FOOD SOVEREIGNTY IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

DISCOURSE, POLITICS and PRACTICE OF PLACE

Edited by AMY TRAUGER

Food Sovereignty in International Context

Food sovereignty is an emerging discourse of empowerment and autonomy in the food system with the development of associated practices in rural and some urban spaces. While literature on food sovereignty has proliferated since the first usage of the term in 1996 at the Rome Food Summit, most has been descriptive rather than explanatory in nature, and often confuses food sovereignty with other movements and objectives such as alternative food networks, food justice, or food self-sufficiency.

This book is a collection of empirically rich and theoretically engaged papers across a broad geographical spectrum reflecting on what constitutes the politics and practices of food sovereignty. They contribute to a theoretical gap in the food sovereignty literature as well as a relative shortage of empirical work on food sovereignty in the global "North", much previous work having focused on Latin America. Specific case studies are included from Canada, Norway, Switzerland, southern Europe, UK and USA, as well as Africa, India and Ecuador.

The book presents new research on the emergence of food sovereignties. It offers a wide variety of empirical examples and a theoretically engaged framework for explaining the aims of actors and organizations working toward autonomy and democracy in the food system.

Amy Trauger is Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Georgia, Athens, USA.

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Contributors

Alberto Arce, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Rural Development Sociology, Wageningen University, the Netherlands.

Claudio Brenni, Ph.D. Candidate, Institute of Political and International Studies of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland.

Elisa Da Vià, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Development Sociology, Cornell University, USA.

Annette Aurélie Desmarais, Ph.D., Canada Research Chair in Human Rights, Social Justice and Food Sovereignty, University of Manitoba, Canada.

Trina Filan, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Women and Gender Studies, University of Lethbridge, Canada.

Alanna Higgins, MSc., Guest Member of Staff in the School of Agriculture, Food & Rural Development at Newcastle University, UK.

Susie Jacobs, Ph.D., Reader in Comparative Sociology, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK.

Hilda E. Kurtz, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Georgia, USA.

Melaine Laesslé, Ph.D. Candidate, Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration (IDHEAP), University of Lausanne, Switzerland.

Carol Morris, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Rural Environmental Geography in the School of Geography, University of Nottingham, UK.

Myriam Paredes, Ph.D., Territorial Rural Development, Latin-American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) Quito, Ecuador.

Susanne Seymour, Ph.D., Rural Environmental Geography in the School of Geography, University of Nottingham, UK.

Stephen Sherwood, Ph.D., Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation, Wageningen University, the Netherlands.

Adam Spencer, Ph.D., Rural Environmental Geography in the School of Geography, University of Nottingham, UK.

Amy Trauger, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Georgia, USA.

Heidi Vinge, Ph.D. Candidate, Sociology at the Centre for Rural Research and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway.

Hannah Wittman, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Faculty of Land and Food Systems, Institute for Resources, Environment and Sustainability, University of British Columbia, Canada.

Acknowledgements

1 Putting food sovereignty in place

Amy Trauger

Introduction

The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, Article 25(1), asserts that "everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing…" In spite of this, an estimated 870 million people do not have enough food to meet their needs and suffer from chronic undernourishment (UNFAO 2013). The vast majority of people suffering from hunger and hunger-related causes live in the least developed countries, and the majority of people suffering from hunger in either the global North or South live in poverty. Many of those in the global South are landless former peasants or farmers struggling to live off the exports of commodities to the global North. Food sovereignty is an emergent discourse and politics that engages directly with the failure of food security measures to address hunger. It is also a narrative that supports the subverting of the neoliberal agricultural systems which ultimately work to immiserate farmers.

The concept of food sovereignty has gained a surprising amount of traction in a political struggle for progressive reform in the food system in the past decade (Edelman 2014). It has been widely adopted in a variety of places and contexts, and while effective in mobilizing change, it is broad in its scope and ambition (Clapp 2012). Food sovereignty was developed conceptually in a Latin America context, and was publicly unveiled at the Rome World Food Conference in the NGO Response to the Rome Declaration on World Food Security (NGO Response, 1996). This declaration articulated food sovereignty as the right of nations to determine their food systems and policies. It included a six-point plan for ending hunger and articulated the conditions under which food security might be achievable by and for nations. The plan to achieve food sovereignty outlines cultural projects, political agendas, ecological objectives of decreasing the environmental impacts of agriculture, and economic goals all geared toward transforming the political economies of agriculture wherever food is produced. At its core, food sovereignty demands rights for food producers (who are also consumers) to have more decision-making authority in the food system.

The failures of food security and other state-based policies to guarantee the right to food drive the radical reforms called for by food sovereignty to

end hunger and secure sustainable livelihoods for small-scale farmers. Food sovereignty narratives claim that modern notions of property rights and global capitalist markets are the source of the problems in the food system, and identify control of production and distribution of food as key to achieving food security. These narratives are clear that reform in the food system requires rethinking the neoliberal market as a mechanism for state-based food security initiatives, and implicates the state for its policies that marginalize small-scale farmers in the interests of capital. The calls for radical solutions however, do not adequately engage with the problems that the modern liberal state presents for food sovereignty. Furthermore, the demands for rights beg questions about the nature of territorial power and the way appeals for rights might function in the juridical structures of the liberal state. Working through these tensions requires an understanding of how food sovereignty works in relationship to place and power.

This book aims to explore what it means politically, economically and socially to secure a space of autonomy for producers and consumers to exchange food. The implications of food sovereignty for states, markets and civil society are potentially troubling, divergent and unique to the aims of food sovereignty. The chapters in this volume demonstrate the geographical challenges and opportunities for actors who are seeking radical solutions to the problems of food provisioning. While this book includes examples from a variety of sites in the core and the periphery, its contributions are largely toward understanding the dynamics of food sovereignty in the global North. Troubling the distinctions between the North and South is part of the political project of food sovereignty, but it is important to note that this book is not about La Via Campesina or agrarian struggles happening in the places from which food sovereignty emerged (Edelman 2014). It is about the translation of a global narrative of autonomy in the food system to a variety of spaces and places in which struggles for power and control in the food system are happening.

In this chapter I introduce the idea of food sovereignty, its basic principles and develop a rough sketch of its history. I then present in conceptual form the challenges of place and space that are presented to food sovereignty in its struggle with state and market for autonomy. In so doing, I aim to illustrate the ideas about food sovereignty that frame this engagement and which are drawn from the Nyéléni Declaration of 2007. The Nyéléni Declaration is a key discursive foundation for the proliferation of food sovereignty practice and politics in a variety of places. There is much to unpack in the Nyéléni documents, and scholars of food sovereignty have done so in a variety of fora, including the one from which many of the chapters in this volume are drawn. The chapters from Kurtz and also Desmarais and Wittman were first presented at the Yale Conference on Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue in 2013. Versions of the remaining chapters were presented at the 2013 Congress of the European Society of Rural Sociology in a session on food sovereignty organized by the editor of this volume.

Food sovereignty histories

Many food sovereignty scholars identify the enclosure acts in Great Britain in the 1700s and 1800s that privatized common lands and forced thousands of peasants off the land and into factories as a pivotal moment in the modernization of agriculture (Dawson 2010). This spatial shift in land ownership facilitated and paralleled the transition from agrarian, feudal (or otherwise "traditional") societies toward an urbanized, rationalized capitalist society structured by the biopolitical nation-state and its functions as an economic entity (Foucault 1978, Habermas 1987). Scientific rationality informed the modernist development agenda, which suggested that according to Harvey (1990, 12) "scientific domination of nature promised freedom from scarcity, want and the arbitrariness of natural calamity." The modernist assumptions about the separation of nature and society also normalized new allegiances to the state and its guarantee of food security through innovations in agricultural science (Russell 1966).

Since the end of World War II, agricultural production in nearly every part of the world has transitioned to some degree to a modernist agricultural system characterized by a vertically-integrated market (versus subsistence) economy of food (Friedmann 1993). Decision-making power about some of the most fundamental aspects of life—land, seed and food supplies—is now concentrated in the hands of national states, supranational organizations and transnational corporations (Goodman and Watts 1997). The commodification of food, in the second food regime (Friedmann and McMichael 1989) resulted in the vertical integration and the concentration of power in a few very large firms with national governments increasingly tailoring food regulation to the demands of agribusiness. Social movements, like those that give rise to food sovereignty, signal discontent with the policy status quo, and politically contest the governance of food and agricultural production (McMichael 2009).

According to food sovereignty scholars, the appearance of these radical narratives is often thought of as a response to "crises" in the global economic system and the socio-ecological systems that support and sustain peasant agriculture (Rosset 2008). These crises are the product of a political-economic system that is characterized by power asymmetries in the food system that benefit global capital. National state governments and supranational organizations work together, largely through territorial-state policies, such as structural adjustment programs, to enroll small-scale producers in the global market economy (Patel and McMichael 2009). In these narratives, neo-colonial processes normalize modernist development paths to engage as many people as possible in urban/industrial sectors, accumulate through dispossession, and facilitate the capitalist transformation of the countryside (Bello 2009, Pimbert 2009). This process impoverished millions through removing them from the land and into wage-labor relations in the global economy. It also led to state-based food security programs to provide food to people made hungry by this restructuring.

State-run food security programs, premised on the normative notion that people should have access to safe, adequate and appropriate food, emerged

with the development of the welfare state in the 1960s, primarily in the global North. In the US, food security policies emerged as a response to both the overproduction of commodities and widespread poverty during the Great Depression (Allen 1999). This model has since expanded to many more states, particularly during the Cold-War era. The technological changes brought to bear on agriculture via the Green Revolution were justified by mitigating food insecurity (Morvaridi 2012). The development of policies that employ market mechanisms to distribute food to the poor are consistent with neoliberal notions of the subject which position the individual as responsible for nutritional intake via purchasing food or receiving it as food aid (Barrett 2002). Subsidies for commodities produced in the developed world also produce surplus to be used as a tool of foreign policy and artificially suppress food prices to facilitate growth and profit in other economic sectors (Selowsky 1981).

Food security, through its market mechanisms, the (over)production of global commodities and the territorial state-based policies that promote them contributed to dependency on the modernist industrial model of agriculture. These policies undermined the livelihoods of small-holders globally and generated new inequities and disconnections between producers and consumers. The state, through its policy mechanisms on food security or food safety, is a vehicle for promoting and continuing certain agricultural practices. These practices nearly always work to the benefit of the transnational corporations (TNCs) who have strategic advantages in commoditized, industrialized agriculture, and neoliberal state-based policies support TNCs over producers or consumers. Corporate rights, the right of the liberal state to govern and the primacy of private property all support this regime of truth, rights and power in favor of capital.

Food sovereignty narratives challenge the hegemony of transnational capital in the food system. While scholars disagree on the relationship of food security to food sovereignty (Edelman 2014, Patel 2009, Schanbacher 2010), in the 1996 NGO statement, food sovereignty is positioned as a prerequisite to achieving food security. Article 6 states that "International law must guarantee the right to food, ensuring that food sovereignty takes precedence over macro-economic policies and trade liberalization." Point 6.1 declares that "each nation must have the right to achieve the level of food sufficiency and nutritional quality it considers appropriate without suffering retaliation of any kind…" Point 6.2 asserts that "all countries and peoples have the right to develop their own agriculture. Agriculture fulfills multiple functions, all essential to achieving food security." While the meaning of food security that is used here can be debated, food sovereignty narratives articulate that food not be considered a commodity, and that the political rights to govern production and distribution be returned to producers and consumers in the interests of achieving food security.

This first definition of food sovereignty was subsequently elaborated on in various meetings of NGOs and civil society organizations at various meetings. These include the Foro Mundial in 2001 and the meeting in Selengue, Mali in 2007 and a meeting of La Via Campesina in 2012. The Nyéléni Declaration articulates the most frequently invoked definition of food sovereignty, which is

> Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations.

Agarwal (2014) notes that the emphasis on "peoples" is significant in that it positions food sovereignty as all encompassing, embracing everyone in the food chain as a potentially powerful actor. This big-tent vision, however, contains some potentially damning contradictions. Patel (2009) and Agarwal (2014) and others have elaborated on these at length, such as the tension between individual and collective rights and tensions between national and local food self-sufficiency. These tensions have yet to be resolved and are often worked out "on the ground" in food sovereignty practice. The focus on "peoples" is not just a semantic move to make food sovereignty feel inclusive; it indicates a focus on collective action to assert and maintain political autonomy at multiple scales.

The Nyéléni Declaration was a key moment in transnational organizing for food sovereignty as it brought together a select group of 500 delegates from a variety of organizations in 80 different countries to specifically address how to craft an international agenda for resistance and to assert political autonomy at a local level. In the Nyéléni definition of food sovereignty, the interests and rights of producers, distributors and consumers are privileged, as is the ability of "local communities" to determine their food systems to mitigate hunger in all its forms. It also includes a "right to food security," the transformation of social relationships, particularly between genders and races and the "sharing of productive resources" free from threats of "expulsion and privatization" (Nyéléni 2007, 13). This definition has a lot for scholars to wrestle with, but I interpret it as a questioning of the modernist project, or what the Nyéléni documents identify as the "whole fabric of global economics and society" (2007, 17).

The political-economic context of food sovereignty's emergence

According to Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2013), food sovereignty is a "radical" response to food system failures to provide food security. They posit that foods sovereignty differs from what they call the "progressive" alternatives such as organic agriculture, in partial but significant ways. The most significant differences they cite are the resistance to corporate power and privatization, and collective access to and use of capital. They caution that the radical nature of food sovereignty's political position is threatened by mission creep if food systems actors make concessions to states and markets around key elements of organizing. They suggest that food sovereignty could lose its political distinctiveness and become like other—co-opted—progressive food movements if it does not work to rectify systemic injustices facilitated by both states and

markets. In the past, policy reforms that favor transnational capital have worked to blunt the edge of social movements to change the neoliberal, modernist paradigm of the corporate food regime.

Market relations are implicit in all the so-called sustainable alternatives that have emerged in the second half of the 20th century (Buck, Getz and Guthman 1997, Hinrichs 2000). The emergence of organic agriculture in the 1980s and its widespread adoption as a federal program in the 2000s signaled a change on the part of both the producer and the consumer to reject environmentally damaging practices, although sales of certified organic products remains small. The development of standards for fair trade similarly signaled a rejection, largely by consumers, of unfair labor practices and unfair prices for global commodities, such as coffee and bananas. The globalization of organic production and the success of the fair trade model fit well within the neoliberalization of the global food economy. Far from addressing the failures of the market to ensure justice for consumers and producers, organic and fair trade have scaled up the governance of food from the state regulatory apparatus to supranational non-governmental organizations who structure production and trade within a voluntary auditing system. These consumer driven and market based initiatives, and their codification into labels and certifications, have only made organic and fair trade agriculture "safe for capitalism" (Guthman 1998, 150).

Other efforts to "draw attention to the severe shortcomings of commodifying food" (McMichael 2009, 163) include civic agriculture and the (re)localization of food production and consumption (Lyson 2004). This is accomplished through short supply chains premised on trust, transparency and reciprocity, also known as "embeddedness" (Winter 2003). Locality based food systems, however, have a tendency to produce a two-class food system in which those who produce the food cannot afford to purchase it (Hinrichs 2000). Local food systems in the global North also trend toward a "defensive" (Winter 2003) or "unreflexive" (DuPuis and Goodman 2005) stance against global capitalism, without interrogating how marketness reproduces the inequality that embeddedness set out to disrupt. The emphasis on the transformative potential of individual purchasing decisions in a local market also is consistent with the neoliberal agenda of self-care and the modernist paradigm of individual autonomy and rationality (Guthman 2008). Additionally, very few, if any, forms of food activism specifically target neoliberal policies, and thus fail to engage with the state-based policies that develop and promote markets (Alkon and Mares 2012).

While the progressive food movements that had sought to change the environmental or social context of global food production have turned to standardized production models such as organic or fair trade, these production systems ultimately codify standards as part of the struggle for legitimacy and market share, and do little to challenge global economic inequalities between producers and consumers. The implementation of standards both nationally and globally, reduced the progressive movement to extensive check lists, expensive practices and time-consuming paperwork that are more easily met by large-scale producers (Trauger and Murphy 2013). They have come to dominate the

market and small-scale farmers have dropped their certifications in an effort to compete in local markets. The codification of organic, far from protecting small-scale farmers, has actually led to their increased marginalization, and the regulation of organic has become a pathway upon which operators of large-scale farms and multi-national corporations have seized an advantage. Small-scale producers, who have seen marginal improvements with state intervention and market dynamics, have turned to more radical responses.

Geographies of food sovereignty

The Nyéléni Declaration demands the right to determine the nature of politics, economies and social relationships in any given community with the right to non-interference from other parties, including the state. This is, by any definition, political autonomy and a declaration of self-determination. An oft-quoted statement from one of the Nyéléni delegates underscores this interpretation well. An anonymous delegate is recorded in the documents as saying

> All peoples that want to be free and independent must produce their own foods. Food sovereignty is more than just a right; in order to be able to apply policies that allow autonomy in food production, it is necessary to have political conditions that exercise autonomy in all territorial spaces: countries, regions, cities and rural communities. Food sovereignty is only possible if it takes places at the same time as *political sovereignty of peoples*.
>
> (Nyéléni 2007, 16, emphasis added)

Patel (2009) translates this claim to a geographical context, by suggesting that "…to demand a space of food sovereignty is to demand specific arrangements to govern territory and space" (p.668). As such, this narrative of political sovereignty confronts the political realities of liberal sovereignty, namely, the territorialization of space and national economies under the governance of the modern nation state. Additionally, the privatization of property is enshrined as a central right in liberal democracies and facilitates the development of a capitalist economy (Smith 1863). The collective right to access, use or share land thus stands directly opposed to a political and economic system premised on the primacy of private property rights. Given that capitalism and liberal states have been mutually constituted in the project of modernity (Patel and McMichael 2009, Barkan 2013), any appeal to the state for rights to trump state/interstate laws in trade or to undermine private property are paradoxical. For example, the demand for redistribution of land under food sovereignty must address the issue of privatization of land, something that underpins the liberal state, but which food sovereignty resists (O'Laughlin et al. 2013).

In addition to the way food sovereignty challenges norms of exchange, land and decision-making practices, it also is a powerful narrative of alternative modernity (or anti-modernity) that questions modernist subjectivity as much

as it challenges the practices of modernity that have failed to produce "freedom from want" (Harvey 1990, 12). The discourse of food sovereignty also generates anti-modern subjects who work against the social movement of statism, and perform an alternative sovereignty against but within the liberal state. In a positive light, food sovereignty might recapture meanings of sovereignty and citizenship that have less to do with transnational capital and its enabler, the territorial state, and more to do with "popular self-rule" (Agnew 2009, 48). In this vein, then, the chapters in this volume dedicate themselves to assessing and understanding the relationship between place and power in the production of alternative economic and political systems under food sovereignty.

Structure of the book

This book takes up the question of translation, through examining questions raised by how food sovereignty, as a loosely organized and largely unstructured articulation of narratives, engages with the modern liberal state, civil society and the economy. Food sovereignty calls for a radical realignment of power between institutions, and what that means in particular places is an open question. The transnational nature of food sovereignty discourse and action begs questions about the local and global implications of realizing food sovereignty aims as well as how organizing at the supranational scale plays out in specific contexts. The book takes up these issues in chapters that are organized into three sections which broadly take up different realms of action: discourse, politics and practice. While the themes in all the chapters touch on the significance of these realms of action to food sovereignty, the tripartite structure allows for certain ideas in each chapter to be brought to the forefront.

The first section takes up the opportunity presented by the "big tent" of food sovereignty (Patel 2009), to create a space for discursively framing the meaning of key concepts in mobilizing food sovereignty. Discourse, in this context, foregrounds the significance of language to the mobilization of food sovereignty, especially the way it is communicated across diverse groups in place. The first chapter in this section takes up the question of politically locating, in the context of property rights regimes, the "local communities" identified in many of the food sovereignty documents. Brenni concludes that there are multiple groups with potentially divergent interests in preserving agro-biodiversity. The way rights, in this context, are articulated in relationship to property is key to achieving food sovereignty. The second chapter in this section looks at the way diverse groups in Canada have framed and engaged with food sovereignty across difference. Desmarais and Wittman identify a language around "unity in diversity" that has been instrumental in shaping the political spaces of food-based activism in Canada. Higgins, in the third chapter in this section, examines the language of social justice as a way to frame the goals of food sovereignty, particularly in communities working in the Global North. In her view, social justice talk transcends many of the exclusionary politics that frustrate the right to food, and presents us with a language with which to articulate rights. The

fourth and final chapter in this section examines whether and how research is conducted on food sovereignty in the United Kingdom. The authors find that food sovereignty is seen as a "sharp key" in the master frame of food security, and the way that food provisioning problems are framed conditions the way in which solutions are sought and justified.

The second section addresses the challenge of translating food sovereignty across space and over time. In this section, I aim to foreground the political context around food sovereignty and the place-specific challenges to food sovereignty practices. Vinge's chapter discusses the historical turn from more radical farmland politics in Norway in the 20th century to more neoliberal approaches to land and food in the early 21st century. In a mirror image of the rise of food sovereignty in the Global South, agrarian-reform type movements have receded in recent years in Norway, which is in tension with larger social goals pursued by the state, including the preservation of farming livelihoods. The second chapter in this section discusses the use of narratives of civil disobedience against the state in the deployment of food sovereignty activism in India. Research on seed saving and procurement strategies in rural villages provides a more nuanced view on the nature of political action against threats to rural livelihoods. The third chapter in this section examines the deployment of food sovereignty narratives across state, civil society and the international community in Ecuador. The authors suggest the politics "on the ground" in Ecuador demand a reframing of food sovereignty as "cosmopolitical reality" capable of capturing political action across organizations as well as across nation-state boundaries. In the last chapter in this section, Filan investigates the politics of food sovereignty in Canada by examining barriers to unity for food system actors in the city of Lethbridge, Alberta. This chapter develops the idea that place and region-specific barriers present opportunities and challenges for food sovereignty activism to integrate new ideas of rights, economy and politics as they relate to food provisioning.

The third section examines the attempt to enact food sovereignty in particular places, and the articulations that emerge between farmers and their respective states and markets as a result. In this section, practice is foregrounded to highlight the way in which certain food provisioning activities are criminalized by the state, or disciplined by global markets. In these chapters collectives of food producers emerge as viable strategies of resistance, in a diverse array of contexts. Kurtz examines the Local Food Self Governance Ordinances currently disputed in the US state of Maine, in which a community of farmers mobilized for the right to produce and distribute food outside of state regulation. Jacobs writes about the way collectives of women organize to guarantee access to land in the context of agrarian reform and in the absence of protections against patriarchal social systems. Da Vià's chapter examines the criminalization of seed varieties developed by farmers in Italy, and the non-market solutions they have developed to exchange them. Finally, Laesslé writes about collective activism to protect local wine production in Switzerland in the absence of state-based protections against global markets. In all cases, the aims of securing rights

for food producers are achieved through alternative democratic and market processes, which reveal the way in which state and market are transformed through food sovereignty activism.

Conclusions

Food sovereignty is a narrative about returning decision-making control to producers and consumers in the food system in order to mitigate the negative externalities of capital and state control of food, including hunger and food insecurity. The right to food is not met for the poor and landless in the world because the rights of capital, as they are encoded in the constitution of liberal states, trump the rights of individuals and communities. Food sovereignty challenges modernist notions of power and autonomy and provides a framework for establishing political and economic alternatives. This process of shifting the scale of decision-making away from the state and toward communities, tribes and cities is perhaps the most essential element of food sovereignty. Food sovereignty is clear about decommodifying food and transforming the political-economic foundations of the global food system/corporate food regime. Food sovereignty is also clear about the production of alternative subjectivities and the transformation of society. Food sovereignty is as much about changing systems of production as it is about something more fundamental and perhaps more ontologically threatening to capitalist modernity: the transformation of meaning, primarily around the meaning of capital, exchange and decision-making authority. All of these differences set food sovereignty outside the existing social movements for change in the food system, in terms of both what is resisted and how it is resisted. This book aims to provide a variety of examples of how communities and organizations are taking on this challenge, and the resistance and struggles they face in place-specific ways.

Acknowledgment

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Part I
Discourse

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2 Where are the local communities?

Food sovereignty discourse on international agrobiodiversity conservation strategies

Claudio Brenni

Introduction

Food sovereignty is used as a discursive resource by various social movements for different purposes. Typically, the actors who mobilize the discourse regarding food sovereignty bring different constituencies together under the term *local communities*. To be determined is whether all the actors engaged in food sovereignty form a homogenous group. By asking "Where are the *local communities*," I deconstruct this category to show the complex and often contradictory underlying interests. As a case study, I rely on the food sovereignty narratives employed by different movements in agrobiodiversity negotiations. I also question the apparent homogeneity of this notion and highlight significant differences within the narratives of food sovereignty to show how these heterogeneous discourses translate into different policy objectives.

The wide range of concerns involved in food sovereignty calls for a robust interdisciplinary perspective. I propose a three-pronged approach based on international political economy, sociological rural studies, and ecological and evolutionary economics. Incorporating these three disciplines in an analysis of food sovereignty narratives provides a framework for understanding the otherwise neglected differences that exist between disparate groups. This analysis also clarifies the specific practices that these groups defend or support. I use international negotiations regarding agrobiodiversity conservation to demonstrate two principal movements associated with the defense of *local communities* – the indigenous people and small-scale farmer movements. These two movements adopt different definitions of food sovereignty for their respective lobbying strategies.

This chapter begins with a critical review of approaches that collapse the two movements into a homogenous category apparently joined in common voice and cause. This review also defines food sovereignty as a rights-based notion. Then, building on current research, this chapter presents the three main dimensions associated with food sovereignty and investigates complementarities between these inquiries that each focus on a specific issue. The chapter concludes with a case study regarding the international negotiation of agrobiodiversity conservation.

Local communities and food sovereignty

Hayden Lesbirel (2011) argues that community is a multi-disciplinary and variegated concept. In his view, finding a definition of community is less important than investigating how the boundaries of the community are determined. Asking who is included and excluded from a community provides a better understanding of the underlying boundaries assigned by researchers to the idea of community. From this standpoint, research should be reflexive and begin by inquiring whether the "community" under investigation reflects an "outside" or "inside" approach. This starting question helps us understand "community" as a heuristic device and is more interesting when associated with the top-down or bottom-up discussion in International Relations studies. Authors such as Bertrand Roussel (2005) or Johanna Siméant (2012) note how prevalent approaches in International Relations studies tend to look at civil society organizations with an outsider and a top-down point-of-view – proceeding from the international to the local. This approach thus creates reified blocs or groups that do not reflect the complexity of the actors involved in the negotiations.

This top-down approach considers *local communities* to be important stakeholders in negotiations, but little effort is made to distinguish which actors comprise this category. André Broome and Leonard Seabrooke (2012) address this issue by examining how international organizations construct the cognitive authority that allows them to indirectly influence policy orientations of member states. They argue that international organizations analyze problems through the study of *best practices*, which intend a "generic prescription for policy solutions" (Broome & Seabrooke, 2012, p. 7). Following this strategy, international organizations tend to create *one size fits all* solutions to international problems. These solutions are translated via strong and simple arguments indicating which policies individual states should adopt. International organizations also generate ideal target groups on which to enforce their policies, in this case, the *local communities*. In my opinion, this approach must be reversed to study from below the discourse of players involved in international negotiations regarding agrobiodiversity conservation. A bottom-up approach deconstructs the discourse of movements that are associated from above with *local communities*. Furthermore, agrobiodiversity conservation provides the opportunity to consider the notion of food sovereignty, which currently is central to many movements associated with *local communities*. Is this notion understood and employed similarly by these movements as a top-down approach would indicate? Or, on the contrary, could a bottom-up analysis of the discourse reveal interpretation differences?

Scholarship regarding food sovereignty is rapidly growing. Approaches and disciplines abound with sociological rural studies being central. Usually, the historical roots of food sovereignty are located in La Vía Campesina (LVC) (Holt-Giménez, 2006; Desmarais, 2007; Borras, 2004; Borras, Edelmann & Kay, 2008). Recent studies, however, have also considered the evolution of the notion outside the LVC movement (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005; Perfecto, Vandermeer

& Wright, 2009; Schanbacher, 2010; Wittman, Desmarais & Wiebe, 2010). The volume edited by Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe (2010) shows how food sovereignty evolved from a discourse directed specifically against international free trade policies to an alternative agricultural model, covering ecological, sociological and economic aspects. Central to this argument is the food regime theory by Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael (1989; McMichael, 2009). Food regime theory studies the hegemonic organization of the international production and distribution of food. Tracing the origins of this regime to the second half of the 19th century – the first food regime was established during the British Empire – food regime theory argues that a shift towards a new regime is possible in crisis situations, which arise from the inability of the hegemonic actor to maintain its leading position.

The current regime may be described as "corporate" because it places private interests at its center. The current regime is the evolution of the second post-colonial regime institutionalized under U.S. hegemony in the aftermath of World Word II; it is based on Green Revolution[1] development policies. At the end of the 1970s, the neoliberal turn forced development towards rapid privatization of the agribusiness sector. The neoliberal turn involved the liberalization of agricultural policies and the expansion of biotechnologies and intellectual property rights regarding agricultural technologies.[2] As a result, the present-day regime faces a global ecological, social and economic crisis (McMichael, 2009, 2012), which according to food regime theorists, may lead to the establishment of a new regime. Authors such as Madeline Fairbairn (in Wittman, Desmarais & Wiebe, 2010) consider that food sovereignty, by contemplating these failures, should not be perceived merely as a resistance movement against the corporate regime but as laying the foundation of the next new food regime, which may radically redirect current agricultural practices.

Food regime theory provides a meaningful contribution to the scholarship regarding food sovereignty. The main weakness of food regime theory, however, is that it reduces the wide variety of alternative views regarding food sovereignty to a singular focus on dismantling the corporate food regime. In this chapter, I propose a different view by adopting a bottom-up approach based on the premise that food sovereignty refers to a plurality of discourses. Amy Trauger notes that food sovereignty "[…] acknowledges that food security on its own is a failure and that additional rights are required beyond the right to food" (Trauger, 2014, p. 8). Therefore, food sovereignty narratives assert "the right to have rights" (Patel, 2009) not only to resist but also to build alternatives to the current food regime with other rights, such as the right to be part of the decision-making process regarding food and agricultural policies, the right to protection against international trade dumping effects, the right to choose agriculture techniques freely, etc. The plurality of rights implies that different movements can adopt a food sovereignty narrative that emphasizes one or more of these rights and use it to advocate many different causes. This method can be defined as an oriented approach to food sovereignty that proposes the consolidation of a specific right more than a change of the food regime. This

approach is inspired by a study conducted by Ayresa and Bosia (2011) that emphasizes that two peasant movements may have distinctive interpretations of food sovereignty with contrasting outcomes. The study shows that although both of the movements were part of LVC and relied on food sovereignty to lobby against industrial agriculture practices, the history and social environment of each movement deeply influenced their interpretation of food sovereignty and the strategies that they concomitantly adopted.

Therefore, I adopt a local perspective regarding international negotiations – concerning agrobiodiversity conservation – by analyzing the discourse produced from a grassroots perspective. The main movements of local communities that are stakeholders in agrobiodiversity conservation negotiation and that appeal to food sovereignty narratives are small-scale farmers' and indigenous peoples' movements. Therefore, it is necessary to identify some dimensions to compare their food sovereignty discourses. I have identified three dimensions that link agrobiodiversity negotiations with food sovereignty narratives. As Figure 2.1 shows, each of these dimensions focuses on a specific disciplinary approach concerning food sovereignty: genetic resource appropriation, production orientation, and the innovation process. Considering "the right to have rights" definition of food sovereignty, the first dimension concerns discourses regarding rights to possess and dispose of biodiversity and the associated knowledge. The second dimension, production orientation, connects agricultural production practices with the right over technological choices and different agricultural trade models. Finally, the third dimension concerns the importance of conservation to stimulate agricultural innovation and involves the right to control the agricultural innovation process.
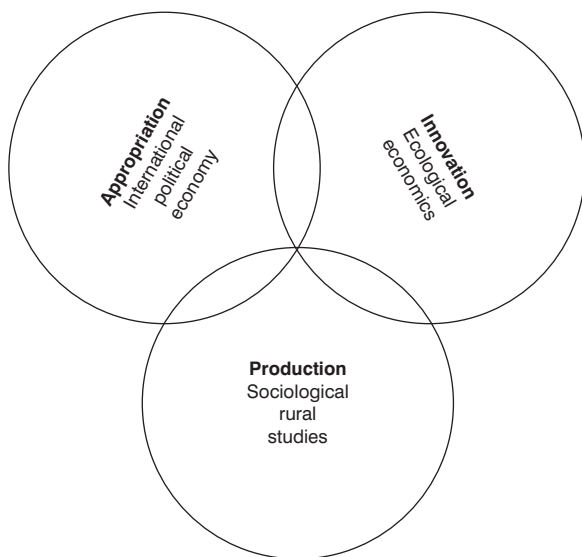

Figure 2.1 Interdisciplinary analysis framework to compare food sovereignty discourses

The appropriation dimension

This dimension relates to how different biodiversity appropriation discourses are framed and used by actors negotiating in the international arena. Yohan Ariffin (2009, 2012) deconstructs the discourse of actors significantly involved in conservation negotiations, exposing four rival representations concerning how ownership over biodiversity has been claimed. Ariffin uses the term *juris possessio* to illustrate the rights to possess biodiversity resources and their knowledge.

According to Ariffin (2009, 2012), historically, access to and the use of biodiversity was first considered a common heritage right of mankind. By granting ownership of biodiversity to all humanity, resources were freely available for use by all. Sovereignism represents a second form of *juris possessio*. Sovereignism places biodiversity resources directly under the sovereign jurisdiction of the states where they are situated. Access to and the use of genetic resources is subject to the prior informed consent of states. Entrepreneurial claims to ownership over biodiversity resources constitute a third form of *juris possessio*. Within this framework, biodiversity resources are considered economic goods like any other. Placed under a private property regime – intellectual and material – biodiversity resources may be exchanged through free market mechanisms. Institutions governing intellectual property rights play an important role by allowing the exclusive appropriation of biotechnology knowledge and information. A fourth type of *juris possessio* is formed by a variety of ownership structures of collective or communal rights. These structures coincide by endowing a group of individuals with rights over the genetic resources that they use and/or the knowledge associated with such use. Collective rights allow for group involvement in consenting to the utilization and knowledge of genetic resources.

Ariffin (2012) shows that these four types of *juris possessio* may be found in international treaties regarding biodiversity. Studying the underlying views of *juris possessio* in these treaties highlights how ownership over biodiversity is perceived differently by actors involved in international negotiations. These views fall within a continuum ranging from the common heritage of humankind – excluding any claim to possess biodiversity – to the entrepreneurial level – allowing the expansion of intellectual property claims concerning biodiversity. In between, closer to the *heritage* pole, there is sovereignism that places genetic resources situated within states under their *juris possessio*. Closer to the *entrepreneurial* pole, various *communal* forms of *juris possessio*, which consider certain elements of biodiversity selected through a cultural heritage validation process, are placed under the *juris possessio* of a group of persons, resulting in communal ownership by members of the group.

The production dimension

Eric Holt-Giménez and Annie Shattuck (2011) associate food regime theory with Karl Polanyi's double movement theory (1944). First, they contemplate

food regime theory to identify two antithetical production trends in current food movements: one that sustains the corporate food regime and the other that resists it. Then, they characterize each trend by considering Karl Polanyi's double movement theory. In his influential work *The Great Transformation* (1944; see also Block, 2008), Polanyi explains how markets are established and consolidated through a cyclical process of liberalization – or *laissez-faire* – phases contrasted by a regulatory protective counter-movement. The cyclical nature of the process is caused by various externalities produced during the liberalization phase. Once the destructive impacts reach a tipping point where it becomes impossible to manage them by market forces alone, the system reacts with an opposite motion that leads to the reintroduction of several forms of regulation. Polanyi describes this regulation as follows: "[the counter-movement] was the principle of social protection aiming at the conservation of man and nature as well as productive organization, relying on the varying support of those most immediately affected by the deleterious action of the market—primarily, but not exclusively, the working and the landed classes—and using protective legislation, restrictive associations, and other instruments of intervention as its methods" (1944, p. 138). Following Polanyi's idea of a counter-movement based on a principle of social protection and also on Block's discussion of double movement theory (2008), I characterize this counter-movement as protective.

The laissez-faire movement

The *laissez-faire* or liberalization movement is based on an international free market for agricultural goods. Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) identify two orientations that characterize this movement. The first more conservative orientation strongly upholds a corporate food regime. Termed *food enterprise*, this orientation supports industrial and export agriculture and adopts cutting-edge industrial and biological technologies. Agribusiness lobbies, bilateral development agencies and influential philanthropic initiatives are the main proponents of this view. The objective is to maintain a regime of overproduction by sustaining rising yields and boosting international trade to guarantee low food prices. This production strategy targets decreasing food budgets to increase consumption of industrial goods and services. This model, however, requires chemical and mechanical inputs that have heavy socio-economic and ecological repercussions.

Food security represents a second orientation in the liberalization movement. This orientation, however, moderates liberalization by recognizing the environmentally damaging consequences of intensive practices. Although remaining market compliant, *food security* introduces regulation that limits the impact resulting from the regime's ecological, social and economic failures. International organizations, several international NGOs, movements lobbying for agricultural subsidies in developed countries, mainstream fair trade organizations and food aid programs all rely on this type of orientation. This production model is in step with *food enterprise* technologies, but it also protects international non-competitive production realities based on payments

for ecosystem services. Moreover, this regime supports internationally funded public research programs to increase production – mainly in marginal crop varieties or regions.[3] This production model also supports local empowerment initiatives with the creation of specific labels.

The protective counter-movement

This reverse movement favors subsistence farming. This sector is characterized by high levels of consumption of produce on the farm resulting in low contributions to international trade. Nevertheless, this movement remains vital to the livelihoods of approximately one billion people living in rural regions worldwide (Mazoyer & Roudart, 2002, p. 19) and should therefore not be overlooked. Thus, counter-movement activists argue for strong regulations to protect subsistence farmers from the socio-economic and ecological externalities caused by liberalization. These protections may be achieved through an alternative worldview. Holt-Giménez and Shattuck identify two orientations within the counter-movement. The first is *food justice*. Local food NGOs, community projects, and alternative fair trade networks adopt this orientation. They demand substantial institutional changes to protect local agricultural production from international competition. New regulations should integrate agroecological practices to meet basic needs at the local level. The expected results are improvements in social, economic and ecologic living standards, and the empowerment of local and rural communities.

Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) refer to the second counter-movement orientation as *food sovereignty*. This perspective is antithetical to *food enterprise*, and many small-scale farmer movements support it. The proposed production model adopts agroecological techniques similar to *food justice*, but it calls for more radical solutions. Reassertion of regulation targets not only intends to protect local agricultural production systems from international competition but also to ensure autonomous and democratic control over agro-food policies and resources. This discourse aspires to a production model that empowers peasants through a protective regulation system that grants to small-scale producers the access to fundamental elements of production (i.e., seeds, land, and knowledge). David Cleveland and Daniela Soleri describe this conception of the farmer as the "socioculturally rational farmer". "In part a response to the economic rationality viewpoint, the 'socioculturally rational farmer' perspective rejects the assumption that […] unilineal, market-driven agriculture development can be sustainable. Instead it emphasizes the social and political relations believed to be implicit in conventional agricultural development, and proposes alternatives based on what proponents perceive to be the social and cultural perspectives of the farmers themselves" (2007, pp. 217–218).[4] This perspective means a deeper understanding of agroecology, which associates the technological changes toward sustainable agriculture with the socio-economical and political changes needed to support the relocalization and the protection of production. As stated by Paul Nicholson, a former farmer representative in LVC's international coordination:

"Agroecology is the peasant's proposal against the productivist model, a proposal that includes a social vision related to local economy and local employment, as well as cultural and political vision. Agroecology is widely used as an answer to the neoliberal model and its productive technology package. It holds a very important political value […]" (Nicholson, Montagut & Rulli, 2012, p. 34). Therefore, *food sovereignty* extends further than *food justice* by demanding a more radical change concentrating on the empowerment of small-scale farmers at a global level and not addressing the situation of a specific disadvantaged community (La Vía Campesina, 2007).

Holt-Giménez and Shattuck use food sovereignty to describe the latest production orientation. Based on food regime theory, their categorization shares the same critique evoked before; it links food sovereignty to a specific type of protective counter-movement. From my perspective, food sovereignty is more than a simple production orientation. This notion is central to a larger lobbying discourse based on "the right to have rights" currently used by a transnational network of variegated civil society movements. Therefore, food sovereignty narratives may be found in all production orientations, such as the two protective counter-movements. This commonality could lead to heterogeneous uses and interpretation of food sovereignty narratives, which requires more exploration.

The innovation dimension

I now discuss the branch of ecological economics that studies the institutionalization of private property (Steppacher, 2008; Gerber & Steppacher, 2012; van Griethuysen, 2002, 2010, 2012; van Griethuysen, Oviedo & Larsen, 2006). These works critically retrace the centrality of private property as the institution allowing the expansion of the capitalist model. By viewing the economy as a socially and ecologically open system (Gerber & Steppacher, 2012, pp. 111–126), their heterodox perspective and studies explain the relation between the agricultural production protective counter-movement and its innovation process. Rolf Steppacher (2008) argues that private property comprises two distinct aspects, possession and property. Understanding the different potentialities between these two aspects reveals the key role that property plays, allowing economic actors to control the innovation process (see also Gerber & Steppacher, 2012; Van Griethyusen, 2010).

Possession refers to the use of a given material resource and is designed to ensure the social reproduction of resources. Gerber and Steppacher define it as follow: "Possession rules define the rights and duties to the material use and yield of resources, production technologies, products and waste […]. Such possession rules – inaccurately called 'property' in much of the literature – exist in all societies in various forms, and they respond to the universal question of social reproduction, often in great detail […]. They are symbolized by the land and actualized by the concrete yield of production" (2012, pp. 112–113). By contrast, the idea of property is a Western creation, which adds to possession. Following the Gerber and Steppacher conception, "Property […] is characterized by the

emission of property titles which allow a new economic potential: property rights are *de jure* claims which entitle their holders to the intangible capacities […]. Property rights are symbolized by the fence around the land and actualized as the security of legal property title enabling the development of modern credit relations" (2012, p. 113). Property adds new economic potential to possession by allowing new intangible forms of market relations, such as credit, in which land becomes collateral for a loan. Gerber and Steppacher conclude that the"[…] modern institution of private property entails both potentials: a possession as well as a property aspect. Both potentials can be actualized in parallel […][even if] the logics of the two levels are very different" (Gerber & Steppacher, 2012, p. 113).

Property innovation

The corporate food regime is characterized by the development of the patent and *sui generis* systems. This property aspect has a profound impact over innovation. Gerber and Steppacher (2012) note that "the property aspect of what is referred to as 'property rights' […] best defines the economic rationality of capitalism" (2012, p. 114). In this regime, credit relations orient the system toward perpetual economic growth, giving only marginal consideration to social and ecological impacts. Each decision is made following a hierarchy that evaluates all possible impacts regarding property. According to Gerber and Steppacher, "[f]ive different levels can be distinguished: (a) a general orientation towards the *monetary value* of the property engaged; (b) maintaining *solvency* as the existential condition of property engaged; (c) a *cost-benefit valuation* of all economic transactions […] as a routine procedure; (d) *institutional considerations* based on how institutions define what is a cost and for whom (and on how they can be changed to the benefits of proprietors); and (e) considerations of *a social and ecological nature*, as distinguished from economic rationality" (2012, p. 115).

Patents are an extension of property over genetic resources that, following the model outlined above, orient innovation toward the development of industrial agricultural technologies, such as genetically modified seeds for monocultures. As a result, ecological and social concerns are considered last and only when conditions allowing the expansion of property are met. This rationale implies that property-based innovation in agriculture will focus on developing commercial products for new and better markets. This focus not only maintains solvency but also generates profits from interest payments. Meanwhile, the monopolistic privatization of genetic resources hinders alternative forms of innovation, such as those based on the use value of possession.[5]

Possession innovation

Innovation organized around possession differs from property-based innovation because it is centered "[…] on the levels of the concrete and contextualized 'real economy' (production and distribution) and the 'real-real economy' (material and energy flows) […]" (Gerber & Steppacher, 2012, p. 115). According to van

Griethuysen (2012), this focus opens up the possibility of alternative institutional systems that concentrate on socio-economic and ecological concerns. One alternative consists of adjusting innovation toward the sustainable satisfaction of basic needs. These objectives cannot be met without considering the limits of the ecological and social environment. As a result, these innovative processes when applied to the agricultural sector typically mix traditional knowledge and agroecological technologies (Altieri, Funes-Monzote & Petersen, 2011).[6]

Another major difference between the private and possession aspects of property is that in a possession organized innovation process, interest groups are not able to rely on intellectual property rights to monopolize innovations. Innovations are viewed as the product of a collective process rather than individual isolated acts. Consequently, knowledge and technologies are developed in accordance with local practices, thereby reducing or altogether eliminating the artificial distinction between practitioners and inventors. This characteristic does not preclude collaboration with external experts. Practitioners and experts interact on equal footing, without experts imposing property-oriented innovation on practitioners.[7] Finally, the technologies developed through such processes are adapted to local practitioners' needs, capabilities and environment and are generally distributed freely through the exchange of resources and knowledge. Possession-based innovation is oriented toward the sustainable satisfaction of socio-ecological needs. Increasing revenue is only a secondary objective. As a result, this second trend lies within the protective counter-movement.

The analytical framework in Figure 2.2 shows the relations between the three approaches. Innovation based on property is more likely to be used in neoliberal economies, given their reliance on privatization, whereas innovation based on possession is often mobilized in the protective counter-movement and is based on the collective use of capital.

Within the *laissez-faire* movement, *food enterprise* is based on the premise that *entrepreneurial juris possessio* over biodiversity may be granted to innovators based on private property and patent rights. International treaties such as the UPOV convention (1991) or the WTO TRIPS Agreement (1995) define how intellectual property rights may be claimed on plants and genetic resources as a result of specific entrepreneurial activities, such as genetic modification.

In contrast, *food security* merges the four types of *juris possessio* as demonstrated in the FAO Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (2001). Mainly *sovereignist* through the recognition of state control over plant genetic resources, the Treaty nevertheless acknowledges intellectual property rights over these resources, thereby endorsing *entrepreneurial* claims. The Treaty also includes provisions that reflect, though somewhat inadequately, the concerns of the protective counter-movement in two ways. First, the Treaty stipulates that some form of *communal juris possessio* over biodiversity should be implemented by states to promote the community rights of small-scale farmers and protect their knowledge and right to participate in benefit-sharing and national-scale decision-making regarding plant genetic resources. More importantly, the Treaty establishes a multilateral system that applies *common heritage juris possessio*
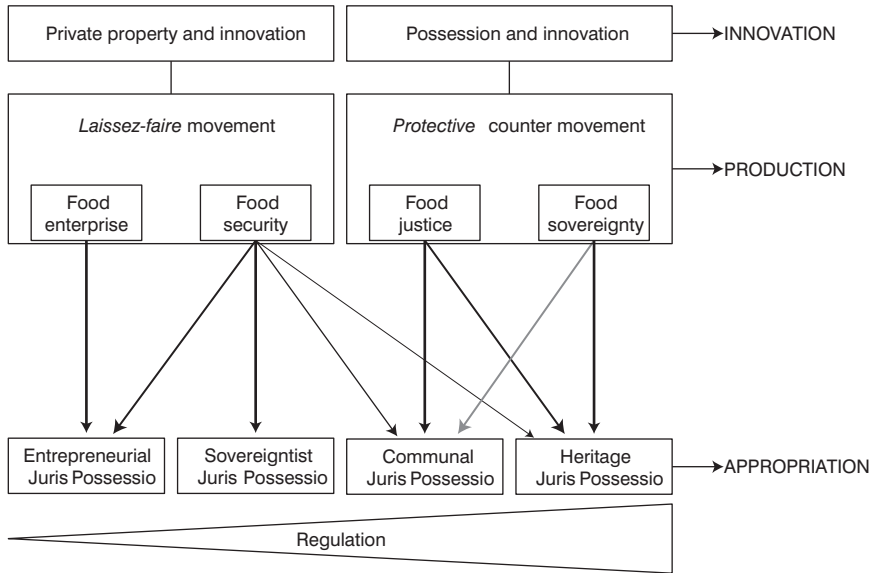
Figure 2.2 The integration of the three approaches

principles to 64 crops and forages. Contemporary *food security* discourse limits the negative externalities caused by the implementation of corporate-driven *food enterprise* discourse by promoting regulations that do not, however, appear particularly robust. As I have argued elsewhere (Brenni, 2009), this strategy has so far resulted in establishing institutional containers that put agrobiodiversity conservation at the service of the *food enterprise* production discourse in response to the pressure placed on resources by the industrial agricultural model.

The two counter-movement trends defend the *communal* and *heritage* notions of the legal possession of genetic resources. *Food justice* supports the empowerment of underserved and disadvantaged communities.[8] In this empowerment perspective, ownership of genetic resources by the group is thought to enhance conservation of plant genetic varieties as well as the cultural heritage associated with traditional production methods. By contrast, *food sovereignty* maintains stronger views regarding the *heritage* principles of *juris possessio*. *Food sovereignty* rejects the ownership approach and focuses on the satisfaction of basic needs and the producers' freedom of choice, claiming a "right to have rights". *Communal* possession of genetic resources is not supported insofar as the continued sharing of plant varieties among farming communities is thought to be more important than rewarding communities for the genetic material obtained from their fields. Following this idea, La Vía Campesina (2008, 2013) launched an international initiative – Seeds: Heritage of the People for the Good of Humanity – that through seed exchange initiatives and small-scale farmer selection programs, sustains the circulation of seeds among different communities without reclaiming a *communal juris possessio* over them.

I understand food sovereignty to be more than a particular production orientation. Food sovereignty is also key to the lobbying discourse of movements that are normally associated with other productive orientations, such as *food justice*. These differences become more apparent when the discourse is analyzed including the two other dimensions. In the following section, I will compare the agrobiodiversity conservation discourse of two movements that are representative of distinct trends in food sovereignty, namely the small-scale farmer and indigenous movements.

Food sovereignty's reforms: comparing the small-scale farmer and indigenous movements

Small-scale farmer movement

At the 1996 World Food Summit, La Vía Campesina[9] first proposed the consideration of food sovereignty not as a policy of food autarchy but as a means to protect local agricultural systems from price dumping caused by free trade agreements (Patel, 2009; Wittman, Desmarais & Wiebe, 2010; Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010). In their view, food sovereignty proposes achieving local autonomy and farmers' freedom of choice as to how to cultivate their fields. Compliant with the *food sovereignty* production orientation, LVC's discourse considers that only localized agricultural practices can satisfy the needs of rural communities while at the same time respecting the environment and allowing farmers to live a dignified life (La Vía Campesina, 2008, 2013).

For LVC, the control of agrobiodiversity resources is a central issue that must be addressed to achieve food sovereignty. To support their campaigns presenting seeds as a "Patrimony of Rural Peoples in the Service of Humanity", LVC established an International Working Commission on "Biodiversity and Genetic Resources" (Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010, pp. 160–165). For LVC, seeds are part of the common heritage of mankind, and rural communities must hold them in trust (Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010, p. 169). This view stands in direct opposition to the commodification of seeds and more broadly, to the technologies developed by agribusiness. LVC's view is clearly stated in its Bali Seed Declaration (La Vía Campesina, 2011), which shows the problems encountered by small-scale farmers who adopt industrial seed varieties that are often hybrids and/or GMOs. These seeds require technological packages to grow properly and attain a satisfying yield. LVC movements denounce the ecological, economic and social unsustainability of these methods that reduce farmers' work to the mere reproduction of seed, thus depriving them of their knowledge, resources and innovation abilities (La Vía Campesina, 2013). To LVC, regaining control over seeds will ensure that farmers continue customary agricultural practices consisting of selecting, sharing and maintaining plant varieties. A free and open exchange of seeds is vital to food sovereignty as well as a strategy to conserve and enhance agrobiodiversity.[10]

Indigenous peoples' movements

Since the end of the 1970s, many international negotiations have provided indigenous peoples with a platform to express their cause (Schulte-Tenckhoff, 1997), such as their association with the Human Rights Council negotiations to establish the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN, 2007) or in WIPO's Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore. Relevant to this chapter is the participation of indigenous peoples in biodiversity conservation negotiations. As shown by many authors (Dumoulin, 2003, 2007; Foyer, 2008), indigenous peoples, supported by academics and experts, have played an important role during negotiations regarding the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) (UN, 1992). Their key strategy associated the preservation of cultural heritage with the conservation of genetic resources. Dumoulin (2007) defines this association as the "double conservation link", which has encouraged the creation of participatory biodiversity conservation projects.[11] These initiatives were relatively successful until the end of the 1990s when they began losing their momentum,[12] resulting in indigenous peoples' loss of influence in international negotiations.

