BUEN PROVECHO: THE STRATEGIES OF PARTICIPATION AND CONSTRUCTION IN PERUVIAN FOOD POLICY

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Dedicated to all the people around the world who suffer hunger in an economy of abundance.

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Preface

This is the story of exclusion and inclusion, resistance and integration. It is the story of proposals for a better life becoming policy. It is motivated by a profound passion for justice and informed by a careful reading of social and political forces. As the synthesis of my Master's career, this thesis is meant to represent the culmination of my graduate studies and the beginning of the next stage of my professional dedication to creating a better world. Part of my commitment to this work is sharing this thesis with anyone who could benefit from its contents –in the United States, in Peru, and around the world. May the information here serve a greater cause.

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Food security and food sovereignty are being integrated into policy frameworks around the world, predominantly in the countries of Latin America. In 2013, Peru was on the cusp of approving a national policy and national law relating to food security and food sovereignty. Engaging food regime analysis as introduced by Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael to historicize the political economy of the global food system, I document how food sovereignty challenges the neoliberal policy paradigm in Peru and simultaneously risks cooptation into the neoliberal food regime, arguing that the final result of food sovereignty being excluded from any officially approved law in Peru represents the preservation of food sovereignty's radical nature and resistance to cooptation. Using the theory of "neoliberal multiculturalism" by Charles Hale, I show that the strategies of participation and construction used in the Peruvian food policy-making process open new alternatives beyond the assumed binary of cooptation or resistance in the institutionalization of a social movement platform. This thesis, developed in the midst of the policy debate in Peru, is a timely and relevant study that has implications for food policy processes around the world. With the emergence of more initiatives in Latin America and beyond to institutionalize the food sovereignty framework into national policy, careful analysis of the risks, challenges, and opportunities of doing so will inform future efforts.

Table of Contents

List of Terms

Buen Provecho is the term used in Spanish to wish someone a good meal, the way in the US we have adopted "*bon appétit*." The word "*provecho*" comes from the verb *aprovechar*, to take advantage of, thus providing a secondary meaning to the title referring to the strategies "well exploited" in the policy making process.

Introduction

Food security and food sovereignty are being integrated into policy frameworks around the world, predominantly in the countries of Latin America. Civil society, government, and international institutions like the United Nation Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) have been involved in this process of formalizing national commitment to eradicating hunger and improving quality of life for rural and urban populations alike. The terms and content used in these policies differ, implying important differences in both the interpretation of these two platforms as well as the context in which they are proposed.

Food security and food sovereignty are often posed as contradictory because of the stakeholders and ideology that each tends to represent. In practice, they are being adopted in policy in combination as complementary terms representing a method (food sovereignty) towards a measurable goal (food security). Food security has been defined and formulated many different ways for decades. The current internationally accepted definition of food security was adopted at the 1996 World Food Summit: "Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when 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). In further elaboration, food security includes four pillars: availability, access, utilization, and stability.

At the same 1996 World Food Summit, the International Peasant's Movement or Vía Campesina, excluded from participation in the Summit, published a declaration of their concept, food sovereignty: "Food sovereignty is the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods respecting cultural and productive diversity. We have the right to produce our own food in our own territory. Food sovereignty is a precondition to genuine food

security" (Vía Campesina, 1996). Since 1996, food sovereignty has become a more nuanced platform for social movement advocacy.

In 2013, Peru was on the cusp of approving a national policy and national law relating to food security and food sovereignty. Regional neighbors including Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela had already passed food security and food sovereignty laws or included them in their Constitutions. In my research, I wanted to understand how food security and food sovereignty were manifesting in Peruvian society and political discourse. How these two frameworks are being integrated into official national policy, who is behind each of them, and what it means for Peru, the food sovereignty movement, and food policy processes around the world are key questions guiding this investigation. The goal is to explore the implications of institutionalizing a radical social movement platform through the case of food sovereignty in Peru. I document how food sovereignty challenges the policy paradigm in Peru and simultaneously risks cooptation, arguing that the final result of food sovereignty being excluded from any officially approved law in Peru represents the preservation of food sovereignty's radical nature and resistance to cooptation.

This thesis is divided into two sections: the first is a contextual and theoretical framework to undergird the case-based evidence of the second section based on the food policy debate as it manifested in Peru. This first section introduces food regime analysis, a historical-political-economic framework designed to understand "agriculture and food's role in capital accumulation across time and space" (McMichael, 2009). With this framework, I illustrate the emergence and impact of the current neoliberal food regime with special attention to Peru. Then, I describe reactions to the neoliberal food regime by civil society actors, particularly rural and peasant movements. Focusing on the largest and most influential of these, Vía Campesina, I compare Vía's platform of food sovereignty to the food security platform, relating each to key features of the neoliberal food regime. I cover the institutionalization of these two platforms in national policy in Latin America, where

most of this formalization has happened to date, providing rich comparative material to the case study in Peru. Lastly, I provide a theoretical framework in which to analyze the institutionalization process on the case of Peru, asserting the strategies of participation and construction were used by the various actors in the development of the documents, each to advance his/her own policy agenda. Using the theory of "neoliberal multiculturalism" by Charles Hale, I show that these strategies complicate the assumed binary between cooptation and resistance in the institutionalization of a social movement platform, opening new alternatives that have implications for food policy processes in other contexts.

The case study in Peru, the second section of the thesis, starts with the process of food policy preparation through recent legislative and executive initiatives, in the context of a cultural culinary renaissance. Then, I analyze this process in the framework of two strategies: Participation – who was involved in the process and what they represented, and Construction – what was negotiated and what it means. I trace the participation of key actors in the policy making process including executive and legislative branch representatives, a range of civil society actors, and international players from the FAO. I then de-construct the elements of food security and food sovereignty in the text of the key documents, arguing that while food sovereignty as a term is eventually rejected from official policy documents, various ingredients or principles of food sovereignty remain in the text, representing both symbolic and material aspects of the food sovereignty proposal that ultimately challenge the reading of food security as dominated by neoliberal interests.

My method is a critical policy analysis of the formation of state policy, evaluating the participants and elements involved in the construction of official documents. This policy process approach requires strategic and semantic analysis of the positions, meanings, and implications of policy decisions in combination with analysis of the influence of historical, political, economic,

social, and cultural variables. I chose Peru as a case study because of the historical juncture of the food policy in debate at the time of my research, as well as the seeming contradiction of a radical social movement proposal, in this case food sovereignty, emerging from within the Congress of a historically neoliberal state.

My research methodologies included close, comparative textual analysis of the key documents under debate, tracing changes in language through the various versions of the documents. This reading was supplemented by direct observation and interview-based research in Lima in June, July and August 2013. I attended several meetings, events, and presentations related to food security and food sovereignty organized by civil society organizations, research centers, and Congress where I met and interacted with public officials involved in the policy process. I identified the key actors participating in the development of the two food policy documents under debate at the time and performed interviews with 11 key stakeholders. Interviewees included representatives from a range of civil society organizations including five local Peruvian organizations, two of which were members of Vía Campesina, and two international organizations. I conducted two full interviews with Congresspeople supporting the proposed legislation and one full interview with two representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture. I also interviewed two advisors from a key international organization, the FAO. All interview subjects agreed to using their full names and titles in relation to their interview quotes, which I have translated from Spanish to English in this work.

This thesis, developed in the midst of the policy debate in Peru, is a timely and relevant study that has implications for food policy processes around the world. With the emergence of more initiatives in Latin America and beyond to institutionalize the food sovereignty framework into national policy, careful analysis of the risks, challenges, and opportunities of doing so will inform future efforts.

Part I: Concepts and Theory

Planet of the Food Regime

The organization of the food supply chain – from farm to fork, as it were – can be conceptualized as a holistic system integrating elements of production, distribution, and consumption. This system is governed by policies, contractual agreements, and treaties, influenced by international financial institutions, corporations, and social movements, and affects people worldwide. In times of crisis surrounding food, whether it be prices, shortages, or safety concerns, the international community of scholars and policymakers reconsiders the mechanisms of the food system. One such crisis happened in the wake of the food shortages in 1973-1974, leading to a flux of academic work seeking to understand the problems of food supply through a new concept called the "food regime."

Hopkins and Puchala (1978) present a "global food regime" (p. 20) to explore food system governance on a global scale. Defining a regime as "*a set of rules, norms or institutional expectations that govern a social system"* (p. 20, italics theirs), they propose that, "the international relations of food affairs are by and large conducted within normative parameters" (p. 20). Their analysis outlines the norms in the transactions, agendas, forums, allocation patterns, diplomacy, and rhetoric around food on a global scale. Critically tracing these norms as they manifest in the food system, the authors conclude that the global food regime as it existed in the 1970s was no longer adequate to confront the food problems of the time.

This process of construction, criticism, and crisis of the food regime is a key element of the concept as developed by Harriet Friedmann. Though her use of the term did not appear in her scholarship until 1987, her previous work on the "international food order" considered the "set of international arrangements" (Friedmann, 1982, p. S249) governing food as part of the US capitalist

project of the postwar political economy. Now considered the main developer of food regime theory, Friedmann defines food regime as the "rule-governed structure of production and consumption of food on a world scale" (1993, p. 30-31). In her scholarship, Friedmann (1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2005), along with McMichael (McMichael and Friedmann, 1989, and McMichael, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2012) have traced food regimes from the 1870s to the current day.

The first "colonial" food regime lasted from 1870 to 1929. It was based on a trade system of European imports of US grain which collapsed during the Great Depression (Friedmann, 1990, p. 13). This first food regime, like the others to follow, was based on an internal contradiction related to its particular political-economic context; in this case, the "two simultaneous and contradictory movements [were] the culmination of capitalism…and the rise of the nation-state system" (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989, p. 96). By the end of the First World War, economic and political conditions made this model of food governance unsustainable.

The second "postwar" food regime formed in 1947 and lasted for 25 years, until 1972, according to Friedmann (1993, p. 30-31). The postwar food regime considers many of the same characteristics as the food regime conceptualized by Hopkins and Puchala (1978): the role of food aid, free markets, industrialization, and import dependency as promoted by the surplus-driven policy of the United States. The food shortages in 1973-1974 brought on by the internal tension of First World capitalist accumulation and Third World dependence illustrated the crisis of the postwar food regime. Internal tension within the food regime is important to Friedmann's conceptualization. She explains that "food regimes unfold through internal tensions that eventually lead to crisis, that is, to the inability of the key relationships and practices to continue to function as before. At this point, many of the rules which had been implicit become named and contested. That is what *crisis* looks like" (Friedmann, 2005, p. 229). Throughout the next two decades, various mechanisms were designed to reorganize the food system in a new world economy.

The post-war food regime played out in Peru where export-led growth in the 1950s was replaced by import-substitution industrialization in the 1960s. The census registered 53 percent of Peru's population living in rural areas as of 1961. During this decade, Peru had "one of the most complex and unequal land tenure systems on the continent" where "the process of land concentration had been driven by a national and foreign industrial bourgeoisie, a powerful capitalist class with strong institutional presence in governmental affairs" (Mayer, 2009, p. 12-13). A study by the Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development quantified the inequality: on the coast, one thousand estates owned 80 percent of the land while 83 percent of the population (categorized as the "nearly landless") had 10 percent of the land; in the Andes, one percent of the population owned 75 percent of the land (as cited in Mayer, 2009, pp. 12-14). The study concluded that Peru was "overripe for an agrarian reform" (p. 12).

This reform came in the form of General Velasco Alvarado's leftist military dictatorship (1968-1975) and the Agrarian Reform (starting June 24, 1969). This non-violent land redistribution expropriated major landowners, dividing the large land holding, or *latifundios,* into small parcels, or *minifundios*, and distributing these among peasants, often in cooperative arrangements. The result was one of the most extensive land reforms in Latin America, estimated to have expropriated over 15,000 properties and 9 million hectares (Mayer, 2009, p. 20).

The reform was not considered a success, however, since the land was collectivized into cooperatives and "very few cooperatives prospered" (Mayer, 2009, p. 23), instead suffering lack of infrastructure, organization, and management causing debt and sale of agricultural tools and livestock to survive. Overall, however, the agrarian reform did restructure the agricultural sector, resulting in "a much less unequal pattern of land ownership than it had before the reform, with greater scope for family farming than ever before in its history" (Sheahan, 1999, p. 64). Family farming is still a key characteristic of agriculture in Peruvian society. On a macro-scale, the years

after the agrarian reform saw a loss of former export industries like sugar and a growth in dependence of food imports (Mayer, 2009). Within the context of the postwar food regime focused on import dependency, it is not surprising that "one of the core weaknesses in Peruvian economic growth in the postwar period has been the failure of the agricultural sector to raise output fast enough to keep up with the growth of population" (Sheahan, 1999, p. 64).

An example of the crisis of the post-war food regime, the disappointment of the agrarian reform to rectify systemic inequalities and satisfy productive capacity marked the beginning of a transition to a new agricultural policy paradigm.

Emergence of the Neoliberal Food Regime

The late twentieth century was a transition period from one political economic paradigm (post-war reconstruction) to another (neoliberalism). In Peru, national discontentment with the results of the agrarian reform compounded with debilitation from illness and Velasco's government was overthrown in 1975 without resistance from him. After a transitional period, Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who had been overthrown by Velasco in 1968, was re-elected from 1980 to 1985. His policies began the dissolution of the agrarian cooperatives and the initiation of neoliberal reforms (Mayer, 2009, p. 29-30).

Alan García, president from 1985 to 1990, implemented new macroeconomic policies which at first resulted in "favorable relative prices for agricultural goods, subsidized inputs (credit, fertilizers, etc.) and a number of 'promotional' policies to induce agrarian growth" (Trivelli, 2003, p. 3). However, macroeconomic policies and increasing inflation culminated in economic calamity during the debt crisis of the 1980s, also called the Lost Decade for Latin America. For the agrarian sector, this fiscal crisis resulted in decreasing agricultural GDP, nearly no public or private investment in the sector, no sectoral policy, and nearly 80 percent of rural population below the

poverty line by the end of the 1980s (Trivelli, 2003, p. 4).

In response to the debt crisis of the 1980s, Latin American governments implemented Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) offered by international financial institutions to strengthen their economies in the context of neoliberal reforms. Llambi (1994) synthesizes the policy paradigm:

> The structural adjustment package is based on three main policy prescriptions: (1) a competitive exchange rate through currency devaluations in pace with domestic and external inflation, (2) a commercial liberalization policy – with unilateral tariff reductions and elimination of all quantitative trade restrictions, and (3) financial liberalization to guarantee free entry of foreign direct investment in the most profitable areas of the economy (p. 203).

Alberto Fujimori was elected in 1990 on a platform against implementing structural adjustment reforms. However, Fujimori's visits to Washington and Tokyo upon election "made it clear that he was expected to put through an immediate, all-out liberalization program" which he did by quickly implementing drastic neoliberal economic reforms called the "fujishock" (Sheahan, 1999, p. 156). These policies came in three waves throughout the 1990s and included reduction of tariffs, liberalized exchange, elimination of public monopolies, privatization of public companies and services, and increases in executive powers (Arce, 2005, p. 38). His policies also reversed the agrarian reform: "Fujimori's neoliberal restructuring and reduction of the state…removed the last vestiges of protectionist agrarian laws" by dissolving cooperatives and sponsoring privatization and land-titling in the free market economy (Mayer, 2009, p. 32). Fujimori's reforms in the early 1990s placed Peru squarely in the neoliberal economy.

The market-oriented neoliberal economy has been continued through all subsequent governments. The next elected president was Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), followed by Alan García's second term (2006-2011). Both followed neoliberal economic agendas, including signing Free Trade agreements with 12 countries including the United States, Canada, Chile, China, Mexico, and Japan (Foreign Trade Information System, 25 November 2013).

The current president, Ollanta Humala, was elected in 2011 on a platform of "social

inclusion" to extend economic growth to marginalized populations, but his government has not differed in policy from former administrations, prioritizing foreign investment in Peruvian industries, especially mining, and signing more free trade agreements.

Trade liberalization is a key aspect of neoliberalism and the way it relates to agriculture. Within this policy paradigm, agricultural products entered the ranks of a tradable commodity, signified by the inclusion of agricultural products in the world trade regime. This shift occurred in the debates of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) starting in the 1980s and signed in 1994, a representative case of the integration of agriculture into the political economy of neoliberal globalization.

With agriculture integrated into international trade policy, the shape of the third food regime began to take form. Friedmann calls this third food regime the emerging "Corporate-Environmental Food Regime" (2005). Characteristics of this new food regime mirrored the political economy, with agribusiness corporations in an export-focused mono-cropping model promoting the "internationalization of American agriculture" (McMichael, 1992, p. 349). McMichael calls this current regime the "Corporate Food Regime" (2005).

Pechlaner and Otero's (2010) take on the third food regime broadens the scope from corporate to neoliberal and analyzes a later trade negotiation, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA; negotiations started in 1991, came into effect in 1994) . The authors simplify the dynamics of the neoliberal food regime by explaining, "…this regime often involves the production of high-value agricultural goods in developing countries for rich consumers in developed countries" (2010, p. 184). Their comparative analysis of the United States, Canada, and Mexico as the three countries of NAFTA exemplifies the "supranational neoregulation" (p. 185) of what they prefer to call the "Neoliberal Food Regime" (2010).

Despite variation of terminology, the authors all recognize the same characteristics of the

third food regime: privatization and corporatization of agro-food industries; internationalized, export-oriented industrialized agriculture; and genetic biotechnology. How the neoliberal food regime has manifested throughout Latin America and especially Peru provides the context for the development of food security and food sovereignty policy.

Impact of the Neoliberal Food Regime on Agriculture in Peru

Neoliberal policy priorities of trade liberalization, privatization, private property rights, and market-led growth applied to the agro-food system constitute the neoliberal food regime. Kay (1995) analyzes the impact of these neoliberal policies on "restructur[ing]" Latin America's agricultural sector with the growing importance of transnational corporations or agribusiness, changes in consumption patterns, biotechnology and genetic engineering, export-oriented production, capitalization of family farming, and increasing dependence on cheap food imports (p. 12-14). These are features of the current prevailing food system in Latin America.

Privatization and export-oriented policy since the 1980s has resulted in "unprecedented market power and profits of monopoly agrifood corporations" and "increasingly concentrated land ownership" (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p. 111). Reinhardt and Peres (2000) show that while numbers vary for each country, the growth rate of the economically active population in Latin America's agricultural sector went from 1.5 in the 1970-1980 period to -0.6 in the 1990-1997 period (Table 8, p. 1555). Borrowing Harvey's (2003) term, McMichael (2005) calls this capitalist phenomenon built into the corporate food regime "accumulation by dispossession" (p. 270), referring to the labor, production methods, and knowledge of peasant farming displaced by the capitalist mechanisms of the neoliberal food regime.

In Peru, just under ten percent of the population works actively in agriculture and livestock

production as of 2012, a proportion that has remained steady since 1961.[1] The percent of national territory used for agricultural and livestock production has more than doubled since 1961, however, from 14 percent to 30 percent in 2012. This means that land is more concentrated now among fewer landholders than it was fifty years prior. The Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation proudly reported that 16,000 producers export their products (MINAGRI, 18 July 2013), but when calculated as a percentage of total producers, this is 0.7 percent, signifying concentration of wealth among a small minority of agricultural producers.

As of 2012, 80 percent of cultivated land is on plots less than five hectares, meaning agriculture in Peru is predominantly done by small-holder farmers in the Andean highlands, or *sierra*, where 60 percent of agricultural parcels are located. Only 20 percent of agricultural land is in the Amazon region and 15 percent on the coast. This geographic distribution explains to some extent why 77 percent of producers reported not using tractors; this percentage falls to 48 percent in the coastal region and has grown slightly since 1994. Other data indicating the marginalization of agricultural and livestock producers is that 90 percent of those surveyed reported not accessing credit while nearly a quarter reported accessing government food programs and soup kitchens (*Vaso de leche* and *comedores populares*). This statistic represents the contradiction of food producers living with food insecurity: products cultivated by the farmers is not accessible for their own consumption, because the products are either exported or are raw material that require further processing before consumption. Ninety percent of the agricultural land in Peru is private property, with only 4 percent communal ownership, representing the priority of private property key to the neoliberal system.

