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**The Global and the Local:
The politics and struggles of food sovereignty diffusion in
the Philippines**

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

APNFS	Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty
CARPER	Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program with Extension and Reforms Law
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DKMP	Demokratikong Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas
FGS	Focus on the Global South
FS	Food Sovereignty
FSM	Food Sovereignty Movement
GARB	Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill
IRDF	Integrated Rural Development Foundation
KMP	Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas
LVC	La Via Campesina
ME-RAP	Moral Economy of the Peasant-Radical Agrarian Populism
MPE	Marxists Political Economy
MLPP	Marxist Leninist Party of the Philippines
MLM	Marxist-Leninist-Maoist
NDF	National Democratic Front
NPA	New People's Army
NMFS	National Movement for Food Sovereignty
PCFS	People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty
PKKK	Pambansang Koalisyon ng Kababaihan sa Kanayunan
PKMM	Pambansang Katipunan ng Makabayang Magsasaka
PKMP	Pambansang Kilusan ng Magsasaka sa Pilipinas
TAMs	Transnational Agrarian Movements
TFS	Task Force on Food Sovereignty
UN FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization

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Abstract

The study looks at the role of social movements in the Philippines as mediators in the diffusion process of a global political project like food sovereignty. The central research question lies in the assumption that diffusion of food sovereignty at the national level is a site of contentious politics - subject to socio-political dynamics and historical context of a country as well as the relations and interactions of social movements within themselves and with the State.

Using qualitative methods like discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews, the paper concludes that food sovereignty is both a site of discursive and material struggle between and among key actors. Further, the study posits that food sovereignty diffusion is neither vertical - top-down or bottom-up - nor horizontal process. It is an iterative process – one which is subject to various (re)interpretations, adaptations, adoptions at the global, national and local fronts by different groups.

Relevance to Development Studies

Since its launch during the World Food Summit twenty years ago, food sovereignty has gained ground in various spheres not only through policy but also in practice. The experience of diffusion of global political projects like food sovereignty have been varied in different countries and contexts. The role of social movements is deemed crucial as the ones who have offered this alternative system, they are tasked to be the “brokers” of diffusion process at the national level.

While different experiences and outcomes of food sovereignty diffusion are due to the socio-political and historical context of a country, these contradictions also underscore the fluidity and dynamism of the construction of food sovereignty discourse. Under its rubric are multiple, competing, overlapping, parallel interpretations of its meaning owing to the relations of its flag bearers within themselves and their interaction with the State. I do hope to contribute to this evolving construction and meaning making of food sovereignty both as a policy and practice.

Keywords

food sovereignty, social movements, diffusion, Philippines, state-society interaction, political sociology

Chapter 1

Introduction

Broadly defined 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, food sovereignty puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations.” (Nyeleni, 2007: 1). It is an alternative to the dominant discourse on food security which emerged in the 1970’s during the World Food Summit when UN FAO declared that “every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop and maintain their physical and mental faculties” (UN FAO: 2006). FAO refers to the four pillars of food security as: availability, access, utilization, and stability. (FAO, 2008)

Food sovereignty was officially launched in the late 90s as as a bottom-up approach on how people can deal with food and the issue of agrarian and food rights for peasants by providing a highly prescriptive agenda and specific calls. “It is an agenda that centers itself in particular on reducing global food trade and reorienting food systems around local production grounded in agro ecological principles.” (Wittman et al., 2010 as cited by Clapp, 2005: 207).

Sovereignty: sites and contestation

Recent studies about food sovereignty have tried to unpack the concept in its various fronts – its policy calls, its contestations, limitations and even its historicity (McMichael, et. al., 2009) and how it serves as an alternative framing against the dominance of agro-food chains and how it seeks to problematize and put solutions to issues of global food system dominated by large agrifood corporations. Shattuck et al (2015: 424) problematized about the ‘competing sovereignties’ that shape the construction of food sovereignty. They posed essential questions on the political construction of food sovereignty: “was it the state? was it communities? In the event that nation’s sovereignties compete with each other in their respective food policies, whose sovereignty will be respected?” In this regard, sovereignty in food sovereignty is further explored by Roman-Alcala (2016: 1388) when he located the various sites of sovereignty where its contestations are being questioned in multiple levels. Roman-Alcala (2016: Ibid) unpacked the various sites of sovereignty in order to fully clarify contestations on the sovereignty of food

through the multiple sites: supranational, global, national and local. Seen from a horizontal standpoint, sovereignty can also mean contested sovereignties between and among players – state, movements and the public. Further, Shattuck et al (2015: 425) further argued that there are not only multiple sovereignties present at different levels of food sovereignty construction, but these sovereignties more often than not compete and contradict with each other both horizontally and vertically.

Amidst the multiple sites of sovereignties and the contestations inherent between and among these sites, it is important to clarify and unpack the why and how sovereignty should actually be developed. For Roman-Alcala (2016: 1389) answering these questions will help ensure the processes of governance to implement food sovereignty while trying to navigate and balance the political contestations among sites of FSMs.

Thus, if food sovereignty is multi-layered and is a multi-faceted political project, it is fluid and elastic both in policy in practice as McMichael (2015: 193) has argued, it merits scholarly work both as a global political project (policy) and as an alternative system (practice) against the dominance of the corporate food regime. Its evolving construction and continuous (re) interpretations are subject to politics, cleavages or cracks in the system which more often than not affect how it undergoes translation, mutation or diffusion at the national level.

As a bottom-up grassroots-led initiative, food sovereignty is a global development project which diffusion needs to be interrogated and examined. Cross-national diffusion of social movement initiatives like food sovereignty can be examined in different fronts like how social movements adopt, interpret, re-contextualize, localize, and co-constitute the food sovereignty diffusion process in their respective countries. As Desmarais and Wittman (2014: 234) have noted, “While there is a growing body of literature on food sovereignty at a global level, much less is known about what food sovereignty movements look like in specific places and how their expression is largely shaped by local dynamics.”

Diffusion, translation, meaning-making and the role of the state in FS

Diffusion of political projects like food sovereignty has been differentiated in varying scales in different countries which tried to enact state-level policies on food sovereignty. Shawsy (2015: 758) explored a number of questions surrounding the transnational diffusion of social

movements and their ideas through case studies of food sovereignty movements in the two countries. The study concluded that while re-contextualization of food sovereignty was carried out in both UK and Canada, diffusion has yet to be achieved. This is due to the fact that while activism and organizing on food system issues were prevalent in these two countries, social movements' efforts failed to tie the local struggles to the global frame of food sovereignty discourse.

On the other hand, Boyer (2010: 344) has put forward how food sovereignty and food security tropes were developed in the discourse in present-day Honduras. Although both food security and food sovereignty emerged in Honduras as a result of long-drawn struggle of peasant and agrarian issues like land security and national food self-sufficiency, the former enjoyed more resonance with deeply held peasant issues like social reproduction in insecure social and natural conditions. On the other hand, food sovereignty failed to connect to the local issues at the grassroots level. Boyer concluded that while, "rural voices from the Americans remind us, there is a vast need for the focus to begin with the local, and to restore deep (local) economies and older communal solidarities" (Boyer 2010: 346).

Writing on the food sovereignty experience of Ecuador, Honduras, and Bolivia, McKay et. al. (2015: 1175), have noted the various experiences of food sovereignty legislation and how the state and set-up can both be an instrument towards the pathway of constructing an alternative food system that will infuse changes.

On a more practical aspect of food sovereignty, Robbins (2015: 449) has articulated about the role of "local food systems within the food sovereignty movement and as a counter to the logic of global industrial food system." It focused on how geographical and sectoral distances embedded in the global food system are actually being addressed by food sovereignty.

In some cases, food sovereignty efforts appear to be "muted", "overt" and are being downplayed by the State and partly by the smallholders. (Spoor, et. al, 2015) Situated in post-socialist Russia and borrowed from the concept of quiet sustainability (Smith & Jehlic'ka, 2013), the study explored and contextualized "quiet food sovereignty" as muted, overt forms of sustainable practices where the peasantry exercised autonomy despite the fact that they do neither form nor belong to a formal social movement given the political context of post-Socialist Russia.

Borras, et. al (2015: 438) enunciated that if food sovereignty is a political project then its political

construction necessitates engaging with various social forces both internally and externally that can be both enablers or serve as hindrance to the attainment of food sovereignty. If food sovereignty is a political concept, then it is open to various interpretations – manipulations, cooptation as what McKay (2015: 1174) et. al have argued. Further, diffusion of a global political project is subject to various contextual and even socio-cultural dynamics of the various stakeholders working on it. This is where Schiavonni (2016) situates her arguments on doing a historical-relational-interactive (HRI) framework when looking at food sovereignty. Schiavonni (Ibid: 1) proposes a historical lens that will help analyze the prevailing structures and institutions over time; a relational lens which will not only looked into the relationships among FSMs but will also unpacked the various meanings and attempted practices of food sovereignty; and an interactive approach which will examine the interactions between state and society and how this shapes the dynamism and evolution of food sovereignty construction.

According to Kurzman (2008: 6), meaning-making in social movements refers to “collective contest over interpretation.” Kurzman elucidated this further by stating that various institutions, repertoires of action and rituals offer interpretations that enable people to put them into categories and constructs. Further, for culturalists these different interpretations and meanings which social movement ascribed to a concept make it to be a site of constant (re)negotiation.

As a policy and practice which emanated from the local and was unitarily articulated at the global, food sovereignty’s challenge now is how to translate it at the local level. Political projects like food sovereignty do not only travel but they are translated (Ives, 20014, Kipfer & Hart, 2012 as cited in Shattuck, et al: 2015: 428). Further, as Ives (2004: 163 cited by Shattuck, et al: 2015: 429) has articulated “translation requires a change in both the original language and the one into which it is being translated”. Hence, in the process of translation and interpretation, food sovereignty evolves as it undergoes diffusion.

Another issue which diffusion of a global struggle like food sovereignty which needs to be looked into is the readiness of a nation to pursue this global struggle. How does it look like at the local level? While food sovereignty is a political program which calls for a mode of production controlled by non-state subjects, one must not forget that the role of state is crucial if not dependent on the use of state power to combat the forces of neoliberalism (Clark 2016: 186).

Bernstein (2014: 1053) echoes this skepticism and said that the role of the state more often than not the “elephant in the room” in the food sovereignty movement. Bernstein notes that the role

of the state is still unexplored in the problematization of food sovereignty. Furthermore, specific policy actions in and possible state interventions to achieve food sovereignty have yet to be carried out by a modern state (Bernstein Ibid: 1054).

However, social movements who are engaged in dealing with the state still believes in the state's role in enabling agrarian transformation. For them, food sovereignty also challenges and transcends the state as "the state has been captured by capital, and the rights of small farmers, and (their) ability to influence state policy (despite their numerical superiority vis-à-vis large farmers) has been abrogated." (Patel and McMichael, 2004 as cited in Gimenez and Shattuck 2011: 129).

The March 2006 declaration of Via Campesina challenges states to respect food sovereignty, but, it is quick to point out to challenge the state system to enable this goal. It states that the "state must play a strong role in policies of agrarian reform and food production." (LVC, 2006: 1).

Statement of the Problem

While there quite a handful of studies on food sovereignty dealing about its diffusion and practices of localization in South American countries like Ecuador (Pena, 2013), Venezuela (Schiavoni, 2015) and Honduras (Boyer, 2010), the growing literature on food sovereignty, however, is limited to other Global South countries. Furthermore, a diffusion of a global political project lies heavily on varying factors: role of flag bearers, historical context, state acceptance or resistance, and the public's reception to a global political project like food sovereignty. Further, social movements have far more reaching dynamics and make-up that need to be explored.

While food sovereignty is still at the core of issues, its dynamism needs to be unpacked, located and contextualized. Thus, the politics of claiming and framing of contentions and meaning meaning of social movements even if it is helpful in unpacking the discourse, offer a rather limited view in understanding the role of social movement in diffusion process. As Montenegro de Wit and Iles (2014: 481) have posited, the concept of sovereignty can be opened up to unravel the various movements, peoples, and communities who have ascribed various meanings to the discourse. Thus, food sovereignty is not a static but a dynamic and living process. It continuous to "build and maintain the relationships between people, institutions, technologies, ecosystems, and landscapes across multiple scales". (Ibid: 482)

Social movements as mediators of diffusion

The literature on social movements and non-governmental organizations have been widening with studies about shifting from single movement to cross movement mobilization literature. Over the years, studies on how movements gravitate towards working together at the local level to transnational movements calibrating their frames of contention and joining alliances and coalitions in order to amplify their frames of contention to relationships and interactions of North-South social movements have significantly gained attention. (Tarrow and Tilly, 2015: 79)

However, the long-standing question of ideological differences, historical contexts and underpinnings and the politics of aid chain especially in relation to a political project like food sovereignty have been remised. Thus, as much as the role of state is crucial to food sovereignty movement, the role of social movements in the diffusion of a highly contested political project like food sovereignty needs to be examined and understood. In the changing dynamics of power relations in the neoliberal order, Pimbert, (2009: 12) has acknowledged that the “more diffused, but networked, power of the growing food sovereignty movement is confronted with many interrelated challenges and constraints.”

Tarrow and Tilly (Ibid: 210), shared the same view as they regard activists as the “connective tissue” between the global and the local. They are the mediators – activators, brokers and advocates – which link the claims both domestic and international. Their pivotal role as mediators of the diffusion process deserves much scholarly work.