Despite being an agreement covering all aspects of biodiversity, the CBD is more concerned with wild rather than domestic biodiversity. Therefore, indigenous movements were more mindful of conservation and recovery of the natural environment because it was considered the best strategy to achieve the objective of preserving cultural heritage. However, completion of the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture in 2001 resulted in placing agricultural questions back on the agenda in many international arenas.[13] Facing the risk of marginalization, several indigenous movements subsequently embraced the issue of agrobiodiversity conservation, adopting food sovereignty as one of their goals. A good example is provided by the Indigenous Terra Madre meetings organized jointly with the NGO Slow Food (Terra Madre, 2011; Siniscalchi, 2013). Another example is the collaboration between some indigenous groups and the International Fund for Agricultural Development to sustain agricultural conservation initiatives based on traditional knowledge and resources (IFAD, 2009). Another example is the Indigenous Partnership for Agrobiodiversity and Food Sovereignty (IPABFS), which is emblematic of how indigenous movements have developed closer ties with agrobiodiversity conservation. IPABFS's Scoping Report (2010) adopts food sovereignty as a seed conservation strategy clearly inspired by the "double conservation" link. The main argument of the document is to return seeds currently held in international seed banks to the indigenous communities that have developed traditions associated with their use. Moreover, it equally intends to grant indigenous groups control over genetic resources and to associate these resources to the self-determination claims already allowing many indigenous groups to control a geographical area related to the conservation of their cultural heritage and practices. As stated in the Scoping Report: "Seed
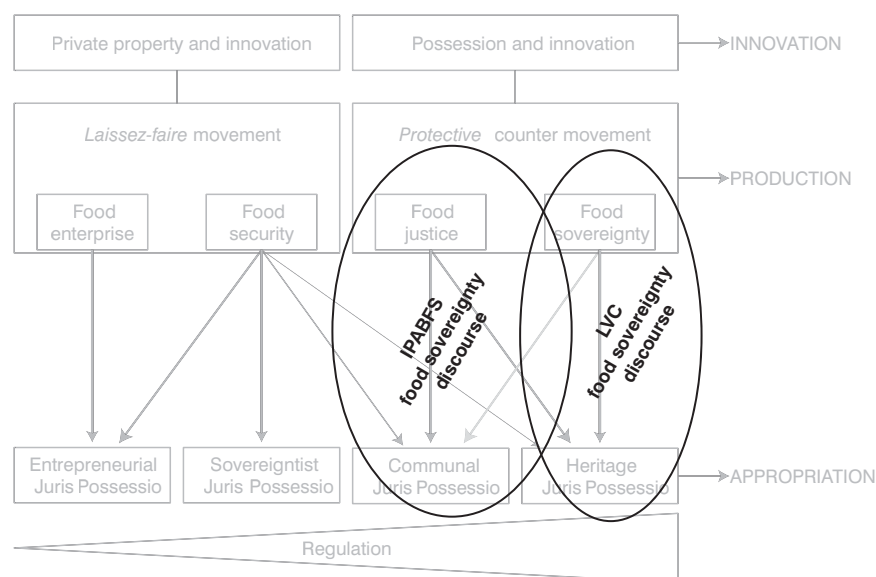
Figure 2.3 Representing the food sovereignty movements discourse in our framework

repatriation was suggested as an example of in situ conservation that could be used by the Indigenous Partnership. Participants felt that the incorporation of genetic diversity into agricultural practices through repatriation can ensure the connectivity of culture, spiritual values, and genetic and agriculture resources" (p. 13). Specifying the need for "identifying appropriate mechanisms to maintain an open exchange of planting materials under the control of indigenous communities, while taking into account the safeguards built by international conventions such as the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity" (p. 16), the Scoping Report clearly links the in situ control of these genetic resources with the Prior informed consent and Access and benefits sharing systems of Article 8j of the CBD. This stance is more compliant with *a communal juris possessio* view than a *heritage* view.

Relying on this theoretical framework, the Figure 2.3 illustrates significant differences in how the two movements interpret food sovereignty regarding agrobiodiversity conservation.

Regarding the *juris possessio* dimension, LVC's interpretation appears to be a mix of the *heritage* and *communal* perspectives, with a clear preference for the *heritage* view as indicated in the statement "Patrimony of Rural Peoples in the Service of Humanity" (Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010, pp. 160–165). This strong focus on heritage is reflected in their interpretation of *food sovereignty* that counters the *laissez-faire* neoliberal movement. The purpose is not only to propose an agrobiodiversity conservation strategy but also to challenge agribusiness techniques. An alternative model is offered based upon agroecological methods and the relocalization of production and consumption that integrates conservation

directly into agricultural practices. This model is then spread to other small-scale farmers through experience-sharing initiatives (Holt-Giménez, 2006).

IPABFS's interpretation of food sovereignty is more strongly grounded in the *communal* tenets of *juris possessio*. Though obviously critical of economic liberalism, this forum appears to be more concerned with achieving recognition from international actors for the preservation of indigenous customary practices than with bringing about fundamental changes in the international agricultural system. In the course of the CBD negotiations, indigenous movements obtained recognition of the need to protect knowledge and practices of indigenous communities through access and benefit-sharing arrangements. Strengthening community rights over their resources as a means to conserve biodiversity became an issue deemed to be taken up *de lege ferenda*.

Furthermore, the CBD emphasizes their role as stewards of biodiversity (Schulte-Tenckhoff & Horner, 1995). Currently, it seems that they rely on food sovereignty to affirm their control over specific agrobiodiversity resources that can be linked to their traditional practices and to the control of ancestral territories through the establishment of natural reserves. From the indigenous point of view, food sovereignty is a goal pursued by specific groups within the boundaries of their territories, resources and agricultural practices. For these reasons, they are closer to *food justice,* which focuses on the empowerment of local communities. They eschew much of the critical appraisal of the world food system addressed by proponents of *food sovereignty*. Regarding innovation processes, representatives of indigenous communities appear to display less willingness to adopt or develop new agroecological practices than small-scale farmers. Small-scale farmers may be less incited to protect their knowledge against misappropriation as this could result in major disincentives to share seeds and agricultural practices among farmers.

Furthermore, indigenous peoples' movements – at least the ones considered here – do not have the same relationship with international organizations and NGOs as the small-scale farmers of LVC. Indigenous peoples actively seek alliances with international NGOs, such as Slow Food, and collaborate closely with some international organizations, such as IFAD.[14] The IPABFS document (2010) emphasizes the potentially positive aspects of the conservation project rather than underscoring the critical elements that food sovereignty may convey. At times the document seems to have certain similarities with *food security* discourse as well as with the possibility of creating an institutional container to offer conservation services to the corporate food regime. In light of this, production output would be limited as a result of the consumption of their own produce, or would at best serve the needs of niche groups willing to pay the extra cost for exclusive production. Either way, the production system of the corporate food regime is not challenged. These considerations are in line with the argument of Thomas Hall and James Fenelon (2008): "While the forms of resistance have changed significantly over time, a key difference for indigenous movements is that they typically are not interested in reforming the system. Rather, they are interested in autonomy and preserving their own political–cultural space to remain different" (2008, p. 1).

Conclusion

Following a bottom-up approach, I have deconstructed two food sovereignty discourses, allowing me to demonstrate the multiple interests composing the category of *local communities* in the field of agrobiodiversity conservation. My framework proposes a taxonomic differentiation of the actors involved in the arenas of negotiation over innovation, property and modes of production. The larger rights-based definition of food sovereignty adopted throughout this chapter, relative to the narrow one proposed by Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011) that links this notion to a specific production orientation, shows that the adoption of food sovereignty narratives by movements other than small-scale farmers introduced some heterogeneous interpretations. Of course, this chapter was limited to the analysis of some indigenous peoples' movements. However, in this case, the use of food sovereignty is connected more with empowering and maintaining a specific community than a radical change in the organization of world agricultural production. Therefore, it is worth pursuing this research by comparing the food sovereignty discourse of other non-farmer-based movements to better capture the different views and potential tensions that exist in the protective counter-movement. Indeed, one can ask if these heterogeneous understandings of food sovereignty, made commonly by *food justice* movements, could moderate the original anti-establishment food sovereignty message by reducing it to an empowerment strategy for marginalized communities.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1 These food policies were strategically used to counter the Red Revolution in contested regions during the Cold War (Yapa, 1993).
2 On institutionalization of plant varieties intellectual property rights over plant varieties, see Kloppenburg (2004).
3 For example, see the CGIAR drought resistant crops selection program. See also the Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security program of the CGIAR, http://ccafs.cgiar.org/.
4 Not all small-scale farmers adopt this perspective. As discussed by Cleveland and Soleri (2007), small-scale farmers can also act in an "economically rational" way conveyed by the development project associated to the second food regime. These two authors conceive a third category of small-scale farmers, conceiving their role with an "ecological rationality", putting the ecological sustainability of agriculture before all other considerations. Finally, a fourth view is the "complex farmer", which considers sustainability in a more holistic way, including ecological, socio-economical and environmental elements.

5 These considerations explain the corporate concentration in the following sectors: R&D process (Vanloqueren & Baret, 2009); commercial seeds and chemical inputs production (Howard, 2009); and food chains distribution (Patel, 2008).

6 This view could also be linked to the contribution of Cleveland and Soleri (2007). Indeed, as discussed above (cf. endnote 4), this conception of agricultural innovation could be linked with their alternative views on farmers relating to the "economically rational ones".

7 For example, see the MASIPAG farmers association (Bachmann, Cruzada & Wright, 2009; Brenni, 2009).

8 Such initiatives, for example, sustain a small-scale agricultural producer in western states, advocate for farm workers' rights or fight for the right to access to healthy and nutritious food in marginalized neighborhoods or regions.

9 There is extensive literature on this movement. We can recommend to interested readers the following: Borras (2004; 2008; 2010), Desmarais (2007), Holt-Giménez (2006), Martínez-Torres & Rosset (2010), Newell (2008), Patel (2005).

10 This model counters also the *ex-situ* strategy of conservation promoted by institutions such as the CGIAR. Indeed, even if this model relies on a common heritage perspective, the seeds are stocked and controlled by international gene banks and not by small-scale farmers (La Vía Campesina, 2013, pp. 1–4 ; La Vía Campesina, 2014, p. 14).

11 As a typical example of this type of initiative, see the activities of the NGO Terralingua (terralingua.org) and the book by Luisa Maffi and Ellen Woodley (2010).

12 Concerning this decline and the challenges posed to the conservationist movement by the participatory approach, see Mac Chapin's article (2004).

13 The renewed interest of the World Bank in agricultural development policies proves the point. Indeed, in its 2008 annual World Development Report, it calls for reinvestments in agriculture. This is a departure from policies established in the 1980s that emphasized debt restructuring by means of structural adjustment policies, thus neglecting the importance of this domain for the development of countries.

14 Holt-Giménez and Shattuck (2011, p. 117) place Slow Food in the *food security* orientation. For the type of activities and for being very close to the FAO, IFAD is also compliant with this orientation.

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3 Farmers, foodies and First Nations

Getting to food sovereignty in Canada?

Annette Aurélie Desmarais and Hannah Wittman

Introduction

Food sovereignty proponents seek fundamental social change, a transformation of society as a whole that can be achieved through the vehicle of food and agriculture. To better understand food sovereignty as an organizing frame for transformative social change, it is useful to conceptualize it as a process involving persistent, diverse and interconnected struggles. This means paying attention to the multiplicity of sites and the multifaceted nature of resistance to dispossession and inequality occurring in different parts of the world and understanding how they are connected. A range of factors, including history, social relations (class, race, gender, age), ecology, politics, and culture shape the particular nature of each food sovereignty struggle in any given place. Food sovereignty in Canada, for example, will be different than in Indonesia or Peru.

In 2011, farm operators and farmworkers in Canada constituted less than 2 percent of the population, production is intensely commercial, and has been organized around international as well as local and national markets since the colonial period. Yet, many of the issues that prompted the emergence of a food sovereignty alternative at the international level are deeply felt in Canada: collapsing rural communities as a result of the ongoing farm income crisis leading to rural exodus, an aging farming population and a decline in public services; farmers' loss of power in the marketplace and in policy development, accompanied by the corporatization of agriculture; and growing concerns from both consumers and producers about human and animal health and welfare, and the environmental, social and economic sustainability of industrial agriculture. These are precisely the issues that have broadened the reach of the food sovereignty discourse and practice in Canada.

While there is a growing body of literature on food sovereignty at a global level, much less is known about what food sovereignty movements look like in specific places and how their expression is largely shaped by local dynamics. This chapter analyzes the various meanings, strategies, discourses and practices of food sovereignty developed by distinct social actors in Canada.[1] In doing so, we highlight existing challenges, tensions, convergences and divergences in building a national movement for food sovereignty. We begin by briefly setting

the context and then explore how three distinct sectors – farmers, foodies and Indigenous peoples[2] – use the food sovereignty discourse in Canada. We then critically assess how the "unity in diversity" principle of food sovereignty functions in the Canadian context, paying particular attention to the practice and policy implications of debates about the meaning of food sovereignty.

Setting the scene for food sovereignty in Canada

Food sovereignty was introduced in Canada through the work of the National Farmers Union (NFU) and the Union Paysanne, the two Canadian members of La Vía Campesina. La Vía Campesina's notion of food sovereignty emerged as communities in the Global South and the Global North engaged in a collective struggle to define alternatives to the globalization of a neoliberal, highly capitalized, corporate-led model of agricultural development (Desmarais 2007; Wittman et al. 2010). The NFU, as a founding member of La Vía Campesina, was the only Canadian social actor actively involved in defining food sovereignty at the international level in the early 1990s. However, it took years before the NFU began using food sovereignty in its domestic work within Canada.

The NFU is unique among Canadian farm organizations; it is the only national, direct-membership, voluntary farm organization in Canada to have been created by an act of Parliament. The NFU describes itself as "working for people's interests against the corporate control of the food system" (NFU, n.d.). Unlike other Canadian commodity farm organizations, it represents farmers producing all kinds of foodstuffs in all regions of the country, except for Quebec.[3]

Meanwhile, the concept of food sovereignty was central to Québec's Union Paysanne when that organization was formed in 2001. The Union Paysanne includes farmers, researchers, students, consumer groups, and eco-tourism businesses that joined together to build alternatives to "*malbouffe*" and industrial agriculture.[4] The Union Paysanne emphasizes a peasant agriculture that involves "a human-scale agriculture … and vibrant rural communities" (authors' translation; Union Paysanne, n.d.a), and engages in concerted efforts to link producers and consumers. Initially, discussions of food sovereignty in Canada remained focused primarily on agricultural production and agricultural trade policy issues.

This changed after the Nyéléni International Forum for Food Sovereignty was held in 2007 in Sélingué, Mali. In addition to representatives of the NFU and the Union Paysanne, a range of other Canadian organizations that were members of Food Secure Canada – a national civil society alliance involved in work on food security and sustainable food systems – attended the event. This diverse range of actors returned home committed to working together to consolidate a national food sovereignty movement. This commitment led to the pan-Canadian People's Food Policy Project (PFPP), launched in 2009, aimed at developing a food sovereignty policy for Canada (Kneen 2011).[5] The PFPP organized consultations across the country to engage consumers and urban

food systems activists in using food sovereignty language to redefine food and agricultural policies for Canada.

While some Indigenous peoples actively participated in the PFPP, several Indigenous organizations sought to deepen their own Indigenous food sovereignty frameworks. Some of these Indigenous frameworks are highly critical of a version of food sovereignty they view as agriculture- and state-centric. Indigenous food sovereignty activists stress the importance of decolonization, self-determination and the inclusion of fishing, hunting and gathering as key elements of a food sovereignty approach to sustainable food systems in Canada, and highlight the complexity of issues of sovereignty, authority, individual and collective rights, equity, culture, and (re)distribution of land and other resources (e.g. Morrison 2006; 2011).

Farmers – cultivating an idea

Agriculture in Canada is regionally specific. Large farms in the prairie provinces produce the bulk of the country's grains, oilseeds and beef, while smaller farms in British Columbia, Quebec, and Ontario grow commodities such as dairy, vegetables and fruit, and the coastal provinces provide fish and fish products. As a whole the agriculture and agrifood sector is "modern, highly complex, integrated, [and] internationally competitive" (AAFC 2013). Canada exports approximately 45 percent of its domestic food and agricultural production (Qualman 2011). Like other industrialized countries, Canadian agricultural policy development over the past three decades reverted from a state-assistance perspective adopted during the Second World War back to a "market-liberal paradigm" (Skogstad 2008). The roots of this transition can be traced to the 1969 Report of the Federal Task Force on Agriculture which advised that it was "desirable to end farming by the individual farmer and shift to capitalist farming … In sketching out this kind of model for agriculture … we are of course rejecting the 'Public utility' or socialized concept of agriculture" (quoted in Warnock 1971, 9). Subsequent policies have emphasized the building of a "more market-oriented agri-food industry." Farmers are prompted to be more "self-reliant" and "market responsive" (Agriculture Canada 1989, 30–37), all the while producing more, especially for export markets increasingly controlled by vertically and horizontally integrated transnational agri-business corporations.

The landscape of rural Canada is also ideologically diverse. While some farmer organizations embrace neoliberal ideals of free trade and privatization, others approach food and agriculture from a social and economic justice perspective. Emerging in 1969, the NFU has since engaged in struggles to build alternatives to neoliberal globalization, such as orderly marketing boards (i.e. single desk selling/collective marketing though the Canadian Wheat Board) and supply management systems.[6] One of the NFU's main goals is to "work together to achieve agricultural policies which will ensure dignity and security of income for farm families while enhancing the land for future generations" (National Farmers Union, n.d.). To this end the organization "strives for a

system of food production, processing, and distribution that is, in all stages, economically viable, socially just, and ecologically sound. The current system does not meet these criteria and, thus, is not sustainable" (NFU, "Policy on Sustainable Agriculture" n.d. quoted in Beingessner 2013).

Many market-oriented, commodity-based groups reject the NFU's critiques of neoliberal policies that aim to dismantle orderly marketing and supply management while further consolidating the privatization, industrialization and corporatization of the food system. For instance, the membership of the Western Canadian Wheat Growers' Association (WCWGA) has "a strong business focus," and "believe open and competitive markets, innovation and investment are key to creating a stronger and more prosperous agricultural sector (WCWGA, n.d.). This organization mounted a multi-year vocal campaign aimed at eliminating the monopoly of the Canadian Wheat Board (CWB), a farmer-controlled, state-sponsored collective marketing agency that sells on behalf of farmers all of the wheat and barley grown on the prairie provinces for export and domestic human consumption. Rejecting single desk selling and arguing instead for "freedom to market" and dual marketing, the campaign against the CWB escalated throughout the 1990s and 2000s. This included direct actions such as illegally trucking grain across the Canadian border into the United States of America.[7] Meanwhile, the NFU saw farmer-controlled, collective marketing – elements central to the effective functioning of the CWB – as expressions of food sovereignty. In efforts to maintain and strengthen the CWB, the NFU worked with allies, including the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, to demonstrate how dual marketing would lead to the demise of the CWB and demand that farmers be allowed to vote on whether or not the monopoly of the CWB should be maintained. The NFU also spearheaded the formation of the Friends of the Canadian Wheat Board, a coalition of farm organizations and individuals, including non-farmers, that has legally challenged the Government of Canada (FCWB, n.d.).

The fight to keep the CWB can be considered a long-standing food sovereignty struggle in Canada, but it gets more complicated when moving beyond the Canadian border. It was initially waged by the NFU's predecessors, the provincial prairie farmers unions, that fought for a stronger farmers' voice and collective marketing against the increasing market power of private corporations involved in the export-based grain trade in Western Canada (Magnan 2011, 118). As Magnan explains, the more recent conflicts over the CWB "intersect with food sovereignty by pitting collective marketing against neoliberal ideals of market efficiency, free enterprise and free trade" (2011,116) while seeking to strengthen farmers' "market power and democratic control over farmers' own marketing arm" (2011, 129).[8] It is not clear, however, how the presence of the CWB in international markets affects food sovereignty struggles elsewhere. While there is recognition that the purpose of the CWB is to protect the interests of Canadian farmers, some NFU members acknowledge the need for a greater understanding of the consequences of the CWB's marketing practices for farmers outside of Canada. One member of the NFU suggested, "some of the things that we are fighting for don't fall into food sovereignty. The

CWB had a huge campaign about white flour and noodles in foreign markets (rice growing areas). This is in direct opposition of what we are fighting for" (NFU workshop, 2011).

Ideological divergences are also at the heart of the struggle to maintain supply management in the production of dairy, eggs and poultry, a system under increasing threat at the WTO deliberations and at even greater risk in the current Canada–European Comprehensive Trade and Economic Agreement (CETA) and Trans-Pacific Partnership trade negotiations. The NFU and the Union Paysanne support supply management as an effective mechanism to implement food sovereignty, and are calling to expand this system to other commodities. However, both organizations recognize deep flaws in how supply management is practiced in Canada. The overcapitalization of quotas has led to a significant increase in the size of existing dairy and poultry farms while the high cost of the quota effectively blocks the entry of new farmers into the supply-managed sector. Rather than abandoning the idea of supply management, the NFU argues that the whole system needs to be overhauled to remain true to its original purpose:

> Under no circumstances should quotas be marketable or negotiable between producers. All production quotas should revert to the market agency for reallocation when no longer required by a producer. Priorities should be given to small and new producers, provided the new producers do not fall into the agribusiness category. … Quotas now held by agribusiness and other commercial corporate entities should be frozen.
>
> (NFU 2011)

In Québec, the Union Paysanne (n.d.b) has a similar position, stressing the importance of a supply management system that supports small-scale production. The organization was a vocal and visible actor in the struggle over intensive livestock operations in Quebec that helped lead to a moratorium on large hog operations by the Government of Québec. The Union Paysanne was formed in May 2001 as an alternative to the mainstream and dominant Union de Producteurs Agricoles du Québec (UPA), an organization that also uses the language of food sovereignty but calls for supply management to be maintained largely as is. The UPA claims that it is "actually the single mouthpiece, the official voice that speaks on behalf of all Quebec farmers" (UPA, n.d.). This claim is facilitated by a provincial law introduced in 1972 that formally recognized the UPA as Québec's only legitimate farm organization. While the UPA also defends collective marketing and supply management, it is an organization that "has a history of supporting industrial agriculture" (Kneen 2011, 89) and represents the interests of a number of large producer cooperatives, although it also has members who are small and medium-scale farmers.

In many ways, the Union Paysanne ideologically represents everything that the UPA is not.[9] Both use the language of food sovereignty, albeit with very different meanings. The Union Paysanne's demands for a peoples' food sovereignty that emphasizes social and environmental sustainability including,

most notably, producers' control over the factors of production, appear to be drowned out by the more prominent voices for a state-led food sovereignty as expressed by Québec's large Coalition *Souveraineté Alimentaire*, a group that pulls together 86 organizations including members of the UPA. In May 2013 the Parti Québécois, referencing La Vía Campesina, officially launched a food sovereignty policy as a framework for all future decision-making on agriculture and food in Québec (MAPAQ 2013). The impetus for this policy is twofold. The Parti Québécois is undoubtedly using the idea of state-led food sovereignty to oppose federal government attempts to push through CETA, which threatens the supply managed industry in Québec. Secondly, the language of food sovereignty resonates in the historical and contemporary context of a strong political movement in Québec, *le mouvement souverainiste*, led by the Parti Québécois, for national sovereignty for the province of Québec.

The Union Paysanne's vision, like that of La Vía Campesina, sees the state as having a critical role in building food sovereignty. But for the Union Paysanne, food sovereignty is a bottom-up, rather than a top-down, process in which communities define what kind of food systems are wanted, to which the state would respond accordingly. Consequently, while the organization sees some positive aspects to Québec's food sovereignty policy – it supports the aim, among other things, to have 50 percent of the food consumed in the province be sourced from within the province – the Union Paysanne is voicing strong opposition to the latest government policy. It argues that the Government of Québec is misappropriating and instrumentalizing food sovereignty language to introduce a policy that reinforces aspects of large-scale industrial agricultural production and processing, rather than one that would help transform the food system in Québec (Union Paysanne 2013).

For the Union Paysanne, a food sovereignty policy geared to have more food produced for local consumption also necessarily entails democratizing the food system so that citizens are involved in deciding what food is produced, where and how it is grown and who grows it. Second, the Union Paysanne claims that food sovereignty means implementing the more substantial recommendations that emerged from the two-year consultative process (2006–2008) that yielded the Pronovost Report.[10] Among the report's 50 recommendations are dismantling the UPA's monopoly on farmer representation, changing the collective marketing mechanisms to allow for on-farm sales, restructuring the Farm Income Stabilization Insurance Program that currently favours large-scale production, replacing it with a mechanism that is universal but also places a cap on the amount allocated, and compensating those using environmentally sound practices. The Union Paysanne claims that the new food sovereignty policy is "greenwashing" and it is demanding that the Government of Québec retract "food sovereignty" and instead, call it a policy of food self-sufficiency (Radio-Canada 2013).

Although a wide diversity of demands exist among farmers' organizations in Canada, some have occasionally joined together in resistance movements focused on particular issues. In doing so they have made important links

with urban-based civil society, non-profit, charitable and consumer-based organizations to wage campaigns around cross-cutting issues of agriculture, health, and environmental protection. One example is the successful farmer-led struggle against GM wheat that involved the participation of Greenpeace Canada, ETC-Group, Sierra Club of Canada, National Health Coalition, Council of Canadians, and the NFU along with some mainstream farm organizations (Eaton 2013, 100–101; Peekhaus 2013).

Another and prior example is the broad grassroots movement that engaged in a decade-long struggle between 1987–1998 to successfully block the registration of recombinant bovine somatotropin (rBST), or rBGH in Canada (Sharratt 2001). In this struggle the NFU initially worked at consolidating joint positions among different farm organizations and then subsequently garnered the support of the Council of Canadians, a 35,000-strong citizens' organization that had formed primarily to expand the notion and practice of democracy and resist the Canadian government's embrace of free trade and privatization. Eventually, resistance converged to include consumer groups, food policy councils, and community-based organizations across the country and as Sharratt's (2001, 394–395) detailed study explains:

> The diversity of the opposition was its greatest strength; farmers spoke out against animal ill-health and threats to the dairy industry, consumers demanded safe milk, and government scientists exposed industry pressure and inadequate science. Each voice in opposition was a strong and legitimate voice for a constituency of people who were actively opposed to rBGH. … With a truly grassroots and national movement against rBGH, Monsanto was unable to target individuals or groups to discredit. Canadians organized to defeat rBGH without a national organization concerned with food issues or a visible consumer's movement. The scrutiny of rBGH by both MPs and Senators restored hope in Canada that the mechanisms of the parliamentary system can function for the public interest.

Foodies: bringing farmers and eaters to a shared table

Historically, governments have used a cheap food policy to enable low industrial wages. In the current environment, however, much of the low-priced food in Canada is imported and discipline in wages is accomplished through the possibility of exporting jobs. At the same time that Canadians spend on average just over 10 percent of their income on food, food insecurity is growing. Between 2007 and 2011 the percentage of Canadians accessing food banks increased from 7.7 to 8.2 percent of the population; in 2011 over 900,000 Canadians accessed a food bank each month (UNHRC 2012). Recognizing the need to politicize problems of both production and consumption within a common food policy framework, in 2004, a national food movement began to emerge as food activists, farmers, members of community-based organizations, Indigenous peoples, nutritionists and researchers from across the country defined a three-pronged

organizational strategy aimed at zero hunger, building a sustainable food system and ensuring healthy and safe food (Kneen 2011).

Formally constituted in 2006, Food Secure Canada/*Réseau pour une alimentation durable* initially voiced its concerns mainly through a food security lens. Three main developments prompted the movement to shift towards food sovereignty. First, the NFU, as a founding member of Food Secure Canada, was increasingly using food sovereignty in its efforts to build a more just and environmentally sustainable agriculture model. Simultaneously, Indigenous peoples within the movement brought the idea of *Indigenous food sovereignty* to the table, forming an Indigenous Circle within Food Secure Canada. Second, several members of Food Secure Canada participated in the Nyéléni Forum on Food Sovereignty and returned to Canada convinced that the language and conceptual framework of food sovereignty captured more effectively the kind of food systems they were striving to build. Third, that conviction led to the development of the People's Food Policy Project (PFPP) geared to collectively define a national food sovereignty policy for Canada. The PFPP organized various consultations including 350 kitchen table meetings involving approximately 3500 people across the country, submission of individual and group policy position papers, conference calls, and three conferences.[11] This two-year participatory process (2009–2011) led to the publication of a consultative document entitled "Resetting the Table: A People's Food Policy for Canada" (PFPP 2011) – this is a "living" document that is expected to evolve as new issues arise and/or new approaches are agreed upon.

At the same time that national level civil-society mobilization around the framework of food sovereignty was occurring through the work of Food Secure Canada, a food sovereignty discourse was increasingly taking root in local and regional non-profit, charitable, and consumer-based organizations like the Young Agrarians, Slow Food *convivia*, faith-based groups including Unitarian Service Committee (USC) of Canada and the United Church of Canada (United Church of Canada 2013), as well as urban food distribution networks like FoodShare Toronto (Johnston & Baker 2005) and the Stop Food Distribution Centre. These groups use the framework of food sovereignty primarily from the perspective of food consumers with an active desire to connect to local and regional food production systems. For example, the NFU Youth Coalition was instrumental in instigating the formation of the Young Agrarians network in British Columbia. This community-building project initiates farm tours, potlucks, and land-linking events, as well as online resources such as a farmer resource map and blog to "engage young farmers, would-be farmers and the public in the reshaping of our food system."

The consumer-citizens (also known as locavores or foodies) who populate many of Canada's urban alternative food networks are often initially concerned with issues of taste, health and the local environment that affect their daily lives and those of their immediate communities (Johnston 2008; Johnston & Baumann 2010).[12] Consequently, these networks tend to advocate the construction of very local (e.g. 100-mile diet) food systems that are intended

to make fresher and nutritious food more available while celebrating local and regional cultures (e.g. Gibb & Wittman 2013). This ethic has led to an explosion of citizen-driven municipal food policy councils across Canada that have been instrumental in increasing the scale and scope of farmers' markets, community gardens, farm-to-school lunch programs, and the diversification of municipal landscaping to include edible plants (McRae & Donahue 2013).

Organizations like the NFU, the Union Paysanne, and Food Secure Canada advocate changes in provincial, and international policy around agrifood systems, as well as engaging in local initiatives related to food system sustainability. In comparison, the policy demands among most local food networks in Canada are relatively understated, despite using language echoing food sovereignty concerns in local organizing, events, and websites. The consumer-oriented focus on the principles of individual ethical consumption may sideline a focus on "structural causes and collective solutions required to fix the industrial food system," leading urban foodies to be perhaps less likely to advocate for specific policies and programs like supply management that would lead to broader food system change at the national and international levels (Johnston & Baumann 2010 ,129). This local food movement narrative tends to celebrate local food, rather than criticizing food injustice.

Highly visible "foodie" organizations focus their effort on voluntarily constructing localized food systems from the bottom up – building farmers' markets, guerilla gardening, local food potlucks, community gardens. Nevertheless, the things foodies care about ("geographic specificity, 'simplicity,' personal connection, history and tradition, and ethnic connection" (Johnston and Baumann 2010, 73)), along with environmental and health issues, are congruent with the food sovereignty framework. In this sense, the scaling up of food sovereignty discourse and activity by consumers and urban based food justice organizations like Food Secure Canada has given a new focus and constituency to the movement beyond the traditional food-producing members of La Vía Campesina. As Cathleen Kneen, the co-founder of Food Secure Canada, argues, the People's Food Policy Project

> builds on the local organizing that is already going on in the multiplicity of food self-reliance projects in both rural and urban areas, and its method is to overcome the "individual" by starting with the personal…They can then begin to think in terms of policies that will actually support food sovereignty.
>
> (Kneen 2010, 234)

First Nations – decolonizing food sovereignty in Canada?

Several organizations in Canada, including the British Columbia Food Systems Network (BCFSN) Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty and the Food Secure Canada Indigenous Circle, are approaching the framework of food sovereignty from yet another direction. Indigenous communities in Canada

have had a long and critical engagement with the concept of sovereignty, questioning to what extent this [Western] concept reflects Indigenous self-determination and the relationship between autonomy and respectful inter-dependency between communities (cf. Alfred 1999). Rather than building a new "localized" (and agriculture-centric) food system as an alternative to the global, industrial system – the language of many of the civil society food networks referenced above – indigenous communities seek to honor, value and protect traditional food practices and networks in the face of ongoing pressures of colonization. These values and practices are evident, for example, in traditional Indigenous food trading networks that extend far beyond the "100 mile-diet" and that were key nodes of exchange of knowledge as well as food (Turner & Loewen 1998).

Indigenous peoples in Canada also face a significantly different set of challenges related to food sovereignty compared with most Canadian farmers or members of urban and local food advocacy groups. These include disproportionate experiences of ill-health compared with the rest of the population, with shorter life expectancies a result of unequal access to health, education and other public services, higher poverty rates, and diet-related issues (Adelson 2005). Food insecurity rates for Indigenous peoples living off reserve are 33 percent – three times higher than the national average; and in some Indigenous communities, particularly in Canada's north, levels of food insecurity reach 75 percent (Reading and Wien 2009).

Colonization and unresolved treaty processes have resulted in the loss of widespread access to traditional territories and relationships supporting the hunting, gathering, fishing, cultivation, and trading of traditional Indigenous foods (Morrison 2011; Turner & Loewen 1998). The disruption of traditional Indigenous food trading and knowledge networks have resulted in high food prices in remote communities, a decline in the use of traditional foods by young people, in particular, and escalating transport costs (Thompson et al. 2011). Even so, 40–50 percent of Indigenous communities in British Columbia, for example, still obtain some food locally through harvesting, hunting, fishing, and gathering (FNHC, 2009). In these communities, over 200 different types of traditional foods are regularly harvested (Chan et al. 2011); and contemporary food sharing and trading relationships exist among and between distinct First Nations (Turner & Loewen 1998; Morrison 2011).

Community consultations with Indigenous peoples have documented the continued importance of traditional foods and foodways to Indigenous health and cultural well-being in urban areas and have drawn attention to problems of lack of access to these (Elliott et al. 2012; Morrison 2006; Mundel & Chapman 2010). These consultations have resulted in the self-definition of a concept of *Indigenous food sovereignty*, a framework that explicitly recognizes the social, cultural and economic relationships that underlie inter-community food sharing and trading as a mechanism for Indigenous health and well-being. In the words of Dawn Morrison, the coordinator of the British Columbia Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty,

> Indigenous food sovereignty describes, rather than defines, the present day strategies that enable and support the ability of Indigenous communities to sustain traditional hunting, fishing, gathering, farming and distribution practices, the way we have done for thousands of years prior to contact with the first European settlers…We have rejected a formal universal definition of sovereignty in favour of one that respects the sovereign rights and power of each distinct nation to identify the characteristics of our cultures and what it means to be Indigenous.
>
> (Morrison 2011, 97–98)

The Indigenous Circle within Food Secure Canada brought these discussions to the People's Food Policy Project, resulting in the addition of a seventh pillar, beyond the six pillars of food sovereignty developed at Nyéléni. The Indigenous Circle emphasized that "Food sovereignty understands food as sacred, part of the web of relationships with the natural world that define culture and community" (People's Food Policy Project 2011). Kneen (2011, 92) says this seventh pillar is "foundational" because:

> If food is sacred, it cannot be treated as a mere commodity, manipulated into junk foods or taken from people's mouths to feed animals or vehicles. If the ways in which we get food are similarly sacred, Mother Earth cannot be enslaved and forced to produce what we want, when and where we want it, through our technological tools. And of course, if food is sacred, the role of those who provide food is respected and supported.

To translate the elements of Indigenous food sovereignty into a policy framework, Morrison (2011) summarizes four main principles that Elders, traditional harvesters, and community members have identified within the BCFSN to guide work on food sovereignty. In addition to the idea that *food is sacred*, they emphasized the importance of *participation* at individual, family, community, and regional levels. *Self-determination* refers to the "freedom and ability to respond to our own needs for healthy, culturally-adapted Indigenous foods. It represents the freedom and ability to make decisions over the amount and quality of food we hunt, fish, gather, grow and eat" (p. 100). Finally, *legislation and policy reform* attempts to "reconcile Indigenous food and cultural values with colonial laws, policies and mainstream economic activities" (p. 101). This principle has resulted in significant mobilization around policy reform in forestry, fisheries, and health programming.

In several important recent court cases, Indigenous communities have been successful in re-establishing a framework for self-determined access to traditional fishing and hunting grounds. The Nuu chah nulth Fisheries case (finalized in 2009 after a decade in court) challenged federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans restrictions on Indigenous commercial fisheries, affirming "the nation's right to implement fishing and harvesting strategies according to its own unique cultural, economic and ecological considerations" (Morrison 2011, 108; Dolha

2009). More recently, Indigenous food sovereignty proponents joined with local food networks and environmental organizations to protest the effects of open-pen farmed Atlantic salmon on the British Columbia coast. Over 90 percent controlled by three Norwegian companies, farmed salmon has been BC's largest agricultural export since 2005, but a number of studies now provide evidence that fish farming in BC contributes to the erosion of wild salmon runs throughout the province, primarily via the infestations of sea lice, which are transferred to out-migrating wild juvenile salmon (Frazer 2009; Krkosek, Lewis et al. 2006).

In the fall of 2012, the passage of a federal omnibus bill made sweeping changes to a range of legislative policies, including the Fisheries Act and the Indian Act. Bill C-45 reduced protections for millions of waterways and made it easier to force Indigenous communities to surrender reserve land to extractive industries, catalyzing the Idle No More Indigenous sovereignty movement.[13] Through numerous demonstrations across Canada during the winter of late 2012 and early 2013, Idle No More brought to public attention a range of policy initiatives that threaten treaty rights and Indigenous sovereignty. Arguing that "we are in a critical time where lives, lands, waters and Creation are at-risk and they must be protected" (Idle No More & Defenders of the Land, 2013), members of the movement sought alliances with non-Indigenous allies and environmental groups around the common themes of Indigenous sovereignty and environmental protection. The NFU (2013), Food Secure Canada and the Union Paysanne each expressed solidarity, as exemplified by a Food Secure Canada resolution:

> We stand with Idle No More and call upon the Government of Canada to remedy its historical and current policies of colonization, assimilation and destruction, and work with each Nation to define and engage in an appropriate relationship based on respect and responsibility and full recognition of the right to self-determination. Healing and rebuilding contemporary relationships between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government and honouring original nation-to-nation agreements are crucial steps towards achieving food sovereignty and food security for all.
>
> (Food Secure Canada, 2013)

Reshaping the political

A universal conceptualization of food sovereignty is challenged by the diversity of communities using the language of food sovereignty in Canada. Distinct national, provincial, regional and cultural concerns in terms of community identity and subjectivity, and relationships to political and institutional authority, mean food sovereignty doesn't map tidily onto a national, or even provincial, scale. This poses significant challenges to working together to build food sovereignty in Canada.

However, the expanding discourse of food sovereignty in Canada has reshaped the political spaces in which values and decisions shift concerning how and what food is produced, accessed, and consumed. For the NFU, this means continuing

its engagement with national politics around international trade agreements like CETA and Trans-Pacific Partnership. It also includes ongoing work at the provincial and municipal levels while reaching out to new constituencies, like small-scale fruit and vegetable producers in BC and Ontario, and urban consumers who participate in local food movements. Finally, for Indigenous communities engaged in their own struggles to reclaim traditional territories and rights related to self-determination around their food systems, the food sovereignty discourse requires detaching the word sovereignty from its historical and legal meanings and reconstructing elements of popular control, autonomy and inter-dependence (Alfred 1999, 59).

Do current mobilizations for food sovereignty in Canada exhibit a "unity in diversity" to coalesce around an organizing frame for transformative food system change? There are contradictory positions: for example, the UPA, the *Coalition Souveraineté Alimentaire* and the Union Paysanne do not agree on the definition and purpose of food sovereignty. On the other hand, members of Food Secure Canada – which include more than 50 provincial and 12 national organizations and a growing number of individual members – have consolidated a set of policy demands framed as food sovereignty. These demands encompass the work of regional organizations for localized food economies, but are clearly situated within the national and global food system. Emphasizing that "the core of food sovereignty is reclaiming public decision-making power in the food system" (PFPP, 2011, 9), the policy demands resulting from the People's Food Policy Project include:

- Ensuring that food is eaten as close as possible to where it is produced (domestic/regional purchasing policies for institutions and large food retailers, community-supported agriculture, farmers markets);
- Supporting food providers in a widespread shift to ecological production in both urban and rural settings (organic agriculture, community-managed fisheries, Indigenous food systems, etc.), including policies for the entry of new farmers into agriculture;
- Enacting a strong federal poverty elimination and prevention program, with measurable targets and timelines, to ensure Canadians can better afford healthy food;
- Creating a nationally funded Children and Food strategy (including school meal programs, school gardens, and food literacy programs) to ensure that all children at all times have access to the food required for healthy lives;
- Ensuring that the public, especially the most marginalized, are actively involved in decisions that affect the food system (PFPP 2011, 2).

The current negotiating text of CETA indicates that "local governments will no longer be legally able to give preference to local or Canadian suppliers", a key demand of locavore and municipal food policy councils (Shrybman 2010). The NFU, for example, has articulated a position on CETA, but urban proponents of municipal and school food programs do not often articulate clear demands around international trade policy as a threat to food sovereignty. Similarly, vibrant

movements and campaigns for an expansion of urban agriculture are occupying unused urban lots and advocating for changes to municipal bylaws to allow the sale of produce from backyard gardens. But to date, these groups demonstrate little visible engagement or connection with the Farmland Defense League and other movements seeking to protect access to farmland threatened by urban sprawl, or with Indigenous groups advocating for hunting and fishing reserves, or with environmental and Indigenous groups to protect salmon fisheries from habitat degradation resulting from mining and resource extraction. Unlike the farmer, Indigenous and food insecure populations also involved with Food Secure Canada, some urban consumer constituency groups operate from a position of relative privilege, and are less present in political advocacy work at the national and international scale (the work of the Toronto Food Policy Council on national food policy and social justice issues is an important exception). Municipal food policy councils are also limited in the scale/scope of their policy arena, rarely getting into issues of labour, or international trade (Mansfield & Mendes 2013; McRae & Donahue 2013).

Even so, food sovereignty discourse in Canada is changing, no longer concerned only with production and marketing concerns like supply management, orderly marketing and international trade policy. It is making inroads in civil society-based and urban food networks like Food Secure Canada who support farmer and Indigenous-led struggles over the shape and direction of food sovereignty, but who also lead initiatives around socially-just food consumption that bridges the conceptual gap between food producers and marginalized/food-insecure populations. In addition to embracing Resetting the Table as a people's national food policy for Canada, Food Secure Canada – in cooperation with Indigenous organizations, the NFU, and other groups – facilitated broad consultations with the UN Special Rapporteur during his Right to Food country fact-finding mission to Canada in 2012, the first such mission in an OECD country. These organizations saw the mission to Canada as a unique opportunity to give visibility to the human rights concerns of the industrial food system and inadequate social policies in Canada, particularly around food insecurity and Indigenous access to traditional food provisioning systems.

What is most evident in examining the range of actors using food sovereignty language in Canada is their shared goal to reclaim a public voice in shaping the food system. There is a growing convergence around a discourse and practice of social justice, ethical foods, and cultural diversity – all key elements of the People's Food Policy Framework. There are also examples of alliances between diverse groups self-identifying as farmers, foodies and First Nations, which offer prospects for future solidarity-building. How that power is claimed is diverse, and occurs at different locations and scales through: demands to address the structural causes of unjust and environmentally damaging agrifood and trade policies at local, provincial, national and international policy levels; the ability to make more sustainable choices as individual consumers within both local and globalized food systems; and struggles for decolonization and self-determination by Indigenous peoples.

There are also, however, strong divergences in the meaning and goals of food sovereignty, as was clearly the case in the province of Québec and differences between agriculture-centric vs. Indigenous food sovereignty perspectives. As the locus of food sovereignty activism shifts from (rural) issues of production and traditional foodways to (urban) issues of consumption, it is still unclear if and how this will affect struggles over access to and control over productive resources. It is also still unclear whether these distinct manifestations of food sovereignty in Canada – each in their own way and to different degrees working towards the transformation of existing structures of food production and food access – will make inroads into a broader food system transformation. Thus, if food sovereignty is about fundamental transformation of existing structures, ways of thinking and being, then this implies a constant process of struggle that is at its initial stages in Canada.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 See Wittman et al. 2011 for discussions of various expressions of food sovereignty in different locations throughout Canada.
2 In the Canadian context "First Nations" refers to aboriginal peoples who are recognized by the constitution. First Nations are distinct from the Inuit and the Métis; while First Nations is a contested term, many Indigenous Peoples refer to their communities as First Nations. In this chapter we use First Nations and Indigenous Peoples interchangeably.
3 The NFU also includes non-farmer (Associate) members, comprising about 8% of the membership in 2012. Overall, the rural landscape in Canada is populated by numerous agricultural commodity organizations that function primarily to improve the marketing of a specific commodity for an integrated national and international market. Examples of such organizations are the Canadian Cattlemen's Association and the Canadian Canola Growers Association; for a complete list see http://www.agriguide.ca/home
4 *Malbouffe*, literally meaning "bad food," is usually translated as junk food. It is a concept used by the Confédération Paysanne in France in its struggle against industrial agriculture. Shortly after the Union Paysanne was formed they invited José Bové, then spokesperson of the Confédération Paysanne, to Québec to exchange ideas about organizing strategies.
5 While Food Secure Canada was instrumental in supporting the Peoples Food Policy Project, these operated as distinct entities.
6 Supply management is a legislated marketing tool designed to stabilize supply and prices for producers and consumers. In Canada, supply management is used to

control the production of dairy, eggs and poultry by allocating a quota. Unlike the other unregulated commodities, farmers in this system are able to recover costs of production because prices are set by a government agency (i.e. the Dairy Commission) that uses a cost-of-production analysis reflecting real on-farm costs. Single desk selling refers to the system whereby the Canadian Wheat Board had a legal monopoly on the sale of wheat and barley from the western provinces in Canada.

7 Resistance to the CWB began much earlier and from several fronts, including the Palliser Wheat Growers Association (the predecessor of the WCWGA), the provincial government of Alberta, and the conservative federal government. Foreign commodity groups and transnational grain companies have also tried to end the CWB's single-desk selling power and they have enlisted government support to do so. The government of the United States of America has pursued numerous (14 to date) legal trade challenges – all have been unsuccessful (Magnan 2011, 117).

8 This farmer market power and democratic decision-making are now on hold. The NFU reports that "In 2011 the federal government passed a law, Bill C-18, to dismantle the 75-year-old Canadian Wheat Board . … The law was passed in defiance of a Federal Court ruling that deemed the introduction of the bill to be contrary to the rule of law, because the binding farmer vote on proposed changes to the single desk was not held as required under the Canadian Wheat Board Act in force at the time. The federal government began implementing Bill C-18 regardless of the court ruling, yet it is also appealing the ruling. Farmers have launched a class action lawsuit to overturn Bill C-18 (see www.cwbclassaction.ca). Their claim includes charges under Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, including breach of the Right to Freedom of Association and of the Right to Freedom of Expression" (NFU 2012).

9 These ideological divergences exhibited at the local and national levels are also expressed at the international level, mainly through the La Vía Campesina and the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP) which had diametrically opposing positions and strategies on key agricultural issues (Desmarais 2007; Borras 2010). The Union Paysanne formally joined La Vía Campesina in 2004 and the UPA, through its membership of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, had been a member of the IFAP for many years. IFAP was formally dissolved in November 2010 (ILO 2012).

10 In 2006 the Government of Québec constituted the *Commission sur l'Avenir de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire Québecois* (Commission on the Future of Agriculture and Agrifood of Québec) to examine current challenges and existing public policies and make recommendations for improvements within the agriculture and agrifood sector. The Commission, headed by Jean Pronovost, engaged in extensive consultations, holding public sessions (in 15 regions and 27 municipalities) that included 770 presentations by different stakeholders. The 2008 report (Agriculture and Agrifood: Securing and Building the Future), most often referred to as the Pronovost Report, is available at http://www.caaaq.gouv.qc.ca/userfiles/File/Dossiers%2012%20fevrier/Rapport%20CAAAQ%20anglais.pdf

11 A similar consultative and participatory cross-sectoral process, called the People's Food Commission, had been organized by civil society organizations in the late 1970s in Canada (People's Food Commission 1980).

12 The term foodie is politically contested, perceived by some as a symbol of elitism and exclusion divorced from the issues of social justice, and by others as simply a term that describes an "eater" engaged in learning about food and the food system (cf. Johnston and Baumann 2010). We use it in the latter sense.

13 The Idle No More movement "revolves around Indigenous Ways of Knowing rooted in Indigenous Sovereignty to protect water, air, land and all creation for future generations." The movement seeks the "revitalization of Indigenous peoples through Awareness and Empowerment" (Idle No More 2013). See http://idlenomore.ca for more information.

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4 Food sovereignty in the global North

The application of a social justice framework for a common language and approach

Alanna Higgins

Introduction

This chapter will explore the concept of food sovereignty through the application of a social justice framework. This application is meant to examine food sovereignty narratives and activities, while making suggestions towards the politics and practice of the concept. While the social justice framework has primarily been applied in an education context, this work puts forward an argument for its implementation within the food sovereignty movement. The ability of the social justice framework to create a common language, along with its reflexivity about privilege and existing circumstances allows it to become a condition in which to create a structure for food sovereignty activism. Food sovereignty has seen a surge in recognition and implementation in various areas of the world within the past decade, though it can be argued that some applications have been more effective than others. This chapter seeks to address the issue of social transformation called for within food sovereignty narratives as well as define the social justice framework and argue for its implementation to the food sovereignty movement for a continued engagement and practice, primarily in a Global North context.[1]

"The [food sovereignty] call is an active attempt to incite context-specific transformation within a context of universal (and defensibly humanist) principles of dignity, individual and community sovereignty, and self-determination… Of course, a declaration is worth little without action" (Patel, 2005 p. 82). Food sovereignty narratives and activism call for autonomy within food systems, focusing on empowerment through decision-making. The social justice framework will be discussed in this context, using the framework to determine how food sovereignty can be engaged with at various levels of autonomy, focusing on the Global North. The four filters of the social justice lens (adopted from the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 2010) will be used in reference to the 'Food for People' pillar outlined by the Nyéléni Forum for Food Sovereignty Steering Committee. This is done to clarify and elucidate how the application of this framework can help overcome some of the issues of practice and engagement the narrative has been seen to experience in the Global

North. This application is not meant to be read as the 'correct' way to engage with food sovereignty, but rather to add to the discussion of pluralism amongst food sovereignty scholars.

Food sovereignty

Food sovereignty was originally a response to the perceived failures of food security programs, in the creation of a demand for the rights of those seen to be disenfranchised by the current neoliberal food regime (see Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005; Patel, 2009; Perfecto, Vandermeer & Wright, 2009; Anderson, 2008). The discourse surrounding food security is argued to lack clear objectives for how to overcome food and nutritional insecurity, lacks discussion on the 'whys' and 'hows' of food production, and has ties to production-oriented policies and liberalized global trade regimes (Lee, 2007; Schanbacher, 2010; Tomlinson, 2013; Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005). Both food sovereignty and food security can suffer from exclusionary politics, although food sovereignty's more 'radical' aims are susceptible to co-option by both reformist and progressive efforts operating within food systems.

While most academics consider food sovereignty and food security to be oppositional terms, there have been arguments that the two concepts are not necessarily in conflict. The architects of the food sovereignty narrative coalesced in response to the United Nations declaration on food security, and refer to the concept as a prerequisite to food security (Nyéléni International Steering Committee, 2007). Sharma (2011) argues that there are some national food security policies that follow several food sovereignty principles.

Organizations and movements have been putting the narrative into practice across Europe, Africa, North and South America, and Asia. "Behind the development of the Food Sovereignty framework policy lies a global network of non-governmental and civil society organizations and social movements…" (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005), with the inclusion of multiple voices and perspectives being crucial in its practice and evolution.

While the core concepts have been outlined in the International Nyéléni Forum for Food Sovereignty, the exercise of these concepts has been more challenging in certain regions than others. Food sovereignty has arguably been best acted upon in the Global South, where the concept has received federal attention from multiple governments. The term itself has been implemented in national governance structures within such countries as Ecuador, Venezuela, and Mali (Wittman, Desmarais & Wiebe, 2010). Food sovereignty is also recognized and discussed by several organizations in the Global North; such as the US Food Sovereignty Alliance, UK Food Group, and Friends of the Earth Europe. However despite discussions of its concepts and enactment, engagement with food sovereignty within the Global North – the United States, United Kingdom, and European Union for example – has not been realized to its full potential. Morris (2013) along with Desmarais and Wittman (2013) both discuss that food sovereignty is 'embryonic' and in its 'initial stages' in various parts of the Global

North. Anderson (2008) echoes this sentiment, stating that food sovereignty has been slower in realization in the US than other alternative food narratives.

Roman-Alcalá (2013) states that problems surrounding food sovereignty in the Global North include how to constitute communities of decision-making in effective, suitable and just ways, as well as addressing socio-economic restrictions on individual involvement. He also goes on to explain that the differential challenges of smallholder farming prevalence, land access and pricing, and cultural values surrounding property and farming separate activists' performance and achievements between the Global South and North. Figueroa (2013) argues that "While a number of food justice activists and organizations in the United States have attempted to adapt the ideas of food sovereignty to urban contexts, many have had difficulty gaining traction, in part due to the problematic assumptions in mainstream food movement discourse[s]…" (p. 5). These problematic assumptions include the 'whiteness' of US food movements, the adoption of alternative narratives by agribusiness, issues surrounding the classifications of what is 'culturally appropriate' and the lack of focus on structural inequalities in favor of the food itself (see Guthman, 2008; Alkon and McCullen, 2010; Figueroa, 2013; Slocum, 2010; Winter, 2003; Trauger, 2014). The culmination of these issues not being directly addressed is discussed by Trauger (2014), who argues that food sovereignty activists are not engaging with the problems inherent in the 'modern liberal state'.