Agriculture and fishing make up 6.4 percent of Peru's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as of

[1] All data in this section are calculated from Peru's National Institute of Statistics and Information (INEI in Spanish acronym) Agrarian Census or *Cenagro* of 2012 unless otherwise noted. http://censos.inei.gob.pe/Cenagro/redatam/#

2012, down just slightly from 7.7 percent in 1991.[2] In comparison, mining makes up around 10 percent of Peru's GDP while the enigmatic "Other services" category makes up the largest proportion, at 20 percent of GDP in 2012. While agriculture's contribution to Peru's GDP has remained rather steady, foreign investment in agriculture increased nearly sevenfold over a similar time period: in 1995, foreign investment in agriculture was US$7.6 million and in 2012, it was US$45.23 million. The jumps in growth took place during the liberalization programs of Fujimori from 1997-1999. This growth represents Peru opening its economy to the global market, following neoliberal policies of liberalizing the economy.

In the same way, Peru signed a Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 2006 which took effect in 2009, effectively liberalizing trade and facilitating trade of agricultural and other products with the United States. In 2011, Peru imported US$844 million of agricultural products like wheat, cotton, and soybean oil, while Peru exported US$1.3 billion of products leading with coffee, fruit and vegetables.[3] With coffee as the top agricultural export to the United States, it is no surprise that it is the product with the greatest area of cultivation in Peru. This area has also been growing steadily, with 203 thousand hectares of territory cultivated for coffee in 1994 and 425 thousand hectares in 2012, more than doubling over this period.[4] This growth and predominance of coffee crop represents the priority given to export agriculture in Peru. Through export-led agriculture, liberalized trade, private property rights, foreign investment in agriculture, and land concentration, Peru's agricultural sector represents the neoliberal food regime.

What is clear in Peru's case is that while the neoliberal food regime has taken hold, there are many agricultural producers working peripherally to or outside of the export-agribusiness model of

[2] Statistics from INEI available at: http://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/poblacion-y-vivienda/#url; http://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/economia/
[3] Statistics from United States Trade Representative available at: http://www.ustr.gov/countries-regions/americas/peru
[4] Statistics from INEI Agrarian Census or *Cenagro* of 2012: http://censos.inei.gob.pe/Cenagro/redatam/#

agriculture. Some of these small- and medium-scale farmers are using traditional methods and producing crops for the local market. While the neoliberal food regime framework only provides for a binary vision of the neoliberal model versus these smallholder farmers, the reality is much more diverse and nuanced. Like other food regimes before it, the neoliberal food regime is also based on an internal tension best exemplified by the local-global paradigm: while the food system is becoming increasingly global in all aspects, many people in the Global North and the Global South prefer and are demanding a more localized food economy, in a transnational policy space. These people may be smallholder farmers, landless peasants, contract farmers, or agribusiness workers themselves. Those marginalized from the benefits of neoliberal policies are coming together to contest the regime on an international scale.

This challenge marks the crisis of the neoliberal food regime, where the implicit elements are becoming explicit, "named and contested" (Friedmann, 2005, p. 229). In these transition periods, Friedmann (2005) postulates, social movements are the "engines of regime crisis and formation" (p. 229). McMichael (2006) specifies further: "'peasant movements' … are the most direct expression of the crisis created by dispossession and ecological commodification…They represent the possibility of a peasant modernism, dedicated to an 'agrarian citizenship' [source: Wittman], via a politics of ecology and food sovereignty" (p. 408). Peasant politics, then, is a project of resistance against the neoliberal food regime, leading to a policy platform of food sovereignty designed to contest the neoliberal constructs of the agricultural sector.

Peasant Politics and Policy Platforms

Peasant Politics

Over the past three decades in Latin America, social movements have been organizing civil society to resist the neoliberal economic order. Harris (2003) points out that large parts of Latin

America's population has been excluded economically and politically from the neoliberal political economic system that responds to the needs of business elites and transnational corporations instead of the majority of the population. Mobilization as seen in Latin America since the 1980s around land and resource rights has taken the form of what is being called "new rural social movements," understood as a network engaged in political or cultural contestation that is transforming rural politics (Woods, 2008, p. 129). These networks interface with governance institutions to influence policy and, given the context of globalization in which these policies and institutions operate, have internationalized their demands as a strategic force in the vein of Keck and Sikkink's (1998) "Transnational Advocacy Networks." The specific rural manifestation is called a "Transnational Agrarian Movement" or TAM, a term introduced by Borras (2004). TAMS are the institutions and movements that organize peasants – the self-ascribed title for small and medium-scale farmers, generally poor and of low social status, as well as landless rural workers – for political advocacy within the context and using the mechanisms of globalization. Borras, Edelman, and Kay (2008) note that "transnational alliance-building among peasant and small farmer organizations accelerated after the late 1980s" (p. 4), coinciding with the advent of globalization, which facilitated trans- and international communication.

The most well-known TAM is La Vía Campesina (Borras, Edelman & Kay, 2008, p. 2), also designated "the most important transnational social movement in the world" by Martínez-Torres and Rosset (2010, p. 150). Originally rooted in Latin America, La Vía Campesina, known as the "International Peasant's Movement" was founded in 1993 and is today comprised of a network of about 150 grassroots organizations in 70 countries throughout the world representing over 200 million rural people.[5] Desmarais (2007) defines Vía Campesina this way:

[5] http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/organisation-mainmenu-44

> It is a transnational movement embracing organizations of peasants, small and medium-scale farmers, rural women, farm workers, and indigenous agrarian communities in Asia, the Americas, Europe, and Africa…[T]he Vía Campesina has become an increasingly visible and vocal voice of radical opposition to the globalization of a neo-liberal and corporate model of agriculture. (p. 6)

The first manifestation of peasant politics in Peru can perhaps be traced to the formation of two organizations that now form part of Vía Campesina: the Peruvian Peasant Confederation (*Confederación Campesino del Perú*, or CCP) a coalition of farmers, farm workers, and indigenous groups founded in 1947 and the National Agrarian Confederation (*Confederación Nacional Agraria*, or CNA), founded in 1971 by President Velasco in the context of the agrarian reform.

The economic inequality that persisted after the agrarian reform of the 1970s incited resistance that turned violent. As Carlos Degregori (2010) describes, in a national context of incomplete democratization mixed with authoritarianism and economic crisis in the midst of capitalist development, a growing number of society, especially youth, felt disenfranchised and marginalized. The discrepancies between "the capital and the provinces, between the city and the countryside, between Andean peoples and mestizos" led to the uprising of armed movements in the region most hard-hit by these gaps – the rural Andes of Ayacucho where university students organized around their shared disillusionment and sense of political impotence (Degregori, 2010, p. 119). Two guerrilla movements emerged in the early 1980s in Peru: the first was the Mao-inspired Peruvian Communist Party Shining Path (*Partido Comunista Peruano Sendero Luminoso* or *Sendero*), and the other the Castro-inspired Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru (*Movimiento Revolucionaro Tupac Amaru* or MRTA).

Throughout the first presidency of Alan García (1985-1990) and into that of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000), violent struggles ensued between the state, these two groups, and many citizens – especially in rural areas – who got in between. The Peruvian government's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) report (2003) responding to the Years of Violence stated:

> …The internal armed conflict experienced by Peru between 1980 and 2000 constituted the most intense, extensive and prolonged episode of violence in the entire history of the Republic. It was also a conflict that revealed deep and painful divides and misunderstandings in Peruvian society…The TRC estimates that the most probable figure for victims who died in the violence is 69,280 individuals…. The TRC has established that there was a significant relationship between poverty and social exclusion and the probability of becoming a victim of violence…. The TRC has found that the conflict demonstrated serious limitations of the State in its capacity to guarantee public order and security, as well as the fundamental rights of its citizens within a framework of democratic action.

The armed conflict damaged the fabric of civil society and social trust especially in rural areas of Peru. Violence targeted rural populations: "Massacres of peasants by the military, particularly in villages believed to have sympathized with or helped *Sendero*, became frequent in the 1980s" (Sheahan, 1999, p. 76). The fear of death separated neighbors and even families who could not trust each other to keep quiet in the face of the military's accusations of *Sendero* sympathy or *Sendero*'s accusations of helping the military. The real threat of repression, violence, and death for taking a political position in the Years of Violence impacted civil society resistance to the emerging neoliberal regimes.

Since Fujimori's neoliberal policies were implemented through military control in the context of the internal armed conflict, any resistance to his agenda could be skewed as sympathy with the "terrorists" and apt for punishment of jail, torture, and death. Seeking to explain the lack of backlash to neoliberal reforms in Peru and Chile as opposed to Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, Silva (2009) explains that "in Peru, significant insurrectionary movements and a turn to authoritarianism that closed political space during Fujimori's presidency inhibited the formation of associational power and horizontal linkages among social movement organizations" (p. 231) and dampened civil society resistance to neoliberal policy reforms.

During the 1980s and 1990s, important factions of resistance across Latin America came in the form of indigenous and peasant mobilization. In connection with populations in the increasingly

urbanized demographic of Latin America, these movements ranged from the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, to the Water and Gas wars in Cochabamba and El Alto, Bolivia. Indigenous groups mobilized to protest mining projects from Colombia to Ecuador to Peru on the basis of land rights, human rights, and environmentalism.

Resistance by indigenous communities and other groups of civil society influenced a change in electoral politics in Latin America with a swing to the left at the turn of the 21st century, led by the 1998 election of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. The trend was wider than just Venezuela; as Harris (2003) notes, "In several countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela), this resistance has brought about the downfall of neoliberal governments and in some cases even elected political leaders into office who have been publicly opposed to the neoliberal policies of their predecessors and the denationalization/globalization of their economies" (p. 372).

In Peru, the turn of the century brought the collapse of Fujimori's regime due to corruption and "mass mobilization erupted only *after* Fujimori's regime" when the hope of democracy opened the space for protests of neoliberal policies and demands for Fuijimori's resignation (p. 245-246). The March of the Four Direction or *Los Cuatro Suyos* in 2000 represented this mass rejection of Fujimori's regime, a march organized by then presidential candidate Alejandro Toledo, among others, and motivated by claims of electoral fraud in the presidential campaign. The mobilization brought together a wide range of social sectors protesting Fujimori, whose government responded with violent repression. When Fujimori's government did finally collapse, Alejandro Toledo was elected to the presidency in 2001 on a platform of a strong connection to his indigenous heritage. While this platform was largely rhetorical and symbolic, Toledo's government did create formal spaces for indigenous and Afro-Colombian groups, an example of de-radicalizing civil society groups by integrating them into the administration.

Despite the socialist tendencies of neighbors and campaign promises of candidates, Peru continued to elect leaders supporting neoliberal policies, due in part to the historically weak political left and damaged civil society sector not able to hold government accountable to campaign promises. Fujimori campaigned on an anti-neoliberal platform, but upon election implemented some of the most intense neoliberal reforms in the region. Toledo promised to protect the national economy but continued with economic globalization. García continued this line of neoliberal policies, not just economic but also political, understanding neoliberalism as a "political rationality" (Drinot, 2011, p. 182) foregrounded in the market and, as Brown (2003) explains "extending and disseminating market values to all institutions and social action" (as cited in Drinot, 2011, p. 182). This perspective of neoliberalism helps to assess García's policy positions oriented towards a "neoliberal revolution" (Drinot, 2011, p. 179).

The disjunction between government interests and indigenous groups' claims are clearly represented in Peruvian President Alan García's series of editorials titled "The Syndrome of the Orchard Dog" ("*El Síndrome del perro del hortelano"*[6]) published in the national newspaper, *El Comercio* in 2007. These articles articulate the official position of the government by cataloging the resources of Peru that are going to waste because of the resistance of rural and indigenous communities to private property, commercialization, and exploitation of natural resources like water, minerals, and wood. As Drinot (2011) explains, García's ideology sets Peru's indigenous population as the "recalcitrant anti-capitalist Other" and believes that "indigeneity is a block to national advancement" (p. 183). This polarizing position set indigenous and peasant groups against García's policies, most notably protesting international investment facilitated by the Free Trade Agreement which resulted

[6] This title references the 1618 play by Lope de Vega, *El perro del hortelano*, translated as The Gardener's Dog, The Dog in the Manger, or the Orchard Dog.

in a violent conflict in 2009 in the Amazon called the "*Baguazo*" based on the name of the town, Bagua, where the confrontation took place.

It was not until the 2011 election that a leftist leader won the presidential election. Ollanta Humala campaigned on a platform of social inclusion, integrating leftist politicians, academics, activists, and civil society into his discourse of providing more resources for the poor and creating social equality. During his first two years in office, however, Humala has confirmed Peru's commitment to neoliberal policies through his sympathy with transnational corporations and free trade agreements, inciting social conflicts throughout the country, mostly related to environment and natural resources.

Since resistance to the neoliberal model has taken the form of social conflicts and not electoral politics in Peru, seeing an alternative, social movement platform in the policy arena of Peru came as a surprise. Food sovereignty, included in the Constitutions of Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela who have all elected leftist leaders with the support of widespread social movements including rural and indigenous groups, was also considered in neoliberal Peru, where no significant, organized challenge to the neoliberal model has emerged either from political office or civil society. The strength of the International Peasant Movement, Vía Campesina, was key to this development, pushing against the neoliberal agenda in the policy-making process.

Policy Platforms

Rural social movements, manifested in the politics of Transnational Agrarian Movements like Vía Campesina, are changing the discourse around international food policy. Vía Campesina is targeting the food security paradigm with an alternative peasant platform called food sovereignty that "seeks to delegitimize the corporate food regime by questioning the increasingly global-level control of the world food system" (Fairbairn, 2010, p. 27-28). Dispossessed by the neoliberal food

regime and politically engaged by social movements, peasants themselves have proposed this alternative policy platform to challenge the food security model.

How food security and food sovereignty have manifested in the environment of the neoliberal food regime elucidates the tension in their relationship. Using a geographical metaphor to illustrate, this section maps the features of food security and food sovereignty on several indicators or axes. The result is a topography of the geo-food system set in the landscape of the planet of the neoliberal food regime as seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Topography of the Geo-Food System. Food Security and Food Sovereignty frameworks mapped comparatively with the neoliberal food regime landscape across a common set of indicators or axes.

Indicators	Neoliberal Food Regime	Food Security (Official discourse)	Food Sovereignty (Social Movement discourse)
Authors	US, agribusiness	FAO	Vía Campesina (VC)
Institutionalization	Implicit in policies and operations	WTO Ag on Ag National policies	National policies
Instruments	Market	Trade agreements	Advocacy
Concept of food	Commodity	Trade product/good	Source of nutrition; Cultural heritage; Human Right
Site/Scale	Global	Household, National	Local, National, Transnational
Role of nation state	Facilitate market functions	Sign trade agreements	Invest, protect local production
Power Relations	Capital accumulation	Market, comparative advantage	Democracy
Trade	Liberal ("Free")	Liberal ("Free"), key mechanism	Fair, Remove Ag
Production	Industrial, mass scale	Export-oriented	Agroecological methods, small scale
Consumption	Industrialized	Imported	Local, Biodiverse

The basis to understanding the two policies is firstly, their conceptualization of food. Since food security fits within the neoliberal food regime model, food is seen as a trade good to be imported and exported among countries. The food sovereignty model, however, sees food as "first and foremost a source of nutrition and only secondarily an item of trade" (Vía Campesina as cited in Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005, p. 17). Food sovereignty also understands food as a human right. In addition, given the struggles of the food sovereignty movement to maintain control over seeds, traditional production techniques, and local diets, food can be considered cultural heritage.

The policy frameworks respond differently to the challenge of global food governance. Fairbairn (2010) notes that while food security emerged in 1974 originally with a national-level, "state-centric view" (p. 23) of ensuring food availability, the discourse shifted in the next decade towards an orientation to household level measurement due to the influence of the "individualizing and commodifying tendencies" (p. 25) of the neoliberal food regime.

While food security is measured individually, it operates within the global forces of the neoliberal food regime like international trade regimes and transnational agribusiness. The role of the nation-state in the food security paradigm is to approve policy that facilitates the role of the market. The role of transnational institutions like the WTO is to set policies that create the conditions within which nation-states operate (Alamgir & Arora, 1991). It is these institutions and the few countries that dominate their decision-making processes that hold the power in the food security framework.

Food sovereignty is questioning "the increasingly global-level control of the world food system and demanding instead control at smaller scales" (Fairbairn, 2010, p. 27). The goal is to shift the focus of governance from the global market back to the state and control from transnational institutions back to local producers. Much of the language used is human rights based, claiming the right of people to define their own policies instead of transnational corporations and institutions,

and the responsibility of the state to guarantee these rights and invest in domestic production. Working at multiple levels simultaneously, "food sovereignty invokes the sovereign power of the state for implementation of re-distributive land reform, social protections and safety nets" while simultaneously "reach[ing] beyond the State into global arenas in order to pressure national governments and raise global awareness" (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p. 129). Localizing food governance further, Vía Campesina demands that "smallholder farmers must have direct input into formulating agricultural policies at all levels" (in Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005, p. 17). Power and control of the food system, then, would be located at local, community levels and distributed democratically.

Though not mentioned in the definition, trade liberalization has become a key element of food security, aligning food security with the interests of the neoliberal food regime. McMichael's (2005) perspective is that a phenomenon of "privatization of food security via the corporate food regime" (p. 281) serves the project of trade liberalization. The WTO's Agreement on Agriculture (1995) laid the groundwork for the operationalization of food security through trade liberalization, although ironically food security is categorized by the WTO as a "nontrade concern" (Ingco, Mitchell & Nash, 2004, p. 179). A FAO (2003) report suggests "a set of policies where the sources of food are determined by international trade patterns" to improve food security "by shifting resources into the production of non - food export crops and importing staple food requirements" (p. 20). This model of export production, trade, and import consumption to achieve food security fits the construct of the neoliberal food regime.

While food sovereignty "is not directed against trade per se, but is based on the reality that current international trade practices and trade rules are not working in favour of smallholder farmers" (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005, p. 31), the movement favors restrictions and reforms that would balance trade relations to protect local agricultural economies and smallholder production. In

addition, food sovereignty "demands the removal of agriculture from the international trade system" (Lee, 2007, p. 1) with the cry: WTO out of Agriculture (Vía Campesina, 2006).

The position on trade of each policy platform impacts the role of production and form of consumption. For achieving food security, the idea is increasing production (supply) to meet increasing levels of consumption (demand) or alternatively distributing excess production through liberalized trade. A major concern for access to food is the lack of purchasing power, or entitlements in Sen's (1981) language, of the poor to secure adequate amounts of food. Arda's (2007) work on supermarkets in Latin American is based on the premise that "poverty being the main cause of food insecurity, access to food is examined from the perspective of purchasing power, determined by prices and incomes" (p. 322). This is related to Fairbairn's (2010) critique of the neoliberalization of food security, being used as a "frame about the micro-economic choices facing individuals in a free market" instead of national governmental policy (p. 24).

Food sovereignty prefers local production methods instead of dependence on imported food. While food security focuses on resolving access to food products, the food sovereignty model is interested in securing the right to production. Two of the four priority areas for the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty are "Access to Productive Resources" and "Mainstream Agroecological Production" (in Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005, p. 14). The goals are for smallholders to have the rights to their own land, productive resources like water and seeds, and practices of agroecology instead of industrialized farming methods. This kind of production necessarily implies locally-oriented, biodiverse, ecological food products that would form the basis of the consumption patterns in a food sovereignty framework.

