Cattle, Culture, Capital
Patterns of Urbanization and Dispossession in India and Brazil
MEAT PRODUCTION

1980-2007

ASIA
- Meat 4% annually
- Dairy 2-3% annually

CHINA
- Meat sixfold
- Beef 14% annually

INDIA
- Meat doubled
- Most cattle in world

FIGURE 5
World production of main categories of meat, 1961–2007

Index (1961 = 100)

Source: FAO, 2009b.
Indonesia
GREENHOUSE GASES

GHG emissions from cattle 9.5%

GHG emissions from fossil fuels along supply chains 2.9%

All other anthropogenic GHG emissions 85.5%
GREENHOUSE GASES

GHG emissions from cattle: 9.5%
GHG emissions from fossil fuels along supply chains: 2.9%
All other anthropogenic GHG emissions: 85.5%

51%
Worldwatch Institute
45% of Earth’s land
(Int’l Livestock Research Institute)

87% U.S. ag land
(PETA)

2,500 dairy cows

137 rainforest species extinct daily
(savetheamazon.org)

= 411,000 people
(EPA)

animal feed is 56% of U.S. ag water
(CSPI)

6 million animals slaughtered hourly
(awfw.org)
DEFORESTATION

HALF

UN FACT
EXPORTS VS. DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION

2006
11.7%
WORLD

2016
13.7%
UNITED STATES

Source: FAO

Source: Atlas of Economic Complexity, Harvard
WHY THESE TWO SITES?

Where are all the cattle?

- Australia (2.55%)
- Argentina (5.37%)
- E.U. (8.83%)
- U.S. (94.2%)
- China (9.67%)
- Brazil (23.18%)
- India (30.44%)
- Everywhere else (10.53%)

Global distribution of cattle in 2006.
Context

Brazil: The Industry

India: The Industry

Brazil: Why Does it Matter?

India: Why Does it Matter?

Conclusion
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

Military regime resettled peasants to Amazonian “frontier”, so-called “empty land”

1990 - 20 million cattle

2005 - 70 million cattle

2013 - 80 million cattle
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

4 million 1960
24 million 2010

SP-160 from Sao Paolo
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

20 million  80 million
1990       2013
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

- Pastured
- Large Ranches
- Large Fattening Farms
- Slaughterhouses
- Urban Center

Sao Felix Do Xingu, State of Para
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

Sao Felix Do Xingu, State of Para

Sustainability advocacy

Greenwashing

Benefits large corporations
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

Sao Felix Do Xingu, State of Para
1.7%  
Brazil

12.7%  
U.S.
THE INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

Was there a post-1980s transformation?

1960s

Import substitution
Favored urban centers
Developing domestic industry

State of Rondonia
The Industry in Brazil

Was there a post-1980s transformation?

1960s
- Import substitution
- Favored urban centers
- Developing domestic industry

1970s
- Still import substitution
- Turned to agriculture
- Conservative modernization
- Low-interest credit
- Inequality in land holdings
- Smallholders pushed off land

State of Rondonia
Was there a post-1980s transformation?

1960s
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- Inequality in land holdings
- Smallholders pushed off land

1980s
- Oil crisis → Economic crisis
- Reduction in ag credit 50%
- Smallholders squatting land
- Federal gov’t back to civilians
- Neoliberal reforms
- Capital penetration into ag
ECOLOGIES: DEFORESTATION

2018
13.7%
jump from 2017

Deforestation in Brazil

Source: Brazilian Ministry of the Environment
Source: Global Forest Watch
Source: Global Forest Watch & JBS SA website.
Well-recognized Brands, symbols of quality

Brazil

Argentina

EUA

Australia

Source: JBS slides 2016.
JBS Business

Global Production and Sales Platform

The company has over 400 production units in more than 18 countries and commercial offices in 20 countries.