These problematic assumptions can pose several difficulties for food sovereignty in the matter of implementing its principles. Not addressing structural inequalities and individual restrictions glosses over deep-rooted issues, which is in turn an impediment for creating lasting and systemic change. These assumptions also lead to confusion – or even exclusion – of what 'problem areas' in food systems activists are working to change. The most problematic of which is the lack of autonomy and decision-making from those individuals and groups who are already disenfranchised. Contradictory and competitive relations among food sovereignty organizations create tension rather than cohesion, drawing efforts and resources away from the issues food sovereignty is trying to address. This lack of engagement and reflexiveness creates stagnation in the food sovereignty narrative, and results in a barrier towards the establishment of systemic change.

Numerous critiques of the narrative have been made, mainly centered on the inconsistent nature of the concept and its advocates (see Patel, 2009; Sharma, 2011; Southgate, 2011). This inconsistency has led to the proliferation of movements who claim to be using a food sovereignty approach but fall short of its stated objectives due to systemic and structural factors. There have also been works that criticize the movement for being protectionist and defensive, which many authors claim can be just as hazardous to people and their food systems as the current food regime is touted to be (see Kerr, 2011; Sharma, 2011; Fairbairn, 2011). Questions of whether the classification of peasants and small farmers as adequate social categories has also been discussed (Bernstein, 2013), as well as the challenges surrounding the democratization of the food system and regulating transnational and international business and trade

(Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2010; McMichael, 2010). Additionally, Bernstein (2013, p. 24) claims that food sovereignty does not explore the urban/rural interface beyond stating "the predatory nature of the urban on the rural." These are not criticisms of the narrative's validity, but rather of application and performance.

Many publications on the food sovereignty movement are theoretically underdeveloped, and often country and context specific. While this specificity helps in establishing the movement, the lack of work on overall best practices creates a gap between the conversations being had and what is really being played out, which highlights the division between theory and actuality (Sharma, 2011). Due to this food sovereignty narratives are underdeveloped, evidenced in the difficulties its activists currently experience in the Global North. Holt-Gimenez (2009) states that different institutional and political roots have caused contradictory and competitive relations among food sovereignty organizations. McMichael (2010, p. 22) also reflects on this issue, discussing communities that use 'food sovereignty visioning' yet contradict each other "especially when neglecting social justice concerns." This rift in communication leads to an absence of instruments for knowledge sharing, which in turn damages food sovereignty's chances of taking root. Food sovereignty itself is only directly discussed within the activist (i.e. advocacy group and nongovernmental organizations) arena – with this exclusion from most governance structures in the Global North creating negative repercussions in the narrative's production and validation.

This chapter will be discussing these issues of engagement and practice with the narrative's imperative of social transformation within the context of the Global North. The framework for engagement that results from the social justice lens deals with specific objectives that can assist the food sovereignty narrative to concentrate on the principle of social transformation in the face of institutional and structural challenges that threaten its practice and legitimacy. These challenges for food sovereignty are seen throughout the world, but the reformist and neoliberal influence on daily life in the Global North produce a significant roadblock to the narrative's practice.

Social justice

'Social justice' has numerous connotations and definitions dependent upon the context in which the term is used. David Harvey (1992) argues that social justice is subject to 'formless relativism' and 'infinitely variable' discourses, with the definition and use of concepts changing over time. Merrett (2004) echoes this thought, stating that it is 'nearly impossible' to create a concrete definition for the term, but it is possible to develop a working definition that most scholars agree upon. "Social justice has always been a profoundly normative concept, and its role is typically critical: we work out an account of what is just, and we then use it to find reality deficient in various ways" (Nussbaum, 2003 p. 47). For this chapter, the concept of 'social justice' used centers on the concern regarding the allocation of benefits and difficulties which results from social establishments throughout a society (Miller, 1979). The Nyéléni declaration resonates this idea, stating that "Food sovereignty

implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social classes and generations" (2007, p. 9).

Within this chapter the practice of social justice includes utilizing self-awareness, implementation within a community, individual practice, and instituting relationships with the civic community in an attempt to evaluate systemic forms of oppression (Smith et al., 2003). Social justice allows for restitutions from the breakdowns in communication and interactions that occur through social contact (Tyler, 2010). It is important to remember that "… the existence of everyday meanings to which people do attach importance and which to them appear unproblematic, gives the terms a political and mobilizing power that can never be neglected" (Harvey, 1992 p. 598). The use of the term 'social justice' does not mean the same thing to everyone who uses it – but those who invoke its (various) meanings have done so in order to challenge their existing circumstances in some way. The food sovereignty narrative does this as "We, the social movements, are not in power, but we cannot blindly accept how things are now" (Nyéléni International Steering Committee, 2007 p. 20).

Due to its reflexive attributes, the concept of social justice often gets included when academics begin to question their roles in research as well as the world at large. This is highly evidenced within the field of Geography, which has placed a particular emphasis on excluded and marginalized social groups that exist within everyday spaces (Sibley, 1995). "Geographers have long been concerned with questions of social justice" (Valentine, 2003 p. 375), with academic engagement around the concept spanning the past 30 years (Smith, 2000) in examining 'just' cities, rural accessibility, and governance (see Fainstein, 2001; Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1996; Harvey, 1992; Farrington and Farrington, 2005). Henderson (2003) states that social justice should be focused on within teaching and curricula in order to assist in the development and practice of the concept's ideas and interventions. Mitchell (2003) echoes this, citing that landscape studies need to be 'reoriented' with social justice in mind.

Fainstein (2001) states that this effort to redress social exclusion confronts widely held democratic values. This echoes the reflective and status-quo challenging features of the social justice concept as well as the social transformation initiative of the food sovereignty narrative. Farrington and Farrington (2005 p. 2) state that "greater social justice cannot be achieved without greater social inclusion, which requires that people have access to a range of activities regarded as typical in their society…" While they write within the context of rural accessibility, their conception of inclusion can be seen in other works (see Artiles, Harris-Murri and Rostenberg, 2006; Lister, 2000; Michaelson, 2008).

Merrett (2004) has argued there is a gap between rhetoric and reality in the teaching of social justice within the geography field, and argues that geographers can help to reduce this gap. Both Merrett (2004) and Heyman (2004) have argued that geography teachers have a 'pivotal' role in ongoing social justice struggles, due to schools being sites of cultivation and reproduction of democratic values, and the turn towards a critical pedagogy helping students (re)position themselves as active members of a community. This concept can be applied to the food sovereignty narrative's desire of promoting political education and awareness of their principles.

Social justice framework

The social justice framework and approach in this chapter has been primarily used in education to ensure that schooling and instruction is inclusionary (see BC Teachers' Federation, 2010; Ratts et al., 2007; Brown, 2004; Smith et al., 2003). Working through different perspectives, discussing sensitive issues, and converting ideas and goals into interventions and programs are aspects of the framework that help to challenge elites and focus on equality (Smith et al., 2003; BC Teachers' Federation, 2010). "Social justice advocacy is warranted to right injustices, increase access, and improve educational outcomes…" (Ratts et al., 2007 p. 90), necessitating a questioning of the status quo. This questioning allows for a reflexive examination of the existing state of affairs, and makes suggestions toward restitutions of situations deemed to be unjust. This aspect of the social justice framework echoes the scrutiny of the current food system and aspirations of social transformation that food sovereignty implements in its requirement of "…transformation of social relations so there is equality between social classes, races, sexes and generations" (Nyéléni International Steering Committee, 2007 p. 44).

The social justice framework discussed within this chapter was adopted from the social justice lens proposed by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (2010). Central to the social justice lens are its four filters: access (open and available to all), agency (intention to effect change), advocacy (skills to effect change) and solidarity action (collectively working for change) (Figure 4.1)

According to the Teaching Resource Guide by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (2010), the access filter is the gateway to participation and inclusion, as access can hinder or enable individuals and groups to take part in the issue being discussed. Opportunities are closed off when there are societal restrictions as to who can access what kinds of material, knowledge, etc. It is an integral step to take this aspect into consideration when implementing a project or concept.

The agency filter deals with individual knowledge regarding rights, and the ability to voice any concerns that one may have. This knowledge and articulation of rights and concerns allows for the ability to create change. Agency is developed when critical thinking takes place, which aids social justice's goal of challenging elites and the status quo in order to create systemic change.

The filter of advocacy is used to deliberately influence outcomes so that palpable transformations follow actions. Advocacy requires varied strategies and tactics that fall within a problem-solving skill set. Awareness, analysis, and plans of action comprise the ways in which the advocacy filter can be attained.
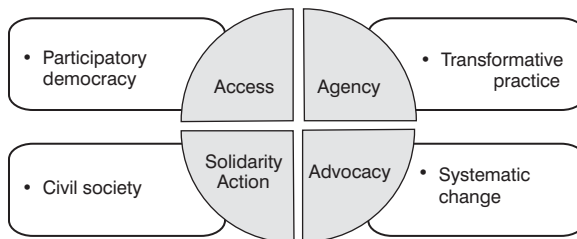

Figure 4.1 The social justice lens (adapted from BC Teachers' Federation, 2010)

The solidarity action filter can be used to work across differences, realize equity, and recognize justice. Solidarity action is used for the accomplishment of collective betterment through utilizing networking techniques and coalition building. Effective communication skills, empathy, and cooperation are needed to implement solidarity action into practice.

These four filters are used to create a common language that allows for widespread discussion, and a guarantee that actions are taken beyond mere dialogue to direct implementation and policy measures (BC Teachers' Federation, 2010). Creating this common language allows for a step forward in food sovereignty's ultimate goal of social transformation as discussed by Patel (2005). This is especially true in areas where the narrative's principles are seen to be experiencing trouble being carried out, such as the Global North.

The use of participatory democracy, transformative practice, systemic change, and cooperation with civil society in addition to the four filters assures the inclusion of disadvantaged and previously excluded parties as well as the transformation of ideas into practice. A common language would allow for a holistic, rational, critical, and iterative process to comprehensively address the organization of food sovereignty activities in the Global North, as Roman-Alcalá (2013) has called for. This comprehensive designation can help organizations focus on the issues of implementation surrounding socio-economic restrictions, problematic assumptions of movement discourses, the constitution of decision-making in communities, competitive relations among organizations and the obstacles inherent in the modern liberal state.

Application of the social justice framework towards the food sovereignty movement

As Guthman (2008) points out: "a lack of attention to questions of privilege has given rise to some stinging scholarly critiques of the contemporary US alternative food movement…" (p. 431). These critiques have included the food sovereignty narratives and activism – among other alternative food movements – currently being practiced in the Global North. Applying the social justice framework to the food sovereignty movement provides an example of how some of the alleged issues of engagement and practice can be overcome. This questioning of the 'status quo' in food sovereignty activities allows for an examination of advocacy groups and activists in relation to their use of the objectives as outlined by the Nyéléni pillars. The framework permits an examination of the pillars through the social justice lens. This application of the four filters to each pillar of food sovereignty allows for a reflexive approach to the movement's core concepts.

While the food sovereignty movement has enjoyed an increased presence and practice outside of the Global South, the movement's principles have not been fully realized in the Global North. While the Nyéléni declaration (Nyéléni International Steering Committee, 2007) advocates the promotion of "political education in order to assert food sovereignty" (p. 68) through raising awareness and cooperative learning, there is only a burgeoning realization of the narrative's principles in the majority of the Global North which thwarts its employment.

One of the pillars which has experienced substantial trouble in its realization is that of 'Food for People.' This pillar places people (including those who are/have been marginalized) at the center of food and agricultural policies, rejects the notion of food as a commodity, and ensures "sufficient, healthy, and culturally appropriate food" for all individuals and communities (Nyéléni International Steering Committee, 2007 p. 76).

Despite the attempt at creating systemic change towards autonomy and power within food systems, most food movements – including food sovereignty in the United States – focus their efforts on the food itself, instead of structural inequalities (Guthman, 2008). This misdirection is not only a barrier to the creation of lasting, systemic change but is also antithetical towards food sovereignty's main principles. By focusing on the food itself, movements disregard the lasting and historical injustices within industrialized food systems. This ignorance therefore perpetuates the marginalization of those the food sovereignty movement is attempting to empower.

One example of this can be seen in the 'solutions' advocated by mainstream food movements being "compatible with, and have even been adopted by, large food and agribusiness corporations whose practices contribute to the very problems the food movement purports to address" (Figueroa, 2013 p. 4). This compatibility with agribusiness and adoption of market strategies mitigates what the 'Food for People' pillar – and food sovereignty in general – is trying to achieve. By aligning themselves with alternative movements, corporations create a discursive image of attempting to integrate everyday people into food systems. However, little to no integration and autonomous decision-making occurs. Not only does this further disempower those already marginalized by these corporations and the food systems they operate in, but it has the potential to supersede the alternative movements unless actions are taken to challenge the dominant rhetoric.

Figueroa (2013) also points out how 'questions of difference' such as class, race, the legacy of slavery, and gender are suppressed or altered in food movement discourses. Guthman (2008 p. 433) writes about the "race-inflected, even missionary, aspects of alternative food politics" and how "these projects reflect white desires and missionary practices." Alkon and McCullen (2010) argue that the potential for alternative food movements to aid in the 'coalescence' of sustainability and justice is "constrained by what scholars have identified as the prevalent whiteness of such movements" (p. 937). Slocum (2010) adds to this, stating that "US alternative food networks make a point of defining food security as existing when people can access 'culturally appropriate' food, but this intention may map static 'races' onto inert food cultures" (p. 307). While the use of the term 'culturally appropriate' is meant to be inclusionary and autonomous, it can end up being exclusionary, as Slocum suggests. The term is used in an attempt to assist such diverse places as the United States; however contestations over the definitions of 'race' and what is 'appropriate' create issues of practice and application.

Guthman (2008) ties these two issues together, citing that alternative food practices "are hailed by a set of discourses that reflect whitened cultural histories," and due to this, "these projects lack resonance in the communities in which they are located" (p. 431). She also draws on her students' experience of

their work placements in community food projects, stating that "the [alternative movements] reflect the desires of the creators… more than those of the communities they putatively serve" (p. 441). This exemplifies how people – even those who are being targeted for 'assistance' – are not being placed at the center of decision and policy making. Alkon and McCullen (2010) reiterate this point, adding that "This whiteness can inhibit the participation of people of color in alternative food systems, and can constrain the ability of those food systems to meaningfully address inequality" (p. 938). Lack of participation, especially by those who are marginalized within the current food system, is a barrier for the creation of lasting and systemic change.

Winter (2003) questions the turns to 'quality' and 'localism' in relation to alternative food economies being able to "challenge the dominance of globalised networks and systems of provision and herald a more ecologically sound agricultural sector" (p. 31). In other words, alternative food movements in the Global North have equated 'high quality, local' food as a catch-all to the critiques made against large agribusiness and the current food system. "Locality based food systems, however, have a tendency to produce a two-class food system in which those who produce the food cannot afford to purchase it" (Trauger, 2014 p. 7). As Harvey (1996) has pointed out, the defensive nature of these movements condenses – rather than liberates – the field of 'political engagement.'

Trauger (2014) points out that "appeals for rights in the juridical structures of the (neo)liberal state may not be productive for food sovereignty" (p. 2), questioning if the movement and its principles will be able to stand up to territorial state powers. Trauger also states that the food sovereignty narrative's call "for radical solutions however, do not adequately engage with the problems that the modern liberal state presents for food sovereignty" (p. 3).

Food sovereignty – and the 'Food for People' pillar in particular – has not been as easily exercised as in other places around the world. Issues such as disjointed foci of alternative movements, co-option of solutions by large food/agribusinesses, and whitened discourses are evident within the Global North. While these occurrences may not actively hinder engagement with the food sovereignty narrative, their discursive and political power creates significant roadblocks for doing so. The following sections will use the social justice framework earlier explained to show how its application in the food sovereignty movement will help in its application in the Global North, narrowing in on the 'Food for People' pillar.

The four filters in application

Each filter of the social justice lens has the ability to help activists and scholars engage with and understand the food sovereignty narrative. Along with their reflexive nature, the use of each lens has the capacity to deal with the complications surrounding engagement of the food sovereignty principles in the Global North. The filters will be examined within the context of the 'questions of difference' – as mentioned previously – that is the source of tension and disagreement among activists and scholars in their engagement with food sovereignty.

The access filter is at the heart of the food sovereignty narrative, emphasizing "those who are hungry, under occupation, in conflict zones and marginalized" (Nyéléni International Steering Committee, 2007 p. 76). Applying the access filter attempts to overcome some of the issues that activists have arguably been experiencing. A prime example of engagement issues can be seen in farmers' markets, where "Many managers, vendors and customers unwittingly draw upon the community imaginary to justify or obscure the structural barriers that prevent the participation of low-income people and people of color" (Alkon and McCullen, 2010 p. 939). Acknowledging the societal restrictions that close off opportunities – such as in the 'two-class' food systems mentioned by Trauger (2014) – allows for these restrictions to surface in food system discussions. This emergent discourse enables a promotion of empowerment and realization of rights, rather than restrictions through suppression and co-option. By reflecting on this issue along with the questions of difference Figueroa discusses, dialogue – and then actions – can be undertaken to make a food system more open and available to all. Creating this reflexive discourse will allow food sovereignty organizations to find common ground in their communication, while still allowing them autonomous control of their actions.

The use of the agency filter recognizes individuals and groups previously overlooked, and gives them a voice in challenging the status quo. This is echoed in the Nyéléni declaration, through their statement that "Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social classes and generations" (p. 9). Agency can also be utilized to examine if the classifications and social categories that food sovereignty designates are appropriate for the measures it aims to put into practice, and whether these categories of people want their food systems to change. As food sovereignty is both a wide-reaching theory yet context-specific in practice, the language it uses (in this case, the classifications and social categories it is targeting) needs to be all encompassing or risk being exclusionary. Trauger (2014) scrutinizes the defining of 'problem' areas by delegates to the Nyéléni forum in Mali, stating "As compelling as these visions are, they do not adequately confront the political realities of liberal sovereignty, namely, the territorialization of space and national economies under the governance of the modern nation state" (p. 13). The food sovereignty narrative has named its criticisms against current global food systems and the way in which its advocates believe things should be, but without naming explicit measures in how to ensure enduring change. While this is due to the intended amorphous property of the narrative, it can lead to confusion and disputes among activists. Trauger's criticisms of the movement's visions highlight this; that in order to create systemic adaptations, critical thinking about the 'realities' of circumstances needs to occur. Only then will individuals be able to gain knowledge of their rights and what they can (or cannot) do, and therefore intend to effect change.

The advocacy filter highlights the ability of food sovereignty to empower individuals and groups within a food system. In examining food sovereignty's intent for social transformation, the use of advocacy can help with such issues as

"The industrialized agricultural landscape of the USA [being] made through racial ideologies active in the labor market and the institutionalized racism that removed African Americans, Mexican and indigenous people from the land" (Slocum, 2010 p. 312). These groups – and others – have been actively disenfranchised in food systems throughout the world. Advocacy also has the ability to contribute to rectifying the disjointed foci of food movements, making sure that focus is placed on those people and practices that are unjust, instead of just the food itself. Deliberately influencing actions through acquiring skills to effect change allows these groups to empower themselves and create social transformation within their respective food systems.

The networking and coalition building that the solidarity action filter advances is extremely beneficial in the context of practicing food sovereignty in the Global North. Currently organizations such as Food First, the US Food Sovereignty Alliance, the UK Food Group, Nyéléni Europe, and Friend of the Earth Europe are all working towards food sovereignty in the Global North. While these groups recognize each other and may work together from time to time, a common language would help to further their causes through effective communication. Guthman (2008) refers to the work of John Brown Childs (2003) on 'transcommunality' and how increased communication, respect, and understanding can occur through the interactions between diverse communities. Such is the nature of food sovereignty that each group focuses on different specific undertakings; however a collective action and pooling of resources would help to advance the food sovereignty cause in their respective nations. The use of solidarity action to work across differences and realize equality also helps to attenuate the effects of territorial state powers as a result of the neoliberal food regime. Utilizing cooperation, empathy, and effective communication skills in this vein allows for the rejection of food as a commodity and continues to place people at the center of decision-making.

A common language and approach

The use of these four filters allows for a 'common language', in that they outline an established framework in which to analyze and engage with food sovereignty. If all groups that identify with and utilize food sovereignty implemented the social justice framework, there would be an opportunity for knowledge sharing and the proliferation of best practices. Food sovereignty's "strength is in its particular relation to actually existing conditions, rather than its theoretical universality," with such broad theoretical work posing issues of "uncritical acceptance" and "misdirection of activist energy" (Roman-Alcalá, 2013 p. 35). This is not to say that food sovereignty activists are meant to implement identical programs in their respective locales. However the use of the social justice framework and its common language can assure the consistent practice of the narrative's principles.

The common language and approach that the social justice framework provides would start development towards rectifying some of the criticisms towards the food sovereignty movement. Some of the main issues it would

help with are the 'disjuncture' between activists' and academics' conversations (Sharma 2011) and the 'binaries' in food sovereignty practice (Trauger, 2013). Clarifying the objectives and skill sets within the food sovereignty narrative allows activists to reach out to others for knowledge and advice, while still allowing individual activities to be tailored to specific locales.

The common language and approach provides for the reflexive practice of the social justice framework to help resolve issues of how some food movements in the Global North "are ignorant of the way in which employment of these discourses might constitute another kind of exclusionary practice" (Guthman, 2008 p. 434). Being able to work from the same, acknowledged, language would allow food sovereignty advocates in the Global North to overcome "the particular roles and conditions (historical and contemporary) of agriculture in the Northern economy" which currently challenge its practice (Roman-Alcalá, 2013 p. 2). The movement has gained following and acceptance in the Global North – as several authors in this book demonstrate – however, there are still many steps that need to be taken to comprehensively put food sovereignty principles into effect. Currently, the term is not used within any government structures in the Global North, restricting its ability to be 'validated' by federal law. This can be seen in Tauger's example of the town of Sedgewick, Maine attempting to practice food sovereignty and encountering resistance in the form of federal regulation (Trauger, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter examined the application of a social justice framework, presently used in the education field, to the narratives and activism of food sovereignty. The concept has been steadily adopted in nations around the world, but has had a varying and irregular practice.

As Patel (2005) points out, the role of food sovereignty is "to provide democratic spaces for communicating" about its intent. The social justice framework, including the implementation of the social justice lens, ensures that activist rhetoric is transformed into cohesive, long-term actions and is carried out in a democratic fashion. This can help with the engagement and practice of food sovereignty in areas where there has not been a united realization, such as the Global North. Advocacy groups and activists can make use of this framework to help disseminate the message of food sovereignty, and execute its principles in their respective areas.

The framework also allows for a reflexive examination of the food sovereignty narrative as it grows throughout time and place. Using the 'Food for People' pillar as an example, we can see that the framework and its lenses can be used to generate resolutions to critiques against the food sovereignty movement. Issues such as co-option by large agribusiness, whitened discourses, territorial state powers, and questions of difference are significant towards difficulties of practice. However, reflexive examination and challenging the status quo can allow for these issues to be rectified.

Applying the social justice framework to the food sovereignty narrative allows for a challenge of the effectuality of its core principles, as well as creating lasting and systemic solutions to some of its critiques. The four filters of access, agency, advocacy, and solidarity action can help to create a common language and approach which will help in the widespread exercise of food sovereignty in areas currently struggling to engage with, and practice, it.

"We must be clear about what we are against before we can proclaim what we are for" (Figueroa, 2013 p. 17), with the ability of the social justice framework to be used as a reflexive tool allowing advocacy groups – and academics – to create systemic and lasting solutions to those characteristics of the current food system deemed objectionable. Applying the social justice framework has the potential to allow for the fulfillment of the movement's core concepts in its engagement and practice. The common language and approach the framework affords creates opportunities for knowledge sharing and the proliferation of best practices.

Note

1 While the definitions of the terms 'Global South' and 'Global North' have been contested, their use here constitutes the following interpretation: the Global North are countries that are 'wealthy' and 'developed' (e.g. North America and the European Union) with the Global South consisting of countries that are 'poor' and 'developing' (e.g. South America) (Therien, 1999).

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5 Framing food provisioning research in the UK

Whither food sovereignty?

Carol Morris, Susanne Seymour and Adam Spencer

Introduction

This chapter argues that the concept of food sovereignty is currently not a particularly prominent feature of public and political discourse associated with food provisioning in the UK. A 'Food Sovereignty Now' campaign was established as recently as 2011 which, following the 2007 Declaration of Nyéléni,[1] defines food sovereignty as "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems".[2] Much more pronounced than food sovereignty in the UK is the concept of food security which has, since the latter part of the 2000s, become a key driver of national agri-food policy[3] although whether it has found its way into the popular lexicon is less clear (Battachary and Hunter, 2012; TNS-BMRB, 2012). A widely cited definition of food security, which has been mobilised in the UK context by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) (2006, p. 6), derives from the 1996 World Food Summit and describes a condition whereby "all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 1996). The relative prominence of these two concepts of food security and food sovereignty is particularly important since it has been suggested that they understand the problems and challenges of food provisioning and their proposed solutions in very different ways. For example, it is argued that "food sovereignty goes beyond the concept of *food security*… [Food security] means that… [everyone] must have the certainty of having enough to eat each day[,] … but says nothing about where that food comes from or how it is produced".[4]

Developing this approach, the chapter conceptualises food sovereignty and food security as distinctive food provisioning 'frames' in order to explore the nature and extent of research on food sovereignty in the UK, and the relative degree of attention this is given compared with that given to food security, within evolving research agendas concerned with food provisioning more broadly. In undertaking this task we aim to reveal something of the politics of food provisioning research and the implications of this for UK-based

research and practice that are concerned with 'alternative' ways of organising the food system. We recognise arguments that associate the framing of food provisioning as food security with neoliberal modes of governance (e.g. Trauger, 2014) though we deploy an understanding of neoliberalism as both a geographically and temporally heterogeneous set of practices (see Fish et al., 2008). Our approach in this chapter is therefore one which teases out how actors in UK research environments interpret and mobilise food security and food sovereignty discourses in developing practical research agendas and in doing so how they engage with and help produce specific modes of governance. The chapter is based on a three-year research project entitled 'Research agendas for food provisioning: UK framing practices and science-policy interactions', which began in May 2012 and is funded by the Leverhulme Trust.[5]

Following a brief introduction to the framing approaches being used in the chapter we then go on to provide an overview of food security and food sovereignty engagements in a UK context before presenting the results of some preliminary investigations into research agendas in each of these areas. The chapter ends with some conclusions about the nature of framing in the field of food provisioning research, highlighting the dominance of the food security frame and its association with the UK's neoliberal agri-food policy agenda. We also comment on the limitations of the different framing approaches deployed.

Food security and food sovereignty as different 'framings' of food provisioning

In this section we discuss food security and food sovereignty as different 'framings' of food provisioning. The concept of a frame has been utilised in a variety of disciplinary and sub-disciplinary contexts and recently has been mobilised in the analysis of both US (Mooney and Hunt, 2009) and UK (Kirwan and Maye, 2013) food policy. This chapter draws on two different approaches to framing, both of which conceptualise framing as influencing understandings, interactions and actions. Frames, according to Callon (1998) provide a "boundary within which interactions take place" (cited in Kirwan and Maye, 2013) while Kirwan and Maye (2013, p. 2) see them as "mechanisms by which to organise experience and guide action", whether individual or collective. Crucially in terms of research agendas, different framings and their linked narratives are argued by Rivera-Ferre (2012, p. 165) to "result in different assessments for a given problem with totally different approaches in addressing that problem, and different (if not opposing) results in the solutions proposed".

The first framing approach we deploy is that used by Mooney and Hunt (2009) which draws on Goffman's (1974) work in this area, including his idea of keying. This suggests that 'master frames' develop but that they incorporate collective action frames which embrace both dominant (flat key) and alternative (sharp key) interpretations. In their extended analysis of food security policy in the US, Mooney and Hunt (2009) suggest that food security has become an 'elaborate master frame' that dominates debate about food provisioning

challenges and which is informed by three 'collective action frames' associated with hunger and nutrition, community development and risk. However, they go on to argue that the apparent consensus of the food security master frame actually disguises considerable disagreement between the actors who identify food provisioning challenges in these terms. Drawing on Goffman's (1974) idea of 'keying', they argue that each of the collective action frames can carry both a flat key which normally works to reinforce dominant interpretations and practices, and a sharp key that enables critical and alternative responses. Mooney and Hunt assert that the keying concept allows movement from a multiplicity of static framings to an idea that each framing is negotiated and contested. In this conceptualisation food sovereignty is situated *within* the food security master frame, albeit as a 'sharp key', with Mooney and Hunt (op. cit.) making explicit reference to La Via Campesina in their discussion of the sharp key of the hunger and nutrition collective action frame.

The second approach to framing we deploy is that developed by Rivera-Ferre (2012) who suggests a process of separate framings between dominant and alternative perspectives. She uses this framing approach to analyse agri-food research and how it is responding to the challenge of hunger and nutrition. Her approach is informed in turn by the work of Thompson and Scoones (2009) on different narratives in the agricultural sciences. Rivera-Ferre (2012) identifies an 'official' framing of agricultural science which emphasises a largely technical and science-based approach to boosting productivity, and associated with this positions food security simply in terms of availability of food. An 'alternative' framing of agri-food research places more emphasis on political rather than technical solutions to food provisioning challenges, asserting instead that sufficient food is already produced. Research that focuses on collective and context-specific initiatives such as food sovereignty is associated with this alternative framing. Indeed, Rivera-Ferre argues that the social sciences need to play a greater role in promoting the alternative framing. In this approach, food sovereignty is positioned as an oppositional frame that is outside of and set apart from food security, a concept that is seen as dominating the 'official' framing of agri-food research. This interpretation concurs with Lee's (2013, p. 218) analysis of food security and food sovereignty, at the international level, as 'irreconcilable paradigms' deriving from neoliberal and populist perspectives respectively.

In the preliminary research reported below we seek to explore which framings of food provisioning are evident within food provisioning research currently being commissioned or conducted in the UK, focusing in particular on the food security and food sovereignty frames and how the use of these frames varies across research programmes, institutes and disciplines. In doing so we also consider the relative merits of the two conceptualisations outlined in this section, i.e. whether, when food provisioning research is undertaken in specific institutional contexts, food sovereignty is framed as a sharp key response within the master frame of food security or whether it is positioned as an oppositional frame to food security. Our focus on the UK in the analysis is justified by its

relatively greater degree of support for free trade, and other aspects of a neoliberal agri-food policy agenda, compared with other countries in Europe (see Potter and Tilzey, 2005). Moreover, the UK government is sponsoring a major research programme in 'Global Food Security' which provides an important empirical focus for our investigation.

Methods

The following contextual section of the chapter is based on a discussion of UK agri-food policy documents and other secondary sources including websites and the print media. In the subsequent section, where we present analysis of UK food provisioning research, the sources utilised were websites and documents published by the institutions of interest, namely government funded research councils and research-based institutions including universities and research institutes (that have multiple sources of funding from public, private and third sectors). In order to identify relevant research activity key search terms were employed, initially in May/June 2012 and repeated in the same period a year later, including 'food security', 'food sovereignty', 'local food', 'food security research university', 'research institute food security', 'university food sovereignty', and 'research institute food sovereignty'. We acknowledge a number of limitations of this methodological approach, in particular those associated with the analysis of websites, and are endeavouring to make good the gaps in subsequent stages of our research.

Food security and food sovereignty: UK engagements

In order to provide further context to our analysis of research agendas, in this section we discuss briefly public, political and policy engagements with food security and food sovereignty in the UK.

In UK agri-food policy, food security is a fairly recent concern if the push for production during and in the immediate aftermath of World War Two is excluded. Beginning in 2002, the UK's approach to ensuring national food security has been to emphasise the importance of a robust international trading system. For example, in Defra's *Sustainable Farming and Food Strategy* it was stated that "…the government will continue to assert within the European Union that the best way of ensuring food security is through improved trading relationships, rather than a drive for self-sufficiency" (Defra, 2002, p. 10). Developing from the *Sustainable Farming and Food Strategy*, in 2006 Defra published the first specific policy document devoted to food security entitled *Food Security and the UK: An Evidence and Analysis Paper*. This retained the focus on trade as central to the UK's national food security. Climate change, identified in earlier documents as a threat, is here seen as a potential trigger for increased domestic production: "…to the extent that climate change reverses long run declines in real global commodity prices (e.g. for wheat), market returns to UK farmers and incentives to increase production would increase" (Defra, 2006, p. 30).

Food security was identified as a major policy problem for government following the world food price spike in 2007–08 with Defra stating that "the current food security situation is a cause for deep concern" (Defra, 2008, p. 1), even though the UK was held to enjoy a high level of food security. The 2008 document, *Ensuring the UK's Food Security in a Changing World*, was the first by Defra to identify world population growth, and changing dietary preferences as countries became wealthier, as having potential effects on food security. Trade nonetheless remained central to the British approach to food security. Liberalised trade was seen as promoting a total increase in global production but increasing production at home was also a feature of the policy. The desirability of increasing production was linked to the UN FAO's (2009) estimate that global production would need to rise by 50 per cent by 2030 and double by 2050.

The most important policy document in today's UK food security policy is undoubtedly the 2011 Foresight Report, prepared by the Government Office for Science, *The Future of Food and Farming* (GOS, 2011). In this report the drivers of policy – climate change, an increasing and wealthier population, increased competition for resources such as land, water and energy – are all analysed. Existing policy preferences favouring international trade and rejecting national self-sufficiency are reinforced in the Foresight Report which makes a clear argument that, "Food security is best served by fair and fully functioning markets and not by policies to promote self-sufficiency" (p. 96). Emphasis is also placed on the role of individual consumer demand, informed by "adequate high-quality information", as a key driver of the food system: "Empowering individual choice in the global food system has great potential to create multiple benefits for individuals, communities, societies, and for the environment. The collective demand of a projected nine billion people in 2050 will exert enormous influence on what kind of food is produced, where it is sourced, and how it is grown or harvested" (p. 158).

While other means to address food security are mentioned, the clear conclusion of the Report is that a policy of 'sustainable intensification' is required, with Friends of the Earth (FoE) subsequently (2012, p. 8) identifying the UK as an international pioneer in the use of this terminology in policy. Sustainable intensification is the goal of producing more food from the same quantity of land in an environmentally sustainable manner.[6] Critics have argued that sustainable intensification places undue emphasis on technological involvement, including GM (FoE, 2012), and it is apparent that the Foresight Report has a substantial focus on the role of technology in delivering increased production in both the global north and south. Further, the considerable space the Report devotes to research needs strongly focuses on the area of increasing food production. Indeed, that the Foresight process initiated action on "The top 100 questions of importance to the future of global agriculture" (Pretty et al., 2010) rather than the global food system as a whole, again reveals a strong steer to prioritising increased production in practice.

The limited engagement of the Foresight Report with food sovereignty is mainly in the context of trade arguments. Open markets (i.e. free trade) are

seen as the best means to achieve food security, illustrating the UK's neoliberal approach to agri-food policy. Meanwhile, food sovereignty is positioned as part of a "competing" philosophy which "argues that national food security can best be met by pursuing a policy of self-sufficiency in which a country aims to feed its population from its own resources – a strategy often pursued under the banner of 'food sovereignty' " (p. 96). Having narrowly aligned food sovereignty with self-sufficiency which it subsequently links to national trade protectionism, Foresight rejects this suite of approaches. The Report argues that this position does not "best serve" food security: "Food security is best served by fair and fully functioning markets and not by policies to promote self-sufficiency" (p. 97). This publicly critical stance towards food sovereignty is similar to that identified in Lee's (2013) international analysis. There are thus important, oppositional differences in the framing of food security and food sovereignty in the Foresight Report. Food sovereignty is further reworked by being positioned as one part of the consumer values and "ethical stances" which are seen as major influences in Foresight, though subject to rapid change (p. 59). This assimilation of food sovereignty within Foresight's wider consumer demand discourse contrasts with a discourse of people's rights to define food and agricultural production systems which is characteristic of food sovereignty activism (see above). Foresight makes a further attempt to rework and address sovereignty concerns by claiming that "placing trust in the international system does not mean relinquishing a country's sovereignty, rights and responsibilities to provide food for its population" (GOS, 2011, p. 97).

In summary, in UK agri-food policy, food security has become, since 2008, the dominant framing of food provisioning challenges which is being operationalised through support for a liberal trading regime and a rejection of national self-sufficiency, both of which provide tacit endorsement of large food companies that play a major role in international supply chains. Such a policy framing has marginalised food sovereignty as an oppositional approach and caused tensions with the proponents of localised food systems (Maye, 2013).

Turning now to a consideration of other engagements with food sovereignty, efforts to establish a food sovereignty movement in the UK are very recent and follow a 2011 meeting in Austria of the European Forum for Food Sovereignty. Groups which attended the Forum and others have initiated a campaign entitled 'Food Sovereignty Now!'(FSN) which represents itself as "a UK network of the global food sovereignty movement" and asks "how do we build a movement for food sovereignty in the UK?" A wide range of individuals and NGOs are involved, including those with single or multiple interests in environment, development, social justice, food and agriculture.[7] The first meeting of the campaign took place in London in July 2012 and a report of that meeting describes its inspiration as the six principles of food sovereignty which were developed at the 2007 forum in Mali. It goes on to discuss how, "in essence, food sovereignty is about valuing food and the work and knowledge of the people who produce it, reclaiming democratic control of our food system and natural resources, and practising sustainable methods. We also built on last year's

European gathering [on food sovereignty] which rejected policies that prioritise competing for international trade over a fair food system".[8] One of the NGOs involved in the FSN campaign, the World Development Movement, is overtly critical of food security which it regards as "holding the main stage in national and international policy making and research, being strongly associated with the corporate run and over-industrialised food system".[9]

As such, the FSN campaign frames the problem of food provisioning and its proposed solutions rather differently to much of the discussion about food security, particularly as this takes place within policy domains. In doing so, it follows the international food sovereignty movement's identification of the key problem in food provisioning as the challenges faced by small farmers to make a living due to the increasing corporate control of the food system. The localised control of land by small producers (as part of a wider process of food provisioning democratisation in which communities as a whole gain greater control over their food supply) is emphasised as a solution, in association with the use of sustainable methods of production, notably those associated with agro-ecology.

Although food sovereignty is a relatively new movement within the UK this does not mean that there has been no previous interest in or action on the issues that it encompasses, both in public and policy discourse, practice or research. For example, some press attention has been given to food sovereignty as a concept[10] but this is almost exclusively confined to the broadsheet newspapers and in commentary that pertains to parts of the global south, particularly countries in South America.[11] The concept appears to have been addressed mainly by journalists who are critical of globalisation and in favour of trade reform. Meanwhile, at grassroots level the FSN campaign acknowledges the UK's recent 'food renaissance', including the rise in local food initiatives which, it is claimed, is evidence of "a growing awareness that a better food system is possible".[12] It can be argued that attempts to establish a food sovereignty movement in this context reflect a concern to bring together this existing activity and to raise its profile (in part through making links with the international food sovereignty movement) both politically and publicly in order to effect change in the food system.

UK food provisioning research framed as 'food security' and 'food sovereignty'

In this section of the chapter we provide an overview of our documentary research into the state of UK-based food provisioning research, specifically work that is framed as food security and food sovereignty.

Research councils

The analysis begins with the UK government funded research councils. The Department for Business Innovation and Skills (DBIS)(2010) (which funds

UK research councils), in its *Allocation of Science and Research Funding 2011/12 to 2014/15,* identifies global food security (GFS) as one of the six RCUK priority areas (p. 8) but makes no mention of food sovereignty. A five-year multi-agency programme on GFS was launched in 2011 which involves: RCUK, DBIS, Defra, Department for International Development (Dfid), Food Standards Agency (FSA), Scottish Government and the Technology Strategy Board. The Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council (BBSRC), the research council with interests in bioscience research oriented to agriculture and food issues, has been nominated as the lead research council on this issue, a development which Friends of the Earth claim has helped increase the BBSRC's agricultural science research budget (FoE, 2012). The website for the GFS programme, which is managed by BBSRC, defines the problem in terms of the predictions about world population growth by the FAO (2009). Although there is not an explicit call to double world food production there is a clear sense that more food needs to be produced. However, the four headline research themes of the programme – economic resilience; resource efficiency; sustainable food production and supply; and sustainable healthy, safe diets – suggest a wide-ranging agenda. Nonetheless, no explicit attention is given to food sovereignty within the Strategic Plan (GFS Programme, 2011) of the Global Food Security programme or its associated web pages.

The total spend on the GFS programme is £449m although there is not an equal allocation of money to GFS across the research councils, with the bulk of funding (92.6 per cent) allocated by the BBSRC. See Table 5.1.

Examination of the websites for all seven UK research councils reveals that only two – the BBSRC and Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) – host dedicated GFS web pages with the BBSRC supplying the most details. It has food security as one of its three main research priorities, with sub-themes which reflect its bioscientific and production concerns. Four of these focus on agricultural production aspects, while only one highlights food health and

Table 5.1 Research Council spend on GFS programme 2011/12–2014/15

	Global Food Security £m
BBSRC	416
ESRC	8
MRC	10
NERC	15
Total	440 [449★]

Source: Department for Business Innovation and Skills (2010, p. 9) extract from table entitled "Table of Research Council spend on priority programmes".

Notes: There are seven UK research councils. ★The figures provided in the table from DBIS do not add up correctly to the total given so the actual sum of £449m is used to calculate the percentages given in the text. ESRC – Economic and Social Research Council; MRC – Medical Research Council; NERC – Natural Environment Research Council.

safety and there is no key theme related to waste prevention. ESRC has a food security web page but this provides no specific mission or research programme statement.

The strategic research and delivery plans for all seven UK research councils make no mention of food sovereignty (AHRC (2013; 2010), BBSRC (2010a; 2010b), EPSRC (2010a; 2010b), ESRC (2009; 2010), MRC (2009; 2010), NERC (2007; 2010) and STFC (2010; c.2010)) and the term was not used on any of the research council websites, except that of ESRC. Here, only four references to food sovereignty research were found and related to examples of funded projects focused on southern Africa and Mexico. This suggests a very minor presence of food sovereignty in research council discourse, exclusively related to non-UK contexts in the global south. It would also appear that the UK research councils do not associate food sovereignty explicitly with food security which is much more widely referenced as a term. However, research that has been funded by the ESRC, in particular on local food, does suggest research council support for research which embodies some of the spirit of food sovereignty.

Research institutions

Turning now to research institutions, five research institutes and eleven UK universities[13] (out of a total 142 higher education institutions in the UK) host dedicated food security web pages reflecting a significant institutional commitment to food provisioning research framed in this way. A further four universities are among the top BBSRC institutions funded for GFS research, which implies that some of the research presented by the BBSRC as concerned with food security is not being represented as such through dedicated food security web pages. Concerns about producing more food at the global scale are dominant within research framed as food security in these institutions, with food provisioning activity at other scales, particularly the local, given much less attention. Indicative analysis of the academic disciplines contributing to university food security research (i.e. in the 11 universities with food security web pages) suggests that: science disciplines predominate over the social sciences and humanities; within the sciences the disciplines of plant, food and animal science appear to be more dominant; and within the social sciences economics is always a contributing discipline.

Compared with the research councils, a greater though still modest level of explicit engagement with food sovereignty is revealed in a search of research institute and university web pages. However, none of the research institutes funded by BBSRC[14] made any explicit reference to food sovereignty on their web pages. Ten further research institute websites were surveyed and five of these[15] did refer to food sovereignty research or concerns. These references were mainly in connection to food sovereignty in the global south but usage of the term was not extensive. For example the Institute of Development Studies' website referred to food sovereignty in four contexts: a 2011 paper; an article on food sovereignty in Latin America; the relaunch of the *Journal of*

Peasant Studies; and a news story about the UN's World Social Forum gathering in 2009. Likewise, although a paper presented by the Organic Research Centre accounted for the references to food sovereignty on the Scottish Agricultural Colleges' website, its own web pages only refer to food sovereignty once in the context of the Organic Research Centre's research programme where it is positioned in its evaluation and improvement goals alongside food security and sustainability of food systems.

The association of the Organic Research Centre with food sovereignty research is unsurprising as it has organic food production at the heart of its research operations (thus there is a clear link to agro-ecology). However, there are other relevant facets, including a focus on increasing resilience, whole-farm approaches and participatory research which engages producers in research. Likewise Coventry University has a long-established reputation as a centre of research on local food, as well as having an institutional affiliation with Garden Organic, another leading organic research institute with a charitable foundation. This is embodied in its Centre for Agroecology and Food Security (CAFS) which is a joint university–NGO initiative. It is also notable that the new Director of CAFS is Michel Pimbert, an agricultural and political ecologist who worked previously at the International Institute for Environment and Development and is an advocate and scholar of food sovereignty (e.g. Pimbert, 2009).

Discussion

In terms of the relationship between food security and food sovereignty framings there is evidence of both sharp key critical engagements and oppositional, alternative framings. Of the eleven universities with clearly defined programmes of food security research only four had a significant research programme engagement with food sovereignty: Coventry, Warwick and to a lesser extent Nottingham and Bristol (though two further ones – Cambridge and Lancaster – did have some engagement with research on food sovereignty through seminars). In most cases food sovereignty was a minority aspect of other university research initiatives more firmly focused on food security. One such example is the University of Nottingham which has a well-developed Global Food Security (GFS) initiative (with a dedicated website). This includes food sovereignty research carried out in the School of Politics and its associated Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice which is referenced in the Governance and Policy strand of the Nottingham GFS initiative. However, the initiative as a whole is dominated by food security concerns, particularly from bioscience perspectives, and food sovereignty is not mentioned in any of its other four research strands (waste, societal impacts, distribution and production, climate change and environmental impact).

Even research institutions or university research programmes which are more clearly in sympathy with food sovereignty issues (such as the Organic Research Centre and Coventry University) do not seem to reject food security as the master framing for food provisioning research. Instead, they often

position food sovereignty concerns alongside or in association with those of food security. Indeed, the food provisioning initiative at Coventry is located in the Centre for Agroecology and *Food Security* (our emphasis). In these instances, therefore, food sovereignty is not being used as a distinct frame to that of food security, providing support for Mooney and Hunt's (2009) conceptualisation. However, there are some instances, in the context of other research institutes, where food sovereignty is deliberately positioned as an alternative framing of food provisioning to food security and such cases map more readily onto Rivera-Ferre's (2012) conceptualisation of framing. For example, within the University of Nottingham's food security programme a case study page refers to work in the School of Politics and is labelled "Food Security versus Food Sovereignty". This involves an attempt to distinguish a free market-based, GM-oriented food security research emphasis from a more democratic and localised approach to food sovereignty research. Although we have not explored systematically the academic disciplines contributing to research into food sovereignty, the preliminary analysis suggests that a vocal minority of social scientists (specifically from political science, sociology and geography) are seeking to engage with yet distinguish their work from a mainly science and economics-led framing of food provisioning issues as food security. Agro-ecological science also features as a contributing discipline.

The final point we make here concerns the limits of our search process. Although this did not reveal that much university-based research is taking place within a 'food sovereignty' frame, it is clearly the case that a great deal of social science research on food provisioning in the UK has been published over the last 10–15 years that is very much in sympathy with some or all of the concerns of the food sovereignty movement. This work has been concerned with the so-called 'alternative' food system, including local/short food supply chains and networks and urban food production (e.g. Ilbery et al., 2006; Kirwan, 2004; Little et al., 2010; Maye et al., 2007; Morgan, 2010; Morris and Buller, 2003; Ricketts-Hein et al., 2006; Watts et al., 2005; Weatherall et al., 2003; Winter, 2003). While some of this research has been financed by UK funding bodies including the ESRC, much of it has been funded instead by government departments, charities and also the EU, research-commissioning organisations that were not included in our searches. The distinctive body of work on UK family farming conducted in the 1980s (e.g. Gasson and Errington, 1993) could also be seen as relevant to food sovereignty although this type of research is currently rather neglected.

Concluding points

This chapter has explored the place of food sovereignty within UK food provisioning research, comparing and contrasting this with research on food security. In doing so it has been informed by work that conceptualises food sovereignty and food security as frames which offer distinctive interpretations of food provisioning challenges: what these challenges actually are, including the scales at which they are seen to exist, their causes and potential solutions.

The chapter has demonstrated that the concept of food security is well developed in both policy and research domains in the UK, confirming the wider significance of Mooney and Hunt's (2009) claim of its status as an 'elaborate master frame'. Under this food security master frame, food provisioning challenges have mainly been understood to date in ways that emphasise the need to boost agricultural production (marshalling in the process various technologies including those based on GM) in response to a growing global population and various environmental pressures including climate change. Alongside this, liberalising international trade in food commodities is a central means of realising food security at home and abroad. As such, national self-sufficiency in food is not a policy objective although reference is made to the desirability of retaining 'sovereignty' at this scale. This, however, represents a very narrow understanding of food sovereignty that does not reflect the concerns of the international food sovereignty movement.

Within a research context an increasing number of universities and research institutes are developing research programmes dedicated to food security, stimulated in part by the implementation of a major GFS research programme funded by the UK research councils. Preliminary research indicates that the emphasis of research funding under this programme and disciplinary effort at the institutional level appears to be in the biological rather than the social sciences and humanities.

While there is clearly some engagement with the concept of food sovereignty in the UK this is much less pronounced than is the case with food security. Although a formal food sovereignty movement is very embryonic in this context it builds on well-established efforts, in both research and practice, that are in the spirit of the movement. Moreover, political engagement with the concept of food sovereignty, particularly through NGOs, is being mobilised in a deliberately oppositional way to food security. This engagement appears to be more advanced than in either food policy (where there is some evidence of the concept being reworked by the food security agenda) or research.

Meanwhile, in food provisioning research the majority of research institutions appear not to align with the concept of food sovereignty at all and yet may be involved in conducting research that is sympathetic to the concerns of the food sovereignty movement. Where food sovereignty is evident within the research agendas of research institutions for the most part it tends not be used as a distinct, stand-alone frame to that of food security. This provides support for the conceptualisation of food security as a 'master frame', within which the notion of 'keying' enables food sovereignty to be understood as a sharp key response to food security. However, this approach to framing is less satisfactory in the cases where research, conducted typically by a small group of critical social scientists, positions food sovereignty as a deliberately oppositional frame to food security and in doing so problematises the notion that food security represents a master frame encompassing all approaches to food provisioning challenges. Neither approach to framing food provisioning challenges may be adequate if, as Maye (2013, p. 387) suggests, it is necessary to "avoid framing approaches

to food security in oppositional terms", a perspective that fails "to reflect the dynamic and transitional qualities of particular production systems". Future primary research will involve interviews with national level food provisioning research commissioners and organisations with an interest in this research, and case studies of university and research institute food provisioning research coordinators and individual research projects and researchers. This work will explore how the food security and food sovereignty frames are being negotiated in and re-produced through research practice.

Notes

1 A declaration made to strengthen a global movement for food sovereignty at a meeting of 500 diverse stakeholder groups in the village of Nyéléni in Selingue, Mali.
2 http://foodsovereigntynow.org.uk/foodsov/ [accessed 26.2.2014].
3 The UK government's Foresight Report on the Future of Food and Farming, published in 2011, is a key document in the development of food security policy.
4 http://www.foodfirst.org/fr/node/47 [accessed November 2013]. This is derived from a paper written by Peter Rosset for Food First's journal *Backgrounder* in fall 2003.
5 http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/sociology/research/projects/making-science-public/index.aspx. Project number: RP2011-SP-013.
6 Garnett et al. (2013, p.33) argue "SI [sustainable intensification] denotes a goal but does not specify a priori how it should be attained or which agricultural techniques to deploy". These authors also argue that there are other priorities in food provisioning beyond boosting production. Foresight acknowledges this but emphasises production-based solutions to food security.
7 http://foodsovereigntynow.org.uk [accessed July 2013].
8 http://www.wdm.org.uk/food-and-hunger/new-movement-born-food-sovereignty-uk [accessed November 2013].
9 http://www.wdm.org.uk [accessed November 2013].
10 Although we note that no press coverage has been given to the Food Sovereignty Now campaign nor has there been any discussion of what food sovereignty in the UK would look like in policy and institutional terms.
11 Using Lexis-Nexis a search for the term 'food sovereignty' was made for all UK national newspapers for the period 1 January 2000 to 31 May 2013. Fifty-two results were obtained, 22 from the *Guardian/Observer* and 17 from the *Morning Star*.
12 http://foodsovereigntynow.org.uk/ukfoodsov [accessed July 2013].
13 Bristol, Cambridge, Coventry, Cranfield, Edinburgh, Lancaster, Leeds, Liverpool, Nottingham, Reading, Warwick.
14 Babraham RI, University of Cambridge; Pirbright Institute; Institute for Food Research; John Innes Centre; Rothamsted Research; Genome Analysis Centre; Roslin Institute.
15 Scottish Agricultural Colleges, Institute of Development Studies, International Institute for Environment and Development, Garden Organic and the Organic Research Centre.

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Part II
Politics

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6 Food security, food sovereignty, and the nation-state

Historicizing Norwegian farmland policy

Heidi Vinge

Introduction

The ability of nation-states to make decisions about their food system was one of the most contested issues in the process leading up to the 2013 Bali Ministerial Declaration on Trade. A reduction in the amount of cultivated land leads to decreased self-sufficiency and thus to increased dependence on other actors in the food system. In this way, agricultural land is a vital resource for national food sovereignty. Increased self-sufficiency decreases the vulnerability to fluctuations in food prices. Norway has a particular challenge in the availability and management of farmland, with cultivated land constituting only 3 percent of the total area of the nation, which is also a low proportion per capita. The farmland is located in the vicinity of the nation's largest cities, and it is thus currently under pressure from developments.