While food security has been operationalized within the logic of the neoliberal food regime, "the food sovereignty framework is a counter proposal to the neo-liberal macroeconomic policy framework" (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005, p. 31). Representing the other side of the tension within the

neoliberal food regime, food sovereignty "focuses on local autonomy, local markets, local production consumption cycles, energy and technological sovereignty and farmer-to-farmer networks" (Altieri & Nicholls, 2008, p. 477) instead of the global, private-investment, trade-based solutions of food security. This tension between the global and the local, manifested in the various axes of the policy platforms, forms the crux of the neoliberal food regime. How these two proposals play out in policy frameworks complicates the assumption of their binary nature.

Institutionalization and its Implications

The lobby from the transnational agrarian movements like Vía Campesina has been so strong that food sovereignty has made its way into national policy frameworks, predominantly in Latin America. Latin America is the region with the largest number of countries integrating right to food, food security and/or food sovereignty policy in national frameworks. This interest and activity around food policy is attributed in part to the price spikes in staple foods in 2007-2008, which highlighted the risk and extent of food insecurity for many living in Latin America. As Piñeiro, Bianchi, Uzquiza, and Trucco (2010) posit, "As a consequence of the 2006–08 food crisis, food security has become a major political concern in the Latin American region. The crisis has led to intense political discussions at both the regional and country levels, and has resulted in new policy responses that have attempted to protect vulnerable social sectors from the negative impacts of the crisis" (p. i). These proposals have taken the form of both food security and food sovereignty policy.

Food Security Policy

Vivero Pol (2010), coordinator of the NGO Action against Hunger in the Central American region, noted that "There is no other continent…where there is as much effervescence in legal and institutional reform material and concessions to civil society" related to the right to food (p.1). His

article places Latin America in the "world vanguard of recognition and incorporation of the right to food in the juridical and national constitutional frameworks" (p. 1). The right to food is used as the legal principle upon which food security and food sovereignty policy is based.

As of his writing in 2010, Vivero counts 17 countries in Latin America with either laws or bills in debate on food and nutritional security; at that time, 6 countries (Argentina, Brasil, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela) had national laws, one (Mexico) had a sub-national law, and 10 countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic) were debating and formulating laws in their Congress (p. 11). All of the approved laws included the right to food legal framework, a national multi-sectoral system for implementation, and the participation of organized civil society in their construction, meaning these current laws "consider broadly the participation of civil society and the private sector" (p. 11). At the time of the report in 2010, Peru's policy and legislative proposal only included the right to adequate food framework and not food security. Although dated, Vivero's compilation of Latin American countries with laws, bills, or policies related to food security makes an important impression: this is a region taking institutional efforts to confront hunger and vulnerability to food insecurity.

Recognizing this regional focus on food security, the FAO developed the Latin America and the Caribbean Without Hunger Initiative to work with "the countries of the region in the development of public policy and program to eradicate hunger" including the objective that "the Right to Food be included in the Magna Cartas of each of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean" (FAO, 2010, p. 72). As of 2010, the FAO reported supporting the preparation and debate of food security laws in Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Paraguay (p. 72). For the FAO and this Initiative especially, "the work with the Congress and legislative assemblies is a key element to guarantee the institutionality of the fight against hunger" (FAO, 2010, p. 74), manifested in food and nutritional security policies.

Food Sovereignty Policy

Of the countries where food security and the right to food has been integrated into national Constitutions in Latin America, some also included food sovereignty in their framework, namely Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Mexico, Paraguay and Venezuela (as cited in Vivero, Ramirez, & Ceballo, n.d. circa 2010). Beauregard (2009), in her thesis on food sovereignty policy, focuses on the role of social movements in reaching the objective of institutionalizing food sovereignty in national policy in Bolivia, Ecuador, Mali and Venezuela. She states that the demand for policy change by the coalitions of agricultural and rural workers is growing around the world: "The momentum arises from people organizing together to influence the 'political will' of their national leaders, to draft an alternative framework, and to make the rest of us aware of their struggles and their triumphs" (p. 68). In her opinion, the case studies of the countries that have integrated food sovereignty policy "demonstrate a real desire for alternatives to the neo-liberal framework that has driven agriculture policy" (p. 27). Food sovereignty policy, then, represents a concrete policy alternative to neoliberal policies.

The charge for institutionalization of food sovereignty has been led by a coalition of civil society organizations and social movements related to Vía Campesina called the People's Food Sovereignty Coalition. Their position, most succinctly recorded in the 2001 document: "Our World is Not for Sale: Priority to Peoples' Food Sovereignty, WTO out of Food and Agriculture," demands that governments put into place measures to counteract neoliberal policies, naming international institutions as responsible for policy decisions negatively affecting national agriculture. Their position is that "governments must uphold the rights of all peoples to food sovereignty and security, and adopt and implement policies that promote sustainable, family-based production rather than industry-led, high-input and export oriented production" (People's Food Sovereignty Coalition, 2001, para. 3). In Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela, food sovereignty was integrated into the national

Constitutions due to the insistence and organization of civil society, or, as Beauregard (2009) writes, "The momentum arises from people organizing together to influence the 'political will' of their national leaders, to draft an alternative framework, and to make the rest of us aware of their struggles and their triumphs" (p. 68).

Despite this initial hopeful reaction to food sovereignty institutionalization, it is not surprising that four years later, the scholarship emerging about food sovereignty policy is not so optimistic. Cockburn's (2013) research in Bolivia explores the way that food sovereignty is used by the state, citing that "by positioning food sovereignty as an umbrella for all agricultural development in Bolivia (including conventional agriculture and genetically modified crop production), the term is modified to support all production at the national level" (p. 15). She argues that this waters down the original intention of food sovereignty. Clark (2013) considers the role of the state in integrating food sovereignty (abbreviated "FS") in the new Constitution of 2008 in Ecuador, which was designed to challenge the neoliberal model. Clark observes that "the institutionalization of FS in specific programs and policies in Ecuador has created some new institutional spaces to advance the FS framework, however overall the situation in the country has not changed and it appears that agro-industry has even been strengthened under the Correa government" (p. 25). Taking a similar approach, McKay and Nehring (2013) compare Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela's institutionalization of food sovereignty, studying the new role of the state and the potential complications of top-down (state-led) regulation of a bottom-up (social movement-inspired) movement. In McKay and Nehring's analysis, while Venezuela comes closest to actual change in policy perspectives, none of the countries employ a "mutually reinforcing and symbiotic relationship between pro-reform state and societal actors, creating an interactive approach to a pathway towards food sovereignty" (p. 26). These critical perspectives question the strategies and relationships that

impact the institutionalization of food sovereignty and the implications for state support of social movement proposals.

While the three South American countries studied have taken the lead on institutionalizing food sovereignty, another work in progress, Peru, has yet to be studied. Since food sovereignty policy has yet to be institutionalized or implemented in Peru, this analysis is based on the process of development of the policies, including the participation of government and civil society actors and the construction of the documents themselves.

***Buen Provecho*: The Strategies of Participation and Construction**

Institutionalizing a social movement platform such as food sovereignty necessarily involves the risk of this proposal being coopted by state forces or simply used for means that do not reflect its original intention, as documented in the cases mentioned above. Radical civil society proposals can become de-radicalized upon introduction in state frameworks in order to qualm protestors but not upset the status quo. The participation of civil society, government, and international actors in influencing the policy process as well as the elements they advocated to include or exclude in the construction of the final documents will illustrate in what ways the resulting policies confirm and/or contest the neoliberal food regime. The following analysis demonstrates how participation and construction that are limited to symbolic gestures or in line with economic priorities are acceptable to the state, while efforts that challenge or threaten material or political interests are rejected. Both state and civil society actors engage participation and construction as strategies to advance their policy positions.

Participation of civil society in the policy making process can be seen as both a form of resistance to governmental control and a form of cooptation of civil society by dominant government power. Opening new political spaces and integrating marginalized actors and their

alternative policy proposals has the potential to democratize the political process. Sousa-Santos and Avritzer (2005), in their discussion of "the strong participation of social movements in the process of democratization in countries of the South, especially Latin America" (p. xlv), argue that participatory democracy has expanded notions of citizenship and opened space for new political actors, leading to more political involvement, representation, and autonomy from previously excluded populations of society. They identify this phenomenon as the difference between a hegemonic and non-hegemonic conception of democracy, where the former is based on representation and the latter on direct participation. This type of participation, then, challenges the capitalist system that favor accumulating power in a few select representatives instead distributing it broadly across civil society.

Participation is especially significant for the food sovereignty movement's commitment to democratize the food system through integrating underrepresented actors in the policy-making process. The last, but certainly not least, element of food sovereignty in Via Campesina's 1996 Declaration is "Democratic Control," a call for the active involvement of peasant farmers, especially rural women, in "formulating agricultural policies at all levels" (Vía Campesina 1996). VC along with other radical social movements, "…seek to democratize sites and structures of power" (Stammers 1999, cited in Desmarais, 2007, p. 25), prioritizing participation in policy-making, with the goal of democratizing global decision-making processes.

Similarly, constructing particular policy proposals or platforms, such as food sovereignty, and integrating them into state policy, can challenge neoliberal policy patterns. Institutionalizing food sovereignty can be seen as a success: a social movement proposal supporting small-scale, domestic agriculture weakens the monopoly of export-oriented agribusiness. Food sovereignty has been institutionalized in countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela where the government supports this challenge to the neoliberal model, as described above. In this way, food sovereignty

forms one more piece of their platform to shift away from neoliberal policy and represents a position that contests the neoliberal food regime.

However, participation of social movements and construction their platforms in state policy does not always lead to greater democratization but rather is prone to what Sousa-Santos and Avritzer (2005) call "the vulnerability of participation…by power imbalances, by co-optation by over-included social groups, or by integration in institutional contexts that erase its democratic potential, as well as its potential for transforming power relations" (p. lii). The democratic expectation of participation in the political process can thus be coopted into the hegemonic model, where protesting voices and proposals are incorporated just enough to be extinguished.

This threat to participation reflects Hale's (2002) concept of "neoliberal multiculturalism", an approach used in Latin America to affirm cultural rights in order to further the neoliberal project. Hale argues that the activism of indigenous groups calling for recognition of their rights since the 1990s has created neoliberal multiculturalism which "opens new political space, offers significant concessions, which in a previous moment would have remained clearly beyond reach" (p. 490). These concessions and openings are inherent in the neoliberal model which is based on a democratic governance model that opens policy space to the masses. No longer authoritarian dictatorships, neoliberal regimes respond to this resistance not (just) with military force and overt repression, but through "more strategic measures aimed at preventing or containing within manageable limits the popular resistance to these neoliberal policies" (Harris, 2003, p. 392). Some of these strategies include introducing "social policies that are aimed at preventing the most politically destabilizing consequences of the neoliberal project" (p. 397), for example, under the guise of social inclusion.

Instead of ignoring or repressing social movement demands, "Neoliberal multiculturalism is more inclined to draw conflicting parties into dialogue and negotiation than to preemptively slam the door. Civil society organizations have gained a set at the table, and if well-connected and well-

behaved, they are invited to an endless flow of workshops, spaces of political participation, and training sessions on conflict resolution" (Hale, 2006, p. 272). The civil society organizations and NGOs that help implement social policies, for example, are contracted by neoliberal governments interested in reducing and privatizing social programs, and thus integrated into the state operations, preventing their protest or resistance to the policies they now depend on for funding (Harris, 2003). In this way, the neoliberal regimes allow activists into the state mechanisms, but structure and control their activity.

This strategy, called by Hale a "*si, pero*" (Yes, but) or "*indio permitido*" ("authorized Indian," or indigenous person) allows for a level of inclusion within a highly controlled space. The "authorized Indian" strategy opens political space for dissidents but then limits and controls that space, "opening just enough political space to discourage frontal opposition, but too little to allow for substantive change from within" (2005, p. 11). While indigenous groups are welcomed by governments to develop symbolic or cultural, any threat they pose to the material interests of the government results in rejection. Hale explains the distinction as one between "cultural rights and political-economic empowerment" where indigenous rights are permitted as long as they do not "violate the integrity of the productive regime, especially those sectors most closely linked to the globalized economy" and indigenous organization is permitted "as long as it does not amass enough power to call basic state prerogatives into question" (2004, pp. 18-19). These parameters allow the state to control indigenous demands, negotiating only with these they consider "authorized." Instead of developing a dichotomy to classify whether integration of indigenous people and demands in the state mechanism is cooptation or resistance, Hale (2004) recognizes the prospects for opening these authorized spaces wider to engage government in demands related to political and economic empowerment. Related to the case of food sovereignty, "indigenous demands for territorial sovereignty could present a radical challenge to neoliberal regimes" (2006, p. 273), and this platform

is being entertained by neoliberal states like Peru.

In applying Hale's neoliberal multiculturalism to peasant social movements and the current policy-making process in Peru, it is important first to recognize that peasant is not synonymous with indigenous, although there is representation of both categories often simultaneously in the Peruvian context. Second, peasant social movements are not specifically or exclusively seeking cultural rights but rather political, legal, and territorial rights. Since Hale (2006) identifies that "the most important current indigenous demand [is the] right to territory and resources" (p. 271), it is clear that there is considerable relevance between his argument and the current phenomenon in Peru. Lastly, while Via Campesina may be considered more a part of the anti-globalization movement on a global scale, which Hale (2005) recognizes as an "exception" (p. 12) to neoliberal multicultural pressures, on a national level within Peru, the potential for menace remains.

The Peruvian case study uses Hale's framework to trace the participation of indigenous, peasant, civil society, and government actors and dissect the "authorized" or prohibited elements of food sovereignty in national policy to determine which are accepted symbolic, cultural rights that ultimately strengthen the neoliberal food regime through the mechanism of "neoliberal multiculturalism" and which threaten the economic and political regime. In this way, I position the acts of participation and construction as strategies that the actors involved in the policy-making process engage in order to advance their interests and ideology. This analysis breaks down the simple binary of cooptation or resistance by revealing the multi-faceted strategies involved in developing a national law. The case study also identifies the spaces of vulnerability or possibilities of resistance in institutionalizing the radical social movement platform of food sovereignty.

Part II. Practice: The Case of Peru

The case study presented focuses on the development of two documents, an executive policy and a legislative proposal, that reached the height of debate in 2013. The lead up to these two documents provides important information on the policy precedents and cultural context that facilitated and in some ways forecasted the issues that would emerge in 2013. The first section provides the history of the food policy debate in Peru beginning in 2002 and a systematic overview of the food issue in policy and popular culture leading up to 2013. The next two sections are the heart of the policy analysis. Using the framework of participation and construction, they detail how these two strategies played out in the Peruvian policy-making process in both the executive and legislative branch. Lastly come implications and final conclusions of the Peruvian case.

The two documents that form the basis for this analysis are the National Strategy for Food and Nutritional Security 2013-2021, an executive branch initiative, and the Law of Food and Nutritional Security, a legislative branch initiative. The National Strategy was developed by the Multisectoral Commission on Food Security led by the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation. In June 2013, the proposed strategy was approved by the Multisectoral Commission, then approved by the Council of Ministers and subsequently passed as a Supreme Decree (DS 21) on December 28, 2013. This final draft is the document used in this analysis. The law originally began in the Agrarian Commission of the national Congress with the title: Law on the Right to Food, Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security. In June 2013, the Agrarian Commission and Commission of Social Inclusion and Persons with Disabilities approved the draft bill with the title Law of Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security. In December 2013, the bill was debated in the Congressional plenary and revised as the Law of Food and Nutritional Security. As of this writing (April 2014), the bill still has not been passed into law. The removal of food sovereignty from the title and content of the approved version of the law is a key element of the study of the document.

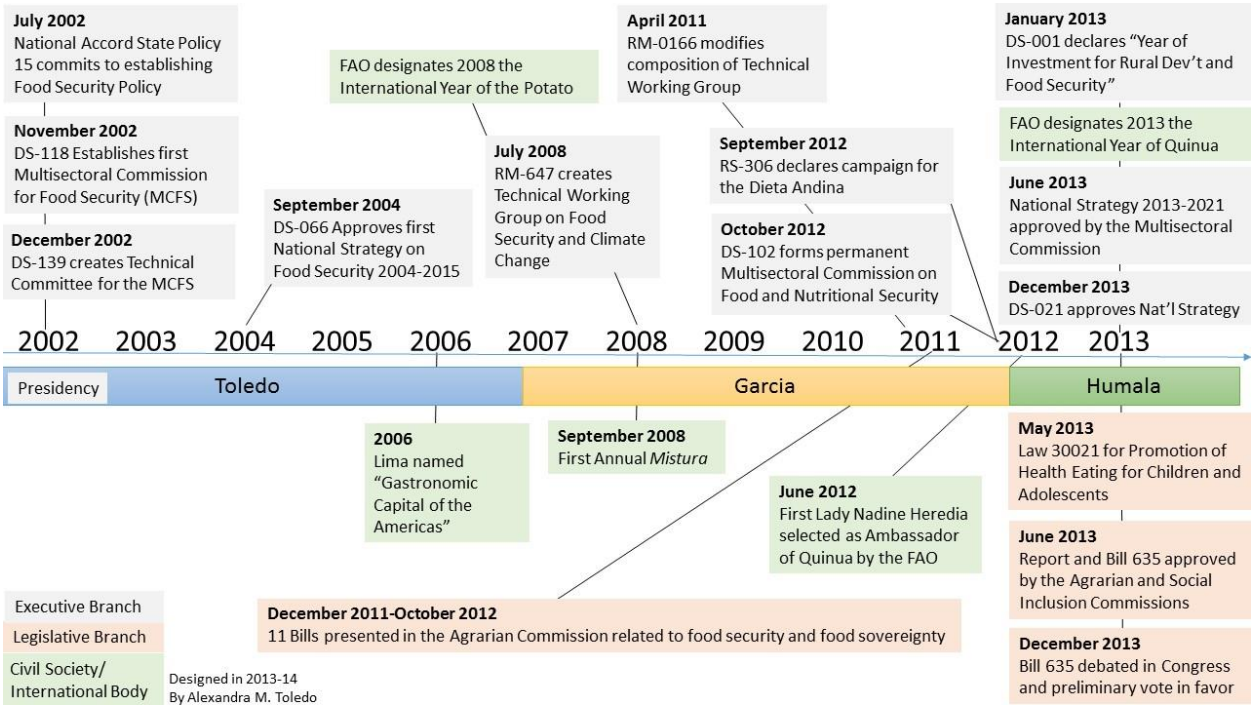
This analysis compares the two final versions of the law, identifying them by the dates of their approval, June 2013 or December 2013.

Something's Cooking: Food Policy Debate in Peru, 2002-present

For many countries, the World Food Summit in 1996 set off a surge of activity to integrate the promises made into national frameworks. This was the case for Peru, which began the process of food policy institutionalization through the executive branch in 2002 then followed with legislative activity in 2011. This section will provide background on executive efforts, focusing on the National Strategy of Food Security 2004-2015 which serves as a comparison to the current version, the National Strategy of Food Security 2013-2021. Legislative efforts began later, with legislative proposals or bills (*Proyectos de Ley*) directly related to food security and food sovereignty emerging in 2011. Many of these food security-related bills have been synthesized into a report (*Dictamen*) and combined to create bill 635, originally titled the Law of the Right to Food, Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security. Figure 1 illustrates the timeline of food security and food sovereignty activity in Peru from the executive and legislative branch as well as some cultural and social markers that influenced the context in which these proposals were being generated.[7]

[7] All documents were originally in Spanish and are presented in my translation. Original titles and some links to original documents are available in the Sources section.

Figure 1: Timeline of Food Security and Food Sovereignty Activity in Peru, by sector, years 2002-2013



Executive Initiatives

The foundational motivation for instituting a food security policy is found in the National Accord of 2002. This initiative arose under the presidency of Alejandro Toledo and was intended to develop a dialogue among actors in government, Congress, and civil society. There are 31 agreements in the final document organized under key themes including Democracy and Rule of Law, Equity and Social Justice, Country Competitiveness, and Efficient, Transparent and Decentralized State. Food security falls under Equity and Social Justice. In many subsequent government actions, this National Accord is first cited as the commitment of the government to establish a food security policy.