Polanyi in his book “The Great Transformation” has posited the idea of a “double movement” as one which emanates from the social and political contestation present among social movements (Polanyi, 1944). Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011: 113) have nuanced this further by implicating Gramsci’s (1971) concept of civil society as an “arena of struggle” wherein the more powerful class exercise their power through hegemonic means implicating culture and ideological coercion.

Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (Ibid: 115) have offered a critical map of the various movements within and outside of the corporate food regime are working towards the fulfillment of an alternative system against the encroachment of corporate food regime on the global food system. They classified it as: neoliberal, reformist, progressive and radical.

However, with differentiated socio-political context, social movement dynamics and historical context of a country, it would be simplistic to use the same categories and labels and apply these in various countries trying to translate food sovereignty.

Looking at the Philippines food sovereignty movements, a more nuanced understanding of the historical context of the Philippines must be undertaken especially on the Philippine Left's history. It offers an interesting case in food sovereignty diffusion. Various groups within the Philippine Left have long been working or are claiming to be propagating food sovereignty. While scholars should be wary of how these groups deployed this concept, it is also interesting to find out the way they make meaning through discourse and action and translate food sovereignty at the national and at the local level.

Given the current context of the Philippines social movements and the way their practices espouse food sovereignty, I have grouped them into the following: a) movements which use food sovereignty and convert the FS frame around their respective main advocacies like land, sustainable agriculture, trade, rural women's issues, etc. I will call them the "**converters**". b) movements who use food sovereignty because they do not have any issues to champion for to begin with. Thus, they amplify and legitimize their movement under the overarching frame of food sovereignty. We will call them as "**claimants**" c) Lastly, there are movements who uses Food Sovereignty to "coopt" the concept and push for their own interests (propaganda) in the mainstream and undermine the main proposition of food sovereignty. I call them as "**coopters**".

However, this is not to say that these different sets of actors are working in silos. There can be overlapping, multiple or parallel, competing frames of contention and forms of action within the food sovereignty discourse which they utilize and deploy in order to realize its diffusion in the Philippines. It is important to unpack and examine their political dynamics, because they are more often than not subject to political dynamics at varying scales. Each have its own political dynamics, ideologies, interests, institutional challenges, sectoral focus, tactics and interaction with the state which merit research, understanding and interpretation. The nature of food sovereignty as a political, ideological and institutionally influenced movement that we need to find answer for.

Research Objectives

This study seeks to examine the question on how a global political project like food sovereignty can be diffused – adopted, adapted, re-contextualized and popularized in countries. This paper seeks to explore a number of questions surrounding the transnational diffusion of food sovereignty through social movements in the Philippines. Further, this paper seeks to add to the growing literature on food sovereignty specifically on diffusions of global projects and the role of social movements and their interactions among themselves in this initiative.

Research Questions

This paper proposes to answer the main question, “How do the contradictions in interpretations/contestations contribute or not to the theory-practice process of food sovereignty diffusion?”

In order to answer this main question, I will also answer the following sub-questions:

1. To what extent do politics and ideology between and among agrarian social movements affect food sovereignty diffusion in the Philippines?
2. As a highly contested and dynamic global political project, what does diffusion process of food sovereignty look like in the Philippines?

Limitations

First, this research paper situates itself in the social movements in the Philippines at the national level and did not delve further into grassroots and local food sovereignty movements that may be or may not be directly link or part of the food sovereignty flag bearers in the Philippines at the national level. Second, when looking at the differentiated nature of social movements, this study excluded class base and origin as one of the key lenses. Lastly, the study is about diffusion and not actual localization (Robbins, 2015) or operationalization of food sovereignty (i.e. creating alternative food networks, etc.)

Further, other players in food sovereignty movements in the Philippines like Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), PAMALAKAYA and Ibon Foundation have refused to grant interviews with the researcher.

Lastly, having a standard set of documents to be examined as part of discourse analysis proved to be challenging. The social movements in the Philippines included in this study have varying types of policy documents, press releases, and other pronouncements that would help the research dig deeper into how they make meaning on food sovereignty discursively.

Positionality of the researcher

Reflecting on my positionality vis-à-vis the topic of this paper, though I did some campaigning and media work on food issues through my three-year stint in Oxfam in the Philippine before coming to ISS, it is only in ISS where I first encountered the term food sovereignty. As I have encountered this concept in my first major course under the Agrarian, Food and Environmental track of my graduate degree studies, I have not yet developed a clear position whether I believe in what the food sovereignty concept brings about. This paper, I hope, would actually enrich my critical thinking on the issues surrounding food both discursively and practically.

In terms of my leftist orientation, I am not part of any leftist groups in the Philippines although in my university formation years I was both invited by opposing camps from the CPP-NPA-NDF wings and in the RJ or rejectionist faction.

Methodology

Using discourse analysis, this paper examines how the various groups pushing for food sovereignty are framing key issues that espouses food sovereignty. Using “framing” and content analysis as tools to see what is included and what is excluded and the relationships between or among conflicting frames, I have examined the various group’s key positions on the land reform law extension in 2008 (CARPER vs. GARB) and key issues that will serve as lens on how these multiple frames converged and diverged. I also examined how the FSMs position themselves in the food sovereignty discourse through their policy positions and issuances on food sovereignty.

Using Scriven’s Argumentation Analysis Table as proposed by Gasper (2003) which I have used in the previous essays I have submitted in the Discourse Analysis and Interpretive Research

Course, I devised five columns with the following headings: Actual Text, Comments on Language (metaphors used), Comments on Meanings, Main Conclusions and Assumptions (both stated and unstated) and Counter Arguments. (See Appendix A). This was done to “clarify and test positions and to think creatively about improving them or finding alternatives, through checking assumptions and counter-arguments” (Gasper, 2003: 18).

When trying to analyze how a policy has been framed, it is important to use methods that will bring about the key persuasions and elements that shape the course of a certain policy. Goodwin (2011) proposed that policies must be viewed as discourse. In doing so, “it captures the ways in which policy shapes the world, how these are framed as societal problems with proposed government solutions” (Goodwin 2011: 168).

Furthermore, analyzing policy as discourse means thinking about alternative ways of developing policy and practice. Thus, Goodwin (2011: 170), proposes that rather than understanding policy as the response to pre-set policy problems, focus must be shifted on how policy problematizes certain issues, effectively constructing them as a ‘problem’.

With this, Goodwin using Bacci’s methodological framework (See Appendix B), proposed to use the ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ (WPR) approach which asks six questions:

1. What’s the problem represented to be?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?
6. How/where is this representation of the problem produced, disseminated, and defended? How could it be questioned, disputed, disrupted?

Aside from examining key texts and frames of contentions in the food sovereignty discourse, interviews with key players in the food sovereignty movements were also conducted: KAISAHAN, KATARUNGAN, FIAN Philippines, Integrated Rural Development Foundation, Pangisda, etc. (See Appendix C)

The next two chapters will provide the analytical frameworks and provide the context and actors as well as overview of the location of my study.

Chapter 2

Social Movements, Transnational Agrarian Movements and Food Sovereignty Diffusion

In this chapter, I will explore the theoretical assumptions and present a theoretical and conceptual map of this study using theoretical frameworks on social movements diffusion, transnational agrarian movements internationalization and food sovereignty internationalization diffusion.

Theoretical and Analytical Map

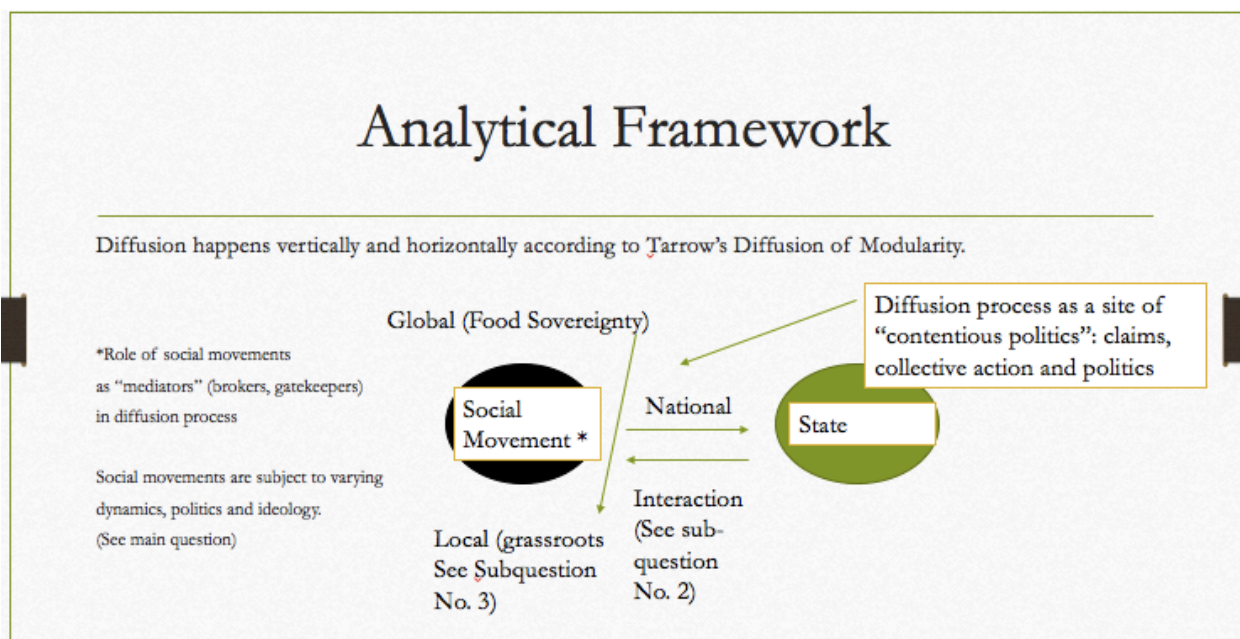


Figure 1 illustrates my theoretical frameworks. Food sovereignty is shown as global political project which undergoes diffusion at the national and local levels. The role of social movement/TAMS is crucial as they take on the role of mediators in the diffusion process.

Diffusion of global political projects

Studies on diffusion of global political project is a key factor in attempting to solve the problematique posed. Tarrow and Tilly (Ibid: 31) have defined diffusion as a “form of

contention, an issue or a way of framing from one site to another.” Further, Tarrow’s Theory of Diffusion of Modularity speaks about the processes of transnational diffusion and on diffusion among the various forms of collective action. Tarrow (2005:101) provided illustrative examples of two movements in different parts of the world: the nonviolent resistance from India to the United States and then to former socialist countries; and the diffusion of the Zapatista solidarity network from Chiapas to North America.

Tarrow (Ibid.) posits that diffusion travels through well-connected trust networks (“relational”), through the media and the Internet (“nonrelational”), and through movement brokers (“mediated”). To answer the main research question of this study, an emphasis on the role of social movements as “mediators” – gatekeepers and brokers are examined.

Thus, if food sovereignty movements are the mediator of the diffusion of food sovereignty at the national level, it is important to look at their relationships, political dynamics and competing narratives and frames of contention in order to unpack their roles as “mediators” of diffusion. Social movements are both sites of mobility and mobilization (Tsing, 2005: 214). Further, movement enables us to “visualize forms of mobility with cultural and political definition” (Tsing, Ibid). Mobilization also refigures identities as it travels and make connections between the global and the local.

To be able for claims and contentions to gain traction, social movement campaigns employ “contentious performances or repertoires of claim-making routines” (Tarrow and Tilly, Ibid). They define contentious repertoires as arrays of performances that are currently known and available within some set of political actors” (Tarrow and Tilly, Ibid). Different repertoires are employed in order to create the ripple the social movements claim such as through discourse like media release, policy papers, press statements and through forms of actions like strikes, slowdowns, lockouts, contract negotiations, and grievance hearings.

With having different nature of movements, transnational agrarian movements (TAMs) have also been subject of various scholarly work on their diffusion process. Borrás and Edelman (2015: 89) have noted various diffusion process and practices in TAMs such as diffusion of protest repertoires, movement practices, and agricultural knowledge. While these types of diffusion are context-specific and may vary from one location to another, adoption and recontextualization

happens as movements reconfigure practices, knowledge and protest repertoires into their own context and situations. (Borras and Edelman, Ibid: 92)

Tarrow (1998: 103) has also posited the idea of that social movements can veer away from the specific types of action whether individually or collectively. This is in accordance to the demands of joining alliances or coalitions in order to amplify their voice using a specific frame of contention. This also enables movements to “shift their focus both outside and inside the political process” (as cited by Tarrow, 1998: 104). As such, issues and struggles that need to be escalated are transformed as repertoires (Tarrow and Tilly 2015: 21) that harmonize identities, social ties and organizational make-ups. From these newly-minted identities, collective claims and ways of “claim making” are crucial.

TAMS: mobilization, intermediation and knowledge politics

Although social movement literature provides us with theoretical handles in looking at this problematique, literature on transnational agrarian movements will further gives us nuanced views on how they behave, relate and identify themselves.