In their theory of food regimes, Philip McMichael and Harriet Friedmann (Friedmann and McMichael 1989) situated the territorial nation-state as a central actor in the postwar food regime with its export of the first world's model of national agroindustrialization. Food supplies were historically a matter of national and geopolitical security, before the so-called neoliberal food regime that led to an erosion of social entitlements (Patel and McMichael 2009). Norway still has a relatively small-scale and family-based farming system, primarily due to a policy in which social goals and protection of the diversity of the country's resources have been central (Forbord, Bjørkhaug, and Burton 2014). The starting point for this chapter is the recent changes in Norwegian agricultural policy, with a turn towards a strong emphasis on increasing production and a turn away from many of the social foundations that were previously fundamental to this policy.

The Nyéléni Declaration was passed by 500 representatives from 80 countries at the 2007 World Forum for Food Sovereignty, and it defines food sovereignty as:

> …the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems.
>
> (La Via Campesina 2007a, p. 1)

Another element of food sovereignty is the right to "…exercise autonomy in all territorial spaces: countries, regions, cities, and rural communities" (ibid.). In this chapter, I identify the key elements of nation-state food sovereignty as food self-sufficiency, protection of farm livelihood, agroecology, and autonomy from transnational capital. Fertile soil is a prerequisite for food sovereignty and food security, as more than 90 percent of the world's food is grown in soil (Juniper 2013). Today, Norway is a nation of abundance, with a high level of food security. Only two generations ago, most people in Norway depended on the land to survive. The nationalization of petroleum resources and the Nordic model of the welfare state have lifted broad layers of the population to a high standard of living. Norway was late in seeing industrialization and urbanization, but it is now experiencing extensive urban sprawl (Statistics Norway 2013). In 1950, about half the population lived in urban areas, but that figure is now 80 percent. The total population has increased dramatically over the same period. The largest cities in the country, most notably Oslo, Stavanger, and Trondheim, are located in the center of the country's most important agricultural areas. Arable land in growth areas is therefore under great pressure. The climate of Norway limits the area suitable for cultivating grains, with grassland farming being the only option in many parts of the country. With only 3 percent of the land under cultivation, as opposed to 10 percent on average in other states, there has been a focus on the need for preserving land that can be used for growing crops. Only 1 percent of the total land area is suitable for growing food grains. In spite of this resource scarcity, agricultural land is being lost at a steady pace to other purposes, such as housing and infrastructure, despite rather strong legal protection. If the present trend of farmland loss is allowed to continue, almost half of the area suitable for food production will be lost during the course of the next 50 years (Straume 2013).

By exploring the history and orientation of Norwegian farmland policy, this chapter will describe what food sovereignty means in a Norwegian context. Through a textual analysis of official documents, this chapter investigates the historical argument for Norway's farmland policy. This analysis of central policy documents pertaining to farmland, beginning with the first Land Act of 1928, outlines the discursive tension between, on the one hand, long-lasting and broad food sovereignty goals, and, on the other hand, recent policies oriented toward food security, which rely on neoproductivist policies for food production (Bjørkhaug, Almås, and Brobakk 2012). The following research questions are investigated: how has the discursive framing of Norwegian farmland policy changed historically, and in which ways can food sovereignty and food security be identified within these policy documents?

Defining the concepts of food sovereignty and food security

The World Food Summit in Rome in 1996 passed a definition of "food security" that has become widely established:

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

(World Food Summit 1996)

Carolan (2013) describes how food security has become a uniting concept globally in agrifood policies. The food-security framework for feeding the world acquired increased support after the food price crisis of 2007–2008. The concept of food sovereignty was introduced by the smallholder association La Via Campesina as a response to this development and to what they see as a neglect of focus on the controlling relations in the food system (Patel 2009). The food security framework has been criticized for its unrestrained support of existing food producing practices that are viewed as both socially unjust and environmentally unsustainable. Existing power relations in the food system are seen as beneficial for large-scale, capital-intensive, export-based agriculture at the expense of consumers, food producers, and nature. Food sovereignty is proposed as an alternative food system, founded on what are thought to be ecologically sustainable and locally controlled food production practices (McMichael 2009a; Wittman 2009). Governments in Bolivia, Venezuela, Nepal, Mali, and Senegal have incorporated food sovereignty into their national policy (Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010). The Bolivian Constitution of 2009 (Article 16, as sited in Cockburn 2013) addressed the right to a healthy diet for the entire Bolivian population, and the rights of the natural environment of Bolivia were established in the Law of the Rights of Mother Earth (2010).

Food sovereignty focuses policy away from the market forces and towards the rights of people to control the food production resources, as described by the 2007 Nyéléni Forum for Food Sovereignty as "promotion of socially and environmentally sensitive production systems controlled by local food providers" (La Via Campesina 2007b, p. 53). The Nyéléni declaration defines food sovereignty as follows:

Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal-fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution, and consumption based on environmental, social, and economic sustainability.

(La Via Campesina 2007a)

Food sovereignty and food security are not mutually exclusive categories, but whereas food security sees all food as equal and focuses mostly on quantity, food sovereignty situates food as a rights issue, fundamentally different from other commodities. Food sovereignty as political autonomy was positioned as an essential prerequisite for food security in an NGO response to the 1996 World Food Summit (Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010). Food sovereignty also includes distribution of, access to, and control over the food production resources (Windfuhr and Jonsén 2005).

The farmland resource

The United Nations declared 2014 to be the International Year of Family Farming, and 2015 is declared to be the International Year of Soils. Soils are "the basis for food systems, fuel and fibre production, essential ecosystem functions, and better adaptation to climate change for present and future generations" (FAO 2013), whereas the goal of the year of family farming is to "place small-scale farming at the center of national, regional, and global agricultural, environmental, and social policies" (IFAD 2013). Both soil resources and family farming are central to the Norwegian case, as well as being central to the entire food sovereignty debate. Agricultural land constitutes approximately 12 percent of the global land resource (Foley et al. 2005). This soil has key functions for most of the biological processes that animals and plants depend on, and it is thus a valuable resource in ecological, social, and economic terms. Once arable land has been degraded or sealed, it is almost impossible to reverse the process (Ingram, Fry, and Mathieu 2010). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has expressed concern for deteriorating trends in the capacity of soil ecosystems to provide yields (FAO 2011).

The nation-state in the food regime

The world food economy has undergone major changes in the past decades, due to a diverse and complex set of events, actors, and circumstances. Food regime theory is a sociological approach, first laid out by Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael (1989), to understanding and analyzing these changes, "the relations within which food is produced" (McMichael 2009b, p. 1). This includes mapping the relations between the different actors, modes of production, capital flow, and power in the world food economy. The *first food regime* (1870–1930s) was built on colonial suppression and exploitation, whereas the national food system had its prime period in the *second food regime* (1950s–1970s), which was built on an agroindustrialization and a national farm sector. This period is characterized by a focus on what Carolan (2013, p. 178) has named the calorie-ization of food security, with a focus on increasing the number of calories produced. This was replaced by the *third food regime* (late 1980–), also called the corporate food regime. The primary characteristic of this regime is the financialization of agricultural production, where food is reduced to an object of exchange between powerful transnational actors, and where accumulation of capital is the sole purpose (Clapp 2012; McMichael 2009a; 2013).

The globalization of the world food economy has been described as being, to a great extent, the product of states that have pursued their own interests as food exporters (Clapp 2012; McMichael 1991). Patel and McMichael (2009) described how nation-state sovereignty has been a disguise for corporate power. State food sovereignty is thus something other than food sovereignty for communities and individuals (Trauger 2013). Food sovereignty can empower actors and oppose state power, but it can also include the state as a protector of national agriculture

against neoliberal trade policies (Otero 2012). The reduction of national governments' authority to control their own land and resources is one aspect of the current corporate food regime that has been criticized (Windfuhr and Jonsén 2005). A country's reliance on the importation of agricultural products is an important indicator for both food sovereignty and food security. China is currently largely self-sufficient in agricultural products, but due to concern for their future food provisioning, they invest in land abroad in order to secure food for their own population. The state can thus be an important actor that safeguards citizens and local farmers against fluctuations in food prices on the international market.

Food security has become established as a successful "consensus frame" for global agriculture in the past 60 years, and several researchers have pointed out the social and ecological downsides of this consensus frame (Carolan 2012; Mooney and Hunt 2009). In this context, food sovereignty has been associated with the empowerment of actors in the developing world who oppose this consensus frame. In recent years, studies on food sovereignty have also appeared from the global north (Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2011). Carolan (2012) describes the difference between how food security has been used more as a symbol for increased global market integration, versus a genuine food security that includes ecological, social, and economic sustainability. The latter is similar to the goal of actors such as La Via Campesina and others who are advocating for food sovereignty. This dimension is as relevant in the global north, where governments are pushing for increased trade liberalization, as it is in the global south.

Norway's agricultural regime

The concept of productivism refers to the practice and policy of input-intensive agriculture, with a goal of maximizing the production of commodities. It is most frequently used to describe the situation in Europe in the years following the Second World War (Burton 2004; Ilbery and Bowler 1998). As a reaction to this development, there has been a transition in the agricultural regime towards a mode of post-productivism, with increased focus on the environment, extensification of production, and the removal of farm-level subsidies (Argent 2002). Although this followed productivism, it occurred as a supplement rather than as a replacement, with the two models existing in parallel (Wilson 2001).

The mode of operation for Norwegian agriculture has been described as multifunctional, both in its policy and in its practice (Almås 2004; Bjørkhaug and Richards 2008; Daugstad, Rønningen, and Skar 2006). The government's goal of maintaining agricultural production even in the more marginal areas has led to a differentiation between regions, where grain is produced in the best climatic conditions, but milk is produced in the coastal and mountainous areas, as well as in the northern counties. An important factor in the upkeep of this relatively small-scale agricultural sector has been the state-regulated infrastructure for the transport of milk to the regional market. One important

reason that nationwide agriculture in the marginal areas is kept at its current rate is that toll barriers protect against competition from cheap imported food; there is also a wide range of subsidies in the form of direct payments to farmers.

Norway thus has a domestic-oriented food system, in which only a very small amount of the total production is exported. Norway, as a non-EU member, has insisted on maintaining a very protectionist agricultural policy in order to attain the goal of being 50 percent self-sufficient in calories produced. Today, the Norwegian agricultural sector produces only 40 percent of the calories consumed nationally (Hageberg and Smedshaug 2013). National policy is thus oriented towards protecting the national farming sector as well as the foodstuff industry.

Food sovereignty in a Norwegian context: sustainable family farming

An issue debated in Norway is why a wealthy nation with harsh climatic conditions needs to produce its own food under a regime that requires high levels of subsidies and tariffs, when other countries are able to produce food more cheaply and more efficiently. However, until very recently, agriculture has been a key policy area in Norway's societal development. Due to state protection of domestic agriculture, it has been possible to uphold a structure of relatively small farms, as compared with the rest of Central Europe (Bjørkhaug 2012). Almås (2004) identified five pillars that have been important goals for Norwegian agricultural policy. These include food security, maintaining rural settlements, securing income for farmers, equality between farmers and other groups, and protection of the environment and natural resources. These aspects are all similar to those for food sovereignty. Adding to the "food from nowhere" versus the "food from somewhere" dichotomy (Campbell 2009), the government's policies may have contributed to maintaining the rather diverse and robust small-scale agricultural sector that Norway still has, a model that has provided a high percentage of local food. According to Trauger (2013), one of the goals of food sovereignty is to decentralize the power of transnational capital, and the Norwegian system, with its protection of family farmers, has contributed to this.

Methodology

This study analyzes publicly available textual data. This data consists of official governmental documents on farmland policy, which were produced for purposes other than research. The way a policy is presented in a document can inform us about what was considered important and relevant at a specific point in time. Textual data is also considered a good source for analyzing how the presentation of a subject has changed over time (Tjora 2012). This study began with an analysis of the annotated versions of all the major revisions in the Land Act, including the first version, from 1928 (Norge and Østrem 1929); the second, from 1955 (Norge and Nærstad 1967; Norge and Sterri 1955); and

the last, from 1995 (Norge and Normann 1996). I began by exploring the broad arguments used in the annotated law texts to justify the changes to the Land Act, and I wrote a summary of the main arguments used for each major change. Following this, I analyzed the same documents in more detail, using food sovereignty and food security as a lens for discovering arguments that resembled these concepts. Next, the central white papers that described the arguments for the Norwegian farmland policy were identified through a literature review of previous research in the field. These white papers , together with the relevant contextual information described in the research articles, provided empirical material to supplement the law texts.

Results

Farmland is protected by the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 §110b, and there is a special law for agricultural land, the Land Act. The Land Act states that "cultivable land must not be disposed of in such a way as to render it unfit for agricultural production in the future" (Land Act 1995 Nr. 23 §9). The day-to-day policy is described in various white papers issued by the ministries. In this section, I present an analysis of how the arguments for food sovereignty and food security have shifted in Norwegian farmland policy. The following paragraphs give an overview of the historical development in the argument for farmland preservation and farmland policy, starting with Norway's first Land Act of 1928 until today. The main findings are that arguments resembling the concept of food sovereignty, as recently defined by La Via Campesina (2007a), have been central to Norwegian farmland policy since the 1928 Land Act, and that the present neoproductivist turn represents a break with this social-oriented policy.

1928: Democratization and nation building through land rights

In 1928, the politics and practice of food sovereignty were at the very core of the creation of the Norwegian farmland policies. The newly formed nation-state was freed from 91 years of union with Sweden in 1905. In the following democratization process, during a decade characterized by economic downturn, social justice and right to land for all were the fundamental principles that led up to the passing of Norway's first Land Act in 1928 (Gjerdåker 2001). The law was radical in its removal of the crofting system, in which landless peasants had been fully dependent on their landlords. Food sovereignty was thus the prime argument for the new act, "by allowing the landless access to land" (Norway and Østrem 1929, p. 1). In the work leading up to the passing of the new act, small-scale farmers allied themselves with industrial workers in the newly populated Norwegian cities. Their slogans called for equal rights to the country's land resources, and an alliance between the labor party,[1] the social liberal party, and the smallholders' union fronted the work.

Opposing these new social considerations stood an alliance between the farmers' party and the union for the larger farm owners.[2] This group consisted

of previously very powerful landowning farmers, and it fought for the protection of the law of property. They also argued for what we now would call food security in the form of better productivity and profitability for food production. Chapter VI of the Land Act was about protection of cultivated soil, and it formulated farmland as a common, societal interest. The law stated that individuals cultivating the soil were performing a societal function, and that the cultivation of soil was a societal duty. To pursue these common interests, the law ordered the establishment of a "soil committee" in each municipality, which had the authority to pursue cases where soil was being neglected or mismanaged, as well as to function as an advisory body in land cases. A long tradition of public control of the soil resources was thus established. This law was passed during a time when there was a high degree of uncertainty about the future. The public thus considered agriculture to be of great importance, with the potential to lift broad sectors of society out of poverty. This social dimension in the control over land and resources has also been fundamental in the history of other liberal nation-states, such as the United States of America, as shown by Beeman and Pritchard (2001) and Phillips (2007).

1955: Arguments for productivity and food security

Food security began to be on the agenda with the changes to the Land Act in 1955. The economic downturn of the 1930s had led to a crisis and to bankruptcy in the farming sector, and in 1935, a crisis settlement between the farmers' party and the labor party had marked a new profitability course for Norwegian agricultural policy (Bjørgum 2000). Food security and productivism also went hand in hand in Europe in the aftermath of World War II, as postwar policies focused on increasing productivity through the so-called green revolution (Buttel 2005). The social considerations of the 1928 Act had led to the broad spread of agricultural practices all over Norway, but there was less focus on the farmer as a professional, economically profitable actor. The purpose of the 1955 revision was to increase the professionalization and industrialization of Norwegian agriculture. The purpose of the act was to "promote an outer rationalization of the country's agriculture," as a reaction to the 1928 Law that "was too strongly affected by the task the law makers had first in mind, namely the liberation from the crofters land-leasing system" (Norway and Nærstad 1967, p. 9). The argument that increased profit also brought greater social equality was central to enabling these changes. An important change to §54 of the Act was the wording, "Cultivated land must not be used for purposes that do not promote agricultural production," a sentence that has persisted and still forms the basis for the farmland protection policy (Norge and Sterri 1955). Still, urban development was considered more important than protecting agricultural land. The 1950s and 1960s brought with them intensive housing development, and a large proportion of high-quality agricultural land was transformed into residential areas (Stigen 2002).

1975: Arguments for the environment and national sovereignty

The 1970s brought increased focus on the power relations in the food system, resource scarcity, and global justice. Agriculture received increased political attention during the 1970s, as Norway's oil production activity escalated (Pettersen et al. 2009). In this context, farmland preservation was considered important for maintaining self-provisioning, as well as a symbol against those advocating growth and profit. Farmland preservation gained strength as part of the movement against the membership of Norway in the EEC/EU in 1972; this fitted into the discourse of securing rural settlements and maintaining national sovereignty (Nesvåg 1984). Fuelled by these ideas, the concept of farmland preservation became a case for the political-administrative system with changes to the Land Act in 1975 (White Paper 14 1976–1977; Amdam 1983). Its introduction was a governmental reaction to a development in which agricultural areas were increasingly being rapidly transformed into other types of land use. The main argument for the introduction of farmland preservation as a governing principle in land policy was the fear that Norway would be unable to produce sufficient food in the future. By 1975, influenced by the 1974 FAO World Food Summit in Rome, both environmental and agricultural governmental bodies came to recognize that the rate and extent of the sealing of high-quality agricultural soil was a problem. Shaped by the "green wave" set in motion by the book *Silent Spring* (Carson 1962), which criticized the use of pesticides, and by various city-planning ideals, urban development schemes began to try to take farmland preservation into consideration. This contributed to the development of satellite towns and suburbs. This was later criticized for many reasons, including that it required a more extensive infrastructure development and the increased use of cars for transport, with consequently higher CO_2 emissions (Aall 2011; Falleth 2011; Langdalen 1994).

1980s: Market argumentation takes the stage

The principle of farmland preservation quickly became a conflicting issue in municipal and regional planning. In the 1980s, the growth discourse gained strength, which led to a weakening of the farmland preservation argument. With the Planning and Building Act of 1985, municipalities gained responsibility for area planning (Planning and Building Act of 14 June 1985 nr. 77 1986). The general debate climate was influenced by neoliberalist ideas with an international focus on overproduction and the environmental problems that resulted from agriculture. This, as well as increasing construction costs of housing, pushed agricultural land low on the agenda. An important turning point occurred when state secretary Rettedal of the Conservative Party declared that "farmland preservation had gained too much strength in land use planning, at the expense of other societal interests" (Plan og Arbeid 1984, p. 5). This led to the weakening of environmental sustainability as a principle for area planning. By the late 1980s, overproduction, pollution, and the need to reduce direct payments to farmers

led to the emergence of "post-productivism," i.e., "the greening" of agricultural policies through the introduction of environmental landscape management schemes and the diversification of farm activities and income (Rønningen, Fjeldavli, and Flø 2005).

1995: The cultural landscapes

By the end of the 1990s, farmland preservation re-emerged in official statements and policy documents, and was placed on the agenda by the 1996 FAO World Food Summit in Rome (Stigen 2002). A new development was that farmland preservation was increasingly being connected to other values related to nature and society (Proposition to the Storting nr. 8 1992–1993). The cultural landscape argument united many different goals in the land policy of the 1990s, as environmental goals again became an important part of agricultural policy (Rønningen 1999). The Land Act of 1995 focused on protection of cultural landscapes, nature, and the environment (Norge and Normann 1996). Increased attention was paid to biodiversity, and this was accompanied by the ecosystem-services approach covering water, pollination, genetic resources, experiences, and aesthetics (White Paper 19 1999–2000). This renewed interest in environmental problems led to conflicts between farmland preservation and environmental policy goals. In particular, concerns for CO_2 emissions from transportation led to a weakening of the farmland preservation argument (White Paper 29 1996–1997). As goals for agriculture, rural settlement and employment were considered equal to economically sound operations (Forbord 2006).

Food security in a neoproductivist mode

The 2000s brought food security to the forefront of the political agenda. More recently, the so-called "neoproductivist" production approach has emerged as a response to the global population increase, climate change, and the increasing influence of neoliberal ideology (Bjørkhaug, Almås, and Brobakk 2012). In this context, Norway has shifted its emphasis from a multifunctional agriculture approach, with broad social, cultural, and environmental objectives, to a food security approach, with the stated goal that Norway needs to increase its food production in accordance with its population growth. Food security and an emphasis on increasing farm output have therefore risen to the top of the political agenda (White Paper 14 1976–1977). In the current food policy of Norway, food security is used for legitimizing what has been called a neoproductivist turn in domestic agriculture, with governmental focus on the quantity of food production. With this neoproductivist turn, we see a shift from the emphasis on environmental goals, as well as a break with a long tradition of social goals.

Norway has a goal of attaining 50 percent self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Maintaining this self-sufficiency is one of the most frequently stated arguments for the protection of farmland against urban expansion. Since 2004, an important policy goal has therefore been to halve the annual turnover of

agricultural land to urban development (White Paper 21 2004–2005). After the national election in September 2013, Norway had a new government consisting of a coalition between the Conservative party and the Progress Party. This government immediately made it clear that they wanted a new direction in agriculture, with increased dependency on the market. This declaration was a step away from the goal of maintaining the level of self-sufficiency, and replaced it with the goal of "keeping it at the highest possible level" (Sundvollen Declaration 2013). In addition, control over land in the form of preserving farmland is not considered a priority.

Global shocks and uncertainty

In the years 2007–2008, the food-supply system rocketed into a situation of commodity price volatility that was later named the "world food price crisis." Maize prices doubled, rice prices increased by 70 percent, and wheat by 50 percent, leading to social unrest, an investment boom in the futures trading market, and a range of policy and market adjustments (McMichael 2009b). The crisis was later seen to be a culmination of several co-existing tendencies in the corporate food regime; rising fuel costs combined with the intentional inflation of food prices by monopoly agribusinesses as well as what Clapp (2012) has defined as the financialization of agriculture and food through speculation. Norway followed the international food policy discourse and turned towards the food security framework. According to the former Minister of Agriculture and Food, Lars Peder Brekk, maintaining the protectionist national agricultural system and the national land resources were of increased importance in this context (Brekk 2010). This turn towards neoproductivism in Norway can be seen in the latest White Paper on Agriculture and Food (White Paper 9 2011–2012). And with a new government, there has been a discursive shift towards trade and efficiency gains for improving food security, as was recently pointed out by Minister of Agriculture and Food Sylvi Listhaug in her speech to the Global Forum for Food and Agriculture (Listhaug 2014). This shows that there is a tension in domestic politics between the new liberal direction in trade and a more protectionist approach.

Discussion

The historical relationship between policy and land is important for understanding the foundations of the current food system. Agricultural policy in Norway has historically been about securing food production as well as livelihood and settlement in rural areas, all forms of social robustness. Ownership of land has been connected to responsibilities and a duty to cultivate land, and the state has had a strong commitment towards farmers all over Norway. The social arguments that have been so central for Norwegian farmland policy, have gradually changed into arguments that present farmers as businessmen and present food as just another commodity. Food security, as it is defined

in Norwegian land policy, is not so much a goal for a robust society as about increasing effectiveness and making the farm sector increasingly industrialized and market oriented. Food security and a belief in neoproductivism are an apparent new turn for Norwegian agricultural policy, and preserving farmland as a way to secure a robust society is currently low on the political agenda. In Norway, the neoliberal food regime can be identified in these changes, with increased pressure for deregulation and a turn towards more capital-intensive food production.

Protectionism versus the market

Even though industrial agriculture is advancing globally, family farming is still the predominant form of agriculture when considering total world production. Access to land and natural resources are key factors for this form of agriculture (IFAD 2013). In Norway, protection of family farmers also indirectly protects consumers from food imported from transnational corporations. Since the end of the Cold War, the global food system has been increasingly reliant on the belief that the market will provide sufficient and safe food. The notion that each nation should ensure the food supply for its own inhabitants has been ousted by the idea of the ability of the free market to provide commodities at the best price and at the right time, and there is a great deal of pressure for deregulation and globalization. This can prove challenging for nations like Norway, where domestic food sovereignty and food security is thought to be highly dependent on barriers to trade. The European Union has criticized Norway for these tariffs. Even though the European Union protects its own market in the same way that Norway does against cheaper commodities from the US and other countries, as the most important exporter of agricultural products to the Norwegian market it has an interest in Norway turning towards more free trade.

   An important current issue for Norwegian agricultural policy is whether the role of the state through active policy measures should be reduced and if there should be increased reliance on the market. The arguments for food sovereignty and food security in the Norwegian context are much the same as the arguments for maintaining national self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Food sovereignty and food security are therefore also linked to agricultural protectionism, where the focus is on securing the livelihood of Norwegian farmers in an increasingly globalized food market that depends on international trade agreements. Self-sufficiency can thus be seen as a risk-aversion strategy, where one is less dependent on global agricultural industries, fluctuations in food prices, and trade agreements. Self-sufficiency is thus a part of, but is not equal to, food sovereignty. The social and ecological dimensions of food sovereignty must also be present in addition to counting the amount of calories produced nationally. The term *food sovereignty* has worked as a powerful tool to identify communities' loss of control over the food system. Can it also work as a tool for encouraging nations to take responsibility over the food system, the resources, family farms, processing industry, and local consumption opportunities for

their citizens? As one example, this has been the case in Ecuador, where food sovereignty forms the basis for the 2008 constitution, which highlights local control and harmony between nature and society (Peña 2013).

Farmland for sovereignty and security

In present day Norway, protecting farmland resources is more an issue of local food sovereignty than of food security. In an oil-rich nation, farmland resources, at least in the short term, do not play an obvious role in reducing rural poverty and hunger, but they are important for securing local stewardship of the land as well as for securing access to this resource for future generations. Control over land resources in order to produce food is a political choice. One could argue that the alternative to national food sovereignty is increased dependence on a globalized food system that is dominated by a handful of powerful actors operating through a web of trade rules, with practices that bring unsustainable social and ecological effects. Preservation of farmland prevents Norwegian consumers from using land in other parts of the world at the expense of someone else in the food system. A nation that covers its fields with asphalt will reduce its farming capacity and will thus be more dependent on buying food on the international market. Destruction of the resource base that makes future food production possible will therefore negatively influence both food security and food sovereignty in the future.

Norway in the neoliberal, corporate food regime

Neoliberalism, as part of the frame for the food security consensus, has become increasingly important in global food policy. Simultaneously, the discourse in the international food policy-arena has shifted away from sovereignty on the national level, onto markets and trade. In the current food regime, the market mechanism has become a replacement for the emphasis on a nation-state's ability to provide food for their own population (Carolan 2012). Despite these powerful trends, Norway has kept a highly nationally oriented food system that has self-sufficiency as a central goal. The long tradition of nation-states putting social and distributional goals at the center of land policy may have been a contributing reason for this. While the argumentation is now changing towards the quantity of production, it will be interesting to see if this will be accompanied by changes in the food system, a shift that has happened in many other liberal states.

The food security consensus has gained a foothold in the discourses of Norwegian agricultural policy; this has happened in parallel with a weakening of food sovereignty arguments. Food security and neoproductivism have entered the policy documents seemingly at the expense of a longstanding social argumentation. This has gone largely unquestioned in both the public and the political domain. The neoliberal arguments are often taken as facts and are not questioned, due to their hegemonic position in the current discourse. The turn

from food sovereignty to food security in Norway is happening gradually and as part of a larger discourse on market orientation and free trade. This implies a discursive turn away from a historically oriented frame where the social and ecological resilience of local and national food production has a value in its own right, and towards what Clapp (2012) has described as a nontransparent, monopolized, and at times highly unjust world food economy. According to Marsden (2012), this depends upon assumptions of "infinite supply" and narrow technological solutions, marginalizing diverse and place-based food systems, such as those maintained by Norway. The tension between food security and food sovereignty highlights an interesting difference between the global south and the global north. In the global south, food security has been the starting point, and some countries, such as Ecuador and Bolivia, are transitioning to food sovereignty. The discursive turn in Norway and other states in the global north imply a turn in the opposite direction.

Conclusion

Historically, food sovereignty in Norway has been about protecting the present and future rights to a resource that cannot easily be made profitable in a free market. The recent food security turn sets the market in the lead. This chapter has problematized the concept of food security as presented in Norwegian policy documents. Both Norway's farmland policy in particular, as well as the nation's agricultural policy in general, have, for almost a century, had food sovereignty as a goal on all levels. This has been a persistent and underlying target for many measures. Food sovereignty in Norway has centered around a strong belief in maintaining an agricultural system that utilizes resources on relatively small family farms throughout a rugged and sparsely populated country. There is an interrelationship between food sovereignty and the concept of sustainability in its economic, ecological, and social dimensions. The core belief has been to maintain a form of agriculture and a resource base that has been considered valuable beyond its value as capital. Thus, this has also been about maintaining what is not profitable, and the nation-state has taken on this responsibility by subsidizing agriculture. On the other axis of this value base is the commodification of food, with the complex relations in the highly internationalized food system. We thus see a belief in the market pitted against the protection of what is not profitable. The strong belief that the market will solve food provisioning eradicates food sovereignty as a strategy for food self-sufficiency and autonomy from transnational capital.

A harsh climate has led to the popular belief in economic circles that Norway should leave agricultural production to others, based on the principle of comparative advantage. On the other hand, in the context of increased global water scarcity, countries such as Norway, with a high amount of fresh water per capita, can contribute to global food security by utilizing this water for food production. In this way, protecting the limited farmland resources can be an argument for both food security and food sovereignty. In Norway, the turn from

food sovereignty towards food security means parting with a long history. This turn is subtle and is not very well articulated. A question for policy makers to consider is whether the destruction of present farmland resources means jeopardizing the rights to the land for future generations, as well as jeopardizing future food security.

This chapter adds to recent research on food sovereignty that has focused primarily on the global south, and it shows how food sovereignty, in the form of discourses, empowerment, and the autonomy of local food producers have been at the very center of the land politics of a so-called developed nation. Farmland is a resource with a security dimension, and this is especially true in nations such as Norway, which, on average, consume a large proportion of calories from imported food. Control over land resources to produce food is a political choice. The management of land and the politics of food sovereignty is an area where facts are uncertain and stakes are high. This chapter gives a description of the institutionalization of Norwegian farmland policy in a time of increasing international focus on food policy issues and corporate power. This chapter also identifies and situates the political aims of a nation-state as one of many actors in the food system. It also brings up little-debated issues on the interconnectedness between land as a food production resource and the ability of a nation-state to control its own food system.

Knowledge of how entities such as local farmers, municipalities, regions, and nation-states have dealt with these issues is important in order to understand how the present food regime has come about as well as for determining strategies for moving forward. As the international community tries to agree on how to best secure access to and availability of food for future generations, these types of analyses can provide contextualized knowledge about how we have ended up where we are today, and about how to create a more sustainable future.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1 Arbeiderpartiet, Venstre and Norges bonde- og småbrukarlag.
2 Bondepartiet and Norges bondelag.

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7 Seed sovereignty as civil disobedience in northern India?

Amy Trauger

Introduction

In 2004, the Government of India circulated a bill that would revise and replace many of the policies governing seeds and seed saving in India. Prior to this, legislation had increasingly liberalized India's trade laws, but policies regarding the saving of seeds had not changed much since the 1966 Seed Act. The 2004 National Seed Policy would require the registration of all seeds, domestic and foreign, with the government before they could be sold. The bill would also make it easier for foreign direct investment in India's seed market, largely through the genetically modified (GM) trait market. Resistance to multiple aspects of the bill has kept it from being passed, but the bill sparked debates over what the introduction of transnational capital and GM seeds will mean for India's agrarian future. Since the Green Revolution, public-private partnerships have developed so-called "improved varieties" from indigenous seed varieties which were then sold back to farmers. The 2004 Seed Policy would effectively end any autonomous seed saving that had any commercial sales associated with them, significantly reshaping marketing strategies for small-scale producers. Kloppenburg (2010) argues that the right to control genetic resources is a key component of food sovereignty. The debate over who controls genomic material signals a broader struggle over the right to food and the future of agriculture.

Charismatic activists resist the liberalization of seed laws in India under the banner of food sovereignty (Scoones, 2008), and in the case of one prominent anti-GM activist, Vandana Shiva, this resistance is framed as civil disobedience, or "satyagraha". The right to save seed is articulated in these narratives as part of a package of universal rights to food, and her network of seed banks throughout India assists farmers in saving open-pollinated seed varieties to be used by organic farmers. This chapter addresses a set of questions raised by the framing of seed sovereignty as civil disobedience, and the empirical investigations of small-scale farmers participating in a variety of seed-saving actions. First, is framing seed saving as civil disobedience a useful strategy for farmers? Second, what does it say about the struggle to identify the future of agrarianism that is at the heart of development projects? Last, how does the framing of seed saving in the context of this organization relate to food sovereignty? I am less interested in assessing

the actual benefits of seed saving, and more interested in understanding the way seeds and seed-procurement strategies are framed politically and what they are used to mobilize. But first, a little background on the subject.

Background and context

Historically, seeds were the product of traditional knowledge obtained through research conducted by farmers as producers and consumers of agricultural products. In the Green Revolution, the germplasm developed and preserved in agricultural communities was used to develop high-yielding hybrids of globally consumed crops, maize, wheat and rice. Public-private partnerships were key to this research in which private companies obtained seed germplasm from public institutions. The so-called "improved varieties" were then sold back to farmers with the expectation that they would also purchase and invest in the costly inputs that accompanied them, pesticides, fertilizers and tube wells (Gidwani, 2008). Unlike open-pollinated varieties, hybrid seeds do not "breed true," and are not self-pollinating, meaning that, if saved, they will not express the same characteristics, including their increased yields, in the next generation. Historically, the private enterprises that invested heavily in the production of hybrids, maintained control of the technology through technical (i.e., hybrids) rather than legal (i.e., patents) means.

The legislative process, however, has been an effective arena for liberalizing governance of seeds and agriculture, especially in the context of the introduction of transgenic crops (Kim, 2006). The Government of India progressively liberalized its seed laws throughout the late 20th century, mobilizing discourses of development, food security and market reform of agriculture as justification. The Seed Act of 1966 centralized control over seed production, registration and distribution and created state monopolies for major crops. In the late 1980s, several policies, including the "New Industrial Policy" of 1991 opened India's market for seeds to multinational corporations, foreign direct investment and the importation of seed germplasm for research and development. In 1995, India joined the WTO, which required it to become a signatory to the Agreement on Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights, affording patent protection for plants through a variety of mechanisms. The Plant Varieties Protection and Farmers' Rights Act (PVP) of 2001 was designed to strengthen the industry by providing further protections to commercial plant breeders. The likely object of much of this legislation, Bt cotton (and other GM crops), was approved for commercial release in 2002, although it had been planted illegally throughout India. The National Seed Policy of 2004 has not yet been passed, but outlines strict requirements on registration of commercially available seeds, and would criminalize the saving of patented seeds.

Writing at the time of the liberalization of India's seed laws (and in favor of it), Pray (1990) and others advocated for a particular future for India in which even smallhold farmers participate in the marketization of agricultural inputs and products. According to Pray et al. (1991) private research on seeds, including

the cost-effective exclusion of non-buyers (seed-savers) from the technology either through patents or hybrids is a "socially beneficial activity which ought to be encouraged by agricultural policy" (p. 317). Pray et al. are clear, however, that yield is the only benefit that can or will be quantified as a benefit, and concede that farmers are often at the mercy of distributors in the supply chain. Pray et al. (1991) also dispute the commonly held notion that "poor people's crops" (p. 315) such as sorghum and millet, are not a profitable investment for private enterprise, and encourage research on food crops as well.

Much of the research and development on seeds still takes place largely through public-private partnerships. Public funds are used for basic research to identify and catalog seed varieties, while private capital is invested in developing "improved varieties" through applied research. In addition, private sector seed companies in India purchase technology in the form of "traits" developed by multinational companies and use this germplasm to develop varieties, usually a GM hybrid, the seeds of which are then propagated by contract farmers.[1] According to Ramamurthy (2011) hybridization is more useful to transnational capital "because legal contracts would be practically impossible to enforce in India" (p. 1043) with its millions of smallhold farmers. GM hybrid seeds thus enable the technical control of the transgenic innovation, and enforce the enrollment in yearly purchases of the product, albeit in ways that are partial and contested by farmers (Pray et al., 1991).[2]

Plant varieties are created as new forms of technologies in a variety of highly political and "noninnocent" ways (van Dooren, 2008). First, the plant genomes used in basic research are often the "indigenous varieties" developed by farmers in India for centuries. In the appropriation of this research, the genomic material in seeds has been transformed from "fixed capital into liquid capital" (Roy, 2014, p. 143). Secondly, the politics around the introduction of GM crops signal a political-economic alliance with the United States and its markets, rather than the European markets which are much more circumspect about GM technologies. Third, the food security and development justifications for investment in agro-technologies are partial truths distributed to get political buy-in and do not tell the whole story (Kloppenburg, 2010). The use of plant material to make improved varieties that are marketed back to farmers as increasing yield enrolls them in global capital in ways that are not transparent.

Technology and food security

While plant scientists argue in favor of hybrid and GM technologies and their role in combating hunger, social scientists are widely in agreement that traditional seed varieties and local seed exchange networks are essential for maintaining agrobiodiversity as well as peasant livelihoods (Kloppenburg, 2010; Rhoades and Nazarea, 1998; Zimmerer, 2003). For example, Zimmerer (2003) found that multi-community and intra-community networks of seed flows enhanced adaptation to local environmental conditions more than single-site seed production practices. The continued use and development of

farmer varieties (FV) was especially key in an increasingly neoliberal environment in Peru, where state-subsidies for the development and distribution of hybrid varieties is in decline. Similarly, Kloppenburg (2010) argues that "bioprospecting" in genomic material for transnational capital to transform and market back to farmers, is accumulation through dispossession. In his view, the patenting of life forms in seeds undermines the livelihoods of food producers, and he advocates for plant breeding methods that keep the information about the genome freely available to the public, in what he calls "open-source" plant breeding.

States, multinationals and NGOs articulate different visions and enroll a variety of actors in their justifications for the use of technologies, particularly genomic technologies. The Green and Gene Revolutions were justified through the use of food security narratives, and operate under the assumption that improved varieties and higher yields are a solution to the problem of hunger (Patel, 2013). The food security approach assumes that the increase in yield will make food available at a low enough cost for consumers (Schanbacher, 2010). Such an approach often fails to feed the poorest who cannot afford to buy food at all, and contributes to the immiseration of farmers. As evidence for this, India still has more under-nourished people than any other country. Overall incomes have risen in the past several decades, but calorie consumption has fallen. Some suggest that new household expenses have made the food budget shrink in relation to other expenses (Pritchard et al., 2014). This explanation suggests that food production is not the whole problem at all, but rather a modernizing project that produces new consumers as well as new kinds of poverty, and becomes entangled in existing social relationships.

Morvaridi (2012) argues that both the Green and Gene Revolutions position farmers not as producers, but as consumers, through the vehicle of philanthrocapitalism. The research that produced the seeds for the Green Revolution was largely financed through charitable donations from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. In addition to providing the capital for development, these philanthropic foundations also promoted market expansion into non-aligned countries (Morvaridi, 2012). This had the result of directing the attention of the state into the biopolitical management of rural development through agricultural modernization, and the diversion of attention away from the expansion of capitalism that produced the problems of food security in the first place (Patel, 2013). The Gates Foundation, much like the foundations that financed the Green Revolution, has contributed significant capital to the production of GM crops in African countries. Žižek (2006), in a direct critique of the Gates Foundation's philanthropic activities, says, "The catch is that before you can give all this away, you have to take it." In this modernist view, there is no systemic production of inequality in capitalism, such that poverty is produced through accumulation, but only problems of food insecurity to be solved through technology and with capital.

Much like development projects are both geographically and economically uneven in their implementation and benefits, so is the resistance to development capital loosely organized and disjointed. Scoones (2008) writes that resistance

to the Gene Revolution is poorly coordinated across groups in India, led by charismatic individuals, whose critics suggest they may be mobilizing dissent for their own material gain (Paarlberg, 2001). Most significantly, however, Scoones suggests that within the anti-GM mobilizations there are deep divisions around the appropriateness and desirability of GM technologies. What Scoones (2008) derives from this finding is that the significance of the critique is not so much about whether and how GM crops are different or better, it's that they enroll farmers in circuits of capital as consumers of technology in highly political ways. In short, Scoones suggests that the debate about GM crops is less about any specific technology and more about what the future of small-scale agriculture looks like, and what say, if any, peasants and farmers will have in shaping it. While it is clear that India is well down the road to liberalizing its agricultural economy, less obvious is what this means for rural development in India.

Development and transnational capital

On the one hand development is positioned as the investment of capital in infrastructure to bring less economically developed regions (the periphery) into the global economy (Lawson, 2014). Development, in this case is framed as bringing wealth and prosperity to previously impoverished people. This is frequently the way development agencies, states and NGOs discursively deploy development, as aid and progress. In another set of narratives, development is positioned as capitalism, and the goals of development are to develop markets and consumers where none existed before and ultimately accumulate capital through dispossession (Wainright, 2008; Gidwani, 2002; Harvey, 2003). Hart (2010) suggests that both capitalist objectives and outcomes are part of modernist development, and that within the project of development lie the seeds of its internal contradiction and ultimately, failure. She also argues, like Gidwani (2002), that development is not just a neoliberal project exported from the West. It is rather a process and practice that arises across a variety of spaces of engagement with diverse and contradictory outcomes that are not predictable or perhaps even foreseeable (Li, 2007).

Li (2007) also suggests that another effect of development may appear in the form of mobilizing political actors among the recipients of development investments to critique and transform the experience and process of development. In other words, development programs are not only productive of particular social and economic relationships that may or may not involve increasing wealth and prosperity, but they also stimulate political responses. Pechlaner and Otero (2008) argue that participants in development projects such as agro-technological innovations are neither eager nor coerced recipients of the technology, but rather organize themselves to resist its introduction. These are significant interventions that have implications for the unfolding food regime, and position citizen-subjects of development as important actors in the political project of both capital and state. In an analysis relevant to India and the introduction of genomic technologies, Otero (2004) asserts that the

nation-state continues to be the most critical sphere of political action—both for the imposition of ruling class interests and for subordinate groups, communities and classes to become constituted politically and to shape state intervention in their favor.

(p. 341)

According to Roy (2014), in India, this struggle for power occurs in and through market-oriented "inclusive growth" in which the formerly excluded groups are enrolled in development projects. These frequently take the form of public-private partnerships, such as state-capital arrangements to develop seeds, which reshape the form and direction of agricultural policy in post-colonial India. Like Otero (2004), Roy (2014) suggests that "post-colonial government" (the state) is the vehicle for appropriation of space and territory for transnational capital and elites in India. Her example of the privatization of previously squatted lands in the megacities of India underscores how property is privatized under the auspices of lifting the poor out of poverty. In so doing collectively held territories become privatized properties enrolled in circuits of capital, effectively creating a market for land where none existed before. The appropriation of open-pollinated varieties of seeds developed by farmers in India by private capital is another case of such privatization efforts as a form of development, which has its agonists.

Food sovereignty, food security and alternative food networks

Kloppenburg (2010) argues that the right to control genomic information is a key component of food sovereignty, and is part of a larger struggle over rights and property. As elaborated on in the introductory chapter of this volume, food sovereignty seeks to redefine relationships regarding markets, property and governance (Nyéléni 2007, 25–27). The Nyéléni documents articulate on the world that food sovereignty imagines, especially with regard to local control of resources and decision-making. The Nyéléni delegates identify that "currently trade is based on an unsustainable production system and is controlled by [transnational corporations]" (p. 25) and recommend returning democratic control of food distribution to producers and consumers, and implementing "autonomous control over local markets" (p. 26). They also seek to ensure inclusive and democratic control of all productive resources including water, land and seed. They conclude with a simple statement: "We will fight privatization and patenting" (p. 35). In India, the fight against patents is framed as a "satyagraha" or civil resistance by the most ardent anti-GM activists.

The fight against privatization elsewhere takes the form of civil disobedience in some of the well known forms of land and food sovereignty. The Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra, also known as MST, or the landless rural workers, is perhaps the most widely recognized member of La Via Campesina. The MST uses the strategy of squatting on unproductive land

to not only produce livelihoods, but also to restructure the political, economic and social relations of agricultural production and trade (Patel, 2007). Other examples of civil disobedience include "guerrilla gardens," which temporarily, often overnight, turn urban space into gardens (Lamborn and Weinberg, 1999). The assumed and widely accepted temporality of these installations allows them to become spaces of resistance, and reveals the way a state or municipality exercises incomplete or partial control over space.

Civil disobedience as an act of resistance aims to secure additional rights usually through illicit actions that draw attention to the injustice of the law forbidding or criminalizing things or states of existence that people have a right to have (Bauer and Eckerstrom, 1987). In this context, the forms of power that are available to activists are non-violent refusals to participate in modernity, development or capitalist privatization of space. Civil disobedience in the face of food system injustices is not new in the context of liberal democracies (Heynen, 2010). For example, DeLind and Howard (2008) identify multiple instances of illicit action to expand rights. They argue that resisting the laws that push small-scale producers into marginal economic positions in the US can only strengthen the food system. They conclude that "a safer food system will require much more decentralization and democratic input than exists currently" (p. 314) and identify civil disobedience as a critical tool in "strengthening our individual and collective political will" (p. 314).

This political will is informed by what Patel (2009) calls a cosmopolitan federalism that recognizes a moral universal in the right to food. Action or policy that undermines this right is considered immoral and unjust in this reimagining of the geographies of rights. Food sovereignty, according to Patel, not only questions the morality of neoliberalism, but also calls for democratic political action to replace policies that privilege the powerful. The insistence on political rights for the powerless distinguishes food sovereignty from the many challenges to the corporate food regime that have come before it. Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) suggest that foods sovereignty differs from progressive alternatives in the form of alternative food networks (such as organic agriculture). The most significant difference they cite is the resistance to transnational capital and privatization, and the return of common and collective access to and use of capital. They caution that mission creep away from this political position threatens food sovereignty and radical movements in the food system in general.

The saving of seeds in the neoliberal environment of India in a post-colonial development context is most certainly a political act, but can it be usefully framed as an act of civil disobedience? There can be no doubt that the influence of transnational capital in the food system, particularly through the patenting and control of life forms, poses a potential threat to the sustainability of the food supply everywhere (Kloppenburg, 2010). The efforts to encourage farmers to save seeds, particularly farmer-developed varieties, benefit small-scale farmers and the seeds may be potentially useful in the effort to combat and adapt to climate change, a major socio-ecological threat in the region (Xu

et al., 2009). But can the saving of other seeds—non-farmer varieties—make sense as a useful livelihood strategy for small-scale farmers? Last, in a broader sense, what does seed saving framed as civil resistance do, if anything, for the political struggle for food sovereignty and the future of agrarianism?

Methods and study sites

This research takes as its central assumption that social realities can be conveyed via narrative data, and that these narratives are useful to understand politics and political positions (Ramamurthy, 2011). This research is part of a larger project which employed a global ethnography in an extended case study on food sovereignty that spanned several field sites in Asia, Europe and North America (Burawoy, 2000). Positioned against more traditional ethnography that examines social relations intensively in one place over a long period of time, a global ethnography allows for the examination of "unseen socialities" (Castree 2001, p. 1522) in a wider spatial field than a village or a community. In this case, the field is constructed between the farmers and seed savers in two Indian villages in District Uttarkashi of the Garwhal Region of the state of Uttarakhand and a seed-saving NGO, Navdanya, that operates financially and politically at supranational scales.

The research was conducted over a six-week period in 2010 and a four-week period in 2013. The field work was conducted by the author and a research assistant in villages in the rain-fed wheat and rice cultivating regions of the Central Himalayas. Interviews were conducted with five NGO leaders and coordinators and ten farmers from each, including village leaders and women seed savers. Additional field work was undertaken outside the city of Dehradun at Bija Vidyapith, the research farm where Navdanya has its headquarters including an organic mainstreaming workshop, to which the author was invited. The primary mode of data analysis is a form of inductive content analysis (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999) of transcribed field notes produced through participant observation; in-depth semi-structured interviews, which were audio recorded, translated from Hindi and Garhwali and transcribed; and secondary data collected while working with Navdanya.

Village seed-saving strategies

A variety of charismatic actors have resisted the influence of transnational capital in India as it relates to seed production and distribution. Dr Vandana Shiva, as India's most vocal and well known anti-GM activist, has a global following and mobilizes legal and social action against multinationals, particularly Monsanto in India (Scoones, 2008). Navdanya, a non-profit she founded in 1987 is dedicated to preserving open-pollinated seeds and educating farmers on agro-ecological farming methods. Navdanya[3] is a word that derives from Hindu cosmology and literally means "nine seeds." It invokes both a specific mythology, but also a planting practice that emphasizes diversity and

polyculture. Navdanya began as a seed bank to preserve and collect and grow out varieties that Shiva and others feared would be lost due to lack of use with the introduction of new seed varieties, particularly transgenic crops.

The objective of the seed bank is to receive and store different seed varieties and reintroduce them into production, through seed banks in rural villages and education in organic farming methods. In addition to education and seed sharing, Navdanya works to create markets for organic food products both in India and abroad, as well as to practice and develop permaculture around a nine-crop planting system, similar to the twelve-crop planting systems used in rural villages. Navdanya's research efforts are mostly focused on rice varieties, and the bank stores 150 varieties of rice that are planted out each year on the farm. While the financial records of the NGO are not made public, Navdanya is largely supported by philanthropic and other donations from European and American donors. For example, the Swift Foundation, the charitable arm of the United Parcel Service, gave $25,000 to Navdanya for seed sovereignty in 2011 and $20,000 in 2012.

Shiva positions her work on seed saving and the cultivation of traditional seed varieties as "satyagraha" in hundreds of publications and in her public speeches and farmer training sessions. In a publication distributed by Navdanya, *The Seed and the Spinning Wheel*, seeds are positioned as equivalent to Ghandi's spinning wheel, which he effectively used to demonstrate the importance of self-sufficiency as a prerequisite for independence from Britain. Satyagraha is a Sanskrit-derived word, coined by Mahatma Ghandi, often translated as an "insistence on truth." According to Ghandi, who preferred the term "civil resistance" as a synonym for his political strategies of non-violence, the aim was not to frustrate the objectives of the opponent, or to realize one's objectives in spite of one's opponent, but to convince the opponent to cooperate with or to stop frustrating the objectives of the civil resistors. The voluntary acceptance of suffering and compliance with other laws of the State are key principles of his approach to converting political opponents to undo unjust laws. Ghandi's ideas on "satyagraha" were used in apartheid South Africa and inspired civil rights movements in the US. These ideas have also been applied to environmental movements, particularly as they relate to realizing the rights of nature (Dwivedi, 1990).

In the Navdanya document, a seed satyagraha is defined as "a fight for truth based on non-cooperation with unjust regimes" (p. 8). The unjust regime that Shiva identifies in this document is "totalitarianism built into the project of owning life, owning seeds, owning water" (p. 5). This is facilitated through patents and new biotechnologies that she says "are today's imperialism" (p. 5). Shiva asserts that the intellectual property agreements that the Government of India made with the World Trade Organization facilitate the calling of seed saving an "intellectual property crime" (p. 5) which she wants farmers to commit in the name of civil disobedience. In this document, seeds are positioned as "the site and symbol of freedom in the age of manipulation and monopoly of life."

According to Shiva, without a right to seed (which in this framing means seeds without patents associated with them) there is no ability to achieve and maintain an agricultural livelihood. The right to save seeds is thus established as part of a set of human rights that form the basis for the right to food. Here, Shiva discusses her views on non-cooperation and seeds in a public speech given at Navdanya in 2010.

> After the publication of my book [*The Violence of the Green Revolution*], I was invited to a biotechnology conference where the industry made its plans about how they wanted to patent our seeds and genetically modify our crops. 5 companies would own the food supply of the world. That's how they said it. I was listening and I said that sounds like a dictatorship, and it's not a dictatorship over human society, it's a dictatorship over all life.
>
> (Shiva)

Shiva has been an ardent activist against GM crops in India, launching a "Monsanto, Quit India" campaign with other activist groups that echoed the unsuccessful 1942 Quit India independence movements against the British. This was in response to the 2004 Seed Policy Act, that included provisions against saving seeds.

> The 2004 National Seed Policy would make it illegal for farmers to have their own seed…in 1988 the World Bank wrote a new seed policy that required that foreign corporations be allowed into the country. That's how Monsanto and all entered. Then in 2004 there was an attempt to change the [1966] Seed Act which is a law…This was done because of Monsanto, because they had tried in other laws to prevent farmers from saving seeds.

In response to what she saw as predatory activities by multinational corporations through both the introduction of technology, and the imposition of legislation to protect the technology through preventing seed saving and exchange, Shiva organized to include in the 2004 law

> …a clause that farmers have a birthright to save seed and no one can take this away. It is an inalienable right. That has stayed in the laws and they can't stand it because they can't criminalize farmers. You see, until you criminalize the farmer [for seed saving] they [MNCs] cannot sell their seeds. They have to make local seed illegal in order to expand their market.
>
> (Shiva)

In addition to working on the legislation governing seeds and seed saving in India, Shiva is involved in a campaign for seed sovereignty, mobilizing the language and narratives of food sovereignty to frame seed saving as a right.