The next step towards instituting food security was with a Supreme Decree[8] (*Decreto Supremo* or DS) in 2002 again under Toledo. Supreme Decree 118 (DS 118) begins by citing the World Food Summit of 1996, then confirms that the Peruvian government subscribed to the Declaration of the World Food Summit in June 2002 and the Action Plan committing to reducing hunger by 2015. Next, the Supreme Decree references the National Accord signed in July between the government, political parties, and civil society to promote food and nutritional security. Such an introduction suggests that this international activity and national commitment motivated Peru to take further action towards establishing a food security policy. The decree established the first Multisectoral Commission for Food Security with the objective of developing the National Strategy and Plan for Food Security, as well as coordinating the functions of various government, civil society, and business initiatives around alleviation of vulnerability to food insecurity and rural poverty.

In December of 2002, another Supreme Decree (DS 139) created the Technical Committee for the Multisectoral Commission for Food Security, the "operating organ" that would go on to develop the National Strategy for Food Security. Two years later, the National Strategy was approved by the Council of Ministers and became national policy (DS 066).

Despite the approval of the National Strategy in 2004, both civil society and government representatives recognize that this strategy was never implemented. As Fernando Eguren, President of the Peruvian Center for Social Studies (*Centro peruano de estudios sociales* or CEPES in its acronym in Spanish) and close accompanier of the food security policy process, noted, in late 2012 when the Multisectoral Commision set to evaluate the 2004 National Strategy, "I recommended that they present a blank piece of paper, because since it had never been implemented, there was nothing to evaluate" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). Clara Cruzalegui, Advisor in the High Level Cabinet of

[8] A Supreme Decree is an executive order that must be approved by the *Consejo de Ministros*, or Council of Ministers, the highest representatives of the executive agencies of the national government, such as the Ministry of Agriculture. This document determines the policy direction for the executive branch.

the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, explains why this was the case: "one of the great errors that [the 2004 National Strategy] had was that it considered too many indicators, there were more than 200, so no one could do the follow-up" (personal interview, 2 August 2013). Peru made its first attempt to institutionalize a food security framework through national policy, but this policy was never engaged by government or civil society actors.

The next time that national policy was pronounced regarding food security was not until 2008 when, again, international agreements motivated Peru to take a stand, this time on the relationship between agriculture and climate change. The signing of the Kyoto Protocol and the Lima Declaration of the Fifth Summit of Latin America, the Caribbean and the European Union motivated the national government to take action on climate change at a national level. A Ministerial Resolution[9] (*Resolución Ministerial* or RM) created a Technical Working Group on Food Security and Climate Change within the Ministry of Agriculture (RM 647). This Working Group was charged with providing reports as well as policy proposals that would address the extreme vulnerability of Peruvian agriculture and rural population to the threat of climate change.[10] As Cruzalegui, who was involved in the process throughout this time, reports, results included working with the FAO to develop the Plan for Administering Risk and Adaptation to Climate Change. This plan, she says, is a "useful tool for decision-making…[and]…has served as the base for the implementation of actions in the framework of other projects and programs like 'My Irrigation,'" a 2013 initiative of the Ministry of Agriculture to invest $1 million Peruvian soles in irrigation systems and technology for the Andean region (personal communication via e-mail exchange, 17 October 2013). The My Irrigation (*Mi Riego*) program is considered so important that the Ministry of Agriculture revised its

[9] A Ministerial Resolution is an agreement passed by a particular government Ministry or combination or Ministries instead of the President or executive branch as a whole.
[10] In 2011, Ministerial Resolution 0166 (RM 0166-2011-AG) modified the composition of the original Technical Working Group given changes in executive infrastructure, such as the creation of the Rural Agriculture program, AGRORURAL.

name to the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation (MINAGRI) as of June 2013. From 2002 to 2013, many executive programs on food and poverty have been initiated, but not in a systematic, organized way explicitly contributing to a national food security policy until this past year.

Legislative Initiatives

Legislative activity around food security began to occur in 2011. Perhaps because of the lack of implementation of the National Strategy of Food Security of 2004 on the part of the executive branch, Congress began to consider proposals to support the implementation of the National Strategy. While it is not possible to reconstruct the actual actors leading to the proposal of these bills, each bill is identified by the Congressperson who presented it, purportedly in representation of the demands of their constituents. All of the referenced bills (*Proyectos de Ley* or PL*)* are the foundation for the Report (*Dictamen)* and bill 635.[11] All of the bills include the approved version of legislation as well as a section called "Statement of Motives" ("*Exposición de Motivos*") averaging 20 pages which provides the motivations for the bill, including supporting analysis and statistical data.

The first bill directly related to food security was proposed in December 2011 and has the same number as the final bill (PL 635) as the original source for the final legislation. This bill, titled "Food and Nutritional Security" was proposed by the President of the Agrarian Commission in the Congress Juan Castagnino Lema in order to provide a legal basis to the National Strategy of Food Security. It proposes the creation of the National System of Food and Nutritional Security and National Council of Food and Nutritional Security designed to coordinate efforts towards fulfilling

[11] Different sources cite different numbers of original proposals integrated into the final bill 635. A March version of the Dictamen cites 8, a May version cites 6, and the approved July version cites 11. The Agrarian Commission's 2012 website on the Dictamen cited 6, with live links to the full text of some (http://www.congreso.gob.pe/comisiones/2012/agraria/opine.html), while the Registry of the Congress cites 11 (http://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/ApoyComisiones/comision2011.nsf/dictamenes/5C5E1E3D99DFD66A05257BA4004F688B).

the state's obligation to ensure the right to food and nutrition for the nation.

Two more bills emerged a few months later in April of 2012 from Congresswoman Claudia Coari a member of the Agrarian Commission. The two bills are "Law of the Right to Food Security and Adequate Nutrition" (PL 976) and "Law that Declared Preferential Interest in Support for Small-Scale Production to Guarantee Food Sovereignty" (PL 977). The former repeats bill 635 in setting the legislative framework for the National System and Council of Food and Nutritional Security, but takes a perspective based more strongly on a human rights perspective, deliberately advocating for small-scale, national production as the means to achieve food security. This same perspective is amplified in the latter bill (PL 977), which explicitly highlights the concept of food sovereignty in the title and content.

The next bill (PL 1163) is a short proposal by Tomás Zamudio Briceño called the "Law of the Right to Adequate Food and Promotion of Food Security" which pushes the Peruvian state to make an explicit law that would uphold international commitments on human rights, using the human rights framework to institute the Right to Food.

Other legislative proposals included in bill 635[12] relate to food security in various ways, such as supporting national farmers' markets (PL 1553), focusing on border regions (PL 2063), promoting mass production of grains (PL 1679), ensuring adequate nutrition during pregnancy (PL 1970), and using native crops in social assistance programs (PL 2262). All of these proposals are integrated in some way into the final bill, representing diverse voices and positions.

[12] For citations of all the proposals in the Dictamen with their original titles, see the Sources section.

Cultural Context

This executive and legislative activity took place in a context of growing interest for food in Peru, both in terms of policy and gastronomy. The national acceptance and even enthusiasm for the growing importance of Peru's gastronomy relates to the "authorized" challenges to the dominant neoliberal paradigm as suggested by Hale. Promoting indigenous heritage, traditional foods, and native crops are symbolic acts celebrated within the context of neoliberal multiculturalism in Peru.

In 2006, Lima was named "Gastronomic Capital of the Americas" at the Fourth International Summit of Gastronomy in Madrid, Spain.[13] Magazines such as Bon Appetit[14] and Viajar[15] as well as major media outlets like the New York Times,[16] The Guardian,[17] and Washington Post[18] echoed this honor in the years to follow, featuring Peruvian cuisine, restaurants and chefs. Based on Peruvian-Asian fusion and Novo-Andean trends, the modern cuisine integrates the culturally and biologically diverse agricultural traditions of Peru in a gastronomic representation of national pride. It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of this newfound pride in national food: nearly every conversation with Peruvians naturally turns to appreciation for their cuisine and the urban population in Lima (consisting of nearly one-third of the total population of the country) is becoming more aware of the highly-prized agricultural products and culinary creations that had in the past been disregarded because of cultural and economic racism.

One step in this process was the International Year of the Potato, declared by the FAO in 2008.[19] Highlighting this humble crop with Peru at the forefront was a way to raise the profile of

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[13] http://gourmettravelstoperu-cucuchi.blogspot.com/2012/02/lima-gastronomic-capital-of-americas.html
[14] 2009: http://www.bonappetit.com/restaurants-travel/article/lima-the-next-great-food-city
[15] 2010: http://www.andina.com.pe/Ingles/Noticia.aspx?id=vMLt8cDWwdg=
[16] 2009: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/23/travel/23headsup.html
[17] 2011: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/sep/22/peru-food-global
[18] 2007: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/06/08/AR2007060801119.html and 2012: http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2012-12-13/lifestyle/35813024_1_johnny-schuler-gaston-acurio-pan-american-highway
[19] For more details, see: http://www.fao.org/agriculture/crops/core-themes/theme/hort-indust-crops/international-year-of-the-potato/en/

Peru's cuisine, culture, and agriculture. With forums, conferences, presentations, and fairs around Peru and the world, this year contributed substantially to the recognition of the importance of native Andean crops to ending world hunger.

The champion of much of Peru's gastro-boom movement is Chef Gastón Acurio, founder of the gastronomic festival *Mistura*[20] in Lima as well as multiple restaurants around the world.[21] Now regarded as a national hero, this Chef has elevated Peruvian cuisine to an elite international level. His food diplomacy has also encouraged several formal programs to further the appreciation of traditional Peruvian foods and cooking. He opened a culinary institute in a southern shantytown of Lima.[22] His advocacy for native crops and relationship with Andean and Amazonian farmers developed into a formal Chef-Farmer Alliance, launched with the Vice President Marisol Espinoza.[23]

At the *Mistura* festival in 2012, the Peruvian Gastronomic Society (*Sociedad Peruana de Gastronomía* or APEGA) in partnership with seven government Ministries declared the campaign for the Andean Diet *(Dieta Andina)* to promote traditional native Peruvian crops and dishes. The campaign was made official through an executive resolution[24] (RS 306) creating a temporary Multisectoral Commission responsible for developing a strategy to promote and diffuse Peruvian products on a national level, with a special place of participation for civil society representatives from APEGA. This Strategy is currently in the approval process. The Andean Diet effort goes beyond national pride and connects directly with ideas of improving nutrition and eradicating

[20] The largest food festival in Latin America, *Mistura* is an annual event that began in 2008. In 2012, 600,000 people attended the event, which takes place in Lima. http://www.andina.com.pe/english/noticia-mistura-food-festival-showcases-the-best-of-peruvian-gastronomy-466779.aspx

[21] Acurio's Miraflores restaurant "Astrid y Gastón" won first prize for "Latin America's 50 Best Restaurants" and was ranked 14th in "The World's 50 Best Restaurants" in 2013. See http://elcomercio.pe/gastronomia/1626908/noticia-astrid-gaston-se-impuso-como-mejor-restaurante-america-latina y http://www.theworlds50best.com/list/1-50-winners/astrid-y-gaston/

[22] http://www.yanuq.com/Pachacutec.htm

[23] http://elcomercio.pe/gastronomia/1573078/noticia-alianza-cocinero-campesino-2013-promueve-papa-nativa

[24] A Supreme Resolution is a decision of the President and one or more corresponding Ministries.

hunger in the country, while challenging some of the material interests of the food regime based on food aid through imports. The Andean Diet initiative serves to promote the consumption of national products in the Peruvian diet, such as potatoes, corn and quinoa, among others, to support local farmers, and to confront food insecurity while challenging the neoliberal food regime.

Government, private sector and civil society have been active in this gastronomic (or, Gastón-omic) flourishing in Peru, using it to bring attention to problems of hunger, poverty, and rural development. Recognizing again the role of the state in ensuring food security for the population, another Supreme Decree passed in October 2012 established a Multisectoral Commission on Food and Nutritional Security (DS 102). Just like the Commission established in 2002, this now permanent Commission was charged with developing a National Strategy on Food Security for 2013 – 2021, the year of the bicentennial of Peruvian independence. Establishing this Commission opened the way for the development of a new generation of policy around food security in Peru.

The Year for Food: 2013

This groundswell of activity around food and food security climaxed in 2013, the watershed year for food policy in Peru. The year started with President Ollanta Humala declaring 2013 "The Year of Investment for Rural Development and Food Security" (DS 001). This slogan is on all official documents and websites for the entire year, and various government and civil society activities build off of this initiative.

The FAO designated 2013 as the International Year of Quinoa and Peru's First Lady Nadine Heredia as a Special Ambassador along with Bolivian President Evo Morales. Peru and Bolivia are the world's top producers and exporters of quinoa, and over the past few years, this seed has become a highly valued and valorized product on the international market. Just like the Year of the

Potato and the Andean Diet initiative, the focus on quinoa as an international product has encouraged a sense of pride by the farmers and consumers within Peru. While in the past, quinoa was always disregarded as "Indian food" ("*comida de indio*"), now it has gained an important status on the world market, vindicating this native crop to both urban and international consumers. The increased attention and demand has also increased its production and price, leading to the quinoa controversy about whether the "boom" in this product actually benefits farmers or just provides ephemeral income increases while imposing environmental strain on productive lands.[25] The message of the International Year of Quinoa as articulated by the FAO is about the incredible nutritional benefits of this food, resilience, and versatility in production, and therefore key role in eradicating hunger and achieving food security.[26]

This heightened interest in using traditional food products to ameliorate malnutrition led to legislative action in the Peruvian Congress to ensure healthy eating habits for younger generations. The "Healthy Food Law" (Ley 30021) was passed on May 10th, 2013 after a quick legislative process. The law itself, a mere three pages, focuses on providing educational resources for children and parents about healthy food choices, kiosks and school cafeterias with natural, healthy food, and regulations for commercials and promotion of food products. Its publication, however, caused a large amount of debate. The agribusiness sector opposed the law, saying that it restricted the sale of their products. The media opposed the law, saying it restricted their freedom of communication. The law does regulate the content of commercials oriented to youth and adolescents but does not

[25] A flurry of articles around the quinoa boom have emerged this year. See (listed chronologically):
-Collyns, Dan. January 14, 2013. Quinoa brings riches to the Andes. *The Guardian.* http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jan/14/quinoa-andes-bolivia-peru-crop?intcmp=239
-Blythman, Joanna. January 16, 2013. Can Vegans stomach the unpalatable truth about quinoa? *The Guardian.* http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/jan/16/vegans-stomach-unpalatable-truth-quinoa
-Kerssen, Tanya. February 2013. Quinoa: To Buy or not to Buy…Is this the right question? *Common Dreams.* http://www.commondreams.org/view/2013/02/15-4
-Friedman-Rudovsky, Jean. April 2012. Quinoa: The Dark Side of an Andean Superfood. *Time magazine.* http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2110890-1,00.html

[26] For more context, publicity materials, and official statements, see: http://www.fao.org/quinoa-2013/en/

control media outlets nor does it regulate sales.

This law is critical to the debate on food security. As Fernando Eguren of CEPES stated, "The Law of Healthy Food is a good way of demonstrating the complexity of food security, a complexity that the government and the legislative powers are not yet valuing…[The law] anticipates a broader discussion about the great complexity enclosed in this word 'food security', which is very complex and … is an agreed-upon concept that puts under the carpet a series of issues that sometimes do not get discussed" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). The Healthy Food Law brings the food debate from a symbolic to material level, challenging the dominant food system in Peru.

Other important milestones in 2013 include a national debate about the payments from the Agrarian Reform of 1969. The decision about the payments (*bonos agrarios*) was made by the Constitutional Tribunal in mid-July, and immediately came under scrutiny by civil society and the media. The entire Tribunal was called into question because of the election of the members, causing protests and strikes throughout the capital, and the specific agrarian payments became a subject of debate on the grounds of irregularity and injustice. Representatives of rural social movements, like Hugo Blanco of the Peruvian Peasant Federation (*Confederación Campesino Peruano* or CCP), questioned the legitimacy of the payments promised to the landowners who were displaced in the reform (Blanco, 18 July 2013). These events brought the Agrarian Reform of 1969 back to the national memory and heightened interest in and sympathy for the situation of farming families.

Another landmark event happening simultaneously was the publication of the Agrarian-Farming Census (*IV Censo Nacional Agropecuario 2012,* or *Cenagro*). This Census had not been performed and published since 1994, causing a 17-year lapse in data. The new data, collected and processed by the National Institute for Statistics and Information (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Información* or INEI) was presented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation. The final report of over 60 pages includes commentary on various features of Peruvian agriculture such as number of

producers, average parcel size, access to credit, and key agricultural products, as well as appendices with data by departmental region. The goal of the study is to provide data useful for policy decisions. Upon its publication, the most quoted finding was the lack of access to credit by rural producers.[27]

This was the setting for the national debate on food security and food sovereignty policies as of June 2013: an officially-announced year dedicated to rural investment and food security in Peru and another to quinoa promoted internationally; fervor and pride for Peruvian gastronomy; a reclaiming of traditional crops and natural products with the Andean Diet and Law for Healthy Food; and government-led processes of quantifying the agrarian sector and resolving old dues. In this context of national attention on food, both the legislative and executive branches advanced their own interpretations of food policy. In June 2013, the Agrarian Commission and Commission of Social Inclusion and Persons with Disabilities approved the draft bill of the Law of Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security. In December 2013, the bill was debated in the Congressional plenary and revised as the Law of Food and Nutritional Security but as of this writing (April 2014) still not passed into law. Also in June 2013, the Multisectoral Commission on Food Security, headed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, approved the National Strategy for Food Security. The National Strategy was approved by the Council of Ministers and subsequently passed as a Supreme Decree (DS 21) on December 28, 2013.

The next two sections analyze the policy-making process toward the final versions of both the National Strategy and the bill by evaluating the strategies of participation and construction. This

[27] Three news sources reported specifically about the Access to credit issue (19 July 2013): La República, Andina, and La Primera.
http://www.larepublica.pe/19-07-2013/mas-del-30-del-territorio-peruano-esta-ocupado-por-la-actividad-agropecuaria
http://www.andina.com.pe/Espanol/noticia-solo-8-los-productores-acceden-a-credito-el-sistema-financiero-466736.aspx#.Ue81t-C0EXi
http://www.laprimeraperu.pe/online/economia/el-59-de-agricultores-destina-su-produccion-para-el-autoconsumo_144436.html

method provides insight into what kind of participation and construction are "authorized" within the Peruvian state, and therefore where the process and documents themselves challenge the hold of the neoliberal food regime.

Participation Strategy

Participation is a political concern with implications for representation, power, and democracy. Who is involved in the policy development process and what they represent are key factors to understanding the intent behind policy documents. In the case of Peru and many other countries where food security and food sovereignty are being integrated into national policy frameworks, multiple actors are involved in the construction of the documents. In Peru, different branches of government as well as international actors like the FAO and civil society actors like Via Campesina-affiliated organizations participated.

This section first considers how participation is articulated in the documents leading up to and including the National Strategy and bill of 2013 (on paper). Then, it uses interview material, personal experience, and media sources to trace the participation of key actors in the development of these two documents (in practice). The analysis that follows considers what the roles and relationships look like between the state actors, civil society, and international organizations involved in the policy-making process in Peru, and whether they represent symbolic or substantive inclusion.

Peruvian Participation on Paper

From the original commitment of the Peruvian government to establish framework policy on food security, civil society participation was built into the process, representing an openness to the involvement of non-governmental actors in the policy-making process. The National Accord of 2002 includes in its outline for a food security policy that the government: "(g) will promote

participation, organization and surveillance of consumers as a democratic citizen exercise…(l) will develop a participatory intersectoral policy for food security…and (s) will promote active participation of people and social groups overcoming handout and paternalism approaches" (National Accord, 2002, Agreement 15).

