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EL FUTURO DE LA ALIMENTACIÓN Y RETOS DE LA AGRICULTURA PARA EL SIGLO XXI:

Debates sobre quién, cómo y con qué implicaciones sociales, económicas y ecológicas alimentará el mundo.

THE FUTURE OF FOOD AND CHALLENGES FOR AGRICULTURE IN THE 21st CENTURY:

Debates about who, how and with what social, economic and ecological implications we will feed the world.

ELIKADURAREN ETORKIZUNA ETA NEKAZARITZAREN ERRONKAK XXI. MENDERAKO:

Mundua nork, nola eta zer-nolako inplikazio sozial, ekonomiko eta ekologikorekin elikatuko duen izango da eztabaidagaia

Human Industry in Development and Future of Food Sovereignty: Coconut Plantation Industry in District of Minahasa Utara, North Sulawesi

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Human Industry in Development and Future of Food Sovereignty: Coconut Plantation Industry in District of Minahasa Utara, North Sulawesi

Hilma Safitri

Abstract

A scheme of complexity of production chain in coconut industry, which is started from producing raw material to consumption production, is used to analyze bulk of primary data of this research. Hence, it will be further seeing how people in Minahasa might survive in between industrial sector that very strong growing in Bitung and Manado, and, the most important is, how are they can defend their coconut plantation. However, this pattern of viability this local commodity that one of important element in order to push food sovereignty concept implementation, has still yet been a dominant factor impacted by industrial stream and economics pressure, which naturally provide competitive condition, either to fulfill food needs or other related economics requirements. At the end, both of them will be a capital that could be fulfilled a need of human worker in industry area rather being a basic of food sovereignty implementation, especially in Manado and Bitung (the two industrial growing cities in North Sulawesi).

Keywords: Human Industry, Industrial Area, Coconut, Local product, Food Sovereignty.¹

Introduction

Minahasa Utara (North Minahasa) district that located in between two main areas for industrial development concentration in Sulawesi islands is strategic to be seen how important this district in growing of sustainability of coconut cottage industry. One of argument that will be developed in this written is process of 'letting' existing of (people) coconut plantation in the district is related to meet demand of wage labour provision for industrial areas in Bitung and Manado city, located right flank this district. Initiative of Special Economic Zone (SEZ) of Bitung² and *Kawasan Pengembangan Ekonomi Terpadu* (KAPET/Area of Integrated Economic

¹ This paper mainly comes from an article that has been published by Yayasan Interseksi, entitled "*Kota-kota di Sulawesi: Desentralisasi, Pembangunan dan Kewarganegaraan*" (The Cities in Sulawesi: Decentralization, Development and Citizenship), 2015, and modifies with additional analysis on food sovereignty for this colloquium purpose.

² Special Economic Zone of Bitung is embodiment of idea to build trade area in eastern Indonesia, as international lane and connecting previous initiatives such as the BIMP-EAGA, AIDA, East Asia, and Pacific, to unleash trade and services channed from and to abroad. It is outlined in Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah/PP) No. 32/2014 on *Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus Bitung* (Special Economic Zone of Bitung). By this determination of the region as Special Economic Zone, so around 534 ha of land in entire Bitung city will be developed as industrial, logistic and processing export zone.

Development) Manado-Bitung³, have been strived to be realized, both by local government and central government. Interlink between 'letting' process of existing coconut plantation and development of industrial area has attracted my concern to examine further how is impacts to regional development as well as welfare of people, regarding to it is part of design in order to maintain labor reserve in those areas. Later, from sovereignty of people in MInahasa over their coconut plantation, it will be a potential location to see natural practice of food sovereignty concept. When the most important precondition has been met, which are land control and their liberation to plant their traditional commodity, coconut, tendency of realization of food sovereignty practice, as stated by 2007 Nyeleni Declaration, has not been seem. Rather, this people industry have indirectly contributed to local economic growth through mobilization of small peasant into wage workers in industrial sector as well as development of service sectors that has absorbed highly man power from rural areas.

