Rethinking Rural Development, Food and Agriculture in Colombia: Examination of Competing Narratives During the Agrarian Strikes and Negotiations 2013-2016

By

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To my parents, Liliana and Tayron. For their love and their light.

To my nephews and nieces, Juli, Juan, Malu and Jose Alejandro: the future generation.

Abstract

There has been a resurgence of interest in the Agrarian question in the developing world, especially in Latin America. Colombia's development trajectory cannot be fully understood without paying serious attention to the unresolved agrarian question. This thesis explores the negotiations that took place between the government and the agrarian movements in the aftermath of the 2013-2014 national strikes. For the first time in decades in Colombia, the national government agreed to negotiate with the representatives of the peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian peoples, the country's poorest and most marginalised communities. In this context, the thesis addresses the following questions: (1) what are the alternative narratives of food provision that emerged in the agrarian strikes and negotiations in Colombia in the period 2013-2016? (2) To what extent have new coalitions of agrarian movements emerged around alternative narratives of food provision? (3) How are alternative narratives interfacing with dominant ones, and what are the potential outcomes for agrarian policy? In studying the emergence of two national agrarian movements, the thesis argues that the debates on food provisioning - who produces what and who consumes what, where and with what effects - have become central, and that the different actors involved in them - agrarian movements, the state, and the food industry - have different and often competing visions. Conceptually the thesis goes on to argue that the agrarian question, beyond its conventional formulation, could be reframed as a question of food. In addition to being a contribution to scholarship on the Agrarian question in Colombia, the thesis addresses key issues for sustainable rural development, agri-food systems and the future of the peace-agreement implementation.

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"*The completed work is vanity, the process of the working is everlasting*", wrote Christopher Wiseman to his friend J R R Tolkien in a letter referring to their respective writing processes. This thesis is finally a completed project ready to go out into the world, but every word and every page herein has a story to tell. The process of the writing has been indeed everlasting, thanks to many who have joined me at various stages of this journey. My life has been enriched by their presence, which has illuminated my work in many different ways.

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Acronyms

ANIF: Asociación Nacional de Instituciones Financieras

ANZORC: Asociación Nacional de Zonas de Reserva Campesina

ASOCAÑA: Asociación Nacional de Cultivadores de Caña

CA: Cumbre Agraria, Campesina Étnica y Popular

CLOC: Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo

CNA: Coordinador Nacional Agrario

CNMH: Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica

COMOSOC: Coalición de Movimientos y Organizaciones Sociales de Colombia

CONPES: Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social

DA: Dignidad Agropecuaria por Colombia

DANE: Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadistica

ECLAC: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

EU: European Union

EZLN: Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

FARC: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia

FEDECAFÉ: Federación Nacional de Cafeteros

FEDEPAPA: Federación Nacional de Productores de Papa

FENSUAGRO: Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria

ICA: Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario

IFPRI: International Food Policy Research Institute

MCP: Movimiento por la Constituyente Popular

MIA: Mesa Nacional Agropecuaria y Popular de Interlocución y Acuerdo

MST: Movimiento de Trabajodores Rurales Sem Tierra

MUA: Mesa de Unidad Agraria

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

ONIC: Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia

PCN: Proceso de Comunidades Negras

PIC: Protección del Ingreso al Cafetero

UNAL: Universidad Nacional de Colombia

USA: United States of America

USTR: The Office of the US Trade Representative

1. Introduction

When I started my professional journey more than 10 years ago in Nariño, southern Colombia, rural development and the prospect of peace were hardly on the national development agenda. The region was going through one of its most difficult times in recent years. Thousands of people were being displaced from the rural areas by violent conflict; persistent confrontations between the army, guerrilla and paramilitary groups were everyday news; and coca cultivation and drug trafficking were on the rise. Poverty and inequality were persistent and at their highest levels. But in the midst of all these challenges, I met, and later on started working with, leaders of indigenous, peasant and African-Colombian communities from the zone who, despite the conflict, were doing their best to build a better future. For many of them, agriculture and the production of food represented not only their main livelihood but also the starting point for reconstructing their communities, villages and local economies. While they could easily have considered themselves victims and given up and moved to a city, as many others have done (by choice and often by force), they had a vision. They had hope for the future.

Ten years after that first encounter in Nariño with its rural leaders, our paths crossed again, this time in my role as a doctoral researcher at the University of Oxford. To my surprise, I found that many of those grassroots leaders who had been working at the local level with organisations and social movements had since made alliances with other organisations and movements in other regions of the country. Their work therefore had gone national and even international, as they were now linked with La Via Campesina, an international peasant

movement. I also learned that as a result of the agrarian strikes of 2013-14 many of these leaders were lead representatives in negotiations with the national government, specifically with the office of the President and the ministries of agriculture and the interior.

Many aspects had changed in 10 years. In 2005 I had met these agrarian leaders in remote rural villages of Nariño, discussing social, political and socio-economic alternatives for rural communities. In 2015 we met again, this time in the context of negotiations between national agrarian movements and the national government.

It was tempting to focus my research on this 10-year journey of the agrarian movements and the way in which they had scaled up their work and impact. It would be fascinating to analyse the way in which they have made political alliances with other agrarian movements and organisations, and, perhaps most importantly, to learn from the socio-economic alternatives that they have developed over time. This would include the implementation of agroecological practices in agriculture, the creation of cooperatives, food production, fair trade and other highly significant projects that these groups have embarked on at the local level. However, these trends have already received some attention,[1] certainly not as much as they deserve, but they have been documented and analysed.

But I also felt drawn by something as fascinating as their history, and that was the way in which the agrarian movements would use this accumulated

[1] Some examples include Muñoz (2018), who focuses on the construction of agri-food territories in Southern Colombia. Burnyeat (2018) explores the local peace-building processes of the peace community of San Jose de Apartadó. Rivera (2013) studies alternative development projects in the region of Magdalena Medio.

experience in negotiations with the government. So what I found to be more relevant, and what has received less attention and therefore could offer an original contribution to academic and policy debates, is the encounter between these two worlds: the (re)emerging national agrarian movements and the national government. They have been close allies in certain periods and arguably fierce enemies in others. This time both parties meet again in the context of agrarian negotiations. These negotiations, and the journey that brought together these actors at the same table, constitute my case study.

In this work, I endeavour to offer a vivid picture of the first moment in which agrarian movements, having consolidated national alliances, sat at the negotiations with the national government to discuss the historical and ongoing agrarian crisis, as well as its future in the context of peace and post-conflict development, particularly of those communities who have been marginalised and excluded by the prevalent economic model and policies that the country adopted decades ago.

I must mention in this context that my research brings together and is influenced by my experience as a development practitioner and by the fact that I am Colombian. I have worked both in local non-government organisations (NGOs) and in international development organisations. This development experience, from the rural areas of southern Colombia, the Pacific Coast and the coffee-growing regions to office spaces in Bogotá, has shaped my views and understanding of the development challenges in Colombia, and has also at the same time influenced and encouraged my research work.

Having the opportunity to interview different parties at the table – agrarian leaders, government officials and United Nations facilitators – and having

attended several negotiation sessions between them, I found two aspects to be striking. First, as the agrarian movements had long trajectories at the local level, and an emerging presence at the national level, I expected the issue of land to play a more central role in the debates. Surprisingly, while this issue was on the negotiation agenda, it was mostly absent in their discourses and debates. Second, it was surprising to see the prominence of the food-provisioning debate (*la provisión y abastecimiento de alimentos)* in their discussions and on the negotiation agenda.

The debate on food provision was new for me, and to a certain extent it was also new for them. Other issues had been negotiated and discussed before, such as land distribution, social services provision, state support for agriculture, and the human-rights situation. But I felt that the food-provisioning debate was one of the central questions at the table, and one that created more conflict. So while there could have been many other interesting and relevant options for focusing on these negotiations, I chose food provisioning, in the context of the agrarian negotiations, as the main focus of my research. Furthermore, instead of focusing only on one of the parties at the table, I decided to undertake an analysis of the ways in which the ideas and visions (narratives) of food provisioning adopted by the national and sub-national governments and by the agrarian movements interact in the context of these negotiations.

As we will see in this chapter and in Chapter 2, there is extensive research that has focused on agrarian movements and their quest for food sovereignty. Less abundant is the literature on the role of the state in regards to food sovereignty (Chapter 6). But the unique feature of my research is the study of the interaction and encounter of these actors, and the analysis of their points of

conflict, contention and agreement. I argue that not only are these spaces of dialogue and negotiation, rarely seen in recent years, essential for a more democratic debate about the future of food and agriculture in Colombia, but the analysis of these spaces also provides practical and conceptual insights into the role and implications of negotiations in agri-food systems.

In the course of my doctoral research, a peace process was negotiated and signed between the government and the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, Ejército del Pueblo* (FARC-EP) (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, People's Army), bringing more than 50 years of violent confrontation to an end, and sending the country in a new direction: that of peace building. Not surprisingly, agrarian issues, including land distribution, rural development and the right to food, were at the top of the peace agenda. My initial research questions did not focus on the peace negotiations, but on the agrarian negotiations between government and agrarian movements, particularly on the debates about food provisioning. But, given the centrality of agrarian reform for the peace process, my findings and insights are highly relevant for the present and future of the peace-agreement implementation.

During the past five years most of the media and academic attention has been focused on the peace negotiations, agreements, and early implementation. But virtually no attention has been paid to the national agrarian negotiations that took place at the same time. This work is an attempt to cast light on these dialogues and their background and analyse them in the light of the food-provisioning debates.

The agrarian strikes 2013-2014 and negotiations 2014-2016

This brings me to the main empirical focus of my thesis: the agrarian strikes of 2013 and 2014 and the subsequent negotiations between newly emerged agrarian movements and the national government. My research journey begins by exploring events of the 19th of August of 2013, which was the first day of the "national agrarian strike", and subsequent weeks. Peasant mobilisations took over and blocked many national roads across Colombia, disrupting the transportation of goods and passengers. Food became scarce in many cities, prompting an increase in food prices at the national level. The national government relied on a police response in the first instance, but due to the enduring road blocks and urban mobilisations it opened up for dialogue and negotiation with the different parties coordinating the strike. Three weeks after the first day of the strikes, they came to an end with the government signing 22 agreements across the country and the President attending final negotiations in Tunja and Ipiales, and the Vice-President attending negotiations in Popayan.

While most of the academic research has been focused on these three weeks of August-September, the most profound impacts came in the weeks and months that followed. So my research journey continues to explore the main events and developments during the year following the national agrarian strike, examining how and why two national social movements emerged – *Dignidad Agropecuaria por Colombia* (DA) and *Cumbre Agraria, Campesina Étnica y Popular* (CA) – and their later engagement in negotiations with the national government in the period 2014-2016.

In following this journey of two national agrarian movements and their negotiations with the government, I will argue that while the more traditional

aspects of agrarian struggles (such as the demand for land redistribution) continue to be on the agenda of the agrarian movements, a new debate on food provisioning has also emerged. This debate has emerged not only on the agrarian movements' side, but also on the government's side. I will also argue that these discussions link the debates on national agriculture with global dynamics of food and agriculture.

In summary, the contributions of my thesis are threefold: methodological, empirical and conceptual. Methodologically, my research contributes an innovative approach to studying agrarian change by analysing competing narratives of food and agriculture across scales and sectors. In the first instance this included studying the face-to-face negotiations between agrarian movements and the national government, identifying tensions and the main points of discussion. This was complemented by interviewing a wide range of actors, from high-level officials from the Ministry of Agriculture in their offices in Bogotá, to agrarian leaders in towns and cities, to potato, coffee and dairy farmers in the countryside. The analysis of these negotiations with a multi-scale and multi-sector perspective provides new methodological elements for a more comprehensive analysis.

Empirically, the contributions of my thesis are, first, a first-hand analysis of the agrarian strikes in the period 2013-2014 which identifies the links between the mobilisations and the wider political-electoral context. And related to this, evidence of the background, emergence, interests and networks of two national agrarian movements (Chapter 4). By doing this in a comparative way, I show their diversity, heterogeneity and differentiation. Second, my thesis brings the agrarian negotiations between agrarian movements and the national

government into public scrutiny. I documented not only the sessions that I attended as an observer but also press releases, public letters from the participants and news articles (Chapter 5).

Conceptually, my thesis proposes a framework and research agenda to reframe the agrarian question, in its conventional way, as a question of food (Chapters 2 and 3). By building on the concepts of agri-food systems and food-regime analysis, and by discussing the conceptual and practical differences between food security and food sovereignty (Chapter 6), I elaborate on the background and emergence of the food-provisioning debate. I argue that this debate is central to the negotiations about the future of food and agriculture between actors with different and competing visions. Using this framework, I argue, goes beyond narrow, sectoral studies and brings together, in the same framework, actors that have been studied separately, such as agrarian movements, the food industry and the state, thus enabling a more comprehensive understanding of food and agriculture dynamics and transformations.

The present chapter continues as follows: to contextualise my research I provide an overview of the complexity and pressing challenges of food and agriculture in the 21st century. This global context allows me to introduce the main problematic that I focus on in my research: the debates about food provisioning. This is followed by an outline of the conceptual framework that I will use throughout the thesis. Within this general context I turn to an overview of Latin America and Colombia which sets the scene for my research questions and methodology. I finish the chapter by providing the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Food and agriculture in the 21st century: challenges and contradictions

The global challenges for food and agriculture are deeply problematic. The global agri-food system has failed to eradicate poverty, hunger and malnutrition, and to curb biodiversity loss and climate change (Millstone et al., 2009; IPES-Food, 2016; FAO, 2016). In addition to this, agricultural production needs to double to meet the growing need: a global population that will reach nine billion by 2050 (FAO, 2009). Obviously, beyond a neo-Malthusian problem of producing enough food for a growing population, there are more complex challenges. Despite the fact that enough food is produced to feed the entire global population, 821 million people remain undernourished (FAO et al., 2018) and two billion suffer either malnutrition or obesity (IFPRI, 2016). The challenges are not only in the social sphere but also in the environmental sphere: agriculture, forestry and changes in land use contribute one-fifth of global greenhouse emissions (FAO, 2016; Smith et al., 2014), and the expansion of the agricultural frontiers is an even greater threat to biodiversity than climate change (Perrings and Halkos, 2015; Maxwell, et, al., 2016).

Millstone and colleagues (2009) contend that the global agri-food system has perverse trends that include providing most help to those who need it least, and least help to those who need it most. Wealthy governments provide financial and regulatory support to agricultural enterprises, while farmers in poor countries have to compete in the global market with limited technical and financial resources and with lack of political support. In addition, only a minority of rural populations are connected to the global food economy through contracts with agri-businesses and supermarkets, while others are struggling

for food security and survival, with fractured livelihoods and deteriorating natural resources.

Overall, Millstone and colleagues (2009) underscore the centralised and undemocratic character of the food system, arguing that the policy decisions and corporation actions were never voted for by the people of the world. McKeon (2015) adds that the decisions that affect the food security at the national and global levels are in theory open for democratic debate among different groups, but

> most often the table is located behind closed doors, and the most affected and vulnerable are not welcome to sit at it. Even where anything that remotely resembles inclusive negotiation takes place, dynamics are affected by the power relationships among interest groups and by the degree to which states successfully carry on their function of mediation in the common interest. (McKeon, 2015, p.3)

The centralised and undemocratic character of the food system is largely due to the fact that corporations have emerged as powerful decision makers in today's food system. Before the 1990s, the food system was state-driven. National governments would make the main decisions about food and agriculture (Clapp, 2016). But since the neoliberal restructuring, corporations have taken centre stage, expanding their influence from the provision of agricultural inputs (seeds, fertilisers, etc.) and direct investment in food production to the commercialisation and retailing of food (Patel, 2007; Clapp, 2016; McKeon, 2015).

While there are different graphic ways of representing the food system and its components (as we will see in Chapter 2), one way of representing the contemporary food system and its politics is the image of an hour-glass, as

discussed by Patel (2007), Millstone and colleagues (2009) and Clapp (2016). The hour-glass illustrates the concentration of power in the food system. At one end are millions of farmers producing food, at the other end are millions of consumers, and at the narrow middle point are a few companies that buy and sell these foods, controlling vast segments of the market (Patel, 2007; Millstone et al., 2009; Clapp, 2016). Cases in point are the global grain and seeds markets. Approximately 90 per cent of the global grain trade is controlled by three companies: ADM, Bunge, and Cargill (IPES, 2015). In addition, another three companies, Monsanto, DuPont, and Syngenta, control 47 per cent of the worldwide proprietary seed market (ETC Group, 2008).

This concentration in the food system has been magnified by a recent wave of corporate “mega-mergers”, in which the largest corporations producing agricultural inputs have merged to form even larger companies. This is the case of Dow and Dupont, the two oldest chemical firms in the USA, which merged in 2015, ChemChina’s purchase of Syngenta in 2016, and the Bayer-Monsanto merger in 2018. In Colombia, as I will analyse in Chapter 3, one company (Grupo Nutresa) controls 73 per cent of the country's processed meat market, 53 per cent of the cookies market, 52 per cent of the ground-coffee market, and 51 per cent of the pasta market (Nutresa, 2016).

Given this power imbalance and growing inequality in the food system, social movements have acquired a central role in revealing these dynamics and articulating alternative paths of development (Kay, 2015; McMichael, 2006; Vergara-Camus, 2017). Among the social movements that have emerged in recent years are Alternative Agri-food Movements (AAM), which address different aspects of the food system such as fair trade, organic production, slow

food, food sovereignty and food justice, among others (Constance et al., 2014). One of them, La Via Campesina (LVC), is an international peasant movement which under the banner of food sovereignty defends small-scale agriculture, opposes corporate-driven agriculture, transnational companies and neoliberal policies, and proposes radical changes in the global agricultural model (Desmarais, 2009; Desmarais et al., 2014). In Latin America, this dynamism is reflected in transnational rural social movements such as the *Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo* (CLOC) and *Cumbre Continental de Los Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas de Abya Yala*, who have been active in challenging neoliberal policies and campaigning for social justice - particularly for ethnic, racial and gender equity (Desmarais and Royce, 2009).

All in all, the contestation posed by these Alternative Agrifood Movements and the alternatives that they propose have galvanised a counter-movement against neoliberal globalisation (Constance et al., 2014) and have put at the centre a critical reflection on the directionality, distribution and diversity of the global agri-food system (Millstone et al., 2009). In which socio-technical directions is the system moving? How are resources distributed within the system, and how diverse is it? These questions require a rethinking of policies, regulations and academic research in ways that help to expand our understanding of food and agricultural systems, including their actors and relations (Millstone et al., 2009), policy regulation (Gollin and Adams, 2015) and reconnecting local food systems with national and global strategies (De Schutter, 2014).

1.2. What's in a name? Approaching the elusive concept of food provisioning

In the context of the challenges of food and agriculture mentioned above, I will focus throughout this thesis on food-provisioning debates. What is food provisioning? There is not a formal definition, but I refer to it broadly as the debates that relevant actors or stakeholders engage in about the provision of food: where, who and how. These stakeholders include those who provide food as an output, such as farmers, agribusinesses and the food industry, as well as those who can make policy and market decisions that will affect this provision, such as the state and consumers. The debate is better framed by some of the food-regime analysis (Chapter 2), posing certain central questions:

- ➔ Where, how and by whom is food produced?
- ➔ Where and how is food consumed, and by whom? What types of food?
- ➔ What are the social and ecological effects of food production and consumption?

The debate of food provisioning is situated within the human rights agenda, particularly related to the right to food, established in the Human Rights Declaration in 1948 and expanded in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICEHR) of 1966. In this document, the right to food is described in article 11 as "the right of everyone… to adequate food" and "the fundamental right… to be free from hunger and malnutrition". And among the measures to fulfil this right, it mentions the need to "improve methods of production… developing or reforming agrarian systems…" and "taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries to ensue an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need". In

this context, the debates of multiple stakeholders about the ways in which food can be provided, and the role of the state in these discussions, is closely connected to the right to food and to the human rights agenda at large and therefore has core implications for their fulfilment.

In the wake of the global challenges of food and agriculture mentioned above, and the pressing discussions of food security and food sovereignty (which I address in Chapter 2), one of the responses to the debates on food provisioning has been framed as part of the narrative of "feeding the world" (FAO, 2009; IPES, 2016). This narrative, which has become dominant, takes a global perspective on the problem in terms of a growing world population (an estimated 9 billion by 2050) and the pressing need to boost food production through industrial agriculture connected to global value chains.

Private corporations and international organisations have engaged in the use of this narrative. Monsanto, the giant agribusiness firm, frames its activities by claiming that "*to feed everyone, we'll need to double the amount of food we currently produce*" (Monsanto, 2018). The 2014 Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) report entitled "How Latin America Can Feed the World" states: "*addressing humanity's greatest challenge - finding sustainable ways to feed rapidly increasing numbers of people around the world - is Latin America's great opportunity*" (Zeigler and Truitt, 2014, p.1).

This drive to increase quantities of export-oriented food and the urgent call to governments and producers to "*work together to meet the food demand*" (Zeigler and Truitt, 2014, p.1) has been highly contested by alternative voices which argue that the problem cannot be framed solely in terms of quantity of food for the global market. Instead, these voices - of social movements,

academics and other policy makers - frame the challenge as the re-localisation and sustainable transformation of food production by small and medium producers. For example, the International Panel of Experts in Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food, 2016) addresses the opportunities offered by short supply chains in terms of including marginalised producers, and the implementation of agroecological practices. La Via Campesina, the international peasant movement, advocates local food production and consumption and the protection of local producers from cheap food imports in each country (La Via Campesina, 2018). Scholars such as Constance and colleagues (2014) discuss the potential of food provisioning by local food systems and local food production through peasant agriculture.

These competing visions of food provisioning and their narratives are at the heart of this research. Focusing on these debates reveals key aspects of the politics of food, illustrating the power wielded by different actors and their interests. Further, I will argue that the food-provisioning debates can also offer a starting point for understanding agrarian mobilisations against globalisation.

These dynamics of food and agriculture, which range from local spaces to the global stage, which are posing challenges for environmental change and which involve a multiplicity of actors with competing interests at various levels, must be studied in the light of frameworks that can embrace the complexity of these dynamics.

1.3. Agri-food systems and the rural poor: a normative departure

Almost 10 years ago scholars at the Social Technological and Environmental Pathways to Sustainability (STEPS) Centre (Thompson and Scoones, 2009; Millstone et al., 2009; Leach et al., 2010) outlined an emerging agenda for social science research on agri-food systems dynamics that, in spite of the global challenges of food and agriculture, could foster (1) thinking about agricultural development using a systems perspective, including non-equilibrium dynamics, spatial, temporal and cultural variation, and complexity and uncertainty; (2) rethinking agriculture-related natural and social sciences by focusing on agroecological interactions, principles and histories, and situated analysis of “people in places”; (3) paying attention to the governance and politics underlying such systems; and (4) discussing the ways in which these elements contribute to sustainability thinking and practice.

Particularly important for this research agenda were a set of normative questions, including the following:

> how can agri-food systems contribute to the ultimate goals of poverty reduction, social justice and environmental sustainability? Furthermore, in a fundamentally unequal and undemocratic agri-food system, how can poor people in developing countries negotiate pathways to sustainability through agriculture? (Leach et al., 2010 p.52)

While these questions were formulated a decade ago, they remain highly pertinent today, particularly to the Colombian context, where agriculture still provides an important source of livelihood for the rural poor, now at an early stage of a post-conflict phase. The assumption is that there may be various

ways of enhancing the relationship between complex agri-food systems and poor people in developing countries, and that “poor rural people often have relevant agricultural knowledge” (Thompson et al., 2007, p.14), are especially relevant for this research.

In the course of this decade, new, vibrant and diverse research in agri-food systems has emerged, exploring aspects such as resilience, social movements, governance and complexity, providing new elements for the analysis of agri-food systems in multi-disciplinary ways, as I will discuss in Chapter 2. Yet, as discussed above, multiple challenges have persisted and new complexities have emerged. This work constitutes a contribution to this research agenda.

1.4. Food and agriculture in Latin America: current trends

The regional focus of this thesis is Latin America, taking Colombia and its negotiations between agrarian movements and the national government as a case study. Latin America has had a particular history which sets it apart from other regions in the world: from the colonial legacy to incomplete or reversed agrarian reforms, to the development of capitalism, to the integration of its agriculture into the global economy.

In recent years the region has become a net agricultural exporter, with the rise of agribusiness and the increasing participation of “translatino” capital in food and agriculture, along with newer and stronger trade exchanges with China (ECLAC, 2017). But at the same time poverty remains and the inequality gap has widened (ECLAC, 2016).

From the early years of this century, Latin America and the Caribbean have become net agricultural exporters. The region exports more agricultural products than it imports, and its current share in the global agricultural trade is 13 per cent,[2] higher than that of North America and sub-Saharan Africa (Figure 1.1).

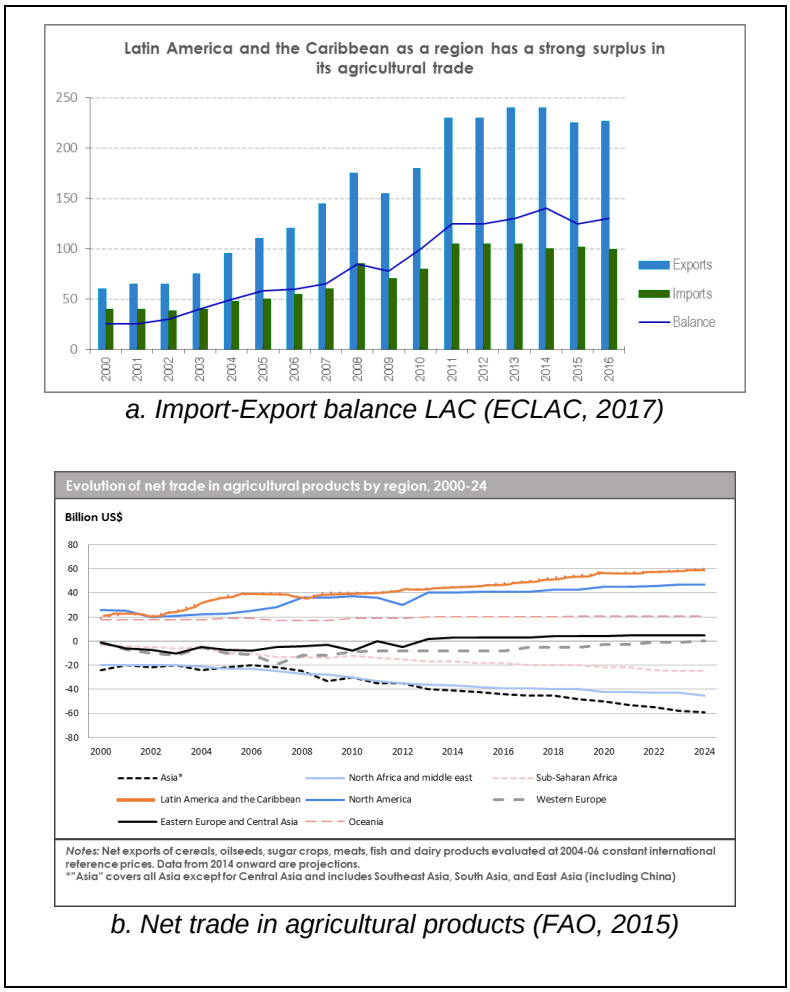
Argentina and Brazil[3] have emerged as strong players in the Latin American agricultural trade, accounting for 80 per cent of the region's agricultural exports. The lead products that Latin America exports are coffee, banana, and soybean, mainly to Asian markets, as well as to the USA, European Union and other Latin American countries (ELAC, 2017).

The increase in Latin American agricultural exports responds to a large extent to the implementation of neoliberal policies implemented since the 1990s. In this context, three trends have developed in the region. First, the dominance of corporate capital and farming. Conglomerate capital coming from other Latin American countries has led to heavy investment in land acquisitions and agribusiness expansion, leading not only to land concentration but also to a concentration of capital (Kay, 2015). For example, the area cultivated with soya in the region has multiplied by 40 times since the 1970s, and the area devoted to crops such as palm oil and sugar has increased significantly (Borras et al., 2013). This has led to a second trend: the emergence of the cluster based on human food, animal food, and biofuels (also known as food-feed-fuel),

[2] Brazil and Argentina account for more than 80 per cent of this agricultural surplus (ECLAC, 2017).

[3] The agricultural sector in Brazil has become so central that it actually has two ministries. The first is the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply, whose mission is to "promote sustainable development and competitiveness of agribusiness" to meet domestic supply and produce exportable surplus (MAPA, 2018). The second one is the Ministry of Agrarian Development, which is responsible for "land reform, sustainable development and strengthening the rural sector formed by family farmers" (MDA, 2018).

involving the production of soy, maize and sugar cane. These are “flexi-crops” that can be used for any of these purposes, hence attracting capital investments (Borras et al., 2013).



a. Import-Export balance LAC (ECLAC, 2017)

b. Net trade in agricultural products (FAO, 2015)

Figure 1.1. Import-export balance in Latin America

Thirdly, the expansion of these crops has led to the dynamics of land grabbing,[4] in which transnational investments in land and agribusiness displace rural populations, many times forcibly, so that private corporations can use these lands for the crops mentioned above. Cases of land grabbing have been

[4] "Land grabbing" is a contested term. FAO defines it as having three main characteristics: (1) large-scale land acquisition; (2) involvement of foreign governments; and (3) negative impact on the food security of the host country. But Borras et al. (2013) argue that a definition of the term should include (1) not only “land” grabbing but also “control” grabbing, as it often involves not only land but its associated resources such as water; (2) not only the scale of land acquisitions, but also the capital involved, as a measure of analysis; and (3) not only a focus on the threat to food security but also a focus on fuel production and climate-change mitigation.

reported in the region, particularly in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Mexico and Costa Rica (Borras et al., 2013).

Parallel to these dynamics of agriculture, and reflecting the dynamics of exclusion and social inequality that rural communities have experienced, is the rise and impact of rural social movements. Among the most visible and effective ones are the *Movimiento de Trabajadores Rurales Sem Tierra* (MST) in Brazil, *Ejército Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional* (EZLN) from Mexico and *Coordinador Latino Americano de Organizaciones del Campo* (CLOC), a regional transnational social movement. These social movements are making central agrarian problematics evident for all to see. For example, MST has campaigned for land redistribution in Brazil (Carter, 2009) and the EZLN in Mexico advocates agrarian reform (Vergara-Camus, 2014).

The emergence and impact of these groups is connected, as Vergara-Camus and Kay (2017) argue, with the rise of left-wing governments in Latin America during the early years of the present century. In Bolivia, Ecuador and Argentina, alliances between and support from peasant and ethnic groups were successful in achieving the election of left-wing governments. While it was expected that these governments would implement agrarian reforms in favour of these groups, Vergara-Camus and Kay (2017) report very little progress. In fact, during their tenures, these governments made alliances with agri-businesses.

Latin America has not only been a place where the dominant agricultural model has been installed and expanded, and where agrarian movements are contesting it: it has also been a place where alternatives are being developed. For example, the agroecology movement in which civil society and academics

have come together has been developed over the past few years (Holt-Gimenez, 2006; Holt-Gimenez and Altieri, 2012; Rosset and Altieri, 2017).

Agriculture in Latin America has been in a process of continuous transformation, more dramatically since the introduction of neoliberal policies, but none of these changes has eliminated rural poverty, exclusion or landlessness. To a certain extent this explains peasants' uprisings and the emergence of alternatives to the dominant perspectives of development. The region does not tell the whole story of global food and agriculture dynamics, but it tells an important part of it. Its trajectory of agrarian change, its socio-economic and political transformations since the rise of neoliberalism and the emergence of agrarian movements and alternative development projects, are particular aspects of the region that deserve attention.

Among Latin American countries, Colombia provides a unique context for studying the debates on food provisioning.

1.5. A country of regions

A key aspect of Colombia's unique historical development and agrarian change dynamics is its varied geography and the diversity of its regions.[5] Located in the northern tip of South America, its territory is divided into five ecological and geographical regions: the Western Pacific coast, the Northern Caribbean coast, the north-eastern lower planes, the south-east Amazon, and the Andes, of which western, central and eastern mountain ranges (rising to 6,000 metres)

[5] In *Mapping the Country of Regions* Appelbaum (2016) explores the nineteenth-century Colombian expeditions whose main goal was to collect cartographic and ethnographic information across the country. Appelbaum argues that the imaginary and narratives of Colombia as a "country of regions" have their roots in the discovery of the diversity of the country through these nineteenth-century expeditions.

cross the country from south to north. These varieties of altitude and climate make Colombia the second most biodiverse country in the world after Brazil. With an area that represents 0.77 per cent of the world's land area, it hosts approximately 10 per cent of global animal and plant species (Instituto Humboldt, 2018).

Today, the majority of the Colombian population is urban. According to estimates by *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadistica* (DANE), of 49.8 million Colombians, 77 per cent (38,295,351) live in urban areas and 23 per cent (11,538,889) live in rural areas (DANE, 2018). While indigenous and African-Colombian communities are officially recognised in the constitution, peasants are not. There are 87 indigenous communities that account for 1,378,884 people, representing three per cent of the country's population. Likewise, communities of African descent live in 132 *Territorios Colectivos de las Comunidades Negras* (collective territories) and account for 4,717,269 people, who constitute almost 10 per cent of the Colombian population (DANE, 2018).

The fact that peasants are not officially recognised under the Colombian constitution makes it difficult to calculate an approximate number of this population, because they have not been counted as such in the national population census. Nonetheless, the 2014 agrarian census, the first since 1970, provided up-to-date information. Having covered the totality of the rural area of the country (111 million hectares), it found that there are 2.7 million producers, 1.9 million of whom are considered as "*no residentes*" (not living in their productive units) and 725,000 as "*residentes*" (living in their productive units).

Although the 2014 agrarian census ignored land-ownership issues, it still reflects the contrasting realities of the Colombian countryside: 69.5 per cent of all producers work in agricultural productive units[6] that are five hectares or less in size, and that represent five per cent of the total productive area of the country. And 0.2 per cent work in productive units of 1,000 hectares or more, representing 32.8 per cent of the total productive area (DANE, 2018). Central to my research is the fact that 35 per cent of national rural producers are concentrated in the departments of Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño. Chapter 4 will explain in detail why these departments are highly relevant for my research.

1.5.1. The long road to peace

Colombia is going through a critical socio-political phase related to the peace agreement between the national government and FARC.[7] President Juan Manuel Santos took office in 2010 after eight years of the presidency of Alvaro Uribe, with the promise of continuing the former president's legacy of hard-line Democratic Security policies.[8] Little did we know at the time of the unexpected turns that would take place in the following eight years.

In late 2012 and after two years of secret meetings, the national government initiated a public phase of peace negotiations with guerrilla group FARC in

[6] Agricultural Productive Units are defined as a unit of production that can cover all or part of a land property that (1) produces agricultural goods, (2) has a producer in charge, and (3) uses machinery and labour for agricultural production (DANE, 2016)

[7] The FARC were founded in 1964 as a small armed movement which grew to have 20,000 members in the early 2000s, adopting tactics of kidnapping and military attacks against state infrastructure and state forces. It was funded mainly by the illegal drugs trade. Before the 2012-2016 peace negotiations, there were two unsuccessful peace processes (1986 and 1998). (See Deas and Chernick, 1988)

[8] For more information on the Democratic Security Policy, see Presidencia de la República and Ministerio de Defensa Nacional (2003).

Havana, Cuba. Not surprisingly, the six-point negotiation agenda had as its first point “Comprehensive Agrarian Reform” – a fact which reflects the centrality of agrarian problems in the history and development of the violent conflict. The other points on the peace agenda are political participation, end of conflict, victims, solution to the problem of illicit drugs, and implementation of the agreement (Gobierno de Colombia and FARC-EP, 2016).

In November 2016 the peace delegations reached agreement and in January 2017 its implementation began. FARC has ceased to be an insurgent group. During the first half of 2017 more than 6,000 guerrilla members demobilised, and a new political movement, under the same acronym but with a different title, was created: the *Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común*.

More than 50 years of violent confrontation had left 220,000 people dead, 80 per cent of whom were civilians, seven million internal refugees expelled mainly from rural areas, and eight million victims (CNMH, 2013). The peace agreement put victims at the centre and in addition to reparation actions it has established a truth commission and a transitional justice mechanism.

1.5.2. A growing economy, but…

Colombia is considered by the World Bank today to be an upper-middle-income country and was recently accepted into membership of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Having established free-trade agreements with the United States (US), the European Union (EU) and other South American nations' economic blocs, its economy today is highly integrated with international markets and has been highlighted as one of the fastest-growing economies of the region (*The Economist*, 2014).

However, examination of the value added by agriculture (Figure 1.2) in recent decades shows that there has been a sharp decrease, from more than 25 per cent in the 1970s to less than 10 per cent from the early years of the present century.

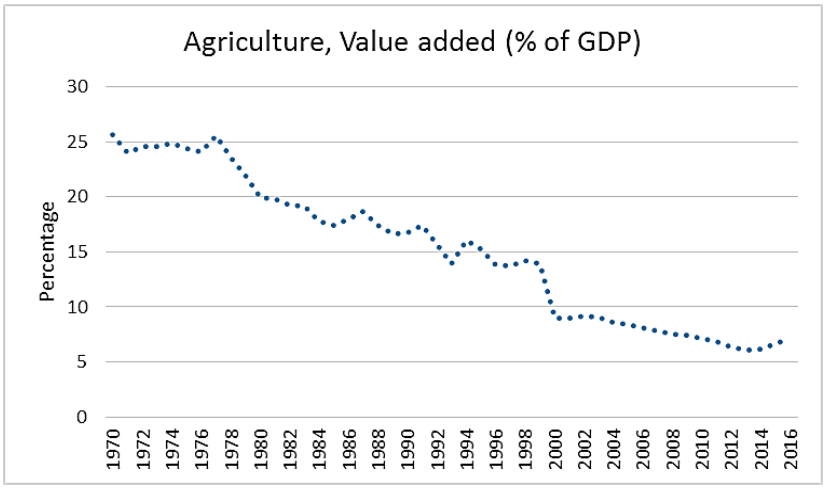


Figure 1.2. Agriculture, value added for Colombia (% of GDP) (World Bank, 2018)

This decline in the contribution of agriculture to the GDP is related to the fall of international agricultural prices, particularly of coffee; but in addition the opening of the Colombian economy since the 1990s has affected other important agricultural sectors such as cereals[9] (Ocampo, 2015).

In spite of the decrease in its contribution to the national GDP, over the past decade attention to rural development and agriculture in Colombia has gained momentum. The peace negotiations with agrarian reform as a priority were preceded by global and national reports and policies that brought key issues back on to the national agenda. The 2007 *World Development Report* (World Bank, 2007) focused on the role of agriculture as a basis of growth, poverty reduction and development. Many of its recommendations were implemented

[9] In Chapter 3 I will provide a more detailed analysis of the role of agriculture in national development.

in the national development plan 2010-2014 by President Juan Manuel Santos. In 2011 the UNDP published the Human Development Report: *Colombia Rural, Razones para la Esperanza* (PNUD, 2011b). Led by Professor Absalon Machado, one of the most distinguished academics working on agrarian change in Colombia, the report addressed the historical problems of "rural Colombia", not only highlighting the historical links between violence and social inequalities, but also proposing ways forward in agrarian policy. Later on, in 2015, "la Mision Rural", an official commission created by the President of Colombia, published another relevant report: *Mision Rural para la Transformacion del Campo Colombiano* (Ocampo, 2015). Led by Columbia University Professor Jose Antonio Ocampo, the report provided an economic analysis of the agrarian crisis and also made policy recommendations.[10]

In terms of policies, two additional elements were the Rural Development Law and the Agrarian Census. The Rural Development Law that President Santos put forward in 2010 was a long-term policy for the countryside, proposing a comprehensive framework for rural development. Unfortunately, after much discussion it failed to be approved by the Congress, due to the lack of consultation with indigenous and African-Colombian groups, in contravention of the Colombian constitution. Finally, the 2014 Agrarian Census was another element that re-focused attention on the countryside. The previous census had taken place back in 1970. This meant that for the first time in decades,

[10] Some of the recommendations included: (1) the development of productive inclusion and family agriculture; (2) development of a competitive agrarian sector; (3) environmental sustainability in agriculture; and (4) territorial planning and institutional reforms (Ocampo, 2015).

Colombia would have official and up-to-date agricultural and rural development information.

The value of these reports and policies lies in that they provided up-to-date analysis of historical aspects and current trends of rural development and agriculture. Most importantly, this key momentum of debate revealed that, while the country has urbanised and the cities have expanded and developed, rural development and agriculture are central to the country's development, particularly when the inequality gap between people living in the cities and rural areas has expanded significantly.

1.5.3. Crying out for help

Some of the aspects addressed by the reports mentioned above reveal a staggering picture of the countryside. For example, Ocampo (2015) found the following:

- ➔ Extreme poverty is three times higher in rural than urban areas.
- ➔ Multidimensional poverty is 2.8 times higher in rural than urban areas.
- ➔ Only five per cent of rural inhabitants above 17 years old have a university degree.
- ➔ Urban water supply and sewage services benefit respectively 97 and 92 per cent of urban citizens,but in rural areas the respective coverage is only 50 and 16 per cent.
- ➔ While agriculture generates the majority of employment in the countryside (51 per cent), only two per cent of rural workers have access to land, technical assistance, credit, and irrigation systems.

In addition, land distribution in Colombia is highly unequal, with a Gini Index of 0.87 (1 being the most unequal and zero the most equal).Thirteen per cent of the land owners own 70 per cent of the land, and the vast majority of the

population (87 per cent) own less than 30 per cent of the land (UNDP, 2011). This is the result of a historical process of unequal land distribution and lack of structural reforms that I will visit in Chapter 3 (see Figure 1.3).

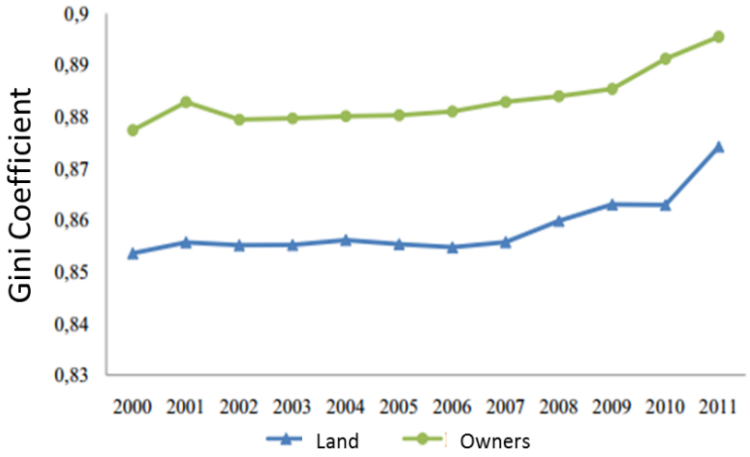


Figure 1.3. Gini coefficient in Colombia 2000-2011 (IGAC, 2012)

1.5.4. The peasant struggle

Peasant mobilisation in Colombia has been historically challenging, to say the least. The peasant movements have been stigmatised and suffered the worst consequences of the violent conflict, and this has been a major obstacle for organisation. Enduring the highest levels of violence in the countryside, peasants have been in the middle of the confrontations between armed groups; as a result they have had to flee or have been forcibly displaced from their territories. In other cases, they have been "war targets" and in other cases they have been accused of supporting one group or the other. The Colombian Historic Commission reported 1,982 massacres between 1980 and 2012, most of which took place in rural areas (CNMH, 2013). Even now, after the signature of the peace agreement, violence has increased in certain regions. Between

the signature of the agreement in 2016 and July 2018 more than 200 social leaders have been assassinated (*Defensoria del Pueblo*, 2018).

In spite of these challenges, peasants have mobilised and campaigned for official recognition, for land distribution, for political participation and for respect of their human rights. A central referent of the peasant mobilisations, as I will discuss in depth in Chapter 3, was the *Asociacion Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos* (ANUC), consolidated as a national agrarian movement that campaigned for agrarian reform. More recent examples of mobilisation and organisation include the Peace Communities of San Jose de Apartado, who have declared themselves neutral in the midst of the conflict (Burnyeat, 2018); the “agri-food territories” in Cauca and Nariño developed by peasant organisations (Muñoz, 2018); and the *Zonas de Reserva Campesina* (peasant reserve zones) in Catatumbo, established as a way of peace building (Ruiz, 2015).

However, since ANUC in the 1960s no agrarian movements had engaged at the national level in constructive dialogue with the government. This is why the rise of two national agrarian movements after the strikes of 2013-2014, and their subsequent engagement in negotiations with the national government in 2014-2016, is important and deserves attention.

1.6. Research questions and methodology

Aiming to expand knowledge of the debates on food provision taking place at national and sub-national levels in Colombia, my research questions are as follows:

1) What alternative narratives of food provision emerged in the agrarian strikes and negotiations in Colombia in the period 2013-2016?
2) To what extent have new coalitions of agrarian movements emerged around alternative narratives of food provision?
3) How are alternative narratives interfacing with dominant ones, and what are the potential outcomes for agrarian policy?

My research is based on a qualitative inquiry in which I conducted multi-sited fieldwork, semi-structured interviews, participant observation in (a) official negotiation sessions between the national government and agrarian movements and (b) internal meetings of agrarian movements, and a review of online and printed news archives.

1.6.1. Multi-sited fieldwork

My fieldwork took place in two phases: January-March 2015 and March 2016. In my initial research design, I selected two main regions for a comparison of the perspectives of the agrarian strikes and official government positions: Nariño, a department where small-scale agriculture is dominant, and Meta, a department where large-scale agriculture is prevalent. In this spirit I visited four towns and cities in Nariño and five in Meta during my first fieldwork phase (Figure 1.4). During this fieldwork stage I discovered that the places where I could find and interview actors/informants that were actively involved in the strikes and in the negotiations with the government were Nariño, particularly the city of Pasto, and Bogotá. It turns out that with negotiations taking place in these two cities, most of the government officials and agrarian leaders from different parts of the country were constantly visiting and meeting there. This is why my second fieldwork phase took place only in Bogotá, as it coincided with a cycle of negotiations. This means that my data analysis is focused mainly on the interviews that I conducted in Nariño and Bogotá. In Bogotá I was able to

interview agrarian leaders from other regions, including the Pacific Coast, Cauca, Catatumbo and Boyacá, in the context of the preparation and the sessions of negotiations.

While my interviews in Meta do not feature prominently in my data analysis, my interviews there helped me to understand more about the rural development and agriculture context and the contrasts with other regions of Colombia. I also learned that the agrarian strikes did not have much prominence in this area, and that no negotiations had started after them.

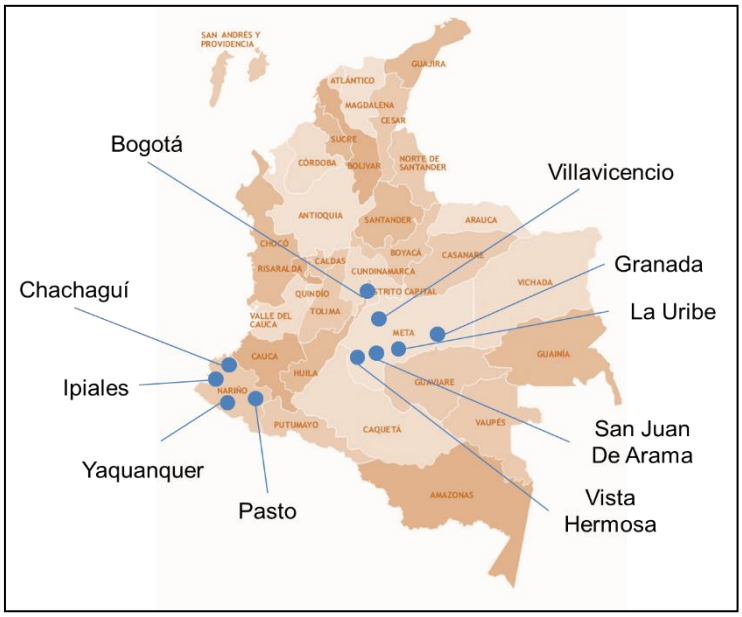


Figure 1.4. Fieldwork places visited in Colombia

1.6.2. Interviews

Aiming to understand the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014 and to map and analyse the negotiations of 2014-2016 at national, subnational and local levels, I conducted 137 semi-structured interviews: 25 in Bogotá, 57 in Nariño and 55 in Meta, of which a total of 25 were women and 95 were men (table 1.1). The interviewees included people who had participated in the agrarian strikes and who had been engaged directly in the negotiations between government and

agrarian movements. I also interviewed people who had not participated in any of this but who were nonetheless involved in agriculture, either as agricultural producers, workers in the agro-industrial sector or public officials.

Table 1.1. Summary of interviews

Informants	**Bogota**		**Nariño**		**Meta**		**Total**	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	**Men**	**Women**
	17	8	43	14	38	17	**98**	**25**
Subtotal	25		57		55		**137**	

The two most relevant groups of informants for this research were representatives of national and subnational governments (30 interviews) and representatives from national and subnational agrarian movements (38 interviews). The public officials interviewed included, among others, the Minister (June-September 2013) and the Vice-Minister (2013-2015) of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, as well as advisers from the same ministry. At the sub-national level, in the department of Nariño, I interviewed the Secretary for Social Development (2013-2016) and public officials from the office of Agriculture and Rural Development who had engaged in sub-national negotiations.

On the agrarian movements' side, the interviews included the Executive President of Dignidad Agropecuaria Colombiana (DA) and two of the co-leaders of Cumbre Agraria Campesina, Étnica y Popular (CA). I also interviewed representatives from the indigenous, African-Colombian and peasant organisations that are part of the CA coalition.

In terms of the facilitators of the negotiations, I interviewed members of the United Nations Development Programme who facilitated the negotiation

between CA and the national government. I also interviewed a member of the Jesuit Community in Colombia who has facilitated dialogues for CA.