The decree establishing the Multisectoral Commission for Food Security includes the explicit charge to develop a participative process. From the introductory considerations, the document states that "the responsibility of contributing to food security is incumbent not only on one sector, but corresponds to various sectors of the State, the private sector, and society as a whole" (DS 118).

The National Strategy of 2004 also includes references to participation. The introduction states that the draft "received suggestions and comments from various institutions and organizations, as well as the public in general, that have been very useful in perfecting the document" (DS 066). However, the only comments referred to in Annex F (titled "Suggestions and Comments about the National Strategy for Food Security") are about the public sector, and states that "From the public sector, ministries, decentralized public organizations, no suggestions or contributions have been received" (DS 066, Annex F). The diagram at the bottom of Annex F displays the role of various government agencies and departments instrumental in the formulation of the strategy, followed by another box naming particular NGOs (nongovernmental organizations, as they are labeled in the text) that supposedly participated in the process, but it is not clear due to the historical nature of the documents what the actual role of each actor would have been.

The Supreme Decree (DS 102) that established the permanent Multisectoral Commission on Food Security in 2012 includes in Article 3 a list of the representatives that would form the Commission, including the Ministry of Agriculture as the head, the Ministries of Environment, Development and Social Inclusion, the Woman and Vulnerable Populations, Production, and Foreign Relations, as well as civil society associations including the National Convention on

Agriculture (*Convención Nacional del Agro Peruano*, or Conveagro), institutionalizing their place at the table but not their role in participation.

The National Strategy 2013-2021 highlights this participation of the various sectors and multiple levels of government from its cover to the final observations. On the cover and the opening paragraph repeated on the first page, the Strategy pronounces, "the present document is a result of a public-private participative effort" (National Strategy, 2013, p. 1). While there are no specific names used, it does report a process of consulting with experts through four workshops. One of the last points of the Strategy is "lessons learned" from the process, namely the need to "establish intersectoral synergies at different levels of government and with civil society and the private sector," expressing support for multisectoral participation in principle (p. 69).

Various parts of the legislative proposals specifically develop representational structures and processes: the original legislative proposal 635 as well as both proposals by Claudia Coari (PL 976 and PL 977) outline membership for the National Council on Food and Nutritional Security, with specific government ministries and civil society organizations mentioned.

The Report (*Dictamen*) preceding the June 2013 bill, the Law of Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security, reports on the spaces and methods of participation employed by the Agrarian Commission during the development of the Report and bill itself. Early on, the Report explains the nine work sessions held in January and February "as a space of participative participation for those involved in the elaboration of the Pre-Report…for the inclusion of the comments of civil society and grassroots organizations" (*Dictamen*, July 2013, Section I.1.2). The Report identifies those organizations that participated on which days, including government Ministries and civil society organizations. The Agrarian Commission also held four decentralized work sessions, meaning workshops held outside of Congress. Three of these were outside of Lima and all included a mix of civil society organizations as well as national, regional, and local

government representatives. Lastly, the Report includes the suggestions of various government Ministries and regional governments (Section IV). In the 44 pages synthesizing these opinions on the different elements of the Bill, only one civil society federation is included. A previous section (I.1.5) lists the civil society organizations that provided comments and pledged to support the Agrarian Commission in the work sessions and recognizes the FAO for its counsel in the process, but does not publish their submissions like the government ministries.

Within the text of the June 2013 bill itself, Article 5 outlines the principles of food sovereignty and food and nutritional security, the last of which is "citizen participation" (Article 5.7). The principle posits that it is the responsibility of the State to develop this participation "in the formulation, execution, and follow-up" of the national and sectorial policies related to food sovereignty and food and nutritional security (Article 5.7). Further, the Objectives of the policy include "promoting the active and coordinated participation of producers, commercial brokers and consumers to overlook the fulfillment of the norm…" (Article 6.10). The institutional framework for this participation would include representatives of government ministries, regional bodies, as well as small-scale producers, commercial brokers, and consumers. Civil society organizations would not be members but would receive "a voice and a vote" (Article 10). Technical committees responsible for implementing the policy would include civil society as guest representatives "with a voice but no vote" (Article 13.3). This limited role of participation for civil society is a point of contention for the leaders involved in the development of this legislation.

While the institutionalization of the inclusion of civil society in the policy-making process as demonstrated in all of these documents can certainly be taken as recognition from the state of the importance of involving civil society actors and other stakeholders to democratize the policy process, it can also be interpreted as a strategy on the part of government to institutionalize civil society itself. Just as Hale (2005) warns against the "authorized Indian," the extent to which civil

society and social movements contest the current regime may be severely limited within the structure that government sets for this participation. For example, in the functions of the Multisectoral Commission for Food Security the first priority is "to formulate in a concerted and participative manner, and taking into account the international commitments assumed by the country, the National Strategy for Food Security…" (DS 118). It seems, then, that to the extent that civil society members participating in the formulation of the National Strategy respect official trade and foreign investment agreements, they would be welcomed. In what ways civil society groups are resisting these limitations from inside the official limits speaks to how institutionalized participation can open the door for resistance. How participation in Peru is playing out in practice in the development of the current policy proposals is described next.

Peruvian Participation in Practice

Through my field research, I was able to map out the participation of civil society, government agencies, and international actors in the food policy-making process. The chart below (Table 2) shows who was most involved in the National Strategy and in the draft bill as of June 2013. This chart is helpful to identify the protagonists influencing the movement of the two policies through their respective channels. This section explores the roles and relationships among the state actors, civil society, and international organizations involved in the recent policy-making process.

Table 2: Participation chart for current policy proposals in Peru

Policy	**National Strategy for Food and Nutritional Security**	**Draft Bill of the Law of Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security (June 2013)**
Government Branch	Executive (Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation - MINAGRI*)	Legislative (National Congress)
Organizing Body	Multisectoral Commission on Food Security	Agrarian Commission and Commission of Social Inclusion and Persons with Disabilities
Government Protaganist(s)	Minister of Agriculture Milton Von Hesse	Congresswoman Claudia Coari*
Civil Society Protaganist(s)	**Working Group on Food Sovereignty and Family Agriculture of the Coordinator of Foreign Entities for International Cooperation** (COEECI) -*ADG -Bread for the World -Broederlijk Delen – BD -German Agroaction -Heifer Project International -Isla de Paz -Lutheran World Relief -*OXFAM -Project Hope -SOS Faim -SUCO -VECO -Veterinarians without Borders -World Neighbors	**Alliance of Agrarian Organizations of Peru** (AOA, Alianza) -*National Association of Ecological Producers (ANPE) -*Peruvian Peasant Confederation (CCP) -*National Agrarian Confederation (CNA) -National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Wage-earning Women of Peru (FEMUCARINAP) -National Organization of Indigenous, Andean and Amazon Women of Peru (ONAMIAP) **Collective for Food Security with Sovereignty** -*Peruvian Center for Social Studies (CEPES) -*National Convention on Peruvian Agriculture (Conveagro) -National confederation of women for integral development (Conamovidi) -Coordinator of Foreign Entities for International Cooperation (COEECI) -Solidarity Forum of Peru -Flora Tristán -Promoting Life (FOVIDA) -Gender and Economy Group -World March of Women -Table of Agreement for the Fight against Poverty (MCLCP) -Citizen's Movement against Climate

		Change (MOCICC) -Ecological Agriculture Network (RAE) -Rural Municipality Network (REMURPE) -Vets without borders
Intergovernmental organization	**FAO***	**FAO***

*Denotes interview performed.

Government

The first observation when looking at the participation landscape is that two different policies are being developed simultaneously by two different branches of government. Each has championed a food policy document: the executive branch with the National Strategy for Food and Nutritional Security and the legislative branch with the Law of Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security (June 2013). The simultaneous activity of two branches of government on related but not collaborative processes inevitably led to tension between the two efforts.

From within the Congress there was hope for coordination with the executive to achieve shared goals. Congresswoman Claudia Coari echoes the sentiment that the openness on the part of the executive branch helped spur the movement to draft the bill. She explained,

> this bill, we talked about it in the campaign with the President, some of the candidates, we talked about food sovereignty and food security, and from there, the President had it imprinted and I think that has stayed with him, and the idea that we cannot push it aside because other countries are beating us, we have to consider it. It [the bill] was also born from the First Lady leading this theme of the quinoa. (personal interview, 11 July 2013)

With the ear of the executives tuned to the question of food policy, Coari moved forward in proposing and promoting draft legislation. Coari, an indigenous woman and peasant activist of the Vía Campesina-affiliated Peruvian Peasant Confederation (CCP), represents the "authorized Indian" within the Peruvian Congress. She was personally chosen by the current president to run for office, and represents the interests of the agrarian communities from the rural and radical region of Puno

near Lake Titicaca. Because of Coari's experience in the CCP, she was trained in political advocacy techniques. Further, she remains connected with and committed to her base: the peasant communities in her region and represented in the CCP. Her participation is based on this relationship and conviction.

Despite her close relationship to the president, her proposal including the focus on food sovereignty did not coincide with the official objectives for food policy. Coari's proposal represented a challenge to the neoliberal policy paradigm from within the Congress, which has generated tension between the two branches of government. Recognized in all sectors for her leadership in bringing food sovereignty to the table, Coari simply stated, "this issue was one of the issues for my campaign, and so I cannot leave it there…No matter what [*si o si*], it has to move forward, no matter what [*si o si*] we have to approve it. If it is not approved, the people will be left cheated" (personal interview, 11 July 2013). She explained that the motivation for the bill came from her personal experience and reality of living in the countryside and working in the agrarian sector. Her commitment to food sovereignty, as she stated,

> is a commitment as a Congressperson, before being a Congresswoman, as a leader [of CCP], I always had this commitment, and as a Congresswomen I have been focused on getting out this law on food sovereignty and food security, and this bill is my commitment, to include the right to food. (personal interview, 11 July 2013)

Throughout the legislative process, Coari served as a bridge to civil society representatives to make their voices heard in Congress. Coari's office organized campaigns with each Congressperson and found common points to get the bill approved in the Agrarian and Social Inclusion Commissions. Due to her leadership, the bill passed both of these commissions unanimously. Then, she continued to organize events to channel organizations' efforts to move the bill into the plenary and pass into law. Coari identified civil society as the focal point for the real push for getting the bill into the Congress, stating that it happened because of "the demands of the people, of the social organizations and largely because I walked side by side a lot with the President" (personal interview,

11 July 2013). Coari opened this channel of communication and representation within the Congress and to the President for the social organizations. Coari's participation strategy was to be and to facilitate the presence of peasants in a place of power.

Civil society

Many organizations that I interviewed supported Coari's initiatives and participated with her in the advocacy work of the Congress. From their shared base, the Sub-secretary General of the CCP, Everardo Orellana, commented that,

> upon assuming the position of Congresswomen, [she] took up what we were discussing about food sovereignty and security and presented it as a bill to Congress. We support her…we are in agreement and we are empowering this law. It is the proposal that we have been working on, supporting Claudia. (personal interview, 10 July 2013)

The CCP along with four other national confederations formed the Alliance of Agrarian Organizations to participate in the debate on food sovereignty in the Congress with Claudia Coari.

Four of the five members of the Alliance are affiliated with Vía Campesina. The first is the aforementioned CCP,[28] known for having leaders who are also integrated in government, including the founder Hugo Blanco. Another is the National Agrarian Confederation (*Confederación Nacional Agraria* or CNA),[29] formed in the period of the Agrarian Reform and made up of peasant, indigenous, and native associations and unions. While its reputation was built on protesting government initiatives in the Fujimori era, more recently the CNA has developed a strategy of proposals to work in collaboration with government. The National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Wage-earning Women of Peru (in its Spanish acronym, FEMUCARINAP)[30] is a much newer organization, formed only in 2006 to represent the interests of women agricultural

[28] http://confederacioncampesinadelperu.blogspot.com/
[29] http://www.cna.org.pe/
[30] http://femucarinap.org/

workers, an offshoot of the powerhouse union, the General Confederation of Workers of Peru (*Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú* or CGTP). Another newer organization is the National Organization of Indigenous, Andean, and Amazonian Women (Organización Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas Andinas y Amazónicas or ONAMIAP),[31] committed to land rights, women's political participation, health, intercultural education, non-violence and sustainable, solidarity economy issues. The only non-Vía Campesina member of the Alliance is the National Association of Ecological Producers (*Asociación Nacional de Productores Ecológicos*, or ANPE),[32] which represents 12 thousand agoecological producers in 20 regions of the country, divided into over 60 percent small-scale ecological farmers, 20 percent processors and commercial facilitators, and around 15 percent producers of organic and ecological exportation. I was able to interview representatives from three of these organizations: CCP, CNA, and ANPE.

Moíses Quispe, Executive Director of ANPE, explained the history of the work of Coari and the Alliance,

> We have worked with much dedication together with the Congresswoman Claudia Coari and the Agrarian Commission. Two years ago, there were eight bills in one proposal. In this last debate, they brought out the issue of food sovereignty. Again, we have done very critical analysis. We have constituted, to face this proposal, an Alliance of Agrarian Organization of Peru….These five organizations have formed a front for food security and sovereignty. (personal interview, 2 July 2013)

Nelly Pauccar, Executive Director of the CNA, spoke more in detail about the work of the Alliance with Claudia Coari:

> in May, the Alliance organized a public forum in Congress in alliance with the Congresswoman Claudia Coari and [the Congresspeople] who have done the administration within the Congress to give space to debate this issue, to which they invited civil society, organizational representatives, led by the organizations of the indigenous people and agrarian unions. (personal interview, 18 July 2013)

[31] http://onamiap.blogspot.com/#
[32] http://www.anpeperu.org/

These different representations of civil society and social movements all had a stake and an active presence in the push for bill 635.

The key organizations in the Alliance performed an important role in advocating for the bill on food sovereignty and food security. Quispe (ANPE) identified the work of these organizations as responsible for achieving the inclusion of food sovereignty in the proposal, saying food sovereignty was integrated, "because of so much insistence of the agrarian organizations…They [Congressional Commissions] were at the point of only approving food and nutritional security, and now they recognize the theme of food sovereignty" (personal interview, 2 July 2013). In the body of the law, he recognized that there was some advance, but not complete: "the participation of civil society with voice and vote has been accepted, but the regional councils are voice without vote" (personal interview, 2 July 2013). Quispe believes that only with "equal participation of the state and organized civil society, could there be a democratic policy decisions for the food of the Peruvian population" (personal interview, 2 July 2013), meaning that currently participation is only symbolic and does not equate a position of power within the decision-making process.

Another form of participation in the policy-making process for those not involved in direct presence or voting is mobilization and protest. As Orellana of the CCP ensured during his July interview, before the legislative proposal went to the plenary debate:

> The community (*pueblo*), the peasant (*campesino*) is conscious and participating in this law and the benefits that this law will bring. We are already pushing for this law, we know that it … is going to come from the community, that the law is executed. The people are going to mobilize so that it passes….If they [Congress] don't pass it, we are going to mobilize. We are going to defend that it gets accomplished. Sometimes here in Peru we are accustomed that necessarily we have to organize and mobilize. If we don't, they don't pay attention to us. There has to be one or two dead, then at last they will attend to it. (personal interview, 10 July 2013)

After the initial approval of the bill in the Congressional Commissions in June 2013, the process stalled and just as Orellana predicted, the two groups of civil society listed in Table 2 (the

Alliance and the Collective) mobilized. The two groups converged to form an initiative called "Act" with a simple website[33] and Facebook posts encouraging citizens to sign a letter to President Ollanta Humala urging him to push forward the approval of the bill and the implementation of the National Strategy. Interestingly, this web page only highlights food security in its title, although the Collective's name has been changed slightly from "Collective for Food Security" which was the name at the time of my interviews to "Peruvian Collective for Food Security and Sovereignty" with mostly the same membership. The activity seems to have begun (according to dates on the blog and Facebook feed) in early October 2013, and reached a high around World Food Day (October 16th) with a mass mobilization, three forums in Congress, and a fair.[34] Both the Alliance and the Collective were very active in October and November 2013 raising awareness about this bill to get civil society support to push it into public and Congressional debate, which finally occurred in December 2013, and get approved into law, which as of this writing has not yet been achieved.

Of the many organizations that form part of the Collective (see Table 2), the two representatives I interviewed were from the Peruvian Center for Social Studies (*Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales*, or CEPES) [35] and National Convention on Peruvian Agriculture (*Convención Nacional del Agro Peruano*, or Conveagro). [36] CEPES, founded in 1976, is a national reference on issues of rural development studies whose vision is to influence public opinion and development policy. Conveagro, a forum of 17 national producer unions and 20 civil society organizations including CEPES, presents itself as "the principal national reference for agrarian producers and is, in the world, a *sui generis* case of representative democracy for rural and agrarian interests."[37]

[33] www.actua.pe
[34] See Facebook feed of ANPE: https://www.facebook.com/anpe.peru
[35] http://www.cepes.org.pe
[36] http://www.conveagro.org.pe/proyectos
[37] http://www.conveagro.org.pe/proyectos

Conveagro and CEPES were key players in the Collective which organized to advocate for the bill. Fernando Eguren, Director of CEPES, explained the formation of the Collective: "a group from civil society and COECCI, we met up to try to coordinate some kind of action to suggest proposals to the advisors of the Agrarian Commission and discuss the legislative proposal" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). Lucila Quintana, President of Conveagro, confirmed this intention, saying:

> We came together first to analyze what was the content of the law…this law did not guarantee the representation of civil society much less the producer organizations…the operators have to be involved in this law. In the beginning, they weren't. The Ministry was involved but not civil society. That is why we have organized. (personal interview, 25 June 2013)

Conveagro proposed a process of decentralizing the debate of the law, encouraging the Commission to hold meetings outside of Lima and making sure that "more organizations participate, that the Collective participate, and we have participation in the majority of the audiences" (Quintana, personal interview, 25 June 2013). Despite a feeling that the bill was rushed and could be improved more before its approval, Quintana also recognized the hard work of the Commission in responding to civil society efforts like that of the Collective, saying "all of the organizations, we salute the effort of the Congress of the Republic for putting on the agenda the discussion of this issue of national usefulness and importance" (personal interview, 25 June 2013).

Conveagro and CEPES were involved in both the legislative and executive processes. Conveagro holds a weekly meeting for peasant movement and civil society representatives called "Agro Tuesdays" where new proposals, strategies, and statements are developed. Relationships are cultivated both with Congress and the Ministry of Agriculture: when I attended an Agro Tuesday meeting, Congresswoman Claudia Coari attended as well as Advisor in the High Level Cabinet of the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation (and another former CCP leader) Andrés Luna.

Conveagro is named as a representative on the Multisectoral Commission for Food and Nutritional Security in the 2012 decree. However, others commented that despite this formal space,

Conveagro did not actively participate in the Multisectoral Commission for the development of the National Strategy. CEPES participates actively in Conveagro and in Agro Tuesdays, given that the organizations share the same building. CEPES also publishes a monthly supplement called The Agrarian Journal (*La Revista Agraria)*[38] in a mainstream daily newspaper, The Republic (*La República)*, highlighting issues of food security, the bill and National Strategy, and other current events related to the agrarian sector and food. CEPES also holds forums, workshops, and presentations on issues of interest, such as the event held at the end of November 2013 called "Food Security: Challenges for the Future, Work for the Present." This involvement keeps CEPES at the front of the policy process. In addition, as a direct contribution to the development of the National Strategy, Eguren on behalf of CEPES "attended meetings, with other guests, to debate proposals, suggestions, etc. They [Congress] sent me final drafts of the National Strategy and National Plan….to give my opinion" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). While both Conveagro and CEPES are members of the Collective, the Collective as such did not have a leading role participating in the development of the National Strategy.