Defined as ‘movements’, ‘organizations’, ‘coalitions’, “networks”, and ‘solidarity linkages’ of the rural poor (Borras and Edelman, 2015: 25), transnational agrarian movements (TAMS) have significantly gained growing influence. Forms of repertoires have put the spotlight on TAMS which other social justice movements have tried to emulate TAMS in their respective repertoires of action. This undue influence of TAMS has gained scholarly works on TAMS looking at the various prisms which can explain the complexities of these highly differentiated constellation of movements (Borras and Edelman, Ibid: 27).

Borras, et. al (2008: 182) have disaggregated units of analysis in order to fully unpacked the dynamics of TAMS. According to the authors, TAMS can be seen by looking at these prisms: i) representation and agendas, (ii) political strategies and forms of actions, (iii) disaggregating and understanding impacts, (iv) TAMS as arenas of action between different (sub)national movements, (v) diverse class origins, (vi) ideological and political differences and (vii) the dynamics of alliance building.

These factors along with political dynamics within social movements intersect and affect how TAMs behaves, deploys forms of discourses and action and how they deliberately or not coalesce with other like-minded social movements. Further, Borrás and Edelman (2015) posited that TAMs must be best analysed and interpreted in relational perspective. Further, TAMs have overlapping discourses, ideologies, and orientations which amplify their competition against one another in membership and mobilisation.

For example, Borrás and Franco (2009: 18) have looked at land rights campaigns and how TAMs behave because of the politics of mobilization. Further, Borrás and Franco (Ibid: 10) articulated that it is crucial to look into the (re)alignment of players in unpacking the politics of mobilization, it is also necessary to “look at the location actors in relevant social relations.” They have examined La Via Campesina’s positioning vis-à-vis its rival groups (external), how it tries to balance interests among its homogenous mass base in various parts of the world (internal), and its relationship with allies and networks and TAMs’ competition for funding and resources.

If the politics of mobilization looks into how TAMs look positions itself within the movement or among with other movements, the politics of intermediation or representation examines TAMs both vertically and horizontally. Borrás and Franco (2009: 29) looked into two “intermediary” spaces which LVC has created. First, they looked into the intermediary role to other intergovernmental organization. Notable case is how LVC has been challenging the status quo such as multilateral institutions and intergovernmental institutions like World Trade Organizations (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc. (Borrás et. al, 2008: 354). While other TAMs have a direct relationships or forms of engagements with these institutions which somehow blurs the line between collaboration and cooptation, LVC has taken a much more critical stance in joining alliances, engaging or even sitting in boardroom meetings with multilateral institutions with INGOs as intermediaries.

Second, politics of intermediation also looks into the question of who gets to represent who and how. Batliwala (2002: 397) has noted that while global civil society organizations and networks claim to represent the issues of the poor or marginalized groups, there is the absence of a “formal or structural links with the mass base.” It is the absence of space which LVC tried to fix when it was starting mindful of the fact that intergovernmental bodies or spaces are claiming to represent the rural poor.

Lastly, knowledge politics also has a profound impact on looking at TAMs. This can be

examined on who gets to dictate the agenda and who has the knowledge (or the power over the knowledge) on substantial issues that need to be articulated in order to frame contention that will hopefully turn into collective action.

Interestingly, the recent changes in the landscapes of struggles brought about by the consolidated capital accumulation has redefined the relationship of TAMs and the broader social movement dynamics in general. How each movement responds to the call of the times have been interesting to look at. Desmarais (2007) have sounded the note for the importance of ‘unity in diversity’ in order to fully grasp convergence among movements. In a few years time, the increasing pressure internally and externally has forced movements to calibrate frames of contentions and to explore possibilities of convergence with other movements whether location-based or issue-based. However, one should be careful in painting a rosy picture of these constellations of convergence and collaborations. The question of who sets the agenda in this interlinked movements is the key in analyzing this emerging phenomenon in social movement literature. This was unpacked by Brent et. al (2015) when they studied the politics of convergence in food movements in the US which spans across resistance efforts for agrarian justice, food justice and immigrant labor justice. While this convergence of movements is situated in a country which have varying issues among like-minded social movements, Tramel (2016), on the other hand, has explored the politics of convergence among movements within the agrarian, food, and climate justice nexus when she argued that the increasing intersection of “carbon sequestration programs have blurred the margins of climate change mitigation and resource grabbing” (Tramel, 2016: 960). Further, the study posits that the emerging nexus redefines how movements that cuts across related issues converge which in effect opens new sets of frameworks, units of analysis in understanding this issue.

Land question on food sovereignty

An important pillar in food sovereignty diffusion is the question of agrarian reform. The Nyeleni Declaration is explicit in this as it states:

“...there is genuine and integral agrarian reform that guarantees peasants full rights to land, defends and recovers the territories of indigenous peoples, ensures fishing communities’ access and control over their fishing areas and eco-systems, honours access and control by pastoral communities over pastoral lands and migratory routes...”

-Nyeleni Declaration (2007:1)

Rosset (2006) has enunciated that FSMs have offered redistributive land reforms to veer away from land concentration and monocultural agricultural arrangements to food sovereignty's dictum of small-scale, peasant, family farm which seeks to be consumed within the community and in the local markets.

McMichael (2009) first articulated the land question on food sovereignty when he said that in the era of land grabbing, it is crucial not only to accommodate the question on how the state determine its own food policy yet it must not also neglect the rights of small-scale producers to their models of production and reproduction. Increasingly, land grabs bring about the question of how land rights is actually being ensured by food sovereignty. In this emerging complexity, McMichael (Ibid: 437) suggested a possible recalibration of frames movements – one which will address the land question on food sovereignty while ensuring and protecting small-scale producer systems like pastoralists, fishers, and forest-dwellers.

Borras et. al (2015) pushed the question further when they proposed to recalibrate discursive politics in the question of land in food sovereignty because land reform offers a rather limited view. Land reform is “necessary, but not a sufficient component of a master-frame for the political project of food sovereignty” (Borras, Ibid: 610).

They proposed to call it land sovereignty, which according to them, “captures the essence of democratizing land control in the context of democratizing the food system” (Borras, 2015: 611)

Digging further into the question of land in food sovereignty, Roman-Alcala (2015) presented the case of offered a specific case on how land sovereignty expands the land politics discourse of food sovereignty. Looking at the Occupy the Farm (OTF) case in the US, he finds it rather limiting since this occupy case is context-specific and may not be applicable to various countries. However, he challenges mass-based movements to continuously defend land physically “through cultural/ideational struggle” Alcala (2015: 556).

Chapter 3

Food Sovereignty in the Philippines: context, politics, actors and ideologies

This chapter will provide context and background of the location of the study, the major actors and players in the food sovereignty diffusion and examine the multiple, overlapping and competing frames of contention which the different movements anchor their legitimacy as mediators of food sovereignty diffusion.

Historical-socio-political context

The Philippines stands at a crossroads of rural development 88 million people live in rural areas where 80% of poor people live in the countryside. (IFAD, 2015). Philippine agriculture can be differentiated into two terms (Borras: 2007:). On one hand, there is the so-called traditional sector includes rice, corn, coconut, and sugar cane which is substantially dominated by landlords. On the other hand are low-volume, high value crops such as banana, mango, pineapple, and aquatic resources. This is where non-traditional landed elites have covered much of their bases. (Borras, Ibid).

Over the years, this trend continued and has largely contributed to the burgeoning inequality that spans across sectors and geographical spaces. (Borras, Ibid). This set-up is a result of the rich history of colonization when land became concentrated in the hands of Spanish colonizers, *frailes*, and local Filipino elites and collaborators. In the long run, this has result to Filipinos losing their formal claims of ownership and rights over these lands. (Constantino, 1975 as cited by Borras: Ibid).

In the post-war years, Philippine agrarian structure continued to be framed along neoliberal framework which further plagues down poverty and inequality especially of those in the agriculture, farmers and fisheries (AFF) sector (Focus on the Global South, 2009: 42). Previous administrations have continued to be tied to neoliberal policies such as Structural Adjustments Programs imposed by multilateral institutions like World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank. The World Trade Organizations (WTO) imposition on agriculture exacerbates this situation such that it plagues down smallholder farmers into poverty and inequality. More recently, quantitative restrictions on rice allow Filipino rice farmers to continue to enjoy protection from cheap imports. This policy allows imports to enter the local market only when

there is an impending domestic production shortage. However, one quantitative restrictions on rice is imposed, imports can come easy as long as importers pay the required tariff. (Bello, 2009: 156)

Over the last four decades, with power and resources concentrated to the hands of the few, a fragmented state and social movements is volatile and prone to be held captive to the hands of self-vested interests. (Focus on the Global South, 2014: 56)

Philippine Left: history, frictions and fragmentation

The Community Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front (CPP-NPA-NDF) has its roots in the early 1900 when peasant leaders started the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) (Kerkvliet, 1998: 10). Writing on the history of the Philippine Left, Caouet (2015) describes the rejuvenated Communist Party of the Philippines which grew tremendously in the 1960s and saw its peak in terms of membership during the Martial Law regime as an organization that "sought to bring a new syntax and grammar of revolutionary struggle to the Philippines" (Caouet, Ibid) Further, he posited that these can be attributed largely to these factors:

"1) a particular 'repertoire of collective action' was gradually created as a syncretic mixture of various forms of protest; 2) the self-defined identity of a 'national-democratic activist' was constructed; 3) a body of relatively accessible ideological and theoretical writings was developed that could be easily communicated to others; and 4) a particular organisational form of revolutionary movement, comprising a vanguard political party, a guerrilla organisation and a set of social movement organisations, was established."

-(Caouet, 2015: 4)

The armed wing New People's Army initiated a protracted people's war in the countryside during the dark period of Martial Law. However, battles were not successful always as they try to carry out the armed struggle tactic. Despite this, with the desperation from the people during the Marcos regime, the movement grew exponentially by the time of Ninoy Aquino's assassination in 1983 and Marcos calling for snap election in 1986. (Keiser, 2010: 78) These two events proved to be catalytic not only to the Community Party of the Philippines' history but to the broader history of the Philippines as well.

The 1986 snap election called for by Marcos proved to be a defining moment for the CPP-NPA-NDF. It used the tactic of boycott in the snap elections which eventually led to it being sidelined in the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution. (Ibid). During the first Aquino administration, the CPP-NPA-NDF members declined and found itself to be in disarray on how to carry out the struggle. By the end of Cory Aquino's term in 1992, split and cracks within the CPP-NPA-NDF began to surfaced and would continue up to now. It gave birth to splits: the RA or those who "reaffirm" their support to the movement and the RJ or those who reject its ideals after its chair Armando Liwanag issued a Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Carry the Revolution Forward (Rocamora, 1998: 123).

The split and further fragmentation of the Philippine Left will have ramifications in agrarian movements and those groups pushing for food sovereignty in the Philippines. The national peasant movement considered to be aligned to the legal (unarmed/above ground) organizations of the CPP-NPA-NDF's Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (National Peasant Movement of the Philippines) broke into two organizations: Demokratikong Kilusan Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (Democratic National Peasant Movement of the Philippines) which later morphed into PARAGOS Pilipinas and Integrated Rural Development Foundation. (IRDF). PARAGOS Pilipinas employs an ideology closer to the Moral Economy-Radical Agrarian Populism perspective and has championed peasants' agenda. while KMP tend to associates what can be called as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist positions. On the other hand, after the split, the IRDF continues to have some affinity of the with Marxist-Leninist positions.

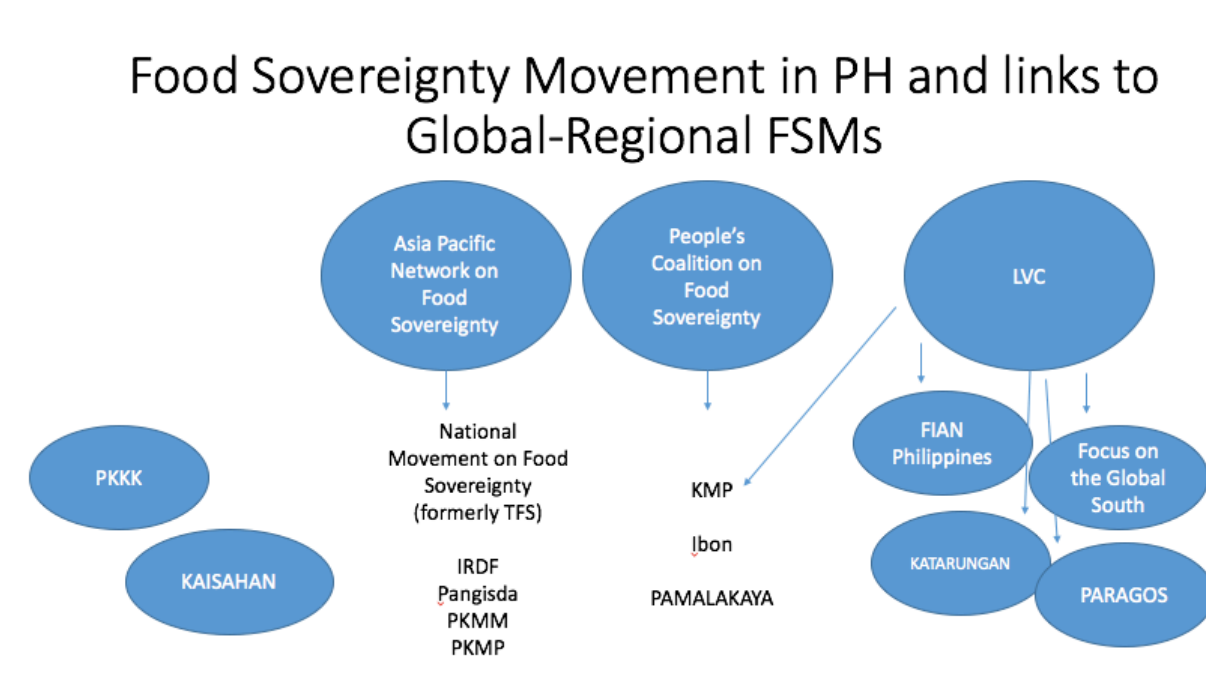
Food Sovereignty Movement: Actors

When La Via Campesina and other peasant organizations started the discourse on food sovereignty in 1996, the movement began to spread at the global level and in effect started to be diffused at the national level as agrarian movements began to surfaced and decentralized to other parts of the world. The movement started in the Americas and Europe and started to spread out to Asia and Africa (Burnett and Murphy, 2014: 1066).