Man Power Structure vs Adequate and Quite Large Natural Resources for Agriculture

Geographical condition of this district based on 2011 statistical data has been still as productive agricultural area. Coconut plantation has dominated with reached 33.5% of total area, or 90% of total plantation area⁴. However, it has not reflected to man power structure, due to majority of people working in service sector. There are more than 50% of populations that have over 15 of age who work in this sectors, while they are who working in agricultural and industrial sectors, consecutively, are only 30% and 18%⁵. It is make sense when we see condition of coconut plantation managed by people. Level of productivity and man power absorption of these farms is not optimal, even though it has huge farm areas. In addition, both are land owners and coconut plantation workers do not consider as main works for their income livelihood, so it is not reflected that peasant or agriculture worker as a majority jobs in census and agricultural census data.

Gap between structure of plantation area size and people who are working in service sector could be explained by two factors, first, availability of jobs in services sector in the nearby areas, and, second, reluctant factor of people who own land to maintain their social status, even though they work for other places in non-agricultural sector. The data has been used in logic of this district projection as main sources of man power to meet with demand of workers in Manado and Bitung

³ Area of Integrated Economic Development (Kawasan Pengembangan Ekonomi Terpadu/KAPET) is an area with certain limits that are valued having big economic potency and strategically estimated to grow and thrive and expected to support regional economic growth. Initially, KAPET was directed to push acceleration of development in eastern Indonesia area around decade of 90s. the government of Indonesia released a regulation on KAPET that at the end be finalized in 1998 (Presidential Regulation/*Kepres* No. 9/1998, as revised previous regulation issued in 1996, *Kepres* No. 89/1996). Main precondition of KAPET is an existence of leading sector that possibly to be developed and affordable to invite investors. KAPET Manado-Bitung has been determined in 1998 by *Keppres* No. 14/1998 on KAPET Manado-Bitung.

⁴ Processed from District of Minahasa Utara in Figure (*Kabupaten Minahasa Utara dalam Angka*) 2012 (5 & 99), table 1.1.1. and 5.3.1

⁵ Processed from Table 3.2.5. District of Minahasa Utara in Figure (*Kabupaten Minahasa Utara dalam Angka*) 2011, (BPS Kabupaten Minahasa Utara 2012, 46)

cities, as mentioned in KAPET Manado-Bitung 1998 program planning, and also as centre of agriculture industry.

In Likupang sub-district, for instance, one of sub-district located next to Bitung city, it is a centre of plantation of this district. In 2007-2011, the size of it was about 30% of the total area⁶. Nevertheless, man power absorption condition, formally, reflects similar tendency to district level situation, which is more than 50% of population also works in services sector. It is because of very close this area to Bitung city. Industrial development of the city since 1998 generates needs of huge number of man power. In order to meet with growing industry, many companies in Bitung hire people from outside, including from district of Minahasa Utara.

People absorption in services sector is also caused by growing of copra freight service from center of copra production in Minahasa Utara to copra gatheres area in Bitung city. One of copra warehouse owner in Girian area in Bitung, says that copra from Likupang area are brought by peasants directly, means that they have operated themselves their freight services for their products.⁷ Among copra freight service provider even have had regular consumer, particularly peasants who are having their own farms and copra factory with static and huge amount.⁸ The number of the providers moves following volume of copra and harvest products of coconut in entire district. When the volume of copra is quite high, mainly in the big harvest season, the number of provider also increases. Conversely, when the commodity is low, they have been back to original works, which are some of them are workers in Bitung, or they work for other job opportunity in their area while they are waiting for next season.

Working in industrial or services sectors in Bitung and Manado city becomes main preference for people in this district. It is not only because of the commodity (copra and coconut) is not economically promising, but it is also about mode of production in coconut farm sector that possibly for them to have other activities in other places, especially during period of waiting for harvest season and fumigation season to produce copra. Due to very close to the two cities, it is only one hour, people commute from their home to the cities. It is also most efficient because, as telling by a worker in Bitung, cost for rent a house is higher than transportation cost for their commuting.

