Playing fair: how “alternative” fair trade and organic quinoa markets in Bolivia affect producer livelihoods

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Legend

AIPROCA	Asociación Integral de Productores Orgánicos Capura
ANAPQUI	Asociación Nacional de Productores de Quinua
APQUISA	*Asociación de Productores de Quinua Salinas*
APRAVI	Asociación de Productores Agropecuarios Vintuta
CECAOT	Central de Cooperativas Agropecuarias Operación Tierra
CONAIE	Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo
MST	Movimento Sem Terra
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

This thesis seeks to analyze the "alternative" nature of organic and fair trade markets and whether they are truly challenging the neoliberal food system, using the case of Bolivian quinoa, traditionally a subsistence crop, to analyze the effects on producer livelihoods. Field research, conducted from April until August 2015, focuses on two areas in the Altiplano sur: the small community of Rodeo and the town of Salinas de Garcí Mendoza. The study uses a political ecology and historical materialist theoretical framework and an ethnographically oriented livelihoods approach, in order to better weave the macro-processes of power to producers' struggles over their livelihoods. Though organic and fair trade markets are by no means revolutionizing quinoa production or relationships of production in Bolivia, they are providing better terms of trade for producers and allowing them to maintain more traditional, small scale modes of production and community levels of organization. In addition, field research helped facilitate a critical discussion about the challenges and opportunities afforded by these alternatives, talking directly to producers and tying their local difficulties to larger, structural realities: a humble first step in problematizing a common lived struggle.

Acknowledgements

I am in bed: sweating, feverish, delirious and it's -5 in my room. And yet I am not alone: more than ten community members look upon me with concerned faces, some getting hot water bottles, others bringing me more blankets, some bringing me hot tea with special herbs, and others acquiring ibuprofen and telling me of traditional ways to lower my fever (a great many of these which make me cringe at the time).

This anecdote — from when I was in Rodeo doing field research — is an apt metaphor for my thesis, where varying people come on and off the stage, have differing roles, and yet all play a key part to the story, supporting and guiding me in this research journey which started two summers ago. A special thanks goes to everyone in Bolivia who went above and beyond the call of duty in terms of interviews, facilitating contacts, and being open and helpful at every step of the way: Pedro Mamani (FAUTAPO), Endulfo Gabriel Cautín (president of APQUISA), Milán and Emelda (who invited me into their home and their community of Rodeo, feeding me, taking care of me, and sharing their knowledge with me), Franz Quispe from APQUISA (who even went as far as giving me a ride on his motorcycle in our tenacious search of APQUISA members to interview), and dozens of others from quinoa cooperatives, associations, organic and fair trade organizations/firms, NGOs, government institutes, quinoa processing plants and many more. I had heard from other researchers and some of my fellow students that field work in Bolivia was difficult and that people were sometimes reluctant to talk or participate in interviews: I did not find this to be the case.

Susan: From our thesis committee support group meetings at your house (where a number of us read, shared food — and wine — and had discussions on articles pertinent to our research… debating, raising questions, challenging each other, and expressing concerns where they arose on our theses), to your virtual yet constant and comforting presence when I was in Bolivia and now in Peru, your comprehension of passed deadlines, your gentle yet insistent motivational push near the end, and your timely yet sustained, rigorous, thoughtful and methodical comments and feedback throughout my research, which brought new insights, depth, developments, sections,

questions, cohesion, and nodes of exploration: thank you! It has truly been a joy and an honour to work with you.

Thank you Marie-Josée for bringing alternative notions to the ones I sometimes put forth, challenging me to view them from different standpoints yet stay faithful to my theoretical lens. And thank you Joshua for your scrupulous revisions and catching many details that I sometimes missed. Both of your revisions have breathed new life into my thesis and pushed me to truly complete, fine-tune and polish my final work.

And thanks mom! I know you felt my pain when the thesis dragged on, but you remained, as always, my biggest supporter and fan.

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Figure 1: Bushels and bushels of quinoa

A truck is almost imperceptible amid the bags of quinoa waiting to be shipped to Oruro, then the port of Arica (Chile), and ultimately to Europe. APQUISA cooperative headquarters, Salinas de Garcí Mendoza. Photo taken by author during field research.

Chapter 1: Introduction

We live in a globalized food system. A few years back I noticed that the almonds I bought from my neighbourhood Safeway in Edmonton were produced in the U.S. but packaged in Vietnam. Aside from the environmental impacts of shipping almonds from the U.S. to Vietnam to

northwest Canada, these almonds are produced in California, a state which has been facing some of the most severe water shortages and droughts in history, but still produces 80 percent of the world's almonds, a water intensive industry (Boriss, Brunke, & Huntrods, 2013). Thanks to my bad habit of reading packaging, I got to thinking about the bizarre trajectory the almonds had made every time that I strove to get my almond fix. And I was probably missing some links along the food chain. I began to think more and more about the almonds, as they came into being thanks to another being who produced them: the often forgotten and unseen producer, arguably the most important component of the chain and without whom I would be unable to enjoy these almonds.