Beyond the Alliance and the Collective, the group that did make a concerted effort to participate in the process of the National Strategy was a Working Group of some of the members of a council for international agencies called the Coordinator of Foreign Entities for International Cooperation (*Coordinadora de Entidades Extranjeras de Cooperación Internacional*, or COECCI). COECCI formed part of the Collective but also organized its own Working Group on Food Sovereignty and Family Agriculture. Two members of this Working Group that I interviewed were from Oxfam and ADG. Oxfam in Peru is an office of Oxfam America, one of 17 members of the international Oxfam confederation that concentrates on issues of poverty, hunger, and injustice.[39] The new Grow

[38] Available through the CEPES website and at: http://www.larevistaagraria.org/
[39] http://www.oxfamamerica.org/whoweare

(*Crece*) campaign is dedicated to impacting change of the injustices of the food system, and it is through this campaign that Oxfam in Peru was directly involved in the development of the bill and National Strategy. Giovanna Vásquez, the Coordinator of the Grow Campaign, stated that "we don't have a specific role, our role has been discussion and support to our allies in the framework of the process to ensure adequate policies for food security" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). This participation has included attending work sessions of the Agrarian and Multisectoral Commissions as an observer, reading and providing comments on drafts of the documents, and helping to organize civil society efforts. Vásquez explained,

> We have driven the formation of the Collective for Food Security that is doing advocacy and actions, we have driven the Alliance of Agrarian Organizations….[Our role is] of motivation, to connect allies and promote discussion within Peruvian society….of support, in the Congress, to see the possibilities of collaborating with them and inserting information. (personal interview, 8 July 2013)

The other member of the Working Group that I interviewed is the organization known by its acronym ADG (which stands for *Aide au Développement Gembloux*).[40] This Belgian NGO was formed in 1986 to support sustainable rural development in the Global South and currently works in West Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Andes. As Vice President of COECCI and participant in the working group, Pierre Rouschop, Coordinator of ADG's Andean Program, interacted with the executive branch through letters, meetings, and proposals. Rouschop commented that this Working Group, taking the position of outsiders and observers "integrated ourselves in the process of the National Strategy. We met with the Ministry of Agriculture, decided to propose our contributions" (personal interview, 25 June 2013).

Rouschop critiqued the level of participation of civil society with the development of the National Strategy, saying, "the National Strategy formally integrated four members of civil society,

[40] http://www.ong-adg.be

but it is not representative enough of civil society" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). Rouschop commented that civil society is pressuring government to be involved in the whole process, "not just participate in the moment of the ideas and validate something but participate until the end and ensure that their contributions are taken into account..." (personal interview, 25 June 2013). He also noted the risk of participating in the executive process, saying, "the risk that we take is validating, by our presence, strategies that maybe aren't in the end what we had hoped, but that is the democratic game" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). This comment echoes the vulnerability of participation in democracy as warned by Sousa-Santos and Avritzer (2005).

Again from the perspective of a foreign organization, Rouschop noted another risk inherent to the weakness of the civil society sector: "another weakness is that civil society is in the hands of a few leaders that unfortunately are always the same. They cannot be in all the spaces and we have seen little presence in the National Strategy of the peasant organizations which are invited" (personal interview, 25 June 2013).

From another perspective of an international institution, Vásquez of Oxfam commented that for the bill, "in the national process, I didn't feel that the voices were heard, nor their ideas, despite that the Collective made an effort" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). This lack of inclusion manifested in the text of the bill, which she believes is "not very participative…the law could offer more, be more interesting, offer a platform so that civil society would have a more participative part" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). In addition, Vásquez remarked on the lack of critical dialogue from civil society on the topic of food sovereignty. Having observed the development of food sovereignty in other countries' policies, Vásquez remarked that in Peru, "there was not the capacity of civil society to have a more political conversation…in Peru there is no platform about food sovereignty. The rural organizations have a high level of fragility" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). Citing the influence of individualistic and privatization tendencies, Vásquez concluded that the

context in Peru does not allow for a true debate around the political and material aspects of food sovereignty such as water and land rights.

A historic perspective helps to explain this weakness. As a leader in the CCP, Everardo Orellana explained,

> the internal conflict in the country, what it has done, is debilitate the organizations, it has destroyed all the grassroots organizations because of the repression of the police, the state, … Now we are a little weakened in our bases, because the leaders of that time, if they haven't been jailed, they were killed, and now forming leaders doesn't happen overnight…" (personal interview, 10 July 2013)

Despite the opportunity for participation outlined in policy documents and integrated into government structures, the historic weakness of civil society limits its actual role in the political process.

Another barrier to effective civil society monitoring and participation in the policy process is the cultural disconnect between the rural populations and the government. Pauccar (CNA) comments on the problem of language differences between the government and the community members, saying that the leaders of the peasant communities:

> despite being able to speak Spanish, their logic of expression is in agreement with their form of seeing things, their form of living, and sometimes the intellectual, professional civil servant formed from another perspective don't necessarily understand that….So adding up the other limitations and difficulties, the leaders have few possibility of their proposals being understood and more so of being integrated in the generation of proposals in the spaces of dialogue that are provided. (personal interview, 18 July 2013)

In spite of this disconnect, Pauccar was optimistic about the potential for these communities to affect change through their participation in the policy process, saying "among all the limitations that there are, they manage to do various activities, there are spaces of participation for the organizations" (personal interview, 18 July 2013).

Peruvian civil society has managed to organize around the advocacy of these food policy proposals in the form of an Alliance, a Collective, and a Working Group. The Alliance worked most closely with the legislative branch through their relationship with Congresswoman Claudia Coari,

managing to influence the drafting of the bill, its initial, unanimous approval in the two Commissions where it was sponsored, and pushing it into the plenary debate before the end of the 2013 legislative cycle. This represents an impressive effort on the part of civil society and a few select Congresspeople to challenge the dominant policy positions of the neoliberal food regime. The Collective also advocated in favor of the law and continued to organize and mobilize civil society in favor of the passage of this law. Members of this group have some prized positions within the decision-making spaces of both the executive and legislative branch, but do not seem to be using them to advance their political positions, making their participation more representative than substantive. COECCI's Working Group comes from an outsider's perspective and as mostly foreign organizations does not sit formally in government spaces, but comments and coordinates from outside. These organizations tend to have a more international perspective and are critical of the weaknesses of Peru's civil society, conscious of how these weaknesses increase the risk of cooptation by the government.

FAO

One constant for both the executive and legislative processes in Peru has been the role of the FAO. Besides the World Food Summits held by the FAO in 1996, 2002, and 2009 in Rome, the FAO has been encouraging governments to pass food security policy over the past decade or more. In Latin America, this involvement has been channeled through an initiative called Latin America and the Caribbean without Hunger, supported by a FAO project of the same name.[41] The initiative and the project, founded in 2005 and 2009 respectively, are designed to support concrete actions, systematize best practices, and strengthen public policy advocacy. In 2011, Lima hosted the Working

[41] http://www.rlc.fao.org/es/iniciativa

Group meeting for this initiative with the objective of "the creation of legal frameworks for the right to food, the strengthening of social security nets, and the support of family agriculture. According to the FAO, these are the key elements of a policy package to promote food security in the countries" (Ministry de Agriculture, 3 May 2011).

Peru's Ministry of Agriculture participated in another FAO meeting in 2012, a regional conference designed to create a working group that would coordinate the actions of the FAO to orient its support of food, agricultural, and food security policies. In this same month, the Peruvian Congress, through a sub-group of the Agrarian Commission, proposed a partnership with the FAO to "realize studies and elaborate legislative and administrative proposals about food security in Peru" (RPP, 15 March 2012). Just a month after this, the Director-General of the FAO, José Graziano da Silva, announced that the FAO was promoting a food security law in Peru: "The FAO is collaborating with Peru in the elaboration of a food security law in the Constitution and a Parliamentary front that can connect and push this law" (Peru 21, 4 April 2012). After this pronouncement and meeting between President Ollanta Humala and the Director-General da Silva, Peru formed the Multisectoral Commission on Food and Nutritional Security of 2012 and started moving forward the current National Strategy with the executive branch and the bill in the Agrarian Commission of the legislative branch. In January of 2013, Luis Lobo, coordinator of the Latin America and the Carribbean Without Hunger Initiative, commented to the press that Peru is on a good path, citing both the executive and legislative processes as signs of Peru's commitment to formalizing food security policy (Agencia Andina, 25 January 2013).

The FAO is an international reference on food security policy, and national governments look to the FAO for advising and expertise in developing these policy proposals. Such has been the case in Peru, where the FAO has been active in both the executive and legislative process. As Jorge Elgegren, Assistant Representative of the FAO, commented, "the work of the FAO in relation to

food security began with the National Strategy of 2004-2015, with a lobby a year or two before that" (personal interview, 16 July 2013). Throughout the process of drafting the current National Strategy, the FAO provided technical expertise through meetings and reports in collaboration with the Multisectoral Commission. In the Congress, the FAO also participated by providing technical expertise, commentaries, trainings on the terminology, and resources like the Right to Food Methodological Toolbox and Food Security Toolbox to orient effective policy related to food security.[42] Aitor Las, legal consultant to the FAO working specifically on the Food and Agricultural Security program, also spoke in detail about the step-by-step process of the development of the current bill which he had followed closely and participated in when requested by the members of the Agrarian Commission.

Through all of their interventions, the FAO explicitly expressed that they were a "neutral forum" (Jorge Elgegren and Aitor Las, personal interview, 16 July 2013). The FAO played this role of being a neutral forum and facilitating negotiations with the executive and legislative branch about the disagreement on the term food sovereignty. Las elaborates on the meeting that FAO facilitated the day before my interview with them:

> We received the request from civil society and from the actors themselves involved from the executive and legislative [branches]. They were seeing that the two processes were each one going down its own path and in the case that both be approved, there was going to be a lack of coordination, which was going to be worse for food security in the country. We received the request from both the legislature and the executive, they asked us to…be a neutral space….. (personal interview, 16 July 2013)

At this meeting, the Congresspeople from various political parties and members of the Ministry of Agriculture discussed the differences between the National Strategy and bill and how to achieve a compromise so that the documents would align.

Giovanna Vásquez of Oxfam remarked on the role of the FAO, saying that it has been

[42] http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/36513/icode/; www.fao.org/docrep/016/i2195s/i2195s.pdf

"advocating for a normative [policy] framework for two or three years" and so far has been "very participative in regards to technical expertise" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). Congresswoman Claudia Coari, however, believes that the participation of the FAO has not been neutral but represents an outsider's influence in a national process because of its commitment to food security and closure to food sovereignty. She remarks,

> Each country has its forms, its rules to discuss; the legislature, we have the power to make the agenda….I value many ideas that the FAO has, I am very convinced that they help. But sometimes they are wrong when they make demands. They have to see according to how we are as a population, and also how the domestic market looks. (personal interview, 11 July 2013)

While the FAO claims to be a neutral space to facilitate dialogue and provide technical expertise, some involved in the process like Coari are suspect of the FAO's participation. The FAO does, indeed, overtly support the institutionalization of food security in national policies but not advance food sovereignty as a policy platform, in this way defending the executive branch's opinion. The involvement of this international body in a state's internal affairs, then, is subject to criticism to those who support an alternative platform.

Overall, the participation of government, civil society, and international actors in the policy process in Peru has demonstrated different strategies of participation. The executive branch defends its food security position and is backed by the FAO. Some members of the Congress are calling for a shift to the social movement proposal of food sovereignty. Civil society in alliance with this legislative proposal is challenging the hold of power by dominant forces that have shaped food and agrarian policy in the past. Some civil society members, however, are not satisfied with this participation, believing that the challenge should be stronger and more explicit. Besides their participation in the process, the actors are also engaging in strategies to impact the construction of the documents according to these policy positions.

Construction Strategy

Food security and food sovereignty are terms with heavy ideological weight attributed to them because of their use by certain actors in particular spaces. Policy constructed with either or both of these terms automatically carries that weight and, in the case of Peru, actors involved in the process articulated strong opinions about them. To diffuse the ideological charge associated with the terminology, one strategy of both the state and civil society actors was to disaggregate the elements of the terms, integrate the "authorized" elements into the policy frameworks, and avoid the polemic terms themselves. How each of the terms are used and what elements are chosen from each one to be included in the policy documents are the key questions in this section looking at the ways the construction of the policy documents confirm or contest the neoliberal food regime.

Through my interviews with stakeholders and experiences in meetings and forums, I identified key elements representing the principles of food security, food sovereignty, and the neoliberal food regime in Peru. Beyond seeing the terms themselves as indicators of support for or resistance to the neoliberal food regime, I identify components of each of these policy proposals integrated throughout the various policy documents. In this way, I argue, the various actors in the policy process strategically constructed the documents to include elements of both policy proposals, representing each of their positions. The result is the integration of "authorized" and, at times, defiant food sovereignty elements in food security policy, and food security components in the food sovereignty proposal, sometimes supporting and sometimes contesting the neoliberal food regime.

This section begins by highlighting the tension in terminology between the executive and legislative branches. It follows with a chronological listing of the uses of the terms of food security and food sovereignty within the documents and finally explores the disaggregation strategy of the policy construction by tracing the integration of elements of food security and food sovereignty in the documents.

Tension in Terminology

The implicit tension between the executive and legislative branches is exposed in each one's attempt to void the work of the other and based in a difference of opinion over the use of the term food sovereignty. This tension, embodied in the construction of the documents, impeded the policy process from moving forward to approve either of these documents. This is why the strategy of deconstructing food sovereignty into its more innocuous elements and inserting them into the National Strategy allows food sovereignty principles to be included without getting blocked because of the use of the term itself. Food sovereignty is interpreted as a threat to the current political economy of food in Peru, and for this reason not accepted by the executive branch, but some of its fundamental elements are "authorized" and therefore institutionalized without using the term itself.

The executive branch officially rejects the use of the term food sovereignty because, as they argue, there is no one standard definition or usage of the term the way there is for food security. In addition, as the Minister of Agriculture responded to a question I asked him at a public presentation, food sovereignty has a

> very strong ideological discourse; it is an element charged with autarchy that we should produce what we consume and consume what we produce…in Peru, it is not adequate for this country, a country that has decided for world integration. It is not a theme that we want to advocate from the Ministry of Agriculture. (Milton Von Hesse, presentation, 25 June 2013)

This perspective sets food sovereignty as antagonistic to free trade and open markets, two elements of the neoliberal food regime that the Peruvian government intends to protect. Cruzalegui echoed this position, saying

> in this country we talk about food and nutritional security and not food sovereignty. The proposal of the approved National Strategy is for food and nutritional security, because we are conscious that in our country we need to import food…additionally the topic of sovereignty, for us as a country with economic growth, the subscription to free trade agreements has been key to the growth in this country, in recent years, they have subscribed to treaties and international agreement with different countries that have permitted being

> able to send our production to other destinations, but also have better conditions for the importation of products that we don't have in this country. Therefore we defend for this reason the free market. We try not to position the term [food sovereignty] because it is not an internationally accepted concept, of what is understood as sovereignty. We didn't want to fall in the error of some misinterpreting and losing all this work that the country has done in the last decade mostly. (personal interview, 2 August 2013)

The executive branch sees food sovereignty as a threat to the free market, neoliberal political economy. The original ideology of food sovereignty as defined by Vía Campesina is, indeed, constructed to challenge these precepts. In the Peruvian reality, however, food sovereignty is interpreted differently. Congresswoman Claudia Coari disagrees with the executive branch's interpretation. In a July interview she declared,

> The way they are thinking is false…. [Agribusiness representatives] go before the Congresspeople and they say, 'Look, they are going to close us, look at the [Free Trade] Agreement….' But the Agreement in Peru is already done, we are not going to dispute the Agreement now; the free market is already done, no one can close it. What we want now is that the small-scale farmers can also have access, improve their production, and have enough. (personal interview, 11 July 2013)

Much of Coari's discourse centers around the binary of export agribusiness and small-scale family agriculture in Peru, but not as mutually exclusive sectors. She argues,

> Agroexporters have had their opportunity and they will continue to have it, but the medium and small producers also want to be a part of this, the market, they are wanting to improve their seeds, wanting to strengthen their agriculture, wanting to improve their livestock. The only way is that this law is going to be able to help the farmers have accessibility so that they can have enough economically….Maybe our government has never worried about the small-scale farmers, they only concerned themselves with those who produced in quantity and with chemical fertilizers to offer to the market. (personal interview, 11 July 2013)

Coari's comments put in stark relief the arguments for food sovereignty in Peru based on its particular political economy: a history of government investment in export agriculture that leaves small-scale producers excluded and marginalized from development.

Juan Pari, another Congressman in the Agrarian Commission, defends the use of food sovereignty, saying,

> there are a lot of people that think that supporting the concept of food sovereignty is a

> concept of a closed economy, an economy that is not linked with the external market, and related more so to the concept of what would be autarchy in the country, which it is not. There were diverse issues, fears from the government itself, fears even from the Congress and Ministry of Agriculture. They thought that this could lead to a risk of having conflict with the commitments that had been assumed by the country with other countries, that could conflict with issues of free trade. (personal interview, 11 July 2013)

While food sovereignty may represent an ideological position in some countries and in the original Vía Campesina definition, Pari supports food sovereignty for its content, not for its political demands, saying "one of the things that has done damage to this country is to ideologize processes and based on that ideologization, we begin to assume and conclude fundamentalisms" (personal interview, 11 July 2013). With this comment, it is clear that Pari is not interested in a debate over the ideological position of food sovereignty, in effect de-politicizing the term for its use in Peruvian legislation. Both Coari and Pari are in favor of including food sovereignty in the legislation, but they are willing to define it according to the executive branch's priorities for the free trade agreements in order to have the term used. This ultimately changes the intention of food sovereignty by transforming it from a radical social movement platform contesting the neoliberal food regime's constructs of free trade and market economy to a term that supports government policy.

The FAO was called in to negotiate this impasse between the executive and legislative branches about the use of food sovereignty. As Las explained,

> the government is rejecting its [food sovereignty's] use, because it is still a concept that is maturing, and one of the things that was brought up in the debate was that the concept as it was laid out could be interpreted as contrary to free trade, …what was added is that [food sovereignty] had to respect free trade…Civil society did not find this adequate. There were some people from civil society that said to me, 'If it's going to be like that, it's better that they don't put it at all.' Because it's true that one of the themes of food sovereignty is just that, a rejection of free trade. (personal interview, 16 June 2013)

This Peruvian definition of food sovereignty is not one developed by Via Campesina, known for their advocacy efforts against the World Trade Organization.[43] As Giovanna Vásquez of Oxfam

[43] See Vía Campesina's website for posts on WTO out of Agriculture: http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/actions-and-events-mainmenu-26/10-years-of-wto-is-enough-mainmenu-35

remarked regarding the approved definition of food sovereignty, "it is not a concept of food sovereignty necessarily" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). She believes that the law is an "important legislative framework, but not a real agenda of the Congresspeople…and Coari is the only one who brings the topic to the table" (personal interview, 8 July 2013). From her point of view, the law could be significantly improved, since food sovereignty is not at the level of a substantive, political debate in the country, just the debate that Pari believes would not be fruitful, favoring instead a depoliticized or symbolic version of food sovereignty that with wide enough appeal to pass into law.

One organization taking food sovereignty to the level of political debate is the National Agrarian Confederation. Nelly Pauccar, Executive Director at the CNA, calls out the economic interests that are defining policy proposals within the government:

> …the bureaucrats themselves that assume public office, we understand that they have a political bearing that does not allow them to confront too much the interests of those who have the higher control. For example – and this has been clearly visualized in the process of debate about the Law of Food Sovereignty –that it was proposed by the social organizations that have participated…, when in the next moment, they [the legislators] … ended up taking out the term food sovereignty,[44] which is clearly fear of confronting these interests that could close off the possibility of national, international agreements, where they set the economic interests that establish the rules of the game. We are clear that the concepts of food sovereignty are in confrontation with economic interest. We also have our hypothesis and we can affirm that the Peruvian state is held hostage by economic interests. Those who define the destiny of the country are businessmen who believe that development is the same as economic growth. (personal interview, 18 July 2013)

Food sovereignty pushes back at this model, however, offering a vision of alternative development with a focus on rural livelihoods instead of corporate agribusiness.