Of the 137 interviews that I conducted, 12 are directly cited in this thesis. This is due to the fact that these informants were lead-negotiators from the government or agrarian movements or spokespersons from their organisations. Therefore, their voices are representative of their groups and organisations. The other interviews were helpful in understanding and analysing relevant information of the immediate context of the negotiations and to cross-check the data collected. The other interviews included people belonging to farmers' associations (29 interviews), national (19 interviews) and international (13 interviews) non-governmental organisations, academics (5 interviews) and representatives from the private sector (3 interviews). (Table 1.2)

Table 1.2. Categories of informants

Affiliations	Number
Member of agrarian movement	38
Public official	30
Farmers' association	29
National NGO	19
International NGO	13
Academic	5
Private sector	3
Total	**137**

Thematically, the semi-structured interviews raised questions about the organisation, leadership and demands of the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014, and the negotiations of 2014-2016 at national, subnational and local levels. I asked each of my informants about their role in the agrarian strikes and negotiations and the thematic aspects that were at stake in this context.

Interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 1.5 hours. When I was given permission, I recorded them, otherwise I took notes in my journal.

1.6.3. Participant observation

The direct interviews were complemented by participant observation in four negotiation sessions between CA and the national government, represented by the ministries of Interior and Agriculture. I also conducted observations in three internal meeting sessions of CA. These took place in February and March 2015 and March 2016.

In the context of the discussion of the agrarian policy of Nariño, I also attended as an observer two dialogue sessions between the national government, departmental government and local agrarian stakeholders of Nariño in the months of January and February 2015.

As an observer I took notes of the main themes addressed in each session and then wrote reflections and insights in my fieldwork notes.

1.6.4. News archives, reports and videos

In order to triangulate and complement my data collection, I reviewed online and printed news archives, particularly during the period of the agrarian strikes and negotiations. In the printed news archive, *Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango* in Bogotá, I consulted the main national newspapers and magazines, including *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador* and *Revista Semana*.

I also reviewed annual reports of the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Interior for the years 2013 to 2016, paying special attention to the ministries' reported actions and expenditures on the negotiations with agrarian

movements. In addition I examined publicly available reports and the minutes of meetings of the agrarian movements.

Finally, I used publicly available YouTube videos to find public speeches, interviews and remarks that could complement my data.

1.6.5. Framings and narratives as units of analysis

In order to understand the perspectives and key discussions of food provision pertaining to the actors involved in the agrarian strikes and the negotiations, I use framings and narratives as units of analysis. Framings, or different ways of understanding or representing reality, are central to the analysis, in that elements such as dynamics, functions and outcomes of a system are always open to multiple interpretations from different professional and practical backgrounds. Framings are produced by particular actors and networks and involve choices about which elements should be highlighted, and also subjective and value judgements (Leach et al., 2010).

These choices can influence the scale on which a system is analysed (for example, a local forest), its boundaries (protected area) and the dynamics at play (for example, conflicts over timber extraction). The subjective elements can include multiple perspectives, interests and values of the actors and networks involved in defining the system (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3. Dimensions of framing (Leach et al., 2010)

Choice of elements	**Subjective judgements**
• Scale • Boundaries • Key elements and relationships • Dynamics in play • Outputs	• Perspectives • Interests • Values • Notions of relevant experience • Goals

The narratives-based approach draws on the earlier work of Roe (1994), focused on policy and narratives. In this sense Leach et al. (2010) affirm that the framings are constructed through narratives. Narratives are the stories that people tell about specific problems which embed values and ways of understanding the world. They consist of three main components: they (1) start with the framing of the system, then (2) suggest ways in which it should be transformed, in order to (3) achieve particular outcomes (Leach et al., 2010). Chapter 2 will expand on the conceptualisation and use of narratives.

1.6.6. Data analysis

In addition to identifying the main narratives of food provisioning used by my informants and in line with Keeley and Scoones' (2003) policy change framework, I also identified the networks or groups associated with those narratives and their main interests. (The framework is discussed in depth in section 2.4.2). To do this I drew on the software NVivo 11 to code the interviews, participant observations and secondary sources of information. In the analysis of this information, I identified narrative categories as well as the groups and subgroups associated with them. This allowed me to compare the different categories and contrast them with the group's demands and negotiation agendas.

For the historical background, I defined a timeline that would allow me to compare the main propositions of the food regime analysis (section 2.3.1) with the main agrarian transformations and political debates over time (1900-2010). I drew on secondary sources, mainly on historical macro-economic, sociological and political analyses, as well as past negotiation agendas and

demands available online, public policies and constitutional articles directly related to the debates of food provisioning.

I complemented these qualitative methods with quantitative aspects, for example by reviewing official statistics of food imports-exports balance, changes in the area and productivity of relevant crops, and contribution of agriculture in the Gross National Product over time.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

The thesis has seven chapters, beginning with this introduction, which has outlined the main research questions, and the background to the research theme.

In the next chapter, I discuss the conceptual framework of my thesis, which has two main components: (1) a global-historical background, provided by the food-regime analysis, to understand Colombia in the international context as well as in its historical dynamics and trajectory of food and agriculture; and (2) a national-contemporary framework, provided by a focus on narratives, actors and interests to analyse the agrarian strikes and negotiations of 2013-2016.

The ongoing agrarian transformations in Colombia must be analysed in the light of history. Through the lens of the food-regime approach, Chapter 3 takes a retrospective and critical analysis of the food-provisioning debate in Colombia during the twentieth century and first part of the twenty-first century. The chapter shows how conventional ways of addressing the agrarian question do not necessarily identify the food-provisioning debates, so it explores the main agricultural dynamics in the period 1900-2010. This gives an overview of the

main transformations in national food production and food imports across time, which provides initial evidence of the background of the food-provisioning debates. But it is the analysis of the trajectories of the state, agrarian movements and the food industry that brings new evidence to this debate.

The historical background sets the scene for analysing the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014. In Chapter 4 I explore the mobilisations that took place as part of the so-called national agrarian strike and analyse the emergence and differentiation of agrarian movements. I argue that studying the agrarian strike of August-September 2013, as many researchers have done, provides only a partial view of the real impact of the agrarian mobilisations. In this spirit I conduct a one-year analysis of the events of August 2013 to August 2014. This period of time, I argue, allows a better and more comprehensive understanding of the emergence of two main national agrarian movements: *Cumbre Agraria, Campesina, Étnica y Popular* (CA) and *Dignidad Agropecuaria* (DA). I analyse their agendas and their narratives and discuss the internal similarities and differences between these two movements.

To continue following the trajectory of agrarian movements and the government, Chapter 5 focuses on the negotiations between these two parties, one with CA and one with DA. In these negotiations I analyse the emerging alternative narratives of food provision and the consolidation of coalitions around those narratives. In this light, I analyse the exchange dynamics in the negotiations, depicting the tensions arising in their debates. My findings show that one of the main tensions was the government's export-oriented approach, and its narrative of "feeding the world". The agrarian movements that I studied in my research are clearly opposed to this and have different visions of food

and agriculture: visions which instead give the central place to the national market (DA) and local communities and circuits (CA). In this context, I argue that agrarian movements have articulated clear visions and demands in their negotiations with the government.

One of the main tensions that has emerged in the negotiations is the debate between food sovereignty and food security. Chapter 6 focuses on the agrarian movements' definitions of food sovereignty and reveals that the concept has different meanings for the different groups. Conversely, in this exploration I found that national and sub-national governments were also using the term in their discourses – a fact which complicates things further. The dividing line between food security and food sovereignty is a blurred one. Even more, the debate about food sovereignty and food security is a key link between the agrarian negotiations and the peace negotiations between the national government and FARC, which I analyse in this chapter as well.

The final chapter concludes my research by exploring the main conceptual and practical implications of my work. I return to my initial questions and discuss the way in which my thesis has addressed them and provides insights on the future of food and agriculture in Colombia, particularly for the implementation of the peace agreement; and finally, I outline key areas for further research.

2. A framework for analysing agrarian strikes and negotiations in Colombia

2.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I introduced my research by outlining some of the main challenges confronting food and agriculture globally and for Latin America. I also provided a general outline of my research questions and the structure of my thesis. In this chapter I discuss the main concepts of my thesis by providing a review of the relevant existing literature, as well as the conceptual gaps which my thesis helps to fill.

As explained in the previous chapter, in this research I look at the emergence of food provisioning as a central element of the development debate in Colombia, with an emphasis on the agrarian strikes and negotiations in which agrarian movements and the national government engaged in the period 2013-2016. Particularly, I analyse the ways in which different groups express conflicts and visions concerning the global and national dynamics of food and agriculture. This implies two main levels for the conceptual analysis: global-historical and national-contemporary.

At the global-historical level, a conceptual framework for the Colombian case should endeavour to identify and explain the following:

- **Linkages between Colombian and global dynamics of food and agriculture**: Colombia has not developed its agriculture in isolation from the world. On the contrary, it has been connected to it in a multiplicity of ways.

- **Main transformations over time**: the global-national linkages have changed according to the context posed by policies, the economy and politics at national and global levels.
- **Implications for different sectors:** the transformations of the global-national links have affected in different ways the socio-economic, political and environmental aspects.

For the national-contemporary dynamics, the conceptual framework of my case study of agrarian strikes and negotiations should be able to capture and explain components that include the following:

- **Diversity of actors and networks**: while one might think that there are two main actors in the case study, the government and agrarian movements, the situation is actually much more complex. There is intra- and inter-differentiation of the agrarian movements, which include peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian communities. And there are significant differences within and between the national and sub-national governments.
- **Diversity of perspectives**: different actors taking part in these dialogues promote different visions about food and agriculture, which they express through their own narratives and discourses.
- **Contestation**: agrarian movements mobilise because they are contesting the dominant model of rural development and agriculture. In the negotiations the government challenges certain aspects of the visions and perspectives of agrarian movements.
- **Dialogue and negotiation**: all these actors, with their diversity of perspectives, have spaces in which to meet. The existence of conflicts about policies, actions or priorities undertaken by each actor underlies the negotiation spaces.

With this multiplicity of components involved in a case study it would be too ambitious to try to capture all of them in a single conceptual stream. Therefore, it is necessary to create a specific framework which builds on different streams

of thought that can link traditional with newer literatures to address structural agrarian problematics with contemporary challenges of food and agriculture.

In this spirit, the general framework of my thesis is underpinned by three main perspectives.

The first one is a general overview of agri-food systems dynamics (Section 2.2) which sets the scene for approaching complexity in agricultural and food systems, delineating the main activities, interactions, drivers of change and outcomes of these social and ecological systems. I will argue that using this perspective in the context of development studies not only helps to renew our understandings of agriculture but also provides insights for analysing the aspects of politics and sustainability in these debates.

Second, for understanding food and agriculture in Colombia in the context of global-historical dynamics I will use the food-regime analysis (Section 2.3). This framework provides ways of analysing patterns of global food circulation and capital accumulation in agriculture, enabling us to see Colombia's agriculture in the light of the global context with a historical perspective. The food-regime analysis as an umbrella framework links with two relevant aspects: the emergence and impact of agrarian movements and the debates about food security and food sovereignty.

Third, for the national-contemporary aspects, I use the analysis of narratives in line with the Pathways Approach to Sustainability (Section 2.4). This approach allows me to focus on the diversity of actors and their multiple visions of food and agriculture through their framings and narratives; this is particularly useful for analysing the agrarian strikes and negotiations in the period 2013-2016. In

this section I also discuss a framework for policy change that links narratives with actors/networks and interests/politics.

Together, these three main elements and levels of analysis constitute the framework of my research. Let us visit each of them in detail.

2.2. Complex agri-food system dynamics

The study of agri-food systems as complex Social-Ecological Systems (SES) has emerged as a result of using systems thinking and complexity analysis. The study of Social-Ecological Systems is now an established tradition which finds its roots in the work of scholars concerned about the historical divides between social and environmental sciences (Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Berkes et al., 2003; Ostrom, 2009). These streams of thought have made valuable contributions in areas such as social-ecological change (Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Berkes et al., 2003); resilience (Folke, 2016; Walker and Salt, 2012; Chapin, 2009); adaptive management (Folke, 2005; Levin et al., 2013); governance (Ostrom, 2010; Leach, 2007); and robustness and institutions (Anderies, 2004).

In the context of development studies, system dynamics and complexity thinking have also provided conceptual tools for analysis in that they provide comprehensive views of reality, including elements that often have been left out of the analysis. Ramalingam contends that in an everyday more interconnected world, reductionist approaches that focus on specific and isolated components are not providing answers to solve global challenges (Ramalingam, 2013). In recent years many scholars have called attention to the importance of moving away from equilibrium thinking, linearity and

predictability analysis, and the need instead to embrace frameworks that include heterogeneity, complexity, non-linearity and cross-scale analysis (Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Leach et al., 2010; Ostrom, 2010). This implies going from a narrow focus of scientific inquiry (reductionist approaches) to broader and deeper understandings of the complex and dynamic reality (including incomplete knowledge) (Stirling, 2010).

This transition from reductionist perspectives to comprehensive analysis of complex reality implies that single frameworks, on their own, cannot capture all the relevant elements required for analysis, and therefore more than one theory or conceptual framework is needed for understanding complex systems (Ramalingam, 2013). This view is supported by Kay (2015), who in a reflection about the complex neoliberal transformations of the last decade in Latin America and their connection with global environmental and economic dynamics observed:

> It is necessary to keep an open mind […] some eclecticism is helpful for gaining a more comprehensive view and deeper insight into the problems we wish to analyse. (Kay, 2015 p.80)

This eclecticism in the analysis of complex dynamics connects to another key point, which is the need to acknowledge that complexity thinking is work in progress. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that, while progress has been made, these perspectives are not capable of providing final answers or definite responses. Nonetheless they provide new frameworks and ways of thinking about complex problems (Ramalingam, 2013).

One way in which the study of complexity has been applied to the analysis of food and agriculture is through the study of food systems.

2.2.1. What are food systems?

Broadly, a food system encompasses all the activities and processes of food production, processing, transportation, retailing, distribution and consumption (Pimbert, et al., 2001; Ericksen, 2008; McKeon, 2015). Food systems are dependent on the environment and natural resources such as water, soil and climate, as well as on the human dimensions of labour, technology and institutions. In line with the discussion above, food systems are complex Social-Ecological Systems because they have emergent properties that can be identified and also express non-linearity and unpredictability (Thompson and Scoones, 2009).

The analysis of food systems includes a component of scale that can go from the local sphere to the regional, national and global spheres (Cash, et al., 2006). For example, it can focus on the role of small farming in providing food for local markets, or on the broader dynamics of a country's food demand and supply in particular periods of time (Naylor, 2014), or irrigation for farmers in a river basin (Lam, 2006). Using a food-systems approach to analyse the dynamics of the whole system from agricultural production to food consumption is useful because it allows us to analyse different components and subsystems of the larger system, its interactions and its outcomes (Millstone et al., 2009). A food-systems approach also allows for the identification of the drivers of change such as population growth, urbanisation or climate change (Naylor, 2014). But most importantly using a food-systems approach reveals the system's high dependency on and impacts on the environment (Ingram, et al., 2010).

A widely accepted framework of food-systems analysis is the one by Ericksen (2008). Ericksen's framework (Figure 2.1) identifies food-system activities (production, processing and packaging, retailing and distribution, consumption) and outcomes (food security, environmental welfare and social welfare). These aspects are affected by global environmental change (land cover, water availability, etc.) and socioeconomic drivers (demographics, economics, etc.).

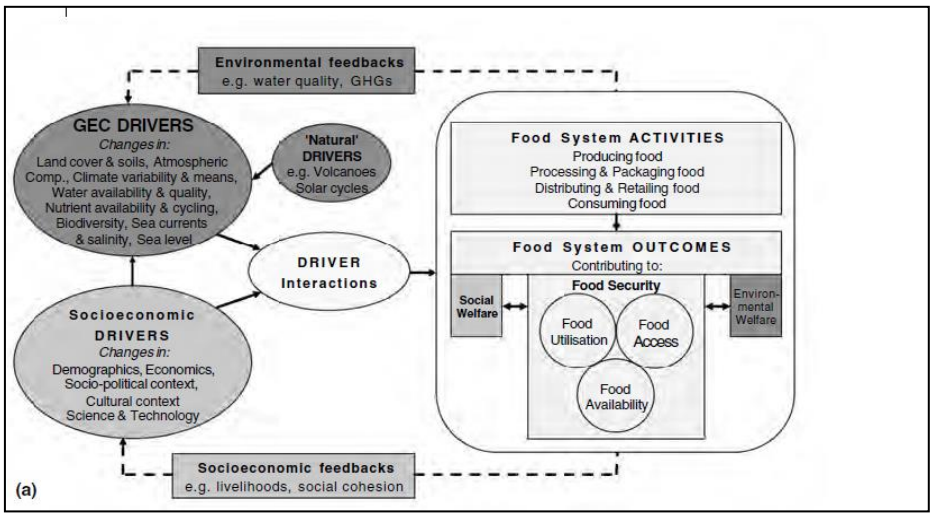


Figure 2.1. Food-system framework (Ercikssen, 2008)

While this framing of food systems is useful in providing the main elements, relationships and drivers of change, it is important to highlight that its point of departure is a positivist, or post-positivist, approach: the idea that reality cannot be fully understood, but that its definition can be close enough to provide an objective perspective. This framework has been used in the context of food security and global environmental-change studies.

Since the goals of my thesis are to understand the food and agriculture perspectives of different actors, I find the approach of the STEPS Centre to have a better fit for my analysis, as It departs from a constructivist approach in which different actors can understand the complex reality in subjective ways according to their values, beliefs and interests (Leach, et al., 2010). Therefore,

in any given setting there can be more than one representation of the system which may overlap with others but can also be contested between groups. In other words, the system is not objective but rather a social construction that can take different shapes from the perspectives of different groups (Figure 2.2). As opposed to defining clear boundaries of a system, STEPS Centre scholars raise questions such as: what is the system? What is its purpose and desired outcomes? What is sustainability? All these questions must take account of different views on the desired outcomes, impacts, and trade-offs.

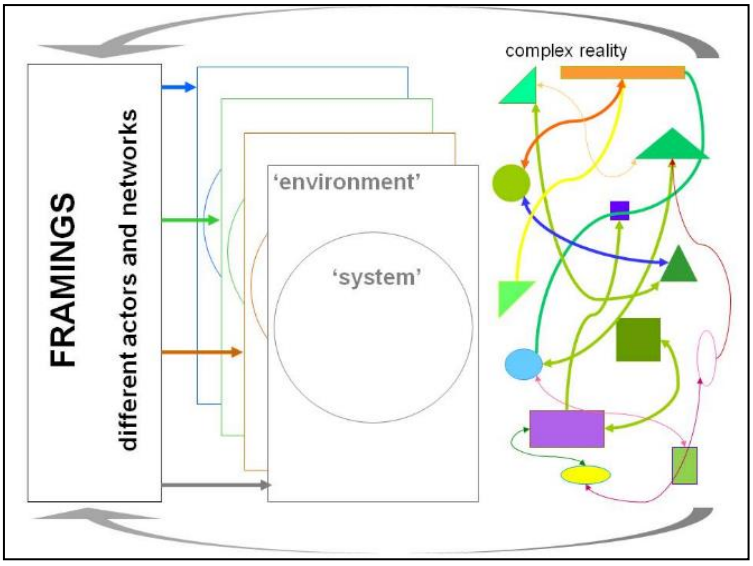


Figure 2.2 Framing of a complex system (Scoones et al., 2007)

In this context, the STEPS Centre perspective acknowledges the constructive force of power in the social sphere. Power interests, Leach and colleagues (2010) argue, work to reduce diversity into narrow characterisations of risk and to define particular interpretations, defining the ends of knowledge by framing problems and proposing solutions. This research stream acknowledges the importance of adaptive forms of governance made by scholars in the Social-Ecological Systems field (Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Berkes et, al., 2003; Folke, 2005; 2016), but emphasises the plurality of understandings and

interpretations that are not necessarily reconcilable. This leads to the question of legitimacy. Which marginalised pathways should be articulated and provided with a platform of governance? In practice this is usually decided by the ability of competing narratives to gain political support, subject of course to imbalances of power (West, et al., 2014).

Building on the importance of cross-scale analysis in the study of food systems, and highlighting the existence of multiple visions, Thompson and colleagues (2007) emphasise the different disciplines and fields that can contribute at each level to the understanding of the system (Figure 2.3, Thompson et al., 2007). This also puts into perspective the multidisciplinary approach that an agri-food systems analysis requires -- from social anthropology and rural sociology at the local level, to political economy and sustainability science at the global levels. Highlighting the scales, and considering how disciplines can contribute to an understanding of food systems, opens up a more collaborative environment, instead of thinking in silos.

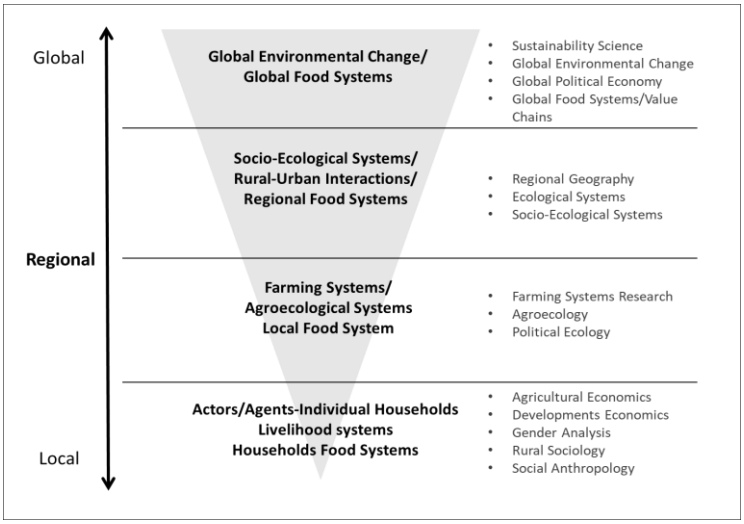


Figure 2.3. Scales and fields of analysis of the agri-food system (Thompson et al., 2009)

So for my framework I do not reject other food-system frameworks such as that of Ercikssen (2008). I use the concept of food systems in a broad sense, understanding that there may be more than one representation of the system in any given context. Furthermore I use the term *agri-food systems* to emphasise the major role of agriculture in the system. In taking this stand, my role as a researcher is not to provide an explanation of the food system, with its boundaries and outcomes. Rather, it is about questioning and identifying the different ways in which food systems are understood by different actors and networks, and asking what are their visions.

2.3. Colombia in the global and historical context

Historical aspects of food and agriculture in Colombia have been studied from different disciplines and fields. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3, a central work on the history of Colombian agriculture from an economic perspective is Kalmanovitz and Lopez (2006), on which I heavily rely in the next chapter. Other perspectives include those of rural sociologists who have focused on the historical issues of land, peasantry and agrarian movements (Fajardo, 1983;2012, Machado, 1986; 2009;2010). But these approaches fall short in providing a more comprehensive view of food and agriculture in the light of global dynamics.

In this section I embark on discussing the food-regime analysis as a framework that can help to explain the national-global linkages of food and agriculture, especially the debates about national agriculture.

2.3.1. Food-regime analysis

The food regime is a framework of analysis that studies patterns of global food circulation and capital accumulation. Based on Friedmann and McMichael's 1989 publication *The State System and the Rise and Fall of National Agricultures* (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989), food-regime analysis identifies stable periods of capital accumulation associated with particular configurations of geo-political power. In recent years the food-regime approach has become central, widely accepted and influential in the historical and contemporary understanding of agriculture and global food production and its role in the construction of the world capitalist economy.

The framework has three main components. First, as mentioned above, a food regime is understood as the emergence of particular patterns of food production, circulation, consumption, and capital accumulation that endure for a period of time after which there is a change or crisis and new patterns and structures of such elements emerge. Second, it takes a global, geo-political perspective, which means that it focuses not on individual countries but on international relations of food production and consumption. Third, it has a historical perspective, or a "world historical approach", which means that the questions that it asks are better answered when considered in a retrospective way (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989).

One of the central arguments of Friedmann and McMichael's analysis, which could constitute the basis for further research and debate in the future, is that capital can organise and reorganise agriculture, underestimating state policies of national agriculture in the face of growing agro-complex transnational capital. This in turn leads to a contradictory process of strengthening the

nation-state system while weakening national agricultures (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989). This capacity of capital to organise and re-organise agriculture can be seen in the changes in time of the main crops that a country cultivates, or the main foods that it imports, as we will see below.

Friedmann and McMichael contend the existence of three food regimes in the periods of 1870-1914, 1945-1973, and the late 1980s until the present. However, there is disagreement on whether a third food regime has emerged. The first food regime (1870-1914) is not directly relevant to Colombia, so I will not spend much time analysing this. It focuses on the food and agricultural exchanges between Europe and settler states (Canada, the USA, Australia, and New Zealand), including dynamics of industrial growth and division of agricultural labour between these regions of the world (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989). While this constitutes a gap in this framework for this period of time in Latin America, in Chapter 3 I will consider the relevant dynamics of food and agriculture in the first half of the 20th century in Colombia, including the main crops and import-export dynamics during this period of time. This analysis will provide useful insights which will allow comparisons with the second half of the century which is covered by the second and third food regimes.

In this part of the conceptual framework I focus on the second (1945-1973) and third (1980s to today) food regimes, which are relevant for Colombia as they include significant trade exchanges between the USA and Latin America, and the growth and expansion of corporate capital in the region. The second food regime, which has the USA as a centrepiece, is characterised by the following factors:

- ➔ US overproduction and surplus exports of wheat and maize that were allowed to supply the domestic market but also to generate exports through food aid.[11]
- ➔ The emergence of global agri-business corporations, along with the emergence of transnational agri-food complexes that included the production of meat and grains, non-perishable foods produced by industrialised methods. and substitution of tropical sugars and vegetable oils.
- ➔ Agro-industrialisation through Green Revolution technologies, land reform to address peasant unrest, and extended market relations into the countryside.

Most of these dynamics can be identified in Colombia by examining the influential US-Colombia relations. For example, as a result of negotiations with the World Bank and US trade representatives, during the 1950s Colombia committed to cultivate crops different from those that the USA was exporting to Colombia, in order to improve its "competitive advantage" (Machado, 1986). At the same time, US imports of wheat, oil, rice and cotton were allowed; the Caritas programme of food donations sent large quantities of food to poor and violence-affected areas. (Machado, 1986).

Two more elements of the second food regime are reflected in Colombia. First, under Kennedy's alliance for progress in the 1960s, Colombia and other countries in Latin America embarked on the implementation of agrarian reforms to address peasant unrest inspired by the Cuban revolution (Machado, 1986; Kay, 2001). Second, the country initiated a process of agro-industrialisation that is evident in the adoption and implementation of the Green Revolution packages in agriculture (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006; Colmenares and Ocampo, 2007). Chapter 3 will explore in depth these dynamics and transformations, but we can see that the main propositions of the second food

[11] This was done first through the Marshall Plan and then through aid support to developing countries.

regime apply to Colombia and can, arguably, help to explain the main transformations in food and agriculture during this period of time.

Subsequent work conducted individually by Friedmann and McMichael takes different approaches, particularly in their respective views on a third food regime (1980s onwards). On the one hand, Friedmann takes a line closer to political ecology, which she terms the “corporate-environmental” food regime (Friedmann, 2005). And, on the other hand, McMichael refers to a “corporate” food regime (2009). Friedmann (2005) argues that in the corporate environmental food regime “green capitalism” emerges in response to the demands of social environmental movements. This type of capitalism means that global trade enters a stage of increasingly developing fair-trade relations, including better working conditions for farmers and the environment, as well as focusing on consumer health and animal welfare. In other words, Friedmann (2005) argues for the convergence of environmental politics and corporate repositioning that goes along with the decline of the US hegemony in global trade.

McMichael takes an alternative perspective on the third food regime, focusing his interpretation on the dominance of the corporate sphere. He highlights significant changes, for example from public to private initiatives, from staple grains to luxury foods, and from domestic to global markets. McMichael (2009) observes that the most important shift was political, due to the 1980s cuts in agriculture and rural developmnt coming from the public sector and the rapid gains in economic and political power from the private sector. McMichael argues that the rise of corporations as strong players is facilitated by the “globalisation project”, which he defines as

> A politically instituted process of economic liberalisation privileging corporate entities and rights in the food system, with respect to crop development and the management of food security as a service performed not by nation-states, but by transnational corporations through the world market. (McMichael, 2009 pp.150-151)

Under this regime, in which states become subordinated to market and capital dynamics and corporate power emerges, I argue that McMichael's perspective offers a more accurate framework for Colombia. Evidence of this is provided by policy changes that took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Colombia, when the state funding for the Integrated Rural Development Plans, which were supporting smallholder agriculture, was cut and the country adopted "*apertura"* neoliberal policies (Section 3, Chapter 3). Sections 3.3 and 3.4 in Chapter 3 will analyse how, at the same time that public funding was being cut, private agri-businesses and the food industry rose to become strong players in food and agriculture: an observation which supports McMichael's corporate food-regime claims.

Further elements that McMichael (2009) argues are distinctive in the corporate food regime include environmental degradation due to intensive dependence on fossil fuels, the degradation of soils, and erosion of traditional knowledge. Awareness of the distance that food travels gives way to the idea of "food from nowhere", meaning that the origin of the food, the means by which it was produced, and who benefited as a result of it, are unclear. Finally, there is the resistance posed by peasant movements to the corporate regime, particularly by La Via Campesina and their movement on food sovereignty. McMichael (2016) argues that peasant movements, under the flag of food sovereignty, are articulating central contradictions of contemporary neoliberal globalisation.

These contradictions point to the idea that food security can be attained via neoliberal globalisation (and agriculture without farmers).

The above elements are also reflected in Colombia. For example, environmental degradation has increased in Colombia in recent years as a result of the expansion of the agricultural frontier into forest areas, as well as the increase of greenhouse emissions (Section 3.3); and peasant movements connected with La Via Campesina and the Food Sovereignty Movement have emerged and are contesting the ways in which neoliberal globalisation works (Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

The food-regime analysis provides a useful framework for the study of food and agriculture in Colombia, in terms of the role of Colombia in the global relations of food and agriculture and how in turn these international relations have transformed national agriculture. Yet the framework does not capture other elements of the national and sub-national politics of food and agriculture that are relevant to my research questions on the emergence of the food-provisioning debate. Among these elements are the tensions and debates between the Colombian food industry and agricultural producer groups. The food-regime analysis argues that transnational capital has the power to modify national agricultures, but (as I discuss in Chapter 3) there must be national actors willing to leverage, and benefit from, such transnational capital as is the case for the food industry. By using Colombia as a case study I am providing new reflections and insights to the food-regime literature.

But while food-regime analysis has become widely accepted, it has also sparked academic debate and criticism, particularly in the area of agrarian political economy. Let us examine these points of tension and criticism.

Criticism, tensions and debate

Most of the criticism of the food-regime analysis has come from scholars working in the field of agrarian political economy. This has been a widely used and influential framework for analysing agrarian change for more than 50 years. Agrarian political economy, in Bernstein's words, looks at "*the social relations and dynamics of production and reproduction, property and power in agrarian formations and their processes of change, both historical and contemporary*" (Bernstein, 2016, p.1). It analyses capitalism and its development on the basis of a Marxist approach, and therefore looks at aspects of class and gender, divisions over access to land, divisions of labour, property and livelihood, colonial legacies, paths of agrarian development, and international markets. Its main analysis poses four main questions: who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? What do they do with it?

One of the key elements that agrarian political economy has brought to the fore is the analysis of class divisions as a way of explaining agrarian change (Bernstein, 2010). For example, it looks at how the development of capitalism in the countryside creates three main peasant classes, based on their ability to accumulate capital and reproduce. Bernstein distinguishes rich peasants (able to accumulate and reproduce), medium peasants (able to reproduce at the same scale) and poor peasants (struggling to reproduce). In this context, labour becomes central, either on the farm or beyond it. Rich peasants are able to hire labour to work on their farms, while poor peasants would have to sell their labour to be able to reproduce (Bernstein, 2016).

Scholars within the agrarian political economy tradition have been critical of many of the propositions of the food-regime analysis. However, they have also

come to incorporate elements of such framework in their own analysis, to the extent that Bernstein (2016) has said that "*it is impossible, or at least fruitless, to consider agrarian change in the world today without engaging with the issues and ideas generated by food regime analysis over the past 25 years*" (Bernstein, 2016, p. 637).

Against this backdrop, Bernstein's perspective of agrarian political economy (2016) has engaged and deepened analysis of the first and second international food regimes, as a way of understanding national and international capitalist dynamics in agriculture and the way in which they have influenced changes in the emergence of classes, the division of labour, and capital accumulation at the global level.

A key source for the understanding of the main tensions between agrarian political economy and the food-regime analysis is the Bernstein-McMichael-Friedmann debate (2016). In this debate, Bernstein points out two main criticisms of the food-regime analysis. These are: a failure to consider population numbers, and what he calls "the peasant turn".

First, Bernstein (2016) contends that there is a lack of population numbers within the framework. In a planet with an exponentially growing population and the related increases in levels of food demand, this should not be ignored. Of course, the fact that there are more than 800 million people undernourished and 2 billion malnourished means that the problem is not only one of quantity, for there is inequality and disparity in the ways in which poor people access food. But Bernstein's critique is a call to take seriously the aspect of population growth and the real increase in food demand globally, without losing sight of the distributional aspects.

The second of Bernstein's critiques is, as he has come to call it. "the peasant turn". This refers to the focus that McMichael has given to the rising global peasant movements opposed to neoliberal policies and corporations, and the movements' mobilisation for food sovereignty. Bernstein (2016) refers to this as "McMichael's thesis and antithesis". McMichael's analysis uses the thesis or narrative that neoliberal globalisation is highly corporate, creates environmental damage and is unjust towards marginalised communities. The antithesis, Bernstein argues, is that only peasant movements have the answer or the power to change this unjust and unsustainable balance that has emerged in the third food regime (Bernstein, 2016).

The fact that McMichael has come to highlight the role of peasant movements in bringing elements of social justice and environmental sustainability to the debate is because these movements, and the people they represent, are voicing the inequalities that they experience and the unsustainability of corporate farming and trading and practices. It would be a mistake, however, to generalise and put all peasants in the same group and treat all corporations as having unified interests. To this debate Friedmann (2016) adds that both peasants and corporations are highly heterogeneous, and that therefore binary perspectives would not contribute much to the debate. Rather, for a better analysis the diversity in both groups should be addressed.

One element that is problematic in Bernstein's critique of "the peasant turn" is his distinction between "political" and "analytical" categories. He contends that the use of peasants' perspectives and discourses constitutes a "political" category, due to the focus on their interests and visions. Instead, Bernstein (2016) argues, "analytical" categories should be used for a more

comprehensive analysis. This problematic distinction takes the debate to a much profound level. What are the analytical factors and what are the political factors in agrarian change debates? Who decides which is better? Even more, is there a distinction between them? Does that mean that an analytical category is “apolitical” and therefore more accurate for the analysis of agrarian change? Is not choosing to use analytical categories also a political decision? Including political aspects in analytical frameworks is of utmost importance when analysing sustainability in food systems. This means that actors should be analysed, not only according to the economic role that they play, but also in their sociocultural and political spheres.

This criticism voiced by agrarian political economy scholars is important to take into account in the elaboration of an analytical framework. A growing global population and the role of peasants and peasant movements are important factors that the food-regime analysis must embrace in a critical way.

Overall, for my research, beyond bounded periods of time with specific structures and dynamics in time and space, the concept of food regime constitutes a lens of analysis. As McMichael puts it, food regime can be

> an analytical device to pose specific questions about the structuring processes in the global political-economy, and/or global food relations, at any particular moment. Here the food regime is not so much an episodic structure, or set of rules, but becomes a method of analysis. (McMichael, 2009, p, 148)

To this idea of a method of analysis, McMichael adds that food-regime analysis is an effort to reframe the agrarian question as a social-ecological question. It is “*about reorganising international political economy, modelling social struggle around democratic principles, gender equity, producer rights, ecological*

practices, and rebalancing the urban/rural divide" (2016, p. 649). It helps us to understand why peasants are opposing neoliberal policies and what motivates them to form counter-movements but also to identify new pathways for development and rural livelihoods. This emergence of counter-movements in opposition to neoliberal policies is another relevant part of the food-regime analysis. Let us visit the main concepts and ways of understanding this aspect.

2.3.2. Agrarian movements and peasants

As we saw above, the food-regime analysis can help to explain global and national transformations in food and agriculture. In doing so it has also elaborated on the emergence of national and transnational agrarian movements. Why and how have these agrarian movements emerged? And, perhaps most importantly, what is their historical and contemporary role in the context of neoliberal relations of food and agriculture? I now turn to discuss this.

For this discussion I use the term “agrarian movements” in line with (Edelman and Borras, 2016). Other terms that have been commonly used to refer to these groups are "rural social movements" (Deere and Royce, 2009) or "peasant movements" (Vergara-Camus, 2014). However, I think that the term “agrarian” encapsulates a broader meaning for the purposes of my research, referring not only to geographical areas (rural) or specific identity groups (peasants). Rather, I argue that "agrarian" is a better term because it encapsulates the debates related to agriculture which are not confined to what happens in the countryside but also take account of what happens in the cities and the markets. Therefore, by "agrarian movements" I refer to the groups and

networks that are directly related to agricultural and rural-development debates. Borras and colleagues (2016) define agrarian movements as organisations, coalitions, networks and solidarity linkages of the rural poor.[12]

National and Transnational Agrarian Movements emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s as a confrontation with and a critique of free-market policies that began in the 1970s. One of their main roles has been to protest against unfair trade rules, corporate control of genetic material, and market-led agrarian reforms. This has been part of a general critique of neoliberal policies in agriculture that are “anti-peasant” (Borras et al., 2008).

But while agrarian movements have posed opposition to the neoliberal regime, they have also put forward an alternative development project in the pursuit of agrarian reform, sustainable development, food sovereignty and a firm commitment to social justice (Deere and Royce, 2009; Constance, et al., 2014). In other words, agrarian movements have played a central role in revealing inequalities and articulating alternative paths of development (Vergara-Camus, 2013).

Some of the main transnational social movements today include Latin American Coordinator of Rural Organisations (CLOC), founded in Peru in 1994; the continental Coordinator of Indigenous Nationalities and Peoples of Abya Yala (1990); La Via Campesina, founded in Belgium in 1993; and the Organisation of Peasants and Agricultural Producers of west Africa (ROPPA for its initials in French) (Deere and Royce, 2009; Borras et al., 2009).

[12] Understanding the rural poor as a highly heterogeneous group that includes among others small owner/cultivators, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, rural labourers, migrant labourers, subsistence fisherfolk and fish workers, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples, peasant women and pastoralists (Borras et al., 2008 p.170).

Emergence of the food-sovereignty movement

In response to the neoliberal regime these movements have emerged, as McMichael puts it, as the “food sovereignty movement” (2006), which is articulating not only critiques of neoliberal policies but also alternative pathways of development. In doing this, McMichael argues, these movements are helping to reframe the conventional agrarian question that looks at land, labour and capital, reframing it as a question of food which consists in strengthening cultural practices that go beyond the subordination of food as an object for commodity exchange and helps to re-establish harmonious relations with the environment in a context of social justice and democratic principles (McMichael, 2006; 2008).

Building on the concepts of the food-regime analysis and the emergence of agrarian movements, work by Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) has elaborated on the role of the food movement as a driving force for change in the context of the corporate food regime. Specifically, they have asked: “*what possibilities does the global food movement present for bringing about structural transformation of the food regime?*” (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011 p.116).

More recently, and also building on this line of thought on the role of social movements, Constance and colleagues have studied the emergence of Alternative Agri-Food Movements, understood as movements that have emerged as a result of public concerns regarding the negative impacts of the neoliberal restructuring of the agri-food system and that have converged around alternative pathways of development (Constance, et al., 2014). The main question that these scholars have raised is whether Agri-Food

Movements are the new “vanguard” to counter neoliberal globalisation. They focus on multiple case studies, such as La Via Campesina, the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra* (MST, the Landless Workers' Movement) in Brazil, and movements in North America and Europe. Whether they are called the food-sovereignty movement, or Agri-Food Movements, or food movements is not central to my discussion. This literature has enriched our understanding of the concerns about the different dimensions of food for different groups. In my thesis I continue using the term “agrarian movements”, not only because I think it is more accurate for my case study but because this is how they identify themselves. However, I use this term knowing that their goals and actions are closely related to the literature cited in this section.

Gaps in Colombia

Colombia as a case study can contribute to the debates on food provisioning. This is why, through the lens of food as a central issue, I analyse agrarian movements in Colombia. In Chapter 3 I take a retrospective look at the agrarian movements, exploring their historical connections to the food debates. One of the main referents of agrarian movements in Colombia was the *Asociacion Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos* (ANUC), which was founded in the 1960s with the main goal of raising peasant demands and participating in the state's efforts at agrarian reform (Zamosc, 1986; Rivera 1987). In the discussion of the next chapter I will show how, even when most academics portray ANUC as a movement of “land struggle”, there were already concerns about food provisioning on their agenda during the 1960s and 1970s, a fact which reveals a new aspect of agrarian movements that has not been analysed before.

Since the rise of agrarian movements in the 1960s and their fall and radicalisation in the 1970s, expressions of agrarian movements at the national level were absent until the early years of the present century, when a coalition of agrarian movements published the "*mandato agrario*". This document already contained a strong emphasis on food sovereignty, and represents perhaps the first time that this idea was raised at the national level. This, I argue, is the seed of the food movement in Colombia. But it would take a further decade before such demands were heard in the public debate.

La Via Campesina is a key link to national agrarian movements in Colombia. As I will show in chapters 4 and 5, one of the emergent agrarian movements in Colombia in the 2010s, *Cumbre Agraria Étnica y Popular*, is linked to LVC and therefore shares its discourse on food sovereignty and defence of small-holding farming. However, one of my findings is related to another emerging agrarian movement, one which does not share the visions, values and radical change objectives of LVC. This empirical evidence problematises our understanding of agrarian movements and therefore requires further attention and analysis. Chapter 4 will expand this discussion.

In sum, the Colombian case, viewed through retrospective and contemporary lenses, contributes to these debates about agrarian movements with a particular focus on food, and offers insights for this research stream. This activism and the emergence of these movements draw our attention and call for the conceptualisation of two additional aspects: peasants as food providers, and the debates about food sovereignty and food security, to which I now turn.

Peasants as food providers in Colombia

It is important to complement my conceptual framework with an analysis of the main concepts and currents of thought on peasantry. A few years ago, Marxist political economists predicted that with the development of capitalism in the countryside peasants as traditionally understood would disappear and new social classes would emerge, including rich, medium and poor peasants (struggling to reproduce). In this context, labour would become central, either on or beyond the farm. Rich peasants would be able to hire labour to work on their farms, while poor peasants would have to sell their labour to be able to reproduce (Bernstein, 2016). Despite the "farewells to the peasantry", as Bernstein (2002) announced almost 20 years ago, peasants "*are stubbornly refusing to go away*" (Desmarais, 2009, p.44). Who then are the peasants, and how can we conceptualise them in today's world?

While I acknowledge the contributions of class-based analysis, in this research I take an anthropological perspective of peasants, based on Wolf's (1966) work which opened up the study of peasants as a modern social category and laid out a conceptual anthropological basis for the analysis of peasants, including their economic, social and ideological aspects. Following Wolf's line, Kearney (1996) brings in ideas from New Social Movements (NSM) theory that reject class divisions as the main source of identity. For the advocates of NSM thinking, the peasant agenda includes human rights, environmental politics and ethnicity, and it transcends classes. In other words, peasants can come together as a group to advance democratic projects. But Kearney (1996) disagrees with the idea of a full rejection of class as identity. Instead, he contends that class divisions are incomplete, and that NSM ideas could help to

deepen and enrich the concept. He contends that the term “peasant” is associated with pre-modern, non-urban, native societies. It was a term used initially to describe various rural peoples in Europe in the nineteenth century, still prevailing in the twentieth century. However, due to the increasingly strong global connections, Kearney introduces the idea of “post-peasant” to signify key changes that have affected this group. In this context, an ethnography of peasants today should situate them not as isolated, remote rural dwellers, but rather in a highly connected global and transnational context (Kearney, 1996).

In his research in Central America, Edelman (1999) reached similar conclusions to those of Kearney, in that peasants in Costa Rica were mobilising using a framework of human rights and struggling for a full use of citizenship in the face of free-trade agreements undermining their livelihoods. Peasants were also mobilising for the environment and making urgent calls for its protection. Together, these elements represent the main aspects of agency and post-peasant perspectives that Kearney discusses. Their impact goes beyond land and local issues to raise broader aspects such as globalisation and free-trade agreements.

The emergence of peasantry in Colombia comes from a long history rooted in the Spanish colony and emergence of the *haciendas*. Fajardo (1983) argues that the historical formation of peasantry in Colombia took place in relation to the struggle for land, but given the diversity of the Colombian territories, it has not been a homogeneous process, and there are differences. The conditions of peasantry in the Andes are significantly different from those of the peasantry in the eastern lower plains, and different again from those on the Caribbean coast.

For my analysis in Colombia, I follow the anthropological line of thought on peasantry discussed above. And in particular, in line with Edelman (1999), I argue that the self-identification as “campesino”, common in Central America and arguably in Latin America in general, should be respected as a cultural category. But I also seek to explore, as the title of this sub-section suggests, peasants as food providers in Colombia. This is an aspect of the peasant identity that has been highlighted by many (as we will see below) in a practical or functional way (peasants produce food), but not analysed as an organic part of the peasant identity (peasants find multiple meanings in food production).

There seems to be a certain degree of agreement among researchers and policy makers that peasants play a central role in food provisioning in Colombia. For example, Salgado (2000) argues that “*peasants have engaged in productive transformations including their role in providing food to urban areas*” (Salgado, 2000, p.56). In their analysis of the Integrated Rural Development Programmes of the 1980s in Colombia, De Janvry and colleagues (1991) emphasised that “*agricultural peasant production is essential*” and that “*peasants hold an important percentage of the agricultural production*” (De Janvry et al., 1991, p.234). Likewise, the UNDP’s Human Development Report (2011) states that peasants' contribution to food provisioning has been essential.

From an economic perspective, Forero (2002) has categorised different types of peasant agriculture (Table 2.1) in relation to the types of food that they produce. He distinguishes community and family production with more or less integration to the market.

Table 2.1. Types of peasant agriculture in Colombia (Forero, 2002)

Type of Agriculture	Type	Products
Peasant agriculture: its reproduction depends on the income that is generated for the family or social group.	Community enterprise	Coffee, cereals (maize, wheat, barley, rice), oil-producing crops (sesame), potato, yuca, plantain,, fruit and vegetables. **Agro-industrial on farms**: coffee, tobacco, coca, poppy, panela, milk, cattle, poultry. timber, fish
	Subsistence family enterprises	
	Family enterprises highly integrated in the market	
	Family capitalist production	

But also, as I will discuss in chapters 4 and 5, many of the peasants whom I interviewed identify themselves not only as peasants, but also as food producers. Even more, they find multiple meanings in food production. These meanings range from the economic sphere to their role in the country's development and to their cultural history and place-bound identity. I argue that the acknowledgement of food production as a practical matter but also as an organic part of the peasant identity can help us to better understand the role of peasantry in practice and in theory.

This acknowledgement of peasants as food producers has taken place alongside the debates about land inequality and distribution. But for most of the time these two debates have been disconnected. Only recently have the debates on land redistribution and food provisioning been linked in the academic literature. Machado (2017) contends that in the process of land redistribution the right to property should be oriented to food production for the internal market. He states:

> Peasants make an efficient use of land and could gain a prominent role in the provision of food for the domestic market without ignoring that there may be competition with large scale agriculture. But in such cases surplus could be exported. […] Any state action to re-distribute land to small and middle peasants benefits food security. (Machado, 2017, p. 196)

This link between land, food security, and food sovereignty in Colombia needs more attention and further development. Such analysis is beyond my research questions. However the debate to which I turn now, concerning food security and food sovereignty, has many insights relevant to the discussion.

2.3.3. Food security and food sovereignty: towards a food-provisioning debate

The rise of agrarian movements with a marked emphasis on food (food movements, agri-food movements, as I discussed above) has drawn attention to a debate about the terms of food security and food sovereignty as central aspects of the food-regime analysis to the point that they have been portrayed by some (McMichael, 2016) as mainly antagonistic concepts. Others (Clapp, 2014) instead contest that, given the different histories in the emergence of such concepts, they should not be antagonistic and rather could be complementary terms. Let us examine the roots and meanings of these concepts.

On the one hand, the term "food security" was officially adopted by FAO at the World Food Summit in 1996 (FAO, 1996) and modified in 2001 to include the word “social” in its definition as follows:

> Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. (FAO, 2001)

One of the main criticisms that the term has elicited is that it lacks guidance on where food should be produced and by whom (Patel, 2009). McMichael (2016) contends that the outcome of this is that the food system provides “*food from nowhere*”, referring to food that arrives in the supermarkets without any

accompanying information about its source, its means of production, or the identity of the producers. Another of the criticisms is that the global agenda of food and agriculture has over-emphasised the food-availability aspect of the concept, relegating access, distribution, stability and utilisation to a second place (Clapp, 2014). Critiques have also linked the concept of food security to the neoliberal regime, arguing that food security can only be achieved through neoliberal market policies. In turn, this justifies the expansion of free markets as the main response to food-security challenges (McMichael, 2016).

On the other hand, food sovereignty emerged in the 1990s associated with LVC as a mobilising framework for social movements which brings together a "*set of legal norms and practices aimed at transforming food and agriculture systems*" (Edelman, 2014, p. 959). In McMichael's words, food sovereignty "*emerged as the antithesis of the corporate food regime and its (unrealised) claims for food security via the free trade rules of the World Trade Organisation*" and is based on a democratic rebuilding of domestic agricultures (McMichael, 2014a, p.934).