It is an alternative movement that seeks to challenge the dominance of agri-food chains began to surfaced, spread and decentralized to other parts of the world. Edelman and Borras (2015) has noted the political dynamics of transnational agrarian movements from the ground.

Food sovereignty diffusion in the Philippines stands across the backdrop of the Philippine Left's rich history marked with differences in analysis and tactics and factionalism that is key to

understanding the ideological context and political dynamics among food sovereignty movements and their role in the diffusion process.



1. Converters

The first category can be called the circumventors. I use this word to emphasize how they convert the main proposition of food sovereignty towards their own advocacy streams of work. These groups are not unitarily aligned or working under one coalition. However, some of these groups are tied to La Via Campesina at the global level. Thus, food sovereignty is not their main advocacy frame but they use the concept in order to push for their respective issues such as land rights, anti-globalization, trade, rural women, and right to food.

FIAN is a human rights NGO network which is headquartered in Germany. Similar to other (I)NGOs, it is structured into different country programme teams mostly in the Global South. It was in 1999 when FIAN has a joint campaigning with La Via Campesina on land reform at the global level – the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform (Borras and Franco 2009: 13)

In the Philippines, FIAN works on food sovereignty by anchoring it on their global right to food framework. They are the lead proponent in the Right to Adequate Food Framework Act or the

Zero Hunger Bill filed in the Philippine Congress. In 2012, FIAN Philippines convened the National Food Coalition which aims to “challenge the government to integrate various Philippine policies on a right to adequate food framework. (NFC, 2012: 1)

The Pambansang Koalisyon ng Kababaihan sa Kanayunan or PKKK (National Coalition of Rural Women) is composed of loose groups from women fisherfolk and farmers’ organizations in the countryside which works on various issues confronting peasant women in the countryside such as their property rights, access and control. It is considered as the forefront organization of rural women in the Philippines coming from different spectrums including indigenous women’s groups, etc.

Focus on the Global South (FGS), a think-tank, advocacy and campaigning organization founded by activist and thinker Walden Bello in 1995 to “challenge neoliberalism, militarism and corporate-drive globalization”. FGS has been active in international issues like trade such as its role in “STOP WTO Doha Rounds! Campaign”, World Social Forum, etc.

Kaisaban tungo sa Kaunlaran ng Kanayunan at Repormang Pansakaban or Solidarity Towards Countryside Development and Agrarian Reform (KAISAHAN) was founded in 1990 by social democrat leaders who believe that even if the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law in the Philippines has “its flaws, certain provisions can still be maximized for the benefit of small holder famers and farm workers.” (KAISAHAN 2012: 1) As an organization aiming for the emancipation of and to claim their land rights, KAISAHAN frames food sovereignty as a land rights issue and as a food-self sufficiency program (FSSP). KAISAHAN is also the lead convener of the Comprehensive Land Use Program NOW (CLUP NOW!) which pushes for the National Land Use Act which they have been advocating since the early 90s.

PARAGOS Pilipinas, the former Demokratikong Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (DKMP) or Democratic KMP is a breakaway group from KMP which after the split seemed to have veered towards more peasants’ agenda. (Borras, 2007: 232). DKMP broke away from KMP in early 90’s due to ideological differences. However, due to dwindling of aid, only a handful of members remain. Jimmy Tadeo, a known peasant leader in the Philippine social movement continues to lead DKMP which is now known as PARAGOS Pilipinas. Currently, it frames food sovereignty into sustainable agriculture like shunning the use of chemicals. Further, it has strong ties to LVC and is greatly influence by radical agrarian populist positions.

Katarungan (Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services, Inc. or

KATARUNGAN) is a network of rights-based organization at the grassroots level which have agrarian reform as its main advocacy. It aims to ensure that “people have secure and equitable access to productive resources” (KATARUNGAN, 2012: 1) like land by building mass movement of rural poor and supporting their struggle from claiming their land rights to ensuring productivity after they gained tenurial rights.

KATARUNGAN, FGS, PARAGOS Pilipinas, and FIAN Philippines are led by former members and organizers of the legal/above ground/unarmed organizations of the national democratic movement of the Philippines before the split in early 90s. This can explain the partnership, informal coalition, and linkages between and among these organizations.

2. Claimants

We defined claimants as those who “claimed” to have the first crack in food sovereignty propagation or who anchors their campaigns in this concept because they do not have their own frame of contention to begin with. Whether explicitly or implicitly, they jumped into the bandwagon and tried to claim food sovereignty as their own. These groups are headed by the Integrated Rural Development Foundation (IRDF) which members used to be part of the KMP. Due to differences in alliances and tactics, the IRDF broke away from the KMP. Subsequently, other KMP and Pamalakaya members would also form different groups: Pambansang Katipunan ng Makabayang Magbubukid or PKMM (National Movement of Patriotic Peasants) and PANGISDA (FISHERIES), also a breakaway fisherfolk group of Pamalakaya). These groups also belong to the Asia Pacific Network for Food Sovereignty and continues to have some affinity with Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The IRDF is the convener of the National Movement for Food Sovereignty (NMFS) in the Philippines which counts its allied organizations Pambansang Katipunan ng Makabayang Magbubukid (PKMM), Pambansang Kaisahan ng Magsasaka sa Pilipinas (PKMP) and Progresibong Mangingisda sa Pilipinas (PANGISDA) as its members.

IRDF started as an economic support services of the KMP much more familiar with the land occupations in the 80’s staged by peasant groups under the said organization. IRDF’s goal at that time is make “productive land occupied farms and provide financial support through lending programs.” (IRDF, 2008: 1)

If in 1993, the Philippines Left was fragmented because of ideological and historical atrocities popularized by purging in the late 80s to early 90s, the 1998 break was more subdued in the

sense that the divide is more issue-based and tactical. “The debate among peasant groups within the ND faction is on how to approach the issue of globalization like WTO in agriculture, impacts of GATT and tariff reduction on basic food items, etc. Glipo said, *“We stood our ground that we should refocus our efforts to the global discourse on food sovereignty and issues that affect the state of our agriculture directly.”* (Interview 24 June 2016)

It was in 2001 when IRDF formally started its campaign to protect rice farmers from the onslaught of wide importation of rice. In the House of Representatives, legislators have tried to legislate the privatization of the National Food Authority (NFA) which will enable lifting of quantitative control on rice importations. This was when the IRDF started to make noise in their attempt to block the passage of this bill. “We engaged them in debates, thorough analysis through policy papers,” recalls Glipo. (Interview 24 June 2016)

This is also when the Task Force on Food Security (TFFS) came to be. It started as an initiative against the issue of NFA privatization and it eventually took a strong stance against World Trade Organization (WTO) and agriculture encroachment. As a result of this, TFFS eventually strengthen its ties to regional and global platforms. Conveners of TFFS who were interviewed believe that the critique on neo-liberalism was sharpened such that there was a push that time to transform a taskforce on food security to a national movement on food sovereignty which aimed to be a cross sectoral movement not only by farmers but also other sectors influential to the food discourse. *“The shift from food security to food sovereignty came as a result of the realization that market forces can ensure food security but the livelihoods of food producers are undermined since a market-led food system will rely on importation which kills livelihoods of smallholder food producers,”* Myrna Domiguez, policy research officer of IRDF said. (Interview 22 January 2016)

The “claimants” appear to have sporadic yet tactical and programmatic forms of propagation of movement building and initiatives. They claim to be leading movement in food sovereignty in the Philippines for the NMFS is considered as the national coalition on food sovereignty in the Philippines. However, based on interviews with key members of the NMFS, they do not have direct working relationships on food sovereignty with other groups like FGS-PARAGOS-KATARUNGAN-FIAN; KMP-Ibon-Pamalakaya and other food sovereignty groups strongly aligned with the Philippine Left.

3. Copters

We define coopters as those organizations who try to undermine the main propositions of food

sovereignty, coopt the term by supplanting it with their own sets of advocacies which more often than run counter to the tenets of food sovereignty. Along this lines are legal organizations of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), legal peasant organization espousing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position espousing a more orthodox Marxist position by providing emphasis on workers' rights and and campaigning for nationalization of land, establishing of state farms while transitioning to individual ownership (Putzel, 1995; Lara and Morales 1990 as cited by Borras and Franco, 2004: 24)

Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP, Peasant Movement of the Philippines) is a Maoist-inspired legal peasant organization which traces its ideological leanings on land reform “by following a more orthodox Leninist-cum-Maoist position”. It puts value to providing premium to works and the nationalization of natural resources like land and water, campaigning for establishment of state farms instead of family farms which they envision to be able to transition to individual ownership method. (Borras and Franco, 2004: 22)

KMP and its allied organization the think-tank Ibon Foundation and Pamalakaya (National Fisheries Movement) are aligned to the same leaning. These groups are current members of the People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS), a “growing network of various grassroots groups of small food producers particularly of peasant-farmer organizations and their support NGOs.” (PCFS, 2014: 1).

These groups “coopt” food sovereignty by jumping on the bandwagon but actually pushing for their own interests. Thus, confusing as it seems even if they are active members of the PCNFS, they have differing views in land reform. Agrarian populists pushing for food sovereignty will put emphasis on small family farms. However, these “coopters” have always been pushing for nationalization of natural resources including land and water.

Currently, these groups under the three categories stated above are all in one way or another active in the food sovereignty movement in their respective ways. Further, their embeddedness in the rich history and political fragmentation of the Philippine Left greatly affects alliance building and engagement with the government in more ways than one. For example, if in the previous administration of President Benigno Aquino III, some of key allies of the circumventors have been given key positions in the government, the claimants now hold Cabinet minister positions after being appointed in President Rodrigo Roa Duterte's administration.

Blurred and intertwining positions

Orthodox Marxists like Bernstein have been skeptics on food sovereignty. As Bernstein pointed out, food sovereignty movement is “heterogenous, involving multi-class movements, whose assessment always requires a ‘concrete analysis of a concrete situation’ rather than the (‘verificationist’) accumulation and celebration of the ‘emblematic instance.’” (Bernstein 2014: 1057). If we are to look at the case of the Philippines’ food sovereignty movement, why are there groups who claim to be the pioneers of food sovereignty but are actually pushing for their own interests? Why are there movements who jump at the food sovereignty discourse and claim it to be theirs? What are their motivations and persuasions? Why, for example, are there some efforts directly or indirectly related to food sovereignty not linked to the global discourse? Can these be considered as overt, muted, loose movements or their interpretations not within the discourse? Is there really a plurality of voices in interpreting food sovereignty? Is a lack of a homogenous interpretation of food sovereignty a problem which leads to various interpretation and reinterpretation of food sovereignty? For Patel (2005: 665), food sovereignty is a highly contested process which is open to interpretation and re-interpretation. He calls this “big tent politics” where “diversity of opinions, positions, issues and politics” emanate in the food sovereignty discourse.

I have looked into the historical and socio-cultural underpinnings of these various groups which espouse food sovereignty in the Philippines according to the categories stated in the first chapter. The succeeding chapters will see examination of their respective ways of meaning making and utilization of frames of contention with respect to food sovereignty as well as their various forms of action - organizational tactics, strategies, ways of working and competition for resources.

Chapter IV

Food sovereignty movement as a discursive struggle

Examining the discourse

In order to situate the various groups working on food sovereignty in the Philippines and how they position themselves in the discourse of food sovereignty, I will first unpack how proponents of food sovereignty envisioned it to be. Using the Nyeleni Declaration in 2007, I will examine the propositions, the historical context, as well as the silences of how food sovereignty envisions a world free from the dominance of “large-scale, capitalist and export-based agriculture” (Wittman, 2009.)

Using argumentative analysis table developed by Scriven and Gasper (2013) as explained above, I have unpacked food sovereignty and its propositions. (See Annex A and B for complete table).

Looking at the Nyeleni declaration and examining the six pillars of food sovereignty, food sovereignty envisions a system and thinking where the rights and self-determination of women and men farmers are being uphold with regards to their own food production and consumption. It is a movement which seeks to put premium to the food producers and their decision-making. It advocates a world where social, cultural, and ecological relations and concerns on food are “respected, protected and fulfilled”. (Nyeleni, 2007: 1).