The threat that this version of food sovereignty places on established economic interests in Peru is what causes the fear within the government of using the term. To soothe this fear, another approach is de-linking Peru's version of food sovereignty from the international usage of other

[44] This was a version prior to the current June 2013 version where Food Sovereignty remains included. Pauccar also foresees the removal of food sovereignty in the final version, which would happen in December 2013.

neighboring countries or Vía Campesina where food sovereignty is explicitly political. As Moíses Quispe of ANPE, an organization not affiliated with Via Campesina, commented,

> They have satanized too much the topic of food sovereignty, with all this issue with Vía Campesina, at the international level, with all these issues, they have developed problems. We are proposing a sovereignty of the country. It cannot be the experience of Bolivia, nor Ecuador, nor Brasil. The Peruvian experience, reality, is something else…why be afraid?... Vía Campesina, according to our colleagues, proposes at a universal level, the right to food, human rights. Peru is another reality: to protect biodiversity, the increase in gastronomy, we have to recognize this, and start from there, the family agriculture in the country, which thanks to the gastronomy is growing, this fact of valuing. (personal interview, 2 July 2013)

These elements of food sovereignty identified by Quispe are presented as innocuous enough to be included into policy documents without representing a political position.

With no agreement over the use of the terms despite attempts on the part of Congress and civil society to re-interpret food sovereignty within a Peruvian context, the strategy of construction – implemented both intentionally and not – is to integrate the inoffensive or "authorized" elements of food sovereignty without using the term itself. This possible solution was considered at the negotiation meeting between the executive and legislative branch facilitated by the FAO so that, in Las's words, "if the problem was the use of the term, maybe [the solution is] not use the term but conserving the content…, which moreover would be something natural because the law and the policy are working on the same content" (personal interview, 16 July 2013). The Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation and ADG also noticed overlap between food sovereignty concepts and elements included in the National Strategy, which will be explained subsequently. Pauccar of the CNA recognized the risk of including the term food sovereignty overtly in the document: "the concern is that if we put as a proposal food sovereignty, we can generate rejection and that could represent greater limitation for advancing towards the approval of a law with this topic" (personal interview, 18 July 2013). With the understanding that food sovereignty had not been included in the final version of the law, she continued, "in this law that has been approved, even if they took out the

term sovereignty, we have achieved integrating concepts, content of sovereignty, like for example the topic of defending the earth, the importance of the land for the production of healthy foods, the importance of water resources. These themes have been positioned in the law so we consider this is already an advance; still, however, the debate does not end there." (personal interview, 18 July 2013).

Through close textual analysis of the two key food policy documents, it is clear that the use of the terms food security and food sovereignty alone do not necessarily represent an ideological perspective. Identifying the fundamental elements of each policy platform in the Peruvian context provides insight into the priorities of the stakeholders involved in the policy-making process.

Chronological Construction

Understanding what components of food security, food sovereignty, and the neoliberal food regime are included in the construction of policy documents leading up to and including the two key documents of this analysis reveals which elements are in line with the neoliberal food regime and which ones challenge the interests of the neoliberal model. By comparing two versions of the National Strategy (the 2004-2014 strategy and the 2013-2021 strategy) and the Supreme Decrees that established each of the Multisectoral Commissions responsible for the developing the National Strategy (DS 118-2002 and DS 102-2012), it is possible to track differences in the use of food sovereignty and food security terminology and elements. In the same way, comparing the June 2013 version of the bill and the December 2013 version of the bill, important differences emerge that elucidate the "authorized" and rejected principles of the food sovereignty proposal in the process of institutionalization into state policy. Table 3 provides a summary of this analysis.

Lead up: Executive branch documents

While food security was the chosen, official language for the first policy documents, food sovereignty and its elements make an appearance in the texts explicitly and implicitly. The first document establishing the intention and responsibility of the government to develop a food security policy, the 15th policy of the National Accord includes both food security and food sovereignty features. Food security is covered by commitments to food quality control, nutritional values, and special attention to vulnerable and at-risk populations through social assistance programs. Food sovereignty principles also subtly make their way in the text, through claims to "decrease dependence on food imports," prevent imports from changing national food cultures that would affect domestic food production, and create an "ethics code for the trade of food" (National Accord 2002, Agreement 15). These issues about reducing food imports to maintain healthy, culturally-appropriate eating patterns and protect domestic production are economic and cultural elements of food sovereignty that contest material interests. The text also challenges another element of the neoliberal food regime, agribusiness, by promising to "disseminate nutritional virtues of agribusiness derivates from local crops" and recover the value in local, traditional eating habits and nutritional information (National Accord 2002, Agreement 15). This tension between local knowledge and agribusiness technology is part of the underlying binary in the neoliberal food regime that food sovereignty seeks to expose. Lastly, as seen in the previous section, this document highlights democratic participation multiple times as a priority for implementing the policy, a political strategy of food sovereignty that challenges power relations.

The first step towards creating this promised food security policy, Supreme Decree 118 of 2002, formed the Multisectoral Commission for Food Security in order to write the National Strategy for Food Security. The Decree states that "it is the political will of the Peruvian State to contribute to national food sovereignty and security" (DS 118). Despite the use of the term food

sovereignty, the document does not represent a reconsideration of traditional notions of foreign relations, but rather confirms them by stating the first priority of the Commission to develop the National Strategy for Food Security "taking into account the international commitments assumed by the country" (DS 118). Surely referring to trade agreements, this language provides protection for Peru's place in the international market and commitment to the neoliberal food regime. One of the most active trade countries in South America, Peru signed the Andean Community Agreement in 1969, the World Trade Organization agreement in 1995 and the first of 17 bilateral trade agreements with Chile in 1998.[45] The tension between the use of food sovereignty and protection of international trade agreements continues in the current debate.

The National Strategy (2004) employs the standard elements of food security policy, focusing on the four pillars as presented by the FAO. A technical and detailed document, the National Strategy of 2004-2015 includes 21 long-term objectives with 51 measurable indicators as well as 106 short-term objectives with 125 indicators. The Vision and Mission stand out for using language that becomes important in the 2013 debates: a Vision of placing more attention on the national market and a Mission of "Providing better conditions to improve the availability, access, use, and stability of food to guarantee food and nutritional security in the Peruvian population, prioritizing vulnerable groups and those in extreme poverty, and contributing to the food sovereignty of the nation" (DS 066). The element of prioritizing the national market for agricultural and food products in the Vision is repeated as a general objective and central strategy ("*eje estratégico*"), and is an important element of the food sovereignty paradigm. The Mission provides an interesting mix of both food security and food sovereignty terms, reflecting that at the time, there was not strong opposition to the use of either one from within the executive branch of the government.

[45] For a full list with dates, see: http://www.sice.oas.org/ctyindex/PER/PERAgreements_e.asp

The four central strategies of the 2004 National Strategy with their objectives and indicators intermingle elements of food security and food sovereignty along with expressions of the neoliberal food regime. The first central strategy, to protect vulnerable groups, considers the right to food, a food sovereignty concept. However, the expected results include developing market knowledge and insertion for youth, adolescents, and "economic units," measured by business-oriented initiatives developed by young entrepreneurs and the quantity of clients and volume sold of agricultural products. This focus on commercializing food from rural populations to include in the market economy relates to social inclusion into the neoliberal food regime, where food is seen as a product to be sold and profited from instead of a human right or even a biological necessity. The second central strategy is increasing the competitiveness in the national market. While the focus is on domestic production and consumption, a goal related to the material base of food sovereignty, the objectives are related to strengthening the supply chain and access to the financial and lending market. The third strategy is connecting public, private, and civil society actors to manage risks. One objective towards this goal is integrating those actors in the market. Again, the document shows elements of participation and democracy from food sovereignty, but its market methods are based in the neoliberal food regime. The final strategy is a clear example of food security as expressed in Peru: an institutional framework to support the other pillars of food security, with a focus on cross-sector participation at all levels of governance, a remnant of food sovereignty ideals.

Food security and food sovereignty elements continue to mix in other executive measures, such as the Andean Diet Resolution (RS 306) which connects ideas of improving nutrition and eradicating hunger in the country and goals of food security with support of national agriculture, a food sovereignty principle. The national cultural pride for Peruvian agricultural crops emerges in this resolution to promote the consumption of national products in the Peruvian diet, such as potatoes, corn, and quinoa, among others. Besides the nutritional benefit of such foods, an element of food

security, the resolution celebrates how "Peru has offered to the world agrarian products of great transcendence for global food and gastronomy," highlighting that Peruvian cuisine is the "fruit of biodiversity and cultural diversity" (RS 306). This interest in diversity – both biological and cultural – is advanced in food sovereignty principles where food is valued for its relationship to the people who grow and eat it. The Andean Diet resolution also uses "multicultural" language to set up its support for small scale farmers to "incentivize the dynamism of the local, regional, and national economy and the wellbeing of thousands of men and women in the countryside" (RS 306). In this way, food sovereignty principles of improving the wellbeing of small scale farmers are infiltrated into a market focus within the neoliberal food regime.

The second Multisectoral Commission on Food Security established in 2012 (DS 102) echoes much of the text from the first version in 2002, but notably avoids any use of the term food sovereignty. The executive declaration marking 2013 as "The Year of Investment for Rural Development and Food Security" is a short document that does not use either food security or food sovereignty language, but does recognize the role of the state in improving the lives of the rural populations, a claim of food sovereignty for a more active state (DS 001). The methods described, however, reflect more of the neoliberal food regime: generating added value production, widening the agricultural frontier, developing technologies, strengthening productive capacities, and opening markets for Andean and Amazon products. Only the last objectives are consonant with food sovereignty values: conserving and reproducing ancestral cultivation and agricultural diversity, both types of agroecology valued by food sovereignty and more symbolic or cultural than material claims. Again, this document shows the integration of acceptable, non-threatening food sovereignty elements under the name food security, but also the infiltration of the material aspects of the neoliberal food regime in the conceptualization of food security.

Table 3: Components of Food Security and Food Sovereignty platforms in key Peruvian documents, compared with neoliberal food regime elements

Document	DS-118-2002	Natl Strategy 2004-2015	DS-102-2012	Natl Strategy 2013-2021	PL 635-2011-CR, version June 2013	PL 635-2011-CR, version Post-debate December 2013
Food Security	X	X	X	X	X	X
Availability	X	X	X	X	X	X
Access	X	X*	X	X	X	X
Utilization	X	X		X	X	X
Stability	X	X		X	X	X
Institutionalization		X*		X*	X	X
Nutrition	X	X	X	X	X	X
Neoliberal Food Regime						
(Free) Trade	X	X			X	
Open market		X*			X	
Food as product (commercialization)		X		X	X	X
Agribusiness/technology				X		
Investment strategies		X		X		
Food Sovereignty	X	X			X*	
Small-scale family farming				X	X*	X
National market		X*				
Associations				X		
Agroecology/Natural Resources		X		X	X	X
Participation/Democracy	X	X*	X	X	X	X
Food as culture		X			X	X
Food as human right		X	X	X	X*	X

Lead up: Legislative branch documents

The legislative proposals in 2011-2012 that led to the 2013 draft bill 635 include a mix of food security and food sovereignty elements. The first bill explicitly uses the title "Food and Nutritional Security" and references the National Strategy. Two other bills categorized under food security legislation use human rights language in their titles. The introduction of the right to food concept pulls on the human rights framework, a food sovereignty strategy.

Food sovereignty is only included explicitly in one bill presented by Claudia Coari. The language in this bill differs considerably from that in the previous legislative proposals and from the final language in the draft bill 635 because it explicitly engages with food sovereignty aspects that challenge the material base of the neoliberal food regime instead of just cultural or symbolic elements. From the beginning of the first section, called "Statement of Motives" ("*Exposición de Motivos*"), the focus is on the importance that small-scale producers have in ensuring food security and food sovereignty throughout the world. Food sovereignty is introduced as a platform of these same producers, and defined as "the right of peoples, communities and States to define their own policies and strategies of production…with the use of natural resources" (PL 977, section I / 1.1) Importantly, the bill delineates several reasons why food sovereignty is diminishing in most countries, including Peru: dominance of large transnational corporations in agriculture, the consolidation of agricultural resources like seeds in few agrochemical businesses, US agribusiness control of the world food market at a level of 85 percent, use of agricultural land for agrofuel products, dependence on transnational corporation to provide the five crops that form 80 percent of human consumption, and land concentration. These are clear economic interests of the neoliberal food regime that food sovereignty is set up to contest. The document comments on the Peruvian government's prioritization of agroexportation and international trade agreements causing the exclusion of small-scale production. The bill uses the policy of social inclusion to argue for food

sovereignty: "the policy of social inclusion should not be conceived as dependence or assistance, but rather as an opportunity to generate a more just and equitable society by exercising the rights and opportunities to generate equitable economic development" (PL 977, section II / 2.1). The idea of social inclusion relates to access to productive resources like land and information, elements of food sovereignty, as well as credit and technology, elements of the neoliberal food regime. With these simultaneous but potentially conflicting objectives, this bill shows like many of the documents described in this case study the inherent complexity and interconnectedness of these different visions for agricultural and food policy in Peru.

Throughout these initial documents, it is clear that food security is the dominant framework that the government is comfortable supporting. However, other policies not directly considered food security or food sovereignty, such as Peru's ban on genetically modified organisms, support food sovereignty principles and represent an even stronger position than governments who have already adopted food sovereignty into their national frameworks. Therefore, the construction of policy documents, not just their titles, is crucial to understanding the intention of the policy. How this phenomenon has continued in the current debates is explored below.

(De)Constructed Components

Looking in detail at the text of the National Strategy of 2013-2021 and the June 2013 version of bill 635, the documents represent conflicting positions in some respects, but have considerable crossover in others. By deconstructing representative examples in the two documents, it is clear that food security and food sovereignty components are mixed in the documents' construction. When food sovereignty was included in the draft bill, it was defined under neoliberal principles like the market economy and free trade. The result in both of the final (December 2013) documents is the inclusion of only food security terminology. Food sovereignty as a term was excluded in both of the

documents, but food sovereignty principles appear without the actual use of the term. These elements are mostly symbolic but at times represent political or economic challenges to the neoliberal food regime.

The most prominent element of food sovereignty integrated throughout both documents was small-scale, family agriculture. Many interviewees mentioned small-scale agriculture, either from the point of view of food security or food sovereignty. Because of the form of small-scale agriculture in the context of Peru, this demographic represents food sovereignty: poor peasants producing traditional products for the domestic market with indigenous and traditional agroecological methods on small parcels. For many I interviewed, small-scale or family agriculture was nearly synonymous with food sovereignty, and was identified as critical to achieving food security and food sovereignty. As Everardo Orellana of CCP stated, "food sovereignty is basically in the part of the rural world that is small agriculture, that is feeding this country in the local, regional and national markets" (personal interview, 10 July 2013). The focus on small-scale agriculture within the National Strategy, then, represents the inclusion of a food sovereignty principle within the construction of a food security-only policy. In bill 635, small-scale agriculture remains an important element with and without the explicit use of food sovereignty. The mixing of many elements of food security, food sovereignty, and the neoliberal food regime is evident throughout the National Strategy and the multiple versions of the draft bill.

Executive branch document: The National Strategy

The National Strategy never once uses the term food sovereignty; rather, food security is the focus. From the definition of food security in Section 1, the National Strategy integrates all the common pillars (availability, access, utilization, and stability) and includes a transversal pillar to ensure the implementation of the policy: institutionalization. This is a pillar particular to Peru and

designed to guarantee the implementation of the National Strategy through administrative channels, correcting the problem of the former Strategy that was never implemented. The Strategy depends on the definitions and terminology developed by intergovernmental agreements at the FAO's summits, demonstrating agreement with these definitions and usages. Representatives from the FAO and MINAGRI agree that in Peru, the key problem is access. As Cruzalegui says, "The problem is not that there is no food, the problem is that we have difficulties accessing it. Therefore, it is an issue of income" as well as physical access to the market (personal interview, 2 August 2013). Aitor Las of the FAO agrees: "Access is the principal problem of Peru; there is food, the problem is there is a population that does not have access to it" (personal interview, 16 July 2013). He complicates the issue even further, commenting that for the various regions of Peru, different elements of food security might be the priority in any given one.

The use of the standard definition of food security and its elements does not preclude the integration of food sovereignty components throughout the document, even without the use of the term itself. In the second section, the National Strategy outlines 8 key approaches ("*enfoques*") that mix food security and food sovereignty elements. The approaches include: the human right to food, territory, risk management, gender, interculturality, life cycle, sustainable development, and social inclusion. Excluding risk management and life cycle, these elements directly reflect construction strategies related to food sovereignty priorities, even though the term itself is never mentioned. These are considered below in order of appearance.

Food security does not use rights-based language but food as a human right is the first principle of food sovereignty (Vía Campesina, 1996). Moíses Quispe, Executive Director of ANPE, commented that Vía Campesina proposes "on a universal level, the right to food" (personal interview, 2 July 2013). Quispe also commented that "the right to food does not exist in the [Peruvian] Constitution….We are demanding that there is a fundamental right to food; the

responsibility of the state should be from the first moment the right to food" (personal interview, 2 July 2013). Vásquez from Oxfam also commented that Peru is one of the few countries that does not recognize the right to food in the Constitution. From an outsider's perspective, COECCI, a group that has been engaged throughout the process of drafting the National Strategy, defines food sovereignty as a "set of rights" and "jumping off point to achieve the goal of the Right to Adequate Food for everyone" (personal interview, 25 June 2013; see also COECCI June 2013). COECCI understands that food sovereignty starts with the basic food security goal, then adds a rights-based framework to the governance and implementation of that goal. Taking this perspective, the National Strategy uses food security terminology and food sovereignty principles.

This holds true for the approach regarding territory. A purely market-oriented policy would not consider where food is grown but rather its availability through any possible method. The National Strategy, however, recognizes how "territory or the spatial dimension is acquiring relevance in the formulation and execution of development policies, accompanied by processes of decentralization, democratization, municipal autonomy and local development with a participatory approach" (Section 2b). One key component of food sovereignty, and arguably a prerequisite to achieving it, is agrarian reform. The principle of agrarian reform from a food sovereignty perspective takes into account ownership for historically marginalized and underprivileged populations as well as decentralized governance systems (Vía Campesina, 1996). In the Peruvian context of heavy economic dependence on extractive industries like mining and export agriculture, the question of the use and governance of land becomes a key question for food policy. This is a material challenge to the neoliberal food regime that remains in the final text of the document.

Another key aspect is gender. While civil society representatives from both Oxfam and ADG believe that gender is not considered enough within the National Strategy, gender and the role of women in agriculture is included in the text, which reads: "Women play a very important role in

food security of families" (Section 2d). Women as key players comes up throughout both food security and food sovereignty discourse.[46] The role of women is a shared concern for both of these models. While this is arguably symbolic inclusion, the role of women sharing economic and political power could be portrayed as a type of material challenge to dominant economic interests.

Interculturality is relevant to the multicultural, diverse demographics in the Peruvian context. Interculturality is a perfect example of the symbolic inclusion of "neoliberal multicultural" elements in the policy documents. While the inclusion of culturally-appropriate food choices made its way into the definition of food security by 1996, intercultural governance of the food system is not a primary concern of food security policy. The National Strategy, however, approaches this topic by "supposing an open aptitude for dialogue, based on tolerance and respect for cultural differences… permitting the construction of harmonious relations among human beings of diverse cultural or ethnic identities" (Section 2e). Despite this proposition, the reality of achieving open, respectful dialogue can be impeded by the very fact of intercultural differences. As Nelly Pauccar of CNA manifested, there is often a disconnect between government policy and the reality of peasant communities: "The policies that are oriented to the peasant communities are not culturally pertinent, they don't manage to integrate the way of speaking of the indigenous people. This has to do with the topic of interculturalism" (personal interview, 18 July 2013). The 2007 Nyeleni Declaration on Food Sovereignty highlights many of these topics related to valuing cultural heritage and local traditions for "a world where…we value, recognize and respect our diversity of traditional knowledge, food, language and culture, and the way we organise and express ourselves" (Vía Campesina, 2007). If these topics seem better suited to food sovereignty, Cruzalegui would argue, "many people think that food sovereignty emphasizes the themes of identity, culture, and tradition; these are concepts

[46] See, for example, Via Campesina's 1996 Declaration of 2007 Neyeleni Declaration or the FAO's 2010-2011 report called "Women: Key to Food Security".

that we collect in the National Strategy" (personal interview, 2 August 2013). This is another example of cultural, symbolic food sovereignty concepts making their way into food security policy.