La Via Campesina defines food sovereignty as

> The right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. 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. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers. Food sovereignty prioritises local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food

> production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. (La Via Campesina)

As the definition shows, food sovereignty entails a set of values, practices and goals for the transformation of the prevalent food regime. Among its values, as Holt-Gimez and Shattuck (2010) put it, are the democratisation of the food system in favour of the poor and underserved. Its main practices include agroecology, *campesino a campesino* (peasant to peasant) trade, and seed sovereignty (Holt-Giménez, 2006; Holt-Giménez and Altieri, 2012). Among its goals, as McMichael puts it, is the rebuilding of domestic agricultures (2014). Wittman (2009) adds that food sovereignty is about re-connecting town and country through local food regimes and reconnecting agriculture and nature through agroecology.

In the context of my empirical analysis in Colombia this confrontation between food sovereignty and food security comes up at the negotiations between the national government and agrarian movements. The national government uses the FAO definition of food security and agrarian movements; Cumbre Agraria (CA) in particular uses food sovereignty in line with LVC's definition. In chapters 5 and 6 I analyse these negotiations in light of what I have debated in this section. In the face of these debates, I follow Clapp (2014) in that, given the different contexts and backgrounds of these terms, it is not appropriate to approach them as antagonistic. Food security is descriptive and open-ended, food sovereignty is prescriptive and normative. And, as Clapp puts it,

> Both food security and food sovereignty are useful as concepts to help us understand, debate, and formulate policies to address the most pressing issues of hunger and inequality in the global food system today. The challenge is to engage in a more constructive and meaningful dialogue about the

> approaches on the table that are being put forward by very different ideological camps. (Clapp, 2014, p.210)

This constructive and meaningful dialogue between “different ideological camps”, as Clapp describes it, is the perspective that I adopt for my research. Rather than being opposing and rival terms, food security and food sovereignty can be complementary concepts. In this context, I argue that, beyond food security and food sovereignty, the debates can be framed in accordance with the concept of food provisioning. I propose this as a term that allows constructive dialogue between parties with opposing views on the matter.

Academic literature on agrarian movements’ perspectives on food sovereignty is abundant. Likewise, recent research has analysed the role and engagement of the state with food sovereignty in Latin America, particularly in Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia (McKay et al., 2014). The relationship between agrarian movements and the state, and food sovereignty and the state, has not been addressed in Colombia so far. My empirical analysis in Chapter 6 seeks to address this, showing how, while the Colombian negotiations suggest a confrontation between these concepts, food sovereignty has been adopted in public officials' discourse at the national level. Even more, when analysing the sub-national government, I will show the ways in which the department of Nariño elaborated a 10-year plan for “food security and sovereignty”. Through the Colombian case I hope to demonstrate the blurring of the confrontation and boundaries between food security and food sovereignty.

As I have shown above, and as Chapter 5 discusses, both the terms food security and food sovereignty are politically sensitive for certain actors. In this context, one of my conceptual contributions to this discussion is that “food

provisioning” constitutes a better, perhaps neutral term, in the context of dialogue and negotiation. This term, I will argue, is one that could bring together actors with multiple backgrounds and interests around the same table to discuss the provision of food from their different perspectives.

If we want to take seriously the considerations raised by Thompson and colleagues (2009) of how poor rural people can negotiate pathways to sustainability, and how agri-food systems can contribute to poverty reduction and environmental sustainability, it is imperative to find ways in which these negotiations can take place. If food security and food sovereignty lead to confrontation, then it is essential to find conceptual elements that enable different actors to gather people around the table for a democratic debate. In this spirit, Chapter 3 elaborates on the historical emergence of the food-provisioning debate, and chapters 4, 5, and 6 discuss its implications in practice.

2.4. National-contemporary dynamics

From the global-historical dynamics of food security and food sovereignty, I now move to the national-contemporary dynamics, paying attention to narratives and policy change.

2.4.1. Narratives and competing visions

As a unit of qualitative analysis, narratives bring together ideas, visions and values. McComas and Shanahan (1999) define narratives as stories based on “fragmented observations to construct meanings and realities” (p.36). For Scoones and Thompson (2009), narratives are constructed framings of

particular problems, their solutions and the actors involved. There are dominant narratives related to “powerful actors and networks, and alternative narratives that represent more marginal, minority voices which represent competing framings of problems and solutions” (p.389). The analysis of narratives has been applied in multiple disciplines, such as communication theory (Bormann, 1982; Berger, 1997), policy processes (Jones and McBeth, 2010), and climate change (McComas and Shanahan, 1999). In the fields of agrarian change, peasant studies and agricultural development, narrative analysis has played an important role. Such are the cases of studies of the politics of seeds and the Green Revolution in Africa (Scoones and Thomson, 2011), scarcity and “global resource grab” (Scoones et al., 2014), the role of agriculture in development (Dercon, 2009), agricultural policy (Cabral and Scoones, 2014) and agroecology (Rivera-Ferre, 2018). Across these fields, questions include how narratives affect policy, and why certain narratives endure and become dominant, while others remain marginalised and neglected.

For my conceptual framework I follow the narratives perspective of Thompson and Scoones (2009) and Leach and colleagues (2010). Their narrative analysis suggests the existence of two dominant or mainstream and two alternative or marginalised narratives in contemporary food systems. The dominant narratives are framed as the “modernist project”, and they involve the “production-innovation” narrative and the “growth” narrative. The alternative or marginalised narratives are “agroecology” and “participatory practices” (Table 2.2).

The production-innovation narrative refers to the need for innovation in the forms of production. Such is the case of the Green Revolution, which induced

high-yielding varieties of seeds, particularly wheat and rice, to keep up with population growth (Thompson and Scoones, 2009). More recently focus has been placed on the “genes revolution”. The main assumption of this narrative is that increases in food production will only be achieved through technological innovation in seeds (high-yield varieties or GMOs). Its large-scale implementation with high external inputs will increase production, and the narrative assumes that, in turn, there will be distribution for the poorest farmers and access to consumers, which is not always the case. In terms of the narrative of growth, it is assumed that high levels of investment in agriculture, particularly in large-scale agriculture, will bring economic growth as a result and therefore will lift people out of poverty (Thompson and Scoones, 2009).

Table 2.2. Dominant and alternative narratives in agri-food systems (based on Thompson and Scoones, 2009)

Dominant Narratives		**Alternative Narratives**	
Production-innovation	**Growth**	**Agroecology**	**Participatory**
Green Revolution: high-yield varieties and spectacular increase in cereal production. Increased crops yields, but no increase in food availability for the poor. Environmental problems. From the Green to the Gene revolution.	Agriculture as an engine of economic growth. From backward to modern, from subsistence to market, from old to new agriculture. The role of agriculture in economic development.	Ecological principles for agriculture. Response to the extractive industrial model. Environmental and ecological aspects combined with socioeconomic and cultural aspects. Endogenous biological processes. Small-scale, resource- efficient. Farmers’ knowledge	Farmer-participatory research and development. Local experience. Sustainable-livelihoods approach. Linkages between local and scientific knowledge. Local communities’ empowerment.

Both the production-innovation narrative and the growth narrative are based on linear-equilibrium views that are transforming agriculture from traditional to modern, from old to new, laying out a deterministic path for agriculture. Combined with neoliberal policies of export-oriented agriculture, the retreat of the state and the opening of global markets, these narratives have, as Millstone et al. (2009) have stated, “locked in” or rendered dominant, particular views of agriculture, and have “locked out”, or marginalised, other perspectives and possibilities of agricultural development.

Among the narratives that have been marginalised are agroecology and participatory alternatives. Agroecology offers the possibility of an environment-friendly agriculture consistent with ecological principles. It is concerned not only with the environment, but also with the socioeconomic aspects of farming, based on low-input and small-scale perspectives (Thompson and Scoones, 2009). The narrative on participatory alternatives accords importance to participatory rural appraisals, with a focus on local experiences, empowerment and farmers’ traditional knowledge (Thompson and Scoones, 2009).

In this context, the dominant views of agricultural knowledge come from a highly scientific community, including plant breeding and genetics enterprises, while farmers’ knowledge and traditional indigenous practices are marginalised. In the same way, large-scale and export-oriented agriculture becomes a priority as the main engine of economic growth, while views of the role of local markets and domestic food provision remain side-lined (Thompson and Scoones, 2009; Rivera-Ferre, 2012).

While the narratives above have been discussed by scholars in the development field, newer narratives in the context of agriculture and globalisation have received less attention. Such is the case, as I discussed in the previous chapter, of the narratives of food provision, particularly the narrative of “feeding the world” and alternative narratives of feeding the household, the village and the nation. In Chapter 5 I discuss how agrarian movements in Colombia reject the narrative of an agriculture for feeding the world and insist on food provision at local and regional levels. These competing narratives bring new practical and conceptual insights into the field of agri-food systems.

2.4.2. Policy change

The analysis of narratives is not only useful for learning about framings and ways of understanding the world from the perspectives of different actors. One of the key aspects of narratives is that they have the potential to influence policy when they are engrained in particular networks with specific interests. In this spirit, I link my narrative analysis with a policy-change framework proposed by Keeley and Scoones (2003) which, in addition to narratives, looks at actors/networks and interests/politics in particular contexts. Keeley and Scoones argue that policy change occurs as a result of the interaction between these three components, as shown in Figure 2.4.

This framework comes from an analysis that distances itself from views of policy as a linear process of agenda setting, decision making and implementation. Rather, Keeley and Scoones (2003) argue that in practice policy is more a web of inter-related decisions that evolve over time, and that it

is a political process, rather than the instrumental execution of rational decisions.

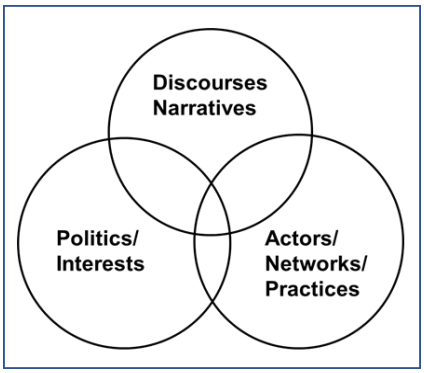


Figure 2.4. Policy change framework (Keeley and Scoones, 2003)

This framework enables me to analyse the contemporary national (and sub-national) dynamics. The main actors that my empirical chapter covers are agrarian movements, represented by two main national organisations, and the state, represented by the President as well as the Ministries of Interior and Agriculture. While agrarian movements and the state are the two main actors that I focus on, I pay attention to the food industry as well. It will appear in Chapter 3 as a result of the food-regime analysis and the expansion of translatino capital and will re-appear in Chapter 5 when I am discussing the main narratives that I have found during my study.

In order to understand the different actors' perspectives on the agrarian strikes, their role in the negotiations and their visions of food and agriculture, I focus on narratives. Narratives are the stories that people tell and their interpretation of reality, based on subjective values. But rather than merely identifying narratives, I endeavour to understand the ways in which they interact, and how the actors that I am studying react to each other's narratives. Finally, I focus on the interests of each of the actors by discussing their agendas, policies and the material collected in my interviews.

This concludes my framework in which I have discussed the main concepts that I use in my research to analyse the global-historical dynamics and the national-contemporary dynamics of food and agriculture in Colombia. The next chapter provides the historical background of my thesis by analysing Colombia in relation to global food and agricultural dynamics, using food regimes as a framework of analysis.

3. The hidden battles of food provisioning: background and emergence of a central debate

3.1. Introduction

As I outlined in Chapter 1, in this research work I am interested in understanding the emergence and development of the food-provision narratives in the context of the national agrarian strikes and negotiations in Colombia in the period 2013-2016; this I will do in chapters 4, 5 and 6. But before getting there it is important to understand the background and history of these debates. Therefore, the questions that I raise in this chapter are: what are the roots and evolution of the food-provisioning debates in Colombia? How and why did these debates emerge? How and why did the debate on food provisioning take centre stage? Who are the main actors involved, and what are their trajectories? The conceptual lens through which I analyse these questions is the food-regime analysis (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989; McMichael, 2009), which I discussed in detail in the previous chapter. To recap, and in broader terms, the food-regime analysis proposes (1) the emergence of particular global food and agricultural circulation patterns, (2) in certain periods of time, leading to (3) specific ways of capital accumulation and (4) international division of labour. In other words, the food-regime approach proposes the emergence of a “global food order” which can be better understood when “historicising” and “politicising” food (McMichael, 2009). To historicise and politicise food means taking a retrospective view of food and agriculture, with a focus on the particular interests of different actors involved in

food provision. I complement the food-regime framework with a narratives analysis in line with Leach and colleagues (2010), also discussed in the previous chapter.

The structure of this chapter reflects the way in which I conducted my enquiry. First I looked at the agrarian-change approaches and did not find many answers there. Then I looked at the historical transformations of food and agriculture from a political-economy perspective, in which I found some traces pointing to the background, but they did not lead to the full picture. Lastly I embarked on the search for new evidence that would enable me to bridge the gap between these historical processes and my contemporary analysis. This journey is reflected in the three main sections of the chapter.

In the first section (3.2.The background to agrarian change in Colombia), I conduct a literature review of the conventional analysis of the agrarian question in Colombia. While the section provides an overview of the historical and complex processes of agrarian change, I argue that these approaches provide very few elements to help us understand the background of the food-provisioning debates. In the second section (3.3. Agriculture and food provisioning in Colombia), I analyse the main transformations in food and agriculture in the period 1900-2010 from a political-economy perspective, focusing on the main crops and foods produced and consumed during this period, the import-export balances, and the policies and international events that affected these aspects. I will argue that the analysis of these transformations provides a deeper understanding of the emergence of the debates about food provision. The competing views between the agricultural,

industrial and trading sectors provide some evidence of this. Yet such analysis does not tell the whole story.

Because conventional approaches to agrarian change (Section 3.2) and political-economy analysis (Section 3.3) do not provide a comprehensive answer to my questions, in the third section (3.4. Three trajectories of the food-provisioning debates: in search of new evidence) I embark on a search for additional evidence. Thus, I analyse the trajectories and framings of food debates as favoured by three main actors: the food industry, the state, and agrarian movements. I contend that the scrutiny of this new evidence (based on secondary information) in the light of the previous two analyses will help us to piece together the puzzle of the background and emergence of the food-provisioning debate. The analysis of the framings and narratives of these three actors takes us to the roots of the debate from a historical perspective, showing that there has been indeed a hidden battle for food provision in Colombia which until now has not been addressed in the academic literature. Thus this chapter constitutes both a critical review of the existing scholarship and an analysis of new evidence, which together constitute the historical background of my thesis.

3.2. The background to agrarian change in Colombia: conventional views

In this section I visit conventional approaches that have been used to analyse agrarian change in Colombia. This constitutes a review both of the ways in which the agrarian question has been formulated in Colombia and the main perspectives that have been used to address it. This is not an exhaustive review, but rather an overview of the existing literature in this area that I

explored in my quest to understand the background to the food debates in Colombia.

Some of the main elements that have been influential in producing the agrarian changes that the country has gone through are its varied geography, its natural richness and its diverse population. The colonial agrarian regime, national independence and rural politics, and the transition to capitalism are also elements that contributed to the shaping of agrarian change. Combined, these aspects have given rise to agrarian challenges that include land distribution, political violence and armed conflict.

We must not forget that all of the historical changes analysed in this chapter are taking place in a highly diverse and heterogeneous place, in both natural and socio-cultural terms (as specified in the introductory chapter). This makes the study of agrarian change problematic, because the heterogeneity of regions means that change takes different shapes in different regions, as opposed to uniform, same-paced transformations.

3.2.1. Formulations of the agrarian question In Colombia

For Colombia, colonised by the Spanish in the 15th century and becoming independent in the 19th, the paths of agrarian change and the conflicts over land have roots in the colonial agrarian regime (Zamosc, 1986). The formation of *haciendas* and *latifundia* – large landed properties controlled by elites – in the lower plains, and *minifundia* – small peasant properties, mostly in the highlands – constitutes the scenario of a centuries-long conflict which, despite its varied manifestations, persists until today.

The transition to capitalism in the countryside is one of the most puzzling aspects of agrarian change and is what motivated Marx to formulate the agrarian question, which focuses on the transition from pre-capitalist, subsistence agriculture to capitalist relations, including the emergence of classes, labour and capital. It also implies the emergence of two main paths: the landlord path of large-scale capitalist agriculture based on wage labour, and the peasant path of small-scale agriculture based on family work. This question and analytical framework have been central issues, as they have influenced Colombian scholarship on agrarian change. In Colombia, the agrarian question has been formulated as “how would subsistence agriculture based on pre-capitalist relationships, in the context of latifundia, transition to a production oriented to the market, the emergence of labour, and an agrarian structure that facilitates the land market?” (Machado, 1986, p.25). The result is a marked emphasis on the issues of land and its links to violent conflict. But, as we will see further in this chapter, it does not tell the whole story.

3.2.2. The troubled history of land and agrarian reform

Absalon Machado, one of the most established scholars in the field of rural politics and agrarian change in Colombia, best summarises the problem of land in Colombia when he contends that agrarian reform is a “ghost” that the country has not been able to banish, and which therefore persistently “haunts the country” every time there are debates about rural problems (Machado, 2009). This is because, in Machado’s words,

> Colombia never implemented an adequate and serious land distribution in order to facilitate growth and development with equity and social justice. In the context of today’s modernisation and globalisation, the term [of agrarian

> reform] sounds anachronistic, carrying the inefficiency of public sector action and the lack of participation of the private sector in helping to solve the problem, which implies high costs for society in general. (Machado, 2009 p.92)

Having inherited an unequal agrarian structure from the Spanish colonialists, the Colombian state, despite multiple reforms and "*timid attempts*", never implemented a real or effective re-distribution of land, and therefore a highly unequal agrarian structure has endured over time (Machado, 2009).

The two main types of agrarian reform that took place in Colombia were respectively state-led and market-led. The first took place in the 1960s during the presidency of Alberto Lleras Camargo. It proposed a structural distribution based on expropriation of land, and its re-distribution to landless peasants (Zamosc, 1986). This was supported by the creation of official institutions that would lead the process at national and sub-national levels, and also by the creation of a peasant movement: the *Asociacion Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos* (ANUC), which emerged as a counterpart and main civil-society advocate of agrarian reform (Zamosc, 1986; Rivera 1987). In a few years ANUC grew into a nation-wide agrarian movement, reaching one million members and putting the issue of land distribution on the national agenda. However, fierce opposition from the landowner class and political elites put several obstacles in the way of the implementation of this reform, which was finally blocked by the *Pacto de Chicoral* during Misael Pastrana's conservative presidency. This was an elite pact between landowners and the state which blocked further attempts at land re-distribution (Zamosc, 1986; Rivera and Parra 1987). The proposed government action took the form of the Integrated Rural Development programmes (addressed in the section below). Although effective land distribution took place between 1961 and 1969, the

implementation of the reform was not enough to change the agrarian structure of the country[13].

The second approach, that of market-led agrarian reform, took place during President Cesar Gaviria's term, in the form of Law 160 of 1994. This reform proposed re-distribution through the market, whereby the state would subsidise landless peasants so that they could acquire lands at the market price. Landowners would enter the transactions voluntarily, and there would be no expropriation (CNMH, 2016). This reform, as reported by Machado (2017), prompted land re-distribution, but most of the land was distributed in colonisation areas and did not affect the unequal agrarian structure. Despite these and other initiatives of agrarian reform,[14] the unequal character of the agrarian structure of the country has not been modified.

If the attempts at agrarian reform were not effective, what have been the main trends in terms of the re-distribution of land? These can be classified in five main general processes. The first is the expansion and consolidation of *latifundia*, a process that started in the late 1800s and continued in the first half of the 20th century (Zamosc, 1986). The expansion of large properties in the 19th and 20th centuries took in the best land in multiple regions, generally close to the cities, and it has been historically very unproductive, as landowners use the expropriations to retain economic and political power. The dominance of *latifundia*, and the inequality embedded in it, were unveiled in the most recent agrarian census data (2016), which report that 0.2 per cent of the landowners

[13] None of the agrarian reform attempts in Colombia has changed the agrarian structure as the majority of the land continues to be own by a few number of landowners. These programmes in the past have prompted, instead of land re-distribution, the colonising of wild jungle areas and expansion of the agricultural frontier.
[14] See Machado (2017), Restrepo and Bernal (2014); CNMH (2016).

own properties larger than 1,000 hectares (32.8 per cent of the total properties), while 69.5 per cent of the landowners own properties of less than five hectares (5.2 per cent of the land) (DANE, 2016). This connects with a second and parallel process, which is the configuration of *minifundia*. When large-scale properties took the best lands across the country, peasants settled in peripheral areas on small plots of land. This consolidated the *minifundia*, which constitute the majority of productive units in Colombia.

The third approach is the expansion of the agrarian frontier and the colonisation of jungle areas. By allowing the colonisation of jungle areas in various years (the early 1900s, 1960s, 1990s), the national government sought to release pressure from landless groups for land distribution (Gomez Jimenez, 1989). Some of the main colonisation areas were Caquetá (Molano, 1987), Guania (Molano, 1990) and Meta (Rausch, 2013). Today these areas of the country still constitute the agrarian frontier and are also at risk of increased deforestation (IDEAM, 2013).

In fourth place are the emerging fights for territorial control. Machado (2017) contends that the nature of the agrarian problems in recent years went from land distribution and land control to the struggle for the control of “the territory” by armed groups, criminal gangs and capital. For Machado, the territory is an operational space for different groups that encompasses key natural resources, population, strategic infrastructure and communication. In this context the problematic is no longer about land ownership and legal titles, but rather about the control of particular territories over time, which provides crucial advantages for illegal groups, criminal gangs or capital.

Finally, land grabbing – large-scale land acquisitions – has emerged in recent years as a new dynamic of land disputes. Poor and marginalised communities have been displaced from their lands, which have been given to private corporations for the production of food, biofuels and logging.[15] For example, Fajardo (2014) reports the increasing government support for national and international agricultural enterprise. At the national level, groups such as Luis Carlos Sarmiento Angulo, Valorem (familia Santodomingo), Sindicato Antioqueno (familia Lievano), Familia Eder and Francisco Santos (former Vice-President of Colombia) received 220,000 hectares for agricultural projects. International groups, including Cargill/Holding Black River (USA), Monica y Amaggi (Brazil), GPC (Chile), El Tejar (Argentina), and Poligrow (Spain), also received lands for cultivation. In addition Congressman Jorge Robledo, in a 2013 letter to President Santos, denounced the fraudulent acquisition of 52,000 hectares of land by the transnational company Cargill, in which national companies bought land parcels at low prices from local farmers and sold them to Cargill for more than 200 times the price they had paid (Robledo, 2018). Grajales (2011) studies the links between violent displacement, land grabbing and economic development by looking at the case of the low Atrato region, where 12 companies received 26,000 hectares of land after rural communities were forcibly displaced by paramilitary groups.[16]

[15] For a comprehensive account of global land deals, see Wolford et al. (2013); and for Latin America see Borras et al. (2013) and Soto and Gomez (2012).
[16] Studies by Palacios (2012) and Hurtado et al. (2017) also address the links between forced displacements due to paramilitary action and palm-oil expansion.

The problems of land distribution and inequality mentioned above, and the enduring agrarian structure of the country, constitute key causes of the emergence and persistence of violent conflict in Colombia.

3.2.3. Agrarian change, violent conflict and drug trafficking

Another aspect that has shaped the dynamics of agrarian change in Colombia and that has roots in and links with the agrarian structure is the violent conflict in its various forms, and the emergence and consolidation of the illegal economy of drug trafficking. Between 1958 and 2012 the Colombian conflict left 220,000 people dead, 80 per cent of whom were civilians, and forcibly displaced nearly six million people, mainly from the rural areas (CNMH, 2013). Part and parcel of the conflict has been the consolidation of the illegal economy of drugs which has resulted in the country becoming one of the top global producers of coca bush and cocaine (UNODC, 2017). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed account of such dynamics, but with the aim of providing the reader with a relevant background to my research questions, I highlight four key aspects.[17]

First and foremost it is important to stress that the long-standing agrarian struggles that arise from the unequal development of capitalism in the countryside are the seeds and initial cause of violent conflict (Thomson, 2011; Fajardo, 2012; Kay, 2001). The unequal distribution of land and the consolidation of large landed properties as a result of alliances between landowners and political elites consolidated an unequal agrarian structure that

[17] The *Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica* (CNMH), created in 2011, has compiled and produced a large body of literature (some of which is cited in this thesis) analysing the roots, causes and effects of violent conflict in Colombia. It can be found on their website: ww.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co.

endures until today. The expansion and consolidation of this agrarian structure, as Machado (2017) argues, reinforces the violent conflict through processes of land dispossession, forced displacement and the exclusion of poor populations from the market economy.

Second, in the midst of the agrarian reformism of the 1960s and 1970s and the inability of the state to implement a structural agrarian reform, insurgent groups emerged, some of them of peasant origin and orientation, such as FARC and ELN, EPL, and M19, all of them originating in leftist ideologies. As a result of these insurgencies, and practices such as extortions on landowners, self-installed governance in areas with a lack of state presence, and kidnappings, self-defence or paramilitary groups are created, in some cases with the support of landowners and the state. The confrontation of guerrillas, paramilitaries and the Colombian army took the violent conflict to a new stage, affecting mainly rural populations who were caught in the middle of conflicts among these groups and were forced to obey their governance rules, or were forcibly displaced, or were victims of massacres in the worst cases (PNUD, 2011). The nature, structures and goals of these groups changed over time: from an initial focus on the peasant struggle to direct confrontation with the state, and from self-defence groups to organised criminal forces in the case of paramilitaries (CNMH, 2013).

Third, in the 1980s drug trafficking emerged as a way of financing the structure and military strength of all these groups. This became a determining factor of the conflict in the years to come, but was not its main cause (PNUD, 2011b). The violent way in which the illegal economy of drugs is installed in the rural areas causes forced displacement of rural communities (Meertens, 2010), land

dispossession by violent means (Thomson, 2011), and selective killings of those who oppose or threaten the drug traffickers' interests (PNUD, 2011a). A key aspect has been the involvement of the USA in the war against drugs, partly by helping to strengthen Colombian military capacity, and partly by aerial application of herbicide to curb the coca-bush plantations (Thomson, 2011).

All in all, the dynamics of the violent conflict summarised above have affected the path of agrarian change in Colombia. But in particular these dynamics have reinforced the model of capital accumulation in the countryside by displacing populations, dispossessing landowners and prompting the emergence of rural wage labour in these areas, as argued by Thomson (2011).

These dynamics of agrarian change and violent conflict have been influenced by (but have also affected) the peasant struggle in Colombia.

3.2.4. Agrarian mobilisations: exclusion, violence and resistance

The exclusionary dynamics of agrarian change and violent conflict have motivated collective action and mobilisation by peasants. Often, these mobilisations have taken place jointly with indigenous, African-descendant and labour-union movements (Fajardo, 2014). Broadly, the main issues that have motivated agrarian mobilisation and received attention from academics include agrarian workers' rights (Salgado and Prada, 2000), land re-distribution (Fajardo, 1981; LeGrand, 1988) and ethnicity and identity (Escobar, 2008; Archila and González, 2010). More recently expressions of peasant struggles have also included mobilisations by coca-bush croppers (Molano, 1990), against mining and large infrastructural projects (Salgado and Prada, 2000).

Agrarian mobilisations have also occurred in the context of particular value chains such as coffee, sugar, and rice in relation to price, market access and government support (Meertens, 2000). Other expressions of the peasant mobilisation found in the academic literature include the peace communities of San Jose de Apartado, who declare themselves neutral in the middle ground of the confrontations between violent state and non-state actors (Burnyeat, 2018).

In a study which analysed peasant mobilisations in Colombia in the period 1980-1995, Salgado and Prada (2000) identified 47 types of thematic protest, organised in 11 categories, most of which cover the above issues (land, social services, state policies, etc.). However, none of them is identified specifically as a “food protest”. This could be either because there were no food protests in this period or because the categories of analysis were too broad (as in the case of “protests against agrarian policy”) to capture the specific aspect of food.

But there is no food in the agrarian question

The points addressed above constitute a broad overview of the main perspectives that have been used in past years for the study of agrarian change and rural development in Colombia. These main approaches, despite being central in policy circles and academia, give us very little background about the debates on food provision today. Only in recent years have the issues of land distribution and food security / food sovereignty been linked in academic analysis (Fajardo 2014; Machado 2017). While these analyses constitute a first step in revealing the debates about food provisioning, they do not provide a background to such debates. Having not found roots or traces of

the food-provisioning debates in the conventional perspectives of the agrarian question in Colombia, I now turn to analyse the historical dynamics of food and agriculture, in order to continue this search.

3.3. Agriculture and food provisioning in Colombia: a retrospective view

An op-ed in the magazine of the National Farmers' Association (SAC for its initials in Spanish), published in 1959, provides, arguably, a comprehemsive summary of the feeling of many sectors involved in agricultural production by the mid-20th century in Colombia:

> The country has never configured a comprehensive, ambitious and effective agrarian policy that once and for all places the rural economy in the dimension of development that it really deserves in the nation's development. The main reason for this frustrating outcome is that neither the ruling classes (*clases dirigentes*) nor governments have sincerely cared about agriculture. (SAC, 1959. p.126 in Machado 1986)

This statement reflects SAC's long and difficult journey to promote domestic agriculture at a moment when the national government had recently signed a new agreement with the USA that would allow agricultural imports into Colombia with reduced tariffs (Law 480). Most importantly, the statement reflects the historical absence of a structured and stable national agrarian policy; this was true for the first half of the 20th century and would be so until the early 1990s.

My analytical goals in this section are twofold. First I aim to study the main transformations in the agricultural sector in Colombia in the period 1900-2010, in the light of national priorities and influential international events. Some of the

questions I raise are: which have been important crops in the national economy, and why? How has the value of these crops changed in the face of food imports? And second, in the context of these transformations, who have been the main actors, and how have they reacted to these transformations?

If there is one expression that could describe the Colombian agrarian policy throughout the 20th century, it would be fluctuation and experimentation.[18] Through particular years, under particular governments, and in response to particular international events, Colombian agricultural strategies and priorities shifted, making change a permanent element of agrarian policy. Why was this so? What factors explain the main shifts in national agriculture over time?

As we will see in detail below, agrarian policies during most of the 20th century went through periods of high state intervention via the protection of domestic agriculture, to periods of opening up to, and integration with, the global economy. However, this integration and protection has been selective, as only certain agricultural products have been traded on the international markets. Other products have been mainly oriented towards the domestic market. But key influences on Colombia's agricultural priorities have been global events and the emergence of particular international patterns of food circulation and capital accumulation. Let us explore the first half of the 20th century.

3.3.1. First half of the 20th century: 1900-1945

With the creation of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1914, Colombia had for the first time a global overview of the size and importance of agriculture at the

[18] In her book *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion*, Rosemary Thorp uses the term "experimentation and dislocation", inspired by economist Arthur Lewis.

national level (Table 3.1). In 1915 the most important crops[19] in terms of area were maize (30 per cent), sugar cane (15 per cent) and wheat (10.5 per cent). And in terms of value of production the most important were coffee (26 per cent), maize (18.5 per cent) and plantain (14.3 per cent) (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006).

Since the end of the 19th century coffee had played a central role as an export-oriented product generating foreign exchange. Throughout the 20th century coffee would continue to be the main agricultural export product: 70 per cent of total exports in the 1940s, and 80 per cent by the 1950s (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006). But, as the table above shows, production of other important crops was rich and diverse, including rice (1.1 per cent), beans (2.8 per cent), potato (3.9 per cent) and yuca (3.8 per cent), all of which would increase in the following years, as we will see below.

While the area and value of banana crops were not significant in 1915, they would start expanding from the 1920s onwards, due to foreign capital investment through the US–Colombian Land Company, later renamed as the United Fruit Company, which was established on the Caribbean coast, using some of the best lands in the region, with support from the national and local governments.[20]

[19] Agricultural practices did not use herbicides or machinery at the time, with the exception of sugar cane crops, which used some technology (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006).
[20] The United Fruit Company was one of the first foreign agri-business companies to establish in Colombia. With support from the state in land acquisitions and financial investments, the company is seen as the initiator of the global banana trade (Machado, 1986; Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006). In addtition, the massacre occurred during a labour strike in 1928 is considered by some as the intiation of the social conflicts of the 20st century (Caro, 2011)

Table 3.1. Agricultural production in 1915 in Colombia (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006)

Agricultural Production in Colombia (1915)					
(Summarised by articles)					
Crops	**Cultivated extention (Ha)**	**percentual participation**	**Product in Kilograms**	**Product value (COP)**	**percentual participation**
Cotton	4,620.0	0.8	3,617.4	300,819.1	0.8
Añil or Indigo	100.1	0.0	154.3	20,005.0	0.1
Arracacha	7,057.0	1.3	17,418.3	1,087,206.4	2.8
Rice	6,099.1	1.1	12,824.1	2,108,685.2	5.4
Vetch	7,134.0	1.3	7,594.4	581,638.7	1.5
Banana	1,641.0	0.3	6,320.9	114,825.6	0.3
Cocoa	14,701.1	2.7	3,670.9	1,604,490.0	4.1
Coffee	46,295.0	8.5	68,808.3	10,239,129.3	26.4
Sweet cane	83,034.0	15.2	186,158.2	63,229.9	0.2
Rubber	334.0	0.1	138.7	167,268.0	0.4
Barley	13,367.0	2.5	4,207.1	37,760.8	0.1
Coconut	5,032.1	0.9	1,139.8	206,194.0	0.5
Fique fiber	2,178.0	0.4	2,009.5	695,046.5	1.8
Beans	15,342.0	2.8	5,691.3	5,691.3	0.0
vegetables	2,106.0	0.4	7,354.7	375,970.1	1.0
Corn	168,116.0	30.8	166,071.4	7,191,404.5	18.5
peanut	484.1	0.1	251.1	44,483.1	0.1
Toquilla straw	128.0	0.0	58.6	32,741.3	0.1
potato	21,138.0	3.9	33,327.1	1,697,484.6	4.4
plantain	51,084.0	9.4	141,370.7	5,531,915.5	14.3
Tobacco	6,776.0	1.2	6,496.3	2,117,911.7	5.5
wheat	57,060.0	10.5	27,796.9	2,276,032.7	5.9
Yucca	20,538.0	3.8	77,707.4	2,289,814.9	5.9
other crops	10,815.0	2.0	17,182.3	-	0.0
Totals	**545,179.5**	**100.0**	**797,369.7**	**38,789,748.20**	**100**
Others					
Arificial pasture	964,640.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Natural pasture	1,610,696.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bush (Surface)	19,300,182.0	76.0	0.0	0.0	
Montain (Surface)	3,521,810.0	13.9	0.0	0.0	
Totals	25,397,328.0	100.0			

During this time there were already tensions between the state and national producers, due to fluctuations in the import-export balance. In the 1920s the "*ley de emergencia*" (emergency law) allowed imports of food in order to supply the growing domestic demand and to reduce the national prices of food (Machado, 1986; Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006). Table 3.2 lists imports that were allowed between 1922 and 1928. While the table reports the value of imports in Colombian pesos at the time, it gives us an idea of the products that

were imported, most of which were the ones being produced domestically at the time.

Table 3.2. Imported products during Ley de Emergencia (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006)

CUADRO 11 VALOR DE LOS DERECHOS DE IMPORTACION DE ALGUNOS ARTICULOS ALIMENTICIOS (LEY DE EMERGENCIA)

ARTICULOS	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928 7 meses
	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos	Pesos
Trigo	208.369	589.18	488.335	539.283	663.554	631.517	159.882
Arroz	239.308	365.557	417.638	437.555	881.025	506.281	112.409
Frijoles	3.131	3.11	4.245	.....	61.311	14.741	1.078
Azúcar	11.497	6.493	22.825	41.246	141.663	276.872	110.277
Maíz	1.145	140	286	64	13.708	2.27	525
Cebada	38.775	44.242	56.29	71.682	179.879	64.201	42.628
Manteca	196.377	339.784	385.043	245.07	784.141	470.124	84.933
Harina	275.872	442.325	491.407	482.533	770.644	690.138	258.882
Papas	.....	.....	.....	43.564	75.703	38.997	.....
Totales	974.474	1.790.831	1.866.069	1.860.997	3.561.628	2.695.141	770.614

Fuente: Revista de Industria No. 58, Volumen 5 Mayo 1929

In terms of agrarian institutions, in addition to the creation of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1914, there was the consolidation of the *Sociedad de Agricultores de Colombia* (1871), which was the initiative of a landowners' association. Also, the *Federación Nacional de Cafeteros* was created in 1927 to oversee coffee production and represent the interests of the coffee producers (Machado, 1986).

Due to the Great Depression in the 1930s, the end of the *Ley de Emergencia* and the Second World War (1939-45), agrarian policy was oriented towards protecting domestic agriculture, particularly coffee and wheat, prompting the creation of plans for self-sufficiency and import substitution (Machado, 1986). This is reflected in the increased production during the 1930s and 1940s of crops such as potato, cacao, beans and sugar cane (Figure 3.1) (Machado, 1986).

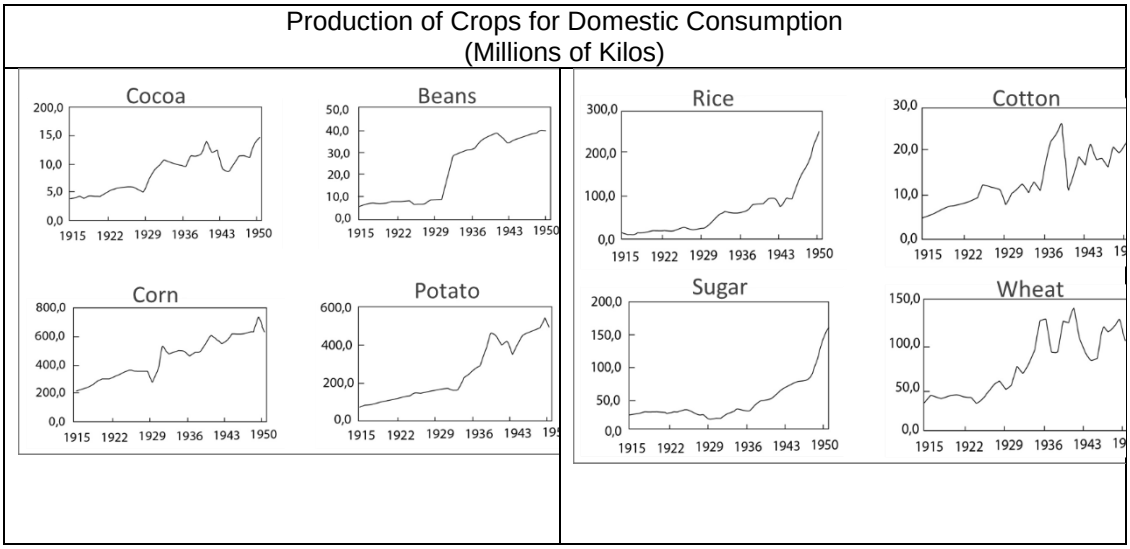


Figure 3.1. Products for domestic consumption 1915-1950 (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006)

But while agriculture for the domestic market increased, due to the import-substitution policies, agricultural imports continued, as reported in Table 3.3 by Machado (1986). Wheat, sugar and rice were also being imported, to a lesser extent in the years 1941-43 but increasing swiftly again from 1944.

Table 3.3. Main agricultural imports into Colombia, 1938-1945 (Machado, 1986)

Colombia-Main agricultural imports (Thousands of kg)								
Product	**1938**	**1939**	**1940**	**1941**	**1942**	**1943**	**1944**	**1945**
Wheat	15,855	34,237	25,372	18,711	9,974	12,045	20,926	39,759
Refined Sugar	2,448	5,533	14,960	4,825	1,903	21		
Wheat Flour			1,121	983	1,455	3,936	4,623	21,013
Cocoa	2,535	3,484	2,770	3,062	2,373	3,419		
Cotton	4,346	6,721	8,830	18,328	19,220	17,289	17,788	15,081
Rice	11,813	22,218	9,445	159	24	26		
Total agricultural products	**43,097**	**74,835**	**54,869**	**68,288**	**61,431**	**60,122**	**85,055**	**90,055**

In summary, during the first half of the 20th century, food provisioning in Colombia took place in the context of fluctuations between domestic production and food imports. These fluctuations were influenced by the prices of food, which prompted the creation of *Ley de Emergencia*, by the Great Depression in the 1930s and by the Second World War. The state played a central role in overseeing domestic production and consumption, and regulating both food prices and imports. The main actors involved in food provisioning were the

state and emerging farmers' associations such as SAC and *Federación de Cafeteros*.

3.3.2. 1945-1990: post-war to Green Revolution and structural adjustment

The provision of food in the post-war period entered a new phase of fluctuations that were determined to a large extent by international events and particularly by the influence of the USA and the newly created international organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, in addition to decisions taken by the Colombian government concerning these international and national contexts. The period can be divided in two sub-periods. The first one (1945-67) featured the continuation of the import-substitution policies, and the second (1968-1990) featured the promotion of exports and protection of national agriculture.

a. Import-substitution policies 1945-67

Overall, the main goal of the state during these years was industrialisation through import substitution (Gomez Jimenez, 1989). In this context, the Laureano Gomez administration (1950-1953) gave continuity to the protection and promotion of domestic agriculture (*Decreto 1830* of 1 August 1952) through tariffs on foreign products, at the same time as promoting exports of rice, corn, potato, tobacco, salt, beer and sugar (Machado, 1986). Part of the reason why the government embarked on an effort to promote and increase the levels of production of national agricultural products was the shortage of food imports coming mainly from the USA. This shortage was related to the flows of US food support to Europe as part of the Marshall Plan. But by 1954

the high prices of food prompted the government to allow food imports (Decree 1528 of 12 May 1954), in order to reduce food prices (Machado, 1986).

In addition, Colombia and the USA entered a new stage of agricultural relations. Through Law 480 of 1953, Colombia had committed to cultivate crops different from the US imports, with the goal of improving the “competitive advantage” of both countries. In this context imports of products such as wheat, flour, oils, rice and cotton were allowed, with reduced tariffs. This new agreement with the USA envisaged food donations to violence-prone areas, as part of the Care and Caritas Programme[21] (Machado, 1986).

A key aspect to note during this period are the new actors and rising tensions concerning food provision. In addition to the state, with its continuing regulatory role, and SAC[22] as one of the main promoters of national agriculture, the *Asociacion Nacional de Industriales de Colombia*[23] (ANDI, National Industrial Association) enters into the debate with an active role. ANDI advocated allowing free imports of primary products, particularly wheat and other cereals, to help industry grow (Gomez Jimenez 1989). ANDI (industry) and SAC (farmers and landowners) would continue to promote diverging visions in the years to come.

Some of the changes that took place throughout these years can be seen in the fluctuations in wheat production, which reached high levels in the 1950s

[21] Between 1955 and 1963 the USA donated 392,772,000 pounds of products that would go to hospitals, schools and areas affected by violence (Machado, 1986).
[22] SAC brought together both medium-sized agricultural producers and landowners. Their main internal tension was due to the landowners' wish to use the land for extensive cattle ranching, which was very unproductive, while agricultural producers wanted a more productive use of the land and to protect national agriculture.
[23] ANDI was founded in 1944; its main goal is to foster “free enterprise” through political, economic and social values. It represents sectors such as industry, finance, agro-industry, food and services among others.

and early 1960s but then decreased sharply in the 1970s (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006). Kalmanovitz and Lopez (2006) also show how the reduction in wheat production from the 1970s in the high plains of Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño prompted an increase in the production of potatoes and flowers (Figure 3.2.).

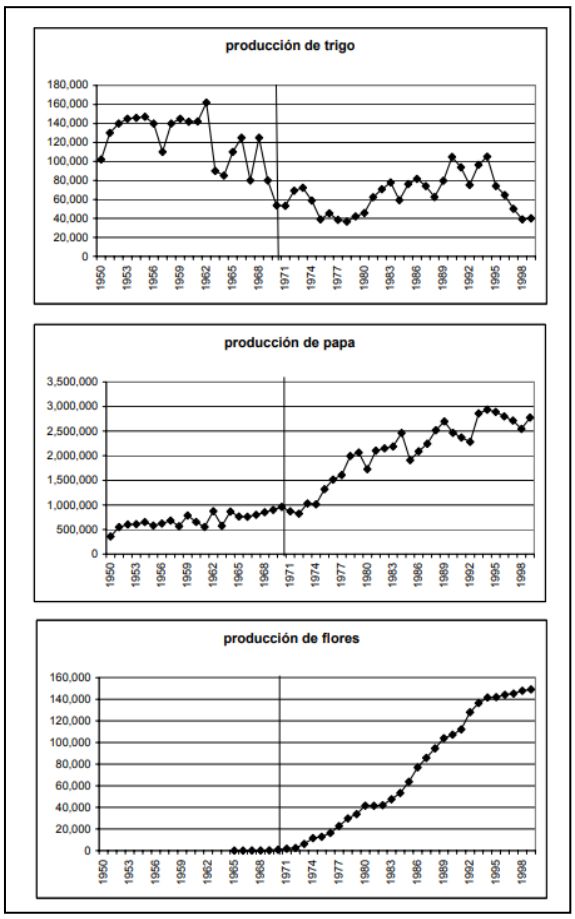


Figure 3.2. Production of wheat, potatoes and flowers (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006)

b. Exports promotion with protection of the internal market, 1968-89

After abandoning plans for agrarian reform from the previous decade, during 1970, President Lopez Michelsen launched "*para cerrar la brecha*", the national development plan with an emphasis on Integrated Rural Development (IRD) programmes and the National Plan for Food and Nutrition. The IRD had a strong emphasis on the production and distribution of food (more on this in the

next section), and sought to increase incomes for peasant families through production[24] and productivity, to integrate the peasant economy into the market, and improve infrastructure and social services. In addition, so-called Green Revolution technologies were extended through this programme (Fajardo, 1983).

The provision of food during the 1970s and 1980s was influenced by the emphasis on productivity, the promotion of exports and the protection of domestic agriculture. The state continued to play a central role in the regulation of import-export balances, and most importantly in support for small-scale farming and the integration of the peasant economy into the market. These decades also marked sharp increases in the production of milk, chicken, beef, sorghum, and rice, and the recovery of banana exports (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006).

Another element in agriculture and food provision in the second half of the 20th century was the implementation of Green Revolution technologies. These technologies were sold as the solution to the problem of hunger in the world, as they promised sharp increases in productivity. During the 1950s, Colombia was one of the countries selected by the Rockefeller Foundation for the implementation of crops and yield improvement programmes of wheat, potato and corn which eventually led to the creation of the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) in 1968[25]. This was complemented by a research

[24] Production included technological development, training and the formation of farmers' organisations for production and distribution.
[25] The creation of CIAT in Colombia was part of the Rockefeller and Ford foundations research programmes which opened centres across the world including the International Rice Research Centre (IRRI) in the Phillipines (1960), the International Centre for Maize and Wheat Improvement (CIMMYT) in Mexico (1966), the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (ITTA) in Nigeria (1968).

and innovation programme of the *Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario* (National Agrarian Institute - ICA), which received large funding grants during its first years, while providing extension services, experimentation and special training (Kalmanovitz and Lopez, 2006).

3.3.3. The neoliberal route: food and agriculture in times of globalisation, 1990-2010

With the introduction of neoliberal policies under *La Apertura,* (the opening of the economy) the guiding economic strategy initiated by President Gaviria (1990-1994), Colombia adopted the recommendations of the Washington Consensus which brought sharp changes in food production and agriculture during the 1990s and 2000s. As I analysed in the previous section, until the 1990s the debates, decisions, policies and regulation of food provisioning were led by the state. But the implementation of neoliberal policies implied the end of a state-led approach to agriculture in favour of a market-oriented approach. The first visible step of this change was the massive cuts to the state-funded programmes; support for small-holding farming suffered massive budget cuts (Figure 3.3). Farmers, despite their disadvantages in terms of production capacity and infrastructure, were left to compete in national and international markets.

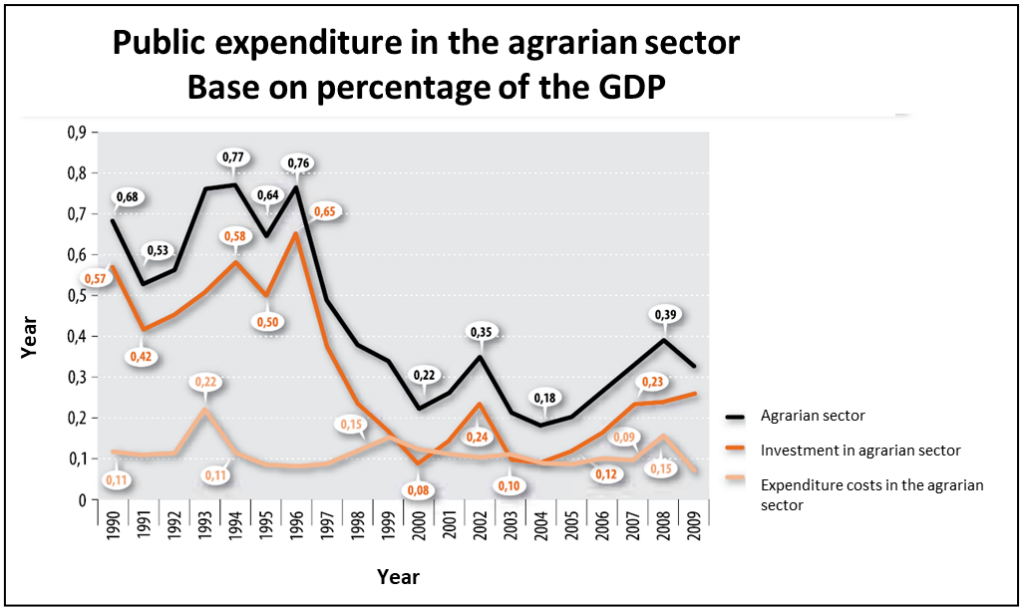


Figure 3.3. Public expenditure in Colombia 1990-2009 (PNUD, 2011b)

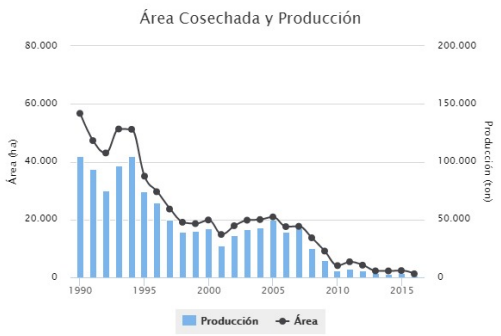
As we will see below, the transformations in the agricultural sector had a dramatic impact on the imports-exports balance, affecting cereals, meat and dairy products among others. But most importantly this period marks the consolidation of a new order which included (1) the promotion of an export-oriented approach to agriculture and the subsequent vulnerability of the national market; (2) the emergence of private agribusiness and transnational capital as strong players; (3) an international division of labour as follows: Colombia and Latin America producing export-oriented and tropical crops for the global market, while accepting increasing imports, mainly of cereals coming from the USA and Canada; (4) expansion and consolidation of Industrial agriculture and Green Revolution technologies, with a massive expansion in the use of fertilisers and pesticides; and (5) neglect of small-holding agriculture, despite its importance.