Six Principles of Food Sovereignty			
	Food Sovereignty:	is FOR	is AGAINST
1.	Focuses on Food for People:	Food sovereignty puts the right to sufficient, healthy and culturally appropriate food for all individuals, peoples and communities, including those who are hungry, under occupation, in conflict zones and marginalized, at the center of food, agriculture, livestock and fisheries policies;	and <i>rejects</i> the proposition that food is just another commodity or component for international agri- business
2.	Values Food Providers:	Food sovereignty values and supports the contributions, and respects the rights, of women and men, peasants and small scale family farmers, pastoralists, artisanal fisherfolk, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples and agricultural and fisheries	and rejects those policies, actions and programs that undervalue them, threaten their livelihoods and eliminate them.

		workers, including migrants, who cultivate, grow, harvest and process food;	
	3. Localizes Food Systems:	Food sovereignty brings food providers and consumers closer together; puts providers and consumers at the center of decision-making on food issues; protects food providers from the dumping of food and food aid in local markets; protects consumers from poor quality and unhealthy food, inappropriate food aid and food tainted with genetically modified organisms;	and rejects governance structures, agreements and practices that depend on and promote unsustainable and inequitable international trade and give power to remote and unaccountable corporations.
	4. Puts Control Locally:	Food sovereignty places control over territory, land, grazing, water, seeds, livestock and fish populations on local food providers and respects their rights. They can use and share them in socially and environmentally sustainable ways which conserve diversity; it recognizes that local territories often cross geopolitical borders and ensures the right of local communities to inhabit and use their territories; it promotes positive interaction between food providers in different regions and territories and from different sectors that helps resolve internal conflicts or conflicts with local and national authorities;	and rejects the privatization of natural resources through laws, commercial contracts and intellectual property rights regimes.

	5. Builds Knowledge and Skills:	Food sovereignty builds on the skills and local knowledge of food providers and their local organizations that conserve, develop and manage localized food production and harvesting systems, developing appropriate research systems to support this and passing on this wisdom to future generations;	and <i>rejects</i> technologies that undermine, threaten or contaminate these, e.g. genetic engineering.
	6. Works with Nature:	Food sovereignty uses the contributions of nature in diverse, low external input agroecological production and harvesting methods that maximize the contribution of ecosystems and improve resilience	and <i>rejects</i> methods that harm beneficial ecosystem functions, that depend on energy intensive monocultures and livestock factories, destructive fishing practices and other industrialized production

	and adaptation, especially in the face of climate change; it seeks to “ <i>heal the planet so that the planet may heal us</i> ”;	methods, which damage the environment and contribute to global warming.
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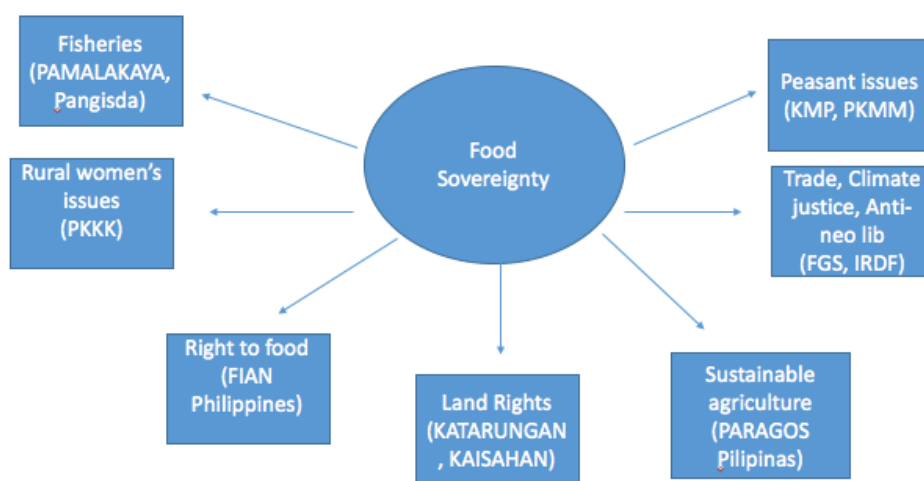
Using the WPR method developed by Goodman which seeks to answer the six questions as stated above, food sovereignty presupposes that there are failures in the current global food system and that other probable solutions or tropes like food security, food justice and other paradigms have failed. It presented itself to be the radical alternative path which is key to resolving the failures of the corporate food regime.

This representation of the problem came at a time when structural adjustments programs became more prevalent coupled with the dwindling support for agriculture and dumping of US food surplus in Central America in the mid-1980’s (Edelman, 2014: 959). Writing on the historicity of food sovereignty, McMichael (2014: 342) have posited that food sovereignty targeted the failures of the global trade system and WTO. In the course of its development and it being a process, it expanded to include agrarian reform and access to land, access to resources, issues on seeds, local and culture knowledge and identity (Nyeleni Food Sovereignty Forum, 2007: 1).

Over the years, the growing appreciation on food sovereignty both as a policy and practice from the academe to movements to the public has brought about its nature as a site of contestation. It has been interpreted and re-interpreted by different groups and individuals with varying agendas due to the broadness, multi-faceted and multi-layered nature of it as a concept. Borrras et. al (2015: 433) have mapped out the different strands of food sovereignty which shows its dynamism: “food politics, agro-ecology, land reform, pastoralism, fisheries, biofuels, genetically modified organisms (GMOs), urban gardening, the patenting of life forms, labour migration, the feeding of volatile cities, community initiatives and state policies, public health, climate change, ecological sustainability, and subsistence rights” (Borreras et al, 2015: Ibid).

Multiple, competing, overlapping frames of meaning-making

Food Sovereignty: Framing of Contention



To contextualize and situate the various voices and propositions of social movements in the Philippines in relation to food sovereignty, I have looked into two groups at the regional and global level which FSMs in the Philippines belong to: the APNF and the PCFS. Being one of the proponents of food sovereignty, we leave out La Via Campesina which is loosely tied to some of the groups under the so-called converters. It is assumed that being one of the proponents of food sovereignty, LVC is loyal to the tenets of food sovereignty as espoused by the Nyeleni Declaration.

Looking at the food sovereignty declarations of these two coalitions, policy pronouncements and historical context on its rationale when it was founded, the two coalitions diverge in more ways than one. APNFS was founded during the 2001 WTO Doha round when agriculture was being debated to be included in the round talks. Its overarching goal is to fight against globalization and trade policies that are not beneficial to smallholder farmers (APNFS: 2009: 1). Thus, a strong emphasis is against unfair trade policies on agriculture can be shown on their texts which put emphasis on words like *democratization, trade liberalization, neo-liberal agriculture and export-oriented*. (APNFS: 2009: 1)

On the other hand, the PCFS was launched during the Bali road in 2004 to popularize the People's Convention on Food Sovereignty. The PCNFS is a network of various grassroots groups of small food producers particularly of peasant-farmer organizations and their support NGOs, working towards a People's Convention on Food Sovereignty.

During the People's Convention in Dhaka, the name "People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty" was adopted due to the growing number of organisations beyond Asia who have been involved in the Food Sovereignty platform. The PCFS emphasizes on the need to create an alternative platform against neoliberalism on food and agriculture policies. (PCFS, 2007:1).

PCFS also advocates the promotion of a globally binding International Convention on Food Sovereignty at the national and international level. PCFS' Primer on Food Sovereignty defines itself as a movement which uses a rights-based approach to achieving food security and safety and is aimed at tackling the problem of hunger and nutrition. (PCFS, 2004: 2). While it uses the LVC definition of food sovereignty, it puts emphasis on words often times deployed by Orthodox Marxists: *people, exploitation, class, landlords, semi-feudal, semi-colonial, industrialization, and imperialism*. These are words not being used by LVC.

	Sustainable Agriculture	Land Rights	Rural Women	Fisherfolk	Anti-neoliberalization	Agri on Trade/WTO	Peasant Issues	Climate justice	Right to Food
KMP		✓(GARB)			✓(Imperialism)		✓		
IRDF		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
PAMALAKAYA				✓					
PKMM	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
PANGISDA				✓	✓	✓		✓	
FGS		✓(CARP)			✓	✓		✓	
KATARUNGAN		✓(CARP)							
PARAGOS	✓								
IBON									
FIAN		✓(CARP)							✓
PKKK		✓(CARP)	✓						
KAISAHAN		✓(CARP)							
IBON									✓

1. Converters

Foodfirst Information and Action Network (FIAN) International positions food sovereignty as an issue of right to food since they have been doing work on the right to food after conducting a thorough analysis of the agrarian issues in the Philippines according to Reyes (Interview, 20 June 2016). As a global network, FIAN Philippines also adopts this framework in its policy propositions, campaigns and issuances. The issues that the organization have been working for

like land reform, zero hunger bill, land rights, nutrition, are framed as a right to food issue. In its key documents uploaded in its website, though food sovereignty was not explicitly stated, the overarching frame of contention it utilizes is the right to adequate food.

Focus on the Global South has been working actively on food sovereignty owing to its influence of one of its founder Walden Bello who is an anti-globalisation and liberalisation which are both the forces which food sovereignty was shaped upon and greatly go against with. FGS has explored food sovereignty along the lines of *climate justice*, *deglobalization* and *trade*. This was evident in their policy positions on food sovereignty which they have articulated, published and launched in various fora and have been uploaded in their website.

The framing of food sovereignty linked to climate justice issue can be inferred as an answer of FGS to the growing call for movements to create synergies between issues due to dwindling of aid and pressure to align issues to what has been touted to be the buzzword in the development circle. In 2009, for example, international government organizations have been trying to link food and agricultural issues to climate change especially in a key moment like the failed Copenhagen climate deal.

Other organizations within the category of “converters” have various frames of contention which they have actively been working on for years even before they jumped into the food sovereignty framing. For example, Paragos Pilipinas, an organization which sprung from the breakaway group Demokratikong Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (DKMP) has been active in sustainable agriculture and organic way of farming. A closer examination of its pronouncements on food sovereignty will reveal focus on sustainable agriculture using “organic farming” and avoiding the use of chemicals in farming inputs – principles which the Nyeleni declaration on food sovereignty has been upholding. This has also been validated by Jimmy Tadeo, one of its leaders, in an interview:

“We have been using chemicals in agriculture and farming since the multinationals and the IRRI (International Rice Research Institute) introduced it. This has resulted to us having 91% of our rice fields unproductive. This is the reason why PARAGOS is against use of pesticides in farming.”
(Interview, 23 August 2016).

Similarly, other groups like PKKK, KAISAHAN and KATARUNGAN are not explicitly using “food sovereignty” in their discursive struggles. However, they are still working with the more visible food sovereignty movements in the Philippines in this advocacy. Loose as it seems, their

affiliation with the food sovereignty discourse is not that apparent due to their stronger attention towards their main advocacy issues like rural women for PKKK, land rights and agrarian reform for both KATARUNGAN and KAISAHAN. The invisibility of food sovereignty in their websites, policy pronouncements, etc. are more pronounced than with other groups under this category or to groups belonging to other categories, too.

Social movements' calibration from their main frames of contentions to the buzzwords in the development sector has been studied by various scholars. Brent et al (2015) and Tramel (2016) have studied how movements become depoliticized because of the "flow of capital from foundations into food movements" (Guthman 2008: 1171 as cited by Brent et al, 2015: 625) Further, neoliberalism limits the conceivable forms of action because "it limits the arguable, the fundable, the organisable." (Ibid). It can explain why movements tend to shape their actions on what issues funders are working on.

2. Claimants

On the other hand, IRDF has positioned itself as a grassroots-led movement for food sovereignty treating FS as one of its pillars. A closer scrutiny of its issuances on FS published in its website shows the words: *trade, WTO, globalization, liberalization, market-driven, corporate-friendly agriculture*— words and phrases that speak about the time when IRDF began to actively fight against WTO agricultural policies in 2001. Last year, NMFS released a statement which called for a united front that is "pushing for food sovereignty and climate justice; fighting neoliberal policies on agriculture and fisheries sector; and dismantle the dominance of corporate agribusiness in the global food sytem." (NMFS, 2015: 1). The document clearly denounces trade agreements which further plunge smallholder farmers and fishers into poverty while pushing for small family farms and organic farming.

3. Coopters

In its policy document on food sovereignty, think-tank Ibon Foundation has framed food sovereignty as a right to food issue. In its document titled "Ibon Primer on Food Crisis and Food Sovereignty", it laid down its position on food sovereignty. It is framing food sovereignty similar to how FIAN frames it to be. However, with Ibon's role as the think-tank among the coopters, the use of terms like *genuine, pro-people, collectivization* are used. Although it uses the right to food approach as its main frame of contention in food sovereignty, Ibon Foundation was not part of the Zero Hunger Bill which was spearheaded by FIAN Philippines.

As the national democratic movement which unites fisherfolk movements in the Philippines, PAMALAKAYA has taken positions along with other allies like IBON Foundation. While it has not produced clear policy propositions on food sovereignty unlike IBON. In the press releases that were examined, PAMALAKAYA and KMP have always been reiterating their message on words like *genuine agrarian reform*, *pro-people*, *nationalization of natural resources*, *national industrialization*, etc. Further, conspicuously absent in any documents or text in KMP's official website is food sovereignty.

In a joint statement issued a few years ago on World Food Day, the coopters along with other allies under PCFS issued a call on food sovereignty. However, it only uses food sovereignty in the title. There is no reference in food sovereignty or its definition in the body of the text. Further, as groups who tend to associate themselves to the MLM movement in the Philippines,

In looking at these multiple, competing, overlapping, parallel, converging and diverging frames of contention, it strengthens the argument that food sovereignty is dynamic, expanding and not static. As Edelman et. al (2014: 264) has posited the future of food sovereignty relies on specific actors' involvement, however, its definition is constantly evolving much like its future.