The sustainable development and social inclusion foci represent efforts on the part of the government to use internationally-accepted terms that soften the impact of neoliberal policies. Sustainable development, taking into account the human and environmental factors instead of just the economic, offers the goal of "accumulative and durable increase to improve, in an equitable way, the security and quality of the human life" (Section 2g). Although not stated, the "increase" presumably comes in the form of income or capital. Social inclusion also goes beyond economic interests, occurring when all citizens "can exercise their rights, access quality public services, and have the essential capacities to take advantage of the opportunities that open economic growth, and participate in the national community" (Section 2h). This use of social inclusion includes human rights, the responsibility of the state, economic growth, and citizen participation. Social inclusion and sustainable development are both buzz terms that can be integrated symbolically into national policy without any real substantive or material challenge to the neoliberal food regime.

The next section of the National Strategy covers international and national context. Since this has been covered earlier in my own analysis and the National Strategy section is a very detailed, statistical report, it will not be covered but does provide a helpful reference for baseline data as well as motivations for the need for food security.

In the fourth section, the National Strategy sets up a Diagnostic for Food and Nutritional Security in Peru. The central problem is that Peru does not have a situation of food security, as defined above. Each pillar of food security is then contextualized with the particular obstacles to achieving those goals in Peru (Section 4). Under the first pillar, Availability, various obstacles refer directly to concerns also brought up by food sovereignty. The first is the weak organizational capacity of agricultural producers (cooperativism – called "*asociatividad*"). Cooperativism has been a

focus of the Ministry of Agriculture[47] and organized peasant movements like the Peruvian Peasant Confederation (CCP). A former CCP leader and current advisor at MINAGRI, Andrés Luna lamented the lack of public incentives for producer associations since the time of the Agrarian Reform, saying, "for public policy, there was nothing that motorized or promoted the association of agrarian producers or the sectors located in the production of agrobiological products" (personal interview, 2 August 2013). Vía Campesina knows the importance of this solidarity, shown in their own organizational capacity as well as their advocacy for more democratic control of the food system. The Nyeleni Declaration states, "Food sovereignty is the right of peoples…to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations" (Vía Campesina, 2007). Peru's National Strategy does consider strengthening producer organizations, but according to the National Strategy, the problem of the current lack of organized production relates to market demands: "The consequences of the small agricultural and livestock producers not being organized is…that they end up with low negotiation capacity when confronted with the agents of the market due to their low volumes of production (small-scale economies) and heterogeneous quality of their products, which is also an additional limitation to gain access to different markets" (Section 4.1.a). The focus on increasing the access to credit for these producers is another entry into market access recommended for lowering this obstacle to availability (Section 4.1.b).

The other obstacles listed under Availability relate to land and sea use. The first and last subsections (Sections 4.1.c and 4.1.g) both comment on the same problem from two perspectives. The shared problem is the increasing production of industrial foods instead of direct human

[47] See recent articles on their website quoting Minister von Hesse on the importance of encouraging producers associations, for example 18 July 2013: http://www.minag.gob.pe/portal/notas-de-prensa/notas-de-prensa-2013/9276-ministro-milton-von-hesse-se-impulsara-la-asociatividad-para-lograr-el-desarrollo-del-agro

consumption, and this manifests with agricultural products (Section 4.1.c) as well as fish and marine products (Section 4.1.g). The National Strategy takes the position that this growing emphasis on producing food products for further industrialization is debilitating food security in the country, a direct critique of the neoliberal food regime production model. In terms of fishing, the National Strategy also observes that most of the seafood in the national market for direct human consumption is provided by artisan fishers who work informally and confront the same issues as described above for small-scale farmers.

Two of the subsections relate to technology (Sections 4.1.d and 4.1.e). The first is a critique of the lack of investment in research and development and technology. While specific examples are never provided, it is clear that the call for technology transfer refers to "Western" scientific technology that "generate the virtuous circle that generates improvements in the levels of production and competition, translating into improved wellbeing of the population" (Section 4.1.d). This external technology is contrasted with traditional technologies, and the problem of the "Low Valuation and Diffusion of Traditional Amazonian and Andean Technologies and Good Practices" (Section 4.1.e). These traditional technologies could also help generate greater production using indigenous knowledges. The inclusion of this element in the National Strategy represents a consideration of interculturality as well as traditional production practices, an element of food sovereignty known as agroecology.

Lastly, as the National Strategy highlights the inadequate use of productive resources, such as water and soil, and need for biodiversity (Section 4.1.f), it echoes the original Food Sovereignty Declaration which emphasizes the principle of Protecting Natural Resources: "Food sovereignty entails the sustainable care and use of natural resources especially land, water and seeds" (Vía Campesina, 1996). That the National Strategy includes these elements means the government is thinking beyond the neoliberal food regime framework that privileges production over protection.

What the National Strategy is missing, however, is an explicit comment on who is responsible for this protection and who has control of the natural resources. The original Food Sovereignty Declaration includes such a comment, saying first "Peasants and small farmers are denied access to and control over land, water, seeds and natural resources" in the current system, then proposing that "We, who work the land, must have the right to practice sustainable management of natural resources and to preserve biological diversity" (Vía Campesina, 1996). The idea of community control of land, productive resources, and policy runs throughout food sovereignty documents, but is a stronger confrontation to the neoliberal food regime powers than just the support of preservation found in Peru's National Strategy.

After this section on the obstacles to food security in Peru, the National Strategy includes a section on "Tendencies" (Section 5) covering the world economy, population growth, and climate change and their impact on food security. Then comes the Vision for the National Strategy, that "the Peruvian population satisfy its food and nutritional needs through access and consumption of safe and nutritious foods" (Section 6).

The National Strategy outlines Objectives and the actual Strategy itself in Sections 7 and 8 of the document. These sections reflect the blurring of the line between food security and food sovereignty. Pierre Rouschop of ADG commented after following the development of the National Strategy for many months that "If we take the Objectives of Food Security, they almost arrive at the proposals of Food Sovereignty" (personal interview, 25 June 2013). Within each of the five Objectives (the four pillars of food security and institutionalization) are supporting goals which integrate elements of food security, food sovereignty, and the neoliberal food regime, sometimes simultaneously. For example, the first goal of availability is "to promote and generate economies of scale in the atomized production of food with emphasis on family farming and artisan fisheries" (E 1.1). While the objective prioritizes small-scale family and artisanal farming, an element of food

sovereignty, the intention of the goal is to increase production and efficiency, a focus of the neoliberal food regime. Food sovereignty elements are woven throughout: sustainability, organizational capacity, and family farming. The objective does not give precedence to export agribusiness, but rather integrates market indicators: increasing productivity in volumes and quality, promoting financial and information-system access related to the market, creating legal frameworks for investment in agricultural land, all with the finality of "promoting a business development of these small producers that finally allows them to connect advantageously to the markets" (E 1.1). The goal of this Objective, then, is to integrate small-scale farmers in the operations of the market. In this way, food sovereignty elements included in the National Strategy are integrated into the neoliberal food regime model supporting the growth of markets, commercialization of food, and technological production.

The final and specifically Peruvian pillar of food security is institutionalization (E.5). Compensating for the lack of implementation of the former National Strategy (2004-2015), this section outlines a system throughout government to ensure the implementation of the current proposal. In this way, the National Strategy identifies the state as the key actor to guarantee food security for the Peruvian population, moving away from the transnational, corporate power of the neoliberal food regime. Institutionality is constructed through a National System of Food and Nutritional Security (E.5.1), a budget (E.5.2), and an evaluation and monitoring system (E.5.3), all of which involve three levels of government as well as civil society and the private sector (E.5.4). The document ends with lessons learned related to participation, institutionalization, and implementation (Section 9). One lesson sums up the approach of the National Strategy as a whole:

> The implementation of a National Strategy of Food and Nutritional Security requires counting on a public policy framework oriented to the competitive development of the production of food, investing in small-scale agriculture and artisanal fishery, promoting access to resources for the production and strengthening of the capacity of producers of food for their advantageous insertion in the market. (Section 9)

The elements in the construction of the National Strategy on Food and Nutritional Security represent the mixing of food sovereignty principles (small-scale and artisanal producers) with the neoliberal food regime framework (competitive production and market insertion). Instead of a food security policy based on an industrial food system, trade, and import dependence, the National Strategy sees food security as achievable through organizing small-scale production. This comes through in the national context when the document recognizes that the majority of food is produced on "*minifundio*" or small-scale parcels, and around 92 percent of all producers in the country are considered small-scale farmers (based on 1998 data) (Section 3.2.a). The immediate follow up to this reality is commentary on the need for these producers to modernize, through credit, technology, size, and yield –that is, to integrate into the neoliberal food regime.

Legislative branch document: bill 635

Just as food security and food sovereignty components are both integrated in the National Strategy, the legislative proposal also represents these two platforms. As of its June 2013 version approved in the two Congressional commissions, bill 635 included both food security and food sovereignty explicitly in the title with their respective definitions and throughout the document. Titled Law of Food Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security, bill 635 contained economic and symbolic elements of food sovereignty: preferential option for small scale producers, protection of agricultural land with titles including communal titles, development of local markets, equitable access to productive resources, promotion of agroecological production, capacity building for political, business, and association formation, and research on agrobiodiversity. This version of the bill also contained a definition of food sovereignty, but defined within the confines of the neoliberal food regime. This definition represents the vulnerability of this social movement platform to the cooptation of government in the process of institutionalization into state policy.

After the plenary debate in December 2013, however, food sovereignty was taken out of the title and text of the bill. While the above-mentioned elements of food sovereignty remain, the use of the term and its definition were both removed. The fact that in the end food sovereignty was not included, even with its coopted definition, speaks to the strength of the food sovereignty platform in resisting cooptation. The rejection of using food sovereignty explicitly means that the term still represents too much of a threat to the economic and political interests of the neoliberal food regime to be integrated into policy documents.

The definitions highlighted in the third section of the June 2013 version of the bill include: the Right to Food, Food Sovereignty, Food Security, Vulnerability and Risk to Food Insecurity, and Family Agriculture. The first definition, right to food, again bases itself on the international human rights framework, a strategy used by the food sovereignty framework. In Peru's legislation, the state is set as the guarantor of the human right to food, defined as consisting of food security elements of having access to enough, nutritional, and culturally appropriate food.

The second definition, food sovereignty, complicates the combination further: the text of the June 2013 version of the Bill states that Food Sovereignty "is the capacity of the State to define its own food, agrarian, and fishing policies in the framework of an open economy and respecting international treaties…" (Section 3.1.2). Food sovereignty policies are expected to value the knowledge of small-scale farmers, their production methods and their cultures as well as agrobiodiversity. In this Peruvian version of food sovereignty, however, food sovereignty is a proposal that upholds the international free trade agreements and simultaneously shifts the scale of national production to small-scale peasant farmers, who form the majority of producers for the domestic market. This interpretation of food sovereignty is a case in point of the global-local internal tension of the neoliberal food regime.

Next in the bill, food security is defined according to the four traditional pillars, with an

additional element of access to nutritional information. The related definition of vulnerability to food insecurity is a one-sentence technical explanation of inadequate nutrition or access to food due to an error in the provision system.

Lastly, family agriculture is given a section as a key element in Peru's agriculture, defined as "that which involves families that have agriculture as their primary source of income and priority use of labor force; it incorporates agricultural, livestock, agroforestry, rural industry, and rural employment" (Section 3.1.5). That this population is highlighted by receiving a special definition and consideration is the mark of strong advocacy from the Congresspeople and civil society organizations that represent this population and support food sovereignty, and a change from the traditional national focus on agribusiness export industry.

The next full section reviews the responsibility of the state (Section 4), very explicitly positioning the state as the actor that "guarantees, respects, protects, promotes, develops, and monitors" the actions related to the right to food (Section 4.1). By placing the state as the protagonist to ensure the right to food, and therefore food security and food sovereignty, the bill pushes against the neoliberal food regime's promotion of transnational policy spaces and privatization of the food system.

The June 2013 version of the bill also covers the key principles of food and nutritional sovereignty and security. These include: solidarity, equity, integral system, sustainability, transparency, decentralization, and citizen participation. While none of these explicitly support only food security or sovereignty, sustainability and citizen participation are themes strongly related to food sovereignty principles. Given the development of both of these policy frameworks over the years and the interaction between the two, it is not surprising that all of these principles may equally apply to either framework.

In the December 2013 version of bill 635, food sovereignty and its definition were removed.

This was a result of the plenary debate in the Congress at the end of the 2013 session. While the bill was not passed into law in 2013, it is expected to be passed in the form it took after the December 2013 session. Although the majority of the text remained similar in content and substance to the previous version (and much remained wholly unchanged), the major difference was the rejection of the use of the term food sovereignty in the title and the deletion of its definition.

On December 19th 2013, bill 635 was brought to debate in the Congressional plenary. The debate over the draft text revolved principally around the use of the term food sovereignty. As Congressman Dammert put it, at the core the text of both versions of the law are basically the same:

> For that reason, we support this bill, we support the final formulation. Maybe we would have liked better that the word 'Sovereignty' is included as the adequate concept. But it is not about one word, it is about the concept of a public policy of strategic character in the country and that it inaugurates an indispensable environment in national public policy. (Diario de los Debates, 19 December 2013)

The debate also included much discussion over the reality of agriculture in Peru, the role of small-scale farming, the reality of hunger and poverty, and the gastronomic boom. Congresswoman Martha Chavez opposed the law most vocally on many grounds, including claiming that the law was "demagoguery" that was manipulating and not really supporting the real interests of women (Diario de los Debates, 19 December 2013).

After the debate, the bill was voted upon and passed the first round of votes with 58 in favor, five against, and 20 abstentions. Another vote was taken to approve abstaining the bill from a second round of voting. However, Congresswoman Chavez appealed the vote, claiming that the law should be considered a modification of the organic law which would need 66 votes to pass (Diario de los Debates, 19 December 2013). This appeal was accepted and the process of approving the bill was frozen as of December 2013.

Because of the removal of the term food sovereignty from this final version of the text, peasant movement Peruvian Agrarian Confederation (CNA) removed itself from the policy-making

process. Seeing that the bill would be passed only as food security and in line with the government's policy and economic interests, this organization saw that their participation in the process was futile (Nelly Pauccar, personal communication via e-mail exchange, 25 March 2014). Others who remain at the table hope that this bill will be a step towards integrating food sovereignty into national policy in the future.

In the end, both documents include elements that challenge the neoliberal food regime: in the National Strategy, this challenge comes despite the exclusive use of food security; and in the Bill, this challenge prevails in spite of a definition of food sovereignty that is first integrated into the neoliberal food regime and then ultimately rejected. The policy-making process as it emerged in Peru around food security and food sovereignty holds important implications for a broader context.

Implications and Conclusions

The case of Peru provides new material for analysis of the trend of institutionalizing food security and food sovereignty into national frameworks. The neoliberal political economy and historically weak civil society in Peru differ from the cases of neighbors Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. The mere introduction of food sovereignty into the Peruvian political discourse alters the paradigm for the study of food sovereignty. Food sovereignty is both changing shape and changing the shape of food policy in Peru. This has implications for the food sovereignty movement and for the food policy in Peru and beyond.

The fact that food sovereignty has been defined within a framework of the neoliberal food regime in Peru should alert activists to the "menace" of neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale 2002). Perhaps despite the best efforts of Vía Campesina to contest the powers that be, food sovereignty remains vulnerable to cooptation by governments who view food sovereignty as a threat to the material foundation of the neoliberal model like free trade and open markets. The possibility of

cooptation of food sovereignty into the framework of the neoliberal model would have serious implications for the political strategies of Vía Campesina and other transnational agrarian movements advocating for the institutionalization of food sovereignty on the basis that it represents an alternative to the dependence on markets, trade, and production. Because of the novelty of the food sovereignty movement, there is not yet any comprehensive evaluation of the implementation of food sovereignty policy, but would be a helpful tool in directing future advocacy strategy.

While using the term food sovereignty does in some ways resist the neoliberal order because of the historical and regional usage of the term, Peru found a way to diffuse that ideology and integrate the term into a neoliberal context. This attempt at "neoliberal multiculturalism" – integrating an alternative, subaltern policy perspective from civil society in official state policy, but in a way that would advance, instead of contest, the neoliberal project – would ultimately have been a symbolic use of the term food sovereignty instead of a substantive, material policy framework.

The result of the food policy debate in Peru is most likely a rejection of the use of the term food sovereignty. This means that food sovereignty – despite a coopted definition – still represents enough of a threat to the material interests of the neoliberal food regime to be avoided.
What is not as much of a direct threat to the neoliberal framework but still institutionalizes food sovereignty in official policy is the integration not of the term, but of its elements throughout the documents. This subtle integration strategy is spreading food sovereignty principles – both symbolic and material – deeper and wider than the term itself.

Through this strategy, state actors do not feel threatened by integrating these more implicit elements into official policy documents since the documents still maintain the dominant policy position instead of mirroring socialist neighbors and potentially alienating international investors. Civil society actors, by disaggregating food sovereignty elements, can then insert those elements into documents and proposals that seem wholly focused on food security. In this way, the

implementation of food security will involve food sovereignty principles, implicitly challenging the alignment of food security with the neoliberal food regime.

This subtle integration strategy can be seen on an international scale. The FAO declared 2014 the "International Year of Family Farming", riffing off the food sovereignty focus on small-scale producers. The agrarian collectives in Peru are organizing political activities on this theme, and they are explicitly connecting it to food sovereignty, even if the FAO and Peru's executive branch are not. This one example in Peru represents the possibility for food sovereignty principles to make their way into national policy and international campaigns, strategically influencing mainstream policy positions and implicitly challenging the neoliberal food regime on a global scale.

Whether this type of integration strategy weakens the food sovereignty movement (by detaching or de-politicizing the term from its components) or weakens the government commitment to the neoliberal food regime (by pushing it beyond mainstream, internationally-accepted, market-oriented agricultural policy) has yet to be seen. Since food policy, and more specifically food sovereignty policy, is a new and emerging concept in Peru and around the world, ample material is not available for comparative study of the implementation of these policies; therefore, this research is limited to the stage of the policy-making process. The implementation of these principles of food sovereignty within food security policies will be another interesting process to watch in the future.

If the question is whether the food security and food sovereignty policy documents in Peru are confirming or contesting the neoliberal food regime, this analysis shows that they are, and they are not. Food sovereignty as a symbolic, coopted, institutionalized term and definition advancing the material interests of the neoliberal food regime emerged in draft but not final versions of the bill. The final result for both the National Strategy and the bill was the exclusive use of the term food security, with strategic integration of food sovereignty principles throughout both texts. The strategies of participation and construction used for the development of these documents facilitated

this final result that demonstrates a more complex reality than just a binary possibility of cooptation or resistance. This is a reality in Peru, and does not necessarily mean a weakening or cooptation of efforts to resist the neoliberal food regime. Instead, the policy-making process involving participation and construction strategies are realistic strategies of adaptation, to win small victories by deconstructing the neoliberal food regime within its own framework without an outright rejection. The strategies employed in Peru's policy-making process may be models for efforts towards the institutionalization of food security and food sovereignty proposals in the years to come in other countries and contexts around the world.

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