In terms of food provision, a critical transformation took place in the cereal sector. Although the trend had begun in previous decades, Colombia now went

from being a strong producer to a net importer of cereals (Figure 3.4.) coming mainly from the USA, Canada and Argentina at cheaper prices (due to surpluses and highly subsidised agriculture in those countries) than those on the internal market (FENALCE, 2017).

In 1990 Colombia produced 60,000 tons of cereals, but by 2010 this had decreased to less than 10,000. During these years, cereals became the country's main agricultural imports, reaching more than five million tonnes by 2010 and more than six million tonnes by 2014. There were winners and losers in this transformation. Wheat in Colombia was mainly a peasant crop cultivated in the Andean region (Forero, 2002), but the entrance of US and Canadian wheat at cheaper prices into the market displaced many its producers and obliged them to either leave agriculture or cultivate something else (for example, potatoes, milk and flowers, as noted above). The clear winner was the food industry (pasta and cookie producers) which, as we will see further on in this chapter, benefited from the cheaper prices.

a. Cereal production (tons) and area (ha)



Source: Agronet 2018

b. Main imports in Colombia (tons)



Source: SAC, 2018

Figure 3.4. Cereal production and imports

The production of meat and tropical crops such as palm oil, fruit and bananas also increased (Figure 3.5). Palm-oil production in particular has increased sharply since the 2000s as part of an import-substitution policy. The country went from being a net importer of vegetable oils to become the world's fifth largest world producer after Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Nigeria (Global Palm Conference, 2015).

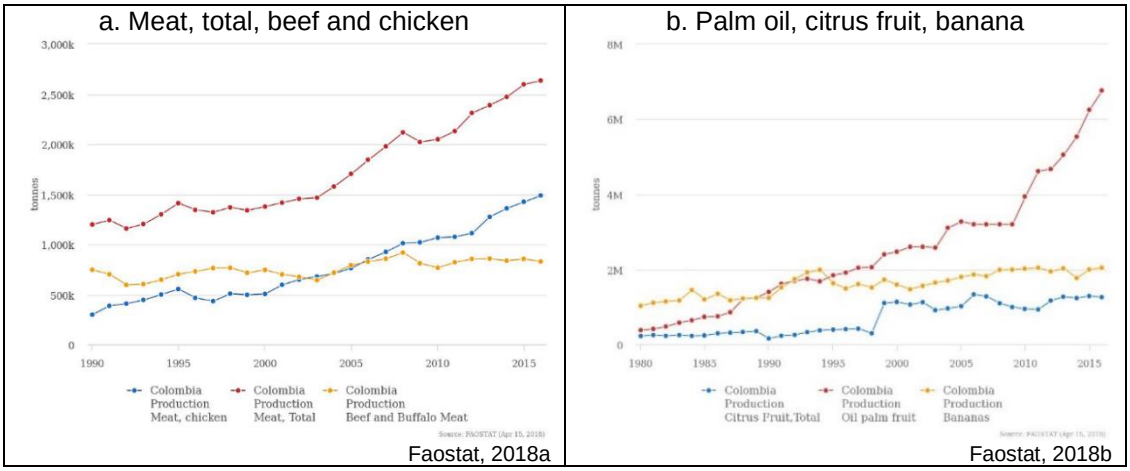


Figure 3.5, Meat, palm oil, citrus fruit and banana production

Another element that marked an important transformation in the agricultural sector was the consolidation of the Green Revolution technologies, as seen in the increased use of fertilisers and pesticides (Figure 3.6). According to *Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario* in 2008, the majority of fertiliser imports, 35 per cent, came from the USA (ICA, 2009). The main crops in which agricultural inputs are used are sugar cane, palm oil, coffee, potato, rice and plantain: a mix of large- and small-scale crops.

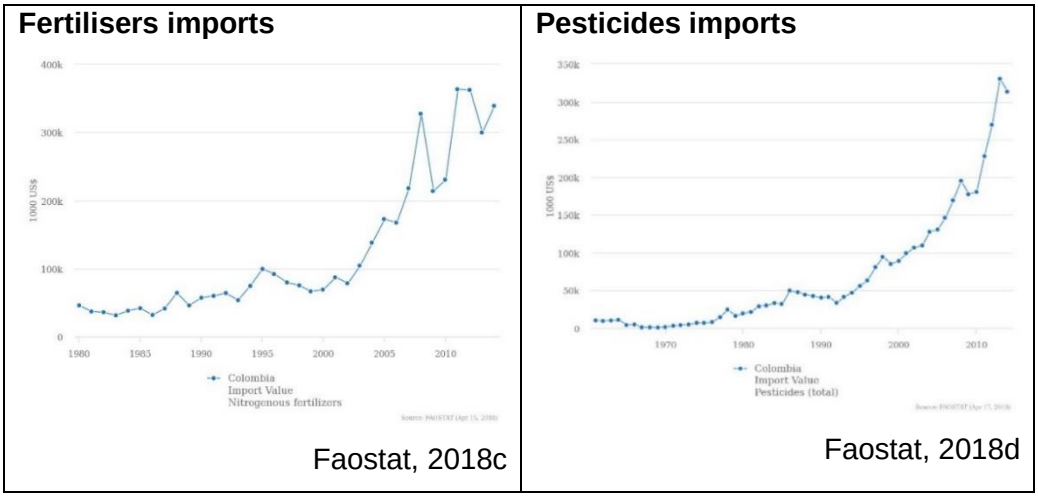


Figure 3.6. Fertilisers and pesticides imports 1990-2010

One aspect that has received less attention in the transformations in agriculture and food provision is environmental change. Figure 3.7 shows the sharp increases in CO_2 emissions produced by agriculture, as well as the worrying reduction of the forest cover in Colombia with an expansion of the agricultural frontiers, particularly in the south-western departments of Meta, Vichada and Caquetá.

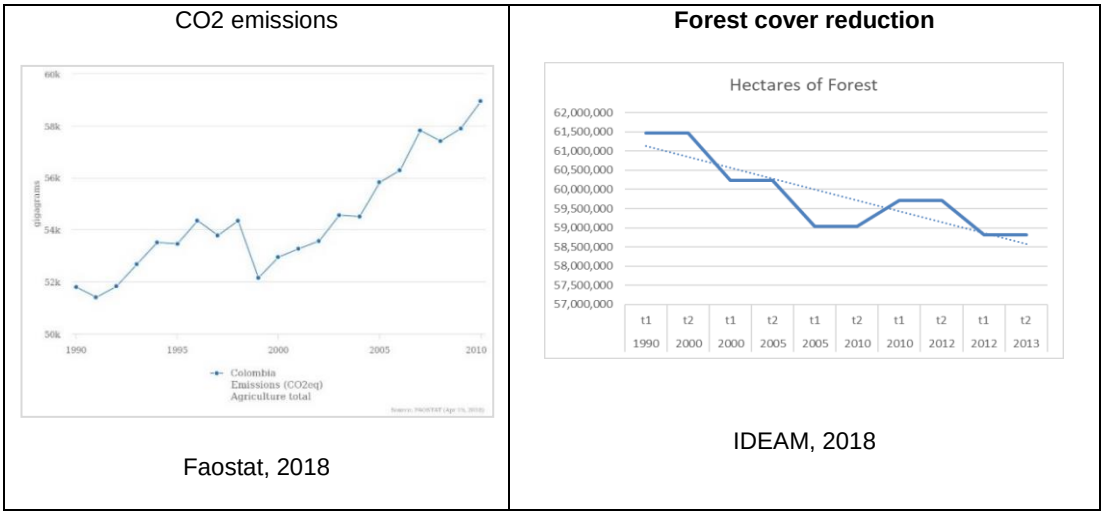


Figure 3.7. CO_2 emissions and forest-cover reduction

What do these transformations mean? The evidence analysed in this section confirms to a certain extent Friedmann and McMichael's observations on food-regime analysis:

> we conclude that the growing power of capital to organise and reorganise agriculture undercuts state policies directing agriculture to national ends, such as food security, articulated development and the preservation of the rural/peasant communities. (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989, p.95)

The reorganisation of agriculture during this period indicates the consolidation of a food and agricultural regime, mainly as a result of US-Colombia bilateral trade. Colombia went from being a strong producer of wheat and other cereals to being a major importer of these products. And at the same time, the country consolidated its industrial agriculture through the Green Revolution model and the expansion of mainly tropical and export-oriented agricultural products. The consolidation of this regime is reinforced by two more aspects: the retreat of the state from agriculture, which, as we noted above, was mediated by abrupt budget cuts in the 1990s; and the increased environmental impacts resulting from the increased CO_2 emissions from intensive agriculture, and forest-cover reduction.

One aspect that the food-regime analysis does not capture is the replacement of crops for internal consumption. As we saw above (Table 3.2), the reduction of wheat production in the highlands of Boyaca, Nariño and Cundinamarca prompted the expansion not only of export-oriented flowers, but also of potato crops and dairy products for the internal market. This should not be ignored, particularly because, as we will see in the next chapter, the agrarian crisis that

sparked the 2013 mobilisations was related to these agricultural products and began in these three departments.

Peasants' role in food production

In the context of these general transformations in food and agriculture it is pertinent to turn attention to the role of peasants in food provision in Colombia. While peasants have been the subjects of marginalisation by the neoliberal model and have been affected by violence, they have a central role in the provision of food (Garay et al., 2010; Forero et al., 2002; PNUD, 2011a). Table 3.4 shows the main types of agriculture in Colombia, from agrarian capitalist to peasant agriculture. As shown, peasant agriculture in its different forms is highly important in the production of food, contributing, as Forero and colleagues argue (2002), to its quantity, quality and timely decentralised production.

Table 3.4. Type of agriculture and main products (Forero, et al., 2002)

Type of Agriculture	Type	Products
Agrarian capitalist: its reproduction depends on the systematic generation of utilities/incomes.	Agricultural farm	Coffee, export bananas, fruit
	Itinerant enterprise	Rice, sorghum, high-tech maize, cotton, soya
	Agro-industrial plantation	Sugar, palm oil, timber
	High-tech cattle raising	Mostly milk and meat
	High-tech cattle ranching	Mostly meat and milk
	Bio-industry	Chicken, eggs, flowers
Cattle *latifundia*: its main goal is to maintain land ownership and secondly to obtain profits from cattle ranching.	Cattle *latifundia*	Meat
Peasant or family agriculture: its reproduction depends on the income that is generated for the family or social group.	Community enterprise	Coffee, cereals (maize, wheat, barley, rice), oil-producing crops (sesame), potato, yuca, plantain fruit and vegetables, Agro-industrial products on farms: coffee, tobacco, coca, poppy, panela, milk, beef, poultry. timber, fish
	Subsistence family enterprises	
	Family enterprises highly integrated into the market	
	Family capitalist production	

Another aspect to note in the role of peasants in food provision, as a UNDP study found, is that in 1990 peasant crops represented 74 per cent of the total agricultural area and 66 per cent of the total production, while capitalist crops represented 25 and 33 per cent respectively. In 2008 peasant crops increased their area to 76 per cent, but their production decreased to 66 per cent while capitalist crops reduced their area to 24 per cent but increased their production to 34 per cent (PNUD, 2011a). A similar study by Garay and colleagues (2010) found that 87 per cent of the productive area of the country was associated with the peasant economy, primarily in Boyacá (98 per cent), Cauca (96 per cent), Nariño (94 per cent), Huila (92 per cent) and Cundinamarca (90 per cent).

This shows that while the country as a whole adopted a model that supports large-scale agriculture, peasant agriculture remains relevant and has not declined in terms of area. But beyond the quantity and size of peasant production, its importance also lies in other characteristics, including a year-round provision of agricultural products, diversity of food produced, and connections to local markets (Silva, 2010).

3.3.4. Insights from a retrospective view of food and agriculture in Colombia

A general overview of the main transformations in food provisioning in Colombia throughout the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century gives us an idea of the main changes in domestic production of the main food crops versus their equivalent imports. The international sphere, particularly Colombia's bilateral relations with the USA, has played a central role in determining the food-provisioning balance, either because international events

have influenced global trade (as in the war years) or due to direct influence and exchanges (as with the USA).

During the time analysed, the provision of food went from being mainly state-led to mainly market-led. That was the case for agrarian reform, as well as for the provision of food. Before the 1990s the state, as a main decision maker, had an active role in supporting, overseeing and regulating food provision. But after the 1990s the state retreated from this role, and it is now the market dynamics of competition, demand and supply that take centre stage.

During the first half of the 1900s the USA did not have a central role in international food relations, but since the Second World War, and particularly from the 1990s until today, the US has taken a central role. Its vision of the distribution of labour influenced what products came to Colombia directly from the US, such as cereals, and what products, mainly tropical, were produced domestically and exported.

One element that the food-regime approach does not capture in relation to the US influence in food and agriculture is the multiplicity of interests in Colombia, particularly those that resonate with the USA. The associations of industry and trade - ANDI and FENALCO - are the best examples, because, as I showed above, they campaigned for the entrance of primary agricultural products coming from the USA at better prices and quality.

Having examined the dynamics of food and agriculture in Colombia retrospectively, we have been able to find more evidence of the food-provision debates, particularly concerning the changes in the balance between imports and exports. Some of the traces of this debate can be found in the fact that the

national industry campaigned for cheaper (and arguably better-quality) agricultural products imported from abroad, mainly from the USA. Conversely, the national agricultural sector advocated the strengthening of national production. Throughout the period of analysis the state's role fluctuated from strong protection of national agriculture to allowing the opening of the market and withdrawing support for national agriculture. While this illustrates to a certain extent the debates on food, it does not show the full picture. To complement this analysis I embark in the next section on a search for new evidence that might produce a better understanding and framing of the food-provisioning debates.

3.4. Three trajectories of the food-provisioning debates: in search of new evidence

The previous section identified key dynamics of food provisioning during the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st. To further understand the roots of the food-provisioning debates, I now turn to an analysis of three of its main protagonists: the food industry, the state, and agrarian movements. In the context of agricultural development and agrarian change, the state and agrarian movements have received wide attention in academia. Only recently the role of corporations as relevant actors in agri-food systems has received attention. But a historical analysis of their narratives on food provisioning has not been conducted before in the context of Colombia. With the aim of finding additional evidence on the background of the debates on food provisioning, in what follows I continue the retrospective focus of the chapter by analysing the trajectories and narratives of these actors.

3.4.1. The food industry's untold story: a Colombian *translatina*

In most studies of food, agriculture and agrarian change, the roles of private capital, corporations and the food industry have appeared in a marginal way and only in recent years. However, the rise and increasingly central role of agri-food corporations and the food industry at large are part and parcel of the recent transformations in food and agriculture. A key aspect of the role of corporations has been the emergence of the so-called *translatinas* (Gorenstein, 2016): corporations with investment capital active in multiple Latin American nations, with an increasing role in the agri-food sector, ranging from the production of food and drinks to retail, transportation and distribution. During the 1990s Argentina and Chile took the lead in these types of investment, but in recent years Brazil and Mexico have emerged as dominant players (Gorenstein, 2016).

In Colombia, in food retailing and distribution, *Cencosud Colombia,* with capital originated in Chile, reported annual sales of nearly US$2,000 million in 2013, taking the 25th place (Table 3.5) at the Latin American level (Gorenstein, 2016). This group owns supermarkets Jumbo and Metro, which have spread across the country.

Table 3.5. Main agri-food companies (trade and distribution) in Latin America (Gorenstein, 2016)

Main agri-food companies (trade and distribution) that operate in Latin America					
According to billing in 2013, in millions of US dollars					
Nº	**Company**	**Country**	**Activity**	**Sales 2013**	**Origin of Capital**
1	Walmart México	Mexico	Commerce	32,494.00	EEUU
2	GPA Grupo Pão de Açúcar	Brazil	Commerce	24,634.60	France
3	Cencosud Chile	Chile	Commerce	19,743.90	Chile
4	Carrefour Brasil	Brazil	Commerce	14,519.20	France
5	Walmart Brasil	Brazil	Commerce	12,156.40	EEUU
6	Organización Soriana México	Mexico	Commerce	8,032.50	Mexico
7	Oxxo (FEMSA Comercio)	Mexico	Commerce	7,462.60	Mexico
8	Sam's Club*	Mexico	Commerce	7,228.40	EEUU
9	Walmart Chile	Chile	Commerce	6,051.30	EEUU
10	Grupo Chedraui	Mexico	Commerce	5,072.00	Mexico
11	Atacadão Brasil	Brazil	Commerce	5,007.00	France
12	Almacenes Éxito	Colombia	Commerce	4,918.70	France
13	Carrefour Argentina	Argentina	Commerce	4,033.40	France
14	Cencosud Brasil*	Brazil	Commerce	4,007.50	Chile
15	Hipermercados Lider*	Chile	Commerce	3,868.60	EEUU
16	Arcos Dorados	Argentina	Commerce	3,859.90	EEUU
17	Grupo Sanborns	Mexico	Retail and Others	3,096.40	Mexico
18	Makro	Brazil	Commerce	2,932.10	Holland
19	Costeo México	Mexico	Commerce	2,894.50	Mexico
20	Jumbo Retail Argentina*	Argentina	Commerce	2,854.90	Chile
21	Assai (CBD)	Brazil	Commerce	2,673.90	France
22	Supermercados Jumbo	Chile	Commerce	2,516.10	Chile
23	Supermercados Santa Isabel*	Chile	Commerce	2,295.20	Chile
24	Supermercados La Favorita	Ecuador	Commerce	2,104.40	Ecuador
25	Cencosud Colombia	Colombia	Commerce	1,995.60	Chile

In the food industry of Colombia, Grupo Nutresa is the most important company in terms of the revenues generated in the 2016-2017 fiscal year, and the 22nd most important in terms of agro-food companies' revenues in Latin America in 2013, as shown in Table 3.6 (Gorenstein, 2016). Grupo Nutresa is today an investment holding which owns a conglomerate of 72 companies located in Colombia and other countries of South, Central and North America, employing approximately 44,000 people. It has come to dominate segments of the food market, particularly processed meat, cookies, pasta and chocolate. Founded in 1920 as a single chocolate-processing company (*Compañia Nacional de Chocolates*), it grew to become a highly complex conglomerate and a prominent player in the food market in Colombia and in Latin America in general (Grupo Nutresa, 2016).

Table 3.6. Main agri-food companies (food and beverages) in Latin America (Gorenstein, 2011)

Main agro-food companies (food and beverages) that operate in LAC					
-According to billing in 2013, in millions of US dollars-					
Nº	**Company**	**Country**	**Activity**	**Sales 2013**	**Origin of Capital**
1	JBS-Friboi	Brazil	Foods	39,658.00	Brazil
2	FEMSA	Mexico	Drinks/Liquors	19,725.70	Mexico
3	Ambev	Brazil	Drinks/Liquors	14,851.60	Belgium/United Kingdom
4	Bunge Alimentos	Brazil	Foods	14,145.80	EEUU
5	Grupo Bimbo	Mexico	Foods	13,451.40	Mexico
6	BFR Foods	Brazil	Foods	13,028.70	Brazil
7	Coca-Cola FEMSA	Mexico	Drinks/Liquors	11,923.60	Mexico
8	Coca-Cola (1)	Brazil	Drinks/Liquors	11,430.00	EEUU
9	Marfrig	Brazil	Foods	8,007.20	Brazil
10	Grupo Modelo	Mexico	Drinks/Liquors	6,771.70	Belgium/United Kingdom
11	Unilever do Brasil	Brazil	Foods and others	6,531.20	United Kingdom/Holland
12	Nestlé (1)	Brazil	Foods	5,766.50	Switzerland
13	CRBS Indústria de Refrigerantes	Brazil	Drinks/Liquors	5,336.80	Belgium/United Kingdom
14	Cervecería Cuauhtémoc-Heineken	Mexico	Drinks/Liquors	5,237.20	Holland/Mexico
15	Arca Continental	Mexico	Drinks/Liquors	4,616.30	Mexico/EEUU
16	Pepsico de México	Mexico	Drinks/Liquors	4,238.90	EEUU
17	Gruma	Mexico	Foods	4,135.20	Mexico
18	Sigma	Mexico	Foods	3,744.10	Mexico
19	Grupo Industrial Lala	Mexico	Foods	3,298.30	Mexico
20	Nestlé de México	Mexico	Foods	3,179.00	Switzerland
21	Molinos Río de la Plata	Argentina	Foods	3,135.30	Argentina
22	Grupo Nutresa	Colombia	Foods	3,067.20	Colombia
23	Industrias Bachoco	Mexico	Foods	3,035.00	Mexico

The question arises: how did a single company become a central player in the food industry? And what were its links to agriculture and the debates of food provisioning analysed in the previous section? Let us have a look.

In Table 3.7, I have compiled Grupo Nutresa's history from its foundation in 1920 until today, based on the information on their website. Their history shows how in the course of almost 100 years[26] a single company that started in the chocolate-processing business expanded into other food sectors to become a large complex of companies. Rather than focusing on its financial aspects, I look at its growth in terms of the number of companies that it created or

[26] The information on their website is detailed decade by decade but unfortunately they do not provide information for the period 1980-1990.

acquired, food sectors in which it participates, its participation in the market, and the countries where it operates.

As we can see in the timeline provided in Table 3.8, the expansion of the company between the 1920s and the 1980s was slow but steady. It expanded from the chocolate-processing industry to participate in coffee, cookies, and processed meat in Colombia. But from the 1990s onwards, and particularly during the 2000s, Grupo Nutresa founded or created 30 new companies, expanding its participation in other sectors of the food industry, such as food-distribution channels, packaging, pasta, mushrooms, canned vegetables, ice creams, frozen ready meals, candies, soft drinks, research and innovation and restaurants, including one of the most important fast-food chains in the country, *Hamburguesas el Corral*, and a franchise of Starbucks in Bogotá. In this same period of time, the group expanded its operation, opening processing plants, distribution channels or restaurants in 11 countries: Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Mexico and the USA.

Table 3.7. History of Grupo Nutresa (Grupo Nutresa, 2018)

History and growth of Grupo Nutresa
1920
Foundation of Compania Nacional de Chocolates (CNC) Cruz Roja
1930-40
CNC acquires Acciones of Galletas Noel Foundation of Café Sello Rojo, to sell ground coffee
1940-60
Creation of Colcafe brand to sell instant coffee Subsidiary companies of CNC become Industria Colombiana de Café- Colcafe. Acquisition of Productos Zenu (processed meats)
1960-70
Acquisition of coffee-processing factory: Café la Bastilla Acquisition of two meat-processing plants: Frigorifico Continental (Barranquilla) and Frigorifico Suizo (Bogotá).
1970-80

Acquisition of wheat-processing mill Molino de Santa Marta (for cookies)
Foundation of Tecniagro, a new company specialising in processed meat.
1990-2000
Foundation of Dulces de Colombia
Foundation of first foreign food-trade company with subsidiaries in Ecuador and Venezuela: Corporacion Distribuidora de Alimentos.
Foundation of a canned-vegetables company: Fundacion Proveg
Acquisition of meat-processing company in Venezuela: Hermo de Venezuela. First industrial operation outside Colombia.
Acquisition of the lead company in pasta production: Productos Alimenticios Doria.
Foundation of Novaventa, a company dedicated to trading CNC food products through catalogues and vending machines.
2000-2010
Acquisition of Rica Rondo S.A., a processed-meat company.
Industrias Alimenticias Noel ceases industrial production and turns into an investment holding: InverAlimenticias Noel S.A. (cookies, processed meat and sugar sweets).
CNC ceases industrial production and turns into an investment holding: Inversiones Nacional de Chocolates S.A. (chocolate, coffee and pasta).
Foundation of Cordialasa in Mexico, to complement distribution operations in Venezuela and Ecuador.
Acquisition of Nestle cookie production plants in Costa Rica.
Creation of Cordialasa Empaque Inc in Puerto Rico.
Creation of food-distribution companies in USA, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.
Inversiones Nacional de Chocolates absorbs Noel
Acquisition of Pastas Comarrico, leader in pasta production on the Colombian Atlantic Coast.
Acquisition of 94% of mushroom company Setas Colombianas SA.
Acquisition of the lead company in ice cream: Meals de Colombia.
Acquisition of Galletas Pozuelo of Costa Rica, a cookie company.
Acquisition of Blue Ribbon, a food-processing company in Panama.
Acquisition of Mil Delicias, a company producing ready and frozen meals.
Acquisition of Good Foods in Peru, specialising in chocolates, cookies and candies.
Foundation of Centro de Investigacion en Nutricion, Salud y Bienestar, a research centre on nutrition, health and well-being.
Foundation of La Receta, for institutional food catering.
Acquisition of Nutresa, Mexican company specialising in chocolate.
Foundation of Cordialasa Colombia, for food distribution and trade.
Acquisition of Industrias Aliadas, ground and instant coffee company.
Acquisition of Fehr Holdings in the USA, dedicated to cookies distribution and trade in Texas and Oklahoma
2010-present
Acquisition of Helados Bonn (ice cream) in the Dominican Republic.
Grupo Nacional de Chocolate changes its name to Grupo Nutresa
Acquisition of American Franchising Corporation, owner of Heladerias Pop of Costa Rica, with 180 ice-cream stores in Central America.

Acquisition of Tresmontes Luchetti from Chile. Alliance with Starbucks to open stores in Colombia. Acquisition of Aldage Inc, owner of El Corral, Lenos y Carbon and El Corral Gourment, all very poplar restaurants in Colombia.

Today Grupo Nutresa employs more than 40,000 people and not only participates in, but dominates, multiple sectors of the Colombian domestic food market. According to Grupo Nutresa's 2016 report, this is their participation in the national market:

Processed meat: 73 per cent

Chocolate bars: 67 per cent

Cookies: 54 per cent

Ground coffee: 52 per cent

Pasta: 51 per cent

The infographic (Figure 3.8) from their 2016 report shows the companies, countries and percentage of sales in the countries in which Grupo Nutresa operates. Sixty per cent of their sales come directly from Colombia, followed by Central America, Chile and the USA. The map and the company's sales provide an excellent picture of how a *translatina* company in the agri-food industrial sector operates.



Figure 3.8. Countries and businesses where companies from Nutresa operate (Nutresa, 2016)

Grupo Nutresa reports having 194 farms, 46 processing plants, 339 restaurants, 505 ice-cream stores and 14 coffee shops (Grupo Nutresa 2016). With the impressive structure of Grupo Nutresa and its dominance in the market of certain products and sectors, another question arises: what agricultural products are they demanding? In what quantities? And, most importantly, where do they come from? Grupo Nutresa's annual report (2016) does not specify quantities but it does give information about the main products needed to process the foods that they produce, as shown below:

Pasta: wheat

Cookies: wheat, oils, sugar

Processed meat: pork, beef chicken

Chocolate: cacao, sugar, milk, oil

Coffee: coffee

Restaurants: meat (beef, chicken, pork), milk, oil

Ice creams: Milk, sugar, oil

It can be inferred by examining the exponential growth of the company and the main changes in agriculture and international trade after the 1990s that these economic changes were of great benefit for Grupo Nutresa. A reduced price for wheat coming from the USA and Canda surely boosted the production of pasta and cookies at better prices, and this has allowed the company to dominate 51 and 54 per cent of these products respectively in the national market. The company may have also found opportunities in the international trade of other products. The Office of the US Trade Representative (USTR) reported in 2014 that as a result of the free-trade agreement between the USA and Colombia, between 2011 and 2013 exports to Colombia increased by 34 per cent in total, especially in dairy products (214 per cent), pork (205 per cent) and beef (133 per cent), which are key products for Grupo Nutresa.

The other products are less obvious. One would expect that products such as cacao, coffee, sugar and chicken are sourced within the country. However, official statistics in Colombia indicate that the country imports these products, on a very small scale, but a direct link cannot be established.

In terms of Grupo Nutresa's narratives about food provisioning, it is difficult to track their historical narratives based on secondary information; this is something that merits further research. However, their 2016 and 2017 reports shine some light on this issue.

In the documents they frame the food problem in terms of food availability for a growing global population, along with undernourishment, climate change and uncertainty. Specifically, they mention:

> Food availability for a growing population, undernourishment, climate change, poor water management and fluctuations in the prices of food and primary

> products are some of the global challenges faced by the sector [the food industry], and particularly by our company. (Grupo Nutresa, 2016, p.10)

Using data from a UN report, Grupo Nutresa reinforces the framing of the food problem in terms of a growing number of people suffering from hunger and undernourishment:

> The UN 2017 food security and nutrition report indicates that hunger continues to increase, affecting 815 million people, which represents 11 per cent of the global population. […] In addition, obesity is also worrying: there are 641 million obese adults and 41 million obese children under the age of five years. This confirms the challenges facing the food industry, which are to promote good nutrition and healthy life styles. (Grupo Nutresa, 2017, p. 82)

Their narrative of the food problem, framed in terms of “the global challenges” of “food availability” and “malnourishment”, ignores other challenges such as food access, inequality and poverty. It also avoids mentioning anything about the origin of their primary products, whether they are domestic or imported.

All in all, Grupo Nutresa, despite being a single example, is highly representative of the growth and expansion of the agri-food industry in the last three decades. It has expanded its economic power in Colombia and in the Americas generally. This economic power has certainly given Grupo Nutresa political power in the decisions about food provision. All of this contrasts highly with the situation for peasants in the countryside, who have been subject of displacement, disempowerment and increasing inequality.

What is important here is that, by dominating the market and producing mainstream food products, the food industry has acquired an increasingly important role in food provisioning: not only in industrial food production but also in other aspects of the food system such as farming, packaging,

distribution and direct customer service through restaurants, coffee shops and ice-cream shops. All of these elements give the food industry a powerful position within the whole food system in Colombia.

Analysing their networks and political influence is beyond the scope of this chapter, but, given their economic power and expansion, this influence cannot be underestimated. This is a powerful group which has an important say in the food-provisioning debates.

3.4.2. The trajectory of the state: food in policies

In the previous section we saw how before the 1990s the state had a central role in supporting agriculture and regulating the imports-exports balance. This role, however, was never steady and was marked by many of the fluctuations that we analysed in the previous section. Nonetheless the trajectory and narratives of the state in food provision can be traced back throughout different phases during the 20th century and the first years of the 21st.

Table 3.8 shows the ways in which food provision has been addressed in policies, and its main transformations across time. As we can see, during most of the 20th century the concern of the state about food provision related to the national production of key foods, food imports, food prices and growth. Agricultural exports have been a priority, but the emphasis has been on coffee, palm oil and flowers more recently. Food exports appear only after the first decade of the present century.

Table 3.8. Food provision in state policies (own elaboration)

	Food provision in state policies
1920s	Emergency plan: food imports permitted, in order to reduce prices
1930s	Food self-sufficiency and import substitution
1940s	Food self-sufficiency and import substitution
1950s	Food self-sufficiency and import substitution Law 480: food imports allowed. Colombia commits to cultivate different crops from those coming from the USA. US food donations
1960s	"Popular foods" help to increase the productivity of the agricultural sector and therefore the country's economy at large. Priority crops: coffee, soy, barley and malt, sugar cane, red beans, rice, maize potato, bananas and wheat.
1970s	"Mass consumption foods" Integrated Rural Development Programmes
1980s	Small-scale production for the national market. Programme on food and nutrition that sought to address hunger, rural poverty and undernutrition.
1990s	Right to food and protection of food production in the new national constitution *La Apertura*: no incentives for smallholders National plan for food and nutrition 1996-2005
2000s	Food-security policy: family agriculture and food basket
2010s	*Colombia siembra*: guarantee national food security Point 1 of peace agreement: right to food Becoming a food breadbasket

A key element to highlight are the changes during the 1990s, when two main and contradictory events concerning food and agriculture took place. First, the country renewed its national constitution, which included particular visions for food and agriculture. Second, as mentioned above, the neoliberal policies of *La Apertura* started to operate. These events have specific discursive and practical implications for food provisioning.

First, the 1991 constitution incorporates the "the right to food", as part of its framework on economic, social and cultural rights.[27] The 1966 UN declaration stated that "*the right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and*

[27] The right to food is a universal right recognised in the UN Declaration of 1948 and the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 (FAO, 2002).

child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement" (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966). Within this framework the National Constitution includes article 65, which specifically addresses food and agriculture:[28]

> Food production will have special protection from the state. The state will give priority to the comprehensive development of agrarian, forestry, breeding, fishing and agro-industrial activities, as well as to infrastructural and land improvement. The state will promote research and technological transfer for food production and raw materials of agricultural origin, with the aim of increasing productivity. (Constitution of Colombia, 1991)

The article's reference to "food production" having "special protection from the state" through "comprehensive development" of "agrarian and agroindustrial activities" is of critical importance, as it defines the production of food as a central role of agriculture in Colombia. While the article and the Constitution in general do not provide further development of the ideas of "food", "special protection", or "comprehensive development", it mentions that the state should promote research and innovation for the accomplishment of these goals.

This leads to the second point, and the main contradiction concerning the role of the state. The enforcement of neoliberal policies and its market-led model for agriculture limits the role of the state in agriculture. Therefore, as shown above, the main agricultural programmes that were supporting the production of mass consumption foods have come to an end, and the budget for research and innovation has been massively cut. This central dichotomy between the objectives of the National Constitution and the economic development model

[28] The right to food is also included in articles 43, 44 and 46.

sets the precedent for further debates and conflict in the food-provisioning sphere, as it created multiple interpretations and competing visions of agriculture and food provisioning.

Another stage of the Colombian state's trajectory on food provision was the 2007 "food security and nutrition" policy (also known as CONPES 113 of 2007). The importance of this law lies in the introduction for the first time of the concept of food security and nutrition. The document defines the concept as:

> The sufficient and stable availability of food, permanent access by all people to food of sufficient quantity, quality and safety, under conditions that allow nutritional intake in order to lead a healthy and active life. (DNP, 2007)

One of the policy goals was to foster national production of food, in particular of the products that were part of the "family food basket"[29] (*canasta de alimentacion familiar*), and permanent and stable food provision for the Colombian population and for the international market as well. This stable domestic food provision is sought by the development of "agri-food" markets (agri-food markets are not specified or defined).

In contrast with other documents, food imports are explicitly mentioned in this law. While the policy aims to increase the domestic provision of food, it also states that this should be complemented by food imports, so that food security is not compromised at any time.

As we can see, from the 1990s the Colombian state adopted a set of contradictory policies about food provisioning. While it explicitly mentions the protection of food production and the importance of increasing its productivity

[29] The products that are part of the family food breadbasket are not mentioned in the document.

in order to guarantee food security and nutrition, the economic development model adopted from the 1990s onwards implicitly goes in the opposite direction by removing protection from the domestic producers of food. The conflicts generated by these contradictions would worsen from 2010 onwards, with the adoption of free-trade agreements which the next chapter will address.

3.4.3. Agrarian movements' trajectory: land for what purpose?

Finally, I turn to the agrarian movement's trajectory in the food-provisioning debates. While there is a rich diversity of local agrarian movements, my focus is on the national movements. The reason for this relates to the question that I aim to address in this chapter, related to the roots and historical expressions of the food-provisioning debates on the national agendas. In this context I analyse the national debates and the framing of the discourses in discussions with counterparts at the national level.

Earlier in the chapter I discussed the main peasant struggles in Colombia and showed how they have focused mainly on land access and distribution. However, as shown in this section, agrarian movements' agendas also embraced the food-provisioning debates decades ago Table 3.9). It is important to remember here that the rural population (and this includes agrarian movements) has been affected in many ways by the violent conflict, including displacement, threats to life, and assassinations.

Table 3.9. Agrarian movements and food provisioning

	National agrarian movements' trajectory on food-provision debates
1960s	ANUC is created to support national agrarian reform efforts
1970s	"Stop food imports from the US": ANUC's ideological platform
1980s	Decline of ANUC and increasing repression of peasant movements Increased violence in the countryside
1990s	Indigenous and African-descendant groups officially/politically recognised by the 1991 constitution
2000s	Food sovereignty appears at the national stage: National Agrarian Congress
2010s	Agrarian strikes and creation of *Cumbre Agraria* and *Dignidad Agropecuaria* (chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis)

Agrarian movements in Colombia have been essential to getting key debates added to the national development agenda. During the 1960s ANUC brought the issue of land distribution to the national agenda for the first time and fostered calls for land re-distribution and agrarian reform (Zamosc, 1986). While studies have focused on their struggle for land in the 1960s, (Rivera and Parra, 1987; Meertens, 2000) including their alliance with the government and subsequent separation from it and radicalisation, little attention has been paid to other points of their agenda, such as their struggle for food provision.

ANUC's 1971 ideological manifesto, a document created in a national meeting which included their priorities as an organisation, focused to a large extent on land issues. However, one of its points (number 11 on the list) (Table 3.10) mentions the problem of "*North American surplus that poses disloyal competition to peasants*". This very likely refers to the US food donations and increasing agricultural exports to Colombia over the 1960s and 1970s which affected peasants' livelihoods due to competition with US agricultural products like wheat. This is perhaps one of the first examples of a national agrarian movement in Colombia highlighting the conflict on food provision.

Another point to note concerning ANUC's interests beyond land, concerns colonisation and *minifundia*. Further analysis by Zamosc (1986) shows that in colonising areas local ANUC groups demanded state support for the cultivation of maize and rice to supply local markets. Something similar happened in areas where *minifundia* were dominant, particularly in Boyacá, Nariño and Cundinamarca. ANUC's local groups also demanded state support, such as infrastructural and technical assistance, for agriculture.

These aspects should enrich our understanding of the agrarian movements' goals beyond land distribution. They show that food provisioning was already embedded as one of the goals of ANUC in the 1970s. While the mention of food is general and unspecific, it provides evidence that there was already a concern about food provision then, which can be considered to be the seed of further conflict and debate. The agrarian question then was not only concerned with issues of land access and distribution but was closely connected to the production of food.

The division and disintegration of ANUC in the late 1970s was followed by a period of repression of agrarian movements and increased violence in the countryside during the 1980s and 1990s, which explains why there were no expressions of national agrarian movements during this period. In the 1990s, however, Indigenous and African-descendant groups had a big win by being politically recognised by the 1991 national constitution. This implied that these groups received special rights and protection as indigenous movements, as well as land and territories.

Table 3.10. ANUC's ideological platform 1971 (ANUC, 2017)

ANUC's Ideological Platform (Villa del Rosario de Cúcuta, Junio 5 of 1971)	
1. Respect the right of peasants to organise: political advancement and continuous improvement of their quality of life. 2. Comprehensive and democratic agrarian reform: redistribute land to those who work on it, to cooperatives and peasant organisations to end "latifundia in a radical and definite way", improve peasants' quality of life, and reduce poverty. 3. Expropriation of large-scale property by national and international landowners. Support for peasant debt related to land purchasing. 4. Set limits to the amount of land that a person can own. 5. Support for the creation of peasant cooperatives: technical and financial assistance. 6. Transform large agroindustrial cultivations into cooperative and collective management 7. Provide basic social services to families in colonisation areas	8. End all types of pre-capitalist management in the countryside. 9. Nationalisation of credit: provide credit to peasants in accessible ways. Crop insurance. 10. Nationalisation of imports of machinery and agricultural inputs. 11. Abolition of the system of importing agricultural surplus from North America that constitutes unfair competition with national peasants. 12. Increase minimum wages in the countryside 13. Help indigenous peoples through giving them back lands that belong to their territories 14. Guarantee rights of young peasants: education, sports, recreation 15. Respect for *latifundia* occupation 16. Guarantee stable prices for agricultural products 17. Tax reform 18. Participation of peasant organisations in agrarian institutions.

It took approximately 30 years for national agrarian movements to emerge again at the national level. In 2003, in the context of the National Agrarian Congress,[30] a coalition of agrarian movements put together the *Mandato Agrario* (agrarian mandate): a list of petitions, demands and priorities for the agrarian sector. The document was the result of the joint work of 75 organisations across Colombia: a combination of peasant, indigenous, African-

[30] The Agrarian Congress was a national meeting of peasant movements and organisations which gathered in Bogotá in April 2003 to develop a proposal for agrarian policy for Colombia. It sought to address the agrarian crisis that smallholders were experiencing across the country. Its main outcome was the *Mandato Agrario*.

descendant and labour groups.[31] It contained a 14-point agenda (Table 3.11) on agrarian issues which constitutes a call for action "*to reconstruct national agriculture*", addressing the issue of food provision in three of its agenda points (for details of these points, see Appendix 3.1). This mandate not only places a stronger emphasis on food provision, as we will see below, but it also constitutes the first time that the terms "food sovereignty" and "agri-food economy" are used at the national level by agrarian movements in Colombia.

The adoption of food sovereignty and agri-food economy in the agrarian movements' discourse is highly significant, as it represents a more complex understanding and a much more elaborated discourse. The mandate and the very few documents that talk about it do not provide any background information about the adoption of these terms. However, it is very likely connected to Via Campesina's 1997 meeting, when the term "food sovereignty" was used for the first time. (Chapter 6 will address the practical and conceptual discussions of food sovereignty.)

Table 3.11. Agrarian Mandate 2003 (ILSA, 2004)

Agrarian Mandate 2003
1. Right to life, democratic liberties and respect for human rights
2. Food sovereignty
3. Alternatives to FTA of the Americas and other free-trade agreements
4. Right to land
5. Reconstruction of agrarian and agri-food economy
6. Environmental protection
7. Participative policies with coca, poppy and marijuana cultivators/growers.
8. Economic, cultural and social rights of indigenous and African-Colombian communities
9. Political recognition of peasants

[31] All of these organisations were part of the Colombian Platform for Human Rights, Democracy and Development, a civil-society initiative that met in 2003 in the National Agrarian Congress.

10. Recognition and political rights of peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian women
11. Right to territory
12. End to forced displacement
13. Political solution to social and armed/violent conflict
14. Organisational unity

Three more aspects to highlight in the *Mandato* are its position on neoliberal policies, the role of corporations, and the environment. In regard to the first one, the document expresses a strong opposition to the neoliberal model, because these types of policy

> … have been shown to be anti-agrarian and they are putting at risk the survival of the Colombian people through the weakening of their agricultural productive capacity, eliminating their food sovereignty, and ignoring the rights that rural communities have to land. These policies will reach an extreme if a Free Trade Area of the Americas or a bilateral agreement with the US is signed. (ILSA, 2004 p.12).

The expansion and threat of neoliberal policies is linked to the second aspect that addresses the role of corporations, contending that they are

> …advancing in the world control of food production and distribution as well as controlling territories, through the monopoly and manipulation appropriation of technology, knowledge and genetic heritage… through political reforms and repression that impose and guarantee such control, such as territorial control (ILSA, 2004 p.11).

The time when this mandate was constructed coincided, as we saw in the trajectory of Grupo Nutresa, with the fast-paced expansion of this company and the continuous increase of cereal imports. Finally, the mandate also included, for the first time in its claims, a point on environmental protection (point 6),

which up to that point in time had not appeared on the agrarian movements' agenda.

Although the document was presented to the National Planning Department and to the President of Colombia, Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010), it never resulted in negotiations and never even received a reply. Also, although bringing together central demands from peasant, African-Colombian, indigenous and labour movements, it did not lead to a unified movement or alliance in the longer term (Valencia, 2010).

All in all, due to the complexity and the variety of elements included in this agenda, *Mandato Agrario* can be considered as one of the modern foundations of the discourse and political perspective of contemporary national agrarian movements in Colombia. It not only puts a strong emphasis on food provisioning as a central claim but it also includes many of the aspects that affect rural communities, such as violence, land distribution, inequality and market exclusion. It constituted a comprehensive perspective of the agrarian problematics.

3.5. A more complex debate has emerged

The new evidence that I have presented in the previous section on the trajectories and narratives of the food industry, agrarian movements and the state in Colombia shows that debates and conflicts of food provisioning have been on the agenda for decades, but have not received enough attention in academic debates and in practice. The main scholarship in previous years, as sections 3.2 and 3.3 showed, have focused on aspects such as land, productivity, growth, violent conflict and human rights, and technology and

innovation. However, the retrospective analysis of this chapter has provided a background to the debates and tensions on food provision, and has shown the importance of looking beyond agriculture to focus on the food industry as a way of constructing a comprehensive perspective on food provisioning.

For decades many aspects of the food-provisioning debate, such as who produces what, where, how, and for whom, were already under consideration, but it was during the 1990s and the 2000s that these debates came to the fore. All of these debates are taking place in an environment of rapid change. The agri-food industry has gone through deep transformations at global and national levels, including the massive expansion of the corporate sector in the agri-food system in production, processing, distribution and retailing.

One aspect that is important to underline is the highly undemocratic character of the transitions and conflicts on food provision. The main political and economic transformations addressed in this chapter have hardly been the subject of public debate and scrutiny. Where the food comes from, of what quality, which farmers would benefit from it, and where it should be cultivated and processed are aspects that have not been publicly debated. From a state-led approach to food provision before the 1990s, the country has adopted a market-led approach in which capital and corporations become dominant. These changes in the economic model have clearly been of benefit to private capital, both national and transnational.

The food-regime analysis has provided a framework for studying these global-historical dynamics in Colombia, but throughout the chapter I have pointed at the same time to the limitations of the framework. These include the interests of national actors, particularly the food industry and trade sectors, which urge

the establishment of international trade links with the USA in order to benefit their industries. Also, the framework does not capture the transition of crops that are not for export but for internal consumption. This is important, as it generates new national dynamics of food production and consumption.

The transformations studied in this chapter have shown how the model of agriculture that has been consolidated in recent years in Colombia has excluded and marginalised peasant communities. In the next chapter I explore the way in which these communities have reacted to such changes, by analysing the agrarian strikes of 2013 and 2014 and how they led to the emergence of new agrarian movements.

4. A restless journey and the genesis of agrarian movements

"In all chaos there is a cosmos, in all disorder a secret order."
— C.G. Jung

4.1. Introduction

A dark-brown coffin carried by six people leads a procession. Hundreds of people are on foot, and a few tractors follow behind. They are walking on the Panmericana Highway, the most important interstate and international road of southern Colombia, which connects the southern cities of Pasto and Ipiales with Ecuador. People carry a sign that says: "For an Agrarian Dignity: End Free Trade Agreements". The date: 19 August 2013. The occasion: the first day of the national agrarian strike. The empty coffin, according to one of the leaders of the march, represents an agrarian sector which in his words was "practically dead" due to a historical lack of attention and enduring social and economic crises (JR. 2015).

This photo (Figure 4.1) was taken during the first day of the national agrarian strike and has been published many times in newspapers and online news. Thousands of people were also mobilising in different parts across the country and would continue to do so over the next three weeks. I start with this photo and its symbolism because it brings together a number of key elements. If the coffin represents a "dying" agrarian sector, what do people see when they look inside the coffin? "Who" is in the coffin, and "why" did it get there? Finally, "how" do people think that it can come back to life? With thousands of people protesting not only in southern Colombia, where this picture was taken, but

also across the country, it is very likely that different people and different groups would see different things in the coffin. This chapter explores the interpretations of the dying subject in the coffin (the agrarian crisis) and, most importantly, the ways in which it can be brought back to life.



Figure 4.1. Mobilisation on the Panamericana Highway between Pasto and Ipiales (CRIC, 2014)

In the previous chapter I provided a historical context for the food-provisioning debates in Colombia, and described the hidden battle for food provision between multiple actors. I argued how the dominant model has been beneficial for the food industry and agri-business corporations, whose capital accumulation and expansion has been staggering, and how it has tended to exclude the less privileged peasant groups. I also traced the use of food sovereignty by social movements, and their failed attempts to engage in negotiations with the national government. From the early years of the present century there has been a strong emphasis on food provisioning on the agrarian movements' agenda, but this was not the case for the government and the public at large.

From this broader and historical account I now turn to the empirical analysis of my work, focused on the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014 (this chapter) and the

subsequent negotiations in 2014-2016 (next chapter). My aim in this chapter is to show how during 2013-2014 a hidden battle for food provisioning came to public attention, and the implications of these mobilisations for the setting of a new political landscape in which two agrarian movements emerged.

The period between mid-2013 and mid-2014 was considered a “political year”, such as recurs every four years in Colombia, due to the fact that Congressional elections took place in March and Presidential elections in May 2014. This means that more or less one year before these elections the political campaigning starts. But this political year was not an ordinary one. Unlike previous ones, there was an ongoing peace process between the national government and FARC at stake, and a president whose promise of delivering a peace agreement was still uncompleted in his run for re-election. It is no surprise, then, that mobilisations by interest groups increased during this year, as the national political configuration of the country was due to change.

As we will see below, the agrarian strikes of 2013 and 2014 have received limited academic attention, but the emergence of the two main agrarian movements that played a central role in the strikes, *Dignidad Agrocecuaria Colombiana* (Dignidad Agraria or DA for short) and *Cumbre Agraria Campesina, Étnica y Popular (Cumbre Agraria* or CA for short), has been less studied. In particular, I have identified two main omissions.