The last chapter have established that food sovereignty diffusion has been greatly influenced and embedded in the historical context of social movements and relations and their own (re)interpretations vis-à-vis the tenets of food sovereignty as espoused by Nyeleni Declaration.

The following chapter will explore the intersection and interplay of other factors that affect the relational dynamics of food sovereignty movements in the Philippines: political opportunity structure, absence or presence of alliances-building, levels of interactions with the State and resource mobilizations.

Chapter V

Food sovereignty as a material struggle

Politics of aid and resources

With the shifting development priorities at the global level, TAMS have also been subjected to the “politics of aid.” Edwards (2007: 40) has noted the effect of aid chain in social movement mobilisation and resources. Borrás and Edelman (2015: 106) have traced the various nodes of relationships of (I)NGOs-TAMS that are key to unlocking the vertical dynamics between these sets of distinct bodies. Simply put, to categorize a funder-receiver relationship to the NGO-TAMs dynamics is too simplistic. There are tensions in their relationships such as: 1) NGOs’ representation of peasants; 2) NGOs’ tendency to influence the organization and ideological make-up of an organization and; 3) NGOs’ tendency stay on the background after funding TAM (Borrás and Edelman, Ibid: 114).

Thus, these factors and the scrambling for funds and resources forces movement them to either reshape their campaigns and advocacies into what’s conceivable (See Brent et. al., 2014) or to form coalition and alliances which affects inter-TAMs dynamics, tensions and relationships.

More recently, the framing of food sovereignty issues as a climate change issue reflects this trend. Interviewees have noted that when climate change became a buzzword in the late 90’s onwards, they have began calibrating their calls and campaigns on food as a climate justice issue.

Alliance-building is a crucial factor in order to make use of the available resources from multilateral and donor agencies interviewees have noted. However, the historical fragmentation and political dynamics continue to shape alliance-building and joint mobilization of FSMs in the Philippines. As one interviewee has noted, some NGOs are notorious in credit grabbing such that even if a joint campaigning was agreed, these certain NGOs will try to get more publicity and mileage against their partners under a coalition’s joint activities. However, there would also be a tendency for these groups to work in silos and compete with one another for funds and resources.

Because of scrambling for funds, social movements also have variegated levels of engagements with the State. They have competing claims on how they perceive the state as a pivotal role on pushing for food sovereignty. FIAN Philippines, for example, sees political engagement as a means to achieve social change and as a building bloc of radical reforms.

On the other hand, coopters have been deploying various terms of engagement with the state namely political propaganda, community organising and political education especially of peasants in the countryside. However, these activities are not tactical and strategic because of the absence of a clear and definitive or shifting strategies with the State. It was only until recently when Leftist leaders nominated by the CPP-NPA-NDF were appointed by the Duterte administration They have started participating in mainstream politics through the party-list system and had a history of shifting yet unprincipled alliances to winnable presidential candidates in the succeeding elections.

The presence or absence of direct or indirect relationships with the state greatly influences food sovereignty diffusion at the national level. Their terms and levels of engagement with the government reshape the dynamics and relationships of social movements who come from different poles of the Philippine Left.

For the so-called converters, the coopters are engaging the government for tactical and political opportunity purposes especially in espousing their ideology. For example, most of the groups under the converters have all refrained from getting funds from the government as co-implementors of projects. This self-restraining policy for them is their preemptive move to veer away from being coopted by the State. Mary Ann Manahan of Focus on the Global South has noted that it is important for movements to open the space of engagement with the government and be a bridge among groups working on food sovereignty.

“In a country where issues are somehow blurred or are not exclusive to certain movements, it is important for movements to frame and reframe contentions and use this for political opportunity that will help espouse the food sovereignty movement.”

(Interview 6 August 2016)

The question on land on food sovereignty

Personalities interviewed for this study believed that the arena of land reform and comprehensive land use policy are crucial in achieving food sovereignty. Thus, for them, there is a need to come up with a united front against elite landowners and lobbying of real estate magnates who dominate and pervade the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Philippines. As what Glipo remarked:

“Land is directly related to food and all the economic and political questions on food production. The question of whether you will produce food for production or family consumption will come into play when you discuss the issue of land. Are you going to with the global production or alternative models like ecosystem?” (Interview 24 June 2016)

As what Jimmy Tadeo of PARAGOS Pilipinas has articulated in the interview:

“We must organize and provide political power and spaces to farmers – from the rural villages to towns to provinces to region and to national. This will dictate the tempo of food sovereignty.” (Interview 23 August 2016)

Reyes has noted that for FIAN, land rights is heavily linked to attainment of food sovereignty. Thus, it is urgent to preserve the gains which the Philippine agrarian justice have achieved for the past five years. This has also been echoed by Anthony Marzan, Executive Director of KAISAHAN:

“Central to the issue of food sovereignty is land struggle. When you ensure land rights, you ensure food security. Even then, land rights advocates have been fighting against land conversions prominent of these are land conversions to skirt around land distributions,” (Interview 13 June 2016).

However, because of differences in ideologies and historical fissures, and the politics of mobilization, the coopters, claimants and converters have different stands and were not united in land reform debate that ensued during the land reform extension law in the Philippines two years ago. Converters called for the extension of the law through the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program with Reforms and Extensions (CARPER). On the other hand, the coopters called for passage instead of a Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill (GARB) which seeks to have “free land distribution for the peasants and nationalization of agricultural lands.” (Interaksyon, 2015: 1). This position is a stark contrast to what is supposed to be stands of food sovereignty advocates: establishment of family farms. For the groups under the converters, the CARP has some provisions which can still be work on.

Task Force Mapalad which is one of the peasant groups supported by the converters believed that although CARP had its flaws, many peasants in sugar plantations in Western Visayas, for example, were able to break free from bondage of slavery (Interaksyon, 2015: 1). Danny Caranza of KATARUNGAN echoed this as his organization and groups under the converters supported

the CARPER during the land reform law extension issue. “Although CARPER has its flaws, there are ways to work within the law and maneuver the system” (Interview 20 June 2016).

Groups led by the claimants like the IRDF has taken a more critical view on the CARPER according to them. While the organizations under NMFS which IRDF convenes have criticisms against CARPER, they are not solely for GARB and offers a more nuanced view of land distribution. IRDF has convened Kilusan para sa Tunay na Repormang Agraryo (Movement for Genuine Agrarian Reform) which drafted and filed separate bill aside from GARB and CARPER. Glipo remarked, “*Our framework was how to break the monopoly of landowners? How do we transfer power from landlord to peasantry?*” (Interview 24 June 2016)

To further illustrate the complexity of the dynamics, “circumventors” led the Agrarian Reform NOW (AR NOW!) and Sulong CARPER (Forward CARPER), coalitions formed during the enactment of the land reform extension in the Philippines. On the other hand, “coopters” refused to be part of these coalitions. It took an institution like the Philippine Catholic Church to come up with a united front for groups pushing for land reform through AR NOW! and Sulong CARPER observers and interviewees in this study have commented. Tarrow and Tilly (2015: 152) have noted this phenomenon as social appropriation, a crucial factor in contentious politics – “solidarity built on the country’s most legitimate and most powerful institution” Tarrow and Tilly (2015: Ibid). In the case of the Philippines, the Catholic Church has presented itself as one of, if not, the most legitimate and most powerful institution such that it was able to bring warring factions of the Philippine Left into one umbrella coalition for land reform.

Inter-TAMs and Intra-TAMs linkages: mobilization and representation

Politics of mobilization (Borras and Franco 2009: 27) among social movements in the Philippines is imminent not only because of historical split and the scramble for resources and aid. How each of them see themselves within the vast constellation of food sovereignty players is crucial in digging deeper to the “material struggle” of food sovereignty diffusion.

Most of the interviewers agree that for food sovereignty to be able to flourish in a country like the Philippines, the role of movements as “mediators” are pivotal since they serve as the link between the global and the local. *“In the Philippines, the concept of food sovereignty became popular in early 2000s because of the emerging threat of the WTO in agriculture of developing countries. Farmers and peasants*

have realized that our fight here is for the sovereignty of food against neoliberal global forces like agribusiness corporations, institutions like WTO, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Thus, solidarity is key in order to fight neoliberal policies that trample the rights of food producers,” said Walden Bello of the Focus of Global South (Interview)

For Ric Reyes of FIAN International, food sovereignty is the “solidarity of sectors in an alternative movement towards building a new world.” He then cited the case when IRDF started Task Force Food Sovereignty in mid-2000s which eventually scaled up at the regional level via the Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty, other FS movements or organizations working on FS issues were not included (i.e. FIAN Philippines, Katarungan). Likewise, Reyes has pointed out that TFFS and the APNFS member organizations do not include rural and farmer organizations.

Aside from inter-TAMS relationship and how they position themselves vis-à-vis other movements (external), there is also a need to fully and seamlessly the link between the national and to the local level or to the grassroots movement in the ground. Working in solidarity with peasant organizations who are more exposed to the issues surrounding food seemed to be the crucial factor. The question of who gets to represent who and how or the politics of representation come into play (See Borras and Franco 2009 discussion in the previous chapter). Politics of intermediation or simply put gatekeeping of national movements to local partner organizations also plays a major factor.

These were shown in the interviewees for different personalities regardless of affiliations have noted that for food sovereignty movement to gain traction in the Philippines, the voices and real concerns of the peasants must be heard and included. As one interviewee Ka Jimmy Tadeo has pointed out, *“food sovereignty is about giving voices to the farmers so that they can realized their dreams of having control over production and the market. It is about them showing that food sovereignty is alive and is a dynamic movement.”* (Interview 23 August 2016)

As Patel (2009: 36) has argued, at the core of food sovereignty is the recognition that social change must be done and in order to do ensure that the right food policies will be in placed is to “require that everyone be able to substantively engage with those policies”.

Is there really a food sovereignty movement in the Philippines?

A question also begs to be asked if there is indeed an FS movement in the Philippines. Based from the interviews conducted, the FS movement in the Philippines has been working on different strands of FS or FS-related issues like seeds, GMOs, land rights and land reform, trade, food in relation to climate change impacts to agriculture, etc.

For example, FIAN Philippines' work on food sovereignty has been marked by framing the issue as an issue of right to food. FIAN's Ric Reyes, one of the interviewees in this study has noted that FIAN Philippines' food sovereignty framing can be attributed to how it frames food issues at the global level. Reyes, who has been the vice-president of FIAN Philippines since 2010, believes that putting peasants at the heart of the struggle for agrarian justice is central to the discourse for food sovereignty. He said:

“The issues we are dealing with FIAN have always been intrinsically linked to land struggle and land rights. At that time, we haven't really thought about food sovereignty but right to food/food security like rice self-sufficiency, peasant control in production and land use. Thus, we cannot alienate peasants in the issue of food sovereignty,” (Interview 20 June 2016).

In the case of PKKK, although it has established a concrete network and has solidified itself as a platform for raising rural women's issues, it has yet to fully embrace food sovereignty issues as a whole. An interview with Ka Trining Domingo of PKKK revealed that the rural women's network focuses its work on basic issues of rural women and that putting rural women's issues first will eventually turn the tide for food sovereignty.

For IRDF, helping farmers realize that they can have their own food distribution system is also crucial in how they put food sovereignty into practice. For instance, IRDF is supporting Yolanda-affected farmers in Leyte to have their own food distribution system through community-supported agriculture schemes and community markets. *“We want the farmers to feel that they have the capacity to supply local consumption – from land to food production to food distribution,”* said Glipo (Interview 24 June 2016)

As an organization which mainly anchors its FS work in land rights frame, KAISAHAN sees FS as helping those farmers who are awarded their Certificate of Land Ownership Award (CLOA) will have support services to supply food for their families and the community. *“Our food sovereignty work is empowering in the sense that farmers will realize that the food sovereignty movement is alive and that their goals of having their own control in the market and in production are tied to this work.”* (Interview

13 June 2016)

While this can be seen as social movements working on silos, other scholars like Tarrow (1998: 74) will interpret this as something pragmatic and tactical when social movements see relationship with other groups or to a main frame (e.g. food sovereignty) as something which they can utilize for political opportunity structures for claim making and legitimacy.

As a global political project, food sovereignty diffusion is part of contentious politics – “an arena which involves interactions in which actors make claims bearing on other actors’ interests, leading to coordinated efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs, in which governments are involved as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties. Contentious politics thus brings together three familiar features of social life: contention, collective action, and politics.” (Tarrow and Tilly, 2015: 7).

Hence, social movements’ tendency to focus work on various singular strands can also have multiple and competing frames and forms of actions as shown in the earlier chapter. This shows how food sovereignty is subject to constant and varying (re)-interpretations and different contexts at the national level. As the so-called “mediators” of this idea, social movements – their identities and interactions defined by class, ideology, politics and history and their political dynamics within themselves and with the State will further define food sovereignty at the national level.

A fluid, elastic, and dynamic food sovereignty movement

Collaborations create new interests and identities, but not to everyone’s benefits. As Tsing 2005: (245) puts it, differences enliven social mobilizations much like it engages political abstractions by contextualizing and localizing frames. “Difference is thus both a pre-established frame for connection and an unexpected medium in which connection must find local purchase” (Tsing, 2005: 13). The issue of whether movements will be receptive to innovations or be open to collaborations with non-familiar actors or not is a question that needs to be answered by FSMs in the Philippines in the years to come.