> We called it Bija [seed] Satyagraha, you know for Ghandi's non-cooperation movement, and collected hundreds of thousands of signatures, which I took to the prime minister and said we will have to do what Ghandi did with the salt laws. We will have to disobey because we have to save seeds.
>
> (Shiva)

By positioning seed saving as an activity protected as inalienable rights to farming livelihoods, Shiva makes an appeal to what Patel (2009) calls food sovereignty's moral universal right to food. According to Shiva, this action delayed the implementation of the 2004 legislation, which is yet to be signed into law. She mobilizes the construction of seed banks in rural villages from this platform of rights, and with her NGO exploits the gap in the legislation that has yet to criminalize seed saving. According to one of the seed bank coordinators at Navdanya in 2013, the idea behind these programs,

> …is that we are helping a community start a seed bank, but we are not in control of a seed bank. So for the first three years we are involved, and by the third year we phase out our involvement so that by that time the people of the community or whoever took that initiative can be well started in seed saving.
>
> (Amita)[4]

Seed banks and organic farming

Navdanya stores seeds to share with farmers, but also works to decentralize the seed stores through a network of over 70 seed banks in rural villages. As part of the agreement with Navdanya, the farmers who take seeds are asked to return a percentage to Navdanya or share seeds with other villages to establish other banks. While there is no protocol at Navdanya to identify the genome of the seeds that are collected, other than through assessing the phenotype of the seed, Amita says that

> …we share only the indigenous variety. However lots of visitors bring varieties of their own, including some which are from Kokopelli [a large international seed NGO]. We are not going to turn away those seeds as they are a good gesture, but we do not exchange seeds that come from abroad. We try to give seeds to the farmer which suits their local bioregion. We do this by asking farmers for details of their land. When we have coordinators from that area, we are able to monitor the yields of the seeds taken from our area.
>
> (Amita)

In this way, Navdanya influences farmers to use Navdanya's varieties, and puts this largely in terms of the market, which Amita says is due to a lack of

availability of similar seeds, which puts farmers who want these varieties at a disadvantage. She says,

> If left to the market it limits the farmer's choice considerably, to the extent that when there are only a few companies supplying the seeds, there are very few choices to be made. And if one is looking for native varieties, there is effectively no choice at all.
>
> (Amita)

In this statement, Amita indirectly references organic production. Seeds are key in the organic supply chain, since organic certification forbids the use of transgenic seeds in production. Organic markets thus rely on the distribution of non-GM seeds at the production end of the supply chain. Scarcities in the market drive up prices and lower the margin for farmers. Narratives of profitability are key to the strategies Navdanya coordinators use to convert farmers to organic production and seed saving. In the context of a larger conversation about the perceived failures of organic cotton cultivation to produce higher yields, and thus higher profits, Arun, a Regional Coordinator in 2013, says this about his research on cotton seeds and organic methods.

> However on further enquiries, the inorganic farmers said their BT seed cost was about 3500 rupees/acre, while the organic cotton farmers said it cost 500. In addition their herbicide, pesticide and fertilizer cost for the inorganic farmers came to 12,000/acre and including labor, irrigation and other costs it came to 32,000. For the organic farmer costs per acre were about 8–9000. I explained to the inorganic farmer that he was spending approximately 22,000 more than the organic, and if this was taken into calculation then in effect they were not making more than the organic farmers 5 quintals [500kg]. I pointed out to them that not just production but this cost-benefit accounting needs to be done to get a proper idea… From Navdanya's side we offer 10% higher than prevailing market rates, which we consider as justice.
>
> (Arun)

Arun goes on to say that they recruited an additional 25 farmers to organic methods in that village by explaining these profit margins to them. In addition to using persuasive economic arguments, Navdanya is very much in control of the production and certification process for the organic products it purchases from farmers. According to Prakash, a village seed coordinator in 2013,

> the certification auditor has to inspect the fields, surroundings and the house of the source or member of the group requesting certification very thoroughly for clues of discrepancy in the claims…If discrepancies are found, one warning is given, and if repeat discrepancies are found in the next audit the group's certification is downgraded. Third warning, the

group's certification is withdrawn. The auditor has to understand and map out his reach and capacity and work within these bounds.

Navdanya thus facilitates and perpetuates on the supply end, an alternative food network for organic products in the region, including an organic box scheme for consumers in New Delhi. The need for markets was codified in a meeting of political and civil leaders from the state of Uttarakhand to discuss the development of an organic policy document for the state of Uttarakhand. The idea was to develop a plan similar to the ten-year organic transition plan implemented in the state of Kerala in 2010. The objective of the two-day meeting was to establish an organic agriculture transition plan to be implemented in the next year. A key component of the plan was the development of markets for organic products, and was identified by all but one of the eight participants as a key part of the policy. Seeds are a crucial element in the development of this supply chain.

Kuran village

The emphasis placed on local seed saving in villages was clear from conversations with farmers during a site visit to a seed bank sponsored by Navdanya. The exchange between farmers and seed savers spanned more than an hour, and initially began by seeking to understand the problems the villagers were experiencing in the region (i.e., drought) to which Navdanya staff proposed solutions (i.e., rain water harvesting). In this excerpt, Navdanya staff turn the conversation from a long discussion about drought to a question of seeds. They conclude the conversation with a direct request that the seeds from the government or corporations not come to the village.

Navdanya staff:	You have seen that you have to use seeds again and again before you can get a crop. In this situation of long droughts, tell me how will you save your seeds?
Female respondent:	In the normal course, we save 10, 20 kilos of seeds when we get a good crop.
Navdanya staff:	So now, how much more of seed saving do you have to do than before, to handle this new situation of droughts?
Another female respondent:	So are you saving larger quantities now?
Respondents, collectively:	Yes.
Navdanya staff:	And are you doing this cooperatively?
Female respondent:	Yes. And we don't use the seeds from the market for this. For example wheat, we are able to save our store for up to 2 years. And we do the same with rice.

Navdanya staff:	Because if you don't do this, companies will, through the government, push their own seeds. Even though Uttarakhand has laws regarding agri-diversity, we should still make sure that those seeds do not come here. The government itself has enacted those biodiversity conservation laws. If you have to conserve seeds, it should be your own seeds, shouldn't it?

This dynamic continued throughout the exchange. In spite of the efforts to keep the subject on seeds, the questions and concerns raised by the farmers returned again and again to water, both in terms of climate change, but also dams and hydroelectric projects that divert water away from their rain-fed terraced fields.

Thadung village

In Thadung, a village without a partnership with Navdanya, an interview with farmers in 2013 revealed that they practice a variety of strategies to procure and save seeds. They are largely self-sufficient in their food needs, purchasing only salt and sugar by selling surplus produce in a local market. They share food in times of need and the headman made a point of saying "we don't take money from each other," which suggests a non-capitalist form of food security. He also said that "Everyone saves their own seeds for the next season's sowing." A farmer describes the process of storing seeds thus:

> We store our seeds in metal canisters, but usually in wooden caskets. The large ones we use are made of wood. They have 12 sections inside, and inside each section there are 6 separate containers. The rice, wheat and millet go into this.

The technology they use suggests innovative experimentation with seed-saving strategies, stemming from years of experience. The widespread use of saved seeds also suggests a high level of self-sufficiency and unconcern with the potential illegalities of seed saving, even when they receive the seeds from government agencies. They express low concern for the consequences of working with the government agencies, and frequently share their seeds with them as well.

One farmer says,

> Occasionally we also test the seeds given by these people. We are not aware of any varieties which we got from the government which don't grow well in the next season. Usually they may not suit our soils, or sometimes we see a few plants which seem to be not doing well.

This level of cooperation between the village and the government agencies and the ability of the farmers to save seeds from year to year suggests that the seeds are not patented, nor are they hybrid seeds if they can be resown from year to year. The efforts undertaken by the government agencies to distribute seeds further suggest an emphasis on health, self-sufficiency and security. A farmer in Thadung says this of the seeds they receive:

> We do get seeds from the ration agency, which we sometimes use for our sowing particularly for wheat and lentils. I don't remember the names of the variety, they're usually some number code. Kulath is another dal whose seeds we get from rations, this is very good for health, which even our doctors suggest us to consume. The agricultural extension people sometimes come to check if some of these grains grow in our fields, and when they do, give us seeds it's at half the market rate.

The farmers in Thadung found NGOs to be least helpful, largely because they had little authority in the community and their efforts to distribute seeds are widely resisted. They also reported the NGOs to be out of touch with their planting systems.

> Once an NGO had also come to offer us their seeds, they asked us to try and cultivate it. They came a couple of times, some in the village tried but soon gave up the effort. I cannot remember the name of the NGO. The last time we saw them was the previous year, but arrived after we had already planted the rice.

In Thadung, the farmers articulate a marked level of unconcern with profits and markets. Few food products are sold for money, and even fewer are purchased with money. Seeds are freely saved and shared within the community as well as between the village and the government agencies which supply them with seeds that are appropriate for their growing conditions and useful for health.

Conclusions

The recent liberalization of seed laws in India indicates an engagement with modernist development agendas that brings into being large-scale, capitalized farmers who will purchase "improved varieties" including GM hybrids. The public-private partnerships developed to fund research and development on hybrid seeds are consistent with capitalist development disguised as "self-governance" (Roy, 2014). This vision for the future of India's agrarian societies is antithetical to the notions of sustainability and autonomy articulated by anti-GM activists in India, many of whom frame their rhetoric around food sovereignty as civil disobedience in the name of the right to food. This research investigated the "unseen sociality" of seed saving and seed procurement in two villages in Northern India to investigate the claims of seed saving as "satyagraha"

or civil resistance in the speeches and publications of Dr Vandana Shiva and her NGO Navdanya.

Food sovereignty articulates a politics that are firmly anti-corporate, and advocates for local markets as an essential part of food security. As discussed by many, food sovereignty has a complicated and nuanced relationship with the state (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011). The Nyéléni delegates frame food sovereignty as agriculture that requires state-based legal protection from transnational capital for producers and consumers. In the absence of this protection, civil-disobedience strategies, such as land squatting by the MST, are often practiced and articulated as a key politics when state-based policies support global capital. According to the narratives of global seed sovereignty activist, Dr Vandana Shiva and her NGO Navdanya, seed saving is an act of civil disobedience when national-scale laws forbid it in the interests of protecting the patents of multinational corporations. This rhetoric opens up an important space of dialogue and resistance to liberalization of economy that is resonant with food sovereignty's political vision.

While this is an important politics, seed saving is not in fact illegal in India and seed saving is encouraged, as least in Thadung village, by the government. Farmers continue to save seeds in both villages in this study. In fact, in Kuran, farmers have to be told by Navdanya *not* to save the non-farmer varieties. While the Navdanya mission may be consistent with food sovereignty narratives and objectives, the restrictions placed on the villages that receive seeds from the NGO seem inconsistent with food sovereignty efforts to promote local self-governance. In addition, the way in which marketness, particularly for organic products, is used to persuade villagers to save Navdanya's seeds suggests a bit of mission creep toward alternative food networks that Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) warn against. The right to food certainly includes the right to save seeds, but the right to save seeds as articulated in many food sovereignty narratives should include any seed that meets the needs of the people who grow and consume the crops produced from them. If we agree with Scoones (2008) that seed politics are really about articulating a vision for agrarian development, it seems a narrow vision for the future of agrarian societies to restrict seed saving to only those varieties that can be used in the marketing of certified organic crops.

The framing of seed saving as "satyagraha" draws upon stereotypes and fondly held narratives about Indian resistance to the British, perhaps one that appeals to donors who perpetuate the existence of the NGO itself, rather than support a popular movement to agitate for rights. While Navdanya opens up a space for critical politics around seeds in India, the organization itself survives on the donations of charitable organizations, many of which are large corporations that receive enormous tax subsidies for giving away capital to organizations like Navdanya. Far from articulating an anti-corporate stance, the receiving of money via philanthrocapital helps perpetuate the existence of corporations, and serves a critical function for the global economy. It is very much in the interests of multinational corporations to allow NGOs to exist as recipients of aid. It is

also in their interest to let NGOs like Navdanya subsist on their donations, as this provides an important site of non-market influence in civil society. If the radical aims of food sovereignty to end the influence of corporate capital in the food system are to be realized, it is probably not in its interest to meet those objectives through the support of corporate offerings.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 Monsanto dominates the trait market, with Dow and Bayer as its major competitors in India. These companies also buy Indian seed companies and are heavily invested in the ones they do not purchase.
2 Pray et al. (1991) write that farmers "opportunistically renege on their contracts and sell hybrid seed to the highest bidder rather than the company with whom they have contracted" (p. 322).
3 The use of Hindu mythology and language is also problematically consistent with the Hindu nationalism of contemporary India, where key social concepts and political moments are shaped by a particular narrative of Hinduism. The use of these terms contributes to a communal consciousness that works to produce an exclusionary politics.
4 All names of research respondents have been changed.

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8 Repositioning food sovereignty

Between Ecuadorian nationalist and cosmopolitan politics

Alberto Arce, Stephen Sherwood and Myriam Paredes

Introduction

Faced by the contradictions of "modern food" – i.e., the expert-led, market-oriented, industrial designs of agriculture and food policy – we have become increasingly interested in people's everyday practices as a largely neglected public policy resource (Sherwood et al. 2013). In particular, we are interested in how food counter-movements are materialized and constructed through the interplay, contestation and negotiation of values and interests within specific public debates. Drawing on calls for a paradigm shift in the social sciences from "methodological nationalism" to "methodological cosmopolitanism" (Beck 2006; Beck, Block, Tyfield and Zhang 2013), this chapter explores the experience of Ecuador's lively food sovereignty movement in confronting seemingly omnipotent power and political interests and ultimately shaping policy reforms.

Since its inception as a proposal in 1996, food sovereignty has been diversely described and utilized – from a normative concept and methodological approach to a political proposal and social movement – in response to the neo-liberal economic concept of food security (Rosset 2008). In this chapter, we depart from the perspective that food sovereignty primarily represents an organized response to globalizing forces that are actively undermining rights and territory (see Trauger 2014, as well as the introduction to this volume). Instead, our experiences as researchers and food activists have led us to understand food sovereignty as it was explicitly put forward by Ecuador's influential informal network of activists from different walks of life and civil society organizations: the *Colectivo Nacional Agroecologico* (known as the *Colectivo*).

During a series of monthly organizational meetings in 2005, the *Colectivo* membership debated concerns over the declining international investment in non-governmental organizations supporting alternative agriculture in the country. In response, they decided to strategically shift the *Colectivo*'s conceptual platform from "agroecology as production" to "agroecology as food" in an effort to engage people's daily practices as a means of gaining further access to the estimated USD 8 billion that Ecuadorians spent yearly in food and drink

(Sherwood et al. 2013). In the process, they created new space for "those who eat", which by design meant growers as well as urban-based families. This led to the arrival of a number of influential leaders and organizations involved in advancing consumer interests, such as the national NGO Utopia and its "Community Food Baskets" purchasing groups, several outspoken chefs and a network of restaurateurs and over time members of the burgeoning Movimiento de Economia Social y Solidaria del Ecuador (MESSE). Nevertheless, it also included like-minded indigenous peoples, mestizos, nationals and foreigners working as practitioners, scientists, and government civil servants. This re-framing of agroecology to food placed the *Colectivo* in the centre of debates in communities throughout the country, leading to direct involvement in the 2007–08 Constitutional Assembly and the drafting of the country's pioneering food sovereignty mandate and subsequent legislation.[1]

In this sense, Ecuador's food sovereignty movement resembles what Ulrich Beck describes as part of an emergent cosmopolitan reality and cosmopolitical struggle (Beck 2006:9):

> The age of cosmopolitization stands for a world that for better or worse we all share, a world that has 'no outside', 'no exit', 'no other' any more. We have to recognize that regardless of how brilliantly and trenchantly we critique the 'northern narrative' or ignore the 'southern narrative', we are destined to live with these interwoven, contradictory framings and situation in this World at Risk, not only subject to its power of domination but also contaminated by its self-endangerment, corruption, suffering exploitation.

Thus, in our reference to food sovereignty we wish to problematize the notion of globality and modernity from within or without as well as inside or outside. Instead, we emphasize how locally situated actors receive, translate and re-work communicated messages, material resources, technologies, and cultural repertoires and relations as means of re-positioning themselves in relation to "macro" influences and frameworks (Arce 2010). In this view, civic movements pose and promote alternative agendas for change, which under certain circumstances can come to challenge seemingly dominant and highly intractable forms of authority and order, including from within their own imaginations, families or communities as well as from those born to the externally based expert, industrial baron or State-based bureaucrat. As such, we view the *Colectivo* as not specifically organized around disobedience or "resistance" to the localizing or globalizing economic forces of modern food, but rather it is organized in favour of the on-going, intensifying forces of daily "existence": finding and strengthening existing patterns of food practice as a means of policy intervention. This is most concretely expressed in its twice yearly national campaign "Que Rico Es!" (i.e., "How Sweet It Is!"), which rather than criticizing industrial food, emphasizes the promotion of existing provocative experiences as policy inspiration (Ongeval 2012).

Conceptual framing

A cosmopolitan perspective on food

From the Greek *cosmo* (world) and *polites* (citizen), cosmopolitanism has been described as no less a part of a fundamental global transformation of modernity that demands re-thinking in the humanities, social sciences and government as well as the very conception of governance and governability (Beck 2006). Rooted in the age of the Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism began as a normative-philosophical movement organized around a commitment to the primacy of world citizenship over national, religious, cultural, ethnic and other considerations. It also has become an adjective for the elite, ascribed as a personal attitude or attribute in response to a rising since of cultural disparities and parochialism and a call for more refined worldliness. In contrast, here in our sociological application, we share Beck's view of cosmopolitical concerns as a social reflex to the contradictions of modernity and, in our case, the processes of modernization, especially in and around people's primary source of energy and sustenance but also economy, culture and social expression: food.

In our research in Ecuador we find an undeniable, if emergent condition that places into question existing explanations of food tied with modern-day human population, interconnectedness, interaction and intensification as well as with concomitant socio-environmental decline, isolation, alienation and extensification (Sherwood et al. 2013). As such, we understand cosmopolitic as a reflexive response to rising rates of mobility, fluidity and interdependence – for good or for bad – that challenges the largely unquestioned "truth" of a well-organized and functioning (if in need of improved management) natural correspondence among national territory, legal institutions, society and culture. As Beck and Sznaider (2006) argue, there is an undeniable cosmopolitical turn in the social sciences organized around three intellectual concerns: 1) a blinding methodological nationalism as a dominant perceptual categorization in the social sciences, 2) the rise of a cosmopolitan condition in the 21st century, and 3) the driving need of an alternative methodological cosmopolitanism.

Where globalization occurs "out there" in the external world, cosmopolitic is simultaneously endogenous-exogenous – it is seamlessly generated from "within" and "without". For example, through their production and consumption of food from within the nation-state, people bring forth certain cosmopolitical realities that defy simple dualistic or dichotomous categorizations, such as local or global and lay or expert. Through endlessly individual–collective as well as interactive–creative processes, people give birth to certain highly mobile realities capable of crossing and transversing substantial cultural, social, and physical obstacles (consider, for instance, effects tied to modern food, such as the decline of soils, hydric systems and biological resources as well as pesticide poisonings, obesity, and global warming). The task of a cosmopolitan social science, we believe, is to shed light on how cosmopolitical realities emerge and take social hold (or not) and how they can grow and diversify both within and across territories as well as in the imagination.

Liberating food sovereignty: from State to state

Over a century of methodological nationalism, the social sciences have colonized a particular empirical perspective of the world (Beck and Sznaider 2006). The descriptors of reality, from statistics to research procedures, are almost always national. Entire academic disciplines and movements, are organized around describing, analysing, explaining and perpetuating the nation-state and it's multi-state alternatives as the single most coherent ways of explaining human experience, social organization, policy, and politics. A fundamentally blinding categorization in the social sciences is in need of empirical, theoretical and organizational unpacking and reform: "methodological nationalism" – the notion that the nation-state exists as a coherent entity that subsumes social organization, society, and humanity. In their methodological preoccupation with the state as its primary unit of analysis, food activists and social scientists effectively build their own conceptual confines. In so doing, they risk making food sovereignty "a prisoner of the state" (Beck and Sznaider 2006: 6).

In its emphasis in people's daily practices, cosmopolitan food movements connect, intentionally or not, with broader regimes of practice that seamlessly cross boundaries, the outcome of which may (or may not) take place from within the geographic territory of a state. In the process, actors can give rise to potentially more transcendent social transnationalities – effectively a re-territorialization. A cosmopolitan reality analysis examines the nature and development of transnational networks of people, places and materialities that affect situated social actions and political experiences. In this chapter, we draw on experiences of Ecuador's lively counter-movements around food to make a case for why and how food sovereignty needs to be understood as a cosmopolitan reality.

Recently, Ecuador has experienced a concerted grassroots effort to delineate the endlessly connected and complex realities of agro-food. Primarily led by a network of civic and social movements diversely interested in building democratic institutions, the country's food movements arguably have sparked new interests, debates and reflexive understandings of food-related issues. To begin to study this public involvement in food sovereignty as a social movement and subsequent institutional responses, we first must methodologically ground ways of describing and analysing how food movement actors seek local, transnational and nomadic organizational elements in the alliances they create.

In order to analyse these dimensions we must critically assess nationalism as an ontological "real and empirical world". This critical conceptualization sits alongside globalization's broad description of society as homogeneous, and permits us to embrace food sovereignty as a cosmopolitan reality. This points to the way in which entities, regardless of origin or intention, are used and recombined in social practice, generating assemblages from the dynamic properties of "new materialities" and revealing how these properties shape modern courses of action. In effect, the blending together and relocation of categorizations emerge from actors' ability to knit cosmopolitan food-commons from the interplay of global and local, international and national, private and

public hegemonic and non-hegemonic discourses and values emanating from social life, as composed of multiple emerging and partial realities. An expression of this is the right of people to access and control their genetic and biological resources – "seeds" – to sustainably manage their food crops.

In continuation, we summarize the birth and consolidation of food sovereignty in Ecuador as public policy. In particular, we describe and analyse the arrival of food sovereignty in the *Colectivo*, its insertion in the 2007–8 National Constitutional Assembly and subsequent *lex terrae*. We focus on the on-going controversies over legislative proposals in agriculture and food to explore how different social actors have utilized food sovereignty for competing purposes, and how emergent discourses and narratives have contributed to new relationships and affects, both in the territory of Ecuador and beyond. Drawing on these seemingly disparate, yet interconnected experiences, we aim to conceptually unpack the contradictions between nationalism and food sovereignty in concept and in practice.

Food sovereignty: from civic proposal to constitutional mandate

Following five decades of agricultural modernization, by the early 1990s Ecuador's food systems were in socio-environmental decline (Sherwood and Paredes 2013). Public policy that championed land reform and industrial-era technologies commonly brought immediate solutions to rural people. Nevertheless, over time modernization also generated second-order problems, arguably worse than the original problems it was intended to address. For example, mechanized total tillage on hillsides led to large-scale soil erosion, "improved" crop varieties displaced existing genetic resources and promoted declines in agro-biodiversity, pesticides generated new pernicious pest problems as well as a number of serious public health problems, and the growth and centralization of financial systems and markets undermined terms of trade and fairness for growers as well as urban-based consumers.

As a consequence, beginning in the 1990s, millions of rural people abandoned agriculture and migrated to urban centres or to other countries in search of a better livelihood. While previously the concern in Ecuador was poverty and hunger, recently a shift to processed foods and foodstuffs as well as a shift towards sedentary lifestyles has led to an increase in the rates of overweight/obese youth and women, which now outnumbers undernourishment (Yepez et al. 2008, Freire et al. 2013). Nevertheless, these developments did not occur in a vacuum. Growing awareness of the harmful and unwanted consequences of agricultural modernization have fuelled growing social protest and counter-activity (Sherwood and Paredes 2014). Paredes (2010) shows how families continually accommodate and adapt technologies, generating nuances and unique patterns of production linked to expressions of agency and democracy. In addition, Sherwood et al. (2013) find that growing public awareness of the contradictions of modernization have spirited lively civic movements. Born in

the 1970s as a result of growing concerns over the negative consequences of pesticides, a growing agroecology movement has become well established in Ecuador, joining similar movements elsewhere in Latin America and beyond (Altieri and Toledo 2011).

In 2005, different actors involved in agroecology as well as in consumer groups came together to form the *Colectivo Nacional Agroecologico* for the purpose of mutual support and broader political influence in the country. Faced with declining enthusiasm over its earlier preoccupation with agronomy and production, the *Colectivo* decided to adopt "food sovereignty" as a new, strategic platform that would permit both rural growers and urban-based consumers to come together over a common interest: "healthy food". While different cultural, social and environmental purposes inspired individual actors in the *Colectivo*, they shared a concern over the perceived avarice of a global industrial agrifood complex made up of multinational grain traders, giant seed, chemical and fertilizer corporations, processors, global multiple retailer food chains and supermarkets and the perceived harmful health, cultural, social and environmental consequences of their activity (Colectivo Agrario 2009).

Following a decade of financial and political crises, growing rates of poverty and emigration of 25 per cent of its population, in 2006 Ecuador elected an outspoken professor at the *Universidad San Francisco de Quito* and former Economic Minister, Dr Rafael Correa, on a radical nationalist platform to re-write the constitution as a means of establishing greater citizen participation and control over government. In 2007, President Correa dissolved the government and set up a Constitutional Assembly. Diverse actors in the *Colectivo* played a direct role with political leaders, in particular the President of the National Constitutional Assembly and the President of the *Confederación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indigenas y Negras* (FENOCIN), in debating and lobbying for a policy shift from food security to food sovereignty. The resulting 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution proposes "food sovereignty" as a national mandate for advancing the multi-dimensional context of agricultural production, emphasizing the "social purpose" of land as a means of equitable, democratic social development and natural resource conservation in favour of biodiversity (articles 276, 282, 334 and 400), equitable food distribution and pro-poor trade (article 335) as well as ample access to culturally appropriate food and a healthy diet, in particular through the utilization of native crops, animals, and other locally available food sources (articles 13 and 281).

The vibrant assembling of food

At the heart of the food sovereignty movement lies the recognition that food production and consumption (i.e. food co-production) is associated with social contexts built in and around institutions of the market, household, and the state. The interaction of these social and physical spheres creatively maintain and undermine meanings of "security". For example, experiences in the family are materially and socially (re)constructed by modifying the connections between

individual lives, their commons (stocks of foods as a global public goods) and the nationalization and internationalization of food practices. To shed light on the multiple, sometimes contradictory, processes in Ecuador we situate our analysis in three concurrent contexts: 1) the effects of the global agro-export production of vegetables in changing the Andean diet in the central highland province of Cotopaxi; 2) the *Colectivo's* promotion of food sovereignty through COPISA; and 3) President Correa's proposal for the introduction of genetically modified organisms as a food sovereignty development strategy. We look qualitatively at the spaces of encounter, the intensity of interaction, the production of new materialities and issues of democratic governance around food sovereignty.

The place of food in changing Andean regimes of living

Beside the institutionalization of the food sovereignty movement, and the redefinition of the national food platform, the conceptual parameters of food sovereignty are made clear by people's on-going struggles to deal with new lifestyles and the effect of agro-export ventures to achieve degrees of food security and protection against frequent shocks of the national and global economy that radicalizes social inequality. To illustrate these phenomena characterized by the specific situation of food vulnerability, we briefly present a profile of on-going research in the central highland province of Cotopaxi.

Cotopaxi presents an extraordinary incidence of poverty (80 per cent) and child malnutrition (60 per cent). It seems this is a direct consequence of the highly concentrated land tenure, ownership and the unequal distribution of resources that has remained unaltered since the last century, in spite of successive agrarian reforms. Subsistence agriculture in highly vulnerable land – on the moors and hillsides – is the constant source of peasant labour for commercial agriculture that has taken place down in the valley among the best arable and irrigated land. This situation favours the establishment of large agricultural farms that are owned or in association with agro-export companies (Bretón 2012, Yumbla 2013). The subdivision of peasant land, due to population growth and inheritance partitions, has affected the ability of families to feed and live off agriculture (Martínez 2006). However, indigenous people have developed life strategies, based on labouring outside their subsistence plots and men have embraced migration as a livelihood strategy. Migration is one of the reasons why the population of the province has grown much more slowly than in the rest of the country.

In the 1990s, Ecuadorian governments, influenced by global free market policies, strongly promoted exports of non-traditional products, such as broccoli. At the same time, demand for fresh vegetables out of season in the United States, Europe and Asia increased. In Cotopaxi, landowners and agribusiness responded by producing broccoli for distant markets. Broccoli exports grew by 253 per cent between 2000 and 2007, while from 2008 the volume of exports began a sharp decline, in part associated with US agriculture trade sanctions as well as its financial crisis. This culminated in a 69 per cent drop in the volume

of Ecuador's broccoli production between 2007 and 2013.[2] The most plausible explanation for this decline in agro-export is the Government's policy reforms during the period, involving tight controls over short-term labour contracts, and an increase in daily wages and mandatory health care and retirement provisions, which essentially doubled labour costs over night. In Cotopaxi owners of agribusiness and agro-industries responded to this situation with the dismissal of nearly 50 per cent of workers and the intensification of the production requirements of the remaining workforce (Yumbla 2013).

The crisis of the agro-export business shocked the provincial agricultural labour market. Agro-export ventures have been an important regional source of employment for peasant families and small producers. Nevertheless, development indicators have continued showing high rates of poverty and chronic malnutrition (about 25 per cent) that are among the highest in the country (Carrillo et al. 2012). This situation suggests that even at the height of the global export of broccoli living conditions did not substantially improve for the sector's labour force (Freire et al. 2013:33). Social inequality associated with food remained a central feature among the historically disadvantaged indigenous populations in Cotopaxi.

While agro-export activities may not have had an important impact on levels of poverty and chronic malnutrition, the effect of agro-export activities is significant at community level, transforming the rural area through employment opportunities, the expansion of wage labour and also, indirectly, urban migration. Three important issues have a bearing on our understanding of this change. First, the country's new labour code has promoted the legal formalization of contracts, leading to more permanent employment as well as health insurance and retirement benefits. In practice, however, the new labour policies appear to have generated appalling labour conditions for the part-time, informal labour sector. Secondly, agro-export activities created a regional labour market for young people and women, who are considered special labour for certain essential production activities, such as seedling management, pruning, and harvesting (Yumbla 2013). And thirdly, it led to an increase in the purchasing power of the regional youth labour force. This is expressed in new forms of consumption, in particular the sale of electrodomestic machines, cell phone contracts, clothing and motorized vehicles.

While women have gained greater access to salary-earning opportunities, this has not normally diminished their household production and labour requirements. In the case of home care for the family, they have increased their total hours of daily work (Soto 2014). Women generally are responsible for getting resources for food at home, grazing animals, producing food in family plots, preparing food and finding employment as wage labourers (Yumbla 2013). The group of women working the greatest amounts of overtime hours in the agribusiness sector are under 25 years and have young children. Regarding diet, today rural families are eating a greater amount of fruits and vegetables than in the 1980s (Soto 2014, Weismantel 1994); however access to work in the agribusiness sector has increased consumption of carbohydrates and processed

sugars and decreased consumption of animal protein. For those closest to an urban population centre, a clear dietary transition to industrialized/processed foods is evident (Soto 2014, Oyarzun et al. 2013).

Alongside diet transition due to increasing consumption of industrialized/ processed food, two highly nutritious Andean food crops – lupine and quinoa – have gained global market value outside the Andean region, contributing to the reconstitution of local diets because only families that produce these grains themselves continue to consume them in significant proportions. The tendency to consume quinoa and lupine when producers own control over their seeds, also has its variations. Research has shown that 30 per cent of rural households headed by women (due in large part to their partner's emigration), work as wage labourers. These women usually plant local varieties of lupine and quinoa, but they devote essentially the entire harvest to sale for cash income. This is because these households generally are situated on small, arid plots of land, where only local varieties of these unusually robust crops can survive the harsh environmental conditions while also demanding relatively low labour requirements while in the field. Meanwhile, the processing of quinoa and lupine demands resources, not only water and wood for domestic treating but also time for cooking. For these women time is a factor that is limited, given their domestic responsibilities and need to tend family plots, alongside working as labourers. In these circumstances the reduced time needed for industrialized food preparation becomes attractive. As a result of these factors, women heads of households typically sell their highly nutritious Andean crops in order to have more cash resources available for purchasing industrialized/processed food, which tends to be less expensive by weight, but also less nutritious.

In summary, in Cotopaxi globalization has influenced a range of phenomena linked to shifts in the agribusiness demand for wage labour and changes in the Andean diet. Brief reference to our on-going empirical research as well as that in nearby provinces Tungurahua, Bolivar and Chimborazo (Oyarzun et al. 2013) underlines how the Andean regime of living is changing in ways that the food sovereignty movement seeks to address, in particular through the very robust and nutritious native crops that are being discarded for less nutritious, imported foodstuffs. Changes in diet involving a rupture within the existing Andean "reality" and the establishment of a process of partial (re)connections in the different styles of consuming or marketing quinoa and lupine has created a parallel and comparable cosmopolitan dynamic from below to the global ventures led by the agrobusiness sector. In places such as Cotopaxi, the cosmopolitization of food sovereignty has the potential to generate a repositioning of actors' relationship to Andean crops and industrialized food in their respective lifeworlds and social networks.

Bringing-forth food sovereignty through COPISA[3]

Here, we follow the origin, debates and decisions of the *Colectivo Nacional Agroecologico* to collaborate with the nation-state in establishing and advancing an

explicit public policy transition to food sovereignty. Following public ratification of the 2008 National Constitution, the *Colectivo* became directly involved in the creation of the Food Sovereignty Law, known as LORSA, and its implementation. Following the approval of LORSA in 2010, the *Colectivo* membership shifted its attention to the National Assembly's agency charged with putting food sovereignty into practice and motion: the *Conferencia Plurnacional e Intercultural de Soberania Alimentaria* (COPISA).

COPISA is constituted of eight different technical committees, with each committee headed by a relevant national representative from civil society, selected by his or her peers and provided with a government salary and logistical support for a period of two years, with the possibility of serving two terms.[4] These representatives are not government officials, and thus each technical committee has the freedom to stand for the diverse interests in their sector. Civic associations, social movements, projects and non-governmental organizations contribute to debates as voluntary participants. The main activity during COPISA's first two years was to promote public education and debate, usually done through provincial forums, and reach consensus on policy recommendation to inform the National Assembly's subsequent legislative activities in food sovereignty.

Through leadership in two of COPISA's technical committees: 1) Agrobiodiversity, Seeds and Agroecology and 2) Consumption, Nutrition and Food Health, the *Colectivo* organized public consultations in every province of the country over two and a half years involving thousands of participants, leading to a series of legislative proposals and counteractions by competing interests, including officials in private industry, National Assembly representatives, Ministers, and President Correa himself. By the end of 2011, COPISA had finalized the public consultation for Agrobiodiversity, Seeds and Agroecology as well as Water, Land and Territories and formally submitted each bill to the National Assembly in March of 2012. To mobilize public opinion, in 2012 COPISA supported a series of national and international conferences on individual issues as well as the overall policy significance of its proposals, where important actors were invited to directly comment in the National Assembly. By the end of 2012, the *Colectivo's* representatives in COPISA shifted their full energies to the Technical Committee for Consumption, Nutrition and Health.

Roberto Gortaire, a pioneer and leader of the national "Consumer Food Baskets" and the *Colectivo's* consumer representative to COPISA, was the President of the Technical Committee for Consumption, Nutrition and Health. During an interview with our research team, he emphasized the unique importance of the "Consumption Committee":

> From the beginning [of COPISA], …it was accepted that consumption was one of the key components [of food sovereignty]. In the Agrobiodiversity Committee the focus has always been on supporting farmers' organizations and to make the production side aware of the environmental dangers of

"modern" agriculture. Now, it is time for the consumer to consolidate the initial changes we have achieved and complete the agro-food agenda. The "Consumption Committee" is the brainchild of the *Colectivo Nacional Agroecológico*, especially of its *"Come Sano, Seguro y Soberano"* campaign as well as the experiences of the consumer network *Mar, Tierra y Canasta* [Sea, Land and Food Baskets].

The Consumer Committee operates differently than the other COPISA Technical Committees. For example, "Water, Land, Territory and Communities" and "Agrobiodiversity, Seeds and Agroecology" were focused on drafting legislative proposals. In contrast, the Consumption Committee has concentrated its energies on increasing public awareness of food sovereignty and strengthening the voice of civic food networks. By December 2011, the Consumer Committee had held four internal organization meetings, leading to consensus on its priorities: 1) to mobilize a mass communication campaign, 2) to foment national debates, 3) to build a social-civic platform in favour of "sustainable consumption", and 4) to provide a space where a variety of social movements and civil society actors could exchange knowledge and information on health and nutrition.

Different actors in the Consumption Committee have their own ideas of what COPISA is and what it should do to advance food sovereignty. As Chair, Roberto explains that in COPISA there are people from the agroecology movement, others come from the sphere of health and nutrition, and others represent particular conservation interests. Participants tend to have a long history in community activism. Most are Ecuadorian in nationality, with many having lived abroad as students and migrants where they became active in different social and environmental causes, such as those championed by the NGOs Oxfam, Greenpeace, and Slow Food as well as local community coops and even the international "Occupy" movement. A sizable number of volunteers in the Consumption Committee originate from other parts of South America as well as countries in North America and Europe. Overall, participants get involved based on their own vested interest in a particular aspect of food sovereignty. Roberto explains that his commitment rests in the Catholic Church's long-standing efforts to mobilize the space of family-level consumption as means of raising critical awareness and promoting social transformation, especially between urban-based poor and marginalized rural communities.

Claudia is part of a group that calls itself "Hermanas Luneras" (literally, "Sisters of the Moon") that meets to discuss women's concerns and to awake female consciousness and activism. Claudia recently returned from a five-year study at the University of Gastronomic Sciences in Italy, created by Carlo Petrini, the founder of Slow Food. Claudia explains, "In the thinking of Slow Food, the consumer is not just a person who eats or takes on a product. He or she is also a person who actively participates as a co-producer [of society]." Claudia revealed her personal reasons for taking part in COPISA:

I learned interesting things in Italy, but always with the idea of coming back [to Ecuador]. Now I'm here with the idea of contributing to co-create a good and healthy life through food, but now in the Ecuadorian context. A lot of things are going on at the political level; COPISA is an interesting space with different social and civic organizations, determined to address food concerns. We have a lot of problems in Ecuador with obesity, nutrition and the exclusion of small producers.

Eliana is a lower middle class, urban-based single mother and communications specialist who runs an education programme on food for Ecuador's National Public Radio. She explains that she engages with COPISA for a number of reasons. Ferias agroecologicas have provided her with valuable contacts, partners in their activities to make people aware of the need to generate local change and sustainable development. Eventually, the access to other agroecological markets in the province of Imbabura and Carchi allowed them to participate in events in the province of Chimborazo and Cotopaxi. She explained that their general strategy was to work around a food theme and invite participants of the food fair to discuss a certain innovation or issue of interest around food production or consumption. The idea was to find new linkages between consumers and producers, and to get to know what people think about agroecological products. Eliana continues:

The theme of food sovereignty is something that has already inspired us – it is inside of each of us. Food sovereignty is the evocation of all those tastes you have experienced before; today, however, you feel you are ready to reflect on them with your own practice – the here and now. This knowledge is a recollection of a collective experience of food and life; this is also what the "minga" [the Andean tradition of collectivized work] is all about. To support food sovereignty you need someone to generate mobilization, create new spaces, to organize and to populate them with the recollection of the vital force of food. We also want to bring together experiences from abroad – from Canada, Europe, what is happening with the Kyoto Protocol, etcetera – to inform and inspire new actions.

The Consumer Committee Chair, Roberto, summarized his understanding of COPISA:

Of course, this is a voluntary space. This is a kind of experiment in participatory democracy, although within the terms defined by the government. You have to understand, it is a process of social participation, where we are exercising a sort of authority that the government allowed us to have. Obviously, people do this voluntarily. We are taking advantage of this constitutional window they opened up for us. How this opportunity on food concerns will evolve, depends on the voluntary mystique and synergies emerging from the Committee.

Roberto believes that COPISA is not an organism that will replace social movements, but help them to advance their objectives at this particular moment. Through involvement in COPISA, social and civic organizations can shape politics, especially through influencing the debates as well as the content of legislative recommendations.

The Consumption Committee in COPISA has become a publically supported platform for debates on consumer food issues. In the process, the network has generated new political themes and symbols around food sovereignty. This is a para-state space where the reflective role of the consumer, as a political actor, is promoted and repositioned in society, in direct competition with the global agrofood complex and against the neoliberal notion of free market capitalism. The Committee embodies a multiplicity of narratives and it carries different meanings and symbols that are negotiated by actors in their everyday practices and political conversations on the power of food. In short, COPISA is an umbrella, carrying along actors with different opinions, agendas and interests. There are many agents of change involved who are contesting the concepts, symbols and the language of food practices.

Re-defining the nationalist platform: controversy over Genetically Modified Organisms

During his 1 September 2012 weekly address, President Correa made the surprising announcement that he intended to change the constitution in favour of introducing transgenic seeds and crops. He began his national television presentation by stating, "The worst thing that we can do [as a country] is to be fooled into seeing the truth. Here there are people who, for privileging their fundamentalist ideas, they have fear of information and they even have fear of the truth." This was followed by a slide with the title, "What is a transgenic?" Reading it, he explained, "A *transgenic* is a living organism that possesses genetic material from another living organism and that has been introduced in an artificial manner in its genetic material with the end of obtaining new biological characteristics, such as resistance, susceptibility, production of proteins or pharmaceutical qualities, and immunological reactions."

The President went on to summarize that Article 401 of the 2008 Constitution stated, "It is declared that the country be free of transgenic seeds and crops." He explained how this provision came to be:

> I remember when we discussed this in 2008. I was surrounded by the 'blanket' of Alberto Acosta (President of the National Constitutional Assembly) and he pulled out an article produced by himself. He said to me, this is over transgenics… I remember thinking to myself, my God, what a crazy idea [to place this in a constitution], but no one had anything to say. I thought to myself, what a fundamentalist idea: no to transgenics. I regret not having said [at the time], 'Categorically no, this idea is a mistake!'

Referring back to the slide of Article 401, the President continued, "At the very least, I achieved this: With the exception and only in the case of properly established national interests by the President of the Republic and the National Assembly can genetically modified seeds and crops be introduced. The State will regulate according to strict norms of biosecurity the use and development of biotechnology."

He explained that the precautionary principle is based on the opposite of the "normal". Then, he conflated might with right and his national mandate to support technology. Cautioning on the fundamentalist idea of opposing biological modernity and appealing to an audience supporting progress, he explained that biotechnology is potentially good for the country. For President Correa, the responsibility of citizens is not to be deceived by accepting inappropriate ideological conclusions, namely the abandonment of modern science and technology.

The President went on to equate biological modernization with the specific process of the de-regulation of global trade in agricultural commodities. Then, he explained that it is contradictory to exclude transgenic seeds and crops, but meanwhile, the country imports products made with transgenic seeds and crops:

> All the cereals that you eat at breakfast, especially those of children, are transgenics. Soya is transgenic, imported from Argentina. Tomato paste is transgenics. So what we are [ultimately] doing is favoring the promotion of more imports. One of the great mistakes that we are making is confusing the scientific part over transgenics with the political economy part of [criticizing] transnational companies. They are distinct problems. But what we are ending up doing is favoring the transnational companies, because we are importing what we could produce nationally.

The President then introduced Dr Cesar Paz-y-Miño, a geneticist from the *Universidad de las Americas* in Quito, while declaring that the future of Ecuador's food security depended on biotechnology. Paz-y-Miño walked the audience through the benefits of genetic engineering, answering the potential public concerns over their safety. His underlying argument centred on the national primary of biological modernization, resting upon a conjecture of unregulated global markets and a consumerism associated with modern forms of life. His conclusion was that policy makers needed to offer a positive response to the idea that more technological and genetic fixes were the best pathway to a better future. Paz-Miño's subordination of the interests of the broad and diverse social base of the sovereignty movement to the technocratic agenda of the experts represented an effort to reposition Science and the State's central role in determining the national geo-political aims of the country.

Despite the constitutional level prohibition of GMOs, President Correa closed the session by informing the public that Ecuador would inevitably shift its food policy to the proliferation of GMOs. President Correa concluded, "This [technology] will enable us to overcome such extreme conditions in the

lives of our people. No one wants to take risks, but as academics, scientists, and intelligent people, we cannot afford to *a priori* reject opportunities."

The President's public proclamation for biotechnology provoked strong reactions from the general public but especially food activists, and President Correa proceeded with a series of public "debates" on GMO technology, linked to an aggressive government information campaign in the media, which is carrying on at the time of this writing. While much of the controversy over GMOs centres on their human health impacts, the social consequences on rural families, communities and the broader public are presented as less controversial than the new possibilities promised by the government's aggressive modernization project. The Ecuadorian experience with the tenacity of biotechnology industry shows that support for the intensification of industrial agriculture and food does not render the social world more transparent. Instead, it redefines nationalism as a highly ambitious project, to date determined by the successful entrepreneurship of elite technocratic interests rather than globalizing sensibilities over territory and rights.

Conclusion

Food sovereignty is commonly understood as a counter-discourse that brings forward a political challenge to technocratic models of food security, the shortcomings of modernization, and the negative dimensions of the corporate agro-food industry. This is an important perspective. Nevertheless, such macro characterizations narrow the focus to privilege analytically the politico-economic and institutional architecture of contemporary food actualities, with particular focus on the nation state, rather than starting from the problematic of producing and consuming food under the impact of globalization processes. These processes do not allow us to assume implicitly an identification between regions, provinces, society and nation. In other words, here, the ability of a state's boundaries to enclose, encapsulate or control the communication, networking and imagination of people falls into doubt. In practice, a citizen's activity and its consequences may seamlessly link with social activity elsewhere in ways that transcend boundaries and defy any reasonable notion of a coherent nation-state. In fact, through their endless processes of alliance building, maintaining and transforming networks of social relations and identities, people can give birth to new bodies of thought, object and organization, which over time effectively can take on lives of their own, ultimately leading to the re-form and population of existing geographic, legal and administrative norms and practices. Food exercises power as material to be worked, performed and portrayed within and beyond peasant family agriculture and livelihoods. As we have demonstrated in the case of Ecuador, food materialities are composed of a complex series of intertwined practices that are forged through the cosmopolitical force of the encounter, struggle and negotiation through different transnational networks of people and their nomadic alliances, practices and experience. Therefore, in our view, it is erroneous to assume that food sovereignty is to be located within the borders of the nation-state and concomitant social inequalities.

Each of the dimensions explored above raises critical issues, supporting the point that food sovereignty should be understood as a potential cosmopolitical force and reality. This challenges nationalism as an ontological world of geopolitical interests. Ecuador is an important case because it throws into question whether or not food sovereignty can afford autonomy within a national regime to enable people to produce and consume food in a sustainable way in the context of social inequality.

The case of COPISA demonstrates a new institutional-democratic space, where several civic and social movements promote food sovereignty; these ideas are part of a potential cosmopolitan food reality, where distant places and experiences are linked to the intensity of the social force of food in multiple sites. Nevertheless, so far COPISA has failed to offer a cosmopolitan perspective to challenge the national and global battleground of political interests on how to solve existing technical bottlenecks that generate worldwide inequalities with social and environmental implications. This is a serious problem, because in spite of food sovereignty's legal and constitutional recognition in Ecuador, the sovereignty food movement lacks political clout to achieve an institutional shift from nationalism to cosmopolitan policies. Perhaps this is the reason why President Correa's redefinition of the radical nationalist platform came as a total surprise to COPISA. This means that the biological modernization of food production and the acceptance of biotechnology are beyond the categories of the food sovereignty movement and the political imagination of COPISA.

The challenges COPISA faces not only within national politics but also in trying to generate a new food regime when confronted with the reality of people's changing lifestyles are brought to the fore in the case of Cotopaxi, where the segmentation of the labour market and the creation of diverse styles of production and consumption of Andean grains are linked to involvement in wage labour; other livelihood activities, such as food preparation, are threatened or marginalized by women's lack of time and by the accessibility of cheap industrial food. It is important that the food sovereignty movement addresses these specific experiences as cosmopolital realities, rather than particular national cases, and takes into account how actors' process their experiences, create practical action, and incorporate uncertainty into their regime of living.

In our view the conceptual challenge at hand for food studies is to develop a cosmopolitical agenda capable of revealing the contradictions between food sovereignty as a nationalist or multi-nationalist movement based on abstract dualities and dichotomies, and food sovereignty as a fundamentally integrative and synergistic transnational experience resulting from the contingent side effects of global capitalism and its consequences. Tied to the changing nature of nationalism, a cosmopolitical perspective raises the need for a reconceptualization of food sovereignty in a context where peasant livelihoods are embedded in the intensification of the daily realities of the consumer-citizen, be they in the city, the countryside or the household. This is a promising dynamic, capable of reconstituting economies, cultures and society but also in engaging

with the present neglect of the new materialities and subjectivities of "food cosmopolitanism". This includes changes in diet, under-nutrition, obesity and food inequalities that transcend the boundaries of present-day social sciences and food activism.

Notes

1 The 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution diversely defines "food sovereignty" in the multi-dimensional context of agricultural production, emphasizing the "social purpose" of land as a means of equitable, democratic social development and natural resource conservation and in favour of biodiversity (articles 276, 282, 334 and 400), equitable food distribution and commercialization (article 335), and ample access to culturally appropriate food and a healthy diet, in particular by means of native crops, animals, and other food sources (articles 13 and 281). (Available at: http://www.mmrree.gob.ec/ministerio/constituciones/2008.pdf). As per Sherwood et al. (2013), in practice, the implementation of these constitutional provisions is richly diverse and sometimes contradictory.

2 Sistema de Información Nacional de Agricultura, Ganadera, Acuacultura y Pesca (SINAGAP/MAGAP): http://sinagap.agricultura.gob.ec/index.php/productos-agropecuarios (accessed on 21 January 2014).

3 We want to thank Kaat van Ongeval for the information in relation to COPISA. This section is based in the information she collected for her MSc Thesis in 2011–2012. Sole responsibility for the editing and interpretation remains with the authors.

4 The eight COPISA technical committees are: 1) Water, Land, Territory and Communities, 2) Consumption, Nutrition and Health, 3) Agrobiodiversity, Seeds and Agroecology, 4) Fishery and Marine Ecosystems, 5) Capital and Productive Infrastructure, 6) Processing and Transformation of Food, 7) Food Standards, and 8) Public Procurement and Trade.

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9 Talking around it

Food sovereignty as a unifying discourse in the Southern Alberta food system

Trina Filan

Introduction

The ideals of food security and, to a lesser extent, food sovereignty, have taken tangible and practical form only relatively recently in Alberta, Canada (Growing Food Security in Alberta, n.d.). Their advocates continue to seek methods for gaining legitimacy and traction in a province whose economy and provincial identity are heavily reliant on export-oriented, industrial agriculture. This chapter analyses the potential to employ a food-sovereignty discourse for strategic coalition-building between anti-poverty and pro-food security groups and other similarly aligned organizations and individuals in the City of Lethbridge in Southern Alberta. It asks if it is possible, in the spirit of Gibson-Graham (2006), to use food sovereignty to create a new discursive frame for food production and consumption, poverty and the local economy, as well as a way to enhance the interconnectivity of people in and around Lethbridge. This process may contribute to the creation of new community subjects with transformed and transforming knowledges, capacities, and values. I argue that a locally embedded food sovereignty discourse has the potential to be used to coalesce around and unify disparate community stakeholders and programs to foster a flexible and pragmatic alternative food system and community-oriented economy in Lethbridge. However, there are a number of challenges to implementing a locally situated food sovereignty in this region, specifically related to the power and perceived inevitability of the (neo)liberal state, that must be elaborated upon.

Description of region

The province of Alberta, like most of Canada, is deeply invested – both economically and discursively – in export-oriented, commodity-based, industrial agriculture and in the extraction of non-renewable resources, such as oil and gas (Wiebe and Wipf, 2011). With its concentrated animal feeding operations, vast acreages of irrigated cereal grains and oilseed, and numerous corporate agrifood processing and support industries, Southern Alberta is a provincial hotspot for this food regime. While there has been some effort in Alberta to

move into the interstices of this prevailing industrial agricultural paradigm and put in place a different food regime based on the principles of food security and sovereignty (Growing Food Security in Alberta, n.d.), the municipalities involved in enacting this alternative paradigm are geographically and politically far-flung, and many areas in Southern Alberta remain relatively untouched by more progressive agrifood discourses and programs.

Western Prairie Canada, which includes the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, often is represented in national narrative as an important contributor to food security for the geopolitical South (Wiebe and Wipf, 2011). This region's place in Canada's national identity in part relies on self-representations of its prowess as economically powerful agricultural producers and exporters. Given this regional and national ethos, it proves difficult for Canadians more generally and many Albertans specifically to embrace the notion that food insecurity exists throughout Canada and that there is a national need to challenge the hegemonic discourse promoting the exclusive value of market-oriented, export agriculture (Wiebe and Wipf, 2011). This scenario certainly is the case in Southern Alberta, where industrial agricultural production, processing, distribution, and infrastructural support have been a backbone of the economy since the late 19th century (MacLachlan, 2004).