The first omission concerns the time-frame of the studies conducted about the strikes. There are now a number of scholars that have studied and published about the “national agrarian strike”, understood as the mobilisations that took place between 19 August and 12 September 2013 (Cruz, 2014; 2017a; Arias & Preciado 2016; Coscione & Garcia 2014; Duran & Rodriguez, 2018). A few of

them briefly address the March and May 2014 strikes (Coscione & Garcia 2014; Cruz, 2014). But in my interviews with agrarian leaders who participated in the strikes I found that the months after the first agreements in September 2013 were as important, if not more important, for the agrarian movements and for the re-configuration of the political landscape. It was in the period September 2013 to August 2014 that DA and CA were launched as new agrarian movements and that further engagement with the national government took place. This, however, has not been covered in the academic literature and is one of the gaps that I aim to fill.

The second gap is related to the main approaches used to understand the strikes and the agrarian movements. The perspectives of the studies on the agrarian strikes in 2013-2014 have been sociological, particularly in terms of the changes in political opportunity and mobilising structures (McAdam et al., 2001) of the social movements theory (Cruz, 2014; 2017a; 2017b) and communicational perspectives (Duran & Rodriguez, 2018). The agrarian strikes, as I will show below, were a central element in the discourse and debate about food provisioning that has not been studied in the academic literature. I argue that one of the strikes' outcomes was the emergence of the question of food provisioning in the wider public and policy debates, due to the mobilisations of the agrarian movements.

In this context I raise two main questions in this chapter. First, in which ways was the food-provisioning debate expressed in the agrarian strikes, and what were the implications of the use of this narrative for the mobilisations? And second, what were the implications of the agrarian strikes in 2013-2014 for the

emergence of national agrarian movements, in particular of Cumbre Agraria and Dignidad Agropecuaria?

To address these questions I first provide the context of the aspects that are directly related to the strikes, particularly socio-political and economic events that explain the beginning of the strike on 19 August 2013. Then I move on to analyse what I have called “a year of unrest”, trying to make sense of the evolution of the food-provisioning debate and the emergence of DA and CA in light of the main events between August 2013 and August 2014. Because CA and DA emerged as renewed national agrarian movements in this period of time, I devote attention in the last section to analysing their structures and goals.

Conceptually, this chapter is framed in line with Leach and colleagues (2010) in that it analyses the use of narratives by different actors with different, competing and subjective perspectives of the complex reality, as discussed in Chapter 2. To understand the implications for policy I use the Keeley and Scoones (2003) framework of policy change, which looks at actors and networks, narratives and discourses, and interests and politics (as seen in section 2.4). Finally, as I mentioned in the methodology section of Chapter 1, in addition to semi-structured interviews with agrarian leaders who participated in the strikes and government officials who participated in the strike negotiations, I consulted physical and online press archives as well as publicly available documents on the websites of the agrarian movements and Ministry of Agriculture.

4.2. Background to the agrarian strikes

In the previous chapter I analysed the historical context of inequalities experienced by peasants. In order to understand the 2013-2014 agrarian strikes, this section addresses socio-political and economic aspects that affected their organisation and development on a massive scale.

The first aspect to consider is the fact that social mobilisation in Colombia has been on the rise. CINEP reports very high levels of social mobilisation in the last few years, only comparable to the social mobilisations of the 1970s (Figure 4.2).

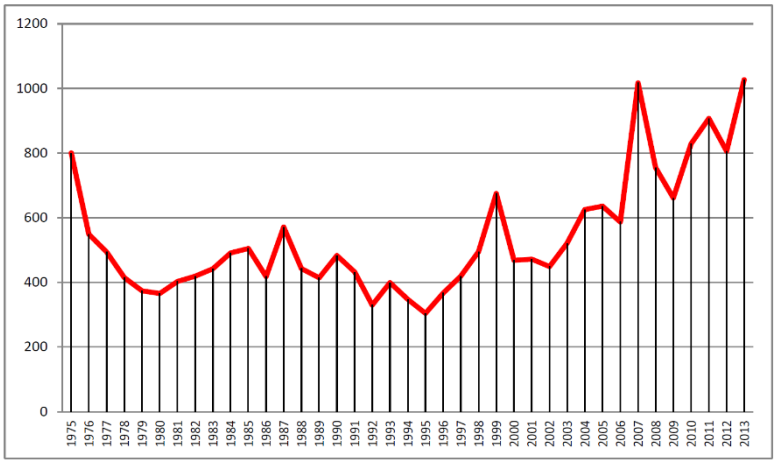


Figure 4.2. Number of protests in Colombia 1975-2013 (CINEP, 2014)

These protests have been related to aspects as diverse as mining, agriculture, education, and health services (CINEP, 2014). Cruz (2014) explains that the rise of social protests became more prominent during President Santos' administration, 2010-2014. In explaining the reasons for the rise of social protest during Santos' first government, Cruz argues that opportunities were created by the change of style between that of the preceding president, Uribe, and that of Santos as the leader of a reformist government negotiating peace.

But it is also the result of organising processes which are the heart of the protests. I do not go into detail about this as it is not within the scope of my work.

In the lead-up to the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014 three main elements were directly responsible for the surge of mobilisation in August 2013. These were (1) the peace process and trade agreements; (2) recent strikes and protests particularly related to the 970 executive order on seeds and strikes in the coffee, potatoes, milk sectors as well as in the Catatumbo region; and (3) a key intervention by an agrarian leader in the national congress. I will examine each of these in turn.

4.2.1. Peace and trade (for others)

Two elements of the national context seem to have been important in the rise of agrarian strikes and the emergence of agrarian movements. First were the peace negotiations between the national government and FARC. With a violent conflict relocated decades ago from the cities to the countryside, the outcomes of the negotiation were critical for the future of rural areas and their inhabitants. This was important not only in terms of the significance of the end of an armed confrontation but also in terms of structural problems such as the lack of state presence, infrastructure and social services. Second, the international trade agreements in which the country was engaging presented both opportunities and threats, and would certainly have impacts on people whose livelihoods depended on agriculture. After years of neglect of agrarian problems, there could not have been a more decisive time for rural communities, except for the

fact that they were not participating in any of these negotiations so relevant for their future.

The peace agreement between FARC and government included issues of central relevance for agriculture and rural development: not only a specific chapter on agrarian reform, but also particular agreements on political participation and social movements, the problem of illicit drugs, and international monitoring and support for the agreement's commitments.[32] Between 2013 and 2015 *Universidad Nacional de Colombia* (UNAL) and the United Nations Development Programme organised four large public forums[33] (with more than 3,000 participants) to discuss each point of the peace agreement, one of which was specifically convened to discuss agrarian reform in the peace-process agenda (PNUD & UNAL, 2012). But rural communities, the ones directly affected by the conflict, had only limited participation. This was confirmed by many of the agrarian leaders whom I interviewed , who told me that they felt excluded from the peace process, and they were worried that the commitments of FARC and the government would affect them.

In terms of the international trade agreements, in 2013 two of the most representative and politically contested free-trade agreements (FTAs) were initiated: those with the USA and the EU. In previous years, organisations of the agrarian sector, as well as researchers, had drawn attention to the potential threats and negative impacts of these trade agreements for Colombian small-holders' agriculture, especially in terms of milk, rice, beans, white maize and

[32] In the following chapter I discuss the linkages between the agrarian strikes and negotiations concerning the peace agreement.
[33] Other ways of participating in the peace process included online and physical mail mechanisms that were opened to receive proposals. It is reported that 17,000 proposals were received during this period (Gobierno de Colombia & FARC, 2016).

pork production, as these would be products that would be imported from the USA (Garay et al., 2010).

One of the leaders who took an active role in organising the strike in the city of Ipiales, southern Colombia, referring to the sharp fall in potato and milk prices, told me:

> The fall of the domestic food prices (for suppliers) is due to imports… that is not compatible between our discourse and the national government discourse. They want to carry on with free trade agreements and we say no. That implies death for us. (JC. 2015)

This example shows how DA leaders take an opposite view from that of the government concerning FTAs. “Death for us” here implies that such international agreements on agriculture will have negative impacts on their communities' livelihoods. This perspective on the negative impacts of the FTAs on agriculture was shared by different groups. An indigenous leader who also took an active role in the strikes told me:

> Since 2000 there have been strikes and protests, but no one paid attention to the agrarian sector. In 2010 to 2012 appears the FTAs discourse saying that they would affect badly the economy. In fact, here in Nariño, it hit us hard, especially when milk and dairy products arrived in the supermarkets in Ipiales. Also here in Pasto, the potato price dropped down, it did not cost anything in the market and we were losing money. … all these issues sparked the strike. (RE)

Reinforcing this view on FTAs and their impacts on agriculture, another agrarian leader who is part of a different group told me:

> All this pressure that peasants had in the past explodes when the free trade agreements that were approved back in 2010 and 2011 start their implementation through presidential executive orders in 2012 and 2013. …for

> example the ban against using native seeds, but also the import of products in which we as Colombians are self-sufficient, for example potato, milk, cereals. We lost autonomy in cereal production once the open market policies started back in the 1990s. There is also cheap coffee imports and rice which are products in which we are self-sufficient. We started losing our country's food sovereignty. (RD, 2015)

These perspectives from agrarian leaders show that beyond their political opposition to FTAs, there are economic consequences for their communities' livelihoods, which are based mainly on agriculture. We can also see that the debate and the conflict that this creates are about who produces food, for whom. The production of milk, potatoes, coffee and cereals, in which, in their words, the country is "self-sufficient", is being distorted by international trade. This means that the conflicts concerning the FTAs and agriculture are also conflicts about food provision.

4.2.2. The seeds of a food conflict

Four key events and mobilisations constitute a directly relevant background to the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014. First, the conflicts concerning an executive order from the *Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario* (ICA) as part of Colombia's commitments under the Free Trade Agreement with the USA. The executive order included a ban on farmer's re-use of certified seeds (i.e. their re-use of germplasm purchased from commercial sources). The release of the documentary "9.70" by Victoria Solano (2013) drew widespread attention (and outrage) concerning the conflicts that this executive order had created for rice farmers in the western department of Huila, where police forcibly confiscated and destroyed significant amounts of rice production in the departments of Huila, Tolima, Casanare, Boyacá, Cordoba, Valle del Cauca and Cesar

(Solano, 2013). This was seen by farmers as one of the first negative legislative effects of the free trade agreement with the USA and raised a warning flag across the country.[34]

The second factor was the coffee farmers' strike in February-March 2013. Cruz (2013) reports that an estimated 100,000 coffee farmers participated in this strike, due mainly to the sharp decrease in coffee prices and the increasing coffee imports to Colombia. Coffee farmers held meetings with high-level officials from the government in which they gained an increased and sustained subsidy for coffee production (called *Protección del Ingreso al Cafetero - PIC*: Protection for Coffee Farmers' Income). The third factor was the strike in Catatumbo on the north-eastern border with Venezuela in May-June 2013. The focus on this strike were two main concerns expressed by the local population: the implementation of the policy of forced eradication[35] of illicit crops by the national army without the implementation of alternative economic projects, and the consolidation of a Zona de Reserva Campesina (ZRC, peasant reserve zone), a geographical area in which peasants can establish agricultural projects and which should be protected by the state (Cruz, 2017b). Finally the strikes in Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño in March and May 2013 focused mainly on the decreasing prices of potatoes and milk.

These strikes and protests, place-based (Catatumbo) and sectoral (potatoes, coffee, rice), have several things in common. Except for the protests against the 970 executive order, they were addressed by high-level government officials, including ministers and in some cases the President. This sent a

[34] Coscione & Garcia (2014) provide more details of the conflict around this legislative act.
[35] The forced eradication of illicit crops includes aerial applications of pesticide to kill coca crops, as well as a military presence to confront actors in the drugs business.

message from the government that social protest was a viable option if social movements wanted to engage in dialogues with the government. But also, these strikes, including the coffee-sector protest, were about food provisioning. The 970 executive order was about rice, Nariño, Boyacá and Cundinamarca were about potatoes and milk, and Catatumbo about the possibility of alternative economic projects and creating peasant reserves for agricultural production.

4.2.3. Food arrives in Congress

But perhaps a more visible aspect in the lead-up to the August 2013 strike was an intervention in the Congress Hall by one of the agrarian leaders from Boyacá, who drew attention to the agrarian-sector crisis. In May 2013, in the midst of the potato farmers' strike in Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño, Cesar Pachón, a young farmer who would later become one of the most prominent leaders of Dignidad Agropecuaria, made brief remarks in the Congress Hall in Bogotá, with congress men and women as well as the Ministry of Agriculture as his audience.[36] Cesar Pachón, who was little known at that time, is a potato farmer in Boyacá in his 30s. He studied agricultural engineering at the public university in Tunja. He became a representative leader of the potato sector in Boyacá and in the months to come he would become one of the most prominent figures of the social movement.

[36] The reasons why Pachón was invited to speak at the Congress Hall are unclear. It is very likely that since he was leading the potato-sector strikes in Boyacá, he was invited to explain the situation. In his remarks that same day he said that he had left the site of the mobilisations that same day in the middle of confrontations with the police because protesters were blocking a main inter-city road.

In his intervention in the Congress Hall he began by saying that he represented "*the peasant people who are honest, workers and respectable*" but that he also represented "*not only the potato producers but also producers of onion, beans, tomato, fruit and milk, because that is what our economy is based on*". Pachón framed his remarks as a "call for help" from peasants who had fallen into absolute poverty. Unsettled and visibly angry, he said:

> We can't compete with international markets because producing a kilogram of food in Colombia is more expensive than producing it elsewhere. …And don't tell us that we have to be competitive because we work really hard either under the hot sunshine or under the rain, we are hardcore producers. We need structural solutions not short-term ones. […] I invite you to meet with us at a negotiation with the ministries of agriculture, foreign trade, finance, ICA, INVIMA, DIAN, Agrarian Bank, FINAGRO, so that we can all together find solutions for these problems. And if you want, we can even propose an agrarian policy for this country, because other type of policies are being proposed here, but agrarian policy is not even mentioned. …How to build peace when there is hunger and inequality?
>
> […] Give us stable prices, let's organise the agricultural market, stop food imports and we will be able to buy our own house. We don't need the government to give us a free house! We, with our own work, are capable of buying one! Of buying a car, but we are asking the state to guarantee these conditions. […] Don't import food, because we are capable of providing food to this country and to other countries as well […] but stop importing food for god's sake! (Pachón, 2013).

Cesar Pachón's appeal to stop food imports, arguing that producing a kilogram of food in Colombia was more expensive than producing it elsewhere and stating that the peasants could produce it, given enough state support, constitutes arguably the first time that the conflict of food provisioning had been raised at this level in the Congress, with the Ministry of Agriculture and other high-level representatives of the government in the room. His speech also

unveiled the existence of a peasant movement that, beyond blocking the roads in some cities as part of their strike, had ideas and proposals which were open for discussion and negotiation with the state.

While the government and the strikers met and made commitments as a result of these particular mobilisations from the potato sector, major mobilisations as part of an agrarian strike were on the way just three months later.

4.3. A year of unrest: August 2013- August 2014

In my fieldwork I interviewed many of the agrarian leaders who organised the August-September mobilisations, as well as government officials from national and local governments who addressed the strikers across the country. I knew that the August-September strike had been important for a number of reasons, but it was only by interviewing them that I came to realise that the importance and impact of this mobilisation extended beyond this period of time.

While most of the media and academic attention paid to the agrarian strike of August-September 2013, little attention has been paid to the period that followed. This period was essential in the reconfiguration of the political landscape of the agrarian debates. The August-September strike, I argue, was just the beginning of a more meaningful and long-term series of events. I contend that in order to understand the ongoing (2014-2016) negotiations between the government and agrarian movements, and the relevance and importance of the food-provisioning debate (Chapter 5), it is important to analyse the things that happened throughout this year. These chains of events constitute the basis of the following stage of negotiation. And they give us a

glimpse of the emergence, or re-emergence, of national agrarian movements in Colombia.

The August-September agrarian strike was a nation-wide farmers' mobilisation considered by many to be one of the largest agrarian mobilisations in Colombian history (Cruz, 2017; Suárez, 2015; JR, 2015; RE, 2015). Farmers, in alliance with truck drivers' associations, labour unions and other groups, blocked the roads, stopped producing food for the cities, restricted the road transit of food and goods to the cities, and spilled milk and threw potatoes on certain roads because their prices had fallen sharply and their price in the market was worthless. Some estimates talk about 200,000 people mobilising across the country (El Espectador, 2013a). The mobilisations took place not only on the national roads but also in the cities. Urban dwellers mobilised in the main city squares and parks. Due to the shortages caused by road blocks, food prices increased in the cities. The national association of financial institutions (ANIF for its initials in Spanish) calculates that the economic loss during the strike totalled 1.7 billion Colombian pesos (590 million USD) (ANIF, 2014). The protests became so tense and in some cases so violent that the army was deployed to the city centre in Bogotá. Confrontations between police and protesters turned violent in different places and 19 people died as a result, including civil-society representatives and police officers. Hardly in the history of agrarian mobilisations in Colombia has the country witnessed anything like this.

In interview after interview I found that one of the reasons why the strikes were so chaotic was because there was no central coordination of the strike. Rather, multiple groups mobilised, including some of which the public had heard little

before, including Dignidad Agropecuaria, also referred to as the “dignidades” as they embraced a number of movements such as Dignidad Cafetera, Dignidad Papera among others (more about this in the next section). But also the *Mesa de Interlocución y Acuerdo* (MIA), also little known, was mobilising people in the strike. The Pastos and Quillasingas indigenous communities also joined the mobilisations in the department of Nariño, as did *Coordinador Nacional Agrario* (CNA) in Nariño.

4.3.1. Untangling the strikes: framings and their protagonists

The absence of any central coordination meant the lack of a joint national petition claim. Different groups in different parts of the country submitted different claims to the government. While the exact numbers of groups that participated in the strike and their agendas is unclear, I was able to identify two main agendas with two framings of the agrarian strike during my fieldwork: one within the agricultural development sphere and another one with a more comprehensive perspective, not only concerning agriculture but also combining social rights and environmental issues.

The first one I discovered in an interview in the city of Ipiales in Nariño, where I had the opportunity to talk to JR, a young leader of DA who is a potato producer and a community organiser. He showed me the flyers (Figure 4.3.) that he and others distributed during the days before and during the strike in August 2013, containing their main demands to the government. In them, the main goal of the strike was portrayed as “*protecting national production and the right to dignified work*”. The five main points addressed included milk, potatoes, coffee and cereal imports that were “substituting” for national agricultural

production. The pledge also demanded that the national government should reduce the prices of gas and agricultural inputs, re-structure the credit and finance policy for farmers, and protect the agricultural areas against large-scale mining projects. It emphasised that it is not only an agrarian strike but also a truck drivers' strike.

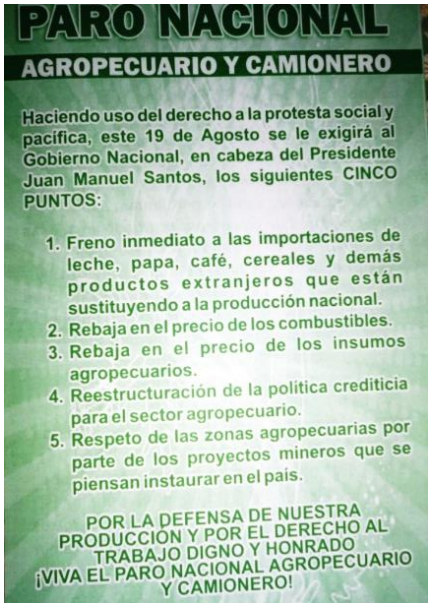


Figure 4.3. Photo of flyer distributed by Dignidad Agropecuaria in Nariño (photo by Felipe Roa-Clavijo 2013)

The second type of agenda that circulated during the strike was put together by the Mesa Nacional Agropecuaria y Popular de Interlocución y Acuerdo (MIA). I learned about this agenda in the city of Pasto in an interview with RD, a member of Coordinador Nacional Agrario (CNA), a peasant organisation based in Nariño. RD is a coffee farmer from Nariño who has a small plot of land in the town of La Union, Nariño. He told me about this petition claim. MIA is an initiative by peasant organisations that put together an agenda in the early days of August 2013 and submitted it officially to the national government in the same month (Table 4.1.)

The framing of their demands to the government is wider in scope that the one from DA, and more comprehensive in the context of the social, political and economic conflict. In their letter to President Santos they state that agrarian and labour union organisations are submitting their demands to the government so that

> […] through dialogue we can find the best way to solve the social, economic and political conflict that affects us. These include displacement from our lands, lack of land distribution, lack of agrarian policies to strengthen agricultural production, mining policies in favour of multinational companies, and neglect of the state in regards to education, health, housing, infrastructure and public services. (MIA, 2013)

With this letter and the list of six demands to the government, and assigned speakers, MIA announced that they were joining the 19th of August agrarian strike with the goal of initiating dialogue with the national government.

Table 4.1. Petition Claim by Mesa Nacional Agropecuaria (MIA, 2013)

Petition Claim MIA 2013
1. Implement efficient actions to address the agrarian crisis (including stopping food imports, financial support, and promotion of agroecology among others).
2. Grant access to land.
3. Recognise peasant territories.
4. Allow communities, small and traditional miners to participate in the formulation of national mining policies.
5. Take action so that rural communities can fully exercise/use their political rights.
6. Undertake significant social investment in education, health, housing, social services and road infrastructure.

While the two agendas overlapped in certain aspects, such as the conflicts around international trade, national production and mining in predominantly agricultural areas, they show two different ways of framing the agrarian problematic of the country. One focused exclusively on the development of

national agriculture, and the other had a broader focus: not only on agriculture but also on social justice.

Understanding these two agendas helps us to start untangling the agrarian strike by understanding the main interests at stake. Nonetheless, these agendas were the seeds of two main groups that would grow into two agrarian movements.

The challenge at this point is that the national government, at least during the first weeks of the strike, did not recognise these agendas and the groups behind them. The question that arises here is: which messages came across to the wider public, who were clearly affected by the road blocks?

4.3.2. The (urban) force awakens

A key moment in the August-September mobilisations was the support expressed by the cities for the agrarian strike. The main form of urban mobilisation was "*cacerolazos*" or "pot banging".[37] There are reports that the number of people who mobilised reached 50,000 in the city of Tunja, 8,000 in Bogotá (*El Espectador*, 2013a), and 3,000 in Cali (*El Tiempo*, 2013d) among many other cities.[38]

My interviewees told me that these urban mobilisations were of utmost importance for them because they felt supported by the cities and were thereby in a stronger position to negotiate with the government. While my fieldwork did not look into the details of the urban mobilisations, there was a wide media coverage which I reviewed to broaden my understanding of the agrarian

[37] This type of mobilisation involves people gathering in central places and making noise with kitchen utensils such as pans and pots.
[38] In Appendix 4.1, I have compiled my findings from a news archive search of the *cacerolazos.*

mobilisations. Across a range of newspapers I was aware of the messages that circulated in the urban mobilisations. The messages expressed support for the agrarian strike, acknowledging the difficult situation of the agrarian sector but also recognising the importance of farmers for food provision.

Among the messages of support were ones appealing to peasant customs like wearing the *ruana* or poncho, or saying “sumerce” (Respectful way of saying “you”.). The poncho is a traditional garment from the rural areas of the Andes highlands, particularly common in Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño. This also became a trend in social media under the hashtag “yotambienmeponcholaruana”. Even celebrities and politicians posted messages on platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Among them, the entire football team from Boyacá, during the singing of the pre-match anthem, wore *ruanas* and hats as a way of showing support for the agrarian strike. Likewise, football fans from Nacional, a local football team from Medellín, displayed posters supporting peasants and the agrarian strike in a match of the South American Club Cup (Figure 4.4.).

Particularly striking in the media coverage were the images linking farmers and food. For example, there were images of food being spilled on the national roads, including milk, oranges and potatoes (Figure 4.4a). But also, there were images of farmers giving *arepas* (traditional flat bread) to police officers who were maintaining safety and security during the mobilisations (Figure 4.4b).



a. Tweet from Noticias RCN (RCN, 2013)



b. Football fans from Nacional support the agrarian strike 2013 (El Espectador, 2013d)

Figure 4.4. Pictures in football stadiums supporting the agrarian strikes

The importance of the urban mobilisations and *cacerolazos* and arguably of the media coverage is that they drew public attention to the food-provisioning debate, particularly to the role of peasants in food provisioning. The mobilisations also served the purpose of raising awareness of the agrarian problems and the conflicts around FTAs and transnational companies.

Two more things are important. First, the elements that reached the public debate were only a fraction of the initial agendas. They were nonetheless enough to spark mobilisations and support from urban areas. At the discursive level, the food-provisioning narrative was arguably the most important one. Second, other aspects that are crucial for a large majority of peasants, such as access to land, were not even mentioned. So in the strikes and *cacerolazos*, agrarian movements discovered the power of the food-provisioning debate to attract public support.



a. Front cover of *El Tiempo,* August 23, 2013 showing farmers spilling milk on the road as part of the agrarian strike.



b. Front cover of *El Espectador*, August 25, 2013 showing a farmer giving *arepas* to police officers.

Figure 4.5. Newspaper photos of the agrarian strike

Food provision proved to be a powerful narrative during the strikes. This was perhaps the first time in Colombia, in the public debate, that a connection between producers and consumers was established. The lack of food supply in the supermarkets of the main cities during the strike (due to the road blocks) and therefore the huge increase in prices of the food available, also reinforced the agrarian leaders' message that they are the key food providers for the cities.

4.3.3. A door opens: from repression to recognition

> […] and then the President says that the so-called agrarian strike does not exist! We replied: are you sure it does not exist? The indigenous communities from the south are here. Let's see if the strike does not exist. The initial idea was that the strike would last for two or three days, but because of the President's phrase it lasted 15 days. (RE, 2015)

These are the thoughts of one of my interviewees who is an indigenous leader from the Pastos-Quillasingas community in Nariño, speaking about President Santos' infamous phrase: "*el tal paro nacional agropecuario no existe*" (the so-called national agrarian strike does not exist) (*Noticias Caracol*, 2013a). The President said this as part of his remarks on a public event on 25 August 2013. As we can see from my interviewee above, the phrase sparked anger among protesters, mainly because they felt that the President was underestimating their organisations and their claims. As RE and many of my interviewees explain, this particular event worsened the strike, as more people felt underestimated by the President and therefore were encouraged to join and extend the protests in order to make a statement that the strike did indeed exist. I was curious about the context in which the President had made such remarks, so I found the video of the speech online and watched its complete version. To my surprise, I found that the main media outlets that had widely reported the news of the President's phrase had reported only a short excerpt from his remarks regarding the agrarian strike. The complete statement was:

> The so-called national agrarian strike does not exist, there are certain agrarian sectors, from certain departments who have legitimate claims. They are demanding state support in a legitimate way. Some of them are potato producers from Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño. These peasants are the ones protesting and demanding that their rights are met and protected, and this is legitimate in any democracy. […] With peasants we have the best intentions and will to dialogue. (Santos, 2013)

The news treatment and the way in which the media reported these remarks and the effect that this created should be subject to further analysis that is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, when listening to the full remarks, we can see that the President actually had a really good understanding of the

situation, because (1) it was not a national strike by a unified agrarian sector or group, (2) it was a strike that took place in certain regions of the country and involved particular agrarian interest groups, including potato producers from Nariño, Cundinamarca and Boyacá who (3) had legitimate claims.

But even if the President had a good idea of the situation, these remarks also show that at this point the government did not know (or at least did not want to publicly acknowledge) the groups that were participating in the strike. Evidence of this is provided by two main facts. First, the repressive response from the state to the road blocks in certain locations; and second, the fact that in Nariño, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture visited the region to assess the situation and work with the local protagonists to find ways out of the strike. However, as JR told me, the minister met with the governor, municipal mayors and some agrarian representatives, but he and his group (the rising DA at that point) were not invited to the meeting. JR said that “the government was talking to the wrong people” because it was he and his group who were coordinating the mobilisations and road blocks.

The above means that the starting point (on 19 August) of the groups and claims presented above did not have acknowledgment from the government. But because the mobilisations included road blocks and urban mobilisations, the national government had to back up and initiate parallel negotiations in multiple locations with different agrarian groups. The Ministry of Agriculture (in its 2013-2014 report) (MADR, 2014b) reports that as a result of negotiations during the agrarian strikes, the ministry had reached 183 commitments with 22 different groups across the country in areas such as protection against

international trade, agricultural inputs, credit and finance, and crops such as coffee, maize, rice and potatoes among others (Figure 4.6).

Since the agrarian strike was not a unified strike but, as we saw above, included the participation of multiple groups, the road blockages and mobilisations did not all end at once. As the government reached agreements with protesters in the different locations, the strikes would be called off by their leaders. However, among these negotiations between the government and protesters, three negotiations stand out for the particular attention that they received from the highest level of government. President Santos and Vice-President Garzón went exclusively to three places to sign agreements with the groups organising the strikes. Garzón went to Popayan to sign an agreement with MIA, and Santos went to Ipiales and Tunja to sign final agreements with the Pastos and Quillasingas indigenous communities and with the emerging Dignidad Agropecuaria. It was only when these three agreements were signed that the strike at the national level was called off during the first week of September 2013.

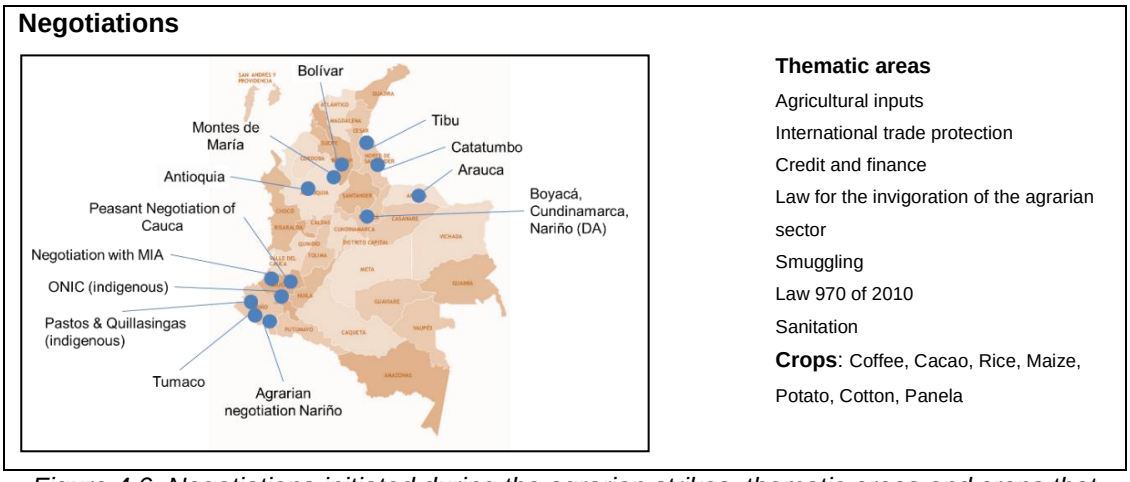


Figure 4.6. Negotiations initiated during the agrarian strikes, thematic areas and crops that received attention by national and sub-national governments (MADR 2014b and fieldwork interviews)

Having interviewed agrarian leaders who took part in these three negotiations, I can say that the fact that the President and Vice-President had travelled to the negotiations, listened and accepted their demands, and signed agreements of further negotiation, was considered a huge success by them. But even more importantly these three agreements catalysed further processes of the agrarian movements' organisation, policy and negotiation which will be reviewed below.

4.3.4. But it was just the beginning

A comprehensive analysis of the main events that followed "the end" of the agrarian strike, and most importantly, their scope and relevance, has not been conducted in the academic literature. The strike that lasted from 19 August to 12 September was just the beginning. The following 12 months would be marked by parallel, yet interlinked, political campaigns by the President, who announced that he was running for re-election in 2014, by the government, who had made commitments during the strikes and had to deliver on them in the face of potentially new strikes, and by agrarian movements who consolidated their alliances after the agrarian strike (see Table 4.2).

Presidential and Congress elections

On 20 November 2013 President Santos announced that he was going to run for re-election in May 2014. As a President-Candidate this put him in a challenging position for two main reasons. First, he and his government had to deliver on the large number of agreements made with the agrarian movements, and on the other hand he had to gain voters' support if he wanted to win the re-election campaign.

And to complicate things further, during the first semester of 2014, Congress elections were taking place in March. This period of democratic elections put agrarian movements in a stronger position, so it is not surprising that, as we will see below, new mobilisations and strikes took place in March and May 2014.

Table 4.2. A year of unrest. Agrarian strikes 2013-14

Political races	2013		2014			
	August-September	November-December	January-March	April-May	June - July	August-September
Presidential and Congressional elections		President Santos announces his re-election campaign on 20 November	Congress elections in March	First round of presidential elections	Second round of presidential elections President Santos re-elected	President Santos begins second term in office
Agrarian movements organising	CA pre-launch their organisation on 13-14 September	DA launches as a movement on 3 December	CA holds its first national summit and officially launches the social movement	CA submits a negotiation agenda to President Santos	Agrarian movements get ready for negotiations	CA and DA await the start of negotiations with the re-elected government.
Strikes and mobilisations	The National Agrarian Strike starts on 19 August and goes on until the second week of September.		New strikes organised by DA and CA seek to hold the government accountable for their previous commitments to agrarian movements	Agrarian movements call a national agrarian strike	Agrarian movements say they will go on strike again if government does not fulfil its promises	
Government action and response	President Santos signs agreements with the Pastos and Quillasingas indigenous communities in Ipiales, Nariño and with DA in Tunja and MIA in Popayan.	President Santos and Ministry of Agriculture launch Pacto Agrario on 13 September		President signs Executive Order to start negotiations with CA. National government concedes 250 million COP		Government hosts first negotiation session with CA in September

Agrarian movements organising

Another race that started after the agreements emerging from the agrarian strikes was the organising of the agrarian movements. The mobilisations and successful acceptance of their agendas by the government gave a strong

boost to their organisation and emerging alliances. Knowing that following the strike agreements they would carry on in further negotiations with the national government, they embarked on an effort to consolidate their organisational alliances and agendas.

The negotiation process that was led throughout the strikes by MIA turned into the *Cumbre Agraria Étnica y Popular* (Cumbre Agraria, or CA for short) as the result of the inclusion of new peasant, African-Colombian, indigenous, and labour-union organisations. CA pre-launched its social movement in September 2013 and held 22 sub-national meetings with its constituents across the country between January and March 2014, with the main goal of identifying the main problems and proposals for each of the regions in which the meetings took place. MIA (2015) reports that 173 organisations participated at the sub-national level, which is a remarkable level of participation (Appendix 4.2 shows details of the organisations that participated). Following the sub-national meetings, the CA was launched in March 2014 in Bogotá with the participation of 30,000 people coming from all corners of the country. In this meeting, the leaders and organisations attending presented the “unitary agenda” and “political statement” (both considered in the next section) of CA which were built on the basis of all the documents elaborated at the sub-national level.

The groups who negotiated in Tunja coming from Nariño, Cundinamarca and Boyacá created the social movement *Dignidad Agropecuaria Colombiana* (Dignidad Agropecuaria, or DA for short), which was launched in December 2013. The goals, agenda and structure of these movements are explained in the next section.

New strikes and mobilisations

The strikes and mobilisations organised by DA and CA did not stop after the end of the August-September 2013 agrarian strike. My interviewees from both agrarian movements told me that, given that the national government had not fulfilled their commitments, they organised new strikes and mobilisations, particularly in the months of March and April-May 2014. These new strikes were publicly announced in letters addressed to the President and press releases. In fact, the April-May strike is described as a new national agrarian strike.

These strikes were smaller in size and did not have the same impact as the ones from the previous year. Their main goal was to demand that the government should meet its commitments. They were used in a strategic way in the middle of the Congressional elections and in the first and second rounds of the Presidential elections.

Government action

In response to the agrarian strike, the national government launched the *Pacto Nacional por el Agro y el Desarrollo Rural* (*Pacto Agrario*), a programme aimed at refocusing the national agrarian policy, based on regional and local participation in municipalities and departments. The Pacto Agrario allocated one billion pesos for sub-national projects. The Ministry of Agriculture reports receiving 89,847 project proposals from 30 departments and 641 municipalities (MADR, 2014b).

A new beginning

I argue that the effects of agrarian strikes persisted until the re-election of President Santos in 2014. A new context for agrarian negotiation was configured over the course of a year. New social movements were in place and ready to start negotiating with the government.

All of these elements marked a new beginning for both the national government and the agrarian movements. Both would embark over the following years on a journey never previously ventured upon. I analyse these negotiations in the next chapter, but now let us turn to a closer analysis of the newly emerged agrarian movements, particularly their narratives, networks and interests.

4.4. Two agrarian movements rise

Having examined the importance of the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014 to the emergence of the food-provisioning debate in the public arena, I now turn attention to the two agrarian movements that were founded in late 2013 and early 2014 which played a central role in mobilising people during the strikes and that later on engaged in negotiations with the government (further explored in Chapter 5). Who participates in these movements? Do they have the same interests? What are their goals? Are they two aspects of the same movement, or two separate movements? These questions are important because they bring together the demands of agrarian sectors that would later on engage in negotiations with the government.

One common element in the media and policy documents is referring to "the agrarian or peasant movement" as a unitary social movement. I argue that this understanding is incorrect. It is not only unjust but inaccurate to talk about a unitary agrarian movement. An initial overview of their agendas (Table 4.3.) provides evidence of differences between a comprehensive rural development agenda[39] (CA) and agricultural development objectives (DA). Furthermore, I provide evidence not only that they are two different agrarian movements but also that they are highly heterogeneous internally. The following subsections will address these aspects in detail.

Table 4.3. CA and DA agendas (CA 2014; DA 2015)

Cumbre Agraria	**Dignidad Agropecuaria**
1. Land, territory and territorial planning 2. Peasant economy 3. Mining, energy and rurality 4. Solution to coca, marijuana and poppy crops 5. Political rights, victims and justice 6. Social rights: education, health housing and living standards 7.Rural-urban links 8. Peace, social justice and political solution to conflict	1. Protection for national agricultural products 2. Implement measures to reduce the price of agricultural inputs. 3. Review and limit protected and agricultural production areas. 4. Alleviate the rural producers' debt and implement measures to reactivate the agrarian sector. 5. Do not implement mining projects in predominantly agricultural areas.

4.4.1. Movements of movements

One of the distinctive aspects of the emergence of these movements is the fact that they have been built as coalitions or alliances of various movements which

[39] Cumbre Agraria's 2013 agenda is very similar to the one put forward 10 years earlier in Mandato Agrario, reviewed in chapter 3 (page 127). While the agendas are thematically connected it is not clear whether the 2013 agenda was based on the 2003 one. None of my interviewees from CA mentioned Mandato Agrario as part of the background of their agenda. More research is needed to establish these links.

have come to constitute umbrella networks. A comparative analysis of my interviews with representatives of these two movements makes it clear that early on they realised that if they worked together as coalitions they would have a stronger voice in their interaction with the government. Evidence of this is the ethnic, identity and class alliance of CA and the initially geographical (Boyacá-Cundinamarca-Nariño) alliance of DA which was followed by an alliance based more on value chains. Let us examine what types of alliances were built and their main structure and goals.[40].

Cumbre Agraria

Cumbre Agraria, Campesina, Étnica y Popular translates into English as "the Agrarian, Peasant, Ethnic and Popular Summit". Its name is a clear statement of the types of groups that participate in the movement: indigenous, African-Colombian, peasant, and labour unions, all linked to the agrarian sector. It is an alliance that involves class, identity and ethnic components in a coalition of 11 groups and movements that are both national and sub-national (Table 4.4.). Although the coalition is new, the organisations that are part of it are not. Most of them have been around for a few years and have diverse trajectories in the agrarian sector. Among them is *Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia* (ONIC), which was created in 1971 and represents 106 indigenous communities out of a national total of 117 in 28 out of 32 departments. *Proceso de Comunidades Negras* (PCN) is also part of the coalition. This group has worked with African-Colombian communities from the Pacific Coast since

[40] An analysis of the each of the constitutive organisations that are part of these movements is beyond the scope of my thesis. However, appendices 4.3 and 4.4 provide a more detailed account of these organisations and their goals.

1994. *Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria* (FENSUAGRO), the agrarian labour union, is one of the oldest of the organisations of CA. It was created in 1987 and since then has been working on the rights of agrarian workers as well as for the landless.

Do they represent all the peasant, indigenous, African-Colombian and labour unions of the country? Perhaps they do not. However, due to their diversity and territorial coverage, they do represent a significant part of the rural population and have a legitimate voice to speak about agrarian problems and rural development.

Table 4.4. Cumbre Agraria inner and wider networks

Networks	Cumbre Agraria (CA)
Inner network	**Indigenous** Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC) **Peasant** Coordinador Nacional Agrario (CNA) Asociación Nacional de Zonas de Reserva Campesina (ANZORC) **African-Colombian** Proceso de Comunidades Negras (PCN) **Labour Unions** Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria (FENSUAGRO) **Political Movements** Marcha Patriótica Movimiento por la Constituyente Popular (MCP) **Alliances and general movements** Congreso de los Pueblos, Movimiento Político y Social Mesa Nacional de Interlocución y Acuerdo (MIA) Coalición de Movimientos y Organizaciones Sociales de Colombia (COMOSOC) Mesa de Unidad Agraria (MUA)
Wider network	Communist Party International peasant movement: La Via Campesina: FENSUAGRO and CNA are members of Via Campesina.

Another component that helps us to understand more about the movement is their wider network. By this I refer to other organisations that are not a constitutive part of the social movement but whose close links are important for

their actions. In my interviews I was able to identify two particular ones: *La Via Campesina* and the Communist Party. *Marcha Patriótica* (see Annex 4.1 for more information), a political movement that is part of CA, has close links with the Communist Party.[41] And at the international level, two of the organisations that are part of CA are members of Via Campesina: CNA and FENSUAGRO. Members of La Via Campesina play an active role in political activism in national and international contexts, campaigning for LVC's ideology and goals.

One question that arises here is whether the coalition is just the sum of organisations and interests of this diversity of organisations, or whether together they bring a new agenda. The interests of the indigenous may overlap with those of the peasants and African-Colombians, but they also have ethnic-specific priorities which may be problematic for the collective mobilisation.[42] On this, RD (2015) told me in an interview that in the preparatory event (pre-summit) of 12-13 December 2013 the 150 agrarian leaders representing 11 organisations of the emerging CA had agreed on the terms of unity and the construction of a joint agenda, based on

> First, respect among organisations that are part of CA, and second acknowledgement of the participating organisations. This means that any organisation that would be part of CA, small or large, with any political vision, should have respect for the other organisations.

[41] Cruz and Silva (2017) conducted recently a comprehensive analysis of the genesis, structure and goals of Marcha Patriotica.
[42] The paper by Montenegro (2016) reflects on the political recognition of the peasants, their representation and redistribution aspects. This arguably connects with elements of collective identity and territory.

So CA is an umbrella of social movements that want to send a message of unity to the government, despite their internal differences. As we will see below, despite these differences they managed to put together an agenda.

Dignidad Agropecuaria

"*Dignidad Agropecuaria por Colombia*" (DA) in English translates as "Agrarian Dignity for Colombia". It was launched in September 2013, right after the end of the agrarian strike of that year, and also emerged as an umbrella social movement. The main movements that initially constituted the organisation were diverse groups that had been created in recent years with the prefix of *dignidad* (dignity) followed by a reference to particular agricultural chains (Table 4.5.). One of the first ones that had a public profile was *Dignidad Cafetera* (coffee-sector dignity) during the strikes of late 2012 and early 2013 (Cruz, 2013). Being within the strongest agricultural sector in Colombia, this group has advocated for stable product prices, regulation and better agricultural input prices. One of my interviewees, JC, who is a social-movement leader in DA and a potato producer in Nariño, told me the story of the creation of *Dignidad Papera* (potato-sector dignity). JC recalls one of the meetings of the August 2013 strike in the previous month which was the first encounter for many of this organisations. In this meeting he was representing the potato sector. Concerning this meeting he told me:

> We held a meeting in Bogotá (July). Many leaders from Nariño attended. There we agreed to start an agrarian strike on August 19th with whomever wanted to join. Then we started hearing that there were movements called Dignidad Cafetera, Dignidad Arrocera, and we thought: how should we be called? Let us be called Dignidad Papera! It was very spontaneous.

In the follow-up to this meeting in Bogotá, JR wrote and sent a letter to the groups that had participated in the May 2013 strikes. He read aloud an excerpt from the letter:

> There is no doubt that after what happened last May (2013) has opened a possibility to build new building blocs for the potato sector's history. The protests that took place in Boyacá, Cundinamarca and Nariño clearly show the deep crisis that we, more than 90 thousand families in the potato production business, are going through. It took very little to obtain a massive response from potato producers from the three departments where more than 25 thousand people mobilised. This first milestone marks the birth of *Dignidad Papera Colombiana*.

As the informants whom I interviewed from DA told me, the emergence of these "dignidades" movements attached to agricultural agrarian chains is related to their frustration with their particular sector federations, for example *Federación Nacional de Productores de Papa* (FEDEPAPA), *Asociación Nacional de Cultivadores de Caña* (ASOCAÑA), *Federación Nacional de Cafeteros* (FEDECAFÉ), etc. These associations' role is to represent the multiple agricultural sectors, but my informants told me that they did not feel represented by them, so they started organising within each of these sectors. And Dignidad Agropecuaria brought all these groups together under the same umbrella/social movement. In regard to this, OG, a DA leader, told me

> Dignidad Agropecuaria is also a result of people who have been part of those federations but who do not feel represented. Those federations have been around for years with the same governing councils, but they don't grow a grain of rice or a coffee tree, they are people from the bureaucracy. They work for their own interests but not for the interests of the group they represent. If they represented us they would have taken a stronger stand in the trade agreements with Canada, USA, Mercosur, and they could have said that potato or milk were out of the question for international negotiations. If they are

> not there for doing that, then what are they here for? They are there for small projects, small countryside schools, and other small things, but that does not represent the core interests of our sector.

This is the reason why DA has a value-chain approach as opposed to a place-based one.

Table 4.5. Networks of DA and CA

Networks	Dignidad Agropecuaria (DA)
Inner network	Dignidad Cafetera (coffee) Dignidad Papera (potatoes) Dignidad Panelera (sugar cane) Dignidad Cacaotera (cacao) Dignidad Cebollera (onion) Dignidad Lechera (milk and dairy) Dignidad Arrocera (rice)
Wider network	National Truck Drivers' Association Political movement: Polo Democrático Alternativo, particularly senator Jorge Robledo International networks not known

In their wider network we can find two main organisations: the national truck drivers' association, with which DA organised the August 2013 strike; also, *Polo Democrático Alternativo*, a centre-left political movement that has supported and joined DA in their struggle.

4.4.2. Interests and agendas

From their constitution as umbrella social movements and to continue inquiring about the role of these emerging groups, let us now analyse CA's and DA's goals, interests and agendas. As was evident in Table 4.3, one of the main differences between CA and DA is that CA has a comprehensive agenda, not only in the field of agricultural development, but also concerning land access, social services, agroecology and environment, illegal crops and human rights,

among other issues. Conversely, DA's agenda positions itself within the agricultural development sphere, focusing on international trade threats, agricultural input prices, finance and debt, and land use. However, as leaders of both social movements recognise, one common theme in their agendas is food sovereignty, which I address in Chapter 6.

Table 4.6 shows a comparative analysis across main themes of the negotiation agendas that they submitted to the government for dialogue and negotiation. These movements' approaches to land and social rights and the peasant economy differ in four respects. First, for CA land is a central point, while for DA it is a secondary concern. On the one hand, land for CA includes the protection and expansion of indigenous and African-Colombian territories as well as land access and distribution for the landless. Their agenda reflects the historical problems of land, as addressed in Chapter 3. On the other hand, the DA agenda has no claims on land access or redistribution. Rather, their main concerns are the conflicts of land use in regards to mining projects and the delimitation of protected natural areas, and areas of agricultural use.

On the aspect of land, JR, whom I cited above, one of DA's leaders and also a potato farmer in Nariño, told me the following:

> Land is not our struggle. We don't struggle for land because our entrepreneurs could be affected, and if one of them goes broken at least 600 families will end up without work. Our struggles are market prices and profitability. (JR, 2015)

Based on this statement and the absence of land access in their agenda, we can make two main inferences. First, that DA are landowners and therefore they do not have to address the land issue from a re-distributional perspective. Second is that they potentially rent land from others (smallholders and

medium-holders) for their agricultural production. This is a central difference for agrarian movements in Colombia. The social movements that we have seen in the past, such as ANUC, had advocated for land access and re-distribution. So this is probably the first time that the country has witnessed the rise of an agrarian movement of this type.

Table 4.6. Thematic comparison of CA and DA agendas

Agenda items	Cumbre Agraria (CA)	Dignidad Agraria (DA)
Land and territory	Land access and distribution, indigenous and Afro-Colombian territories Agriculture versus mining	Land use: agriculture versus mining
Social rights	Access to education, health, infrastructure	Not mentioned
Violence and victims protection	State protection in violent conflict areas and special attention to victims of violence	Not mentioned
Economic goals	Local markets, agroecology, promotion of small-holder production, agri-food territories	National market, capitalist development
Agricultural inputs	Regulate prices of agricultural inputs and restrict its use	Reduce price of agricultural inputs
FTAs	Stop all FTAs	Stop all FTAs
Agrarian debt and finances	Forgive debt to peasants	Forgive debt to peasants
Illicit crops and illegal drugs	Address the problem by creating alternative livelihoods for peasants	Not mentioned

The second difference is the fact that DA's agenda does not include social rights, victims of violence, and negotiated peace. On the contrary, access to education, health and infrastructure, as well as providing special attention to victims of violence, are relevant in CA's agenda. This leads one to infer that DA is not as poor and marginalised as CA is. The DA movement leaders whom I interviewed and whom I was able to identify in other data sources seem to be in a more privileged situation than others who belong to the same group. For example, three of the DA leaders whom I interviewed have at least

undergraduate degrees from public universities. It is very likely that they and other leaders of DA have land, plus infrastructure such as tractors and other agricultural machinery, and that they also hire labour. The quote about land presented above also shows the dependency of large number of families who work for them. What is also evident is that these families who work for them do not seem to have a voice in the movement's leadership.

