would like to join us we will be meeting for drinks on Sunday May 11 at 7.30 pm in the Marquis Cornwallis, a short walk from Russell Square Tube Station

The Marquis Cornwallis
31 Marchmont St, London WC1N 1AP

Venue of the workshop
- The workshop will be held in Room 4429, 4th Floor, Main Building, SOAS.
- The workshop starts at 9.30am but coffee will be available from 9am.
- At your arrival you will be given a programme and other material for the workshop.
- Lunch on both days will take place in Room T101, 1st Floor, Russell Square 22, SOAS

Workshop Dinner
We would like to invite you to dinner on Monday, 12 May 2014 at 8 pm in Cosmoba, just off Southampton Row, close to the Bedford Hotel. Please inform the organizers if you have dietary requirements.

Cosmoba
9 Cosmo Place, Southampton Row, Holborn, London WC1N 3AP

Travel Reimbursements (to and from the airport/station)
We would be grateful if you could make your travel arrangements in the most economical manner possible, including using public transportation when possible to/from the station/airport. Due to
budgetary constraints we will be unable to refund taxi receipts. Please keep your travel receipts and give them to the organizers for refunding. Receipts from your return journey can be sent to:

Jane Savory  
Research and Enterprise Office  
SOAS, University of London  
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG

Please remember to enclose the reimbursement form and your full bank details.

**Journey Planner**

You can use the Transport for London Journey Planner to work out your best route to SOAS: [http://journeyplanner.tfl.gov.uk/](http://journeyplanner.tfl.gov.uk/)

**Travel Advice**

Visit: [www.soas.ac.uk/visitors/location/travel/](http://www.soas.ac.uk/visitors/location/travel/)

Best wishes

Map of the Piccadilly Line from Heathrow Airport to Russell Square Tube Station
Map of SOAS and other venues
Map of the College Buildings