Lethbridge, the urban center of Southwestern Alberta, Canada (Figure 9.1a and b), offers a case study of the intersection of a hegemonic (globally oriented, industrial) and a potentially counterhegemonic (locally oriented, "alternative") agrifood discourse – if only the latter can become visible and viable. Lethbridge's economy is heavily dependent on commodity-market, export agriculture. The city is home to more than 50 agrifood-associated businesses that produce or support the production of milled grain, pasta, pork and poultry, frozen vegetables and juices, canola oil, French fries and other potato products, mustards and wasabi, and distilled beverages (Economic Development Lethbridge, 2013), among other value-added comestibles. Many of the raw products for these processed food items come from the industrial farms and feedlots surrounding the city and across Southern Alberta.

Lethbridge, like most of Alberta, tends toward political, economic, and social conservatism, embracing free market and individualist ideologies. At the municipal level, while NGOs do partner with the city to provide community services, a great deal of community-building work occurs through City-approved organizations rather than through the direct efforts of local government. While this configuration is viewed as an effective way to provide diverse services to groups desiring municipal recognition and assistance, it also can be seen as an example of neoliberal devolution of government responsibility for community functioning onto civil society organizations couched in terms of service-provision efficiency (Alkon and Mares, 2012). Furthermore, this arrangement has the potential to lead to the exclusion of certain types of organizations from municipal resources. For example, a local group called Environment Lethbridge, focusing on city sustainability and environmental issues, requested municipal

a) Province of Alberta in Western Canada

b) City of Lethbridge in southwestern Alberta

c) Proximity of Kainai (Blood) Reserve to the
   City of Lethbridge
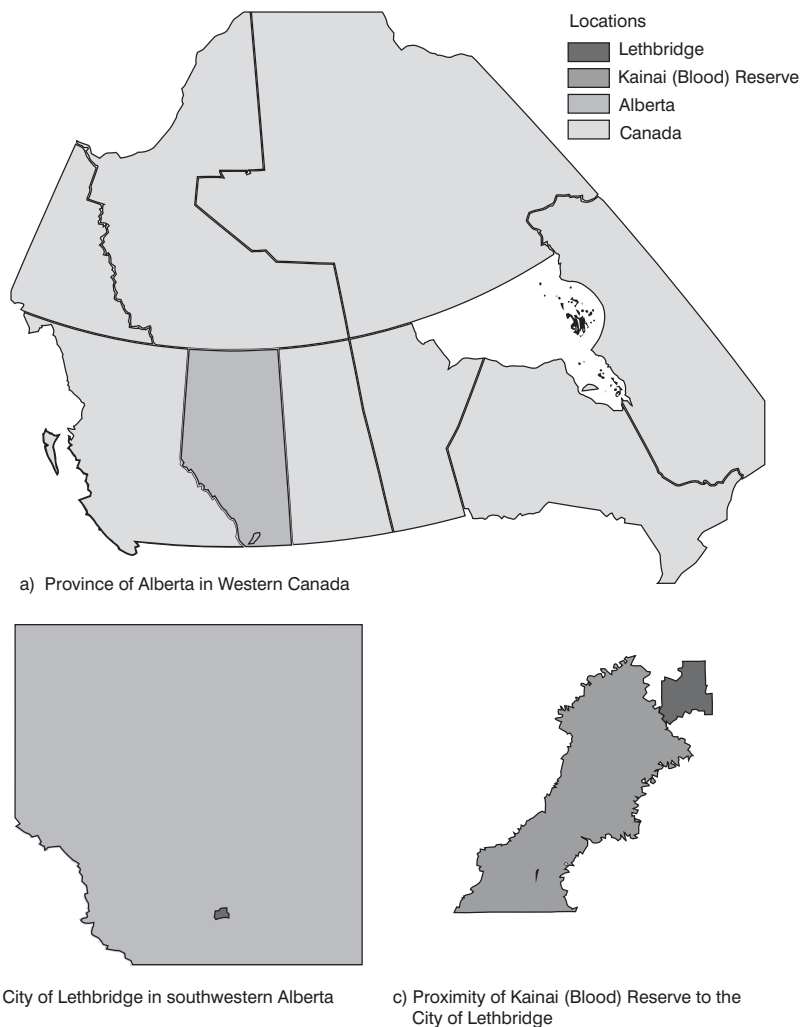
Figure 9.1 Location of the studyt area:(a) Province of Alberta in Western Canada; (b) City of Lethbridge in Southwestern Alberta; (c) Proximity of Kainai (Blood) Reserve to the City of Lethbridge

recognition and support but was viewed to be in conflict with other, more influential (i.e., business and development) interests. Thus, the organization decided to withdraw its request for assistance for the time being, establish itself in the community more firmly, and find different avenues for recognition and community involvement.[1]

Existing simultaneously within these economic and political boundaries are a variety of formal and informal organizations that suggest people might be receptive to embracing alternative discourses and practices. First, Lethbridge

is surprisingly diverse (Lethbridge Census, 2012; Lethbridge City Data, 2007). The city is attractive to retirees from around the Western Prairie provinces because of its relatively balmy climate. It is inviting to immigrants from Bhutan, the Philippines, Colombia, Nigeria, the former Sudan, various parts of Europe, and elsewhere because of its small size and relative security. Descendants of Chinese and Japanese railroad workers and farmers as well as people living in a number of Anabaptist (e.g., Hutterite and Mennonite) colonies also make their home there or nearby. Lethbridge is adjacent to the largest (in area) Aboriginal Reserve in Canada (the city occupies ancestral Blackfoot territory; see Figure 9.1c), and the population of First Nations, Metís, and Inuit (FNMI) people in the city itself is growing (Choose Lethbridge, 2014). The city also is home to two institutions of higher education, Lethbridge College and University of Lethbridge, both of which house substantial communities of students and scholars from all over the world who engage in internationally recognized basic and applied research. With this array of people comes the influx of new cultural values and systems of practice and the potential to harness these cultures to create more interconnected and interdependent communities.

Furthermore, in the interstices of Lethbridge's politically and socially conservative exterior, there are pockets of socially progressive activism. A number of parallel but disparate efforts to address poverty, early childhood development, local food security, environmental awareness, and community connectivity are under way in the city and the surrounding region. These programs or organizations include the Interfaith Food Bank, the Chinook Interfaith Community Kitchen, the Lethbridge Food Bank, three community gardens, the University of Lethbridge organization Campus Roots, student food mapping and information sharing projects, nascent organizational activism around a Community Food Center or Hub, several school gardens, budding urban-agriculture entrepreneurial activism, and Lethbridge College's internationally recognized greenhouse and aquaponics initiatives incorporating Aboriginal students from Red Crow Community College on the Blood Reserve. The Blood Reserve is also undertaking its own initiatives, in connection with Alberta Health Services, to improve access to traditional and novel food sources and food-related skills for both Lethbridge- and Reserve-based Aboriginal populations (Kainai Family & Community Support Services, 2012).

Other evidence of this burgeoning interest in alternative discourses and practices includes collaboration on local food security and other issues among university researchers, local activists, city officials and programs, and local NGOs; a local Slow Food organization; Alberta Farm Fresh maps that connect local producers and consumers; two seasonal farmers' markets; guerrilla gardens which have reclaimed unused lawn space to create a "Boulevarden"; an award winning rooftop garden at the local mall which donates food to the YWCA; and a garden at the local Agricultural Research Station run by a union, which donates its produce to organizations assisting those in poverty. Many residents of one local neighborhood, the "London Road" area that occupies an older section of the city, are working to connect neighbors through community gardens

on donated lots, a blocks-long alleyway walking path of edible plantings, and neighborhood gatherings around potlucks and backyard film festivals.

Many of these undertakings currently are conceived as separate concerns with little overlap or ac(knowledge)ment of one another among participants and stakeholders. However, many of these projects are entering moments of public visibility and action, and the time may be ripe for a shared and unifying vision to emerge. The discourse of food sovereignty might usefully connect these disparate undertakings. Food sovereignty, with its focus on simultaneously addressing economic, political/representational, material resource, and social inequalities through reorganization of local food systems, might have the potential to create a politicized and rhizomatically connected collection of citizen activists empowered to find common cause with one another and to enact meaningful change within the city and its diverse communities.

Food sovereignty and poverty

Food sovereignty offers a compelling avenue for uniting and solidifying certain disconnected-but-related stakeholders and programs in Southern Alberta. Some authors have argued for the value of food sovereignty as a framework for addressing social inequities and injustices (Schiavoni, 2009) but others also point out that the concept, while powerful, is subject to change as it becomes emplaced in other contexts, such as organizations and cities in the global north (Fairbairn, 2012). Critics assert that in the global north, users of the concept often fail out of the gate at the ultimate purpose of the discourse – to challenge the destructive forces of neoliberalism in the context of local food regimes – by (often uncritically) embracing market-oriented solutions and motivations surrounding individual health and well-being (Alkon and Mares, 2012; Fairbairn, 2012). Given these critiques, several questions emerge regarding the utility of a food sovereignty discourse in the context of Lethbridge's food system: Must the subversion of neoliberalism be an immediately prioritized goal of a locally situated food sovereignty discourse in the global north? Is it possible that other stages of change might and must first be mobilized to supplant neoliberalism? Can the goals of food sovereignty instead be employed to make locally relevant social justice issues (like food security and poverty alleviation) visible and a structural analysis of their root causes palatable? Can it be used to connect disparate groups by creating a unifying set of narratives, ideas, and practices that might legitimize the voices, desires, and needs of otherwise disempowered people (Liepins, 1996; Schiavoni, 2009)?

Understanding and adapting to the (agri)cultural and economic context and dependencies of a locality are important to implementing a locally meaningful and utilizable food sovereignty discourse. A discourse founded in peasant activism and radical action that makes demands for comprehensive concessions and change upon the neoliberal state (Schiavoni, 2009) is going to be a hard sell in agribusiness-friendly Lethbridge. It is important to acknowledge that for this tool to be meaningfully utilized to connect existing community projects, to

stimulate community consciousness-raising around economic and social justice issues, and to create collective change, it will need to be deployed strategically within the sociopolitical context of this particular locale (Benford and Snow, 2000; Schiavoni, 2009; Wiebe and Wipf, 2011) to create "persuasive alternative truths" (Wilson, 2012, 99) to which people in the city and region would be likely to subscribe. In Lethbridge, this means framing the discourse in ways that are appealing and empowering simultaneously to marginalized groups, such as Aboriginal people, immigrants, and people in poverty; to "average citizens" (e.g., white and middle-class people) who may not see themselves as susceptible to or in allegiance with the people upon whom food sovereignty's empowering stance is focused; and to sympathetic parties with the social and cultural capital to support the project while asserting its utility in the face of critique from potentially dismissive or hostile parties. Using the tenets of food sovereignty to discursively and materially connect several disparate but influential undertakings (all of which focus on ad hoc communities uniting to address social and economic problems) would certainly create a contrasting narrative to the neoliberal philosophy of self-care and individual responsibility that often informs local social policy.

In Lethbridge, three social justice issues with the need for this visibility and legitimacy and with the potential for alliance-building are food (in)security, early childhood development, and poverty alleviation. Lethbridge has the third highest poverty rate in Alberta (at 13 percent), after the cities of Calgary and Edmonton (Nash, 2012). Twenty percent of those in poverty in the city are children under the age of 15, 40 percent are single parent families, and 42 percent are Aboriginal people (Nash, 2012). Food bank use is directly related to low income, whether persistent or casual (Food Banks Canada, 2012; Civil Eats, 2013). In Alberta, the use of food banks was 59 percent higher in 2012 than in 2008, before the latest recession (Alberta Food Bank Network Association, 2012). Lethbridge has two well-established public food banks, the Lethbridge Food Bank and the Interfaith Food Bank; the latter includes a community kitchen and a newly-established Interfaith Learning Garden in which local volunteers can learn to grow food that will be donated to food bank programs (Interfaith Food Bank, 2013). The University of Lethbridge also has a food bank for students, many of whom are in compromising economic circumstances and must choose between paying tuition, paying rent, and paying for food (Nugent, 2011). As Patel (2009) notes, poverty (and other economic and social injustices) and the lack of food security are directly linked. Certain constituencies in Canada have argued that solutions to these problems are linked (Freedom 90 Union, n.d.; Janzen and Usher, 2013) and that it is morally and rationally incumbent upon citizens and those in political power to address and alleviate poverty in order to eradicate food insecurity.

In April 2012, the newly elected Progressive Conservative provincial government in Alberta, led by Alison Redford, expressed a commitment to ending childhood poverty within five years and family poverty within 10 years (Poverty Reduction Alberta, 2013). Poverty in Alberta is officially construed as

a drain on human, social, and economic capital and a drain on the potential of present and future generations to participate in and meaningfully contribute to society (Poverty Reduction Alberta, 2014). Official poverty reduction recommendations, however, often are cast in terms of inadequacies and failures of the individual rather than by addressing the systemic and structural issues at the foundation of poverty, leading to the stigmatization of those who struggle with poverty (Hudson, 2013). Addressing the stigma associated with poverty is crucial to its alleviation because bias is a barrier to accessing services, and it discourages alliance-building across class-distinct communities (Kingfisher, 2002, 2007; Filan et al., 2013). With food sovereignty deployed as a unifying frame to address the stigma of poverty and its connections to democratic and local food access and community and individual health issues, the potential for a public discussion of regional food sovereignty to arise and broaden the examination of root causes of social and cultural inequity may be more likely. Moreover, a wider discussion of the intersections and common causes of social injustices may allow more creative solutions to the persistent issues of economic development and community capacity building and politicization.

Case study and methods

The information presented in this chapter derives from a participatory, activist, service research project by the author that began as none of these things (Trauger and Fluri, 2014). Since fall 2012, I have been actively involved in three volunteer organizations dedicated to addressing poverty alleviation, childhood development, and food security issues in Lethbridge. I undertook these activities as part of a separate ethnographic study of the city's local food system, which I undertook to understand which local populations are vulnerable and "invisible" (e.g., lacking institutional, symbolic, and individual power) within the food system. The original intention for my engagement with these organizations was to learn more about these invisible populations; however, over time I became invested in the community as more than a researcher – as a participant and stakeholder (Trauger and Fluri, 2014). I also have become more actively involved with sub-projects within the organizations, including initiating and heading community research documenting people's experiences of poverty in the city and undertaking community food mapping initiatives that are defined and guided by the needs and goals of the people within the organizations, rather than my own research agenda. My volunteer research work also has allowed me to meet with and serve as a connection point between heretofore unlinked participants in these groups.

The methods I used to inform this chapter derive from the initial intent of my research here in Lethbridge. These methods primarily consist of observations made during my volunteer work with the organizations with which I have been involved (they are described below) as well as from being an active community member for the last two years; from informational interviews conducted with nearly a score of local stakeholders invested in various ways in sustaining and

improving the local food system; and from an analysis of the texts and discourses that have emerged from each of the organizations in question as well as the organizations that employ my interview respondents. While these methods are diverse, I must also make visible the bias within them, as I have not engaged with or interviewed people involved in the industrial agricultural sector in town. Therefore, my understanding of the system is incomplete.

The organizations with which I am involved link local experiences of particular social inequities to broader (provincial and national) conversations and programs addressing food access and security (Chinook Food Connect), child development (Early Childhood Development Mapping Initiative), and poverty alleviation (Vibrant Lethbridge). These efforts and others, which are disparately organized, share some overlapping individual activists. All have the potential to be (loosely) defined collectively using a carefully crafted, locally derived and bounded food sovereignty discourse. Here I conceive of a discourse as a framework made of "particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, in Liepins, 1996, 9), in which a concept, process, or issue such as poverty, food production, or food security, is made meaningful and imbued with power.

Chinook Food Connect (CFC), which is loosely affiliated with provincial and national food security organizations, asserts the right of all people to "adequate, accessible, and nutritious food" and the right to participate in "a sustainable local food system" to improve both health and quality of life (Chinook Food Connect, 2013). Participation in CFC at the individual and organizational level is geographically, socially, and ethnically diverse and includes among its membership advocates for Aboriginal, immigrant, and student food practices. The group is solidifying a long-term plan of action that will make use of the collective talents of organization members. Chinook Food Connect's leaders have expressed the desire to network and strategize broadly, and several key players sit on other social justice committees in the city, including those mentioned here.

This organization's goals (Chinook Food Connect, 2013) include "knowledge transfer and skill development" not only around local food production but also around advocacy work and intergenerational, indigenous, and community organizational (including higher educational) knowledge and resource exchange. "Practical education in cooperation and grassroots democracy around food issues" is also a highlighted priority, as is "collective action, networking, and cooperation" in support of local growers (including community gardeners) and local food distribution opportunities (including a community food hub and education center). The group has constructed itself in recent organizational visioning as a public advocacy organization around food democracy issues, and its near-term goals include creating a food charter to be presented to City planning and policy official in conjunction with city food resource maps in hopes of influencing city policy making around regional food security issues.

The Early Childhood Development Mapping Initiative (ECD) in Lethbridge, funded from a seed grant by Alberta Education, is a local manifestation of

one of the four broad components of the Redford government's overarching social policy framework, Together We Raise Tomorrow (Social Policy Alberta, 2013). It is part of a long-term, province- and country-wide research project examining factors at the local level that influence the "healthy development" of children between the ages of 0 to 4 years old.[2] In Lethbridge, this effort has involved surveys of and discussions with parents in five designated city regions (separated by geographical boundaries of local note as well as by postal codes). These surveys asked about the things parents view as assets or problems in their city region. Inventorying services also has involved asking parents to indicate perceived assets on a projected map of Lethbridge during a community event.

The ECD project focuses on the importance of child brain development as a key factor in later emotional, physical, intellectual, and social development (Education Alberta, 2011). Results from the ECD initiative are intended to inform policy and programming to support the healthy development of children and their families in locally applicable ways. A goal of the ECD initiative is to identify strengths as well as fill gaps in services that might help families in underserved neighborhoods meet these measures of childhood development; the intention is to mobilize and focus already existing services (through schools, NGOs, and local governmental services) to better effect (efficiency) rather than to add services.

Although many of these goals appear to be worthwhile, they also are potentially problematic in their fixation on normalizing assumptions about what constitutes "appropriate" childhood development, on the rationalized and homogenizing techniques for achieving that development, and on the dire consequences to individuals and society if children do not measure up to these particular assessments in their early years. Left out of consideration are questions, for example, about the ways in which these state-defined and legitimated measurements of "appropriateness" do or do not take into consideration the diversity of sociocultural identities that may consider other developmental milestones "appropriate" and about the extent to which these measures are influenced by corporate-state goals of constructing particular types of citizens able to comply with the desires. These questions are important to consider, especially because the answers to them have the power to reframe the extent to which the people involved in the ECD project would be supportive of the goals of a food sovereignty frame.

However, despite these cautions, it also should be noted that the ECD project seeks to engage communities along with individual families in enhancing the development of children and does not condemn or specifically admonish families who live in poverty (ECMap, n.d.). It also has the potential to bring together disparate individuals who find themselves concerned about child and family welfare issues. The ECD program also has some interesting overlapping features with the other projects discussed in this study and with food sovereignty discourse. In Lethbridge, results from the mapping project thus far indicate that the most economically distressed areas in the city also are the areas least able to support the healthy development of a large percentage of

the children living in those areas (Lethbridge ECD Community, 2012), which means that much of local effort stemming from these results will be aimed at these communities. While neither poverty alleviation nor access to healthy food[3] for all children are explicit goals of this project, both of these policy frameworks align with the goals of CFC and Vibrant Lethbridge, as well as with many local school districts' efforts to establish either school gardens or farm-to-school connections. The informed mobilization of community to address systemic problems related to knowledge and resource sharing and programs to alleviate child poverty through family empowerment could easily be incorporated into a food sovereignty framework.

The third group in question in this study, Vibrant Lethbridge (VL), is a sub-committee of the Social and Community Development Committee of the City of Lethbridge and a local manifestation of the Canada-wide Vibrant Communities project[4] (Tamarack Institute, n.d.). It also is directly linked with another segment of the provincial government's Together We Raise Tomorrow social policy framework (Social Policy Alberta, 2013). Vibrant Lethbridge itself is approaching its task of building community awareness about the extent of poverty in Lethbridge, as well as its economic and social impacts, by first seeking to understand the lived experiences of people in poverty in the city using focus group research (Filan et al., 2013) and then to use these findings to build organizational and political momentum to address the needs of impoverished people in the city. Poverty reduction strategies that maximize people's connections to existing programs and build unique economic and social development opportunities are intended to follow from the results of this research; initial assessments of the potential for local NGO involvement in this part of the process is already under way.

Vibrant Lethbridge is comprised of a mixture of people and groups motivated by social equity and justice concerns and those motivated by political and economic expediency. Because of this mixture of personalities, as well as its official connection to city council and city policy-making structures, the organization possesses the potential to frame poverty-reduction policies and programs in politically palatable and culturally resonant ways that also align with the ideals of food sovereignty. For example, Vibrant Lethbridge focuses on poverty reduction initiatives that are based on the shared lived experiences of invisible and marginalized people in the city; it then works with these populations along with service providers and policy makers to formulate strategies that are inclusive of a broad segment of experiences and voices, a reflection of the democratic criterion of food sovereignty (Vibrant Lethbridge, 2013). The organization sees poverty as a locally embedded, community responsibility to address, and it is willing to entertain a variety of mainstream and progressive solutions – including finding ways to increase access to public land within the city limits for growing food.

Of the three organizations, Chinook Food Connect and Vibrant Lethbridge are potentially the most powerful points of focus for many of the discursive, strategic, and contestation processes that must occur for successfully deploying a unifying food sovereignty-based discourse. Chinook Food Connect is

comprised of representatives from food- and economic justice-oriented NGOs; liaisons from public health organizations from Lethbridge, the rural areas around Lethbridge, and the Blood Tribe; faculty from the University of Lethbridge and Lethbridge College; city planning officials; and community social entrepreneurs. Vibrant Lethbridge's membership is similarly diverse and community oriented. Finally, while the premise of the ECD is problematic, the methods used in and the information derived from the initiative can provide a useful model for gathering and documenting community understandings of food issues; furthermore, many of its constituents might be sympathetic to some of the underlying goals of food sovereignty.

A promising route to implementing food sovereignty as a unifying discourse?

Food sovereignty originally was based on six[5] guiding principles: 1) policy should focus on people's need for food; 2) providers of food should be valued and adequately compensated; 3) food systems should be locally based, distances between producers and consumers should be shortened, and dumping of excess, corporate-derived food should be resisted; 4) food systems should be locally controlled, shared among claimants to land, and not privatized; 5) knowledge and skills around all aspects of the food system should be oriented toward traditional knowledge and future generations and should not be technologized for the benefit of corporations; and 6) should work with agro-ecosystems to improve system resilience (People's Food Policy Project, 2012, citing Nyéléni, 2007). Components of many of these principles are evolving in Lethbridge, spearheaded by organizations like Vibrant Lethbridge and Chinook Food Connect, by neighborhood associations like the London Road community, and by local government. For example, principles one, three, four, and six are reflected in city ordinances that encourage edible landscaping to be used in development and in allowing "subversive" projects like guerrilla gardening that co-opts the green space between street and sidewalk for edible plantings. Principle four is being implemented by the London Road neighborhood with the tacit approval of municipal officials, as the residents repurpose public and private space to grow food and foster community connections. Furthermore, the city has begun to make space for and to encourage community participation in farmers' markets that predominantly feature local growers (principles two and three) and encourages rooftop gardening, where structural requirements permit (principles three, five, and six). Furthermore, neighborhoods in the city with particular needs to be filled (such as access to open space or proximity to healthy and affordable food) are being documented by the ECD program and by Chinook Food Connect members.

   The membership of Vibrant Lethbridge includes a number of people in local leadership positions who are able to leverage and foster the conditions for the creation of unique food system-related opportunities. For example, recently the city was offered a portion of a housing development site to be made available to

city residents to create a community garden, the purpose of which would be to provide fresh food for local food banks and other people in need. The garden would be in existence for a maximum of five years, until the development itself is completed. While this offer can be critiqued as a philanthrocapitalist strategy employed by local private landowners to satisfy the immediate nutritional needs of the poor without addressing the structural issues that create and exacerbate that poverty (such as landlessness) (Trauger, 2014) it also offers an insight into the potentially generative and empowering partnerships that might be fostered if a food sovereignty frame informed such beneficent offers.

With food sovereignty as priority, the city might find it feasible to ask that there be no time limit on the use of the offered land; rather than being seen as private property made available for a semi-public use, it would be viewed (and might be legally codified) as a community resource. Furthermore, the land might be turned into an urban agriculture project employing local food bank "clients"-cum-food entrepreneurs that produces goods for sale to local markets as well as goods for use by the food insecure. The decisions about which plants to grow and which markets to sell to – or the decision to create and supply a local food cooperative – would be made by the people working the land and the people benefitting from the produce. A food sovereignty frame put into locally meaningful terms (in this case, economic development and individual job-skills training with the goal of eventual entry into the local workforce) has the potential to subtly but insistently reshape existing approaches to food security and poverty reduction into liberatory action. Indeed, efforts are being made to ensure more long-term access to this and other sites around the city.

A key tenet of food sovereignty is the focus on peasant agriculture and the more equitable distribution of agricultural wealth within the community. While "peasant agriculture" has not ever been a defining characteristic of the Lethbridge area, with pre-contact Aboriginal populations (primarily the Blackfoot people) being nomadic hunter-gatherers, there is some potential for local gardening and farming projects to impact a variety of dispossessed people in empowering ways. For example, a variety of agencies and institutions on the nearby Blood Reserve have partnered with Lethbridge College and Alberta Health Services to implement a backyard garden and greenhouse-building program as a way to address drastic food inequities on the Reserve. The participants in this project view it as a way for people on the Reserve to redefine their local food system on their terms rather than on the terms of local agribusinesses or grocery store chains;[6] to take control of growing their own food, albeit food that is not based in traditional Blackfoot cuisine; and to gain new knowledge about cultivating plants in small-scale plots with the assistance of season-lengthening technologies, such as greenhouses (Kainai Family & Community Support Services, 2012).

Another community within Lethbridge that has the potential to benefit from existing and future community and teaching gardens is the local Bhutanese immigrant population. Lethbridge has been designated a destination community for the resettlement of Bhutanese refugees from Nepal, and several thousand

Bhutanese now live in Lethbridge. Food-growing opportunities in Lethbridge might be an avenue to renewed dignity and bolstered emotional health for older immigrants who have lost status in their families because they no longer own or farm the land they had to leave behind (Filan et al., 2013). Having a place where they can use their existing agricultural skills, in combination with the economic benefits of a community food hub, may provide a way for them to regain honor in the eyes of their displaced family members. Emotional poverty has been cited by many older immigrants as a real concern for them as they adjust to their new lives in Lethbridge (Filan et al., 2013). A subtly constructed and locally relevant food sovereignty discourse that works with existing organizational mandates also has the potential to bring many "invisible" and vulnerable communities directly into conversations about food security and poverty reduction. Focus group research from VL has shown that these populations share many common experiences and concerns, including the desire to be taken seriously, to find ways out of poverty, and to be seen as contributing and worthwhile community members. A food sovereignty frame includes economic opportunities derived from local food production and processing, which easily fit into VL and CFC goals.

CFC conceives of decision making around food rights, knowledge, and access that is democratically derived; VL promotes, at least in some arenas, a similar framework regarding determining and implementing poverty alleviation measures, although the autonomy of actors is curtailed somewhat due to funding from the City of Lethbridge and the need for official committee approval of all actions. Both of these projects, as well as the ECD Mapping Initiative, are working to re-envision citizenship in the City as interconnected and mutually constituted, a profound project in light of the high levels of isolation and individualism found there.

Regionally specific barriers to food sovereignty as a unifying frame

It is important to note, however, that this type of informed and interconnected citizenry is antithetical in many ways to the way economic and political power are conceived, practiced, and intertwined in Lethbridge, in Alberta, in Canada, and in the world at large. As Trauger (2014) discusses, the modern liberal state is constructed to support the (often corporate) rights of commerce and exchange over the rights of individuals and communities to food security. If actions taken by individuals and communities to assert their "political autonomy in the name of food security" (i.e., enact food sovereignty) are perceived to interfere with the rights of the liberal state to regulate trade and commerce, then the state may well take actions to quell these perceived infringements.

This situation might easily play out in Lethbridge, where the interests of the municipal and provincial governments are invested in many ways in supporting the corporations that are the most visible and powerful part of the local food system. Economically powerful interests already are watchful for organizational efforts that smack of potential infringement on a particular kind of economic

power. These interests and their political allies have the potential to present a united force to dismantle existing programs and projects and to counter efforts of grassroots group unification around more progressive or radical solutions to food security and poverty alleviation, such as the creation of community food hubs, economic and regulatory support for smaller-scale, local, "alternative" agricultural production, and the use of local "commons" (such as boulevards, parks, and vacant spaces) for food production. Caution, therefore, is needed before implementing food sovereignty as discourse to unify the disparate but overlapping groups in the city and region who share these goals.

Another potential barrier to this unification is that food itself – either as an asset or an issue of concern – often is taken for granted by most Lethbridge residents. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is difficult for Lethbridge residents to see themselves as potentially food insecure because they are surrounded by and consistently told that the region holds a bounty of industrial agricultural production and processing (Beagan, 2013; Lethbridge Herald Editorial Board, 2013). Many people in Lethbridge also are not aware of the smaller-scale producers in the region. The goal of food sovereignty to explicitly address the existing needs of local smaller-scale, agricultural producers using alternative farming methods (principles two and three in the previous section) is only mentioned briefly by one of these projects (CFC). Furthermore, most efforts and visioning processes so far have focused on people in Lethbridge as potential producers on small garden plots without much direct connection to enhancing knowledge about local environmental quality issues or producer concerns. This barrier might be overcome, however, by the emergence and acceptance of Environment Lethbridge, whose goal is to focus on environmental and sustainability issues (though not explicitly related to agrifood issues as yet) in Lethbridge and the surrounding area. Chinook Food Connect is exploring potential avenues of cooperation with this organization and is also exploring options for enhancing urban agricultural opportunities in the city.

Conclusion

While the principles of food sovereignty described in the previous section are useful to provide a general summary of the goals and purpose of the discourse, they also are perhaps too overarching and vague, thus potentially derailing their adaptation to a particular locality. In order to mobilize food sovereignty as a unifying discourse within the context of Lethbridge, I would suggest refining and extending several of these principles. Although this reframing process is critiqued by Fairbairn (2012) because of the tendency during reframing to dilute the original intentions of the originators of the idea, I believe it is necessary to consider in order to initiate a conversation around the utility of food sovereignty in Lethbridge. I also believe that if considerately done in conjunction with continuing existing food system work, this reframing can maintain the transformative and radical power of the discourse, as Fairbairn (2012, 228) suggests.

First, I would suggest that in urban areas in both the global north and south, the food system should actively challenge and redefine "appropriate use" of urban open spaces, including lawns, parks, and boulevards between sidewalks and city streets, to allow and encourage publicly shared and accessible food production. This idea, in ways an extension and combination of the first and sixth principles above, would disrupt the modern discourse of the value of tidy suburban uniformity that seems to have driven much city planning and development in Lethbridge. It also would allow the idea of a Lethbridge-specific urban socionature to emerge into the municipal imaginary and could be used to inform new food-and-people-focused policy at the local level. Second, I believe the fifth principle above should be modified in the context of Lethbridge to incorporate the active acceptance and integration of all of the "traditional" food knowledge and skills of all peoples present in this region, thereby allowing Indigenous people, recent immigrants, and generational immigrants to unify their knowledge and skills in addressing local food needs and possibilities. This new principle has the potential to appeal to and harness the positive aspects of the national value of multiculturalism that many Canadians share. Third, in order to address the issue at the heart of the matter – the lack of connectivity between groups with decidedly similar goals and visions – there must be a means within a locally pertinent food sovereignty to foster conversation, interconnection, and trust- and alliance-building across the distinct communities and interest groups described in this chapter, as well as farmers and ranchers and the groups that support them. This addition to a locally specific and relevant food sovereignty discourse must focus on bringing people together across (and in spite of) perceived and real differences. The operationalization of this additional principle easily connects with and flows from the first principle by bringing people together using a mutually understood commonality – the need for food.

My research and volunteer activism in the small rural city of Lethbridge in Southern Alberta have uncovered a potential opening to unify disparate but similarly focused social and economic justice interests. Food sovereignty offers one enticing avenue for aspirational reframing and discursive unification of these varied projects and groups. However, the utility of this discourse as a tool to consolidate social activism might be limited if it is deployed in its original sense, as an "oppositional movement" to "transform the corporate food regime" (Fairburn, 2012; Alkon and Mares, 2012). Considering the local context, with a prominent complacency that is simultaneously apolitical and conservative, an economic reliance on agrifood industries, and a regional identity heavily tied to resource extraction, it is likely that for food sovereignty to find purchase here, it must be proposed as a way to strengthen and unite existing projects, to maximize the effectiveness of local organizational outreach, and to economically and socially empower vulnerable populations. If deployed in subtle ways, a food sovereignty discourse has the potential to challenge existing political and economic structures and to foster an interconnected and empowered citizenry.

Notes

1 Recent political changes in the form of a municipal election in 2013 have created a more sympathetic environment for the organization, and they plan to approach the City for recognition later in 2014.
2 For a comprehensive description of the data used in assessing these early childhood development parameters, see Alberta Education, n.d.
3 Incidentally, not one of the asset-and-gap surveys collected by the ECD Mapping team, and not one of the "asset identifying" parents at the community event mentioned access to food as an issue to be addressed, indicating either that food access is adequate across neighborhoods in the city or that food access is an invisible issue across demographic groups in Lethbridge. Addressing this uncertainty is another goal of Chinook Food Connect.
4 Vibrant Communities seeks to reduce poverty throughout Canada using locally appropriate measures and by engaging locally knowledgeable governmental and civil society organizations and actors (Tamarack Institute, n.d.)
5 It should be noted that a seventh principle, the sacredness of food, was added later by the People's Food Policy's Indigenous Circle (People's Food Policy Project, 2012).
6 The Blood Reserve, which is at least a 45-minute drive from Lethbridge down a series of mostly gravel roads, has only one small, dilapidated convenience store to serve the largest (in terms of acreage) and second most-populated (with 12,000 residents) reserve in Canada.

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Part III
Practice

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10 Framing multiple food sovereignties

Comparing the Nyéléni Declaration and the Local Food and Self-Governance Ordinance in Maine

Hilda E. Kurtz

Introduction

Each spring, citizens in the state of Maine celebrate and practice direct democracy in the ritual of the annual town meeting. Maine is a strong Home Rule state, meaning that local government has considerable governing authority, as long as local Ordinances don't frustrate the purpose of state law. In the spring 2011 town meeting cycle, residents of six towns in Hancock County considered a Local Food and Community Self-Governance Ordinance (LFCSGO, Ordinance) intended to protect small-scale farmers' livelihoods by exempting direct sales of farm food within each town from licensure and inspection. In the face of costly regulations that pose hardships for many farmers, the Ordinance asserts "the right to produce, process, sell, purchase and consume local foods thus promoting self-reliance, the preservation of family farms, and local food traditions". The Ordinance passed with strong support in five of the six towns.

Leveraging existing social and social movement organization (SMO) networks, Ordinance allies soon thereafter touted the Ordinance across the alternative food blogosphere as a Food Sovereignty Ordinance. While the Ordinance authors did not themselves invoke food sovereignty in their work, the master frame of food sovereignty (Claeys 2012) was instrumental in making these Ordinances legible to countless publics, serving as a bridge between the particular concerns faced by small-scale Maine farmers and those faced by small-holders around the world in an era dominated by corporate industrial agriculture. The food sovereignty frame has proven catalytic in Maine politics as well. As of April 2014, 11 towns in Maine had passed the Local Food and Community Self-Governance Ordinance, and the state legislature has debated bills supporting Food Sovereignty for three legislative sessions in a row. The LFCSGO remains in effect after being challenged in State Superior Court.

The LFCSGO derives from northern New England traditions of direct democracy and local autonomy, and was motivated by the same concerns that have been brought into public debate and political *fora* by food sovereignty activists across the globe. The food sovereignty lens on the Ordinance deepens an understanding of what the activists are attempting to do and why, and suggests

potential pathways toward food sovereignty in other overlapping jurisdictions (Patel 2010). While food sovereignty has played a limited role to date in shaping food and agriculture policy (Hospes 2014), the Maine Ordinances are clear, if contested, policy instruments with catalytic effects on policy debates at different levels of government, within the state and beyond.

This chapter examines the Ordinance language with an eye to how particular clauses enact and/or adapt rights claims found in the 2007 Nyéléni Declaration of Food Sovereignty. Ayres and Bosia (2011) contend that the future of food sovereignty work lies "beyond global summitry", yet the Nyéléni Declaration opens vital space for making innovative rights claims that may be enacted in specific national, regional and local contexts. The juxtaposition highlights significant commonality in the framing of motivating concerns, while the differently scaled agendas of the two documents reveal intriguing tensions between the views of the state, citizenship and sovereignty reflected in each.

Discourses of food sovereignty

As discussed throughout this book, the "big tent" of food sovereignty (Patel 2010) animates efforts to redress a range of structural conditions facing small-holder and peasant farmers. The language of food sovereignty has been used since 1996 to problematize the stark conditions facing peasant farmers across the Global South, and has gained traction more recently among small-scale farmers and allies in the Global North. Broadly speaking, food sovereigntists (Trauger 2013) aim to create "more just policies to ensure the well-being of rural communities, control of markets, and agrarian reform" (Desmarais and Wittman 2013:4). Food sovereigntists use rights-based arguments to push for more localized and democratic control over food production, as well as the land, water and seeds needed to produce food (Alkon and Mares 2012). But although normative and universal in its language, the concept of food sovereignty as expressed in the 2007 Nyéléni Declaration is being struggled over in particular regional settings, inflected with regional agricultural histories and discourses that inform understandings of and aspirations for collective political will and self-determination. In the food sovereignty movement as in the environmental justice movement, local grievance conditions are made legible against a universalizing normative vision of a more just future, creating the need for activists to frame their grievance in such a way as to balance universal aims with local conditions and capacities (Kurtz 2002, 2003). That is, while the call for rights as expressed in the 2007 Nyéléni Declaration is a universalizing strategy, struggles for more autonomy in food production (Wittman 2009), as well as the political opportunity structures within which to work, differ from region to region, and thus the trajectory of food sovereignty activism differs from place to place.

Desmarais and Wittman (2013) call for examining multiple food sovereignties in different settings, noting that "[little] is known about what food sovereignty movements look like in specific places and how their expression is largely

shaped by local dynamics" (p. 1). Ayres and Bosia (2011:60) illustrate that food sovereignty struggle is waged at "a plurality of social and political scales". Here, I focus on how rights to local foods are framed by Maine activists in relation to the way broad (global) calls for rights constituting food sovereignty are expressed in the Declaration. I draw from and extend Fairbairn's (2012) and Claeys' (2012) discussions of the food sovereignty frame to elaborate my approach.

As used in the social movements literature, framing is a meaning-making process by which social movement organizations identify a social grievance, attribute it to one or more causes, and articulate a solution. These steps are shorthanded by some as the "naming, blaming and claiming" functions of social movement frames (Kurtz 2003, citing Snow and Benford 1992). Significantly, frames draw on discourses and ideologies for their resonance. Fairbairn (2012) examined the spread of the food sovereignty frame through North American alternative food organizations, asking whether pre-existing concerns of the alternative food movement, which has been largely consumer-oriented, inflect organizational expressions of the food sovereignty frame. Several elements of Fairbairn's conceptual schema are relevant here. First, as she observes, citing Steinberg (1998), "rather than involving the free manipulation of language, framing processes take place within and are constrained by 'discursive fields' which are in turn structured by hegemony and historical context". Second, not only do frames draw resonance from such contextual factors, but also in refracting social grievances to make them legible for broader publics, social movement frames can (re)shape the context in which they are deployed.

In this vein, Fairbairn (2012) found that the food sovereignty frame was producing recognizable shifts in the way North American alternative food organizations articulated their agendas, while also being recalibrated to resonate with pre-existing SMO concerns. On the one hand, she found that the food sovereignty frame foregrounds social justice concerns more than does, for example, the community food security frame which it critiques. On the other hand, many U.S.-based organizations translate food sovereignty into calls for sustainable agriculture or various forms of localism in U.S. settings. These observations support Fairbairn's broader finding that the food sovereignty frame is not static, but susceptible to reframing in relation to the context in which it is used.

Fairbairn (2012) finds the U.S. organizations' emphasis on localism particularly troubling, as it falls short of Via Campesina's broad construction "of 'sovereignty'" as exercised at different levels. Claeys' (2012) analysis offers valuable insight into both social movement framing processes and the complicated role of localism in the international food sovereignty movement. Her work points to the importance of examining localized or regionalized permutations of social movement frames in relation to the broader normative vision they invoke. She draws on extensive fieldwork within Via Campesina's movement infrastructure to consider how the framing of food sovereignty is shaped by different views on which rights to claim, how to understand them as rights, and whether or not to target states for recognition of those rights.

Claeys (2012) highlights that the food sovereignty frame draws on a master frame of human rights, and itself functions as a master frame that links various ideologies. Benford and Snow (2000) identify master frames as those frames which are broad, inclusive and flexible enough to shape the work of multiple social movements. The "rights master frame" has shaped the claims and trajectory of the civil rights movement (McAdam 1996), women's rights and the gay rights movement (Plummer 2006), as well as struggles for workers' rights and migrants' rights (Elias 2010), among others. Claeys argues that Via Campesina's embrace of a human rights master frame for food sovereignty offers the movement broad political purchase while also posing limitations that it must overcome. Among the strengths of the rights frame is that it invokes universal aspirations that transcend particular interests, resonates in different contexts, and integrates multiple ideologies to constitute a potent multi-vocal frame. Among its limitations, Claeys notes that its fundamentally liberal character has individualizing effects that may suggest an overemphasis on economic liberty, and that it potentially over-emphasizes "the obligations of states towards their own citizens, obliterating transnational issues even though it deploys a universal rhetoric" (2012:847, citing Elias 2010:44). In order for the rights master frame to work, then,

> Vía Campesina members had to develop an alternative conception of rights that emphasizes the *collective* dimension of claims; that targets the various levels where food and agricultural governance issues ought to be deliberated; and that provides the tools to fight neoliberalism and capitalism in agriculture.
>
> (emphasis added)

Claeys (2012) links the strengths and weaknesses of the human rights master frame to tensions within Via Campesina between reformist/institutional agendas and more radical perspectives, and the way these shape different activist geographies. Concern with the limitations of state-oriented strategies in a self-consciously international movement fosters support for grassroots efforts to build food sovereignty "from below", focusing on "truly alternative, more feasible or reactive strategies, such as 'defending territories' " (p. 852). Among such efforts, Claeys lists community-supported agriculture, agroecological farming practices and " 'bottom up experiments' with production, knowledge, innovation and marketing (Friedmann and McNair, 2008: 410)". Such grassroots efforts seem to align strongly with pre-existing consumer-oriented agendas of U.S.-based alternative food initiatives, per Fairbairn's (2012) analysis.

Yet while Claeys' analysis suggests that the spread of food sovereignty activism to various locals/locales is concomitant with giving up on the state as a political target and guarantor of rights, the food sovereignty ordinance work in Maine belies that distinction. Activists drew on a tradition of local political autonomy encapsulated in Home Rule to proffer and defend an "alternative conception of rights that emphasizes the collective dimension of claims" (Claeys 2012:847), but one that targets local government as the protector of rights, and not just the

local as a distance measure or proxy for food system transparency. In leveraging Home Rule, they created a policy instrument intended to catalyze change in food and agriculture policy.

In the remainder of this chapter, I consider the ways in which the rights claims expressed in the Local Food and Community Self-Governance Ordinance compare with the rights claims expressed in the Nyéléni Declaration. I first trace the multivalent rights claims in the Nyéléni Declaration and then juxtapose that with a close, and contextualized, reading of the LFCSGO in order to evaluate whether and how the Ordinance enacts or extends any of the Nyéléni claims. Situating the Ordinance in the context of the grievances which spurred the Ordinance strategy and the political regime of strong Home Rule highlights the central importance of claims against the state to this work. While each of these documents asserts claims about how the economy might be reconfigured, the focus here is rather narrowly on how each document invokes rights in relation to sovereignty and state powers.

The Nyéléni Declaration

The Nyéléni Declaration of the Forum on Food Sovereignty was drafted in 2007 at a meeting in Mali attended by members and representatives of hundreds of food sovereignty organizations. The document is organized into four sections: an Introduction that identifies the authors of the Declaration by role and articulates a definition of food sovereignty, followed by sections titled, "What are we fighting for", "What are we fighting against", and "What can and will we do about it?" At the outset of the document, the "speakers" of the declaration are positioned as the "historical creators of knowledge about food and agriculture" whose knowledge is "critical to the future of humanity". Food sovereignty is identified as the transformative concept that "gives…hope and power" to leverage that knowledge for a more just future.

The claims to rights happen in the introductory section and in answer to the question, "What are we fighting for?" Rights claims are interspersed with characterizations of alternative economic and social roles and relationships, concerning gender divisions of agricultural labor, dignity, living wages, territorial rights, and recovery from disaster. The multiple strands of this vision paint an intriguing and important picture, but in this analysis, I focus on what the document says about rights. We find three references to rights in the introduction:

Point 1. Food sovereignty is the *right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food* produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their *right to define their own food and agriculture systems.*

Point 5. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the *rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition*.

Point 6. It ensures that *rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food*.

One of the first things to note is that these rights claims balance attention to consumers and producers. The first two claims paired in Point 1 are worded so as to invoke both consumers and producers at once, followed by clear attention to consumers in Point 5 and producers in Point 6. Perhaps because they are so innovative and "outside the box", the verbs associated with consumers are evocative, but ambiguous – what does it mean for peoples to "define" food systems, and for consumers to "control" their food and nutrition (Kurtz et al. 2013)? These claims highlight that peoples and consumers lack the ability to do so now, but remain ambiguous as to what these verbs mean in action.

Significantly, the target of such rights claims is unclear; are these rights intended to have guarantors, such as the state, or do they invoke a pluralistic view of sovereignty? Pluralistic views of sovereignty hold that both state and non-state actors can claim some kind of sovereignty in the domains of transaction, networks, and property regimes as well as in the more conventional domain of territory (Hospes 2014). Points 1 and 6, for example, invoke pre-existing rights claims backed (unevenly) by existing institutions and policy tools. Point 1 invokes but moves strategically beyond the Right to Food codified in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, of 1966 (United Nations n/d) and supported with the international discourse of food security. Given that the food sovereignty movement grew out of dissatisfaction with the goal of food security, this is not surprising. The reference in Point 1 to the "right of peoples", rather than the "right of people", suggests attention to differing cultural food norms among different ethnic groups, and refines the right to food recognized by the United Nations and the International Covenant to invoke rights as collectively rather than individually held. It goes further than food security discourse in its reference to food being produced "through ecologically sound and sustainable methods". The phrasing of this latter point is more specific than, say, "environmentally sound", and invokes both the spatiality and sensitivity of ecological perspectives, and the care for ecological concerns and the future viability of food production in the reference to "sustainable methods".

Point 6 takes a less universalizing approach, and invokes instead the various regimes that regulate the usufructuary and property rights of farmers and pastoralists in different parts of the world. Distinct from the more materially evident "lands, territories, waters, seeds and livestock", the rights to use and manage biodiversity re-inscribe attention to ecological systems, and particular ways of knowing and valuing them. In the section of the Nyéléni Declaration that lists what food sovereigntists are fighting for, we find reference to a world where

Point 4. *Food sovereignty is considered a basic human right*, recognized and implemented by communities, peoples, states, and international bodies.

Point 7. …agrarian reform revitalizes inter-dependence between producers and consumers, ensures community survival, social and economic justice, ecological sustainability, and respect for local autonomy and governance with *equal rights for women and men*…where agrarian reform guarantees *rights to territory and self-determination for our peoples*.

Point 10. … all peoples have the *right to defend their territories from the actions of transnational corporations*.

It is clear that multiple and overlapping claims to rights are entangled with other dimensions of the vision of food sovereignty. As in the introduction, the first rights claim reads in tension with a recognizable international framework for acknowledging and protecting a related but distinct right. Whereas the first claim in the introduction expanded upon the right to food and the related discourse of food security, Point 4 in this section engages with the broader conception of basic human rights, but plays with that concept as articulated within liberal political frameworks by suggesting that as a basic human right, food sovereignty could be recognized and implemented not only by states and international bodies (as is currently the case), but also in a more pluralistic sense by communities and peoples in what can only be imagined as a form of direct democracy.

As in the introduction, the first broad claim engaging with an existing rights framework is followed by language which invokes more particular concerns. Significantly, this section also resonates with a less pluralistic and more state-oriented view of rights than evoked in the introduction. The struggle for a new "world" is framed here in reference to the instruments for social justice that exist in the world as it is. In Point 7, an engaging vision of social and economic justice predicated on interdependence and respect is conjoined with "equal rights for women and men" and processes of agrarian reform which guarantee "rights to territory and self-determination for our peoples". Battles for equal rights for women have been fought in innumerable countries as claims against those states, with mixed and generally poor results (Jacobs, this volume). Rights to territory and self-determination in the process of agrarian reform point to states as guarantors of rights and agents of change (at least under the rubric of agrarian reform).

Point 10 once again interpolates between state-oriented and more pluralistic conceptions of rights, evincing the "right of peoples to defend their territories from the actions of transnational corporations" in a way that suggests the possibility for violence. Threaded through the document, then, are the very tensions Claeys (2012) suggests are evident in the organization of Via Campesina. We see evidence of reformist orientations in allusions to the institutional frameworks for supporting the right to food, for example, as well as more radical undertones suggesting the rights of people to defend their territories. Weaving between these poles are combinatory allusions to liberal rights claims directed at states, and more pluralistic views of rights and sovereignty embedded in multiple domains. The document suggests that the paths toward food sovereignty are

multiple, fluid, and differentiated by geographical context. The next sections of this chapter examine one such path, that taken by local ordinance activists based in Hancock County, Maine (USA) starting in 2010. These activists drew on a political tradition of local autonomy and a broad regional populist base to craft what became known as a Food Sovereignty Ordinance that seeks to protect local agricultural livelihoods and rural ways of life. The popular understanding of the LFCSGO as a Food Sovereignty Ordinance calls for considering both how the Nyéléni Declaration contributed to opening space for such radical measures as the LFCSGO, and whether and how the Ordinance enacts some of what Nyéléni says about food sovereignty.

Background for ordinance work

In 2009, several diversified family farmers in Hancock County learned from agricultural inspectors that their traditional poultry slaughtering practices were out of compliance with regulations. This news coincided with the Department of Agriculture's reconsideration of rules applying to small-scale poultry production, producing a political opening in which small-scale farmers across the state spoke out over many months for scale-appropriate regulations that wouldn't impose cost-prohibitive requirements on small-scale producers. These efforts met with very limited success, which was read as a defeat by many involved. In the resulting rules, small-scale poultry producers were faced with costs of more than $20,000 to build on-site slaughter facilities to specifications, or with hauling live chickens to one of just five USDA certified facilities in a 35,000 square mile state.

In outrage at their lack of voice at the state level, and in recognition that their traditional localized systems of food production and exchange were imperiled by these new rules and others, a small group of farmers and activists set about drafting a local ordinance which would protect farm food sold directly to end consumers (farm patrons) from licensure and inspection. In Maine, as in Vermont (Ayres and Bosia 2011:56), the "grassroots…defense of food [is] nurtured by a political and cultural tradition that has for centuries emphasized small-scale frugality, local citizenship, and direct democracy". That is to say, the local food systems at stake are deeply embedded in long-standing social and political norms. The Ordinance activists set about schooling themselves in Home Rule, state law, the state and federal Constitutions, and other founding documents in order to bring these qualities to bear on an actionable local Ordinance. As a result of their work, I hope this chapter will show, the Ordinance shares food sovereignty's "radical insistence on community, [and] the development of a 'defensible life space' " (Kopka 2008:46) from neoliberal policy constraints.

Maine's strong Home Rule regime is important to this work. In the United States, local governments are granted different degrees of legislative authority under either Dillon's Rule or Home Rule. Dillon's Rule restricts local governments' law-making authority while Home Rule authorizes local governments to pass laws concerning local matters except in "areas of law and

policy-making reserved for the state" (Parlow 2008:383). Strong Home Rule means that this authority is granted not only in legislation, but also in the state's Constitution. Local Ordinances in both Dillon's Rule and Home Rule states can be subject to preemption by state and federal laws, if challenged (Diller 2007). Under Maine's strong Home Rule, however, Ordinance activists acted on the assumption that a local Ordinance passed at the annual town meeting would hold up to legal scrutiny and attack.

The Local Food and Self-Governance Ordinance

Juxtaposing the Nyéléni Declaration with the Local Food and Self-Governance Ordinance passed in 11 Maine towns in defense of local agricultural livelihoods highlights suggestive similarities and differences between the claims staked out in the two documents. The documents make similar or at least analogous gestures to balance concern for producers and consumers, but the Ordinance is more specific in its articulation of consumer interests. Each of the documents articulates both existing and innovative rights claims, side by side, but the Ordinance invokes citizenship rather than the rights of "peoples", suggesting that its framers are more disciplined by a liberal model of citizenship than were the drafters of the Nyéléni Declaration. Many of the differences between the documents may be attributable to the fact that, while hybrids both, they are quite different types of document. The declaration declares, for an international audience, a social movement agenda that necessarily mediates between universal aspirations and more regionally specific cultural, political and economic concerns. The Ordinance is resolutely place-based, and makes claims in order to define, preserve and protect "local food systems".