A third point of difference is their economic goals. CA's goal is a structured peasant economy. They propose a framework for the consolidation of small-scale agriculture, based on agroecological principles and local circuits of food distribution (Cumbre Agraria, 2014). They understand a peasant economy to be a diverse form of productive organisation including peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian elements, in which communities practise production, exchange and trade in order to satisfy their needs, generate incomes and strengthen the social fabric in their territories. All of these are based on cooperation and reciprocity relations with the aim of living well, in harmony with nature and prioritising these principles over capital accumulation. (Cumbre Agraria, 2014).

DA's economic goals contrast with those of CA. A clue to their economic perspective was given in JR's quote above: "*Our struggles are market prices and profitability*" (JR, 2015). They also talk about the national market and the threat posed by imported food. One of the senior leaders and spokesmen of the movement told me in an interview:

> Our goal is to bring about capitalist agricultural development in Colombia. We are not talking about anything else, simply to develop agricultural capitalism in the country. (OG, 2016)

A final point to highlight in the agendas are their perspectives on agricultural inputs. Even where there are apparent similarities, substantial differences are evident. While DA demands a reduction in the price of agricultural inputs, CA proposes to regulate and restrict their use. This is connected to CA's major goal of consolidating agroecological and environment-friendly agriculture.

4.4.3. Identity: so far so close

The last element in this initial approach to understanding CA and DA is their identity component. Beyond their networks, goals and agendas it is also relevant to analyse in what ways they identify themselves, and in what contexts.

The very names of these agrarian movements are significant. On the one hand, “Cumbre” (summit) and “Dignidad” (dignity) are powerful words. Summit is the highest point of a mountain, but it is also frequently used in the political world when heads of state meet. Therefore one message from the name is that this agrarian movement wants to portray itself as the major representative and leader of the rural world: the agrarian, ethnic, and popular summit. On the other hand, dignity connects with the wider debate on human rights. In his book *Understanding Human Dignity*, Christopher McCrudden states that dignity is not only a “prominent feature of the political debate” but also it constitutes “the foundation of all human rights” (McCrudden, 2013 p.1). So using the name “agrarian dignity” connects with much more profound debates on social rights as the main claim of the social movement.

There are differences also In terms of the ways in which DA and CA refer to themselves and each other. For example, in the interviews that I conducted

with DA leaders, I found that they talk about themselves as “agricultural entrepreneurs” or “*hardcore entrepreneurs*”. They also talk about other leaders and members of the movement as people who “*have money*” (JR, 2015). But in other contexts such as in the Congress Hall intervention by Cesar Pachón that we analysed above, they talk about themselves as *“peasants who work the land*”, and as hard workers who “work really hard either under the hot sunshine or under the rain” and who are “hard core producers” (Pachón, 2013).

In contrast, CA members describe themselves in terms of their inter-culturalism. They say “We are indigenous, African-Colombian and peasant leaders”. They recognise themselves as excluded by the agrarian policy, marginalised by the market and affected by violence. They define peasants not only as an economic subject, but also as a cultural subject. In this regard RD (2015), one of CA's leaders, told me:

> When we talk about the peasant economy model we are talking about the acknowledgement of peasant life as a life project with all its components. These include not only our economic but also our cultural contributions. […] We practise cultural and biodiversity agriculture that not only produces food but also protects biodiversity. […] They (the ministry of agriculture officials) have forgotten that people are more than money.

In addition, in response to the national government's offer of a financial package to help address their demands, RD’s reply was:

> We don’t focus so much on the money. Those 250,000 million pesos (that the national government granted CA as part of the negotiation) is a lot of money, but for us this is nothing compared to the historical debt that the state has with the people from the countryside. For us, the centre of the negotiation is the structure of the agrarian policy and structural change.

This allows us to see in CA an identity component that goes beyond being economic actors. They recognise themselves as making cultural contributions to the country as part of their ethnicity, traditions and identity. And while they have practical agenda points such as land distribution and the construction of a peasant economy, a struggle for the construction of their identity as peasant, African-Colombian and indigenous is also at the core.

As can be seen for the discussion above, we can talk about two very different distinct groups. One (DA) is better off (at least its leaders are) and well connected to the cities, the market and social services. They support and propose to strengthen the existing economic model, based on capitalist agricultural development. The other group (CA) is a more marginal and peripheral one. They are economically, socially and politically excluded. However, the political exclusion is arguable. As a group in which indigenous and African-Colombians participate, we cannot talk about complete political exclusion, as they are politically recognised in the constitution and have their own territories and control over them. Despite this, and despite their internal heterogeneity, they identify themselves as a group with a common background and common interests.

Figure 4.7 below shows the internal heterogeneity of both movements and their differences. The red colour represents their overlapping interests, but also their tensions. With this my main goal is to show the difference between these two groups and avoid talking about “the agrarian movement” in Colombia as if it was the only one, with a common background and interests.

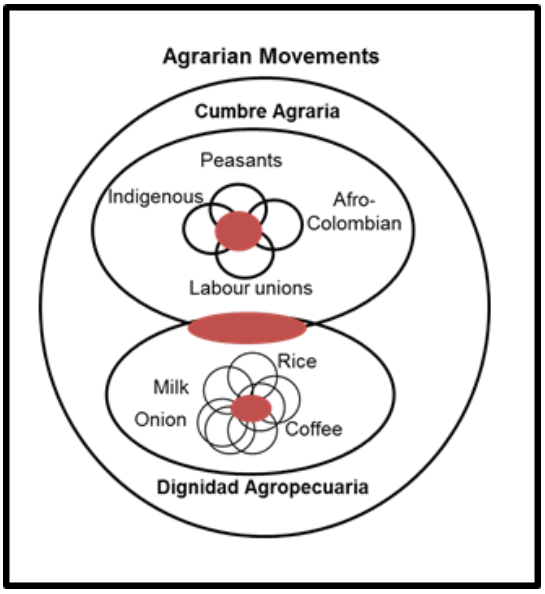


Figure 4.7. Agrarian movements' heterogeneity and differentiation

One question that arises in this context is whether this differentiation would put the two movements in competition for financial resources, policy change or recognition among others. In this respect, I found that some of their leaders do not think that there is competition. They told me that beyond their differences they support each other's causes and that there is a good spirit of cooperation between them (JR, 2015; RD, 2015; OG, 2016).

4.5. A new beginning

At the beginning of the chapter I drew attention to the brown coffin symbolically carrying an agrarian sector that was practically dead due to multiple crises. Throughout this chapter I included the voices of agrarian leaders in order to understand, from their perspectives, the main agrarian problems and the main alternatives that they envisage for the future. In the process, however, we have seen that, while they presented an image of a dying agrarian sector, peasants and the newly emerged agrarian movements are alive and more energetic than

ever before. The crisis indeed sparked new organising efforts and introduced new voices to the agrarian debates.

Having discussed the strikes and the rise of agrarian movements and the emergence of the food-provisioning debate in the public scene, it is important to highlight three final aspects of the period 2013-2014. First, the mobilisation, negotiation and discursive power of the agrarian movements. Second, the diversity of agrarian movements, their concerns and interests. And third, the rise of the food debate in the public sphere.

4.5.1. Mobilisation, negotiation and discursive power: peasants are alive

The strikes of 2013-2014 showed the mobilisation, negotiation and discursive power of the agrarian movements. The August-September strike was not organised by a single group but rather by many, it was chaotic and even turned violent in certain places. Nonetheless it showed the mobilisation strength of agrarian movements. In a mostly urban country, the majority of people had perhaps forgotten about the people living in the countryside, but the staggering number of people who mobilised on the national roads drew attention to them. Agrarian movements also managed not only to attract attention from the people in the cities but also to gain their support. The food-provisioning discourse, as we will see below, played a central role in this rural-urban link. The strikes also showed agrarian movements to be highly skilled at negotiating, particularly with ministers, vice-ministers as well as the President and Vice-President.

While the agrarian crisis was a central reason why agrarian movements mobilised, it is also important to highlight that they also mobilised due to the opportunities that opened up, including a national government that was

relatively more open to dialogue with agrarian movements. Among these openings was the peace process with FARC, which has a strong emphasis on agrarian reform. This opened an opportunity in the near future to discuss these issues, and sparked the organisation of agrarian movements for a post-conflict phase.

4.5.2. Differentiation, diversity and heterogeneity of agrarian movements

The signing by President Santos and Vice-President Garzón of the negotiation agreements in Tunja and Popayan in 2013, I argue, propelled the organisation of agrarian movements into a new phase. The national government's acknowledgement of these agrarian movements as a legitimate counter-part in the agrarian debate gave them a strong boost and encouraged them to further organise and negotiate.

Although there are significant differences between these two movements, they are internally heterogeneous. Solely on the basis of their narratives during the strikes, agrarian movements appear rather similar. But a closer look at their interests and networks shows structural differences between them. CA represents poor and marginalised communities who live in areas in which they have been affected both by violent conflict and by market and social exclusion. Therefore it brings together a comprehensive perspective of agriculture and rural development that includes well-being and environmental approaches. Yet, as an alliance of peasant, indigenous, African-Colombian and labour unions, there is a huge diversity embedded in the movement.

The emergence of DA as an agrarian movement marks perhaps a new phase in the agrarian movements of Colombia. It is showing how the rural society has

also changed, and reflects the emergence of a middle class in the countryside that claims both a “peasant” and an “entrepreneur” identity.

In unveiling these movements' different visions of agriculture and rural development it is important to highlight their proposals in light of sustainable development. In CA we find sustainability as a central concern. The fact that they propose the implementation of agroecological practices, and with them the conservation of water and biodiversity, cannot be underestimated, and nor can one ignore their proposal to construct agri-food territories, which due to the scope of this chapter I was not able to cover.

All of these aspects of internal heterogeneity, differentiation between movements, and their visions and proposals deserve further academic scrutiny. This has implications for the reduction of poverty in rural areas, the protection of the environment and the design of public policy.

4.5.3. Food provisioning hits the public debate

One of the main outcomes for agrarian movements was putting the question of food provisioning on the public agenda for debate. The question had been raised by agrarian movements before (in 2003, as discussed in the previous chapter), but neither the national government nor the public at large engaged in such debates then.

The food-provisioning debate was addressed first with the national government and then with urban dwellers. In the various mobilisations and subsequently in the negotiations with the government, agrarian movements raised the food-provisioning question by asking the government to protect national agriculture from imports including potatoes, milk and other products. Then, during the

cacerolazos in the cities, attention was drawn to the issue of food provision as well. The lack of food supply in the supermarkets made urban citizens aware of the importance of peasants in food provisioning.

The food-provisioning question is actually not a single one, but rather a set of questions:

Who is producing food for whom?
Where should the food consumed in Colombia come from?
Who wins and who loses under specific arrangements of food provision (i.e. domestic versus international food)?

In this sense, the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014 and the organisation and structure of new agrarian movements mark, arguably, a “before and an after” in the food-provisioning debates. As we saw in the previous chapter, food provisioning has been on the Colombian agrarian movements’ agenda for decades, but it was in the 2000s that the debate was given a stronger emphasis, but not in the wider public sphere. However, in the period of time analysed in this chapter, what we see is an engagement of the national government and the public at large in this debate.

The agrarian movements used the food-provisioning debate to draw attention to their problems and to mobilise public support. However, in the newly emerged alliances and on their agendas, consumers are not mentioned. This is problematic because the movements appeal to consumers in the cities for popular support for their causes, but there are not practical points in their agendas that link them together in any way.

Finally, the rise of this debate is of major importance as it drew attention to the highly undemocratic character of the Colombian food system, reflecting such

dynamics of food and agriculture at the global level. It brought into the public arena historical and current decisions about how to feed the country (who should produce food, where should food come from, etc.) that had excluded two major stakeholders: agricultural producers and consumers. The interpretation of the agrarian strikes that I have offered in this chapter is that the events of 2013 and 2014 had at their very centre a debate about the future of food in Colombia.

In the next chapter I continue following the evolution of the food-provisioning debate, in which agrarian movements and the national government initiate formal negotiations in 2014.

5. Agrarian negotiations: competing narratives of food and agriculture in Colombia

5.1. Introduction

While most attention from academics and policy makers in recent years has been centred on the peace talks between the guerrilla group FARC and the Colombian government, little attention has been given to the agrarian negotiations that started following the agrarian strikes of 2013-14. What do we know about these negotiations, their actors and agendas? When and where have they taken place? Who has participated? In short, we know very little. Until today these talks have been vaguely reported[43] by the official government agencies[44] and have received even less coverage by the media, compared with the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014. This lack of attention is surprising, given the fact that there has been a major involvement at the highest levels of government, with significant financial support and policy implications. These significant levels of engagement provide insights into the structure, identity and claims of re-structuring and emerging agrarian movements in Colombia and the way in which their ideas interface with those of the official bodies in direct talks. Beyond this, the substantive debates about the past, present and future of food and agriculture included in these negotiations indicate a need to rethink the agrarian question in Colombia in the context of the emergence of new narratives of food provisioning.

[43] Prensa Rural, an independent online portal (www.prensarural.org), is one of the sites that have followed up the debates and publish articles on a frequent basis (Prensa Rural 2015a; 2015b).
[44] The Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Interior annual reports of 2013, 2014, and 2015 mention the negotiations in a marginal way and offer little information on the progress made.

In the previous chapter I analysed the way in which the agrarian strikes of 2013-2014 unfolded and how this influenced the emergence of two main national agrarian movements, *Dignidad Agropecuaria* (DA) and *Cumbre Agraria* (CA). Most importantly, I studied the rise of the food-provisioning debate in the public sphere that was prompted by the agrarian movements' mobilisations, and its resonance with urban dwellers. This chapter continues to follow the journey of these agrarian movements as they bring to an end a phase of strikes and mobilisations and initiate formal negotiations with the government, based on the agendas presented by the agrarian movements, and following with special attention the evolution of the food- provisioning debate throughout these negotiations in the period 2014-2016.

Against this background, my questions in this chapter are: What are the agrarian movements' narratives of food provisioning in the negotiations? What are the main tensions that arise in their exchanges with the government? What do they tell us about rural development, food and agriculture in Colombia?

As mentioned in the methodological section of Chapter 1, it is important to highlight that this chapter is based mostly on my interviews with both agrarian leaders and government officials participating in the negotiations, as well as participant observation in the formal negotiation sessions between agrarian movements and the government.

5.2. Negotiation settings and dynamics

We saw in the previous chapter the number of negotiations that the national government engaged in as a result of the agrarian strikes (Figure 4.6). In this chapter I focus on three of those negotiations. First is the negotiation between

the national government and Cumbre Agraria, second the negotiation of the national government with Dignidad Agropecuaria, and third, the sub-national negotiation of the agrarian policy for Nariño: CONPES (Figure 5.1).

The reason for selecting these three case studies is that first, at the national level, DA and CA represent the two principal national agrarian movements that emerged after the agrarian strikes. Both deserve attention because they come from different backgrounds and have similar yet different and sometimes competing interests (as outlined in Chapter 4). Second, Nariño was one of the most difficult regions for the government to negotiate an end to the strikes. I focus on the negotiation of the agrarian policy for Nariño (also known as the Agrarian CONPES) because it is a multi-stakeholder process aiming to build a five-year plan for the agrarian development of the region, and the majority of its funds are provided by the national government.

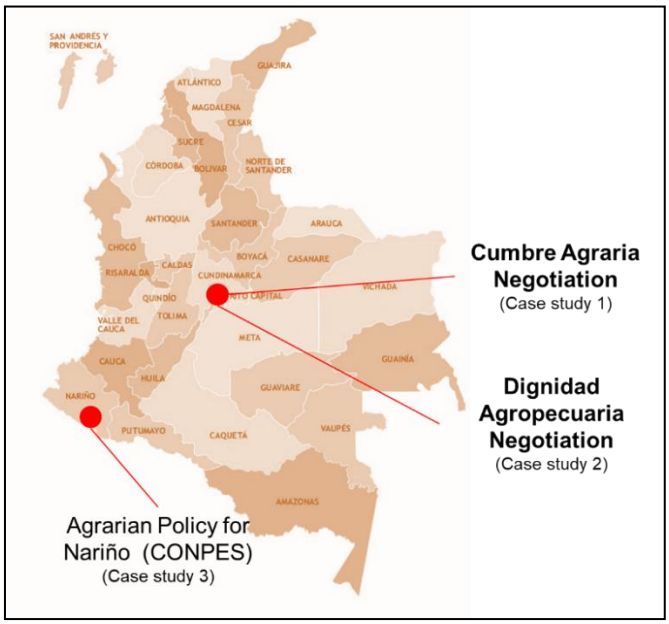


Figure 5.1. Negotiation case studies

These three negotiations that I focus on, which were initiated after the agrarian strikes, have developed differently in terms of their dynamics of participation, financing and agendas (summarised in Table 5.1). The negotiations with Cumbre Agraria take the form of face-to-face meetings. The Agrarian CONPES in Nariño is a multi-stakeholder debate in which all agrarian-related sectors of the region were invited to participate. In contrast, the negotiation with Dignidad Agropecuaria started face-to-face during the strikes but later on became indirect, with sporadic meetings. I will explore each of these processes.

Table 5.1. Agrarian negotiations: case studies

Main characteristics	**Dialogues and Negotiations**		
	National Agrarian Negotiation	**Agrarian Dignity**	**Policy Dialogue CONPES**
Type of negotiation	Direct	Direct followed by indirect	Direct
Level	National	National	Sub-national
Government actors	Ministries of Agriculture and Interior, National Department of Planning	General Secretary of the President's office, Ministries of Interior and Agriculture	Ministry of Agriculture, regional government of Nariño
Actors / social movements	The Cumbre Agraria	Dignidad Agropecuaria	Agrarian movements, farmers' associations, indigenous, African-Colombian and peasant communities
Third parties	United Nations	Archbishop of the city of Tunja, the Governor of Boyacá, the Mayor of the city of Tunja and the national Ombudsman	None
Place where meetings happen	Bogotá	Occasionally in Bogotá	Pasto, Nariño
Date when started	*Agreed:* May 2014 *Started:* September 2014	September 2013	*Agreed:* Sept. 2013 *Started:* January 2014
Status (December 2016)	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing

Case study (1): Negotiations with Cumbre Agraria

We saw in the previous chapter that as a result of a new agrarian strike in April-May 2014 the Ministry of Interior created/issued Executive Order 870 of 8 May 2014 (Minsiterio del Interior, 2014) to create the *Mesa Unica Nacional* (sole national table, or sole national negotiation) to formalise a negotiation space with CA. The executive order included the following aspects:

- ➔ The main goal of the *Mesa Unica Nacional* is to open a space of dialogue, participation and deliberation with CA.
- ➔ Recognition of CA's agenda (Table 4.3) as the main agenda for negotiations between the national government and CA.
- ➔ Appointment of the Ministry of Interior as the lead in the negotiations, requesting also the participation of the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Mining and Energy, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development.
- ➔ Appointment of the United Nations as a facilitator of the negotiation.
- ➔ Appointment of 35 representatives from CA to participate in the negotiation, allowing CA to freely choose these.
- ➔ Appointment of the National Planning Department (DNP) as the technical secretariat of the negotiation.
- ➔ Creation of a human-rights commission to follow up concerns in this sphere expressed by CA.

My interviewees from CA told me that the results of the May 2014 strike were not only the Executive Order 870 but also a significant financial allocation for agricultural projects. They told me that they were glad when they heard that the government had committed itself to formalise the negotiations through an executive order, but "*we asked the government to show good will in working with us, and that is when we were granted 250,000 million pesos*" (JS, 2015).

This grant of 250,000 million pesos ($83 million USD) from the government was given for agricultural projects of the organisations that were part of CA.

Between 2014 and 2016 the national government and CA met 11 times (appendix 5.1) in Bogotá, the first meeting taking place in September 2014 and the last one[45] in December 2016. The first negotiation session in September 2014 had as its main goals to outline the functioning, funding, rules and schedule of the negotiations, as well as to start allocating funds for specific agricultural projects. In my interviews I found that CA wanted to schedule three or four meetings per month with the national government; but since these were ministerial-level meetings, the ministries of Interior and Agriculture said this was not feasible. So they agreed on one full-day meeting per month.

Another agreement that was reached in the first negotiation session related to CA's internal meetings. Having representatives from different parts of the country, CA members could not easily meet to prepare for negotiation sessions with the government. So they agreed that CA would have a full-day internal meeting the day before the session with the government. In these internal spaces, to which I also gained access, agrarian leaders would address CA's organisational aspects (structure, leadership, functioning), follow up on previous commitments and discuss the main points of the agenda to be addressed with the government the following day. These internal meetings have given them a crucial space for coming together and strengthening their organisation.

[45] As negotiations continue there have been subsequent meetings but, as outlined in the methodological section, I limit my study of the negotiations to the years 2014 and 2016.

Given the extent of the negotiation agenda that CA put forward, in subsequent meetings CA and the national government agreed to create special commissions, with the participation of both parties, to advance particular aspects of the agenda. These included:

- ➔ Commission on the peasant economy
- ➔ Commission on mining and energy issues
- ➔ Commission on peace
- ➔ Commission on land and territory
- ➔ Commission on communication.

The roles and specific discussions of these commissions were beyond my research framework, but their role seemed particularly relevant, as many substantial aspects would be discussed in those spaces and then would be followed up in the formal negotiations.

Observing a negotiation session

One of the negotiation sessions between CA and the national government that I attended as an observer took place at the Ministry of Interior in Bogotá's city centre, on 9 March 2015. At the session, the national government was represented by the Ministers of Agriculture (Aurelio Iragorri) and the Interior (Juan Fernando Cristo) and Vice-Ministers of Agriculture (Anibal Fernández de Soto) and the Interior (Carmen Inés Vásquez). There were also a number of advisers and public officials from each ministry. On CA's side there were at least 15 persons representing most of the organisations that are part of the social movement (Table 4.4 in Chapter 4). In addition there were representatives of the National Planning Department (DNP) taking notes and

minutes of the meeting as part of their secretariat role. Finally, an official from the United Nations was facilitating the negotiation session. See Figure 5.2 for a tweet by the Ministry of Agriculture reporting on the session.[46]



Figure 5.2. Tweet by the Ministry of Agriculture reporting on the negotiations with CA (9 March 2015) (MADR, 2015a)

At the beginning of the session, agrarian leaders expressed their concern for their human-rights situation,[47] particularly in the Pacific Coast department of Choco, in the regions of Alto Baudo and Bajo Atrato. Cumbre Agraria reported cases of forced displacement of African-Colombian communities in these regions due to violent confrontations between armed groups. CA demanded that the national government take immediate action to address this situation. In response to this demand, the Minister of the Interior acknowledged the receipt of this information and committed himself to take action in the following days.

[46] At the far right of the picture, right next to the window and behind the gentleman wearing black hat and glasses you will find me paying close attention to what was being said in the meeting.

[47] The human-rights situation became a central aspect of concern in each of the negotiation sessions due to non-stop violence against agrarian leaders across the country. Between January and December 2016 CA reported 94 assassinations of social leaders, 312 threats to life and five kidnappings (Cumbre Agraria, 2016).

The agenda of this session continued to address the commitments made by the national government in the previous negotiation sessions. The Minister of Agriculture addressed the participants by giving a report of the main CA agricultural projects that were going to receive government funding. The minister reported the reception of 200 project proposals from CA organisations, including 63 from ONIC, 30 from Marcha Patriotica and 16 from COMOSOC. One aspect that attracted my attention was that the Minister reported that, of the total projects received, 45 were about food sovereignty[48]. Unfortunately I was not able to follow up on this, but it is an aspect that would be interesting to explore.

The Minister of Agriculture also reported on progress made on the government's import-substitution plans, initiated as a result of the agrarian strikes. The Minister reported that there were ongoing plans for rice, cotton and maize, and that the plan was to extend them to other crops.[49]

Following the Minister's reports, the next agenda item was *Economia Propia* (peasant economy). Representatives from CA started by saying that on the agenda that they had submitted to the national government was a specific point on peasant economy that they considered to be a priority in the negotiations. In terms of this point, the representatives demanded, first, that the national government should acknowledge the existence of peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian economies (summarised as "peasant economy"). And

[48] Food sovereignty projects include, among others, increasing small-holders' food production (i.e. vegetables and fruit), supporting the creation and consolidation of farmers' cooperatives, creating local markets in towns and cities that link farmers and consumers and developing agroecological agricultural practices.
[49] For more information about the import-substitution plan, see Ministerio de Agricultura y Desarrollo Rural (2015).

second, that the state should embark on institutional re-structuring in order to support the peasant economy.

In response to this demand, the Minister of Agriculture said that he had received the peasant-economy agenda item and that he and other colleagues were in the process of reviewing it. He added –"*it is not that easy*"- referring to the fact that he had initiated a process of internal discussion of the peasant-economy theme within the Ministry of Agriculture, but that it was a very difficult point to address, due to the old-school mindsets of "certain public officials". This point of the agenda closed with the Minister saying that he would continue revising the document with his team and would bring a specific response to the following month's meeting.

This is an overview of one of the early negotiation sessions between the national government and CA. My impression is that there was openness to dialogue from both sides and that the session developed well. However, in the second half of 2015 and throughout 2016 things became tense, as CA felt that the national government was not meeting all the commitments it had made in the past months. During this time, in parallel to the negotiations, CA continued mobilising in various ways, including organising a new agrarian strike in May 2016, and sending letters to President Santos demanding that the government must meet their commitments. CA unilaterally broke off the negotiations in October 2016 due to the government's lack of commitment to CA's agenda. The negotiations resumed later that year in December (Appendix 5.2).

Case study (2): Negotiations with Dignidad Agropecuaria

DA has a very different approach to negotiating with the government. Unlike CA, it did not request a permanent negotiation space with the national government. After the meetings held during the 2013 and 2014 agrarian strikes, DA met sporadically with the national government, particularly with the Ministry of Agriculture. But these meetings, as DA representatives told me, were short and pragmatic, mainly to follow up on the national government's commitments after the strikes. DA representatives say that they wanted to remain as independent from the government as possible, in order to maintain their autonomy. When I asked one of DA leaders the reason for this approach, he told me:

> If you tell your people that you have a meeting with the Minister of Agriculture they will have high expectations, but then they will ask you: 'what happened in the meeting?' And very likely you will say 'nothing or very little happened'. So it is better not to raise too much our people's expectations. The issue is that under the current agricultural model, the problems related to the type of agriculture that we are interested in, one in which food production is a priority, have no solution or viability. This is why we don't meet often with the government. (OG, 2016)

In taking this approach to the negotiations with the government, DA has used different channels to put pressure on the government. One of them is through the media. Cesar Pachón, referred to In Chapter 4 as one of the most visible leaders of the movement, often appears in the media. When he has done so, he stated that the national government did not meet the commitments made during the 2013-2014 agrarian strikes. He added that DA would call a further strike if the national government did not commit to their own goals. Another

way in which DA voiced their negotiation demands was through Congressman Jorge Robledo from the Polo Democratico Alternativo party. Senator Robledo, in support of DA, organised public hearings at the Congress in which called the government to account in their commitments and goals. Finally, they sent public letters to President Santos explaining the shortfalls of the government in meeting their commitments.

This is a summary of DA's main ways of negotiating with the government after the agrarian strikes. I now present my third case study, an example of sub-national dynamics.

Case study (3):Agrarian CONPES in Nariño: an inclusive space for deliberation

President Santos travelled to Ipiales, Nariño in September 2013 to sign an end-of-the-strike agreement with the Pastos and Quillasingas indigenous communities (as discussed in Chapter 4). One of the commitments made by the national government was to support the creation of a department-level agrarian policy for Nariño through the Agrarian CONPES, with a five-year investment plan. The commitment included not only institutional support for the creation of a policy but also a significant investment of 1.6 billion pesos (USD $532 million) to finance it.

One of the interesting aspects of this negotiation is that, while it was the Pastos and Quillasingas communities who negotiated such terms with the national government, an indigenous leader told me (RE, 2015) that the design of the policy opened a door for wider participation to include all sectors related to agriculture in the department of Nariño. In this context, RE told me:

> We have had problems in the past with the sector of cattle ranching. They have invaded our indigenous territories and we have ongoing disputes. However, we thought that they too should be called to participate in the agrarian policy of Nariño as they also have responsibilities in it. In other words, we included those who have excluded us. (RE, 2015)

With this inclusive perspective, between January and July 2014, a team from the national government met once or twice per month in the city of Pasto with local stakeholders to put together the agrarian policy document for the department of Nariño. The team of the national government included the ministries of Agriculture and Interior, the National Planning Department and the Presidential Office for Regions. The local stakeholders included the departmental government of Nariño, Pastos and Quillasingas communities, agrarian movements, academics[50], NGOs[51], local governments and agrarian sectors, including coffee, cattle, milk, vegetables and fruit.

After six months of joint work by these stakeholders an Agrarian CONPES document was finally approved by the National Planning Department (CONPES, 2014). The comprehensive policy document included a detailed assessment of the main agrarian problems of the department of Nariño, and presented a set of priorities and strategies to be implemented over the next five years (Table 5.2).

[50] Most of the academics participating of these negotiations were part of Universidad de Nariño. However, in my experience as aparticipant observer, their role was not clear or visible.
[51] The department of Nariño has strong NGO sector focus on economic development and reducing social inequalities. Most of the NGO representatives participating in these space were aligned with the perspectives of the agrarian movements and, to a certain extent, with the departmental government perspectives.

Table 5.2. Priorities of the Agrarian CONPES of Nariño

1. Organise the territory, paying attention to the potential uses of land… making efforts for the protection of the environment.
2. Public-goods provision for agricultural development, specially related to research, technical assistance and infrastructure.
3. Increase producers' incomes through human-capital development, food security, family agriculture and implementation of sustainable production projects.
4. Improve the living conditions of Pastos and Quillasingas indigenous communities with a differential approach and implement rural development programmes in their territories.

Having a policy document in place with a consensus on the main problems and priorities of the department of Nariño was the first stage. By looking at the priorities of this policy document, it is possible to see a model of agricultural development with a social-ecological perspective, different from the mainstream conventional approaches. It seeks to produce in line with the land potential while protecting the environment, it is oriented to family agriculture, and it has a special chapter for indigenous communities. While the policy document embraces the whole department of Nariño, the clear winners in this negotiation were the Pastos and Quillasingas indigenous communities, not only because they had a special policy chapter for them, but because this consolidated their local leadership in the local agrarian political debates.

The next step, in the period January-June 2015, was to select the specific projects that would be implemented in the context of such policy. In other words, it was a negotiation to determine which agrarian organisations would receive funding for their agricultural projects. I attended one of these sessions as an observer in February 2015 and I found the mood to be tense, as the

main national and local stakeholders, mentioned above, were discussing how to distribute financial resources.

Overall, my participation in this space made me think that while it was more challenging to involve various agrarian stakeholders in a negotiation about priorities and resources allocation, the space was more inclusive, as all of the perspectives of the participants were being presented. It is yet to be seen whether all the participants and visions at stake received certain support for agricultural projects, which is very unlikely, but at least the outcomes would have come as a result of an inclusive negotiation.

From this general outline of three types of negotiations I now turn to analyse the narratives of food provision that emerged in the context of these negotiations.

5.3. The narratives on food provision meet at the table

The agrarian negotiations have provided a space for debate and exchange, but also for contestation of policies and actions undertaken by the national government over recent years. They have also provided a space to express disagreement, to criticise, and to reveal conflicts. The agrarian movements have raised questions such as who should provide food for the country? In what conditions? With which agricultural practices? (RD, 2015; OG, 2016). In this context and with the aim of understanding the conflicts and visions at stake, I will analyse the dominant narratives, the conflicting visions that they create and the alternative narratives that have emerged in these spaces.

5.3.1. The dominant narrative

In the context of the negotiations one of the aspects particularly contested by agrarian movement leaders is the government narrative of “feeding the world” by becoming a “world food breadbasket”. This narrative builds on a vision of increasing food availability for a growing global population, which has been disseminated by FAO’s report on “How to Feed the World in 2050” (2009) and by the Inter-American Development Bank’s 2014 report on how Latin America can feed the world (IDB, 2014).

Having adopted this narrative, the Colombian government has been using it as a vision for the national agricultural sector. President Juan Manuel Santos mentioned this vision in various speeches, including one in 2015, in the conflict-ridden zone of Montes de Maria, north-western Colombia. Addressing rural communities of this region, he stated:

> The whole world is beginning to experience a food crisis. On the other side of the world, China, India, Indonesia, are consuming so much food that the world is going through a world shortage. Therefore, many countries are looking for regions that can become food breadbaskets. This (Montes de Maria) is one of those regions… Some people are already organised and have started exporting to the Netherlands, the United States and Germany. I hope that this region of Montes de Maria will become a food breadbasket that will bring progress and development to all of you (Santos, 2010).

As this quote depicts, the vision involves several elements, including the idea that a global food shortage provides an opportunity for food producers. Therefore a sustained export-led agriculture strategy can bring progress and development to rural communities. While it is true that the world population is continually increasing and that global food production must meet the growing demand generated by this, the narrative ignores other elements. For example,

it does not mention access to land, distribution or inequality. Nor does it mention the growing problems of malnutrition and overweight.

Table 5.3. Framing of the dominant narrative

Framing	Dynamics and intervention	Desired outcomes
Food shortage in other regions of the world	Become a global breadbasket: export-oriented production of food	Progress and development for rural communities

The narrative of becoming a world breadbasket is not new. In its World Development Report of 2007, the World Bank mentions regions that have the potential of "*becoming*" or "*are*" food breadbaskets as places where investment in agriculture for food supply "*should take place*", and Colombia is mentioned as one of these regions (World Bank, 2007). The national development plan 2010-2014 (DNP, 2010) adopted many of the World Bank's recommendations, so this is a direct linkage to the use of this narrative.

While the "feeding the world" narrative was dominant in the two terms of President Santos's presidency, in practice exports have declined and imports, particularly of food and agroindustrial products, have increased. But we also saw in Chapter 3 the staggering growth of the food industry in Colombia and its expansion to many other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. So, while President Santos addressed rural communities with this idea, the narrative of becoming a global breadbasket resonates more with the food industry than with primary producers.

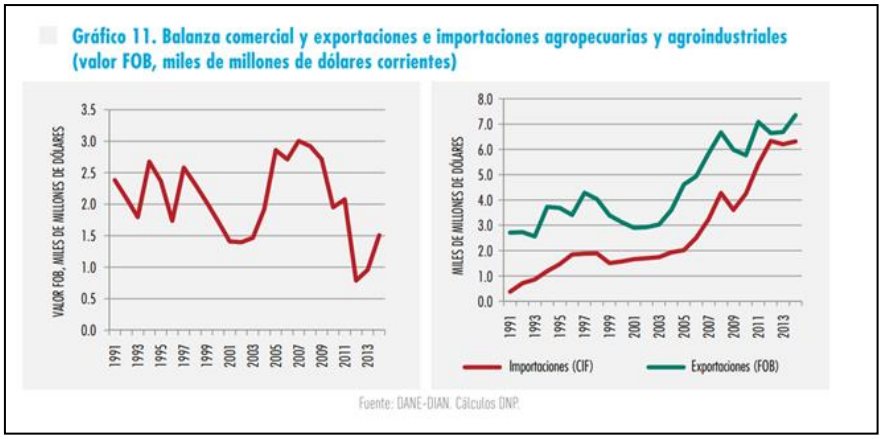


Figure 5.3. Agricultural imports and exports 1991-2013 in Colombia (Ocampo, 2015)

This contradiction is uncovered in the "rural mission" report (Ocampo, 2015), which states that despite a vision of a dynamic export-led agricultural sector in Colombia, the country faces a growing volume of agricultural imports that affects the country's internal market. The report shows that since 1991 agricultural imports have increased at an annual rate of 13 per cent, versus an annual growth of 4.6 per cent in agricultural exports (Figure 5.3).

Let us see the ways in which this narrative is being contested in the negotiations by examining the conflicts and counter-narratives.

5.3.2. Conflicting visions

How do rural communities react when they are confronted with the dominant narrative of becoming a global breadbasket? For some of them, I found in my interviews, this is problematic. I will now examine the reasons for this.

The conflict of export-led agriculture and the "Chagra"

The government strategy of increasing foreign exchange through a sustained agricultural export-led approach is problematic for certain groups participating in the negotiations. To illustrate this, here are the views of an indigenous leader

from the Andean region of Nariño, who produces mainly milk, dairy products and potatoes, and who participates in the Agrarian CONPES in Nariño:

> We have a discussion with the Ministry of Agriculture because they say that we have to produce to be competitive for selling food because others need to eat. So, what have we concluded? First, we and our communities need to eat. But in those discussions, the ministry officials have told us that we have to have an export- oriented approach, that the countryside must be ready for exporting food. And this is a bottle neck for our project. For a project of milk or potato production […] they ask us how many tons of food we want to export. We say no, we are thinking to produce for us first and then to provide food to others in other places. (RE, 2015)

This perspective from this indigenous leader shows a particular angle on the production of food. In the first place he is opposed to an export-led production policy because it does not fit with his community's idea of food provision. The main elements outlined in this way of thinking are production for self-consumption and local food provision ("*first we and our communities need to eat*"). The production for self-consumption, a common practice within the indigenous communities in Colombia, has been reported in various studies (Palacios Bucheli & Barrientos Fuentes, 2014; 2010; Acevedo-Osorio et al., 2015). Furthermore, the indigenous communities' agricultural practices include the "*Chagras*", which are spaces in which they grow a multiplicity of foods and other agricultural products. From a non-indigenous perspective, this plantation does not apply conventional methods of agriculture; it is planted according to indigenous communities' beliefs and it is a source of agroecological biodiversity and food (Triana-Moreno et al., 2006; Acosta Munoz and Java, 2012). However, this perspective turns out to be problematic when entering into

dialogues with the Ministry of Agriculture. In this respect an official from the Ministry of Agriculture states:

> [The problems with indigenous communities are] mainly the concept of traditional “Chagra” that according to them implies producing and consuming for themselves. That is their traditional way of agricultural production, but they should also understand it as a way of surplus for new capital investments until they become sustainable. That is one of the biggest challenges that we (the Ministry of Agriculture) have in formulating projects with them. In most of their agricultural projects they always allocate significant resources for self-consumption, but when one analyses the efficiency of their projects, one finds a lot of challenges. (YJ, 2015)

This uncovers a clear conflict between the two parties. The indigenous leader whom I interviewed and his community do not want an export-oriented approach, and the Ministry of Agriculture finds the *Chagra* traditional approach problematic. Yet both parties must work together, as the indigenous communities are demanding institutional support, and the Ministry of Agriculture has the obligation to meet the demands of civil society. It is quite a puzzling situation. Here is another example, this time related to the understanding and conceptualisation of agriculture.

The conflict of chain versus system

In Nariño, in the context of the agrarian policy negotiations in 2014, a heated debate took place between the officials from the Ministry of Agriculture and civil-society actors participating in the discussion. At the centre of the discussion were the agricultural crops that would receive institutional support as part of the policy being negotiated. The parties encountered a bottleneck in the discussion, concerning the concept of “value chains”. Indigenous and peasant communities did not agree with this term and instead were proposing

the use of the term “productive system”. In this regard an indigenous leader argues:

> For us it is not an agricultural chain. It is an agricultural system. You can’t separate a product or a crop from other crops and products in the farm. We think it is all a system in which people, nature and crops are included and interlinked. In one of the negotiation sessions with the Ministry of Agriculture we spent a whole day debating about this. (RE, 2015)

Another leader who also participated in the discussion adds:

> We changed the name of agricultural chains to productive systems. We believe that a productive systems approach includes human beings and seeks human development. By using a productive systems approach we are fostering food production, food security and environmental protection. (RD, 2015)

As we can see from these quotes, indigenous and peasant leaders are advocating a comprehensive approach to agriculture that is focused not only on a single product but on the sum of various elements on the farm. I wanted to learn more about the Ministry of Agriculture’s perspective on this issue, so I interviewed one of its public officials who was facilitating the discussion. This is what he told me:

> The concept of chain or system is the same. But the tool that the Ministry of Agriculture has is called agricultural chains. In fact, the Vice-ministry of Agrarian Affairs has two units dedicated to this. One is the agricultural and forestry chains unit and the other is the livestock chains unit. (YJ, 2015)

This debate uncovers a clear conflict between the two approaches. The value-chain concept examines a single product and how it acquires value from the producer to the consumer. The productive-system approach looks at agricultural production from a comprehensive perspective and includes elements of well-being, environment and culture. This policy debate also

provides insights into academic discussions of systems approaches, particularly on debates around simple versus complex and dynamic systems (Leach, et al., 2010). In this context these communities are adding complexity to simple views of agriculture.

After intense discussions during the elaboration of the policy document, the productive-systems approach was included in the final document which as a gain for the rural communities participating in its elaboration. The final policy document reads:

> In the deliberation with countryside actors from the department of Nariño the following 16 productive systems were prioritised: Panela, potato, river fishing, coffee, dairy products, fruit and vegetables, agro-eco-tourism, cuy, quinoa, fique, cacao, African palm, coconut, forestry, cereals and sea fishing. (CONPES, 2014 p. 36)

In practical terms the inclusion of productive systems as an idea may not lead to the design and implementation of comprehensive projects, but what is remarkable is that the idea, which was problematic and required extended debates, was included in the final policy document that would guide the agricultural development of the region for the next five years.

5.3.3. Alternative narratives

We saw above two examples of the conflicts that the dominant narrative exposed when it was discussed with the rural communities whom I interviewed. The narrative of becoming a global breadbasket is being contested in the negotiations with agrarian movements in different ways. The idea of a heavy emphasis on both food imports and exports is, in fact, problematic, as it is not necessarily the practice that these groups want to implement. But beyond

opposition, CA and DA have clear visions of the types of agriculture that they want to practise. These range from a conventional type of agriculture for the national market to agricultural practices that respect cultural, political and environmental values.

The national-market narrative: feeding the country

One of the narratives on food provision that has emerged in the negotiations with the government comes from DA and is related to the national market. As explained in the previous chapter, DA represents peasant entrepreneurs. Their demands are exclusively within agricultural development, and their main demands are to stop imports of agricultural products that can be produced within the country, while creating better conditions so that they can provide food to the domestic market.

DA portray themselves as food producers who can feed the country, but free-trade agreements pose a major threat to their agricultural goals. “We are capable of providing food to this country and to other countries as well”, said Cesar Pachón in his intervention at the Congress Hall (Pachón, 2013).

DA’s idea of food provisioning is based on a conventional agricultural model based on monoculture and the use of chemical agricultural inputs. While their discourse involves the use of food sovereignty (which will be examined in Chapter 6), DA are not contesting the conventional model of capitalist agriculture. Their main goal is to supply food for domestic consumption based on favourable market conditions.

Table 5.4. Framing by Dignidad Agropecuaria

Framing	System dynamics and intervention	Desired outcomes
The country as the main food market.	Imports pose a threat to national agriculture. The domestic market is the priority.	National agricultural development.

Peasant economy (economia propia)

Another narrative that has emerged at the negotiations, specifically in the talks with the CA, is the consolidation of a peasant economy as a food provider. This narrative starts with a critique of the neoliberal model which negatively affects the livelihoods of rural communities by implementing a model based on dispossession which favours large land owners and multinational corporations. Under it, cultural and traditional practices of rural communities have been disrupted by these processes. In this context, the narrative builds on the idea that a peasant economy that regulates markets and protects smallholders can guarantee not only the production of food but also well-being, environmental protection and protection of the traditional culture of indigenous, peasant and African-Colombian communities. For CA, peasant economy accords a central place to the wellbeing of small and medium land-holders whose main activity is the agricultural production of food.

For CA, agroecological food production is a practice that reinforces traditional and cultural values, helps to protect the environment and fosters cooperation between communities. A leader from CA elaborates on these aspects:

> The peasantry is not only an economic concept but also a cultural one. So, when we talk about a peasant economy model, we are talking about the

> acknowledgment of peasant life as a comprehensive life project that can contribute to the development of the country not only from an economic point of view but also from a cultural one. (RD, 2015)

This idea is also supported by an indigenous leader:

> As indigenous communities, we have been reflecting on agricultural processes. We always say that it is the agro and the culture. They can't be separated. Agriculture is the culture of the agro … we are constantly asking ourselves how to produce food in line with our myths, traditions and legends. How to practise agriculture in line with our culture and territorial context. (RE, 2015)

We can see in this perspective that the identity component – being peasant or indigenous – is highly relevant to the CA's understanding of peasant economy. The rural communities of Colombia have been historically a rich source of cultural traditions which include agricultural practices, music, dance and oral tradition. So when the CA mention identity and culture in the negotiations, they are talking about protecting the cultural heritage that indigenous, African-Colombian and peasant communities have contributed historically to the country. Hence it is no surprise that the constitution of Colombia describes the country as a pluri-ethnic and multi-cultural nation (Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, 1991).

The consolidation of a peasant economy is the second point on CA's negotiation agenda with the government, and it can be summarised in three main points: (1) the transformation of the national agrarian model towards agroecological systems with a priority for small- and medium-scale farming; (2) food production as an economic activity but also as a critical element of culture, traditions and identity; and (3) the acknowledgment and recognition of the existence of diverse types of agriculture, including indigenous, African-

Colombian and peasant systems. All of these aspects are framed under the political flag of food sovereignty (which I discuss in Chapter 6). (Cumbre Agraria, 2014).

In terms of agricultural practices, CA is proposing an agro-ecologically based model which reduces and eventually eliminates agro-chemical dependency. This model also includes control over native seeds, protecting them from privatisation and property rights while fostering community-led seed exchanges. This transformation of the agrarian model also proposes to prioritise small- and medium-scale farming as opposed to large-scale agriculture, which has been the main strategy for the government over the past few decades (Cumbre Agraria, 2014).

The provision of food is a central issue. For CA, food production is oriented towards the local and national markets, and they request, in addition to special protections for the domestic production (i.e. preventing cheap food imports), incentives for small-scale farmers, financial and technical assistance and support in creating cooperatives and other types of organisations in order to organise the production, transformation and distribution of food. Some of these aspects are summarised by one of the leaders from CA, who told me:

> [According to different reports] …peasants produce 62 to 68 per cent of the food in Colombia. This is why we think that the government should pay more attention to this. Peasants are able to reach these levels of food provision without any financial support, technical assistance or subsidies. We therefore demand that the government supports us because we are making an important economic contribution to the country. In fact, peasants are not necessarily working with an idea of profit from agriculture. Rather, we are thinking more about producing food in appropriate cultural conditions, this means a specific style of life. (RD, 2015)

He also adds:

> In the negotiation when are talking to the national government, our proposal in terms of peasant economy includes a transition to agroecological practices. We are convinced that the government should officially acknowledge and support an agroecological model of agriculture which could open the possibility of having organic products in the near future. (RD, 2015)

This concern to produce food according to "*appropriate cultural conditions*", which also represents a "*specific life style*", connects with the third point: due to its multi-cultural character, the CA acknowledges the existence of different types of agriculture, such as indigenous, African-Colombian and peasant agriculture. This implies that this social movement does not have a unified vision in this regard, but promotes diversity in its approach instead. This underscores the importance of the diversity and identity of these communities.

Table 5.5. Framing by Cumbre Agraria

Framing	**System dynamics and intervention**	**Desired outcomes**
The neoliberal model of agriculture excludes rural communities and fails to provide food and to protect the environment.	Support for small and medium farmers, foster diverse types of agriculture including peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian, implement agroecological practices	Social justice, well being, environmental protection, biodiversity conservation, food for families, villages and the national market.

5.4. The clash of the narratives

As we have seen, different and competing narratives have emerged from the various negotiations between the government and agrarian movements. There are different visions and ways of understanding food provision. In other words, there are different framings of the food system. One thing is sure, at least in the

universe of actors that I interviewed: everybody wants to feed somebody (Table 5.6). This is happening at different scales, with different practices and different meanings of food. Based on its narratives, the national government wants “to feed the world”, but it has not specified any agricultural practices for doing this. Its main goal by doing this is to increase the flow of foreign exchange, which in return will bring progress and development. DA wants “to feed the country”, based on a conventional model of capitalist agriculture with the goal of increasing the incomes of farmers as entrepreneurs and maintaining their livelihood. Finally, CA wants to feed its villages, its regions and the country, through the implementation of agroecological practices in small- and medium-scale agriculture. Its goals are also economic, but it also aspires to preserve cultural heritage and to protect biodiversity through agricultural practices.

One aspect to highlight here is that the national government is not a food producer. Then why does it have a specific narrative on food provisioning? The national government’s narrative on “becoming a global breadbasket” resonates with the narratives analysed in Chapters 1 and 3: those of agri-businesses and the food industry. The inference here is that the national government is representing and giving priority to these sectors. In other words, agri-businesses and the food industry are “the elephant in the room”. They are not mentioned, they are not present, but the government seems to be representing their view at the negotiations. One aspect for further discussion is whether the national government is willing to discuss transversal policies across sectors focusing also in the priorities outlined by the agrarian movements.