However, most of them agreed that for food sovereignty movements to tap the consciousness of consumers to issues of food sovereignty they must be ready to have self-introspection. Others have specifically noted the fact that social movements in the Philippines have the tendency to stay in their comfort zones and not introduce innovations in their practices and ways of working.

There is also the tendency to stick with usual partners for different programs and projects.

Will innovations and collaborations bring about new set of leaders that will propagate, build movements to gain traction for public mobilization? Glipo remarked, *“There is a growing realization that food sovereignty is intrinsically linked to all other developmental issues in our society. Thus, there is a need to further popularize this struggle by harnessing the potential of the youth,”* (Interview 24 June 2016)

Manahan shared the same by saying the food sovereignty struggle among other struggles can be depoliticized away from the factionalism and dynamics of food sovereignty movements in the Philippines by tapping the youth sector. *“The younger generation do not have carry baggage of the past unlike the older generation of activists,”* she said. (Interview 6 August 2016)

Historically, the inherent fragmentation of FS movements in the Philippines have greatly affected how a global political project like food sovereignty is being carried out at the national level. Relationally, the multi-layered and multi-faceted nature of diffusion and how the global links to the national or the national links to the local and the dynamic interactions among those three nodes (global-national-local) continue to (re)shape food sovereignty diffusion.

* * *

The last two chapters have given us a more detailed view of food sovereignty movements in the Philippines. First, it is subject to various (re)interpretations disaggregated into three categories I have created. A critical understanding of the fragmentation of the state and society and their interaction and the historical rootedness of this fragmentation will reveal that food sovereignty is also a dialogue subject to various interpretations of movements and the world. Second, food sovereignty diffusion is subject to contentious politics – mobilization, resources, intermediation. Whether there is indeed a food sovereignty movement in the Philippines or none is not the tasked of this study. However, the future of food sovereignty lies in the current actors and how they act in this critical juncture - their openness to collaborations and innovations in putting food sovereignty into practice and how will they “mediate” food sovereignty through time and place to a new set of leaders.

Chapter VI

Conclusion, Reflections, and Recommendations

This study started with a question that seeks to answer the problematique, “how do the various overlapping and multiple (re)interpretations of food sovereignty contribute or not to its theory-practice process?” To answer this main research question, several sub-questions are formulated. This study has shown that while political dynamics of FS movements are key to understanding on how does diffusion look like at the national level, FS movement in the Philippines is made more complicated by the historical differences and fragmentation of the Philippine Left that indirectly dictate the way their frame contentions and deploy forms of actions.

Historical approach and socio-political context

Schiavoni (2016) has posited that an H-R-I framework is key to unpacking the inherent contradictions in food sovereignty construction. Applied in the food politics of Venezuela, a historical framework allows us “how food politics connect to the broader politics of the country (Schiavoni, Ibid: 26).” Further, it reaffirms the notion that food sovereignty spans across time and space.

Semi-structured interviews provided us with varying answers that needs to be thoroughly examined and analyzed. One of the key findings in this study is that fragmentation of social movements in the Philippines affect food sovereignty movement at varying scales. One interviewee has noted the fact that the “split” between Reaffirmists and Rejectionists group has indeed affected the alliance-building of food sovereignty movement.

“The problem with the communist Left is that they have this attitude that it is either you are with them or against them. They do not want to work with us.” (Interview, 26 June 2016)

The long-standing friction between different factions of the Philippine Left marred by a past replete with blood and betrayal continues to haunt the Philippine social movement until today as shown from interviews. Instead of coalescing in campaigns around food sovereignty issues, the various social movements are working in silos using frames of contention and deploying forms of action that sometimes overlapped or diverged.

As a global political project, food sovereignty's diffusion and internalization lies in social movements and their own dynamics and interaction with the state at the national level. In the case of the Philippines, it is subject to the internal political dynamics and deep-seated history of the Philippine social movements that affect how it is being carried by flag bearers.

A closer scrutiny of the policy documents and positions of the alliances at the regional level yielded a more nuanced view on the diffusion of food sovereignty at the national level. However, these were verified by face-to-face interviews conducted with the different actors and players in the food sovereignty movement in the Philippines.

Using discourse analysis, I have examined key documents of various food sovereignty movements at the regional and national levels. I have found various interpretations and re-interpretations of food sovereignty. Their interpretations varied and at some point have competing claims. I have looked into the various issues within the discourse of food sovereignty and have examined the different frames of contention in which the three categories of FSMs in the Philippines position themselves within the discourse of food sovereignty.

These findings are helpful as I search for answers to the research questions and assumptions provided at the beginning of this paper (See Chapter 1.4).

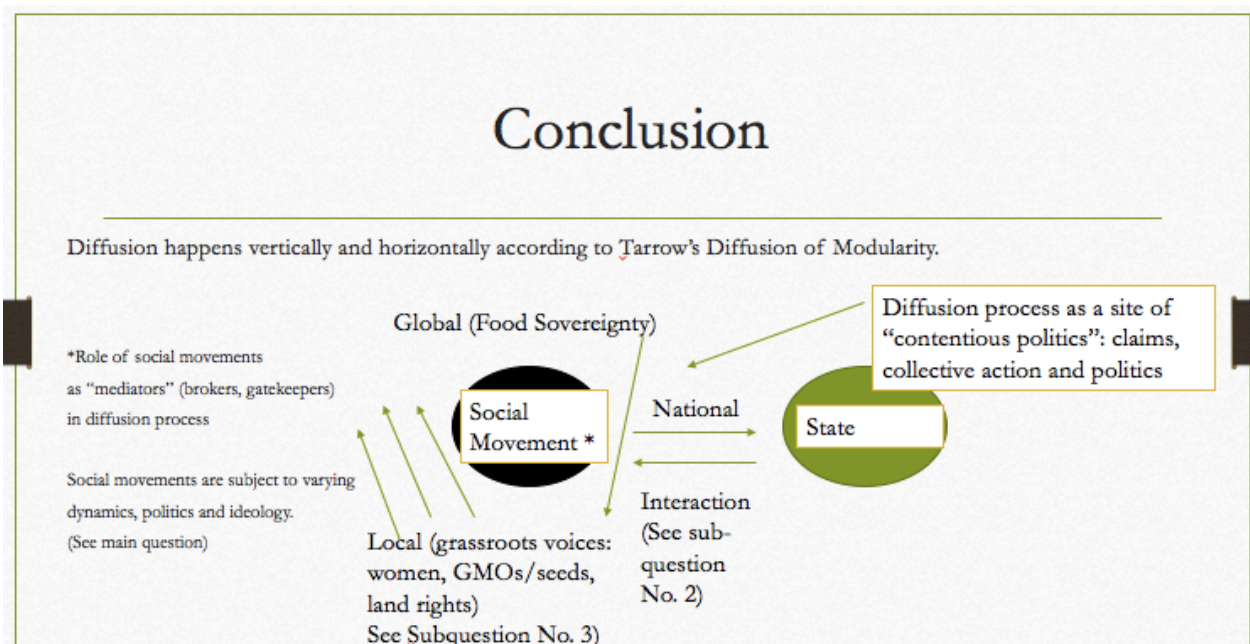
Relational and interactive paradigms

Global political projects like food sovereignty is subject to various interpretations which in one way or another contribute to the overlapping and competing frames of contention which underlie social movements. To a certain extent, the politics of (re)-interpretation and meaning-making plays a big role on the diffusion and translation of a concept.

The interviews have showed a more complex relationships and dynamics of social movements – flag bearers of food sovereignty in the Philippines. This stems from a storied and colorful history which intersects with personal lives and feuds between movement leaders. As what Borras and Edelman (2015: 62) have argued for, a more nuanced understanding and analysis of relationships within and among TAMS must be conducted. In unpacking the complex web of relations, we can understand why certain TAMS deploy actions, frames contentions and conduct specific ways of working with state and non-state actors.

To simplify relationships between TAMs as merely a matter of turf or battle for resources is to a disservice to the rich and literature of movement building and politics. (Borras and Edelman 2015: Ibid). Further, food sovereignty movement in the Philippines is situated in contentious politics which involves “complicated social processes”. (Tarrow and Tilly, 2015: 28)

As a conclusion, this study has shown that food sovereignty is also a dynamic dialogue and discourse between and among flag bearers with different ideological persuasions. The differences in the (re)interpretations of food sovereignty contribute to its theory-practice recursive process of diffusion of which contestations and struggles both discursive and materialistic are present and imminent. The findings of this study and the further research questions it has posed will help shape and re-shape food sovereignty process both as policy and practice.



Food sovereignty movement in the Philippines - a way forward

The semi-structured interviews also provided us with a more critical approach on the steps that need to be taken first before food sovereignty can be achieved in the Philippines. Ensuring land reform appeared to be crucial in order to achieve food sovereignty in the Philippines.

For food sovereignty to be achieved in the Philippines, a major factor here aside from fully achieving land rights is the unity of social movements working on food sovereignty in the

Philippines. The assumption into power brought about by the Duterte administration of one of the factions of the Philippine Left who are bearing the food sovereignty flag is seen as a step towards the right direction in pushing for food sovereignty and agrarian reform issues. The skepticism of other factions of social movements in this appointments in key social services post will continue to haunt the food sovereignty movement in the Philippines. Will Mariano's appointment as Agrarian Reform Minister be the catalyst for change in the dynamics and fragmentation of movements? Or will it further widen the friction?

Gravitating towards issues related to or within food sovereignty can also be one of the key which social movements can work on in order to unite towards food sovereignty. The interplay and compounding effects of environmental degradation owing to capitalism's stronghold on natural resources like land and water, climate change and its effects to agriculture will increasingly affect how movements shape and frame their campaigns and advocacies around food sovereignty (Borras, 2016: 21). As Claeys and Delgado (2015) have noted agrarian movements are increasingly framing their current narratives as "agrarian issues in the era of climate change." This can also be owed to the consolidation of capital accumulation wherein capitalism with state regulation exemplified in land and water grabs of fertile lands or forestry through market regulated schemes like REDD+ have sounded the note for an urgency towards solidified efforts and convergence between agrarian and food movements and environmental and climate groups. Uniting around the broader framework of food sovereignty and surrounding issues and uniting with food sovereignty movements is a task which needs to be undertaken by food sovereignty movements not only in the Philippines but also around the world.

Social movements and the politics of aid as Edwards (2007: 41) has emphasized is present among social movements – national, local, networks and coalitions, people's and grassroots organizations. The dwindling resources of donor agencies, political and social upheavals which redefine priorities both at the State level and in development projects will continue to affect how movements work. Thus, social movements must be able to master the ability to calibrate campaigns and policy advocacies to the latest issues or "flavor of the month" in the development discourse. These, alongside, trying to balance the real issue (food sovereignty) vs. key frames of contention (land rights, smallholder farmer rights, etc.) which an overarching issue can be unpacked, dissected, magnified and popularized. The balance of power and the struggle for resources will continue to shape the way FSMs behave within their existing frames of contention. Whether movements will respond creatively respond to the call of the times or not is

a question which food sovereignty movement is facing and needs to be answered in the coming years.

As what Anna Tsing (2005) has written in her book “Friction” on environmental movements,

“The possibilities of thinking globally have inspired social movements of all kinds to imagine global causes. Yet global politics creates special problems. Social justice goals must be negotiated not only across class, race, gender, nationality, culture and religion but also between the global south and the global north, and between the great mega-cities of the world and their rural and provincial hinterlands.”

(Tsing, 2005: 245)

Implications for future research

Food sovereignty is a site of contentious politics both discursive and material struggles. As Wittman (2009: 819) has argued, various factors like politics, class and ideological differences within and between movements are not only present in representation and how movements exercise accountability. More often than not, cracks are also present through material or ecological practices.

At the global level, there is an overarching main frame of contention but when diffused nationally and globally, dynamics and ideological differences of social movements as mediators and brokers change the way it is being popularized. Furthermore, internal dynamics of social movements and relationships with the State will continue on how it will measure up to its role as brokers of this global political project. Future studies about this topic can also explore the interactive approach as espoused by Schiavoni (2016: 31) which will dig deeper to the state-society interaction. Will they be coopted? Will they get funds from the State through development projects? Will they accept positions in the government? And if so, will they see it as tactical, strategic or merely for propaganda purposes?

Arsel & Angel, 2012; Clark, 2013; Godek, 2013 have offered compelling examples of state incorporation or co-optation of movements which can vary from being appointed in government posts to “selling out” to various interests to watering down reform-oriented policy stances and to being compromised with their principles. This is another aspect of social movement literature that future research can add into.

Based on the findings of the text analyses and individual interviews, it became clear that actors within the social movement could not be simply grouped accordingly to the dichotomies or labels or even the categorization that this research utilized. There are competing, parallel, converging, diverging, overlapping frames of contention and forms of action which FSMs in the Philippines employ and deploy. In order to see the bigger picture, it will be good to further expand the scope of the documents to be examined, the interviewees and the scope of the research questions.