This discussion will focus on the rights claims in the Preamble (Section 3) of the document (Local Food Rules 2011). This section reads in part:

> We the People of the Town of *(name of town)*, *(name of county)* County, Maine have the *right to produce, process, sell, purchase and consume local foods thus promoting self-reliance, the preservation of family farms, and local food traditions*. We recognize that family farms, sustainable agricultural practices, and food processing by individuals, families and non-corporate entities offers stability to our rural way of life by enhancing the economic, environmental and social wealth of our community. As such, *our right to a local food system requires us to assert our inherent right to self-government. We recognize the authority to protect that right as belonging to the Town* of *(name of town)* … We hold that federal and state regulations impede local food production and constitute a usurpation of our citizens' right to foods of their choice. … We are therefore duty bound under the Constitution of the State of Maine to protect and promote unimpeded access to local foods.

Like the Nyéléni Declaration, the Ordinance combines claims to rights backed by existing institutions and policy tools with innovative rights claims

that challenge the status quo. Unlike the Nyéléni Declaration, the text invokes state powers to further its agenda. Given that the Ordinance is a legislative document being enacted by the local state through a town meeting vote, this is not surprising. The Nyéléni Declaration by contrast, is rife with ambivalence about whether and how to consider states as guarantors of rights. What Claeys (2012) underplays in her discussion of Via Campesina's internal struggle between reformist and radical views of food sovereignty is the capacity of some local states to step into the breach to guarantee rights related to some vision of food sovereignty. In the Hancock County case, activists drew on an existing political tradition and balance of state powers toward Home Rule, as well as recent uses of local Ordinances to defend local conventions and preferences against intrusion by powerful outside actors, to press the local state for protection of local food systems. In that sense, while the Ordinance strategy disrupts existing frameworks for making sense of food sovereignty, it seems to invoke a less pluralistic understanding of rights than does the Nyéléni Declaration.

Bolstering this interpretation is the Ordinance's repeated reference to citizens. Where the Declaration speaks on behalf of "peoples", the Ordinance speaks on behalf of "citizens". Citizenship is not overtly collective in nature, and many political philosophers would argue that citizenship is by definition a bundle of rights held by individual citizens (Shafir 1998). The repeated references to citizens implicitly reference existing frameworks for the protection of rights, and explicitly invoke obligations as well as rights.

Two narrative dimensions of the Ordinance bear mention here. First, the Ordinance evinces a narrative structure in which the local food system as object/protagonist faces a specific threat, one posed by a set of practices and relationships nominalized here as "federal and state regulations" that privilege agribusiness and large-scale agriculture. Such (unspecified) regulations pose problems for both the producers and consumers that constitute the local food system; namely, they "impede local food production and constitute a usurpation of our citizens' right to foods of their choice". The Ordinance claims a right to a local food system and looks to the right to self-government inscribed in the Declaration of Independence and the Maine State Constitution in support of this claim.

Second, the Ordinance's claim to "the right to produce, process, sell, purchase and consume local foods thus promoting self-reliance, the preservation of family farms, and local food traditions" evokes Fairbairn's contention that the framing of food sovereignty is shaped by existing social movement frames and agendas. Rhetorically and strategically, justifying a newly claimed right to a local food system with reference to issues and concerns already in play in various arenas, invites the support of actors and entities already interested in these concerns and/or committed to these causes. *Preservation of family farms* is both legislated at state level, and in broader play in public debate in recent decades when family farm operations have been imperiled by industrial-scale agriculture (and the regulations which privilege it). *Self-reliance* as a goal is less restricted to a particular time period (second food regime), and also deeply rooted in the

cultural traditions of a hardscrabble state on the economic periphery of the country. *Local food traditions* are arguably a more current set of concerns, shaped within public and academic discourses that critique industrial food systems and the homogenizing forces of globalization. Significantly, these rationales for the Ordinance draw from well-recognized values and normative discourses percolating in rural Maine as elsewhere in northern New England (Ayres and Bosia 2011). They furthermore interpolate key characteristics of these rural communities, and in doing so carve out defensible spaces of community to be protected from the predations of agricultural regulations which systematically disadvantage small-scale farmers.

From Nyéléni to the Local Food and Community Self-Governance Ordinance

A close reading of the two documents suggests that even though the Ordinance does not reference food sovereignty by name, its language bears an intriguing relationship to the language of the Nyéléni Declaration. Each document was produced in a particular setting, by different authors for thematically consonant but tactically distinct purposes. Each document encapsulates an element of the *zeitgeist*, acting on deep concerns felt by small-scale farmers struggling to compete and even survive in agricultural systems increasingly dominated by large-scale corporate agriculture. Not surprisingly, these concerns are understood through the lenses of pre-existing discourses and concerns, and thereby dovetail with existing peasant and populist movements in different regions. Examination of the Ordinance confirms Fairbairn's (2012) observation that the framing of food sovereignty is shaped by existing social movement frames and agendas, including the preservation of family farms at the periphery of the national economy, and the enduring resonance of populism sustained in the New England town meeting tradition.

The explicit calls for food sovereignty in the Nyéléni Declaration add resonance to the Ordinance and serve as a bridge between the particular concerns faced by small-scale Maine farmers and those faced by small-holders around the world in an era dominated by corporate industrial agriculture. At the same time, the Ordinance troubles several of the distinctions and categories used so far to make sense of the food sovereignty movement, and both supports and challenges an aspect of Claeys' (2012) argument. Claeys differentiates between reformist and radical views of food sovereignty based on whether and how food sovereignty activists target states for systemic change. The Ordinance blurs that distinction, by envisioning a radical and populist change to a system structured by regulations that privilege large-scale agriculture, through the vehicle of a local Ordinance, or law. Rather than scaling food sovereignty up to align with the goals and mechanisms of national states, the Ordinance scales the state down to make sense of food sovereignty on a localized scale. The text of the Ordinance calls on the local state to protect not only the right to self-government, but also the right to effect a local food system through producing, processing, and

trading in local foods, linking the state's interest in doing so to broader social and normative discourses of preserving family farms and promoting self-reliance.

The juxtaposition of these two documents highlights that there is a role for democracy and the state in both the Nyéléni Declaration and LFCSGO, but probably a different kind of democracy and a different kind of state. Direct democracy is made more legible and concrete in a local political arena, here, one nominally protected by Home Rule. The populist tradition which sustains Home Rule figures in the language of the local Ordinance. The Ordinance pits the local state against other tiers of government, with untold implications as yet. It is harder to imagine direct democracy effecting claims against a national state with interests in agro-export strategies, yet the Nyéléni Declaration holds out just such a possibility in its pluralistic view of sovereignty in which both state and non-state actors might exercise sovereignty in the intersecting domains of transactions, networks, and property. Nyéléni makes space for innovative interpretations of the intersections of rights, citizenship and sovereignty that could fuel pursuit of food sovereignty. It remains to be seen whether and how the Local Food and Community Self-Governance Ordinance's partial enactment of claims made in the Nyéléni Declaration shapes future such engagements.

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11 Gender, food sovereignty and agrarian reforms

Susie Jacobs

Introduction

This chapter discusses several issues concerning gender politics within food sovereignty discourse and practice. Redistributive agrarian and land reforms form a key underpinning of food sovereignty strategies and a strong demand of many rural communities but their impacts on smallholder women have been little discussed. The analysis of studies of gender within agrarian reforms summarised here, indicates the risks involved. Agrarian reforms along household lines have often led to negative outcomes in terms of household power and control over land, especially for married women. Thus, food sovereignty must address the idealised notions of peasantries upon which land reform programmes rest, including gendered divisions of labour, heteronormativity in household relations and gendered land allocation practices.

As the main umbrella food sovereignty organisation, La Vía Campesina (LVC) has been proactive in the last fifteen years in its attention to gender equity. However, local-level gender subordination within households and communities is likely to persist, since women's often unrecognised labour in households and small farms underpins rural economies. This chapter is structured as follows: the first section discusses definitions of food sovereignty, and outlines how agrarian reforms are seen as policies core to its attainment. The second section discusses gender within small-scale and 'peasant' agriculture; the third extends this analysis by focusing on theorisations of peasant agriculture, and then on the example of gender and agrarian reforms. The fourth examines organisational policy and practice concerning gender within LVC and within the *Movimento sem Terra* in Brazil – one of the key movements in LVC. The fifth and sixth sections offer discussions of potential contradictions in food sovereignty demands, as well as some contemporary examples of women's demands for land rights and greater control over agriculture.

Definitions of food sovereignty, and links to agrarian reform

In 1996, La Vía Campesina helped define food sovereignty as the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets,

production modes and food cultures. This definition also saw food sovereignty as a prerequisite to food security (Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe, 2010). Food sovereignty is often defined in relation – or opposition – to 'food security'. For instance, Francisca Rodriguez at an Association for Women in Development (AWID) 2012 conference plenary session, defined food sovereignty as a "democratic extension of food security – the right of people to democratically decide on their own food and agricultural systems and to produce food on one's own land [*sic*] in a way that is environmentally sustainable" (cited in Allsop, 2012; see also AWID and Caro, 2011).

Patel (2009), in contrast, stresses the opposition between food security and food sovereignty (see also Edelman, 2014). For instance a 2001 FAO statement sees food security as a situation that exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to sufficient nutritious food that meets dietary needs and food preferences, for an active and healthy life (cited in Patel, 2009). However, using this formulation, food security could exist with agri-business and a diet consisting entirely of processed foods, regardless of production and ecological conditions. Thus, food security as conventionally envisaged, could or would continue neoliberal agrarian policies 'as usual'. Trauger (2014) notes that the failure of food security to guarantee the right to food lies at the heart of radical reforms called for by food sovereignty to end hunger and to secure sustainable livelihoods.

Common to most accounts of food sovereignty (McMichael, 2012; Rosset, 2009) is the requirement for direct democratic participation but also an end to dumping of food, and of the wider use of food as a policy weapon (see e.g. Friedmann, 1982) as well as a comprehensive agrarian reform and respect for life, seed and land. These are seen as essential elements of securing food for all. Food sovereignty strategies have also displayed concern for 'internal' stratification and equity. For instance, the 2007 Nyéléni Declaration mentions patriarchy along with neoliberalism, imperialism and other systems that impoverish life, resources and ecosystems (Nyéléni, 2007).

Despite the positive intent of food sovereignty, some problems and contradictions exist within these formulations, particularly related to gender equity. For instance cultivation 'on one's own land' presumes particular heteronormative and patriarchal ownership forms; questions also exist about whether married women in many societies cultivate on their 'own' land as the land is more likely to belong to the husband or a patrilineage group (see below). With regard to social class divisions and differences, some have noted a lack of acknowledgement of class conflicts between different rural groups such as farm owners and farm workers or the agricultural proletariat (Borras, 2008; Bernstein, 2014). This omission has gendered implications, since growing percentages of agricultural and plantation farmworkers in many parts of the world are female (de Schutter, 2014; Agarwal, 2014).

Rosset (2009) writes that food sovereignty implies the right to land as well as the need to undertake a redistributive agrarian reform. This is a central pillar of alternative proposals for food and agriculture as put forward by international

farmers' and landless movements. A number of redistributive land reform programmes took place during the 20th century; these were usually backed by developmentalist states, and often in the aftermath of violent conflicts or else to prevent peasant uprisings (Jacobs, 2013). Although attempts to build state socialism usually relied on forms of agricultural collectivisation, most other land reforms redistributed land to individual households and assumed that peasants or smallholders would work the land.

With the rise of more neoliberal forms of capitalism and attacks on the state and state-backed programmes as inefficient and wasteful (Brown et al., 2000), land redistributions received less backing at national and international levels. The type of 'land reform' promoted – particularly by international financial institutions – was market-based and often involved land titling and privatisation (Borras, Edelman and Kay, 2008). Few redistributive land reforms have taken place in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, with those in Brazil, the Philippines and the pre- and post-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe being the largest.

The food sovereignty vision, in contrast, means restoring public sector rural budgets cut under neoliberal policies, restoring minimum price guarantees, credit and other forms of support for small farmers. Thus, the policy opposes neoliberal land reforms which favour market-based reform solutions (Borras, 2008). LVC launched a global campaign for agrarian reform at the turn of the 21st century. The model put forward by LVC is that land be redistributed to the land hungry, with limits on the maximum farm size, and control over resources such as seeds, land, water and forests allocated or given to farmers (see also Jacobs, 2013). One of the first official commissions of the organisation was that on agrarian reform (Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010) – an indication of the high priority given to redistributive land reforms.

LVC is committed to localised, agro-ecological methods of cultivation in which democratic participation and local control and decision-making are key. Trauger (2014) argues for local control, seen as more democratic than prevailing state-based models. LVC is also committed to small (or smaller) scale farming than evident in the large-scale agro-industrial systems through which much food in the contemporary world is produced. Implicit in the food sovereignty concept, then, is that farming will be based on small-scale peasant/family units, as has taken place within many land reforms.

Women, peasantries and small-scale farming

Women play a large part in food production on both subsistence plots and land used for cash-cropping, and this has been the case historically in many societies.

They perform a wide range of tasks, although the exact scope and types of work varies a good deal according to crop, soil type, size of holding and also according to socio-cultural context and geographical region. Typically, women are responsible for sowing seeds, planting, weeding and other aspects of routine upkeep, preserving seeds, care of small livestock and processing crops, as well as fetching water and gathering firewood. Although variations exist, women's

labour within households and on small plots is unpaid and often unacknowledged as farming or work contributing to agricultural production.

In China, for example, peasant women cared for children and for in-laws, cooked and prepared food, involving the difficult task of husking rice or millet, fetched water and fuel, cleaned the house, raised animals such as chickens and pigs, wove cotton cloth, and sewed family clothing as well as making cloth shoes. In rice-producing areas women worked in transplanting seedlings and taking part in harvesting as well as in everyday agricultural activity. In Lu village in the southwest of China, both in the 1930s (Fei, 1939) and in the 21st century (Bossen, 2002), women were primary agriculturalists, raising the two staple crops (rice and beans) as well as subsidiary crops.

There exist regional and social differences in the extent of women's agricultural participation. In sub-Saharan Africa, women have the main responsibility for agricultural production and they undertake the majority of agricultural work. In most of the rest of the world, it is men who are viewed as having responsibility for provisioning and who are seen as primary 'farmers'. However, women usually have important agricultural roles, and these may be greater than or equivalent to men's in terms of effort and time spent (Dixon-Mueller, 1985; Action Aid, 2005; FAO, 2011). It has been noted for some time that official data often seriously underestimate women's agricultural labour (Deere, 1982; Dixon-Mueller, 1985; Momsen, 2010).

In Latin America, where men are usually considered the main agriculturalists, women perform tasks such as clearing ground, fetching water and harvesting (Vargas, 1998). In the Andean region, women often spend much time tending and caring for livestock, contributing up to 48 per cent of household income (Vargas, 1998: 7). In Brazil, women contribute heavily to cultivation of crops, to horticulture and tending poultry and small animals (Brumer, 2008). Women's tasks are often carried out in a flexible manner, interwoven with other household work. It is also usually assumed that women are primarily 'housewives' who cater for the needs of the household and the household head. As elsewhere, their work is often hard to capture in official statistics and is systematically underestimated.

Male domination has been and remains common in many peasant societies or sectors (Jacobs, 2010). Women's extensive labour often fails to translate into control over income or into equal participation in decision-making or improvements in status. Sachs (1996) notes, "In fact, women frequently perform agricultural labour under men's direction or to increase male income" (p. 129; see also Whatmore, 1991). In many societies – both capitalist and pre-capitalist – access to land (in communally-based societies) or else landholding (where rights are privatised) is emblematic of social belonging and is a marker of social status. This is a highly gendered phenomenon, since women are frequently excluded or marginalised from access to land on the same bases as men within their social groups.

Differing kinship systems play a strong role in social belonging, and the patrilineal and patrilocal kinship systems that prevail in many societies across

much of south, west and east Asia, north Africa and most of sub-Saharan Africa are particularly disadvantageous for women since they do not usually hold land, except temporarily on behalf of minor sons. Even in non-lineage-based societies, such as contemporary Europe and Latin America, where kinship is bilateral,[1] women often experience a secondary and contingent relation to land and property (Glickman, 1992; Brandth, 2002). Nevertheless, bilateral systems hold the possibility of more egalitarian property relations – for instance, it is easier for women to inherit land in their own right, as has taken place in parts of Latin America (Deere and León, 2001; Deere and Doss, 2006).

Women's lack of direct control over land, accompanied with large inputs into agriculture and household labour, acts as a powerful symbol of male domination and of the social construction of women's dependent status. Lack of control over land and agricultural decision-making on a similar basis to men, affects women's livelihood security, their social status in general (Jacobs, 2002; Federici, 2005) and their vulnerability to violence (Graebe, 2010). Since the turn of the 21st century, much more attention has been focused on women in agriculture as well as impediments they face. In most parts of the world, for instance, women lack access to credit, inputs and to training on the bases available to men (FAO, 2011). Scholars are increasingly interested in the relationship between gender and land rights in the sense of titling or privatisation of rights. This is particularly relevant in sub-Saharan Africa, where much land is held communally (that is, by lineages and lineage elders); however in the majority patrilineal systems[2] women do not hold land of right. That the call for women's land rights has been made, is itself due to the lack of primary rights for women in many societies. Nevertheless, this has sometimes been seen as a 'Trojan horse' (Monsalve, 2006) within neoliberal land-titling programmes. Land titling poses a conundrum. Where wives do not hold land of right under customary law, communal tenure may continue to discriminate on gendered grounds and titling may offer wives firmer claims. However, women also suffer disproportionately from poverty; where they gain land through titling or privatisation programmes, they are highly likely to lose this within the market (Manji, 2006). This is particularly the case when land is used as collateral.

Family farming, peasantries and land reform: the gender question

Unspoken assumptions about the nature of small-scale family farming underpin much work on food sovereignty. This section turns first to examination of theories and debates about peasants and peasant economies and then to a case study of gender and agrarian reforms in order to further examine how such assumptions play out in practice.

Debates on family farming, peasantries and populist views

The work of A.V. Chayanov, writing in the Organisation and Production School of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, informs much of the work on the peasantry

and small-scale family farming. Chayanov theorised that there was a peasant 'mode' of production and that peasants attempt to balance subsistence needs against the scale of production (the crop) and the 'drudgery' or work intensity necessary to produce sufficient food for subsistence (Thorner, 1966). The 'labour–consumer balance' prevailed in peasant economies, since the overall aim was not accumulation as within capitalist economies.

Shanin's (1974) characterisation of the 'pure peasant type' draws particularly upon Chayanov and upon anthropological work. The pure peasant, in this model, is one for whom the family farm is the basic organisational unit; in which agriculture is the main means of livelihood and in which peasants are exploited economically and oppressed politically [through outside agents]. Shanin also posited that a specific culture exists, relating to the peasant way of life, including conformity within villages. In 1990, Shanin revised this definition, arguing that peasant economies consist of a blend of self-employment and self-exploitation (of family labour); control of own means of production; self-consumption of produce; and multidimensional occupational expertise (1990: 52).

Chayanov assumed a basic homogeneity among peasants and did not recognise the existence or significance of class differentiation among them (Cox, 1986). Additionally, by taking the family labour farm as the basic unit of analysis, he sidestepped the question of wider social factors such as the influence of the state or the capitalist economy (Patnaik, 1979; Cousins, 2011). Relatively self-sufficient petty-commodity producing households, or middle peasants, may be neither proletarian nor incipient capitalists. In these households, family labour is crucial to household production as well as to its continuation as an economic unit.

Other concepts of the peasantry have followed aspects of Chayanovian theory. Sahlins (1974) posited the idea of a 'domestic mode of production' based on norms of kinship and reciprocity. James Scott's work (1985) on 'everyday forms of resistance' emphasises village solidarity, and this is much cited in peasant movements (see Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010); Scott's work implies that peasant social and economic relations are non-capitalist and therefore are not oppressive or exploitative.

Chayanov's theory and other populist formulations are premised on a type of unified family farm in which household labour provides the main component.[3] Thus, the labour of women and children becomes a naturalised component of the system. This accounts for much of the striking silence about rural/peasant women within the literature, including that on agrarian and land reforms (see below).

Marxist analyses prioritise class over gender as a social division and (also) tend to downplay the importance of gendered labour and social relations. Some attempts have been made within this frame, however, to incorporate gender into the analysis of peasantry as a form of petty-commodity production (Bernstein, 1988; Gibbon and Neocosmos, 1985); the wife or wives could be seen as having the place of labour within a household in which the peasant husband occupies the place of capital (Gibbon and Neocosmos, 1985: 202–203). This analysis is resonant; however, there are issues in seeing gender relations entirely in terms

of class; gender is more commonly mediated through kinship relations and the marriage contract (Pateman, 1988).

These ways of thinking about the peasantry highlight the need for an analysis that includes gender relations and women's household position in order to analyse the question of the socio-economic positioning of peasant wives. Even though today most rural people's livelihoods are diversified, where redistributive land reforms take (or took) place, they increase the importance of household-centred agricultural production. The next section turns to the example of gender within agrarian and land reforms as illustration of gender bias.

Gender and land reforms

The purposes of land reform are varied, including curtailing peasant unrest, increasing rural democracy, decreasing rural poverty and perhaps most importantly, increasing agricultural production and food security (Jacobs, 2013). Across the world, however, women – particularly married women – have been marginalised in terms of rights over land and agricultural decision-making. The main reason for this is the use of the 'household' as an undifferentiated unit for redistribution – reflecting the strength of Chayanovian or populist assumptions in policy-making.

In all or nearly all programmes, titles or permits have been granted to the head of household – considered to be the husband or father where he is present. Many land reforms, however, have made some provision for widows and other female household heads with dependent children, allowing them some access to redistributed land. However, this does not affect the situation of married women.

A review of 33 empirical case studies across Asia, Africa, Latin America and eastern Europe indicates that there have been both beneficial and detrimental aspects of land reform for married women.[4] (See also Jacobs, 2009 for discussion of 29 cases.) Increases in food production and household incomes are key aims of land reforms, and a number succeed in this aim, also increasing people's access to food crops (El-Ghonemy, 1990; Rosset, 2009). Where this has happened, married women may benefit; single and married women often [although not inevitably] report that their lives have improved (Tadesse, 1982; 2003; Allaghi, 1984; Jacobs, 1989). Women in Andra Pradesh, for instance, saw stability and food security as an important marker of success of redistribution of land (Raghunath, 1996). Many land reform programmes have and continue to use a model of a nuclear family, and some wives experience this as giving them more informal influence over the husband. This is partly because of increased distance from the extended family or lineage relatives.

Less beneficial outcomes are, unfortunately, more numerous. Most studies report a number of negative outcomes for the lives and livelihoods of married women. Women often experienced increased workloads (e.g. Conti, 1979; Jacobs, 1989; 1995; Liljeström et al., 1998; McCall, 1987; Razavi, 1994), as well as pressure to bear more children who can work on the smallholding

(Palmer, 1985; Gammeltoft, 1999; Bélanger and Li, 2009). Secondly, where married women have existing land rights, such as to 'garden' plots allocated by husbands (as in much of sub-Saharan Africa), they may lose these (Hangar and Moris, 1973; McCall, 1987; Tadesse, 1982). Thirdly, loss of women's 'own' incomes was reported in nearly all studies – although interestingly, not in Zimbabwe (Jacobs, 1989; 1995; Goebel, 2005). Loss of income under women's control took place due to loss of previous marketing niches; loss of opportunities to earn incomes outside agriculture, and lack of equitable redistribution within households (Allaghi, 1984; Hangar and Moris, 1973; Lund, 1978; McCall, 1987; Safilios-Rothschild, 1988).

Last, a number of studies across continents note that married women tend to lose autonomy and to have lessened decision-making power following land redistribution to household heads (e.g. Allaghi, 1984; Asztalos Morell, 1999; Brunt, 1992; Garrett, 1982; Hangar and Moris, 1973; Jacobs, 1989; 2010; Pankhurst, 1992; de Silva, 1982; Tinsman, 2002). In Mexico (where a relatively low number of wives were *ejido* members) wives lost scope for decision-making after land redistribution due to loss of women's land, greater control by the husband and an increase in male authority and *machismo* (Brunt, 1992). The two factors mentioned most commonly in terms of diminution of women's authority and decision-making powers within land reform programmes are relegation of their roles to that of 'housewife' as well as increased surveillance by the husband, who is more likely to be constantly present. In the Chilean agrarian reform enacted in 1950–73, for example, wives' dependence increased as they worked less outside the home. Peasant men's authority within the home, previously denied them as subjects of the landlord, increased. Husbands displayed a 'reinvigorated masculinity' (Tinsman, 2002).

Women-headed households has been ameliorated somewhat in that they have sometimes been able to hold land. But the lives of the majority of adult women who are married or live with male partners have not improved in any straightforward way, and may have deteriorated with respect to the ability to exercise rights or to make decisions with a degree of autonomy. Men as husbands often gain power and control at wives' expense – despite the democratic intent of land and agrarian reforms (Jacobs, 2003). Although male-biased policy is an important factor, more structural factors underlie.

Several features encourage relations of domination over women – or patriarchal gender regimes (Walby, 1990; see also Connell, 1987; 2009). While this analysis discusses smallholder/peasant women for reasons of space, it should be noted that much social variation exists, and that rural women are not necessarily (or usually) a unified category (Park et al., 2013). One factor contributing to patriarchal gender regimes is the relative spatial isolation of smallholder communities and households. This means that customary or traditional gender regimes are more intact in rural areas. Another factor of relevance is the combination of production and domestic tasks in one household unit. Peasant households are not only social, commensual and consumption units but are also units of agricultural and other production (see Jacobs, 2010). This makes women's work, their sexuality and

reproductive capacity of crucial importance, with implications somewhat different to households which rely primarily on wage labour. Peasant men normally direct the labour of wives and daughters, and this in turn has resonance for male identity. Further, smallholder farms based on family labour are often seen as more efficient than larger agricultural units (Griffin, Kahn and Ickowitz, 2002; 2004; Byres, 2004 for discussion); women's labour is key to such 'efficiency'.

Women and food sovereignty

The following sections take up the question of gender and women's organising within food sovereignty and agrarian reform campaigns. The first sub-section discusses the evolution of thinking about and strategies dealing with gendered inequalities and women's subordination within LVC. The second examines some of the literature on gender within the Brazilian *Movimento sem Terra* (MST), probably the largest and most efficacious agrarian reform movement globally. Together, LVC and the MST are two of the most important organisations discussing and organising around food sovereignty. They have addressed gender issues and inequalities with varying degrees of enthusiasm and with variable results.

History and organisation within La Vía Campesina

It was acknowledged in LVC from early on, in the 1980s, that women had leading agricultural roles, and that they often have specific knowledge about plants, soils, crops, and animal husbandry (Pimbert, 2009). As noted, however, many women are prohibited from controlling land or agricultural production, and they are often subordinated. Desmarais (2007) notes that within rural communities and within the organisation, women have struggled for years to integrate gender into discussions of agricultural policy and to have their voice 'heard' more generally. Thus, rural women's exclusion from decision-making was reflected early on within the organisation.

It was not until the Second International Conference at Tlaxcala, Mexico in 1996 that gender issues began to be more systematically integrated into LVC's policies (Desmarais, 2007). The conference formed a committee to examine how gender issues could be integrated into food sovereignty policy. In 1997, women leaders in the Latin American organisation of LVC, CLOC [Latin American Coordination of Rural Organisations], held its first women's assembly (Caro, 2013).

Within the organisation, women are active in policy discussions on the right to produce food; on agro-ecological strategies and the need to move to organic farming methods in order to safeguard health. They also contribute to discussions of participation and of property rights. In this way, women in LVC have highlighted the systematic nature of inequalities between men and women in terms of property rights (Pimbert, 2009; see also Caro, 2013). The first international assembly for women held by LVC took place in Banglalore, before

the 3rd International Conference.[5] There, it was decided that there should be one male and one female coordinator from each region. This represented a change from the early 1990s, when gender was barely mentioned (Desmarais, 2007).

Martínez-Torres and Rosset (2010) posit five stages in the development of LVC's campaigns. 'Stage 1' was from the 1980s to 1992, in which the organisation developed, including instituting mechanisms such as rotating leadership positions to minimise clientelism and privilege. General moves to democratising processes such as these can also have important gender implications, since patronage networks are often male-dominated. In 'Stage 2' (1992–1999), the demand that women occupy 50 per cent of *all* spaces of representation was put forward. A global campaign for agrarian reform was also launched at the end of this period. The requirement for gender parity in representation at all organisational levels was adopted in 'Stage 3' (2000–03) and so women began taking on much more prominent leadership roles. In 'Stage 4' (2004–08), attention was focused on internal aspects of organisation, as LVC's public profile was outstripping its internal capacity (Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010). During this stage, in 2007, an alliance with the World March of Women was strengthened, and the CLOC-LVC and the World March helped to organise the Nyéléni conference in Mali (Caro, 2013; Wittman et al., 2010).

A decision to adopt an official stance on violence against women (VAW) and to mobilise against VAW as one of four key campaigns was made in 2008. This was an important move, especially for a rurally-based social movement. In 'Stage 5' (2008–present), beginning with the 5th International Conference in Maputo, LVC took a major step forward in a more nuanced understanding of gender inequalities, including how these operate within organisations. An official statement notes:

> If we do not eradicate violence against women within our movement, we will not advance in our struggle and if we do not create new gender relations, we will not be able to build a new society.
>
> (Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010: 167)

Two successful strategies employed by the CLOC in Latin America have been to establish autonomous women's organisations within CLOC, and to organise training schools for women in order to build confidence and empowerment (Caro, 2013). LVC's campaigns against violence indicate an understanding that its existence undermines any other moves towards equity. This commitment sits somewhat uneasily, however, with the parallel commitment to respect the autonomy of local organisations and strategies (Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010). As recognised, gender inequalities tend to be entrenched and responses from local communities to initiatives 'from above' may be slow (Caro, 2013; Park et al.*,* 2013). For instance, recent laws in both Zimbabwe and South Africa have strengthened the local role of traditional authorities in land allocations, and this is often problematic for gender equity.[6]

Despite some successes within CLOC-LVC, continued difficulties in raising and addressing gendered inequalities persist. Gender inequities are still seen as subordinate to class (Caro, 2013) and it is implied that this operates as a means of sidestepping gender issues. Even though rules concerning parity of men and women within meetings mean that women are present, "in mixed spaces it is very difficult for women to speak and [to] put their problems on the table – men restrict women's dialogue" (Coronel, cited in Caro, 2013: 5).

The MST, gender and land reform in Brazil

The example of the MST in Brazil indicates the difficulty of organising around gender issues within land reform movements, even in avowedly 'left' settings. Brazil has perhaps the largest and most widely-recognised rural land movement in the world, the MST (*O Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra*) or the Landless Workers' Movement – usually termed the 'Landless Movement'– with 1.5 million members or affiliates (MST, 2013a). Over three decades, the MST has organised numerous land occupations and has been successful in pushing land reform and agricultural sustainability onto the national agenda. The MST has also successfully promoted functioning land reform settlements or communities. It has been attentive to provision of services such as schools, clinics, marketing of produce and sustainable cultivation (Onsrud et al., 2005); these are initiatives that benefit all settlers, and particularly women.

Organisationally, the MST is meant to be democratic and participatory; all adult family members must join rather than simply the household head. Nevertheless, it has an ambivalent relation to questions of the 'family' constitution of households and to gender discrimination. This is despite acknowledging support from women in land occupations and emphasis on women leaders. This is also despite the fact that Brazil's 1988 Constitution, unusually, grants women and men equality in land rights, including in agrarian reform (Deere, 2003). Nevertheless, land and property-holding are still widely seen as male prerogatives (Brumer, 2008). The MST as a key participant in LVC has a stated commitment to gender equity and to emancipatory ideals more widely, but this coexists with marginalisation of ordinary women and silence about gender issues within encampments and settlements. One source of ambivalence may stem back to the MST's roots, which lay in 'ecclesiastical base communities' (CEBs), emphasising the need for economic redistribution, including of land, but also the links between landholdings and stable family life.

A number of feminists have critiqued the male bias of MST policy and informal practice (Barsted, 2005; Caldeira, 2006; Deere, 2003; Guivant, 2003; da Silva, 2004). The MST tends to view farming units as unified households with a head, usually assumed to be the husband or father. Rules are often predicated on the existence of a nuclear family. For instance, residents of encampments[7] must hold no other 'outside' job;[8] this stipulation discriminates against the substantial numbers of single parents who have occupied land. Married couples may decide to have one spouse or partner working outside the encampment but this strategy

is not open to single parents with children. A number of female household heads in a Rio state study had given up and returned to cities (Caldeira, 2006) although others persist in great poverty as they lack other options. Male dominance within encampments is enacted in many ways, e.g. behaviour and language; undercurrents of gendered hierarchy and the assumption that women mainly exist in a private, home-bound world (Brumer, 2008; Caldeira, 2006). Da Silva's study of a settlement in Santa Catarina state in the south of the country (da Silva, 2004) also stressed deep-rooted inequalities in the division of labour and assumptions about male land rights.[9] The study found great discrepancies in the types of agricultural work that men and women undertook and in the extent of cooperative membership. Moreover, the MST council in this case intervened in cases of sexual morality. In one example, a woman who had had an affair with a married man was asked to leave the settlement; the man, an MST leader, remained. Da Silva writes that the leadership also tended to blame women themselves for the persistence of gender inequities rather than seeing this as a matter to be taken up by leadership (2004).

The MST has long vacillated with regard to how much it decides to emphasise gender issues. In the mid-1980s, it created the CNM (*Coletivo Nacional de Mulheres*) to tackle machismo in the movement, to give women more control over policy-making and a space to discuss gender issues (Deere, 2003). However, this was withdrawn from 1989 until 1996. Ambivalence is also evident in the public-facing website, which has in various periods published and withdrawn material on gender issues. The present site acknowledges that inequalities exist within the organisation and lays out various aims concerning gender equity: 50 per cent participation by women in all MST education and training course, and in leadership roles in national bodies; the guarantee [of] one male and one female coordinator in the community bases, and "intensive discussion and study regarding the theme of gender in all MST courses and conventions" (MST, 2013b). Overall, although some attention is paid to gender, the MST continues to prioritise class over gender analysis. This can operate as a means of sidestepping gender questions.

Discussion

The literature on gender, women and food sovereignty does discuss various inequalities affecting rural women, but in general fails to attend to the key points concerning rural women's positioning within households and communities. One of the key planks of food sovereignty – the necessity of small farming, which in practice is usually organised on a family basis – potentially contradicts another aim, the empowerment of rural women. Agarwal (2014) agrees, "family farms do not provide autonomy to women workers or the means to realise their potential as farmers" (p. 9).

Repeasantisation (Enríquez, 2010; Jacobs, 2010) – whether this takes place as a result of decollectivisation or due to 'new' land redistribution – tends to 'encapsulate' married women within household-family farms. Although a

number of analyses do discuss gender within food sovereignty, there still exists a tendency to skate over this central difficulty.

Some exceptions exist, however. Martínez-Torres and Rosset (2010) note the discrepancy between LVC's policy and its practice in terms of gender equality. For instance, although there is a firm stipulation within the organisation that women must form half of all officials, women miss meetings far more often than do men because of their household responsibilities. They note that power differentials within the organisation exist. Patel and others (Patel et al., 2007; Patel, 2009; 2012) note that activities instantiating a radical universalist human rights framework are needed to effect gender rights within food sovereignty. For instance, the absence of central policy-making fora within LVC (Patel 2009) is both a strength and a potential issue as gender norms are often slow to change, particularly in rural areas. As Razavi (2007) argues, the 'return to the local' can pose dangers, and these have not been fully discussed.

The context of the 21st century is admittedly contradictory, given the predominance of neoliberal agricultural and other policies undermining the livelihoods of poor and middle layers of most societies. However, there exists somewhat more awareness of gender inequalities, mainly due to feminisms of the global South (Basu, 2010; Ferree and Tripp, 2006). Resistance to women's independence usually stems from 'local' kin or family, or community members, and thus local movements are particularly important in showing ways forward. Local movements are sometimes inspired and assisted by transnational movements (Jacobs, 2004a; Moghadam, 2005), such as the World March of Women, which has prioritised addressing the situations of rural women, including equitable agrarian reforms.

Additionally, LVC's campaign against violence is radical in its implications and admission that there can be no [equitable] food sovereignty while rural women continue to suffer widespread violence within households and communities. In 2012, a training booklet on violence against women (VAW) was published (Wittman et al., 2010). This is an indication both of commitment to this cause and recognition of high rates of violence experienced by rural women. It is also an indication of understanding that food sovereignty needs to encompass not only changes in people's relation to food, agriculture and the environment, but also ways that people relate with one another (Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe, 2010),

Some examples of alternative land and labour arrangements may indicate a way forward for food sovereignty with regard to land titling and labour. First, there are some signs that non-married women in some areas are taking steps to acquire land, despite this being seen as 'non-normative' in most rural areas. For instance, in southern Africa a number of single women household heads have asserted demands for land, although these must usually be negotiated with traditional authorities (i.e. local chiefs) (Paradza, 2011; Claassens, 2013).

Another striking example of single women's assertions of land rights is in the northwest Indian movement *Ekal Nari Shakti Sangatham* (ENSS) (Berry, 2011). In this context 'single' refers to divorced, widowed and never-married women

as well as wives fleeing domestic abuse. The movement explicitly challenges both women's dependent status and the heteronormative assumptions about households in rural sectors. It demands new forms of organisation that enable women to subsist outside marriage. These demands include individual registration in local council registers; and ration cards, which are crucial markers of individual identity in India. The ENSS also calls for access to a range of government programmes and resources, and the grant of two acres of state-held agricultural land.

What makes the ENSS particularly unusual is not only its organisation of non-married women, but also its demand for a new form of household or "marital family" [*naya susural*] in which an older woman joins with a younger woman (usually, with dependent children) to form a viable farming unit. While this is in part simply a practical measure, such measures challenge the "heteropatriarchal" (Berry 2011) basis of access to land in north India – although the households are assumed not to involve sexual relations. Since women living outside the protected status of heterosexual marriage are automatically suspect, the new household relations are also intended to enhance single women's community status. This case provides an attempt to construct women-centred households on an agrarian basis, thus challenging the patriarchal structures that disadvantage women in heteronormative peasant family households.

Second, an example of a grassroots participatory attempt to integrate both food sovereignty strategies and more equitable gender relations from northern Malawi (Msachi et al., 2009) is highly instructive. This outlines the slow, careful steps required first to 'embed' agricultural methods that would enhance the possibilities of food sovereignty in local settings and secondly, to instigate more gender awareness in local strategies. The project discussed centres around intercropping and planting of legumes to enrich soils; this takes about three years to show results. Traditionally, women bury the crop residues from legume planting, but men were encouraged to take on this work as a 'male' task, given women's heavy responsibilities. Further, some men were encouraged to take an interest in cooking in order to prevent or minimise child malnutrition, which is endemic in the area. The project waited several years to begin to discuss sensitive gender or family issues; this was necessary in order to gain trust within communities. Although the project encountered difficulties when some men took proceeds from the new crops and purchased beer, a strategy of emphasising the role of fathers in ensuring their children's health was encouraged to lessen such behaviour. Even more contentiously, mothers-in-law's criticisms of their daughters-in-law were noted as a problematic issue. Agricultural efforts continue as well; the traditional crop of sorghum is now being planted, and an Ekwendeni Farmers' Association and Community Seed Bank have been established (Msachi, Dakishoni and Bezner-Carr, 2009).

Conclusion: Towards gender equity in food sovereignty

This chapter has argued that serious challenges concerning equity exist with regard to the food sovereignty view of peasant family farming. Despite women's large and increasing contribution to small-scale farming, their work usually remains unacknowledged and unremunerated. Married women usually lack primary rights over land and over agricultural decision-making and command fewer resources than do men within their communities. Peasant men are often considered as household heads and as entitled to direct the household and farm labour of women and children, as well as to manage the proceeds of farming. The populist-influenced theories and perspectives that have influenced food sovereignty thinking as well as most peasant studies, assume that households exist as undifferentiated units. The failure to examine household dynamics ignores gender differentials and inequalities.

The example of gender and agrarian reforms discussed here indicates how such male bias (Elson, 1995) perpetuates gender subordination. Historically land reforms using the 'household' or family model (Jacobs, 2009; 2010) has allocated land titles or permits mainly to men as household heads. Since land redistribution is one of food sovereignty's central planks, this example is crucial for policies. There are some 'positive' outcomes of land redistribution – notably, increased food consumption or confidence that a food supply is available. However, the overview presented here indicates that negative outcomes are more common. While a minority of female household heads with dependent children benefit from land allocation, married women have often encountered a worsening of their autonomy and rights. A number of cases reviewed report that wives lost access to incomes under their own control, were viewed mainly as 'housewives' and had diminished authority and decision-making power within the household. Thus, despite the democratic intent of land reforms, they have often increased male control within households and communities.

LVC, as discussed, has made strides to confront gendered inequalities. However, this problem has been ignored historically, and contemporary organisations are only beginning to acknowledge the complexities and challenges involved. What can LVC and affiliate organisations do to avoid outcomes that may actually increase and perpetuate gender inequalities?

A key frame for many other inequalities is unequal distribution of and control over property and assets, including land. Women in rural households and communities need to be able to access and control land and agricultural production on the same basis enjoyed by men. Where land titles are privatised, women should be able to control individual holdings should they wish. There is much to recommend collective forms of farming and tenure (Jacobs, 2010; see also Agarwal, 2014); not least that women are less isolated within households. If land tenure is communal in nature, then people must have equal access and ability to make decisions regardless of gender, family position or sexual preference. Today it has become more common for spouses to be given joint titles or land permits. In itself, however, joint permits or titling is not necessarily

sufficient to enable wives to assert rights (Deere and León, 2001; ICRW, 2005; Jacobs, 2004b) and it is often difficult for wives to assert claims or to make decisions in situations where husbands' control is and has been pronounced. Where joint titling is preferred, mechanisms must be put in place to ensure that existing household power differentials do not mean a continuation of the status quo and that wives can farm and participate in communities on an equal basis with spouses and other male family members.

LVC and its affiliates have begun to explore some of the processes that perpetuate gender subordination, including obstacles to female participation, undermining of women's authority – and (especially) violence. However, silence over everyday and taken-for-granted inequalities within family farming units and communities, persists. Patel writes that women's production of food remains the great 'unspoken assumption' of present food production systems (2009: 91). It is important to explore silenced issues so that food sovereignty strategies become ones that are equitable for women as key producers of food.

Enforcing gender egalitarian norms or regulations 'on the ground' is likely to prove much harder than doing so within organisational meetings and in the leadership itself, as the MST example indicates. Formation of women's organisations which have some autonomy within all LVC groupings, after the CLOC example, could be one policy measure that would further work within the organisation.

Addressing gender subordination within households and communities would have to become a priority for LVC in order to have recognisable effects for peasant and smallholder women (Patel, 2009). Addressing gender subordination is difficult and sometimes painful because it involves changes in norms, culture, and everyday behaviours as well as within property and family regimes. If land reforms do take place as part of food sovereignty strategies, safeguards must be put in place to avoid further disadvantages to peasant women in a situation that can strengthen male prerogatives. The alternative would be to ignore the use of women's labour within peasant households – and potentially to repeat the mistakes of the past.

Notes

1 In bilateral kinship systems, both mother's and father's relatives are considered to be kin, and lineages are weak or nonexistent. Bilateral kinship systems do not usually form corporate groups as do lineage-based systems, since the centre of the 'system' is the individual person and the kindred does not persist after that individual's death. In contrast, lineages exist over time. Thus 'kindreds' differ for each person, although siblings share kindreds apart from the other siblings.

2 Matrilineal systems also exist, but are becoming fewer in number. The main areas where matrilineal systems exist are in parts of southeast Asia and in the central matrilineal 'belt' of Africa, from the west to the east coast.

3 Despite these reservations, many of the processes Chayanov highlighted refuse to 'go away' completely. The kinship basis of economic life, demographic cycles which relate to social differentiation, and the balance between work and leisure are all features of smallholder households and economies.

4   Although there exists an extensive literature on agrarian and land reforms, very few empirical studies of the gendered effects of land reform processes exist. The analysis in this chapter is based on 33 studies as few empirical studies of gender within land reforms (as opposed to policy statements) exist. The studies summarised in part, discuss programmes (either historical or recent) in the following countries: Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Ethiopia, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Libya, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe. (China is excluded from the present discussion.)

5   A tactic used was to organise women's meetings shortly before international events to maximise participation. For instance, at the Seattle anti-WTO event in 1999, over 37% of participants from LVC were female. And at the CLOC-LVC meeting in Mexico in 2001, 56% of participants were women (Desmarais, 2007).

6   Most feminist organising within the LVC has been within Latin America. However, this does span continents. For instance, one African leader in a LVC forum stressed, "We need help in our [local] organisation from La Vía Campesina on the topic of gender and rural women. Traditionally, women have a key part in rural society but [we] need training on how to improve the role of women in the movement" (Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010: 166).

7   Encampments are the areas occupied before formal permission is granted for settlements by the land reform agency of Brazil (INCRA).

8   This stipulation is not specific to MST settlements; other land reform programmes, e.g that in Zimbabwe prior to 2000 and others, also require that settlers farm the land on a full or near full-time basis.

9   Both wives' and husbands' names are now entered on land permits in Brazil. This is due mainly to the campaigning of women's organisations, particularly within left trade unions rather than to the MST itself (Barsted. 2005; Deere, 2003).

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12 Food sovereignty in the fields
Seed exchange and participatory plant breeding of wheat landraces in Italy

Elisa Da Vià

Introduction

In 2007 the European Commission launched the three-year research project "Farm Seed Opportunities" (FSO) to support the implementation of regulatory mechanisms that would both recognize and enhance the role of farmers in the conservation and reproduction of agro-biodiversity. Specifically, the project set out to examine the ways in which individuals and organizations engage in the multiplication, breeding, and adaptation of landraces and genetically heterogeneous crop varieties as a precondition to the effective implementation of agro-ecological, low-input or organic farming practices. Based on a survey of different initiatives in 17 European countries, as well as the realization of on-farm field trials, the FSO research team underscored how the evolution, adaptation, and sustainable use of crop genetic resources in Europe is increasingly premised upon the mobilization of networks of seed and knowledge exchange that provide farmers with the opportunity to engage in shared experiences of participatory plant breeding and collective innovation (Bocci et al. 2010; Chable et al. 2009).

In this chapter, I argue that the growing involvement of small producers in on-farm seed selection and participatory plant breeding constitutes a defining feature of the struggle for food sovereignty in the European countryside. Reflecting the effort to "put the control of productive resources in the hands of those who produce food" (La Via Campesina 1996), the development of on-farm seed management systems allows producers to enhance control over their resource base, cut costs, reduce dependency on agro-industries, and work with the specificity of local ecosystems as the product of distinct, culturally mediated processes of socio-natural change (Swyngedouw 2000; Castree 2001). In this respect, focusing on the reproduction of farm-saved wheat landraces in Italy as a case in point, I specifically underscore how the promotion of seed sovereignty by means of decentralized, participatory plant breeding initiatives constitutes an "epistemic countermovement" to the privatization and specialization of agricultural research that puts renewed emphasis on the production and exchange of knowledge as fundamental components of peasant autonomy. Correspondingly, I examine how the ability to select and reproduce diverse, locally adapted crops that are not available on the market allows producers to

increase control over the supply chain by engaging with alternative forms of processing and distribution, while at the same time promoting the right of consumers to access healthy, fresh, and diverse foods.

Food sovereignty and participatory plant breeding

The process of agricultural modernization in post WWII Europe was characterized by the gradual replacement of farm-saved seeds by scientifically bred cultivars aimed at boosting yields and standardizing production methods. As an instance of industrial appropriation of farming practices (Goodman et al. 1987), the development of a formal breeding sector was contingent upon the introduction of seed certification and marketing laws that strictly regulated the use and exchange of crop varieties. Today, each member state of the European Union is required to maintain a national catalogue of officially recognized varieties as a mandatory precondition for variety release and commercialization. In order to be legally registered nationally and in the EU Common Catalogue, varieties have to meet standards of distinctiveness, uniformity and stability (DUS) and undergo testing to prove their value for cultivation and use (VCU) over a minimum two-year period.[1] These requirements are closely associated with the standardization of breeding techniques that are perfected in laboratories and at research stations under "optimal" high-input conditions outside of farmers' control. Correspondingly, the high levels of genetic homogeneity and stability required for registration have led to the development of a formal seed supply system dominated by genetically uniform varieties that are dependent on the extensive application of external inputs (i.e. pesticides, fertilizers, and irrigation) in order to maximize yields in homogenous landscapes and meet the increasing demands of industrialized harvesting, processing, and retailing operations (Veteläinen et al. 2009).

Over time, the adoption of standard rules for seed testing and registration has become a constraint to the conservation and development of varieties appropriate for smallholder farming in ecologically diverse conditions. Against this background, the emergence of participatory plant breeding (PPB) initiatives over the last two decades constitutes an attempt to develop an alternative seed system that is not controlled by conventional channels and addresses the needs of low-input, agro-ecological farmers by providing access to diverse, locally adapted breeds and cultivars. The basis for these projects comes from "old" local varieties and landraces conserved in farmer-based or regional seed banks and put in circulation through networks of farmer-to-farmer exchange within and outside their area of origin. Rather than modifying the environment to fit uniform cultivars that produce high average yields under controlled conditions, the goal is to select and reproduce varieties that are adapted not only to the physical but also to the socio-economic environment in which they are utilized (Ceccarelli and Grando 2007: 350) by means of farmer-led, collaborative, and decentralized breeding methods. Put differently, whereas conventional breeding tends to focus on "wide" adaptation to large geographic regions and

management systems with little variation across environments (Lammerts Van Bueren 2012:31), PPB trials are aimed at generating genetic variability and selecting varieties for "specific" adaptation to different cropping systems and farming practices (Bishaw and Turner 2008).

Within the context of agro-ecological farming, the evaluation, adoption, and diffusion of genetically heterogeneous cultivars allows farmers to cope with fluctuating pest and disease pressures, and work in complex agro-ecosystems characterized by variation in soil qualities, topography, and water availability. Correspondingly, the reproduction and use of seed diversity on-farm reduces the risk of crop failure, generates sustained yields with lower costs and intake requirements, while also providing for more varied dietary and livelihood opportunities (Ceccarelli 2009; Lockie and Carpenter 2010; Altieri and Toledo 2011). Indeed, adopting a holistic approach to the functional diversity of locally adapted breeds, producers are able to focus on a number of desired traits beyond yield and resistance to pests and disease—e.g. ease of harvest and storage, weed competition, taste, cooking and nutritional qualities, rate of crop maturity, nitrogen extraction, and nutrient uptake, suitability of crop residues as livestock feed, etc.—so that autonomy is further enlarged.

Focusing on plant improvement and seed selection as farmer-based activities, the mobilization of PPB initiatives implies a re-skilling of farming practices and a re-grounding of labor in its metabolic exchange with nature. On the one hand, the use and expansion of crop diversity through the different stages of plant breeding programs—from the generation of variability to the selection and testing of experimental cultivars (Ceccarelli and Grando 2007)—is understood as a form of "co-production" with living nature (Van der Ploeg 2010), reflecting the interaction, intertwinement, and mutual transformation of human and non-human processes that constantly differentiate and transform agriculture. As an alternative to the commodification of seed varieties and the production of chemical inputs (needed to profitably grow genetically uniform seeds) off-farm, this approach addresses a fundamental cause of the separation of agriculture from its biological base, and of labor from nature—what Marx described as the "metabolic rift."

On the other hand, the adoption of PPB practices is part of a process of labor intensification aimed at reducing dependency on external capital through the reproduction of self-managed resources, including knowledge (cf. Van der Ploeg 2009). Specifically, rather than contributing to capital accumulation in external value-chains, the development of farmer-based seed management systems "augments the reproductive value of agricultural resources on-farm" (McMichael 2013: 147) and enhances the de-commodification of farming as a practice. Premised on a transformation of socio-metabolic relations of production, the intensification of labor is in this respect associated with the mobilization of locally situated knowledges (Haraway 1991) of agro-ecosystems and sustainable agricultural practices. Within this framework, and in stark contrast with the dominant model of agricultural research, knowledge is re-appropriated as a productive resource that can be reciprocally accessed,

exchanged and reproduced through decentralized processes of collective interaction, negotiation, and debate (cf. Holt-Jimenez 2006).

The case of wheat

Wheat is a major staple food of the Mediterranean basin and has been one of the main crops cultivated in Italy since ancient times. Up until the mid-1950s, the use of locally adapted landraces was widespread in the country, with durum wheat traditionally grown in the South and partially in the Central regions, and bread wheat mainly cultivated in the fertile soils of the Northern plains.[2] As the vehicle of recombined genotypes selected and maintained by farmers over several cultivation cycles, wheat landraces were bred to adapt to variable growing conditions and changing socio-cultural practices and needs.