Table 5.6. Everybody wants to feed somebody: narratives of food provision

Parties	Food for whom?	With which agricultural practices?	With what goal?	Meaning of Food
National government	The world	Non-specified	Increase foreign exchange. Bring “progress and development”.	Commodity for international exchange
Dignidad Agropecuaria	The domestic market	Conventional agriculture	Keeping control of the domestic market	Commodity for domestic consumption
Cumbre Agraria	Villages, regions and the country.	Agroecological and traditional practices	Protect Incomes and livelihoods. Protect cultural heritage. Strengthen cultural identity. Protect biodiversity.	Tradition; culture ; environmental protection

In this debate farmers are raising questions of food, including who produces it, when and how, and who benefits from it. This perspective on food provisioning contributes to a renewal of the debates about agrarian change in Colombia. While the issue of land has been an emphasis in academic circles, opening the food-provisioning debate provides new opportunities for discussion, particularly when it sparks debate on sustainability.

The agrarian movements studied here have articulated a critical debate on the future of food by questioning the provision, distribution and meanings of food production. Along with the contestation of the dominant model, they are articulating alternatives according to their interests and experience. This is relevant because up until now this issue was not brought up in face-to-face negotiations by any other groups. Therefore, organised civil society plays a very important role in promoting debates on food provisioning. In this context we can see how these different narratives portray different ways of

understanding food systems and their sustainability. Issues of sustainability, environmental protection, and social justice are mainly advanced by CA, which is the most marginalised of the groups in the negotiations.

Most importantly, these debates are about acknowledging the different contributions that these groups can make, not only to the economy, but also to the diversity and multicultural characteristics of the country. While the narratives of the government and DA are based on economic perspectives (liberal vs. protectionist), CA's narrative is a socio-ecological narrative. This situates the debates happening at the agrarian negotiations within the long-standing accumulation versus reproduction debates. Food sovereignty and the protection of culture and biodiversity are about reproduction while a focus on domestic and international markets is about accumulation. Beyond a binary approach it is important to acknowledge these perspectives in mutually complementary ways as opposed to exclusive views of development.

5.4.1. Missing parts in the debates

Among others, three important aspects have been left out of the negotiation agendas and discussions: consumer preferences, urban expansion, and the role and connection of these agendas with large-scale corporate agriculture and the food industry. In their claims, agrarian movements have highlighted food provision for domestic and local markets, but consumers and their preferences have been left out of the discussions. This is a significant gap, because with an expanding urban middle class in Colombia, consumer preferences change and perhaps more exotic and imported food could become a preference for significant parts of the population, as opposed to nationally

produced staples (IFPRI, 2017). It is important to pay attention to the agrarian communities' preferences and possibilities of food supply, but the process cannot neglect the fact that consumer preferences also change over time, which could affect agrarian communities' food-provision plans.

Another key element on the consumers' side is food prices. If national agrarian communities are to supply the market with domestic products, it is very likely that prices will be higher than those of the same products that are imported. This constitutes a puzzle that has been resolved in favour of cheap imports rather than national production. Lower and more affordable prices may have benefits for consumers, but food that is cheaper than the nationally grown products poses a problem for farmers, as they cannot compete with lower prices

A second missing element in the negotiations is the role of large-scale agro-industrial corporate agriculture. The actors behind this type of agriculture have held economic power over recent decades (Kay, 2015), and, in this sense, it is understandable that the rural communities participating in the negotiations want to focus exclusively on their own agendas and interests; but if important reforms are to be included in the legislation, for small-holders it is essential to look at the bigger picture and try to understand how the different agrarian sectors of the country would work together. In other words, all the agrarian actors should analyse the economic, social and environmental impacts of introducing the changes proposed by the agrarian movements in order to identify potential challenges, competition or complementarities – but most importantly to identify how this would lead to the reduction of socio-economic inequalities.

5.5. Conclusions

In this chapter I have analysed the ongoing negotiations between the government and agrarian movements in light of the emergence of alternative narratives of food provision in Colombia. The evidence that I have provided shows that the emergent question of food provision (Chapters 3 and 4) materialised in the negotiations between the government and agrarian movements. This is not, however, a simple question, as there are multiple angles to it. The national government is asking “how to feed the world?" Agrarian movements such as Dignidad Agropecuaria think more about “how to feed the country?" And Cumbre Agraria asks “how to feed our families and communities?" These questions illustrate different approaches to food and agriculture that have created tensions between the participants in the negotiations. The national government is clearly focusing on a continuous integration with the global market and expanding the scope of neoliberal policies. Dignidad Agropecuaria seeks to expand the development of capitalist agriculture, but its focus is the national, not the global, market. And Cumbre Agraria is suggesting alternatives, such as the consolidation of peasant-economy models based on cooperation, agroecology and environmental conservation.

This body of evidence, I have argued, shows that these negotiations have sparked a much-needed debate on food. Aspects such as who should feed the national population of Colombia, how, and in what conditions, have not been subject to public debate in the past. The decisions made by the government in previous years concerning food imports or export-led strategies for agriculture have not been scrutinised by many groups in the agrarian sector. Rural

communities, marginalised in different ways, have been left out of these debates, which has sparked the emergence and consolidation of agrarian movements who are now calling the government to account. Interestingly, beyond contestation, these agrarian movements have advanced the food-provision debates by articulating alternative pathways of development that prioritise not only markets and capital, but also people and the environment.

The discussions taking place at the negotiations provide key elements for the reformulation of the agrarian question in which food is a key element, but also in which social movements acquire a renewed relevance. A question of food must address the food-circulation patterns and the capitalist relations embedded in them, but it also should put social justice and the environment at its heart. This is in line with the arguments of McMichael (2016) and Kay (2015), who have stressed the importance of agrarian movements in the quest to find just and inclusive paths of development.

Are these successful negotiations? Deere and Royce (2009) have stated that the criteria for measuring the success of rural social movements include the creation of enduring social awareness, as well as the ability to gain recognition and acceptance of their demands while bringing about change in public policies that ultimately improve the well-being of their members. It is difficult at this stage to draw any final conclusions about the success or otherwise of the agrarian movements analysed in this chapter, but after four years of negotiations it is possible to offer some insights.

First, the agrarian movements have created awareness of the agrarian crisis and the long-standing inequalities affecting the lives of rural communities. Most importantly, they have not only received attention from the government but

have elicited immediate actions to address aspects of the agrarian crisis. It is difficult to say if the policies being discussed in these spaces are achieving the agrarian movements' desired changes to their livelihoods: it is too early to assess this. However, the fact that the department of Nariño has embarked on a multi-actor, long-term planning debate that aims to re-think the agricultural policy of the region is a significant step. Similarly, another aspect that should be highlighted is the fact that the national government, represented by the Ministries of Agriculture and the Interior, has opened up to discuss many of the structural agrarian problems face to face with the communities directly affected and is addressing them at the highest level.

A second aspect is that the agrarian movements have gained recognition of their claims and their organisations, which was translated into permanent negotiation agendas with the government. This was a crucial step, as it showed that beyond the immediate government action to bring the agrarian strikes - and days and weeks of chaos - to an end, it led to further discussions and debate of key rural and agricultural development issues, as well as financial resources allocation. The negotiation process thus enters the bureaucratic processes embedded in government. For many, this could be considered as a close down in the sense that it could be framed as a government strategy to engage in endless discussions that would lead to no action and no decision making. But the fact that these issues, neglected for years, are being discussed is positive, mostly in the context of the peace agreement that has launched a comprehensive and long-term process of agrarian reform for Colombia. (More insights on the peace agreement will be presented in the next chapter.)

In this context, it is important to highlight the insights of the former Vice-minister of Agriculture on how the recognition of the agrarian movements has led to a learning process on the government's part and the need for a different approach:

> This [the negotiations] is an exercise of understanding of the state, of how do these communities and organisations work, what do they represent, and how do they understand the territory. It gives us the chance to discuss family agriculture, peasant economy, food security and food sovereignty. We have to have a clear sense of the meanings and real implications of these concepts, but personally, I am convinced that we should have differential models for rural communities who are clearly different. There are agro-industrial entrepreneurs, there are farmers and there are smallholders. The state does not have instruments to deal with these diverse communities. Normally, the state has the same instruments for dealing with everybody. But it is different for an indigenous community in an indigenous reserve than for an agro-industrial entrepreneur who produces rice or African palm elsewhere. (AFS, 2015)

Finally, these negotiations and dialogues are expanding the scope of democracy and right to food debates. Open deliberations concerning the demands and visions of these agrarian groups could lead to more inclusive agrarian policies and even to innovative ways of agricultural practice and food provision. They have also opened up an opportunity for reflecting and re-thinking the role of the state and multiple actors in the realisation and fulfilment of the right to food. These negotiations cannot be considered as successful models, or as an ideal way of engaging with poor and marginalised communities, but they mark a significant step towards an open debate, while addressing the question of the role of smallholder production in the agrarian economy.

6. Negotiating food sovereignty

6.1. Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 explored the emergence of narratives about food provision in the Colombian agrarian strikes and negotiations in the period 2013-16 and their centrality in the communities' claims. But, closely related to this, the term *food sovereignty* also became prominent in their discourse. Noting its use in the first instance by agrarian movements at national and local levels, I set out to explore its use and meanings by different actors. I found that different movements have different interpretations of food sovereignty, but even more puzzling is the fact that the national and departmental governments have adopted, unofficially, food sovereignty in their discourse.

This chapter centres attention on the meanings of food sovereignty for agrarian movements and for national and local governments in the context of the agrarian strikes and negotiations between 2013 and 2016. I interrogate their ideas and goals in using such a term and also their interface and counter-narratives. I do this in line with the conceptual discussion on food sovereignty and food security that I conducted in Chapter 2, understanding food sovereignty in line with the definition adopted by La Via Campesina and also in line with Wittman (2009): as a call for a re-location of food systems and re-connection between agriculture and nature through agroecology.

The questions that I am addressing in this chapter are: How do coalitions configure around the narrative of food sovereignty? What are the agrarian movements' main narratives on food sovereignty in Colombia, and how did

they develop? How does the Colombian state approach food sovereignty? And how does its approach compare with that of other countries in the region? I argue that in practice the term *food sovereignty* is used by different groups in different ways which may or may not be associated with La Via Campesina: groups who have different approaches and goals in using this term. I do this by exploring the narratives of the agrarian movements in Colombia who participated in the agrarian strikes and negotiations in 2013-16.

The chapter begins by exploring ways in which the concept of food sovereignty in Colombia is used by agrarian movements at national and local levels, then goes on to analyse the role and perspectives of the state, comparing them with those of countries such as Bolivia, Venezuela and Ecuador, and finally analysing the linkages between its use in my case studies and in the peace agreement between the Government and FARC, who have also addressed this issue in their negotiations.

6.2. Food sovereignty in Colombia: the perspectives of agrarian movements

Different agrarian movements and groups participating in agrarian negotiations in Colombia are bringing food-sovereignty narratives to the fore. The contexts range from the sub-national level, as in Nariño, to the national level, as in the negotiations with *Dignidad Agropecuaria* (DA) and *Cumbre Agraria* (CA), and the peace-agreement negotiations with FARC.

6.2.1. The National stage

I asked agrarian leaders from DA and CA why, when and how they had started using food sovereignty as a common term in their discourse. I was interested in learning how this term emerged in their discourse and in what ways it was being used. I also asked for their personal and organisational views of the term, and their insights into how these ideas were interfacing with the government officials with whom they were negotiating. With all these questions, I was able to form an idea of the history of the term, what it means to different actors, and their interests in using the term. It also allowed me to identify similarities and differences between these agrarian movements and identify connections with other discourses from other movements, but also to identify new areas of inquiry.

Cumbre Agraria

As a coalition of social movements that include peasant, indigenous, and African-Colombian groups, CA's views and experiences are diverse. However, their views as a coalition are arguably in line with and connected to La Via Campesina (LVC) and its vision of food sovereignty that was described in Chapter 2.

In terms of the history of the concept, and the reasons why this coalition of movements started calling for food sovereignty, one of the leaders told me:

> The concept of Food Sovereignty that we use comes from La Via Campesina. Basically, it refers to the confrontation of the two models which is what we are negotiating with the national government.The peasant economy model versus the extractivist globalisation model that damages the environment. The

> concept emerges based on the vindication of agroecology as an agricultural model that could have positive impacts on the planet. (RD, 2015)

This shows that members of CA subscribe to and share the main principles of LVC in terms of the means of production, the rights of peoples and the idea of food sovereignty as a counter-movement to the forces of neoliberal globalisation. But RD went on to explain: “Food sovereignty is a concept that goes beyond agricultural production. It is related to public policies that protect national and local production… it is a holistic concept.”

However, not all of the leaders and members of CA share a direct link with LVC. JS, a leader of a national African-Colombian movement, for example, contends that food sovereignty has always been a relevant principle, and that it is only the name that has changed: it is something that “has always been there”. However, recent agrarian developments implied a loss of food sovereignty. JS discusses the loss of food sovereignty in terms of the expansion of the palm-oil crop on the Pacific Coast:

> Some years ago other people started saying that we needed to grow oil palm […] Before, each of us in our farms would have plantain, potato, maize, red beans. But they tell you that what you have to do is to grow palm oil in order to have an income. Then, with that money, you have to go to the store, but since in Tumaco there are no longer rice crops, they have to bring it from another place. And this is when we became dependent, we no longer have sovereignty that we used to have to decide what, when and how to eat. We lost sovereignty on all that food that we could be producing. Where are the traditional rice seeds? Where is the wild shrimp and the wild turtles? They didn’t go extinct from over-hunting. Most likely it was the oil palm cultivations that polluted freshwater sources and they disappeared because of this. (JS 2015)

Food sovereignty in this case is associated with biodiversity and access to it, because agrarian communities eat food provided by these ecosystems.

Change in the agricultural and forest systems, for him, implies a loss of food sovereignty because he and his community have to go to the store and buy food.

When I asked him for the government's reaction to this idea of food sovereignty, he said:

> I can assure you that the moment one tells government officials that those are our food traditions, they will say that it is very romantic. But for us, all of this has a logic, and that logic is to foster the peasant economy.

These examples show internal consistency in the way in which members of the same agrarian movement understand food sovereignty. Some are more closely connected to La Via Campesina's definition and activism, and others are more in line with their socio-cultural traditions in the countryside.

Let us now examine the similarities and differences in the use of the concept by the other national agrarian movement, the DA.

Dignidad Agropecuaria

In their organisational statement, DA defines food sovereignty as "the continual suspension of imports of all agricultural and fishing products that can be produced in the Colombian territory so that the supply can meet the demand and the national food sovereignty" (Dignidad Agropecuaria, 2015a). This approach is more pragmatic, in that refers only to the balance between food provided for the domestic market versus food imports. To complement the information provided on their website, I asked one of the DA leaders about food sovereignty, and this is what he told me:

> Food sovereignty is the central concept of our organisation, and it is linked to national sovereignty. If the country has food sovereignty it can feed its population. There is a concept which is food security with which we agree. But what is the government's approach to food security? Their approach is that it does not matter where the food comes from, what is important is to have enough supply. That is a false food security because if one day there is not such supply from abroad we won't be able to feed the population. We depend a lot on imported food, and that makes us vulnerable. Thirty-five per cent of the basic diet in Colombia is imported, that is very bad. If we have land, resources, rural workers, why don't we develop our agriculture? We must develop our agriculture, and this is our ongoing struggle. (OG, 2016)

As the above quote makes clear, for DA the sovereign space is the nation, and particularly the domestic market. Food sovereignty for this group is not related to agroecology or the peasant economy. For them it only relates to the competition between domestic and international markets. A key point in this case is that while they use food sovereignty as a central principle, they are not connected in any way to LVC or any other organisation promoting food sovereignty. Together, these aspects mark sharp contrasts with CA.

But above all, it seems that DA has adopted the food-sovereignty discourse partially and as a way to advance their own economic goals.This is not a common notion of food sovereignty, at least not one that has been discussed in academic, policy or civil-society circles in the past in any of the Latin American agrarian movements. It is a partialised version of a broader and comprehensive term. In this context, let us not forget that DA is a movement of medium-holder farmers that (as Chapter 4 explored) has specific goals defined by capitalist agricultural development.

As we were able to see, there are significant differences between CA and DA when it comes to food sovereignty, particularly in regard to their practices and

networks. Having covered these main perspectives of two emerging national agrarian movements, let us now explore the local agrarian movements' stage.

6.2.2. The local stage in Nariño

To illustrate the perspective of local agrarian movements on food sovereignty, I analyse interviews that I conducted in Nariño with agrarian leaders, including peasant and indigenous perspectives. At the time of the interviews, all of them were participating in post-strike agrarian negotiations with the local government.

Peasant leaders' perspectives

HD is a peasant leader from northern Nariño who is a coffee producer. He is participating in two negotiations: the agrarian negotiation of Nariño and the five-year agrarian policy of Nariño – CONPES. In both of these spaces he has shown his leadership on agrarian issues. He told me in depth what happened during the strikes in 2013 and how negotiations were initiated with the governor and with the national government. In these spaces, food sovereignty has emerged as part of the debates. When I asked him about this, he told me:

> Food sovereignty is something that will allow us in the future to consume healthy food, have health, have more energy to work and more years of life… it is important being able to provide healthy food to other people who can't produce food in local markets, towns and cities. Since we are food producers we will ensure that we can provide healthy and quality food to people. (HD, 2015)

It is interesting that he talks about food sovereignty as a goal in the future. The idea of health and food provision is central to this initial definition. But he goes on to say that food sovereignty is also political:

> Food sovereignty is highly political. It is the result of our accumulated experience through resistance and preservation of agrarian cultures. It is the defence of our own seeds. This has political implications because it is the resistance to transnational companies who are producing genetically modified seeds, such as Monsanto. (HD, 2015).

This political definition builds on elements that are common in the LVC approach. He touches on one of the key elements, which is resistance. Resistance is explained first as a general idea when he mentions "accumulated experience through resistance"; but he then goes on to say that part of the resistance is directed at transnational companies producing GMOs. In his criticism of food sovereignty, Bernstein (2014) makes a reference to the idea of resistance as a broad and unspecific term. But, as HD is saying here, resistance is related to aspects such as their traditions and culture and their own seeds.

In his definition, he continues by talking about territory:

> To defend food sovereignty is to defend the territory, defend the territory against the permanent threat of open-sky mining that is indiscriminate. The previous governments have mining permissions in most of the territories.

In this view, the territory is not defined or specified, but he mentions defending it against mining interests, a common trend in Colombia over the past years with the concession of thousands of mining permissions across the country[52].

Finally, when asked about his vision of food sovereignty and agriculture, HD told me:

[52] According to Rudas (2010) due to the incentives to mining activities and favourable international prices, during the presidential term of Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010) the concession of mining permissions went from an average of 150 annual permissions in 2002 to more than 2,000 in 2009 covering almost one third of the national territory. This in turn created multiple social and environmental conflicts across the country.

> The vision is that we, as food producers, have good conditions to produce high quality food. In this way, we will have two things: food for our families and people at large, and we will recover our young people who have migrated from the countryside to the city because there are no jobs for them… show them that working in the countryside is interesting and noble. God gave us the skills to produce food for the people and that is why we are here, and we want our friends, neighbours, family and people who live in the countryside to know this.

As we can see, there is an emphasis on high-quality food in his statement, along with the idea of food provision. “We are food producers”, he says, and they want to provide food for towns and cities. But an additional element in this vision is bringing back the young people who have migrated from the countryside to the cities because of the lack of jobs. This is another reality of the demographic dynamics in the countryside, not only in Nariño but at large in Colombia and elsewhere.

HD’s perspectives give an insight into what food sovereignty means for a local agrarian movement. But one of the challenges that they face is the interaction of these ideas with those of the national government.To illustrate these tensions, I bring in here part of an interview with a peasant woman, also from Nariño, and also participating in the agrarian negotiation of Nariño. She is an active leader of the local agrarian movement and highly involved in all the local dynamics. When I asked her about the difference between the vision of the agrarian movement and those of others like the national government, she told me that they were very sharp:

> The vision of the government collides with one’s vision.They are not willing to support one’s own dreams, but rather they support the project that will benefit them and create incomes. They don’t care if I live well. They just want me to take a five million pesos loan from the bank, because with that I can fix some problems in my farm and in return I can earn a minimum salary. But other

> things are important. I take into account the happiness of my daughters and my grandchildren and my peace of mind. This is for me more valuable. My health, the fact that if I eat healthily I might not have to go to the doctor, but they don't take this into account. These are different visions that collide with our own visions. (RI)

This is a really good summary of the differences between the priorities of the national government and those of local movements. While the government is focusing on GDP, growth and exports, peasants are thinking more about quality of life, health and peace. So we can clearly see two different development approaches at play at the negotiations.

An indigenous perspective

Indigenous communities have also brought diverse insights to the agrarian negotiations at the local level. RE is one of the most prominent indigenous leaders from the Pastos community. He was a congressman in the 2006-2010 period, and an indigenous governor of the Pastos and Quillasingas community. At the local level, he participates in two main negotiations, the five-year agrarian policy for Nariño (Agrarian CONPES) and the Pastos-Quillasingas indigenous communities' negotiation with the national government's Ministry of Interior. In the interview, he told me that the agrarian strikes and negotiations had led his communities to reflect on the indigenous perspectives of food and agriculture:

> As indigenous communities, we have reflected about the agricultural process. We always say that it is the agro and the culture. They can't be separated. Agriculture is the culture of the agro. First culture and then agro. This has led us to think that we have to strengthen our identity, our culture in the local autonomy and local food production dynamics. (RE)

We see here that identity and culture are underscored as key elements of the agricultural and food-provision processes. RE goes on to explain how he has discussed this in meetings with the national government:

> We have discussed a lot about food security and food sovereignty. But there is another topic that comes out of these discussions, which is food autonomy. This means, how do indigenous and peasants try to produce their own food. This of course has led some people to be radical and be completely opposed to free trade agreements (RE, 2015)

> We say that we should be autonomous to produce our own food, but Colombia is neither autonomous nor sovereign, because we have to bring food from other countries. The conclusion was that we should strengthen family agriculture. This type of agriculture would support small and medium holders, but trying to define who is small and medium was another debate. They say that indigenous are small producers, but we don't want to be called small. We are rather talking about productive systems. (RE, 2015)

"Food" here implies food for self-consumption. When he asks how indigenous and peasants "produce their own food", he also implies a livelihood based on family agriculture. RE told me that because there are different visions and perspectives involved, they have had long and intense negotiation sessions with the national government; that in fact they have sometimes spent hours debating a single concept or idea. For example, he described the exchanges when they were debating the idea of food sovereignty:

> The officials from the National Planning Department say that there is no food sovereignty and we told them that of course that there was no place for food sovereignty because we have many free trade agreements, we can't be sovereign in terms of food because we are eating food from other countries. We criticised them a lot because of that. (RE, 2015)

As we can see from RE's insights, food sovereignty is a term that has been discussed in the negotiations taking place in Nariño, attended by officials from the national government. In the discussions there are structural disagreements about the term and it seems that there is an ongoing conflict. Let us explore the state's perspectives on food sovereignty at national and local levels.

6.3. The state's perspective on food sovereignty

Now that I have covered the agrarian movements' perspectives on food sovereignty, I turn now to the state, looking particularly at the national level (Ministry of Agriculture) and the local level (departmental government, Office of Social Development).

6.3.1. The national government's responses

In the spirit of going beyond the agrarian movements' perspective, and because food sovereignty has become a key component in the negotiations, I went on to interrogate the national government's perspectives on food sovereignty.

The first response I encountered when interviewing officials from the national government on the topic of food sovereignty was rejection. Many of them told me that they do not talk about food sovereignty but rather about food security, as that is the term which officially appears in the legislation.The definition of food security that the government uses appears in the 2007 national policy on food security and nutrition, which adopts the FAO definition:

> Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and

> food preferences for an active and healthy life.(World Food Summit, 1996, used in Colombian Policy Document, DNP, 2007)

On the term "food security", a government official from the Ministry of Agriculture whom I interviewed and who has participated in the negotiations with the agrarian movements told me:

> Food security is about securing food supply but also securing that people have enough income based on productive projects. This should lead to a surplus of both agricultural products and financial resources for investment. (YJ, 2015*).*

But when asked about food sovereignty, he asserted:

> The only way in which the Ministry of Agriculture understands the difference between food security and food sovereignty is that they (indigenous communities) would like to justify projects that make them not very competitive. So their projects are focused to support their production for self-consumption […] When we talk about food sovereignty and food security we refer to the productive capacity and the making sure that there is enough food for the population of the country. But indigenous communities think that the support for projects that they receive is only for self-consumption (subsistence) agriculture. So, there is a big difference.

Another public official from the Ministry of Agriculture whom I interviewed also told me that he disagreed with the idea of food sovereignty and that instead, we should be talking about food security:

> The food security policy is the one that replaces food sovereignty. We can't talk about food sovereignty because you can't force people to eat what is produced in all regions of Colombia. You can't force people to eat Chirimoya[53] because you think it is a traditional food. (AS, 2015)

[53] Chirimoya is a traditional tropical fruit in Colombia that is not very common in the supermarkets.

This and other public officials whom I interviewed dismissed the idea of food sovereignty, and their reply to the agrarian movements who have fostered the idea is to reaffirm the concept of food security, which is used in the official policy documents.

However, the Minister of Agriculture has since 2015 made several references to food sovereignty.

A shift of narratives?

Despite my interviews with officials from the Ministry of Agriculture who overall disagreed with the idea of food sovereignty, I discovered that in 2015 the Minister of Agriculture, Aurelio Iragorri (minister 2014-17), adopted the use of the term "food sovereignty" publicly. For example, in the meeting of the National Committee for Food Security[54] in May 2015, he said:

> We are going to recover the country's food sovereignty, so that we can rely on the crops that we grow and stop importing. The goal is assuring food security for all Colombians. (MADR, 2015a)

And in the same meeting he added:

> The country has lost its food sovereignty since the 1980s. For this reason, it is necessary to strengthen the cultivation of fruits, grains and vegetables. (MADR, 2015a)

This marks an important change of emphasis, as a high-level government official has adopted the concept of food sovereignty in public discourse. The main elements of the ministry's food-sovereignty approach include the following:

[54] The committee is an inter-institutional structure created in 2007 whose main goal is to coordinate national food-security policies.

- ➔ Substitute imports with crops that can be produced in the country.
- ➔ Expand the agricultural frontier of the country.
- ➔ Encourage domestic provision of selected crops.
- ➔ Export selected foods.

However, it is important to emphasise that this adoption is taking place only at the level of discourse. None of the official documents from the Ministry of Agriculture, or from any other government agency, has used the term. Some of the questions that arise in this context are: is this a convenient change of narrative, adopted merely to talk the same language as the one of the agrarian movements? Why this change? One would assume that the decision to use the term "food sovereignty" is a response to the claims of agrarian movements who have been using it for several years.This change is also a response to DA's first demand (considered in Chapter 4) for the reduction of all food imports that are replacing domestic production.

The aspect to interrogate is what type or what elements of food sovereignty are at play. At the outset, it is possible to see that the type of food sovereignty to which the minister is referring is closer to the definition of DA, in that it seeks to reduce food imports and increase the domestic provision of food. Other aspects, used by other groups such as CA, such as *peasant economy, agrarian reform, small-holders or agroecological practices,* are not part of the discourse or the programme.

Again, the interests of consumers are not taken into account.There has not been a single debate that addresses the consequences for consumers of such a change of strategy. Would food prices rise for consumers? Would prices remain the same, or even decrease? These remain open questions.

6.3.2. The departmental government

The departmental administration presided over by Raul Delgado Guerrero (2012-2016) played a key role in mediating between the national government and agrarian movements during the agrarian strikes. This mediation was successful partly because the government shares most of the concerns and positions of agrarian movements.

One of the aspects that the departmental government shared openly, even before the agrarian strikes, was the aspect of food sovereignty. This has been shown in different scenarios ranging from the discussions in the policy document to the debates in the agrarian negotiations.

The ten-year food-security plan is a mandatory plan that departmental governments in Colombia have to formulate as part of the 2007 food-security policy mandate (DNP, 2007). These plans must lay out the vision and the strategy to guarantee food security for the inhabitants of the department. This plan in Nariño was called, not without controversy, the “food security and sovereignty plan for Nariño”. In an interview with the Social Development Secretary who led the formulation of the plan, I asked her for the departmental government's views on food sovereignty, to which she replied:

> This is an idea and a political view that we have from a while ago. The national government, particularly the Ministry of Agriculture, has a different approach. For them it is about cultivating and trading. For us it has a more profound meaning. First of all, agriculture is part of our ancestral traditions from our indigenous, African-Colombian and peasant communities. […] we are convinced that it is fundamental to protect and preserve traditional knowledge and practices.

I also asked her about the national government's reaction when the departmental government used the term "food sovereignty" in their official policy documents, to which she replied:

> We have different perspectives on the meanings of food sovereignty, self-sufficiency and food security. I told them that for us, the food-sovereignty project was deeply related to the strengthening of the agrarian movement.This is central for the agrarian movement.We and the national government had strong discussions because of this, because we have different views. (LR, 2015)

LR also told me about another project that would be approved by and receive funds from the national government via the National Planning Department. Of this particular project she said:

> It is very difficult. Our food security and sovereignty project was rejected three or four times until it was finally approved. The governor and I had to go several times to Bogotá, and then the team of the National Planning Department came here to discuss. We told them that they have to let go of the food security approach that they have. We have different approaches. For them, food sovereignty does not exist. For them, there should be food security, bringing food to people no matter where it comes from, no matter any chemicals, no matter environmental impacts, no matter if food comes via free trade agreements, no matter if free trade agreement imports take our cereal or dairy products farmers to bankruptcy. They just want to have a food market, and that is a tense discussion that we have with them. (LR, 2015)

Given the differing views of the departmental and national governments, she added:

> The question is how to get the project approved when two different logics are at play and how to execute it without breaking the norms and contract laws. I think this is an interesting negotiation because we are in talks with indigenous, African-Colombian, and peasant communities, but we are also negotiating with the national government, and these are completely different actors. (LR, 2015)

We can see from these insights from the Secretary of Social Development of Nariño that the government, in this case the departmental government, is not necessarily aligned with the national agencies - the Ministry of Agriculture or the Department of National Planning.This sub-national government is closer to the interests of agrarian movements, in that it recognises the importance of rescuing and protecting traditional knowledge. As an actor that shares many of the views of the local agrarian movements, it is interesting that it is playing a facilitator role with the national government, despite the tensions that the use of "food sovereignty" creates.

Another aspect that makes this case of special relevance is the fact that the departmental government supports the idea of food sovereignty. Their narrative of food sovereignty is consonant with an emphasis on local production, agroecology and traditional knowledge, and against free-trade agreements, the use of chemical inputs and a market-oriented approach. However, because they have to follow institutional guidelines, they cannot ignore official definitions that have been adopted at the national level, such as food security. However, the fact that the departmental government adopted a “food security and sovereignty plan” shows the interplay of different ideas that represents to a certain extent the vision of the local agrarian movements combined with institutional guidelines.

Here it is important to mention that while the idea of food sovereignty resonates with the LVC approach, there is no connection whatsoever between LVC and the departmental government. Another aspect that becomes evident in the perspective of the Secretary of Social Development is a confrontation between food security and food sovereignty as competing ideas and projects.

6.4. Comparing the state's role in food sovereignty with other Latin American nations

Contrary to a binary approach in which government is averse to food sovereignty, which is being promoted only by agrarian movements, we discovered that both national and sub-national levels of government are engaging with the food- sovereignty discourse. This engagement, however, takes different shapes. On the one hand, the departmental government of Nariño is aligned with the approach of food sovereignty that seeks not only to provide food domestically but to implement agroecological practices and values of solidarity and cooperation. In other words, their perspective is closer to that of movements such as LVC, CA and the local agrarian movements in Nariño. On the other hand, the approach of the national government, particularly the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, although it recently adopted food sovereignty in its discourse, is closer to that of DA, in that it does not touch an agroecological practices. Its vision is one of substituting imports with domestically produced food.

Yet, the government of Nariño has encountered tensions with national government agencies (such as the national planning department) around the use and approach to food sovereignty. It has represented the interests and visions of the agrarian movements. But this also shows us that within the national government there is no full agreement on the matter of food sovereignty: even within the government there are disagreements. No law or executive decree has been approved which addresses the issue of food sovereignty. This means that until now food sovereignty has been part of the narratives, but not part of the policy.

It is important to critically analyse the different levels of government adoption of food sovereignty, to ascertain whether they actually believe in it or whether they have merely co-opted the discourse strategy. Harriet Friedmann (2016) warns that it would not be surprising if corporations start adopting this narrative in the short term, because such was the case with concepts such as green development and sustainable development.

The cases of Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela[55] are instructive in this context, as they highlight a key aspect: that of the relationship between the state and society. These cases show that the adoption of food sovereignty in official discourse did not guarantee that the state was completely aligned with the goals and interests of the movements promoting food sovereignty (McKay, et al. 2014). However, they treated the state as a single entity, as if there was full agreement within the government, and no difference between local and national perspectives of the state. So, the fact that in Colombia both local and national governments have adopted food sovereignty in their discourse shows a state-society relationship. However, their approaches differ, and it seems that at the local level the departmental government of Nariño had genuinely embraced more elements of the food-sovereignty concept, whereas at the national level the Ministry of Agriculture had adopted it to serve its own goal of Colombia “becoming a world breadbasket”.

The agrarian movements in Colombia, as we have seen in this and previous chapters of the thesis, are advocating the redefinition of the state’s role in different spheres and multiple levels. A key aspect which agrarian movements

[55] The analysis of Venezuela was conducted in the early 2010s, before the ongoing financial and social crises unfolded.

are promoting is the role of the state as a market regulator, in particular protecting the domestic food market versus food imports. The demand to prevent all imports of food products that can be domestically produced is at the core of the state's role redefinition.

What is interesting is that the state, which is the distrusted actor with which they disagree, becomes a central ally in the food-sovereignty vision of agrarian movements.

A comparative perspective

Comparing the Colombian debates analysed in this research with the debates in other Latin American nations provides additional insights into the role of agrarian movements, the state, and national development agendas on food sovereignty discussions. I have drawn these insights by reviewing the case studies of Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela reported by McKay, et al. (2014). In this context, four aspects stand out. First is the diversity of food-sovereignty perspectives at play. In this sense, Ecuador is perhaps the country most similar to Colombia. In Ecuador, food sovereignty was put on the country's development agenda due to the protests of a number of peasant and indigenous movements in the 1990s and early 2000s. As in the Colombian case, the social movements expressed a diversity of perspectives in their approaches to food sovereignty and put pressure on the government to respond to their food-sovereignty demands. But when included in the new Ecuadorian constitution, these visions had to be summarised and synthesised. This means that food sovereignty as a concept, and later on as a programme, were incorporated in the constitution, but it did not capture the diversity of

perspectives promoted by the group supporters of food sovereignty. The Colombian agrarian movements are also bringing a diversity of perspectives of food sovereignty to the fore, and are demanding that these views be embraced and implemented by the government. The question is whether the national and local governments will be able to capture this diversity of views of food sovereignty, and whether the programmes and projects of the state will meet the agrarian movements' goals. This is something to pay attention to in the coming months and years.

The second point concerns implementation. In contrast to Bolivia and Ecuador, the Venezuelan communal councils at the local level have provided a decentralised space for society to debate, make decisions and implement key food-sovereignty projects such as the local food markets that reduce food prices. In other words, Venezuela provides an interesting case in which society has a key responsibility in implementing food-sovereignty programmes and projects, whereas in Bolivia and Ecuador the implementation relied only on the state. In Colombia, the balance between the interests of state and society has not yet been defined, but at an early stage of negotiation the lessons provided by Bolivia, Venezuela and Ecuador should alert both the government and social movements to pay attention to this society-state balance, when it comes to the implementation of food-sovereignty programmes and projects.

Third is the lack of environmental concerns in the cases of Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela, as analysed by McKay and colleagues (2014). In the cases of these states’ adoption of food sovereignty, environmental change and protection are completely absent, despite being central for some food-sovereignty supporters. This absence resonates with the Colombian

government's initial adoption of the principle of food sovereignty. As we saw in this chapter, the Ministry of Agriculture is now using food sovereignty as part of its discourse, but its approach is about providing food for domestic and international markets, seeking to reduce and eliminate in the near future imports of food products that can be produced domestically. This approach, as in the three neighbouring countries, ignores the key concern of environmental impact and is something that should not be disregarded.

Fourth, the adoption of food sovereignty by national and local governments should be questioned in light of the visions and goals of food-sovereignty supporters. As McKay and colleagues (2014) analysed in Ecuador, the use of the food-sovereignty discourse at the state level has been used to gain popular support, but has not translated into practical action and results that meet the goals of food-sovereignty supporters.

6.5. Food sovereignty in the FARC-Government peace process?

6.5.1. General aspects

We have seen so far in this chapter different visions associated with food sovereignty in the agrarian negotiations. These negotiations are arguably common places for addressing these themes, but finding food sovereignty debates in the context of a peace negotiation is uncommon and has not been analysed in academia. How is this possible? Let us consider some general aspects of the peace agreement that are relevant for the agrarian negotiations and specifically for the debate on food sovereignty.

The peace agreement is connected in three main ways with the agrarian negotiations.[56] First, the “comprehensive agrarian reform” seeks the implementation of an ambitious agrarian reform programme that will address the issue of land rights, and embark on the provision of public goods for the most marginalised rural areas of the country, including roads, education and health infrastructure. Connected with agrarian reform, a second link is the peace-agenda item of “solution to illicit drugs”, which seeks to eradicate and replace the cultivation of coca and poppy crops. Third is the peace-agenda item of “political participation", which seeks not only the transition of FARC from a rebel organisation to a legal political party, but also to expand political participation, particularly of social movements and political parties. Let us explore these points in more detail and their linkages to the agrarian negotiations.

Towards a new countryside: comprehensive rural reform

The first point of the peace agreement, comprehensive rural reform, has a significant overlap with the agrarian negotiations, particularly those with CA, as it seeks a “structural transformation” of the countryside not only by reducing the long-standing socio-economic inequalities of rural inhabitants, but also by supporting them in being at the forefront of development for the country (Gobierno de Colombia & FARC, 2016). Among its main goals are eradicating

[56] The three main themes identified here are the ones related to rural and agricultural development and the role of social movements. The peace agreement also addresses the needs of victims, an agenda point which is also connected to the claims of the Cumbre Agraria in that the rural communities that they represent have been themselves victims of the conflict in different ways (i.e. forced displacement and selective killings). But for the purpose of the analysis I will not examine that issue in detail.

extreme poverty, hunger and malnutrition, formalising land rights for small and medium holders, and implementing agricultural development programmes.

The peace agreement has four main programmes (Table 6.1).They begin by addressing the issue of land inequality and implementing an ambitious programme to ensure access, distribution and restitution of land. It also seeks to invigorate these historically marginalised regions by embarking on the implementation of development programmes with a territorial approach which tries to go beyond “one-size-fits-all” policies and embrace cultural and environmental diversity. It goes on to propose the implementation of national rural reform plans in which infrastructure, social development and agriculture are the key priorities to end poverty and improve quality of life. Lastly, and related to the main theme of this research, is the component concerning the right to food, which aims to address hunger and malnutrition as well as providing strong support to domestic food supplies and local markets.

Table 6.1. Comprehensive Rural Reform (Gobierno de Colombia-FARC 2016)

Land use, access and distribution	Development programmes with a territorial approach	National rural reform plans	Right to food
Democratisation of land access and use	Design of local development plans according to cultural environmental and socio-economic conditions of rural communities	Infrastructure plans: roads, water electricity	Implementation of plans to eradicate hunger and malnutrition
Creation of a rural land registry	Structural transformation of rural areas… reduce the inequality between urban and rural contexts	Social development plans: education, health, housing and fight against poverty	Support for peasant economy schemes for local production for self-consumption
		Agricultural development plans: production, technical assistance, credit.	

The right-to food-programmes overlap with the negotiations with CA and DA. The peace agreement broadly outlines goals and programmes for rural reform but lacks specificity in terms of the places and target populations for their

implementation. Here is where the agrarian movements, particularly the CA, can play an important role in the implementation, as they can “translate” these plans into practical applications in their territories.The CA can make significant contributions to the peace-agreement implementation because they have clear proposals for agricultural and rural development, most of them in line with what is proposed in the peace agreement.

Political participation

As we have seen throughout this thesis, agrarian movements in Colombia are going through a period of re-structuring and consolidation.This is due in part to the political opening up of the government that followed the strikes. Politically, this is connected to the second item of the peace agenda – political participation – which seeks to provide a transition for the leftist rebel movement into a legal political party that will enjoy democratic freedom and exercise civic responsibilities. In other words, beyond a definitive ceasefire, the peace agreement is providing a democratic opening to a new leftist political party that will benefit from special conditions[57] in its first eight years, and then will play according to the standard rules in the following ones.

The agrarian negotiations mirror to a certain extent the second point of the peace agenda, in that they are the result of a political opening for the participation of leftist agrarian movements in direct talks with the national government. In other words, these rising social movements are connected ideologically at different levels with the rising political party of FARC. I argue

[57] The special conditions include having five Congress members during two terms (eight years) who, even if they fail to win enough votes, would still have a guaranteed place for two terms.

that these political openings made available to left-wing groups in different contexts are part of the same democratic transition.

In addition, this point of the peace agenda seeks to support and provide guarantees for the consolidation and functioning of social movements, their mobilisation and participation in democratic processes, which will directly support social movements like the CA and DA.

Addressing the problem of illicit drugs

Finally, the third link between the peace process and the agrarian negotiations is the issue of illicit crops and drug production, which is closely related to the comprehensive rural reform programme and seeks to eradicate and replace illicit crops.This agenda item acknowledges that the root causes of illicit drug production are the lack of economic alternatives in certain rural areas.Therefore the agreement embarks on an effort to provide alternative development options through the introduction of legal crops, along with the provision of infrastructure and other public goods that would accompany the strategy.This aspect of the peace agreement is directly linked with the CA's pledge to address the problem of illicit drugs. On their agenda, their claim is to get support from the government to replace illegal crops and implement peasant-economy models.

6.5.2. A direct link to food sovereignty

Two particular aspects of the peace negotiations are linked to this debate: first are the specific mentions of food sovereignty, and, second, the networks of actors involved in the process.

For the specific references to food sovereignty in the peace negotiations we have to go back in time and study the first stage of the negotiations. Having started in November 2012, the peace delegations reached an agreement on the first point of the agenda – agrarian reform – in May 2013; this was published as the first chapter of the agreement.[58] The agenda point covered most of the items mentioned above (Table 6.1).The interesting part was a footnote in the last part of the document which read:

> FARC insists on the need of establishing a principle of food sovereignty in the definition of policies for comprehensive agrarian development with a territorial approach. The national government insists that such a point is included in the general agreement named under “food security system”. (Gobierno de Colombia-FARC, 2013 p.4)

As the footnote of the first agreement shows, the food security versus food sovereignty debate analysed above is replicated by the national government and FARC in the peace negotiations, FARC being a clear advocate of food sovereignty. It seems that in 2013 the peace delegations had reached general agreement on rural reform, but were not able to agree on the issue of food security versus food sovereignty.

The question then is, what did FARC mean by food sovereignty? Under which principles? And why? We do not know FARC’s perspective on food sovereignty, or their vision (future research should focus on this), but the fact that the debate was taking place in such a space is significant for the debate about agrarian policy for Colombia.

[58] This became an official procedure of the peace negotiations. Every time the parties to the talks reached an agreement on the totality of each point, they made public announcements and uploaded on their website the full content of the agreement.

There is no public information about what happened in the previous or subsequent discussions after this first agreement was released in May 2013, but in the final peace agreement document of 2016 the food security versus food sovereignty controversy was replaced by a point on “the right to food” which addresses the fight against hunger and malnutrition and refers to peasant-economy schemes for food provision (as discussed above).

Specifically, the point on the right to food reads as follows:

> The food and nutritional policy in rural areas should be based on the progressive increase of food production, income generation, and the creation of quality of life through national plans of land access, infrastructure, water irrigation, potable water, housing and agricultural technical assistance. All of this on the basis of associative forms of cooperation and solidarity.
>
> The agreement includes the provision of incentives to production and trading, including, when necessary, direct support to peasant, family and community agriculture, with the main goal of preventing or reducing the impacts of the internationalisation of the economy and market liberalisation. (Gobierno de Colombia & FARC, 2016 p.33)

As we can see, this point contains many aspects that are, arguably, points that a food-sovereignty chapter would contain, such as peasant economy, and forms of production based on solidarity and cooperation. But further scrutiny of the final peace agreement shows another relevant and surprising aspect: La Via Campesina as an international partner in the implementation of this chapter of the peace agreement.

Networks and international support for the peace agreement

Chapter Six of the peace agreement – implementation of the agreement – lays out a list of international organisations that would both monitor and partner with

the peace delegations in the implementation of the peace process (Table 6.2). It is no surprise that in the rural-reform chapter the European Union and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations were selected as key partners of the implementation process.The EU has had a permanent mission in Colombia since 1993 and has made significant contributions to international cooperation programmes in rural development and human rights in Colombia (European Union, 2017). Along the same lines, FAO has been a partner in Colombia since 1977 (FAO, 2017) and an important ally in agricultural development. The surprise was the nomination of La Via Campesina, the international peasant movement, as one of the international partners.[59]

Table 6.2. International partners in the Colombian peace agreement (Government of Colombia-FARC, 2016)

Agenda Point	International Partners
1. Rural reform	European Union FAO La Via Campesina
2. Political participation	UNASUR Switzerland Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy Carter Centre
3. End of conflict: demobilisation, security etc.	UNODC High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights Sweden
4. Addressing the problem of illicit drugs	UNODC Global Commission on Drugs
5. Victims	High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights Red Cross Sweden

More information is needed for a better analysis of this point, but there is a clear connection between FARC's advocacy of the inclusion of food

[59] The EU and FAO released official statements welcoming the invitation to be partners in the peace delegations. The EU has announced a contribution of 575 million euros to support the implementation of the Peace Agreement, and FAO welcomed the peace delegations' request to be part of the international support scheme, but Via Campesina did not release a communication on the matter.

sovereignty in the peace agreement and the selection of La Via Campesina as one of the international bodies to oversee the first point of the agenda.

It is very unlikely that the national government took the initiative to invite LVC to be an international observer and supporter of Point 1 of the peace agreement. More likely, and due to their history of struggle for social justice and equality in the countryside, it was the FARC, or advisers to the peace delegations, that invited LVC to participate. We could infer, but not state for sure, that FARC's insistence on food sovereignty in the first draft of the first point of the agreement was inspired by LVC's approach. But at this point, due to lack of information, it is not possible to trace a direct link between FARC an LVC. More research is needed to clarify this aspect.

What do the peace negotiations tell us about food sovereignty?

First, the fact that food sovereignty was a key point of debate – and disagreement –in the peace negotiations is very important, as it shows that even in this space, in which peace was being negotiated, food sovereignty played an important role in re-thinking agrarian policies for Colombia.

Second, the involvement of LVC marks an important connection between FARC and the CA. It is no wonder that food sovereignty appears in both negotiations.This link implies a strong likelihood that both processes, the peace agreement's first point and the agrarian negotiations with CA, will come together in the near future, perhaps not merging, but complementing each other. It will be interesting to see the role of LVC as a new player in this context, particularly with their clear opposition to neoliberal globalisation, their call for radical change and the alternative development models that they foster.

Thirdly, another element that is important to highlight is the Colombian government's statement within the rural reform chapter which argues as follows:

> The comprehensive rural reform will be implemented in the context of globalisation and policies that foster integration in the global economy, which will require special attention to the national agrarian activities, in particular the peasant, family and community economies. (Gobierno de Colombia & FARC-EP; 2016 p.12)

This is a central aspect for both the peace process and the agrarian negotiations. The government is clearly stating that the development model will not change, and that policies that foster integration with the global market will continue to be implemented.This raises new questions in the sense of the possibilities of implementing structural changes without changing the dominant model.

Fourthly, what began as a debate about food sovereignty versus food security ended up being addressed by "the right to food" point. Arguably, this point of the agenda has elements that a food-sovereignty programme would contain, but it goes beyond that, in that it includes aspects of a food policy. In other words, the right to food seemed to have embraced food sovereignty but also included a comprehensive approach to food and agriculture.

6.6. Insights and analysis

As we have seen in this chapter, the Colombian case covers a wide variety of approaches to food sovereignty that range from local practices to political support and alliances. Multiple actors participate at different scales.

Having covered the conceptual grounds of food sovereignty in Chapter 2 and having conducted a critical analysis based on the empirical information that I gathered from the Colombian case in this chapter, I conclude that two elements require further discussion and connect with the wider debate of food sovereignty. First, the actors involved and their roles in food-sovereignty practice, policy and debate. And second, the grounds of food sovereignty as a way of re-territorialisation.

6.6.1. Political actors and policy change in food sovereignty

Identifying the number of actors involved in the food-sovereignty debates with conflicting visions, different perspectives and at multiple scales is useful and problematic. A good starting point for untangling such complexity is the policy-change framework from Keeley & Scoones (2003) that I used in the previous chapter, which considers the actors/networks, interests/politics and discourses/narratives.

This has led me to identify three main actors in this context: first, grassroots organisations, communities and indigenous groups. Second, the food-sovereignty advocates and political supporters. And third, a political actor whose role has been less studied or explicitly stated: the academics.

Grassroots movements, communities, indigenous groups

This first group are those who are actually practising food sovereignty in their own ways, bringing their traditions, their culture and their environment into play. They are the real source of practical models of cultivation, agroecology and alternative markets. They are also the source of the inclusion of moral

economy values that are taken up by other political actors. Small NGOs and other organisations are part of this group. They are not interested in engaging in political debates, but rather in developing practical initiatives towards food-sovereignty goals, not purely in agricultural terms, but also engaging in alternative markets, fostering rural-urban links and alternative cuisines. Their critique of the neoliberal food regime is based on the practices that they have developed over the years.

In line with Wittman and colleagues (2010), it is from this group that food sovereignty has evolved, “the farming peoples” who have not only developed practices but who also have been deeply affected by national and international policy changes since the 1980s.