What this study has found out is a more nuanced view of food sovereignty at the national or at the local level, its constant interpretation and re-interpretations, adoption and diffusion are often times subject to varying contexts and conditions and dynamics among the movement, the State and the public. While a more comprehensive research about how exactly diffusion of development and political projects like food sovereignty is can be further explored, this paper situates the pivotal role of social movements as mediators and brokers of diffusion process.

As we have seen in this paper, food sovereignty diffusion is a recursive process horizontally and vertically. These nodes are within and among themselves sites of discursive and material struggles. The ruptures from the global to the national and to the local and vice-versa is a process which can also be an arena of future study. Similarly, horizontal diffusion through the role of social movements, the state and the public (as consumers) and their interaction need to be unpacked.

Further, digging into the dynamics (i.e. class) of social movements in the Philippines or the role of the consumers while looking at other social justice issues related to food sovereignty, or its relationship to gender justice and youth and how these factors will further give us a more nuanced view of food sovereignty diffusion can be avenues of further research in this subject.

That food sovereignty is fast becoming an alternative discourse and practice in the future years remain to be seen. Its future largely depends on the conditions at the national level where sovereignty resides and continues to be contested. This paper also showed that scholars and advocates of food sovereignty are tasked to continue the dialogue of food sovereignty by allowing dynamism to flourish, contestations to surface for its constant evolution without shying away from its proponents have hoped for.

As a concept and in practice, food sovereignty needs to be dissected, examined and contested. Its dynamism and constant evolution will help shape what its thinkers have visualized when it was first conceived in 1996. Ultimately, "...claims around food sovereignty address the need for social change such that the capacity to shape food policy can be exercised at all appropriate levels." (Patel, 2009: 670)

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Appendix 1

1. List of Interviewees and Dates

Name	Organization	Date
Anthony Marzan	KAISAHAN	June 13, 2016
Ric Reyes	FIAN Philippines	June 20, 2016
Danny Carranza	KATARUNGAN	June 20, 2016
Myrna Dominguez	Integrated Rural Development Foundation	June 21, 2016
Jun Pascua	PKMM	June 23, 2016
Pablo Rosales	PANGISDA	June 23, 2016
Arce Glipo	Integrated Rural Development Foundation/Task Force on Food Sovereignty	June 25, 2016
Walden Bello Mary Ann Manahan	Focus on the Global South	June 30, 2016 August 6, 2016
Trining Domingo	Pambansang Koalisyon ng Kababaihan sa Kanayunan	August 11, 2016 (via Skype)
Jaime Tadeo	PARAGOS Pilipinas	August 23, 2016 (via Skype)

Appendix 2

Interview Questions:

1. What is food sovereignty for you?
2. How did you start to get involved with the food sovereignty work in the Philippines?
3. What are your tactics and strategies to push this alternative framework in the Philippines?
4. What have been the challenges in pushing for food sovereignty?
5. How do you maintain your relationship with the government? with other orgs working on food sovereignty?
6. How and where do you get funds in doing campaigns, policy advocacy for food sovereignty work in the Philippines?
7. How do you link an idea or concept like FS to more tangible agri-rural devt issues and thematic-current issues in the Philippines like rice crisis, land reform law extension, cocolevy, cocolisap?
8. How is your FS work tied to the regional or global networks of food sovereignty?
9. How is the reception of the public, policymakers and government in this work?
10. To what extent is your food sovereignty work tied to grassroots issues and movements in the countryside?
11. How do you see the future of FS in the Philippines?

Appendix 3

List of Documents Reviewed for Content Analysis

FIAN Philippines	Zero Hunger Bill: A Primer http://righttoadequatefood.ph/docs/e-1
Focus on the Global South	How to manufacture a global food crisis: lessons from the World Bank, IMF and WTO http://focusweb.org/node/1366
IBON Foundation	IBON Primer on Food Sovereignty and the Food Crisis https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/getWSDoc.php?id=3408
IRDF	WFD 2014 Position Paper http://www.irdf.org.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=129:wfd-2014-position-paper-phils&catid=55:food-sovereignty&Itemid=81
APFS	About us: http://www.apnfs.info/about/brief-history
KAISAHAN	Organizational website: http://www.kaisahan.com.ph/about/
KATARUNGA N	Organizational website: http://www.rightsnetphils.org/
KMP	
PCFS	http://www.foodsov.org/content/about-us
PAMALAKAYA	
PANGISDA/PKMM/PKMP	Joint Statement with other orgs under NMFS https://nmfssite.wordpress.com/about/
PARAGOS Pilipinas	
PKKK	Organizational Website: http://www.pkkk.org.ph/

Appendix 4

Argumentation Analysis Table on Six Pillars of Nyeleni Declaration

Text	Comments on meanings (key words, phrases, major images and metaphors)	Comments on the language	Main conclusions and assumptions in the text (stated or hinted)	Relevant or counter arguments
<p>According to <i>The Six Pillars of Food Sovereignty, developed at Nyéléni, 2007</i> (Food Secure Canada, 2012), food sovereignty:</p> <p>1. Focuses on food for the people by: a) placing people's need for food at the centre of policies; and b) insisting that food is more than just a commodity.</p>	<p>Nyeleni is the biggest gathering of peasants, farmers and campaigners held in Mali. This is where the Declaration of Food Sovereignty was issued after almost a decade food sovereignty was launched.</p> <p>Food providers =</p>	<p>“Placing people’s need for food at the centre of policies..” shows a people-centric focus of food sovereignty</p> <p>“insisting that food is more than just a commodity” direct response to the current set-up encroachment of the corporate food regime</p>	<p>SC: Food sovereignty wants people’s need for food to be at the centre of the debate. Food is more than jus a commodity.</p> <p>Stated Assumption: Food is becoming a commodity nowadays. The current discourse on food exclude people’s need for food at the core policymaking.</p> <p>UA: Food security discourse and other discourses lacks solution on how food can be de-commodified and how people’s need for food can be at the core of the policymaking process.</p> <p>SC: Sustainable livelihoods and food producers are at the</p>	<p>Is it not that food has always been a commodity?</p>

<p>2. Values food providers by: a) supporting sustainable livelihoods; and b) respecting the work of all food providers.</p> <p>3. Localizes food systems by: a) reducing the distance between suppliers and consumers; b) rejecting dumping and inappropriate food aid; and c) resisting dependence on remote and</p>	<p>farmers, fishers, pastoralists, herders, etc.</p> <p>Distance on food system = Distance – which includes the geographical expanse from farm to plate along global commodity chains, as well as knowledge gaps about the social and environmental impacts of food production – affects the distribution of power and influence over the governance of the food system</p>	<p>Sustainable livelihoods should be made nuanced because FS being proposed by Radical Agrarian-Populists are not into sustainable livelihoods.</p> <p>Second point stems from second food regime period where the US dumped food aid because of surplus.</p> <p>Third point is directed against the growing control of agrifood corporations like Monsanto, etc. in the way we produce</p>	<p>core of food sovereignty policy calls.</p> <p>UA: Food security, being the dominant frame, does not put emphasis on sustainable livelihoods and food providers.</p> <p>SC: There is a need to localize food systems.</p> <p>UC: Food system has been affected by various factors that shape how food is produced and consumed. i.e. dumping of food aid, remote and unaccountable corporations.</p> <p>UA: Food security does not consider these issues. It does not concern itself with localizing food system.</p>	<p>In the event of competing interests between and among food producers, whose rights do you respect/follow?</p> <p>What about the role and necessity of the global trade in food sovereignty?</p> <p>Why the use of the word food supplier instead of food producers?</p>
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<p>unaccountable corporations.</p> <p>4. Places control at a local level by: a) placing control in the hands of local food suppliers; b) recognizing the need to inhabit and share territories; and c) rejecting the privatization of natural resources.</p>	<p>(Kneen 1995, Princen 2002, Clapp 2012).</p> <p>Traditional knowledge refers to indigenous and cultural practices</p>	<p>and consume food.</p> <p>“Places control at a local level...” connotes that food sovereignty does not only localize food system but also places control at a local level.</p> <p>“need to inhabit and share territories...” connotes sharing over natural resources but it does not clearly say what kind of sharing and who can share these natural resources?</p>	<p>SC: Control over territories and natural resources must be held by local communities.</p> <p>SA: Control over territories and natural resources are not totally in the hands of local communities.</p> <p>UA: Current dominant/mainstream framework does not ensure these conditions are met.</p> <p>The current scenario precludes that there is a rampant privatization of natural resources.</p> <p>Food sovereignty approach is also ecological – it is also concern with natural resources like land where food is being grown.</p> <p>SC:</p> <p>Traditional knowledge and skills is at the core of food sovereignty calls. These include ensuring that these will be passed on to future generations as well. Technologies that undermine local food system must be rejected.</p>	<p>What about the profit that you can derive from privatization of natural resources?</p> <p>How can we expand food production if you will not tap other natural resources?</p> <p>There is a need to find a balance between traditional and</p>
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<p>5. Promotes knowledge and skills by: a) building on traditional knowledge; b) using research to support and pass on this knowledge to future generations; and c) rejecting technologies that undermine local food systems.</p>		<p>Language shows strong inclination for indigenous and cultural knowledge and skills on food production as well as intergenerational knowledge sharing</p>	<p>SA: The business-as-usual approach is to use technology that undermines local food system.</p> <p>UA: The dominant framework does not think about these three factors.</p>	<p>local knowledge and to cope with technological change.</p>
<p>6. Works with nature by: a) maximizing the contributions of ecosystems; b) improving resilience; and c) rejecting energy intensive, monocultural,</p>		<p>Last point shows a more ecological and sustainable approach to food production and consumption</p>	<p>SC: Food sovereignty takes a holistic approach on food production and consumption by linking both human and nature's needs.</p> <p>UA: Food production has gone too far such that it has contributed to destruction of ecosystems because of industrial, monocultural and energy intensive methods.</p>	<p>Resilience for what and for whom? It is such a loaded word. Resilience of human against natural disasters? Resilience of nature against destructive processes?</p>

Question	Findings			Evidence (inside the text)
industrialized and destructive production methods.				

<p>1. What's the problem represented to be?</p>	<p>There is a need to create an alternative framework against the dominance of agrifood corporations in the global food system.</p>	<p>“...But this heritage and our abundant food are being threatened by the forces of global capitalism.” (Nyeleni Declaration, 2007)</p>
<p>2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?</p>	<p>The following are grouped into following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A systemic failure of the global food order with different institutions and organizations hampering equal growth and access to resources. 2. Dumping of food surplus in guise of aid and dominance of agrifood corporations which places profits at the core. 3. Technologies and practices that put damage to health and environment. 4. Privatization and commodification of resources that should be accessible to many. 	<p>Imperialism, neo-liberalism, and globalized systems that impoverish life, that promote the above such institutions, the World Trade Organization, transnational corporations, and their peoples;</p> <p>The dumping of food at prices that distort the global economy;</p> <p>The domination of our food systems by large agribusiness corporations that place profit over the environment;</p> <p>Technologies and practices that reduce local capacities, damage the environment, and include transgenic crops and aquaculture and destructive fishing practices; the Green Revolution of industrial dairy farming, the Green Revolution, and the ‘Green Revolution’ monocultures and other plantations; and the privatization and commodification of services, knowledge, land, water, and heritage;</p>
<p>.. 3. How has this representation of problem come about?</p>	<p>This representation of the problem came at a time when structural adjustments programs were leading to the dwindling support for agriculture and dumping of US food surplus in Central America. Writing on the historicity of food sovereignty, Edelman et. al (2010) have posited that the global trade system and WTO. In the course of its development and it being a process of reform and access to land, access to resources, issues on seeds, local and cultural food systems (Nyeleni Sovereignty Forum, 2007).</p>	
<p>4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?</p>	<p>In this section, we found key problematic on the Nyeleni Declaration of Food Sovereignty. On the matter of sovereignties of nation-states in crafting their own food policies: “...the right to food sovereignty resides in each states, food is an issue that transcends both space and time” (Nyeleni Declaration, 2007).</p>	

	<p>geographies thus in the event of competing sovereignty, to whose rights, interests or</p> <p>On the issue of economic aspect of food sovereignty, what then is the place of trade</p> <p>Food being a timeless and boundless item is subject to politics, political economy an</p> <p>nation states, companies, communities and individuals. Thus, how can food sovereig</p> <p>economy and political-economy aspects of it?</p> <p>There are</p>
<p>5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?</p>	<p>Because of this broad, encompassing frames of food sovereignty, it is open to differ</p> <p>contestations. The rights that food sovereignty tries to uphold are overlapping and c</p> <p>Food sovereignty is an alternative pathway which is actually the contrast of dominar</p> <p>problems in the global food system.</p> <p>Food sovereignty tries to form a system insulated from other factors like trade, tech</p> <p>resources for profits, etc.</p>
<p>6. How/where is representation of problem produced, disseminated, and defended? How could it be questioned, disputed, disrupted?</p>	<p>The representation of the problem has been produced, disseminated and defended t</p> <p>campaign activities of the proponents. It has gained significant attention both as a p</p> <p>twenty years ago.</p> <p>Discursively, it has been debated and discussed by scholars, social scientists and acti</p> <p>has also gained attention in inter-governmental bodies and policymakers. Experimer</p> <p>have been carried out.</p> <p>The representation of the problem can be questioned, disputed and disrupted at the</p> <p>facets of the problem and see how this representations overlap and compete with ea</p> <p>interpreted by various groups with may have varied rationale and main persuasions l</p>