The socio-ecological variability of wheat cultivars was substantially reduced with the development of "improved" varieties in the 1960s and 1970s. Moving seed selection and plant breeding activities away from farmers' fields and into laboratories and experimental stations, teams of scientists, geneticists, breeders, and agronomists working at universities and in private enterprises applied the methods of hybridization and mutagenesis to obtain modified traits responsive to the undergoing process of agro-industrialization. In this context, the major change introduced into wheat was dwarfism, i.e., plants with short stature (Royo et al. 2007; Migliorini 2013). The reduction in height was associated with higher yields insofar as shorter plants were less susceptible to lodging when nitrogen availability was increased (Scarascia Mugnozza et al. 1993). Unlike traditional landraces, dwarf and semi-dwarf varieties could thus tolerate higher levels of inorganic nitrogen-based fertilizer and other chemical inputs produced by agro-industries off-farm (Ceccarelli 1996; Di Silvestro et al. 2012). The intensified application of external inputs, on the other hand, enhanced the adaptability of modern cultivars to a more uniform range of environmental conditions and agronomic practices.

In order to release varieties with desired alterations, seeds were treated with both chemical and physical mutagens like X-rays, gamma rays, fast neutrons, and thermal neutrons. Accordingly, during the first phase of mutation breeding, seeds or other plant organs had to be delivered for irradiation to a nuclear center, in Italy or abroad. As they grew in experimental fields, special emphasis was put on reduced plant height, as well as other types of mutation which could affect spike size, structure and fertility, resistance to diseases, and maturity rate. Subsequently, hybridization between mutants with the same character was widely adopted to obtain a more drastic expression of the mutated character (Scarascia Mugnozza 2005). This process led to the development of "Creso," the variety of durum wheat with the highest percentage of certified seed currently distributed in Italy (Maluszynski et al. 2009).

As the result of formal mutation breeding and hybridization programs undertaken over the last fifty years, modern wheat cultivars are often characterized by high yield performance but are dependent on the large-scale use of fossil fuel-

based inputs aimed at limiting environmental variability (Veteläinen et al. 2009). More specifically, while showing high levels of resistance to specific pathogens or environmental constraints, the introduction of semi-dwarf genes in wheat varieties has resulted in reduced size and depth of root systems, lower nutrient-use efficiency, decreased weed competition and greater reliance on herbicides, greater susceptibility to diseases, and reduced protein content (Lammerts van Bueren et al. 2011:194). As such, these genotypes lack traits of crucial interest for farmers who seek to reduce dependency on agro-industries, work under low-input conditions, and strive to increase soil fertility by closing the nutrient cycle as much as possible (Wolfe et al. 2008).

To overcome these challenges, small producers all over Italy have become increasingly involved in the development of an alternative seed supply system based on the recovery, reproduction, selection, and dissemination of local wheat landraces. Focusing on the interaction and impact of different crops on the farming system as a whole, producers are particularly interested in varieties that are adapted to low nutrient levels, contribute to good soil structure and soil fertility, and are characterized by "morphological and phytochemical traits that reduce disease susceptibility, enhance weed competition, and increase pest feeding deterrents" (Lammerts van Bueren and Myers 2012: 6). In this respect, taller varieties are likely to be more competitive than shorter ones insofar as their shading ability increases. Likewise, the nutrient uptake of wheat landraces is enhanced by their root morphology and the capacity to establish interactions with beneficial soil characteristics. The genetic heterogeneity of farmer-based varieties is also closely associated with their yield stability, good grain quality, storability, suitability for intercropping, and a general higher resistance to biotic and abiotic stresses (Di Silvestro et al. 2012: 2800).

Reflecting the attempt to defy the restrictive scope of seed regulations and reassert control over the management of crop varieties as a fundamental source of sustainable social reproduction, the widespread reintroduction of wheat landraces is premised upon, and mediated by, the ability of producers to participate in coordinated initiatives of farmer-to-farmer exchange and agro-ecological innovation. Spearheaded by the Italian seed network, *Rete Semi Rurali*, the mobilization of shared arenas of experimentation and participatory plant breeding ensures the availability of dynamic flows of genetic material, knowledge, and resources that producers can access through relations of reciprocity and de-commodified exchange. As illustrated by different case studies from the Center and South of Italy, these practices counter the capital-centric approach of conventional breeding programs and foster the creation of an alternative model of agricultural innovation that is autonomously mobilized, expanded, and reproduced within networks operating at the local, regional and transnational level.

La Floriddia—Tuscany

The organic farm Floriddia is situated in the province of Pisa, Tuscany, and extends over 300 hectares of hilly fields producing cereals (wheat, barley, spelt,

and millet), legumes, and fodder. Seeking to cut costs and reduce dependency on chemical inputs, the farm switched to organic production in 1987, and started to work with older varieties of wheat in 2006. In light of the agronomic and economic benefits thereby attained, producers at Floriddia have since grown, selected, and adapted wheat landraces as their major source of market diversification and enhanced autonomy over the supply chain. To that end, the farm has pioneered innovative strategies of organic cereal breeding and carried out the first participatory breeding trials in Italy, in collaboration with networks of small producers and agronomists from all over Europe.

Combining the results of natural crossings and mass selection, these trials have led to the development of composite populations with higher levels of genetic diversity and local adaptability. A blend of these varieties is currently used to produce bread and pasta sold on local and regional markets, and is re-sown year after year. In this respect, alongside the goal to reproduce biodiversity and soil fertility on farm, producers at Floriddia put special emphasis on the selection of wheat varieties with adequate protein content and nutritional value suited to the flexible demands of artisanal milling and baking. Indeed, while industrial processing operations require cereals with constant and high protein content and relatively hard gluten, artisanal bread-making techniques—from stone-milling to the production of natural yeasts and sourdough—adjust the baking process to variable protein content or to mixtures of different types of flour as a way to retain higher levels of nutrients and diversify the range of potential end uses. Accordingly, in order to achieve full control over the production process, the farm is equipped with its own mill, pasta processing machines, and wood fire ovens, in addition to a selling point to distribute the final products directly to consumers.

The plant-breeding activities undertaken at Floriddia are premised upon a constantly renewed exchange of knowledge and experiences among wheat producers and artisanal bakers from different regions and countries. Specifically, as an open access site of cooperative experimentation on wheat landraces, the farm has instituted a seed bank and more than 200 trial plots used as a shared ground to test, select, and reproduce heterogeneous populations characterized by specific agro-ecological traits. Over the last five years, this work has been part of several research projects sponsored by *Rete Semi Rurali* and involving a network of organic and agro-ecological farms as participants in a newly emerging, decentralized, and democratic community of "knowledge innovators" (Tovey 2002). As Rosario Floriddia (2013) explains:

> Each farm prepares three plots of 1.5 per 30 meters, one for bread wheat, one for durum wheat and one for barley. Each plot is sown with a mixture of a thousand varieties and cultivated with the methods of organic agriculture. At harvest time, it is the producer who chooses the best spikes and grain which he will then re-sow during the following autumn in distinct rows. At the end of the growing season, the producer makes a further selection and progressively increases the space dedicated to the selected varieties until he obtains enough seed to sow in the open fields. In this way, over the course

of 4–5 years the producer can develop a variety that won't be widely adapted throughout Europe but that is more adapted to the characteristics of his fields and to the agronomic practices of organic production.

At the same time, Floriddia continues:

The exchange of experiences among farmers who are carrying out the same kind of work but operate under different socio-ecological conditions has produced extraordinary results. It is through this participatory process that the producer is once again a protagonist, re-learns, and reasserts control over his own labor.

In line with this approach, in the summer of 2013 the farm hosted the international meeting "Let's cultivate diversity" organized by the European Coordination on Farmers' Seeds and attended by farmers, researchers, and consumer groups from more than 20 countries. Focusing on the transformative potential of locally adapted seed systems beyond the level of the individual farm unit, the meeting provided an opportunity to politicize the work done at Floriddia as an expression of food sovereignty in practice. In this respect, as participants in the meeting made clear, for producers seeking to ground their autonomy in sustainable farming practices, the right to use and exchange farmer-based seeds is closely associated with the right to access and produce knowledge that is used to manage crop diversity on farm. The right to produce socially and ecologically appropriate food is, in other words, inextricably related to the right to innovate, exchange, and apply knowledge as a collectively managed resource of agro-ecological reproduction.

Terre Frumentarie—Sicily

Giuseppe Li Rosi is a Sicilian producer who has been working on the reproduction of wheat landraces for the last ten years. His farm, Terre Frumentarie, extends over 200 hectares in the province of Raddusa, the "City of Grain," and constitutes an important hub of seed and knowledge exchange for producers in the region. Calling himself a "rebel" against the results of conventional breeding, Li Rosi began to grow old Sicilian varieties of heirloom wheat as a form of resistance to the asphyxiating effects of direct dependency on industrial capital associated with the commodification of certified seeds. Indeed, as Li Rosi (2012) explains:

Using locally adapted seeds the producer is no longer forced to conduct his farm as an open-air detachment of the industry or a transformation center of fossil fuels into food…This is what we have been taught for the last 50 years, with universities and agronomists telling farmers to buy chemical fertilizers to make the land more fertile, and ensure that their wheat will produce more, and buy herbicides to resolve fungal diseases that are attacking new varieties because they have no connection with nature.

Accordingly, Li Rosi continues:

> The struggle to reassert farmers' dignity should not only focus on their rights but also on their direct relationship with nature…You cannot fix this kind of knowledge on paper, or teach it through the books or regulate it with laws because the rules that govern agriculture are the rules of nature, of relations, and of dimensions. And being a farmer means being a chemist, a biologist, a meteorologist, a mechanic, a technician, a doctor, a veterinarian…it means all of this.

By practicing varietal selection and breeding activities under agro-ecological conditions, Li Rosi has been able to reintroduce more than 50 varieties of wheat that local farmers used to grow in the 1920s before the rise of the formal seed sector. To that end, since 2004, his farm has been working with the regional Cereals Research Institute in order to access, test, and disseminate germplasm and cultivars that had long being stored away from their actual reproduction in the fields. This initiative is linked to a broader project involving a network of 50 producers who are simultaneously conserving and expanding wheat diversity on farm, trained in the practice of seed selection and multiplication through participatory meetings of farmer-to-farmer exchange (ACRA 2013).

Over the last decade, the management of wheat diversity on farm has allowed Li Rosi and other producers in the region to re-skill their labor along the entire supply chain, from seed to plate. In this respect, special emphasis is put on the nutritional value and versatility of different varieties used to bake bread, or to make pasta, and that are called different names in different parts of Sicily according to the specific role they play in the preparation of traditional foods. For example:

> There is one variety of wheat, called *Tumminìa* or *Timidia* or *Triminia* that you can sow even in late February and in three months it is ready to be harvested. This variety is versatile because it can be used to bake desserts, bread, pasta and pizza. There are also *Ustrazza bisazze* and *Russello*, with which you can bake a sort of hard bread and have different names depending on what you produce with them. And we also have, among others, *Cuccitta*, *Biancuzza*, *Maiorca* and *San Martinara* with other forty-five, fifty names that take you back into the past and that we have brought back to life.
>
> (Li Rosi 2012)

By growing wheat landraces, Sicilian producers are re-appropriating part of their history as an added value and source of inter-generational knowledge exchange. At the same time, the mobilization of local and traditional cultural repertoires becomes an important strategy of market diversification, which enhances the development of direct linkages between producers and consumers. The struggle for seed sovereignty is in this context seen as the starting point for the realization of food sovereignty as a participatory process that brings producers

and consumers together, not only in the fields but also in the marketplace and in the food choices of every day.

The epistemic challenge

The practice of formal plant breeding is characterized by top-down decision-making and inward-oriented information flows, where farmers are merely seen as recipients of research rather than as participants in it. In this system, organized as a chain, "seeds and genes flow from gene banks to breeding programs, and onwards to seed production and distribution programs," to finally arrive in farmers' fields as an external input used to produce a marketable crop (Louwaars 2002: 26). Farmers or others interested in variety diversity, selection, and adaptation, have little or no meaningful say in the process. Correspondingly, whereas local seed varieties are reproduced within an integrated system of selection, storage, and exchange, the formal seed sector is very much "disconnected from farmers' experiences of the diverse and often rapidly changing environments on which they depend" (Vernooy et al. 2009: 614).

Conventional crop research is also positivist in nature, assuming that there is a body of objectively verifiable knowledge that can be accumulated through the production of empirically testable hypotheses. This paradigm is characterized by reductionist explanatory models that fail to account for the dynamic complexity of ecosystems and for the multiple and interrelated variables that produce what farmers see as a valuable crop or cropping system (Pimbert 2010). As a result, the application of reductionist knowledge to conventional plant breeding translates into simplified and standardized production systems where labor is made more productive within expanding circuits of capital (cf. Lewontin 1982).

The mobilization of farmer-led networks of knowledge exchange offers an alternative approach. Focusing on participatory learning as key for the local adaptive management of biodiversity and agro-ecosystems (Rosset et al. 2011), these initiatives are contributing to the development of more holistic, decentralized, and transdisciplinary ways of knowing open to multiple interpretations, negotiations, and action. In this context, local resource users are directly engaged in the production and validation of knowledge embodying diverse local realities, priorities, and categories (Holling et al. 1998; Borrini-Feyeraband et al. 2007). Accordingly, the use of experiential as opposed to technical and universal indicators facilitates the articulation of participatory research programs characterized by rediscovery and innovation, rather than repetition.

In a parallel development, the mobilization of forms of knowledge embedded in local experience reflects the attempt to disrupt the self-evidence of dominant categories informing the practice of agricultural research. Specifically, the politicized exchange of ecological knowledge that is plastic, divergent, permeable, and open to new ideas (Scott 1998) is closely associated with the emergence of alternative "environmental imaginaries" (Peet and Watts 1996) that seek to

dislodge normalized representations of agricultural productivity, seed quality, and crop improvement so that other realities and socio-ecological orderings are made possible. This process implies an underlying commitment to advance democratic practice by ensuring greater "cognitive justice" (Visvanathan 2005) between fundamentally different knowledge systems and ways of knowing used to frame, measure, and address agricultural development and environmental change.

In order to elicit and make visible forms of knowledge and practice that would otherwise be excluded from the research process, the method of participatory plant breeding provides producers with shared platforms and spaces to analyze information, deliberate, build alliances, and mobilize action. Correspondingly, while promoting the articulation of cognitive spaces that contest extant hierarchies of knowledge and power, PPB initiatives also shape the material transformation and re-organization of territorial space through the appropriation of productive resources (Trauger 2014). Sustained by the production and exchange of agro-ecological knowledge, the selection, use, and distribution of unregistered—and therefore formally illegal—seed varieties embodies a politicized assertion of territorial autonomy that challenges the regulatory power and sanctioning mechanisms of the state. As such, the sustainable reproduction of seed and knowledge diversity on farm is premised upon the implementation of food sovereignty and farmers' rights stemming from mutually constituted epistemic and material struggles at the local level.

Conclusion

At the conclusion of the 8th European Forum on Agricultural Biodiversity and Farmers' Rights, on September 22, 2013, over two hundred peasant producers from all over Europe gathered around the stands of the Merian Park Botanical Garden in Basel, Switzerland, to publicly exchange their farm-saved seeds. The seed swap involved a wide range of locally adapted varieties of wheat, legumes, tubers, and garden vegetables accompanied by detailed descriptions of their agronomic characteristics, origins, and growing requirements. A few months later, in January 2014, more than thirty organizations united in Brussels to set up an international seed swap in front of the European Parliament. Hundreds of varieties were displayed and exchanged during the event, as part of the "Mobilization to Defend Farmers' Rights" organized by the European Coordination of the transnational peasant movement La Via Campesina.

Challenging the implementation of EU restrictions on the exchange of farm-saved seeds, these initiatives brought together producers, seed savers, and organizations who are actively engaged in the reproduction of locally adapted varieties as an expression of farmers' rights. As an overt form of political organizing, the mobilization of transnational meetings of seed and knowledge exchange is rooted in widespread, everyday practices of participatory research and collaborative innovation at the local level. To be sure, the ability of low-input producers to develop autonomous seed management systems on farm is predicated in no small part on their participation in networks of agro-ecological

experimentation that put special emphasis on the re-appropriation of knowledge as a productive resource.

By fostering a reskilling of farming practices geared toward self-provisioning and expanded autonomy, the method of participatory plant breeding constitutes a key component of local struggles for food sovereignty. In a de-commodified context of collaborative exchange and horizontal participation, the production of agro-ecological knowledge is inseparable from the development of an alternative ontology that "neither presumes nor allows a sharp division between the social and the environmental" (McCarthy 2005: 735). Correspondingly, this approach brings about a politicized deconstruction of the hierarchies of knowledge informing the ways in which nature is (co)produced. Indeed, at its core, the reproduction of locally adapted seeds through decentralized networks of farmer-to-farmer exchange reflects the attempt to develop more democratically controlled and organized processes of socio-environmental construction which are in turn premised upon a more equitable distribution of social power.

Notes

1 As stated by Council Regulation No 2100/94, "distinctiveness means that the variety is distinguishable by one or more characteristics that results from a particular genotype or combination of genotypes, from all other registered varieties. Uniformity implies that a group of plants of a given variety must exhibit only a limited amount of variation in its distinguishing characteristics. Stability requires that these distinguishing characteristics remain unchanged after repeated cycles of propagation" (EC, 1994).

2 Durum wheat (Triticum durum) is a variety of wheat mainly used to make pasta. Durum wheat varieties are often grown in dry regions, planted in the spring, and harvested in fall—in contrast to many bread wheat (Triticum aestivum) varieties that are planted in the fall and harvested in the spring or summer.

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13 When global goes sweet, locals turn sour

Wine sovereignty in Switzerland

Melaine Laesslé

Introduction

During a regular meeting in which they tasted and assessed the evolution of a candidate to the Grand cru label – which requires over 18 months of maturation before selling – wine producers from the Swiss municipality of Fully were suddenly very enthusiastic about their colleague's vintage: strong fruit and color concentration, deep taste complexity and a long warm finale. All sound reasons of success for a red wine. Then a voice said "this is not our wine". This single dissident remark broke the sweet spell at work upon all experts' palates gathered in the cellar. Going back to their glasses, all producers immediately agreed that there was too much sugar hidden in the wine. It did not correspond to what they were used to and wanted to produce, but much more to an actual dominant trend of the market, a taste unfit for the promotion of local production. The producer affected was thus denied the prestigious Grand cru label, and took good note of the criticisms for his next vintage.

Coordination of this kind is very recent in a sector usually branded with the individual autonomy of independent producers. It is the result of a subtle voluntary agreement that both draws upon recent national agricultural policy and (neo)liberal economic pressure to creatively overcome local oppositions and simultaneously satisfy place-specific cultural and social needs in a way that illustrates food sovereignty. This chapter focuses on the dimension of the food sovereignty narratives that is concerned with the protection of small-scale producers from large (international) agro-food capital (Nyéléni, 2007). It proposes a resource framework to explain the creative institutional mechanisms that can lead to concrete food sovereignty regulation. This qualitative case study analyzes the collective organization of producers around a local wine designation in the municipality of Fully, in an alpine region of Switzerland, where wine represents a food item upon the production of which many small-scale producers rely.

The Swiss wine sector has been subject to profound transformations over the past thirty years in the trend of economic globalization. The most important of these transformations is the introduction of a geographical indications[1] (GI) policy at the beginning of the 1990s, followed by the complete liberalization

of the wine market in 2000. At the same time, wine consumption dropped in Switzerland, implying stronger competition for national producers that share the market with international wine sellers. These changes generated new collective strategies at the local level, where small-scale wine producers voluntarily organized to market their wines together. This is both a resistance to competition, but also an attempt to regain control over a product that not only yields (monetary) income, but also retains strong sensory (taste related) and symbolic (cultural) values. It appears that these latter values are being threatened by an increased mass retail of more industrially standardized and sweeter wines. Developing a neo-institutional resource framework and applying it to a local Swiss wine, this contribution documents dynamics of food sovereignty that bring actors to express unexpected forms of institutional creativity, around or beyond existing regulation, in the aim of excluding new competitors and maintaining local winemaking characteristics. One key feature of this collective organization relies in the fact that it bypasses both the State and the market. In so doing, local actors strengthen their social bonds, protect their (collective) identity and shape a regional and distinctive identity for wine production that ensures their livelihood.

Local wine facing globalization: an issue of food sovereignty

In the south-western regions of Switzerland, wine production has a long tradition. It relies on some local (native) varieties of grape, and represents a very important part of the added value of agriculture. The landscapes of terraced vineyards, some of them protected as world heritage sites by the UNESCO Convention, reveal the cultural dimension of a costly production, dominated by handiwork. Production is directed toward domestic consumption and there is a large number of independent producers,[2] who usually run family businesses.

In 1996, the reform of the Swiss agricultural policy introduced geographical indications (GI) with the aim of protecting typical local products, including wine. This regulatory change partly anticipated the liberalization of the sector. Indeed, the negotiations that took place during the Uruguay round of the (future) World Trade Organization from 1987 onwards (Sciarini, 1994) pushed hard towards the abandonment of wine tariffs, which resulted in the full opening of the Swiss wine market in 2000. In parallel, national consumption declined and the pressure on local producers increased; imported wines are cheaper and their taste sweeter, a dynamic that has tended to impose a taste standard that disqualifies local wine diversity and its characteristics. This raises the question of how local producers have responded to this trend in their wine cellar: within, without or beyond formal regulation?

Food sovereignty narratives can help understand and explain local actors' reactions to these changes in economic and agricultural policy, oriented towards a more liberal market. The definition of food sovereignty I refer to here draws on the principles formulated in the Nyéléni Declaration in 2007 (Nyéléni, 2007). This Declaration articulates over ten years of political struggle from NGOs

demanding that political rights over food production, trade and consumption be the prerequisite for food security (Trauger, 2014). More specifically, the Nyéléni Declaration emphasizes the need to protect small-scale producers from large (international) agro-food capital. One ambition of the movement is indeed to "offer a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, (…) determined by local producers and users", and thus to favor "local and national economies and market and empower peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture" (Via Campesina, 2009). The defense of "local production for local market" and of "culturally appropriated food" therefore implies a fight against free trade food policies and their proponents – governments as well as multinational corporations – that threaten local communities (Nyéléni, 2007). As Trauger (2014, p. 11) notes "the trade agreements that characterize the corporate food regime are (…) in the delegates' view, [what have] destroyed livelihoods and local economies". This general statement corresponds perfectly to the situation of the Swiss independent and small-scale producers of this case study; the trade agreements signed at Marrakech in conclusion to the Uruguay round (1994) led to a fast liberalization of the Swiss wine market that sharply contrasted with the previous protectionism. This directly affected the livelihood of local producers and led (some of) them to undertake collective (state) independent action to maintain their local production – and consumption.

In this respect, the food sovereignty framework explicitly stands in direct opposition (Alkon & Mares, 2012) to the corporate food regime face of the actual neo-liberal coin (McMichael, 2005; Pechlaner & Otero, 2008). However, the mere opposition to the corporate food regime, as explicit as it may be, is not satisfactory to explain the *mechanisms* by which it can result in concrete place-specific alternatives. I argue that the food sovereignty narratives can gain from a more precise operationalization, which can offer a possible answer to the shortcomings recently identified by Edelman (2014), notably those relating to the yet unspecified regulatory mechanisms likely to enforce food sovereignty.

Patel (2009) considers that the core aspect of food sovereignty has to be grasped through the notion of a *right*, the only viable notion that can be opposed to the uneven distribution of power and control between humans: "To talk of a *right* to shape food policy is to contrast it with a *privilege*" (Patel, 2009, p. 667). Indeed, as the Nyéléni Declaration states, food sovereignty is "a basic human right", "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food", and "it ensures that the rights to use and manage land, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food" (Via Campesina, 2009, pp. 673–674). In other words, the right to take part and decide and, thus, to control *food production* (in this case, but potentially any collective choice) is central to the definition of sovereignty.

It therefore appears that the notion of control over food production and consumption corresponds to the expression of the right emphasized by Patel (2009). In this sense, I agree with Schiavoni (2009), who states that food sovereignty "(…) involves restoring control over food access and food

production from large corporations (…) back to individual nations/tribe/ peoples – and ultimately to those who produce the food and those who eat it" (Schiavoni, 2009, p. 682). But the *nature* and the *modalities* of this control still have to be specified. Here I offer to do just that by linking a resource analysis, which specifies the modalities of such control, to the broader notion of embeddedness, which specifies its nature.

The term of social embeddedness coined by Polanyi (2001) can express the nature of such control over food production concretely. It has the double advantage of inserting food sovereignty issues within a more general critique of the expansion of capitalism and its peculiar processes of accumulation and commodification on the one hand, and immediately underscoring the social and cultural specificities of food on the other. Besides, these two latter issues are particularly salient in the case of wine. The logic of embeddedness (spatially – within a region – or culturally – within traditional food production processes) can be associated intuitively with the protection granted by GI policies. Indeed, Barham (2002) considers that GI express Polanyi's concept (2001) of socially (re)embedded production in reaction to free market liberalism and concerns of taste standardization faced by local agricultural products. Polanyi's rich work has stimulated diverse thoughts to address some aspects of the issues I discuss here. In order to grasp the social movement promoting sustainable agriculture in France, Barham (1997) refers to the concept of "double-movement" that Polanyi has identified as being the cyclical (societal) counterpart to the destructive extension of economic liberalism. More recently Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) have analyzed the oppositions to and potential change of the actual corporate food regime in terms of a double-movement at work within capitalism.

As for the argument of the "re-embedding" potential of GI labels, it has been followed with success by multiple case studies ranging from Tequila to (French) Comté cheese production (Bowen, 2010; 2011). If such research implicitly implies that the re-embedding or double-movement takes the shape of a return to more regulation – since the recent extensions of the free market has taken the form of deregulation – other studies point out that this extension of regulation leads to more market, not less. Indeed, Guthman (2007) argues that, on the contrary, labels such as geographical indications, are nothing more than an extension of market logic; they are supposed to give a value to things that did not have one before the labeling of the product. Furthermore, food labels, as documented in the case of organic production, can channel the added value to unexpected beneficiaries, undermining the core ambition of the label (Guthman, 2004). This raises the more subtle question of the (potentially perverse)[3] nature of certification regulation as a double-movement, whether it be to guarantee that products are organic, fair trade or of particular geographical origin. Guthman (1998) has in fact demystified the regulation ("codification") of organic agriculture, showing how it has led to the creation of (new) high value niche markets, which rely on labels. Such certified agriculture products are just made "safe for capitalism" as she puts it, since the double-movement of "(…) civil society-driven regulation works to rein in capitalism's tendency

to overexploit its own resource base but effectively creates new and different conditions of accumulation" (Guthman, 1998, p. 150).

Knowing this potentially "perverse" nature of label (state-based) regulation, I will show that on an intermediary level, between state regulation and the market's mythological invisible hand, creative voluntary organization can successfully exist. This echoes the "third way" offered by the common pool resource institutions documented in Ostrom's work (1990). The organizational features presented in this chapter can thus offer an answer to the missing pieces Edelman (2014) identifies in the food sovereignty narratives regarding the level and nature of regulation that could enable the development of food sovereignty. Furthermore, these results emphasize the strategic importance of collective self-organization for food sovereignty initiatives to succeed without or beyond the state.

I argue that an operationalization of the question of embeddedness with the concept of resource can usefully contribute to this debate, through shifting the focus from the (GI) label to the diversity of values drawn from wine production that local actors seek. From this perspective, local wine producers, facing recent changes induced by globalization in Switzerland, *do actually want and try* to re-embed their activity in social and cultural imperatives consistent with food sovereignty. They do so in a way that effectively "put[s] those who produce, distribute and consume at the heart of the food system" (Via Campesina, 2009) and that expresses itself through institutional creativity going beyond GI or sometimes bypassing regulation.

Concepts and method

Drawing on a neo-institutional perspective developed through the analysis of natural resource management (Ostrom, 1990), I consider local wine production as a common resource. One key conceptual feature of a resource, be it natural or manufactured, is that it is a social construct; the resource fulfills social needs expressed by its users at a certain moment in time (Knoepfel, Kissling-Näf, & Varone, 2001). Those needs can only be satisfied if the resource beneficiaries respect collective use-restrictions and some minimal contributions to ensure the protection and renewal of the given resource. Under these conditions, the resource can produce the desired forms of values (its "yield") that satisfy the needs of the users. For example, depending on the nature of its regulation, a river can yield irrigation water, drinking water, fish to eat, or, on the contrary, be used to dilute pollutants. While the latter use generally compromises the former ones, it illustrates that the values a resource can produce depend on the needs expressed by its users, something that usually translates into forms of regulation (institutional rules). Moreover, the regulation of the resource exploitation and of the contributions needed to sustain it does not have to be either state-based or based on the supposed "self-regulation" capacity of the market, as Ostrom has demonstrated.

In the case of wine, the collective regulation of the resource is built on a specific interaction between production know-how (Moity Maïzi & Bouche,

2011; Nossiter, 2007; Raboud-Schüle, 2010), infrastructure uses (Bowen, 2011; Touzard & Laporte, 1998) and the taste dispositions of consumers (Bourdieu, 1980; Chabrol & Muchnik, 2011; Okamoto & Dan, 2013). This latter element relates to the disposition of consumers with regard to a certain taste (e.g. more or less sweet, or woody, or mineral), to their ability to identify some taste characteristics in a wine and to their wish to find it again (or not) in a certain wine. In other words, while national policy sets general production rules, local producers know which grape variety is best suited for the land plots they cultivate. Local regulation can also specify which variety can and should be used on which plot, and how to process the grapes in order to obtain a certain flavor and taste profile. Wine consumers – some of whom are also producers – expect a certain taste, and their ability to detect and like this taste is the result of a process of socialization (Bourdieu, 1980) to a specific taste, that could, in the case of the present study, be roughly summarized through a positive or negative disposition to sweetness.

The social and institutional construct of this interaction between know-how, infrastructures and consumer taste dispositions is directed towards the differentiation of the wine on the market (a bottle of a specific wine, with a singular origin and taste that corresponds to its GI etc.). Economic literature about agro-food labels tells us that the first aim of a label is to segment the market and differentiate the product from "generic" competitors (Bonroy & Christos, 2012) and generate a rent through price-premium (Shapiro, 1983). Still, these economic considerations alone do not help to grasp the complexity of a food product.

The concept of *values drawn from a resource* enables us to account for the diverse forms of interests and needs that consumers as well as producers express towards wine as a certain kind of beverage. As such, we consider that the resource "local wine" yields three forms of values. The first one is *symbolic*. It relates to the reputation of the possibly prestigious designation/origin and of its landscapes, to an organic wine production process, or to the shape and size of a bottle that represents local tradition. The second set of values is *sensory*. This relates to the taste of a wine, i.e. the expression of a terroir, of specific aroma, of more or less sweetness etc. The final set of values is *monetary* and takes the form of an (almost) indispensable flow of income. Actors in the wine sector compete (or in some cases *cooperate*, as we shall see) to secure or increase their access to some of these values.[4] Some actors want to reduce their costs, sell more wine and adapt the production to the dominant demand in taste, and simultaneously use the reputation of a local geographical indication. This can imply an industrial production that cannot afford the costs of handiwork on terraced vineyards, foreign grape varieties with higher yield or specific characteristics, and more sweetness and concentration in the resulting wine. But this combination of values can impede other actors to access the (other) values they expect from the resource. Local producers in this case consider that the use of the geographical designation and of its reputation has to correspond to a production that contributes to the landscape, and that maintains and favors local family-businesses that eventually sustain the reputation. The production should
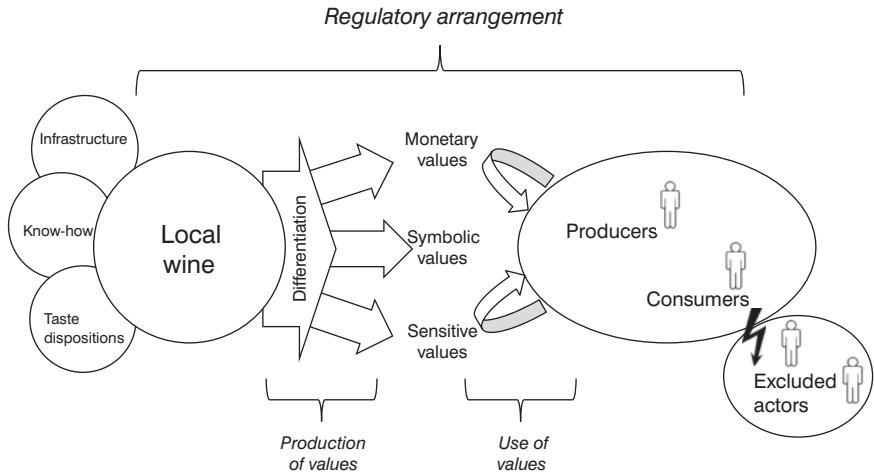
Figure 13.1 Regulatory arrangement including resources, values and actors

rely on the use of traditional varieties and process them in a specific manner that enables the wine to express the local terroir and specific taste, which will be masked by excessive sweetness. For local producers, the threat of industrial production, favored by the recent liberalization of the wine sector, consists in diverting the image of the designation towards infrastructure uses, production processes and taste dispositions that eventually blur the characteristics of that local wine designation and thus deprive its long-time and legitimate contributors of the values they used to draw from it. This is precisely the point where the institutional rules come into play, regulating the production of this local wine, since they define which values are to be produced by the resource and, by the same token, whose needs are going to be given priority.

Patel (2009) refers to the "specific arrangements" needed to govern territory and space that result from producing spaces of food sovereignty. I intend here to elaborate on this institutional characteristic of food sovereignty through the tool of *regulatory arrangement*. The term refers to a voluntary institutionalized agreement that binds local actors, taking formal as well as informal forms (Figure 13.1). This institutional combination leads to a specific "profile" of values produced by the resource and stabilizes the types of values yielded, their distribution and the contribution needed to insure resource formation. More precisely, the formal and informal rules that form the arrangement, at the local level of the resource, have a triple function: first, they lead to a definition of legitimate users and, thus, direct the distribution of values to these users. In this case, I document both formal and informal voluntary measures – agreements between local producers – that combine with existing state regulation. This new setting, or combination of rules defines what is the "authentic" wine of this geographical indication and associates local producers and their consumers as the legitimate users of the values related to this authenticity. Second, these rules provide mechanisms for excluding those who do not meet the criteria

Figure 13.2 The alpine canton of Valais and the municipality of Fully in Switzerland (reproduced with the authorization of SwissTopo and the Federal Office of Statistics) (Source: Hillshade: swissAlti3D (SwissTopo); Administrative units: ThemaKart (Swiss Federal Office of Statistics))

from accessing the values produced by the resource and also establish the obligations that participants need to meet in order to stay in the community of legitimate users. In this case, various and complex production and promotion prescriptions lead to the exclusion of threatening actors, such as mass retail and industrial producers, and set clear participation obligations. Third, the rules of the regulatory arrangement contain mechanisms for conflict resolution that help settle disputes and rivalries between the resource users.

This qualitative case study analyzes the collective organization of producers around a Swiss local wine designation ("Fully, AOC[5] Valais"). The municipality of Fully is located in the canton Valais[6] (Figure 13.2) and has 320 ha of its vine area on the steep south-oriented slopes of the Rhône Valley. The vineyards produce around three million liters of wine a year. Thirty-six different grape varieties grow on a granitic (crystalline) soil that contrasts with the limestone common to most parts of the region. This specificity of the soil is an important part of the local terroir.[7] Fully hosts around 30 independent wine producers that turn 25 per cent of the local grape into wine, while the rest goes to other independent winemakers or bigger wineries. The institutional features of the regulatory arrangement are identified through data from national and regional norms (agriculture and wine policy, competition law) and property rights definitions from formal and informal local agreements (depending on the existence of a written document), as well as from semi-directed interviews with civil servants, producers and wine traders at the (local) case level.

Results

Switzerland introduced the geographical indication for wines in its agricultural policy in 1992. This new intellectual property right, inspired by the French AOC, was mainly granted to the wine sector and, a few years later, to agricultural production in general, as a preemptive compensation for what was seen as the unavoidable opening of all Swiss agricultural markets in the 1990s, as a result of international economic pressure. The full opening of the wine market was completed in 2000 when all tariff barriers on imported wines were eliminated.

The canton of Valais, which was the national initiator of the geographical indication policy on wine, has since evolved along a more hybrid international trend, focusing on the promotion of both the grape variety and the designation of origin of the wine. Usually, the European logic and tradition of AOC wine is opposed to that of the New World, the latter being based upon grape varieties and private brands (van Leeuwen & Seguin, 2006); not all consumers know that a (red) Burgundy is made exclusively of Pinot noir grape, or, likewise, what are the different grape varieties used for a Bordeaux, a Rioja or a Montepulciano, since the terroir of origin is what counts and is guaranteed through the geographical indication.

Nonetheless, the canton of Valais, the most important producer of wine in Switzerland, has over a dozen traditional and native local varieties, which benefit from a strong reputation, in Switzerland but also abroad. Since 2000, the cantonal authorities have made it their official strategy to promote these traditional and native grape varieties within the general objective of quality improvement. This specific regional context makes the case study even more interesting, since the regional promotion of native grape varieties transforms the canton into a kind of hybrid, with a political strategy that binds the European "classic" AOC differentiation logic with the grape variety logic: a hybrid rationale that has been used very creatively by some local actors to secure essential, but threatened, values drawn from wine production, as the case of Fully reveals.

Three distinct regulatory tools, within the GI policy toolbox,[8] translate this hybrid logic onto the local (i.e. municipal) level: the first – a cantonal ordinance[9] – requires that only wines produced with at least 85 per cent of grapes from a given municipality can use its name (i.e. its geographical designation). The same rule of 85 per cent – set in a federal ordinance[10] – applies for producers who want to display the name of the grape variety used to make a wine. If a wine is to be sold, for example, as a "Merlot de Fully, AOC Valais",[11] 85 per cent of the grapes have to be Merlot, and 85 per cent of them have to have been harvested within the municipality of Fully. The third instrument – provided by the cantonal ordinance,[12] but that has to be defined through an official municipal regulation – is the possibility for municipalities to produce "Grand cru" wines, a super premium quality wine that has to respect higher quality restrictions than the usual wines bearing the municipal designation. It implies a selection of best plots and best suited variety for each plot, lower yields and higher maturity criteria, stricter winemaking processes and numerous tasting controls.

The name of the municipality "Fully" is in fact used as an additional designation that completes the more general GI of "AOC Valais" (which only refers to the broader area and name of the canton) and enables further differentiation of local wines based on a more restrictive area of origin. The Petite Arvine, an aromatic and late ripening white grape, is the most popular of the numerous native varieties cultivated in Valais, and it has been traditionally cultivated in Fully for over a century. Following from the very beginning the regional (official) strategy to develop and promote native grape varieties, 25 independent local producers from the municipality of Fully have organized in view of associating this variety, its popularity and most of all its very original taste profile – dry with a typical salty finish – to Fully's name.

Indeed, since the opening of the Swiss agricultural markets at the end of the 1990s, local producers face strong competitive pressures that translate into a loss of values from winemaking, monetary values as well as sensory and symbolic ones. First of all, the liberalization of the wine sector has increased the number of foreign wines, in particular from the New World. These wines stimulated mass retailers and large wineries to adopt and promote a wine taste pattern closer to the New World wines; they are stronger (richer/full-bodied), more concentrated (fruit and color expression) and very often have some residual sugar, i.e. sugar that was not fully transformed into alcohol during fermentation. Higher sweetness makes wine easier to drink for new or inexperienced customers, but it also masks the expression of a more subtle aroma. In other words, it does not favor the development of the consumer's palate and ultimately their ability to perceive these aromas.

Since the market share of imported wine is dominant in Switzerland (60 per cent), the stakes are high for local producers that do not (want to) fit in with this taste pattern, and who consider that it does not correspond to their understanding of winemaking. Beyond what could be seen as basic competition, local producers fear that through this shift in taste patterns, the authentic taste might be diverted towards such a sweeter – but "fake" – taste profile, misleading consumers about what is a Petite Arvine and shedding discredit on local producers' specific working practices and know-how, thereby stripping them of a part of their identity. More specifically, local producers are threatened by large regional wineries producing (and mass retailers selling) Petite Arvine wines – as well as other wine from native varieties – with residual sugar (sweetness), in an international trend that makes wine easier to drink, and to sell. This combination of sensory and symbolic aspects of regional and local wine production and their "drift" towards the values desired by large (industrial) wineries goes precisely against the needs expressed by local producers. Indeed, local producers expect an authentic taste that corresponds to the designation and variety, specific production processes that notably contribute to the landscape, their identity and the reputation of the local geographical designation. And, of course, the downward price pressure exerted on local family-businesses by industrial wineries threatens the income of the former since they cannot compete with lower production costs.

Reacting to this loss of values, Fully's local producers first defined a formal regulation for the production of a "Fully Grand cru", setting strong production criteria for a super premium quality Petite Arvine wine within the Fully AOC designation. However, according to this regulation, mass retailers and large wineries still have the possibility to produce such a Grand cru, potentially sweeter and without the "authentic" taste characteristics corresponding to a genuine Fully Petite Arvine from the point of view of local producers. Developing this Grand cru label did therefore not solve the problem of what they considered unfair competition or illegitimate appropriation of their reputation, but it was a first step toward the protection of a specific taste and specific way of winemaking. In fact, the group of local producers added diverse layers – more or less formal – of collective organization in order to complete and bend the Grand cru rules to their advantage.

Two annual events were created to ensure the promotion of their local production, with the fee local producers agreed to pay to finance their organization, the "*Groupement Fully Grand cru*". The first and most important of these events, which started in 1999, focuses on a comparative wine tasting of Petite Arvine from local producers and from other regional producers. This enables local producers to explain, promote and defend the specific characteristics of *their* terroir vis-à-vis consumers and other producers or retailers, the "genuine" taste of a Fully Petite Arvine: a dry and complex (subtle and gentle) taste structure, mineral, with lighter citrus fruit and rhubarb aroma than some other regional Petite Arvine, and with wisteria floral fragrance and, of course, its typical salty finish. The second public event, which took place for the first time in 2006, consists of local wine tastings on Fully's impressive terraced vineyards. Beyond classic commercial promotion, these events contribute to teaching consumers; their aim is to develop consumers' physical dispositions (their palate) and their cognitions of the diverse characteristics of a wine – where and how it grows, who produces it and how – and of their impact on the wine's taste and on the landscape of a region.

In 2010, the *Groupement* then further organized on a voluntary basis the promotion of a "100 per cent authentic" Fully Petite Arvine in order to allow consumers to distinguish the legitimate wines displaying this name. First, in a very formal way, they signed a common agreement, which also bears the signature and thus the official approval of the regional ministry of agriculture. Going on purpose much further than the 85 per cent floor of the regional GI policy, the charter requires from producers that their Petite Arvine stems from 100 per cent of this variety and that all the grapes have been harvested within the municipality. Furthermore, the charter also relies on the use of a distinctive so-called "identity bottle", the shape of which is exclusive to the municipality, in order to distinguish the authentic Fully Petite Arvine from others.

In the world of winemaking, the shape of a bottle is a common visual expression of local traditions, the straw Chianti "*fiasco*" bottle being the most widely recognized example. In a less formal way, local producers extended the measures of this charter through additional contracts that bind them individually

to the *Groupement Fully Grand cru*. These contracts – that, contrary to the charter, are not made public – stipulate that the identity bottle has to be used for *all* Fully wines, i.e. not only the Petite Arvine or Grand cru, and set minimum sell prices on these wines. These two aspects could be at odds with national policy against monopoly and price fixing, but no legal conflict has appeared so far. These measures *de facto* exclude mass retail from the distribution channels, since no producer can force a retailer to sell at a certain price. It also changes the power relation between local producers and large wineries, in favor of the former, by telling consumers that the genuine Petite Arvine (is) from Fully, (and) can be recognized by a specific bottle. Either the wineries (and the mass retailers) are excluded from the resource and its reputation, or they comply with the locally defined rules, use the identity bottle and thus contribute to the differentiation of Fully wines.

Moreover, as a direct effect of these collective agreements and promotion events, the group of independent producers have started to meet more often, tasting and discussing each other's wine. Wine tastings now regularly take place between producers, with the aim of coordinating winemaking practices towards a specific taste profile of local varieties. Elimination of residual sugar and sweetness is a common issue, since the incentives to make a more "seductive" wine never weaken, as the introduction of this chapter reveals. This self-limitation is done collectively, for example by giving up second fermentation,[13] and following technical advice from a regional civil servant.[14] It can also happen through pressure from the group's official leaders who can refuse to give the Grand cru label to producers allowing too much sweetness in their wines. Further projects have also been developed by the group, such as local yeast selection,[15] all directed towards furthering a specific taste profile and character that correspond to the local terroir and ensure the differentiation of Fully's designation from dominant trends on the wine market.

All this informal coordination is far from trivial in a region and a segment of wine production – *independent* producers – where individual autonomy is of paramount value. Indeed, many interviewed producers underscored that little more than a decade ago, none of them would have ever let any other competitor taste their wine and even less accepted any critique, comments or advice on how to improve their winemaking processes. The common agreement on a yearly fee to finance the promotion events is equally unusual for exactly the same reasons. Altogether, these multiples layers of regulation enable local producers to collectively regain the control over their wine production, at the cost of some of their autonomy, a loss of value that appears to be compensated enough through the gain in other forms of value. But is this concrete expression of local wine production sovereignty really *food* sovereignty?

Indeed, it is often assumed that wine is a luxury or social status good (e.g. Overton & Murray, 2013), so it would appear illegitimate to refer to food sovereignty narratives for its analysis. Still, empirical reasons speak in favor of the admittedly rather counterintuitive perspective I have adopted here. First, an important share of people in Switzerland consider wine to be a product that

has a place on the everyday lunch and dinner table. Even if the average amount of consumed wine sharply decreased over the past thirty years, mostly due to public health policies, drinking a glass of quality wine, with respect to the greater amounts of lower quality wine that used to be drunk in the past, has remained a common daily habit in Switzerland, and even more so in traditional wine producing regions. Second, the independent producers interviewed during this research *do not want* their wine to be marketed as a luxury good, even if most of the recent wine market research done in Switzerland points out that this is the most secure way of economic survival. Indeed, a luxury wine enables clear distinction from broad competition in the wine industry, but even if their own accountant tells them they should raise the price of their bottles, most of local producers refuse, as this often heard sentence shows: "You take care of the bookkeeping, I decide how I make my wine, to whom I sell it and at which price".

In fact, the average prices of the wine sold by the independent producers of this case study are in a middle-range price cluster, strongly contrasting with some large regional wineries that have entered the expanding market of luxury wines, with prices three or four times higher.[16] This second empirical argument leads us to a more theoretical point; in rejecting basic market rationale, local producers do not behave in the way expected of the "agricultural entrepreneur" (van der Ploeg, 2008) that characterizes the main part of Swiss viticulture. We assume then that it illustrates their aim to regain control over the production process and the diverse forms of value growing grapes and producing wine satisfy them with; as surprising as it may be, it is not only about money. Finally, the interest of this research lies mainly in the institutional form taken by the collective organization in this agricultural sector. As the results show, this local organization relies on very similar actor *motivations*, in terms of autonomy, as those leading, in Europe, to what van der Ploeg (2008) calls *repeasantization*. In fact, as a result of "strong downward pressures on local and regional food production systems" one can observe a shift in some affected wine producers through which "(…) autonomy is increased, while the logic that governs the organization and development of productive activities is further distanced from the market" (van der Ploeg, 2008, pp. 6–7).

Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to show how food sovereignty dynamics can be accounted for in a counterintuitive case such as wine production, in one of the wealthiest countries of Europe. Using a resource framework contributes to operationalizing the key assumption of food sovereignty narratives; the right to regain control over local wine production takes the form of a highly creative collective organization by actors in an arrangement developed to protect and sustain the resource. The comparative tasting event, the contracts instituting a new bottle and setting minimum prices behind a public promotion charter, and, last but not least, the informal coordination of winemaking, are the main

features of this regulatory arrangement. They not only define which values are to be produced and defended, who can use these values and who is excluded, but they also set clear contribution obligations, both monetary and through production prescriptions, while conflicts are settled informally between producers.

These institutional features allow for a precise articulation between restrictive uses of infrastructures (an exclusive bottle, no variety blending, specific land plots and native varieties), the sharing and social construction of know-how (full sugar transformation during fermentation, coordination of winemaking processes), and the coining of consumers' reception dispositions. This articulation shapes the resource into a value profile that yields *sensitive* values such as terroir expression, typical aromas of native varieties; *symbolic* ones like the reputation of a designation, a specific way of winemaking, the identity of local producers, a cultural landscape; and *monetary* values as long as the wine is sold at its expected price. Without this creative local arrangement, most of these values would have vanished in dominant market trends and been lost for local producers as well as for consumers of this local wine.

This case study clearly shows forms of regulation and institutional coordination that are directed towards the taste and identity related aspects of a food product, and not only towards its market (economic) issues. The concept of resource and its value profile shows that the local, mainly voluntary, regulatory effort does not only concern usual economic regulation, but also sensitive and symbolic values. Engaging with Polanyi's broad argument (2001), and complementing Barham's (2002) theoretical framing as well as Bowen's (2010; 2011) findings, this case reveals that collective action which *creatively complements* a regulation (in this case GI policy) or *bypasses* another (competition policy) can lead to collective autonomy for farmers. This is accomplished by re-embedding the resource, in this case local wine production, within local social needs and directing it towards a specific set of values. This case also engages with Guthman's (2007) argument that labels are merely marketing tools and suggests that labels can facilitate the eventual re-embedding of a production within social (local) imperatives if that is their aim. Local collective actions can take various creative forms *beyond* existing regulation or policy, and thus secure cultural (symbolic) and sensitive values, that lie at the core of agricultural activity. And this clearly displays the ability of local actors, in this case by making sensitive aspects an object of regulation, to regain their rights and control over food – or wine – production, their income and their identity. Furthermore, this finding offers an answer to Edelman's concern (2014) about the modalities of regulation likely to lead to food sovereignty.

By showing how important local institutions are, mainly semi-formal or informal rules, if one wants to understand how rural actors respond to globalization and product standardization trends, this contribution points out how dynamics of food sovereignty interact with existing regulation. When they do not have the political or financial power to change the rules of the global game, local actors can successfully organize to bend the rules or complement

them in order to re-embed their activity of production in social and cultural imperatives. By doing so, they reconnect the growing "disconnections" generated by capitalist farming (van der Ploeg, 2008), which remain the main blueprint of actual agricultural and economic national policy. The findings of this case study, and further data from other Swiss cases, speak in favor of broader research, drawing on cases from different countries, for example, using such a resource framework. On a more conceptual level, it appears that the critical analysis that food sovereignty narratives offer can be usefully combined "upwards", with a broader conceptual critique of capitalism such as the one developed by Polanyi, as well as "downwards", with an operationalization of the institutional modalities of regulations actors adopt in specific contexts, such as this wine case study proposes. In this regard, food sovereignty is a fertile tool to address local discourses and practices that seek more autonomy and self-determination in the food sector. Such autonomy can paradoxically only be reached with a minimum level of collective organization, in the shadow of state policy, to effectively tame the invisible hand of capital and counter its – socially and culturally – damaging standardizing effects.

Notes

1 An intellectual property right over a product name (like a Bordeaux wine, Parma ham or Feta cheese) that is owned by the State (contrary to private brands that are owned by individuals) and granted to producers complying with specific criteria in a defined geographical area.
2 Producers who make wine with their own grape harvests, with domains usually not exceeding 10 ha.
3 In the sense of the "perversity argument", identified by Hirschman (1991), though I of course do not imply that Guthman follows the same logic as the rhetoric of reaction Hirschman depicts.
4 For a more detailed presentation of the conceptual definition of the resource, see Laesslé (2012).
5 AOC stands for the French *Appellation d'origine contrôlée*, the geographical indication identifying first category Swiss wines. Note that in the canton of Valais, about 98% of the grapes meet the criteria (mainly production limitations, expressed in kg/m², and minimum amounts of natural sugar) to produce AOC wine. The AOC policy is thus often seen as an economic tool to avoid overproduction.
6 Switzerland is a federation of 26 cantons that have strong legislative autonomy and usually implement national policy. They are the equivalent of the German Länder or the Canadian states.
7 The definition of terroir I adopt is drawn from the French national institute for geographical indication (INAO): a system relying on complex interactions between human factors (techniques, collective practice), an agricultural production and a physical environment (territory). The terroir gives a product its *typicity* (specific originality).
8 The legal framework of the Swiss wine GI policy and its cantonal part is set by different laws and ordinances: 1) Federal Act on agriculture, of 28th April 1998, RS 910.1; 2) Federal Ordinance on viticulture and wine importation, of 14th November 2007, RS 916.140; 3) Cantonal Act on agriculture and rural development, of 8th February 2007, RO/VS 910.1 ; 4) Cantonal Ordinance on vine and wine, of 17th March 2004, RO/VS 916.142.

9 Cantonal Ordinance on vine and wine, of 17th March 2004, Art. 63. RO/VS 916.142.
10 Federal Ordinance of the Federal Department of Home Affairs on alcoholic beverages, of 23rd November 2005, RS 817.022.110.
11 Literally a "Merlot from Fully, geographical indication 'Valais' guaranteed".
12 Cantonal Ordinance on vine and wine, of 17th March 2004, Art. 85. RO/VS 916.142.
13 This transforms some stronger acids into softer ones. Not doing a second fermentation keeps some sourness or acidity in the wine, and makes it taste "fresher".
14 An oenologist (engineer), employed by the canton, and in charge of the canton's harvest quality control.
15 More precisely *native* yeast, the ones that are present naturally in old wine cellars or in the local vineyards, as opposed to industrially engineered and selected yeast commonly used in winemaking.
16 It is worth noting that these are prices that do not correspond to an equivalent increase in production costs.

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