Advocates

A second group are the advocates and political supporters. These are groups that fully engage in the political debates in national and international networks. Via Campesina and *Coordinador Latinoamericano de Organizaciones* del Campo (CLOC) are the two most representative networks of this group. They represent communities, activists and practitioners, and they promote alternative visions based on on-the-ground experiences and practices of such groups. Their role is to bring together these practices and to advocate for the rights of these practitioners and small-scale farmers. Food sovereignty is the product of many years of interactions between practitioners and advocates. The role of LVC is to lobby policy makers and to achieve a political impact by providing alternative visions.

We can find this link in the *Coordinador Nacional Agrario* (CNA) and Via Campesina connection as well as in the fact that LVC is an international actor supporting the first point of the peace-agreement agenda on rural reform. To a certain extent, the departmental government of Nariño, an important supporter of food sovereignty, could be in this group, although, with a four-year term in power, it would find it hard to be a permanent advocate; also, its participation could be open to interpretation as a strategy to gain popular support, but as far as I was able to see, they have a genuine interest in being food-sovereignty advocates.

The links between LVC, a global movement, and CNA-FENSUAGRO-FENACOA, national agrarian movements in Colombia, are good examples of this group of advocates who are closely related and learning from the first group of farmers/practitioners. In fact, these Colombian agrarian movements have platforms that can give them access to the first group of practitioners and also to political advocates[60].

The academics

The third group involved in the debate are academics. It might not be very common to include academics as political actors in certain research enquiry fields. However, they play an important role in the framing, conceptualisation and practice of food sovereignty. Lacey's (2015) questions on the interface between scientific enquiry and food-sovereignty practice provide a starting point for reflecting on this:

[60] Other advocates at regional and global levels include the European platform for food sovereignty, the task force on food sovereignty for The Philippines, and the People's Coalition for Food Sovereignty. This last one is a coalition of civil society organisations that develop and present food-sovereignty proposals to international organisations in key meetings.

> How can science inform the practices of food sovereignty? How can its encounter with these practices enrich the ways in which science is conceived and conducted?

These questions draw attention to historic and current research being conducted on food sovereignty. As mentioned before, research on food sovereignty has gained a lot of attention in recent years. A simplistic way of classifying this huge body of research would be to identify supporters and non-supporters of food sovereignty. But this would be misleading, because it is much more complex than that. A key aspect here is “food-sovereignty practice”. Which research is focusing on which food-sovereignty practice? Is food-sovereignty research based on empirical analysis? Is research conducted in a theoretical and ideological way?

When looking through this lens, we can find academics who write about practical food-sovereignty experience, such as Edelman (2014), Desmarais and colleagues (2014), and Holt-Gimenez and Altieri (2012), and other academics who write on the spheres of discourses, social theory frameworks and ideological debates such as McMichael (2014a; 2014b). In other words, academics write for different audiences (as they should), and a key distinction that should be made is whether their audience are other academics (to move theoretical debates forward) or practitioners and policy makers (to move food-sovereignty policy forward). In recent years we have also witnessed the rise of activist researchers those connected with the food sovereignty advocates group mentioned above (i.e. Rosset, 2009), and who participate both in academia and advocacy. What is important about this differentiation is that food sovereignty is not just a discourse. Food sovereignty is about place-based cultures and identities fighting marginalisation.

Policy change

Now, if we move to the policy-change sphere and analyse the actors that are contributing in one way or another to advancing the impact of food sovereignty on policy, we can find an alliance or network that brings together practitioners, advocates and academics (Figure 6.1). This concept leaves out “advocates” that use the food-sovereignty discourse to gain popular support, as well as academics debating at theoretical and ideological/analytical levels. Rather, it pays attention to those who are actually affecting change and are not only “resisting” but finding alternatives on the ground and in policy.

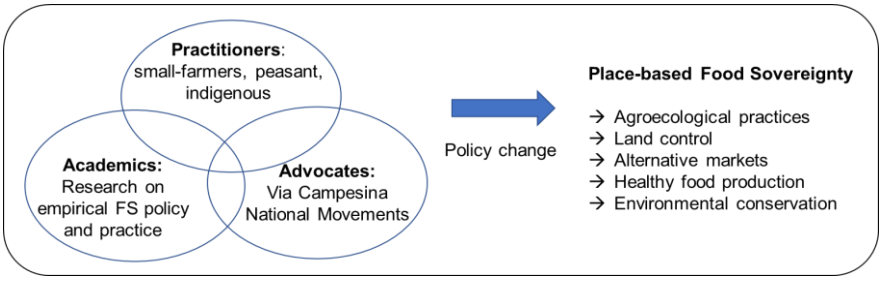


Figure 6.1. Policy change towards place-based food sovereignty

The joint work of these three groups can lead to significant policy changes towards the introduction of placed-based food sovereignty. But not all actors are the same. What I have presented above are the central aspects of food sovereignty. In the case of DA, for example, their food sovereignty will not lead to any changes in agroecological practices or alternative ways of participating in the market. Their claims and interests tend to reinforce the current model.

This calls attention to the importance of differentiating actors who use food sovereignty in an exclusively discursive manner, to gain support, but without embracing the main principles of food sovereignty in any real way. Overall, McKay and colleagues (2014) suggest that the state's engagement with food sovereignty depends on how the state interprets the concept. The state plays a necessary role in achieving food sovereignty, but the state cannot stand alone:

"*food sovereignty is a contested terrain of multiple sovereignties – at the local/community level and national level*" (McKay, 2014 p.1195). The analysis must be cautious, especially when food sovereignty "*has been used to galvanize popular support*" by adopting the discourse while implementing one-size-fits-all projects, not meeting the goals and demands of food-sovereignty supporters (McKay, 2014 p.1178).

6.6.2. Food sovereignty as re-territorialisation and re-location

Agrarian movements practising and advocating food sovereignty are drawing attention to the need for core shifts in the food system. The most important shift is re-location or re-territorialisation. This means rethinking the food system from the very local spaces, starting by rebuilding sustainable social-ecological sustainability through agroecological practices, and by redefining the relationships in collaborative ways, as well as re-thinking and re-defining the rural-urban links. In other words, food sovereignty implies constructing a moral economy from the ground up, and then applying it on a larger scale.

As was evident throughout this chapter, for ethnic, race and identity groups food sovereignty also implies strengthening their identity and cultural traditions in the context of agriculture and food provision.Their vision disregards food as a commodity and endeavours to ascribe new meanings to food production.

What the food-sovereignty movement is doing is bringing together the struggle for land and the struggle for food provisioning. Land has been the historical struggle of agrarian movements, but it would be an "empty struggle" if it did not specify the reasons why land is needed. Food sovereignty makes it clear that

the struggle for land is the struggle for food provisioning by small-scale farmers.

In line with Wittman (2009), this re-location proposed by the principles of food sovereignty is a call to re-establishing social-ecological relations from the local level. This implies looking at the sovereignty aspect of food sovereignty. Sovereignty has multiple meanings as well. The most obvious one is state-centred sovereignty. When the national government and DA discuss food sovereignty, they tend to refer to sovereignty at this level, broadly referring to the ability of the country to produce enough food for the internal consumption of its citizens. But when talking to local communities, sovereignty acquires a different meaning. For example, some mention the household level, others mention the family, the village or their region.This implies the existence of multiple sovereignties at different levels. Sovereignty in these cases does not respond to geographical boundaries, as it does at the country level. For food-sovereignty advocates, sovereignty is socially constructed and thus responds to their identity and traditions. In other words, it is a call for autonomy expressed not only in control over territory but also in economic and political autonomy.

In terms of economic autonomy, as we have seen in the evidence provided in this chapter, the campaign for food sovereignty is not an anti-market movement. On the contrary, it seeks to use the market in ways that promote fair socio-economic relations and inclusion. Food sovereignty does not promote closed markets or closed circuits. In their perspective, indigenous communities (cited earlier in the chapter) seek to feed their families and communities first, but also to contribute the food they produce to the wider market. They were

also starting a project to produce their own trademarked indigenous cheese for national and international markets.

Food sovereignty is also about political autonomy. In a country that, despite decentralisation efforts, has remained highly centralised in its socio-economic and political structure, food sovereignty seeks to re-balance power relations by reconstructing community links at the local level, and by going beyond representative democracy and exercising participative democracy as well.

These insights conclude my discussion on food sovereignty and also mark the end of the empirical chapters. I now turn to the main conclusions of my thesis.

7. Conclusions: the future of rural development, food and agriculture in Colombia

In the preceding chapters I have followed compelling journeys and trajectories: the twists and turns of the paths taken by agrarian movements and the state during the agrarian strikes, and the ongoing challenges of their respective journeys through the agrarian negotiations. I have also followed the trajectory of the food-provisioning debate through more than 100 years, as experienced by its protagonists. For me, writing this thesis has been a journey in itself: one of studying the past of rural development and agriculture, learning about the present through the eyes of agrarian leaders and public officials, and, perhaps most importantly, using my imagination to re-think rural development, food and agriculture in Colombia.

I embarked in this research journey with questions that aimed to cast light on the emergence and implications of alternative narratives of food provision, coalitions around those narratives, and the interface of alternative and dominant narratives. These questions allowed me to tap into different types of literature to critically analyse my case study. Most importantly, these questions allowed me to take a profound and critical look at the history, the present and the future of rural development, food and agriculture in Colombia.

During these years, as a doctoral researcher, I have been exposed to and engaged with academic literature, official policies and news archives. But I have also heard the individual thoughts of public officials from the ministries of agriculture and interior, as well as those of agrarian leaders both in the streets of Bogotá and in remote villages in the countryside. My immersion in this world

and my academic writing as a result of it confirm to me the centrality of rural development and agriculture in Colombia, which is even greater than I had thought when I started my doctorate. I have endeavoured in my writing to share this concept with readers who have joined me on this journey.

The centrality of rural development, food and agriculture in Colombia that I have highlighted in my work presents a challenging task: the need to re-think the main concepts and theories of this body of knowledge in the light of global and national change. This includes rethinking rural development in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which were endorsed globally in 2015 and are the basis of a global multidimensional agenda calling decision-makers to “leave no one behind” and prioritising the end of extreme poverty and hunger as its first two goals. In this context I reflect on the contributions that my thesis makes to rethinking rural development in development studies, and its importance for Colombia.

7.1. How to contribute to rethinking the rural development agenda in development studies?

One of the questions that inspired my work at a conceptual level, as I outlined in the introductory chapter, was the one raised by Thompson and colleagues (2007): *how can agri-food systems contribute to the ultimate goals of poverty reduction, social justice and environmental sustainability? And how can poor people in developing countries negotiate pathways to sustainability through agriculture?* One way in which I have addressed this question is by conceptualising peasants as food providers. My conceptualisation in Chapter 2, supported by evidence in chapters 3 to 6, highlighted the important role of

peasants in food provision, not only in terms of quantity but also in terms of diversity, quality, seasonality and location. Conversely, the process of food provision, I argued, reinforces peasant identity, peasant traditions and peasant livelihoods. Together these mutually reinforcing aspects have the potential to contribute to poverty reduction, social justice and environmental sustainability, and they thus constitute a base from which to rethink a rural development. Reconceptualising peasants as food providers could constitute a first step in exploring a new rural development agenda for development studies. But the challenge is bigger than that and, as suggested by my analysis, it involves linking different bodies of academic literature.

In this context, in the process of analysing the emergence and implications of alternative narratives of food provisioning, I found that the existing literature on agrarian political economy could not, on its own, provide a framework of analysis for my research questions. This is why I went on to find key links in other bodies of academic literature and explored ways in which the agrarian question, in its conventional sense, could be reframed as a question of food. Chapter 2 and particularly Chapter 3 illustrated my conceptual journey, in which I departed from concepts of agrarian political economy and went on to link them with literature on food regimes and agri-food systems. The food-regime analysis as initially proposed by McMichael and Friedmann (1989), combined with further work by McMichael (2006) and literature on agri-food systems (Thompson and Scoones, 2009; Leach, et al., 2010), has provided a basis for this link.

But the opening of new dimensions of analysis does not depend solely on including a question of food. Rather, it is enriched by using an agri-food

systems perspective. Complexity and systems thinking have contributed to understandings and approaches to food and agriculture, and to development studies at large. The fact that human activities, particularly agriculture, are having unprecedented and transformative impacts on ecosystems at the global level (Fischer et al., 2015) has challenged academics and practitioners to re-think conceptual approaches in order to understand these dynamics, particularly in the field of agricultural systems management (Rivera-Ferre, et al, 2013). In this context, the study and analysis of Social-Ecological Systems has shed new light on issues of agriculture, food and rural development. From narrow and linear approaches, it has inspired thinking about development as a non-linear process, where knowledge is incomplete and in a context where feedbacks can have multiple and uncertain expressions (Stirling, 2010). Most importantly, using complexity and systems thinking has elicited reflections on the notions of progress as non-linear, and the realisation that there are multiple interpretations of the complex reality and multiple pathways to sustainability (Leach, et al., 2010).

Bringing to the fore the questions of the food-regime analysis (where is food produced and consumed?) and complementing them with an agri-food systems perspective (social-ecological interactions and feedback) allowed me to bring together within the same framework components that have been usually studied in isolation. This is the case not only for producers and consumers but also for agrarian movements, the food industry and the centrality of the environment in a comprehensive analysis.

An important element in the identification of these linkages is that they broaden and complement the analysis. Agrarian change studies in Colombia the past

have focused on issues of land distribution and the agrarian movements' struggle for land access and re-distribution (as seen in chapters 2 and 3). Rarely have these approaches questioned the purposes of land access and ownership for different actors. At the same time, economists have focused on land use, productivity, crop transformations over time, and international agricultural exchanges, without always questioning the issues of land ownership or the politics embedded in the international agricultural trade. Including the question of food in these contexts opened up complementary dimensions of analysis. For example, Machado (2017) recently observed that any effort at land re-distribution in Colombia constitutes a significant step towards the strengthening of national food security. The drive for large-scale land acquisitions is part of a corporate strategy to enter the profitable "food-feed-fuel" markets at national and international levels (Borras et al., 2013). The agrarian movements' struggle is not only for land, but also for their right to provide food, as the evidence that I have analysed suggests.

Two more elements relevant to rethinking rural development and agriculture in development studies are the emergence and role of agrarian movements and the emerging agricultural perspectives of the state. Beyond a debate about old versus new social movements, I have highlighted the centrality of food provisioning for them. In considering the emergence of Cumbre Agraria (CA) and Dignidad Agropecuaria (DA) as new nation-wide agrarian movements, I have analysed their goals, agendas and narratives. While these address multiple themes, food provision, as chapters 4 and 5 analysed, lies at the centre of their concerns. In particular, these concerns are about the construction of alternative means of food provision at national and local levels.

But my analysis has also drawn attention to the role of the state, which is envisaging the future of agriculture from the perspective of “feeding the world” via an increase in export-led agriculture. This is a vision that is not only incomplete but also problematic for agrarian movements, as discussed in the preceding chapters.

This discussion suggests that food provision is at the heart of the relationship between the state and civil society. Given its history of agrarian change, violence and dynamic agricultural markets, Colombia has provided an excellent case study. In this context and within the universe of actors that I have studied here, I have argued that “everybody wants to feed somebody”, but “not everyone wants to feed the world”. Although some actors endorse the dominant narrative of “feeding the world”, I found in turn multiple and alternative perspectives to this one. Against this backdrop, the perspectives of the poor and marginalised, and those who base their livelihoods on agriculture and the production of food, should be taken seriously, particularly when their values include social justice and environmental protection. This emphasis on food provision opens space for re-imagining and re-constructing the relationship between the state and civil society.

Evidence of this relationship was presented in Chapter 6, which analysed the different meanings of food sovereignty – not only for agrarian movements but also for national and sub-national governments. This showed that the dividing lines between food sovereignty and food security are often blurred, and sub-national policies have actually used both terms in a complementary way. So, beyond the conflict of one concept versus the other, and beyond the ideological division that this can entail, this suggests that the food-provisioning debate may

have the advantage of bringing a multiplicity of actors to sit around the negotiating table.

7.2. Why is this crucial for Colombia?

During my research I was surprised to discover that the issues of food provisioning were being debated in the peace negotiations between the national government and FARC, in parallel to the agrarian negotiations that I was studying. Far from being a simple coincidence, this confirmed to me the importance of this debate for the national development agenda. But it seems that academia has not caught up with these debates, as food and agriculture have been under-studied in Colombia.

My research illuminated, though not thoroughly enough, some aspects of which we know very little, such as the role of the food industry and consumers. My findings in Chapter 3 revealed the crucial role played by the food industry in Colombia. With differing degrees of connection to national and international agricultures, Grupo Nutresa has become a powerful player, controlling the vast majority of market segments of essential basic foods such as pasta, processed meat and coffee, at the same time that it has expanded its transnational capital to other countries in south, central and north America. This evidence highlights the importance and power of the food industry in contemporary agri-food systems in three main ways. First is its capacity to influence and even transform national agriculture, based both on its massive demand for agricultural goods and on their direct production on the farms owned by the company. Second is its capacity to influence and shape international agricultural trade by importing agricultural goods and exporting processed

foods. Third is its decision-making power in determining market prices, which directly affects consumers' access to food. These are some initial insights elicited by considering the trajectory of the food industry in Colombia, which has not received much attention from academia.

Another aspect of which we know very little are the consumers, who constitute a key actor in agri-food systems. Consumers appeared in Chapter 4 supporting the agrarian strikes by mobilising protests in the main Colombian cities. This illustrated that the narratives of food provision used by agrarian movements during the strikes helped them to gain support from urban dwellers. In other words, food provision was a mobilising frame which people in the cities, i.e. consumers, could understand and support. However important this is, academic literature in Colombia has ignored the essential connection that exists between producers and consumers located in expanding cities and which influences the demand for food, in terms not only of quantity but also of quality. As I will argue later in this concluding chapter, I consider that this is an important area for further research.

Food, as demonstrated by the evidence presented throughout this thesis, is a powerful frame that can mobilise producers, consumers, corporations and the state. The key aspects that I have discussed in this research suggest, then, that one way of rethinking rural development is to do so in the light of the food-provisioning debates. Food provisioning can bring together a multiplicity of actors around a negotiating table, which the land question, as history has shown, has been unable to do.[61] Food provisioning, which brings together

[61] This is not to ignore the land issues. Those still need to be addressed. But on the basis of my research I believe that we can reach a certain degree of consensus if we discuss food provisioning first.

elements of food security and food sovereignty, could constitute an organising principle of rural development, food and agriculture. And, with no great stretch of the imagination, it is possible to envisage, sitting around the same table, representatives of peasants and agrarian movements, corporations, retailers, consumer movements and organisations, and obviously the state, represented in its different institutions and levels, discussing multiple ways in which the agri-food system can bring about poverty reduction, social justice and environmental protection.

7.3. Shortcomings and areas of future research

In September 2018, as I write these final reflections of my thesis, agrarian movements continue to negotiate[62] with the national government. Their struggle is an ongoing process which, as a moving target, makes it challenging for any researcher to follow. The negotiations were dynamic, often interrupted or postponed, and not necessarily addressing the main points agreed on the agenda. There were new and unexpected developments often, as when CA unilaterally withdrew from the negotiations in mid-2016 for a month. However difficult it was to follow this during my period of analysis of the negotiations (2014-16), it presented an opportunity to observe the interaction happening live, and to draw insights from it which would have been difficult to analyse in a post-negotiation stage. Future research could ask similar questions to those addressed in this thesis, and analyse how the perspectives of agrarian leaders

[62] Sadly, the lives of many of them are at risk. Following the signing of the peace agreement two years ago, 282 human-rights activists and social leaders have been killed, mostly in rural areas (Defensoria del Pueblo, 2018).

and government officials have changed, as well as their notions of progress in their agendas.

Similarly, the agrarian movements that I have studied are not static entities. They are dynamic, constantly evolving and re-creating themselves at every step. More research should be conducted on the structures and alliances of these movements. I found particularly impressive the local-subnational-national organisation of CA in the construction of the national agenda in 2014 (Appendix 4.2). The participation of 173 peasant organisations at all levels and across the country is an organisational aspect of CA that deserves attention. Likewise, DA value-chain oriented organisation is an element that future research could explore. Such a type of organisation is filling a gap that no other organisation or movement is paying attention to. Many groups belong to sectoral organisations that focus on one product and its value chain (i.e. potatoes, milk, fruit). But DA has built its alliance base on these various value-chains, which is a particular aspect that from academic and policy perspectives needs more attention. In fact, a comparative perspective could bring valuable insights for the future of rural development in Colombia. One could ask, for example, what are the main differences and implications of a comprehensively oriented approach (such as that of CA) versus a value-chain-oriented approach (like that of DA)? These are clearly two pathways emerging from agrarian movements that could renew our perspectives and approaches to rural development in Colombia.

The policy recommendations of the *Mision Rural* 2015 report (Ocampo, 2015) included, in a context of increasing market dominance in agriculture, "*to bring the state back*" through the provision of public goods, access to credit and

support for new and competitive agricultural products grown for national and international markets. While these recommendations seem relevant, they are raised in a broad and general sense. Rethinking rural development also implies rethinking the role of the state, and in this sense I have underscored the importance of food provisioning in the relationship between the state and civil society. The state, being dynamic itself, needs to understand the changing character of agrarian movements, instead of being mired in ideological discourses, and it needs to renew its role in the context of the food-provisioning debates.

Another aspect that needs more attention is the gender dimension. This was hardly addressed at all in the agrarian strikes or negotiations. However, the CA and DA agendas underline its importance, particularly in terms of women's access to land and productive resources. In the CA-Government negotiations women were in a minority on both sides, and I never heard of a woman being included in the DA leadership. In renewing our vision of rural development we must not ignore issues of gender equality. In the context of the agrarian negotiations, a gender perspective can also help to improve understanding of the conflicts concerning food provision, in line with "the agrarian question of gender" which others[63] have proposed as a way of understanding how gender relations shape and are shaped by rural production, accumulation and politics.

I mentioned above some insights into the role and power of the food industry in Colombia, based on the evidence that I had analysed. Yet we know very little about this industry, not only for lack of academic research but for the absence

[63] O'Laughlin (2009), Akram-Lodhi and Kay (2010a;201b).

of official statistics. The information about Grupo Nutresa that I was able to collect was based on their annual reports, but, since no other information is available, triangulation is not possible. In this sense key emerging questions include: what are the perspectives of the industry leaders on food provisioning and on Colombian agriculture? In the context of free-trade agreements and the national market, what are the main regulations that guide corporations? How is the Colombian food industry[64] shaping agriculture at the national level? Grupo Nutresa reports having 140 farms, and it demands both domestic and international agricultural products. What is the balance between agricultural products demanded and produced nationally versus those that are imported?

Hardly any research has been conducted in Latin America, including Colombia, on the perspective of consumers, although this is obviously a hugely important issue. My research into the agrarian strikes suggests several emerging questions: which groups, organisations or movements organised the urban mobilisations to support the agrarian strikes? What were their motivations? Are there existing or emerging consumer movements or organisations in Colombia? Consumers have a power that has not been sufficiently explored in the context of rural development and agriculture. What is the role of consumers in the food-provisioning debates? Can consumers shape the agri-food system, particularly the demand for domestic agricultural products? What are the implications of changing diets and food demand in countries transitioning to the status of middle–high income economies?[65]

[64] Analysis of agri-food corporations conducted by Clapp and Fuchs (2009) and McKeon (2015) could be useful as conceptual framings for this point.
[65] Despite its focus on advanced economies, the analysis of changing diets and consumption patterns offered by Gollin and Probst (2015) inspires further research on this area in Latin America.

The impact of La Via Campesina in Colombia is another area in need of further analysis. We know that LVC is not only linked with social movements in Colombia (FENSUAGRO and Coordinador Nacional Agrario), but that it is also an international observer and partner of the peace process between the government and FARC. There is no research whatsoever on its historical links with agrarian movements in Colombia. Key questions to address in this context could include: in which ways has the LVC's membership of or affiliation with national movements shaped its visions, discourses, political relevance and activism? And in the context of the peace process, what are the implications of having LVC, with its radical criticism of the neoliberal model in agriculture, as an international observer of the implementation of Point One of the Peace Agreement? LVC is also the link between the peace process and the agrarian negotiations studied in this thesis, so it is a highly relevant actor which needs further attention.

Finally, it is important to conduct further comparative research in other countries in Latin America. In the introductory chapter I showed how Latin America has in recent years become a world leader in agricultural exports, represented mainly by the large volumes of export-led soy production in Argentina and Brazil. How could agriculture in Colombia increase national prosperity, but without the constraints imposed by the neoliberal export-led solutions of other countries in the region? How is the food-provisioning debate manifested in other countries of the region, particularly those with influential agrarian movements such as Brazil (MST) and Mexico (EZLN) and strong agri-food sectors (Argentina, Brazil, Chile)? Such comparative analyses would enable a better understanding of Colombia in the light of the food and

agricultural dynamics in Latin America, as well as the challenges and perspectives of the region.

8. References

Interviews

Department of Nariño

1	Public official	January 2015
2	NGO worker	January 2015
3	Public official	January 2015
4	NGO worker	January 2015
5	NGO worker	January 2015
6	NGO worker	January 2015
7	NGO worker	January 2015
8	Agricultural organisation	January 2015
9	Agricultural organisation	January 2015
10	Coffee producer	January 2015
11	Fruit producer	January 2015
12	Agricultural organisation	January 2015
13	Potato producer	January 2015
14	Agricultural organisation representative	January 2015
15	Public official	January 2015
16	Inependent consultant	January 2015
17	Agricultural organisation	January 2015
18	International organisation	January 2015
19	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
20	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
21	Agricultural producer	January 2015
22	Agricultural producer	January 2015
23	Agricultural producer	January 2015
24	Agricultural producer	January 2015
25	Agricultural producer	January 2015
26	Public official	January 2015
27	NGO worker	January 2015
28	NGO worker	January 2015
29	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
30	Agricultural organisation representative	January 2015
31	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
32	International organisation worker	January 2015
33	International organisation worker	January 2015
34	Catholic Church representative	January 2015
35	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
36	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
37	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015

38	Agricultural organisation representative	January 2015
39	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
40	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
41	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
42	Academic	February 2015
43	Academic	February 2015
44	Public official	February 2015
45	International organisation worker	February 2015
46	NGO worker	February 2015
47	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
48	International organisation worker	February 2015
49	Public official	February 2015
50	Public official	February 2015
51	Academic	February 2015
52	Agricultural producer	February 2015
53	Agricultural producer	February 2015
54	Agricultural producer	February 2015
55	Public official	February 2015
56	NGO worker	February 2015
57	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
58	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
59	Agricultural organisation representative	February 2015

Department of Meta

60	Public official	February 2015
61	Public official	February 2015
62	Public official	February 2015
63	Public official	February 2015
64	Public official	February 2015
65	Public official	February 2015
66	Public official	February 2015
67	Public official	February 2015
68	NGO worker	February 2015
69	Public official	February 2015
70	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
71	Agricultural organisation representative	February 2015
72	Agrarian movement leader	February 2015
73	International organisation worker	February 2015
74	International organisation worker	February 2015
75	International organisation worker	February 2015
76	Public official	February 2015
77	International organisation worker	March 2015
78	Public official	March 2015

79	Public official	March 2015
80	Public official	March 2015
81	International organisation worker	March 2015
82	Public official	March 2015
83	NGO worker	March 2015
84	Agricultural organisation representative	March 2015
85	Academic	March 2015
86	Academic	March 2015
87	Independent consultant	March 2015
88	International organisation worker	March 2015
89	Public official	March 2015
90	Independent consultant	March 2015
91	Milk producer	March 2015
92	Milk producer	March 2015
93	Milk producer	March 2015
94	Agricultural producer	March 2015
95	Agricultural producer	March 2015
96	Agricultural producer	March 2015
97	Agricultural producer	March 2015
98	Academic	March 2015
99	Public official	March 2015
100	Agricultural producer	March 2015
101	Agrarian movement leader	March 2015
102	Agrarian movement leader	March 2015
103	Agrarian movement leader	March 2015
104	Agricultural organisation representative	March 2015
105	Agricultural organisation representative	March 2015
106	Public official	March 2015
107	Agricultural organisation representative	March 2015
108	Public official	March 2015
109	Public official	March 2015
110	Public official	March 2015
111	Public official	March 2015
112	Private-sector organisation	March 2015
113	Public official	March 2015

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114	Public official	January 2015
115	Public official	January 2015
116	Agrarian movement leader	January 2015
117	Public official	January 2015

118	NGO worker	January 2015
119	NGO worker	January 2015
120	Public official	January 2015
121	Former public official	March 2015
122	Catholic Church representative	March 2015
123	International organisation worker	March 2015
124	International organisation worker	March 2015
125	International organisation worker	March 2015
126	International organisation worker	March 2015
127	Former public official	March 2015
128	Agrarian movement leader	March 2015
129	Agrarian movement leader	April 2016
130	Agrarian movement leader	April 2016
131	Agrarian movement leader	April 2016
132	Agrarian movement leader	April 2016
133	Agrarian movement leader	April 2016
134	Agrarian movement leader	April 2016
135	Private-sector organisation	
136	Public official	
137	NGO worker	

Participant observation

Negotiation sessions national government-Cumbre Agraria - Bogotá

1. January 2015
2. March 2015
3. April 2015
4. April 2016

Internal meetings of Cumbre Agraria - Bogotá

1. April 2015
2. April 2015
3. April 2016

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9. Appendices

Appendix to Chapter 3

Apendix 3.1. Agenda points from Mandato Agrario related to food provision

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Point 2: Food sovereignty and security</th></tr>
<tr><td>Food sovereingty is a fundamental right which strengthens territorial, economic, social, and political autonomy and eliminates dependency.
The people should determine in an autonomous and sovereign way the means of production, distribution and consumption of agri-food items to guarantee self-sufficiency.
The entire population must be guaranteed supplies of healthy and nutritious food.
Genetically modified food crops should not be permitted.
National food provision must be defended.</td><td>The peasant, indigenous and African-Colombian economy, their traditional knowledge and cultural practices are the strategic base of food sovereignty and food security.
Organic and sustainable agricultural production is a priority. Environmental protection and biodiversity conservation are closely linked with food sovereignty.
The state and society must recover and protect the genetic and cultural heritage of the nation.
Supplies of native seeds must be protected.</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Point 3: Alternatives to FTAs and trade agreements</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The state will protect national agricultural production.
A national agri-food and distribution system based on the interests of the Colombian people will be implemented.
Transnational corporations will not benefit from exemptions of any kind.
Before signing any international agreements related to the rural sector, agrarian economy, land or water, the State should first consult the sectors and communities directly involved.
Food, agriculture and land should be excluded from all international trade agreements.</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Point 5: Reconstruction of the agrarian and agri-food economy</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Peasants' debts will be forgiven, and credit will be provided.
The state will provide sustentation prices that are profitable for peasants.
Agricultural inputs should not be taxed.
Harvest insurance should be provided.
Local markets must be created and protected.
Traditional science and knowledge should be promoted.
Any monopoly of agricultural inputs, seeds and biotechnology should be ended.
All imports of food that can be produced in the country should cease.</td></tr>
</table>

Appendices to Chapter 4

Appendix 4.1. Cacerolazos

City	Number of people who participated	Date of the mobilisation	Who organised	Link/source
Bogotá	8.000	August 26, 2013	Peasants, students, Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), Congreso de los Pueblos	http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-13014962
Tunja	50.000	August 18, 2013	Peasants' families, Organised citizens	http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-13013346
Bogotá	2.000	August 26, 2013	University students, trade union and labour representatives	http://www.eluniversal.com.co/colombia/cacerolazo-nacional-en-apoyo-los-campesinos-132580
Eje Cafetero	500	August 26, 2013	Organised citizens	http://www.eluniversal.com.co/colombia/cacerolazo-nacional-en-apoyo-los-campesinos-132580
Bogotá	1200	August 26, 2013	Dignidad Campesina Marcha Patriótica	https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/Bogotá/el-sonido-de-los-cacerolazos-articulo-443595
Medellin	500	August 26, 2013	Partido del Tomate	https://www.rcnradio.com/colombia/los-cacerolazos-se-suman-los-bloqueos-y-protestas-del-paro-agrario-85707
Cali	700		Social organisations	
Armenia	300		Partido del Tomate	
Bucaramanga	600		Students from the Universidad Industrial de Santander	
Manizales	700	August 26, 2013	Students, peasants	http://www.lapatria.com/manizales/el-cacerolazo-tambien-se-vivio-en-manizales-42129
Bucaramanga	800	August 26, 2013	Students, peasants	http://www.vanguardia.com/santander/bucaramanga/222280-bucaramanga-se-

				unira-al-cacerolazo-nacional-contra-santos
Nariño-Buesaco	500	August 29, 2013	Peasants	http://diariodelsur.com.co/noticias/nacional/se-levantaron-en-cacerolazos-en-nari%C3%B1o-54691
Nariño-Túquerrez	5.000	August 29, 2013	Indigenous people	
Cali	700	August 26, 2013	Partido del Tomate, students, peasants, social organisations	https://www.elpais.com.co/colombia/en-cali-tambien-se-sintio-el-cacerolazo-en-apoyo-al-paro-nacional.html
Bogotá	2000			
Armenia	500			
Tunja	50.000	August 26, 2013	Peasants	https://www.las2orillas.co/tunja-se-hizo-sentir-con-cacerolazo-santos/
Tunja	15.000	August 26, 2013	Students, social organisations, orgnised citizens	El Tiempo
Bogotá	8.000	August 26, 2013	Organsied citizens, students	
Tunja	9.000	August 25, 2013	Organised citizens, peasants	
Caquetá	2000	August 26, 2013	Labourers, peasants	
Cali	3.000	August 29, 2013	Students from SENA and Univalle, Sindicato de Trabajadores del Valle	El Tiempo
Bogotá	3.500	August 21, 2013	Citizens, Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT)	El Espectador
Bogotá	1500	August 27, 2013	CUT, MIA, USO (Unión Sindical Obrera)	El Espectador
Facatativa	200	August 28, 2013	Peasants, citizens	El Espectador

Appendix 4.2. Organisations that participated in the pre-Cumbres meetings (MIA, 2015)

Types	Names of organisations				
Agrarian	Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca - CRIC	Coordinador Nacional Agrario	Mesa Nacional Agraria y Popular de Interlocución Acuerdo - MIA	Consejos Comunitarios del Pacífico de Nariño	Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria - FENSUAGRO
	Federación Agraria Naciona - FANAL	Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos Unidad y Reconstrucción- ANUCUR	Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos - ANUC de base	Comité de Integración Agrominero del Nordeste Antioqueño - CIANA	Asociación Campesina del Valle del Río Cimitarra - ACVC
	Asociación de Hermandades Agroecológicas y Mineras de Guamocó - AHERMIGUA	Resguardo IndígenaTagual la Po	Resguardo Indígena de los Almendros	Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos - ANUC Cauca	Asociación Campesina del Catatumbo - ASCAMCAT
	Asociación Campesina del Norte de Antioquia - ASCNA	Consejo Mayor Comunitario Porce IV	SINPEAGRICUN	Asociación de Ganaderos de Pasca	ASOPROCAFECUNDI
	Agricultura Organica y Salud del Suelo	Finca Integra	Organización Regional Indígena del Valle del Cauca - ORIVAC	Asociación Campesina de Reasentados del Alto Sinú - ASODECAS	Asociación de Campesinos del Sur de Córdoba -ASCSUCOR
	Asociaciónes de Campesinas de Túlua y Bugalagrande	SINTRAGROPECUARIO Sabanalarga	Agro Sabanalarga	Resguardo Indígena Mokana de Tubara	ASOTRACAMPO El Tamarindo
	AGROBARANOA	Coordinadora Municipal Campesina de Sabanalarga	Coordinadora Departamental Campesina del Atlántico	Coordinadora Campesina Polonuevo	Coordinadora Campesina Palmar Varela

	Colectivo Campesino Ezequiel Zamora	Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos de Nariño - ASTRACAN	Asociación de Agricultores Orgánicos de San Lorenzo - ASOAGROS	Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos del Valle del Cauca	Coordinación Campesina del Valle del Cauca
	Organización Regional Indígena del Valle del Cauca	Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos del Tolima - ASTRACATOL	Asociación Mineros de Murri - ASOMUR	Resguardo Dabeiba	Asociación Campesina del Bajo Cauca - ASOCBAC
	Asociación Campesina de Ituango - ASCIT	Consejo Comunitario de Mande	Asociación Campesina ACASA	Asociación Campesina ASCOA	ASOPROA
Total					**50**

Types of organisation	**Names of organisations**				
Sectors	Asociación de Comerciantes de Puerto López	Asociación de Arrieros de Guamocó	Asojuntas del Río Caribona Municipio de Montecristo	SINTRATEXTIL	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores-CUT Cauca
	Instituto Nacional Sindical	SINTRAEMSDES	SINTRAUNICOL	Unión de Trabajadores del Atlántico - UTRAL	SINTRACUTT
	FUERZA UNIDA SINDICAL CLASISTA	ASDECADIPA	Asociación de Educadores - ADEA	Sindicato del Magisterio de Nariño - SIMANA	SINTRAHOSPITAL
	SINTRAINDULECHE	SINTRAALIMENTICIA	Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Metalurgica - SINTRAME		
Total					**18**

Types	Names of organisations				
Community and social	Juntas de Acción Comunal Veredales y Barriales	Corporacion Acción Humanitaria por la Convivenia y la Paz del Nordeste Antioqueño - CAHUCOPANA	Asociación de Familias Campesinas del Sur de Bolivar y Antiquia - ASFASBA	Red de Mujeres del Casco Urbano de Segovia	Colectivo Popular Hijos del Sur
	Comunidades Cristianas de Guamocó	Mesa interbarrial de Desconectados	Movimiento Rios Vivos	Comité de Integración Social de Catatumbo - CISCA	Mesa de Organizaciones Cívicas y Populares de Arauca
	Movimiento Político de Masas Social y Popular del Centro Oriente de Colombia	Red de Proyectos Sur	Proceso Nacional de Tejido Juvenil - TEJUNTAS	Tierra Libre	ASOVOF
	Provivienda	FUNAVI	APV	Fundación Para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos y el DIH del Oriente Colombiano DHOC	Casa de las Flores
	FUNHASCOL	Comité Acueducto Pasca	Zona de Encuentro para la Educación y la Cultura - ZEPEC	Federación de Estudiantes de Agronomía de Colombia	Barriga Llena Corazon Contento
	Rula	Sumapaz Resiste	Asociación Nacional de Ayuda Solidaria - ANDAS	Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios FEU	Asociación Cultural y Ambientalista del Sur - ACAS
	Colombia Soberana	Organización Colombiana de Pensionados	Movimiento Social de Unidad Étnica y Popular	MOVICE Capítulo Córdoba	Comunales de Córdoba
	Estudiantes Universidad de Córdoba	CONFAVIV Córdoba	Constituyentes por la Paz con Justicia Social	Movimiento por la Constituyente Popular - MPC	El Churo
	Estudiantes Universitarios	ESAP	Asociación de Parroquias Libertarias	Asociación de Desplazados Lote 4 Galapa	Grupo Comunitario Barranquilla

	Asocomunal Sabanalarga	Iglesia Anglicana	FUNDE MIS	ATAPAC	Juventud Rebelde
	Movimiento Civico por el Atlantico	Fuerza Patriótica Juvenil	Frente Social y Popular	Corporación Ambiental Baranoa	ASOVESPLAS
	Asociación Damnificados del Sur del Atlántico	Comité de Impulso de la Cumbre Agraria	Campesina y Popular - Tolima	Proceso de Unidad Popular del Suroccidente Colombiano - PUPSOC	Movimiento Social de Unidad Étnica y Popular
	MOSUEP	Cultura y Libertad	Asamblea Constituyente Antioquia	Corporación para la Defensa y Promoción de los DDHH- REINICIAR	Escuela de Constituyentes
	Corporación Victimas Urabá	Confluencia de Mujeres	Red de Mujeres Populares	Deformación	Movilicémonos Pueblo
	Colectivo Agrario	Red de Artistas Populares de Bello	Colectivos de Estudio en Pensamiento Latinoamericano Red CEPELA	Proinfancia y Juventud	Zona 13 Envigado Pantanillo
	Oficina Estudiantil FCE	Asociación de Mujeres Formado Futuro	KAVILANDO	CEPAFRO	Corporación Penca Sábila
	Corporación CESCA	Fundación Social Paloma	Asociación de Instructores de Antioquia - ADIDA	Organización Colombiana de Pensionados OCP	Identidad Estudiantil
	Corporación Nuevo Día	Comité de Sobrevivientes de Urabá	Comité de Integración Agrominero del Nordeste Antioqueño - CIANA	COOELCA	FEMPA
	COMPI	Cinengaños	Movimiento Juvenil de Castilla	Periferia	La Maloca del Sol
Total					**95**

Types	Names of organisations				
Political	Congreso de los Pueblos	Marcha Patriótica	Partido Comunista Colombiano-PCC	Poder Ciudadano	Unión Patriótica
	Juventud Comunista-JUCO	Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia - ONIC	Movimiento por la Defensa de los Derechos del Pueblo -MODEP	Coordinación Nacional de Organizaciones y Movimientos Políticos y Sociales de Colombia - COMOSOCOL	Proceso de Comunidades Negras - PCN
Total					**10**

Total number of organisations: 173

Appendix 4.3. Constituent organisations of Cumbre Agraria

Name and website	Creation date	Goals/objectives	Who are they	Territorial coverage
Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC) http://www.onic.org.co/	1971	To strengthen and support the leadership of the indigenous peoples and their exercise of authority with responsibility, autonomy and dignity; the control of their territories; and the implementation and defence of their Human Rights .	Indigenous people of different ethnicities	Nariño Cauca Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta Antioquia Caldas Llanos orientales Amazonas
Congreso de los Pueblos http://www.congresodelospueblos.org/	2010	To contribute to the construction of a proposal for a dignified life and social justice for the people of Colombia.	African-Colombians Peasants Women Indigenous peoples. Workers Urban citizens, Trade unionists, Students	National
Coordinador Nacional Agrario (CNA) https://www.cna-colombia.org/	1997	To coordinate collectively the consultations, discussions and approaches of the appropriate agrarian initiatives seeking to reflect popular interests and the social base of the country.	Peasants Indigenous African-Colombian Landless Workers Day labourers	National
Mesa Nacional de Interlocución y Acuerdo (MIA) http://colombiaesmia.blogspot.com/	2013	To maintain dialogue and negotiations with the national and departmental	Peasants Civil society Rural organisations	National

		government, in order to design and implement agrarian policies involving the direct participation of the peasantry.		
Coalición de Movimientos y Organizaciones Sociales de Colombia (COMOSOC) http://www.comosoc.org/	2005	To bring together political actors with the capacity to convene and mobilise popular organisations. To develop proposals from the perspective of local communities, in order to transform regional and national life in Colombia.	Peasants Indigenous people African-Colombians Day labourers Workers	National
Proceso de Comunidades Negras (PCN) https://renacientes.net/	1994	To ensure the human rights of Colombian black communities.	Black communities Palenqueros	Cauca, Bolivar, Magdalena Medio
Federación Nacional Sindical Unitaria Agropecuaria (FENSUAGRO) http://www.fensuagro.org/	1987	To build an agrarian and peasant movement that supports class identity, struggle and mobilisation for democratic and integral agrarian reform.	Labour unions Peasants Indigenous communities Agro-industrial workers Day labourers	National
Mesa de Unidad Agraria (MUA) http://mesadeunidadagraria-org.blogspot.com/	2009	To defend the agrarian sector, take forward comprehensive agrarian reform and integral rural human development, protect sovereignty and food autonomy, and achieve recognition of the social and political rights of the Colombian peasantry.	Rural organisations Peasants Farmers Civil society	National
Asociación Nacional de Zonas de Reserva Campesina (ANZORC)	2001	To contribute to peace in Colombia with guarantees of peasants' rights and	Peasants Urban people Rural people	National, but centred in Andean and Orinoco regions

http://anzorc.com/		integral rural reform through consolidation of Peasant Reserve Areas.		
Movimiento por la Constituyente Popular (MCP). http://movimientoconstituyentepopular.org/	No info	To win power for the people and achieve a government of the people.	Urban people Rural people	National
Marcha Patriótica https://www.marchaPatriótica.org/	2012	To invigorate the varied forms of organisation and mobilisation in all regions of Colombia, to create a true alternative of democratic change for all the Colombian people.	Civil society	National

Appendix 4.4. Constituent organisations of Dignidad Agraria

Name and website	Creation date	Goals/objectives	Who are they	Territorial coverage
Dignidad Papera http://dignidadagropecuaria.org/ https://wsr.registraduria.gov.co/IMG/pdf/Caracterizacion_de_las_organizaciones_sociales.pdf	2013	To challenge the Free Trade Agreements that discriminate against rural interests, and to defend the Colombian agricultural sector and the sovereignty and food security of the people	Farmers Peasants Civil society	Andean region: Boyacá, Cundinamarca, Nariño
Dignidad Arrocera http://dignidadagropecuaria.org/	2013			Andean, Caribbean and Orinoco regions: Arauca, Casanare, Huila, Meta, Tolima, Santander, Sucre
Dignidad Lechera http://dignidadagropecuaria.org/	2013	To make visible the problems of the dairy sector and show itself as a strong and important organisation that does not use violence to position itself before civil society and the government		Antioquia Boyacá, Caquetá, Cesar, Cundinamarca
Dignidad Cafetera http://dignidadagropecuaria.org/	2013	To campaign for price support for the coffee sector, to reduce the taxes paid by coffee producers and the price of agro-inputs and production costs, in addition to negotiating free trade agreements, regulating the position of mining and the restructuring of the National Federation of Coffee Growers	Coffee growers Peasants Indigenous people	Andean and Caribbean region: Antioquia, Quindio, Nariño, Huila, Santander, Cundinamarca, Tolima, Valle

Appendices to Chapter 5

Appendix 5.1. Negotiation sessions between Government and Cumbre Agraria, Campesina, Étnica y Popular (CA)

Date	Participants (government)	Participants (CA)	Agenda	Link
9 May 2014	Minister of Interior	Cumbre Agraria	Mesa Unica Nacional	https://www.mininterior.gov.co/sala-de-prensa/noticias/mesa-unica-entre-el-gobierno-y-cumbre-agraria
13 May 2014	National government	Cumbre Agraria	Signing of agreements	https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article14156
30 October 2014	Minister of Agriculture	Cumbre Agraria	Creation of a work plan	https://www.minagricultura.gov.co/noticias/Paginas/Cumbre-Agraria-.aspx
7 November 2014	Minister of Agriculture	Cumbre Agraria	Institutional offer	https://www.minagricultura.gov.co/noticias/Paginas/MinAgricultura---Cumbre-Agraria.aspx
1 June 2015	President Santos	Cumbre Agraria	Mechanisms for negotiating agreements	https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article17189
1 September 2015	Minister of Agriculture	Cumbre Agraria		https://www.minagricultura.gov.co/noticias/Paginas/Ministro-Iragorri-rechaza-toma-violenta-.aspx
14 June 2016	Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Environment and Vice-Minister of Interior	17 organisations from CA	Creation of agreements	http://www.comosoc.org/La-Cumbre-Agraria-logra-acuerdos
23 June 2016	Minister of Agriculture and other high government officials	Cumbre Agraria	Review progress on agreements	https://www.minagricultura.gov.co/noticias/Paginas/Hemos-cumplido-y-seguiremos-cumpliendo-los-acuerdos-con-las-organizaciones-campesinas-indigenas-y-afro.aspx

12 June 2016	National government: Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Agriculture	Cumbre Agraria	Negotiation about collective territories	http://www.onic.org.co/noticias/70-destacadas/1305-la-cumbre-agraria-continua-la-negociacion-con-el-gobierno-nacional
16 June 2016	Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Agriculture	Cumbre Agraria	Creation of proceedings for recognition of peasant agro-food territories	https://viacampesina.org/es/colombia-la-cumbre-agraria-campesina-Étnica-y-popular-avanza-como-propuesta-de-pais/
16 December 2016	Vice-Minister of Agriculture and General Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture	17 organisations from CA	The peasant economy	https://www.minagricultura.gov.co/noticias/Paginas/MinAgricultura-y-Cumbre-Agraria-adelantaron-mesa-de-di%C3%A1logo-.aspx

Apendix 5.2. Mobilisations and actions 2014-2016: Cumbre Agraria, Campesina, Étnica y Popular

Date	Type of mobilisation/ action	Organiser	Link
30 November 2015	Letter to President Santos	Cumbre Agraria	https://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article18288
30 May 2016	Strike	Peasants, indigenous people and agrarian workers	https://www.telesurtv.net/news/Campesinos-colombianos-inician-paro-agrario-este-lunes-20160529-0008.html
30 May 2016	Strike	Cumbre Agraria	https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/paro-agrario-2016-campesinos-e-indigenas-protestan/475748
31 May 2016	Mobilisation	Social organisations	https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/economia/paro-agrario-no-se-ha-cumplido-ni-el-50-de-los-acuerdos-articulo-635288
28 May 2016	Mobilisation	Social organisations	https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/vuelve-y-juega-protesta-agraria-articulo-634939
30 May 2016	Strike	Cumbre Agraria	https://noticias.canalrcn.com/nacional-pais/campesinos-convocan-paro-agrario-protestar-contra-politicas-gubernamentales
29 May 2016	Strike	Cumbre Agraria	https://www.elheraldo.co/nacional/organizaciones-campesinas-convocan-nueva-jornada-de-protesta-agraria-para-manana-263476
31 May 2016	Strike	Indigenous people, peasants	https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/paro-agrario-2016-un-muerto-y-cinco-heridos-en-las-manifestaciones/475799
2 June 2016	Letter to President Santos	Cumbre Agraria	http://www.onic.org.co/images/pdf/carta-al-presidente-de-la-republica-cumbre-agraria.pdf
20 October 2016	Letter to President Santos. Suspension of negotiations.	Cumbre Agraria	http://www.onic.org.co/comunicados-deotros-sectores/1520-suspendida-mesa-unica-de-negociacion-de-cumbre-agraria-con-gobierno-nacional