Global leader in each business sector

1st
- World's largest beef producer
- World's largest leather processing company
- World's largest chicken producer
- World's largest organic chicken producer

2nd
- Largest pork producer in the world
- Largest lamb producer in the world

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THE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

BEEF & LEATHER

DAIRY
THE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

BEEF & LEATHER

DAIRY
BEEF IS EXPORT-ORIENTED

Amount of Indian Beef Imports (In tonnes)
- 8654 - 16769
- 16769 - 44359
- 44359 - 64649
- 64649 - 135936
- 135936 - 605247
THE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

BEEF & LEATHER

DAIRY
THE WHITE REVOLUTION

REGIONAL COOPERATIVE MODEL

1946
THE WHITE REVOLUTION

REGIONAL COOPERATIVE MODEL

OPERATION FLOOD

1946

1970
THE WHITE REVOLUTION

REGIONAL COOPERATIVE MODEL

OPERATION FLOOD

“WHITE REVOLUTION”

1946

1970

1996
Livestock in India (by million head)

- Chickens
- Cattle
- Goats
- Buffaloes
- Sheep
- Pigs

Context

Brazil: The Industry

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Brazil: Why Does it Matter?

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Conclusion
OWNERSHIP & DISPOSSESSION

Rio Maria, State of Para

60 MILLION ha
1% OF RANCHERS
2007

4.4 MILLION ha
45% OF RANCHERS
2007
70% OF RURAL POOR lack access to secure land
SMALLHOLDER DISPOSSESSION

Rio Maria, State of Para
4,500 slaves on remote plantations

2009
Municipalities where most slavery cases reported in Brazil (between 2003 - 2014)
The Cabanagem, 1835
RESISTANCE

The Contestado, 1912-1916
RESISTANCE

Guerrilha do Araguaia, 1967-1974
A CASE OF RECOMBINANCE?

BRAZIL
Deforestation
Assassinations
JBS Processing

Sources: globalforestwatch.org
copernicus.org.br
JBS.com.br
ELASTIC CITIES
Extended urbanization into the Amazon?
IPIXUNA → MANAUS ?
Context

Brazil: The Industry

India: The Industry

Brazil: Why Does it Matter?

India: Why Does it Matter?

Conclusion
A TALE OF THREE INDUSTRIES

Beef

Leather

Dairy
A TALE OF THREE INDUSTRIES

Beef

Leather

Dairy
HINDU NATIONALISM SHAPES THE LANDSCAPE
CONSEQUENCE: LYNCHINGS AND ASSAULTS
CONSEQUENCE: LYNCHINGS AND ASSAULTS

At least 44 killed by cow vigilantes since 2014

Map of India showing the distribution of lynchings and assaults.
CONSEQUENCE: LYNCHINGS AND ASSAULTS
CONSEQUENCE: LYNCHINGS AND ASSAULTS

Uttar Pradesh
40% of leather exports

Telangana
50% of leather exports
CONSEQUENCE: LYNCHINGS AND ASSAULTS

Uttar Pradesh: 40% of leather exports

Telangana: 50% of leather exports
CONSEQUENCE: ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE
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RESISTANCE?
A TALE OF THREE INDUSTRIES

Beef

Leather

Dairy
A DIFFERENT PERCEPTION OF DAIRY
“The mother cow and the Nandi are not worshipped in vain. They are the primeval agents who enrich the soil - nature’s great land transformers - who supply organic matter which, after treatment, becomes nutrient matter of the greatest importance.”

-KM Munshi, Minister of Agriculture (1952-53)
CONSEQUENCE: SECURITY FOR SMALLHOLDERS
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CONSEQUENCE: SECURITY FOR SMALLHOLDERS
“The green revolution has emerged as an enemy to the white, as the high yield crop varieties have reduced straw production, and their by-products are unpalatable to livestock.”

-Vandana Shiva, Environmental Activist
“The trouble is that when dairy planners look at the cow, they see just her udder; though there is much more to her. They equate cattle only with milk, and do not consider other livestock produce – draught power, dung for fertilizer and fuel, hides, skins, horn and hooves.”

-Shanti George, Development Scholar
Conclusion

A fragmented ability to hold corporations accountable

Is a movement of transnational solidarity even possible?