A scheme of complexity of production chain in coconut industry to support industrial area

In fact, carrying services sector is choices of people in this district also impact of the existence of people coconut plantation. This people industry also contributes to growing other services sector related to fulfilled demand of the commodities

⁶ District of Minahasa Utara in Figure (Kabupaten Minahasa Utara dalam Angka) 2012 (BPS Kab Minahasa Utara 2013, 5 & 99), table 1.1.1. and 5.3.1. and District of Minahasa Utara in Figure (Kabupaten Minahasa dalam Angka) 2008, Table 5.2.1. (165); 2009, table 5.2.1. (232); 2010, table 5.6.1. (248); 2011, table 5.3.1. and 5.3.2. (97-98).

⁷ Interviews with copra warehouse owners in Girian, Bitung city, on 11 April 2014

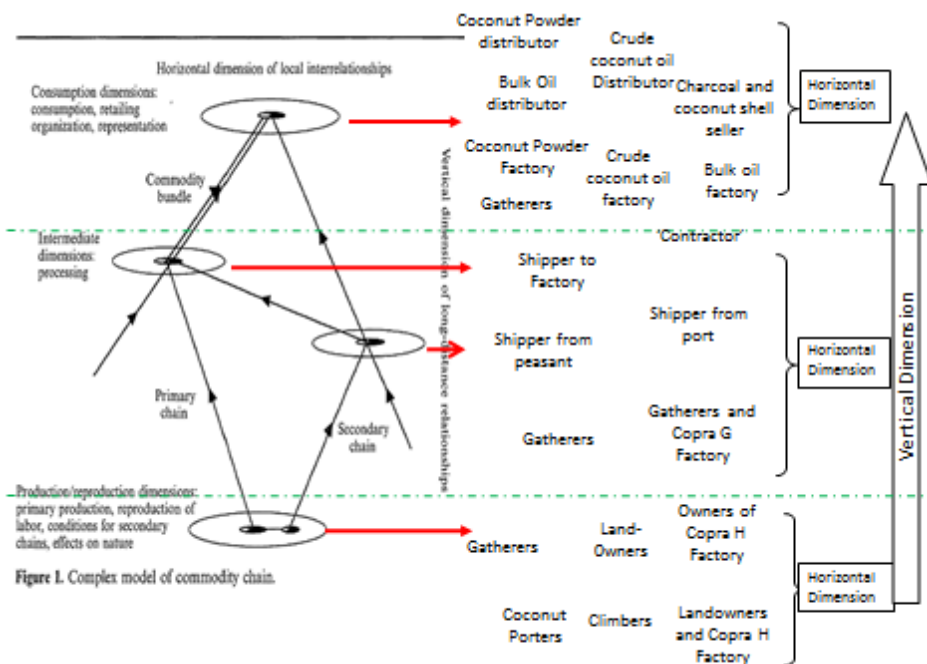
⁸ Interview with land owners and copra processing unit in Maen village, Likupang Timur, on 10 April 2014.

(coconut and copra) of factories in Bitung and Manado, which are PT Bimoli, PT Multi Nabati (Wilmar Group) and PT Cargill. Those three factories have created their own chain to meet their demand and other small enterprises' groups are incorporated in their chain.

Pattern of coconut commodity production in the district can be seen from the distribution of actors according to production chain. Following complexity of commodity chain model formulated by Hartwick (1998), to be simplified, production chain of plantation commodity is divided into three levels or dimension: production level and raw material production (upstream productions); level of preprocessing (intermediate production/half-finished production), and; level of consumption (down-stream production). Every level shows relation among actors, and how they take themselves in a whole mode of production, or how they relate with other actors that are playing in different level.

The scheme that offered by Hartwick explains how relation built among actors in every level. Inter level relation draws a long-term relation with various pattern of relation in certain period. Meanwhile a relation among actors within one level is a short-term relation in every harvest period and copra production. What is happening in Minahasa Utara regency has showed relatively a same thing: complexity of relations have been happened in every level that is determined by a time or coconut harvest and processing copra. Systematically, the complexity within actors is shown in Figure 1. According to this scheme, it will be depicted further how relation in between level (vertical dimension) and relation within level (horizontal dimension) in this district.

Figure 1. Distribution of Actors in Coconut and Copra Industry



Sources: Adopted and treated from Hartwick (1998) and primary data.

Note:

Copra G : 'Warehouse' Copra (*Kopra Gudang*), which is copra analysed deserved to be delivered to processing factory due to having the best low level of water content (less than 4%).

Copra H : 'Daily Copra' (*Kopra Harian*), usually produced by local copra processing unit in villages with water content above 4%.

Mapping of actors' distribution in the middle of less support to developing coconut industry in Minahasa Utara (Figure 1.) shows that services sector and other supporting sector in this industry are main actor separated in every level. Vertically, or relation among levels production from villages to cities, gatherers are prime mover to keep continue development of this sector and at once, playing very important role. Up and down stream sectors has been only dominated by small groups of actors, which are land owners, owner of 'daily copra' processing unit, as well as worker (coconuts porters and climbers), while in downs stream level, it has been mainly dominated by processing factories that are having global distribution networks. In up and down stream sectors, gatherers also work effectively to control chain of production and create networking among people in villages and in entire industrial area in Bitung city. These gatherers take important responsibility in order to assure arriving or not, available or not, copra in this district.

In horizontal level, it is seen the most dynamic relation within actors in upper, intermediate and downstream level. In upper level, that works is relationship of kinship and mutual needs relations within landowners, copra processing unit owners and coconut porters and climbers, as well as additional actors who take an

opportunity to be gatherer in village level. Relation among them is relatively constant because it is almost applied in every area. In intermediate level, or before copra are arrived in main processing factory, the actors are varied. It is not rare they should compete with outside actors, especially people who are coming from Maluku (Mollucas) that also use this opportunity for gathering copra from peasant in entire Minahasa Utara, besides that are also channels of copra from Maluku to enter to main factories in Bitung or Manado. Competition happened is how they can gain copra from peasant that meet to standard applied by companies. In downstream level, there are various factories that are processing copra into derivative products besides main processing to produce oil, and also end products distributors that playing roles to distribute the product in local market, and exporters that are selling derivative products. Their characteristic is processing existence raw materials provided, in order to meet other countries market demand, and they are not influenced whether any situation that decreasing copra supply because they are only processor or trader who possibly use other raw materials (from outside) and sell other products.

Creating human chain through coconut industry in this district will depend on how persistence this commodity. Decreasing of productivity coconut tree from time to time will undermine human circulation in this region. Just if they have coconut farm asset in entire they are living so they stay there, even though in certain time they work in other places and sectors, especially that are provided in industrial areas in Bitung and Manado Cities. This decreasing productivity of coconut farms will be impacted to man power absorption in new sectors built over ex coconut plantation, therefore man power structure possibly change and no longer can afford to meet demand of workers in industrial areas, in Bitung and Manado cities. This assumption is taking into consideration by initiator of KAPET Manado-Bitung planning and further continue to determination of Special Economic Zone of Bitung, they are also calculating reserves of wage labor needed through 'letting' people coconut plantation in district of Minahasa Utara.

The higher of number of workers in services sectors in this district is not about something given, except for part of grand design that has been prepared since initiatives to develop industrial area and to create bulk of wage labor to meet industrial sector needs. It is related to the needs of capital expansion in capitalistic economy with abundant of labor as main foundation (Lewis, 2008), as Minahasa Utara area has been built as center of people housing since 1990s as in KAPET Manado-Bitung policy. Abundant of labor is an important element for growing labor market competition that led to scarcity of job opportunity in the middle of informal and industrial sectors. In period of this scarcity, wage standard could be pushed very low, so cost of production will be less. This is a phenomenon of *adverse incorporation*⁹, which is not necessarily to dispose people from their place of living, but they have been strived systematically to leave their original livelihood with their coconut farm as their main capital and ready to compete in industrial sector.

⁹ Description of this terminology is described very well by Hickey and du Toit (2007) and Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011).

Since formulation of KAPET Manado-Bitung policy, Minahasa Utara region has been focused to be a center of people housing and processing of agriculture products. Implicitly, this policy wanted to let the region as given condition and it will not change the landscape with existence of people plantation, including coconut plantation managed by local people traditionally, but at the same time the region has been directed to grow human number potentially to be wage laborers in order to prepare implementation of industrial area under KAPET Manado-Bitung policy scheme. This development scheme is also possibly happened with adequate land infrastructure facilities that have been built since colonial era, hence the distance among three regions, Minahasa Utara-Manado-Bitung, can be reached in maximum one hour. Therefore, an existence of coconut plantation in Minahasa Utara has supported an effort to create man power along time and further being more abundant, either because of working pattern in the farms or because of regional attractive that possibly people persist and stay in the region.

By the perspective above, implementation of KAPET Manado-Bitung scheme, especially in Minahasa Utara area, has been quite successful to do 'letting' of coconut plantation managed by local people. Since 1980s, palm oil commodity has distracted the government of Indonesia to no longer maintain coconut in Indonesia. In various places, coconut peasant and also companies that have concession from the state have change their commodity into palm oil, because it is considered more valuable economically and also the government fully support with various scheme of aid and loan to facilitate post-harvest and distribution. However, it is not a case in Minahasa Utara, they still maintain their coconut plantation even though its productivity decrease. In addition, less capital expansion to this district, particularly that needs a huge size of land. The impact is while people coconut industry basically has not experienced progressive growth, but persistence of people farms has been managed to maintain work relations impacted to a number of supporting sectors such as coconut processing unit, copra distribution unit as well as end product distribution. This production chain has trained people in Minahasa Utara to be skilled workers and to stay in entire region.

In other side, KAPET Manado-Bitung scheme that then continued to preparation scheme to develop Special Economic Zone of Bitung, has been competent to accommodate abundant of people who are "trained" as workers in "sideline" industrial sector in coconut people plantation in this district. By pattern that does not demand full time works in coconut plantation sector, people in Minahasa Utara have been "provided" others alternative jobs following industrial and services sectors provided in Manado and Bitung cities. So, the scarcity of job opportunity in coconut plantation sector in certain period will keep an existence of people and man power in this region. If initiatives of Special Economic Zobe of Bitung runs as planned¹⁰, when coconut trees owned by people has no longer produced or

¹⁰ As explained in introduction part of explanation of government regulation (PP) No. 32/2014. By determination of this area will strengthen position of Minahasa Utara region as main supporting area for people agriculture processing industry and people housing as mentioned in KAPET Manado-Bitung policy. Because of that, reserves of labor for industrial, logistics and exports processing zone needs in Special Economic Zone of Bitung (article no. 4 PP on *KEK Bitung*) will immediately emerge.

productivity is becoming worse, bulk of people that are created from coconut commodity chain transform to abundant of labor that will enter to tight competition to obtain job opportunity with as low as wage provided, and they will be used as main foundation for more extractive development scheme.

Minahasa People Survival in between Industrial Sector vs Food Sovereignty

The case in Minahasa Utara is interesting to see on how the condition will support realizing food sovereignty. It has been mentioned above that plantation and agricultural sector in this region are almost controlled by people, however did not appear employment in this sector. In various regions that struggling for food sovereignty, the biggest factor that become obstacle is land control itself, which rural people groups have to either reclaim or occupy the entire land an main pre condition for its sovereignty, or land sovereignty (Borras and Franco 2011). As well as sovereignty to choose commodity that appropriate and they are willing to be planted, land owners have not had difficulty to be free to cultivate their land with their traditional crops, coconut, and with their traditional pattern every land tiller possibly to pursue other cash crops in order to meet and deal with their daily needs in between coconut trees. It is along with what has been formulated in Nyeleni Declaration 2007 on Food Sovereignty. “radical alternative... that put control of productive resources (land, water, seeds and natural resources) in the hands of those who produce food” (Wittman, Desmarasi and Wiebe 2010).

Food sovereignty is a counter movement of food security scheme that has been implemented by states. In Minahasa Utara, it is not yet an icon for rural people movement, more over if wanting to see the progress. Description in this part only wants to indicate whether current condition explained above is enough or not to reach food sovereignty expectation. Through seeing the six pillar of food sovereignty that being strategic stands points of this movement, local commodity planted by people traditionally can be seen as good potency of pursuing food sovereignty model. Coconut is commodity that generated surplus and people land control of this commodity also affordable to feed them and their family. The land owners give a freedom to their workers or tillers to strive other commodity, such as food crops and paddy fields. It is possibly due to their traditional pattern on social relation and mode of production that still exist until today. Related to mode of production of coconut plants, they have a unique pattern and even though the areas are very close to others that also cultivated coconut with different ways, such as in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua.

Nevertheless, this commodity has not been mainstays of land and farm owners for their economic lives as assumed by food sovereignty movement. Various experiences of this movement have also shown in this region, which has not controlled market for distribution of harvest products. Apart from the defeat this commodity to presence of oil palm as a replacement commodity in the global market, coconut still be interested. Supposedly, this region is very likely control the

oil market system since this area is also the location of the departure of these commodities to abroad or to global consumers. Main port of eastern Indonesia region, Bitung Harbor, is also located in this province, so that is possibly to control the market from here even though part of the commodity has been come from outside of Minahasa Utara, such as Maluku and Papua.

Regarding the six pillar of Food Sovereignty, local food system and its natural control have been built, following by not too strong existence of corporations in the district, which has been less capital coming to invest in large plantation and natural resources extractions. This natural condition in the midst of rapid flow of investment that retains the local commodity is supposed to be managed and possibly become local model in order to pursue food sovereignty naturally. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the “letting” the existence of coconut people plantation in Minahasa Utara is part of grand design of corporate food regime through distance concept. Food regime can be defines as “stable periodic arrangements in the production and circulation of food on a world scale, associated with various forms of hegemony in the world economy” (McMichael 2009). It shows that natural process happened has been used to sustain capital works, and also that local system is needed in order to meet operational of capital system that is part of world economic system.

In this case, the third debatable food regime is seemed (McMichael 2009), because the state is less or not paying attention thoroughly massively local potency of coconut people plantation. However, this case cannot be read as investment actors scheme that to not bother the region or not to destruct the local and traditional condition with people mode of production on coconut, hence bulk of people will serve (cheap) labor when market of labor going higher. They do not need the coconut itself, but the people who have relation with the production processes.

The modest scheme issued in 1998, KAPET, has shown how important to regulate the region as housing and agriculture area, housing for Minahasan people and coconut trees as main base of agriculture. So, the KAPET scheme as initial the “letting” process toward or while establishing industrial areas in Manado and Bitung city. The most important is how manufacture sectors can easily reach labor, and then the area will be a concentration area for reserve cheap labor in the future. There has no commodity exchange actually, instead of flexible mobilization of labor in every level (Lipton 1977, Kay 2009). So, the KAPET and Bitung Special Economic Zone scheme are addressed to provide cheap labor commodities systematically.

The process of “letting” coconut people plantation could not be considered positive circumstance for local people. Beyond the situation, as also examined in various places, it is about releasing social, cultural, geographical and ecological aspects in production the commodity, therefore all of commodity elements can be immediately exchanged as a commodity, including people (Jacobsen 2004, 67, Campbell 2009, 310). The industry processed in this context is not only valuable goods to be traded, but also industry of human (creation/breeding) to be commodity through let the existence of coconut people plantation in the district. So, the most crucial preconditions of food sovereignty that has been rooted in

people mindset have been used effectively by capitalist, and it tends to be more far in reaching genuine food sovereignty model.

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Nazioarteko Hizketaldia

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