And this observation did not only apply to almonds. What about traditional crops that have been produced for thousands of years? How have *they* transformed over time, as production has shifted with the globalization of the food system from subsistence — to commodity — oriented? The way we produce and even see food has changed drastically over the millennia, and even more rapidly over the last five decades, where global food output has increased many times to meet growing population demands.

Some of these drastic changes to the global food system started in the post WWII period and UN termed "development decades" of the 1960s and 1970s, which were characterized by development strategies that centred on the active role of the nation state: Keynesian-style, state regulated markets and a social contract that also included a redistribution strategy and a commitment to public spending. These decades also saw increasing dependence on chemical fertilizer and massive state investment to sponsor industrial, intensive methods of farming (rather than small scale or organic) via Green Revolution technologies[1] (McMichael, 2012, pp. 73-74). Between 1950 and 1980, while North America introduced farm subsidies for large scale farming and saw its share in world agricultural exports increase, the Global South's share fell from 53 to 31 percent (McMichael, 2012, p. 65). Self sufficiency, especially in the South, subsequently fell

[1] Originally developed by the Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico, the 'Green Revolution' introduced new methods of plant breeding that increased production of corn, wheat, and beans to levels previously not seen throughout history.

around the globe, except for China, North Korea and Vietnam, which had state-driven (communist) economies. U.S farm subsidies and tariffs in the Global North thus set world market prices for farm goods above their worth, with surpluses being given or sold (or dumped) through American food-aid programs in Third World markets, creating a legacy of South-North dependency (McMichael, 2012). This overproduction and subsidization of a few, intensely farmed commodities (such as corn, rice, wheat, cotton and soybeans) — which today costs the U.S. Department of Agriculture about $25 billion dollars a year (Edwards, 2016) and has an adverse environmental impact — puts food production in the Global South in a precarious position:

> When this cheap food is sold, or given, to the Third World, the local farm economy is destroyed. If the poor and unemployed of the Third World were given access to land, access to industrial tools, and protection from cheap imports, they could plant high-protein/high calorie crops and become self-sufficient in food. Reclaiming their land and utilizing the unemployed would cost these societies almost nothing, feed them well, and save far more money than they now pay for the so-called "cheap" imported foods (J. W. Smith, 1994, pp. 63-64).

The nation state comes to an abrupt end and democracy takes a blow on September 11th, 1973, as General Augusto Pinochet — backed by the C.I.A — overthrows the democratically elected president Salvador Allende of *Unidad Popular* in Chile, ushering in a new age of neoliberal policies. In contrast to the post-WWII nation state, the 1980s and 1990s were characterized by liberalization, *laissez-faire* capitalism, reduced government expenditures, destruction of trade unions, removal of barriers to trade and investment, and devaluation of national currencies: all neoliberal strategies pushed onto the South in the form of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) introduced by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (McMichael, 2012, pp. 366, 378). While the destructiveness of these short-sighted policies on human lives and habitat (i.e. the environment) have been well documented, the problem of ‘sustainability’ did not enter the debate until the UN’s 1987 Brundtland report *Our Common Future*, which defined sustainable development as ensuring that development “meets the needs of the present without

compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UN, 1987, p. 17). The importance of food security began to emerge in the aftermath of the 'IMF riots' — many which centred around access to food — in the latter half of the 1990s (Walton & Seddon, 1994). In 1996, food security was defined as a situation in which "all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life" (WHO, 1996).

Now, in the twenty-first century, food and agriculture have entered a new age of development. Although the Global South is still affected by the negative legacy of previous decades' policies and development trends, the pendulum seems to be swinging the other way, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean, where there has been a wave of elections since 1998 that have brought left governments to office in a trend known as the 'pink tide.' Indigenous land rights campaigns — such as the *Zapatista* movement in Mexico and *Movimento Sem Terra* (MST) in Brazil, which are two of the oldest, largest and most successful social movements in the world — have helped to set a new political agenda. Food sovereignty and peasant movements, such as the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) and *Vía Campesina*, have successfully promoted small scale farming, organic production, and fair trade markets. Traditional food crops have been revalued and governments have recognized food sovereignty as a crucial strategy to combat climate change (FAO, 14 November, 2011). The most radical of these 'pink tide' experiments, such as that taking place under the Movement towards Socialism (MAS) in Bolivia, have even promoted "living well" (*buen vivir*) as a national policy and recognized the rights of Mother Earth in its 2009 constitution.

For me, studying the case of Bolivian quinoa provided an opportunity to delve into some of these questions around development and look at how our lives inter-connect in this globalized world. Quinoa is a traditional subsistence crop that has been produced for thousands of years in the Altiplano of Bolivia and Peru. When I began this research, I wanted to know more about the producers. How have the men and women who produce quinoa been affected by the globalization of the food system? Starting with zeal, I was a tad over-ambitious in some of the questions I sought to answer, and perhaps I exhibited a touch of idealism — as I'm sure many

MA students before me have experienced. Originally, I wanted to see if organic and fair trade quinoa markets were a potential way to counter neoliberal trends in food production. Unlike other "cash crop" commodities like coffee or sugar, which have always been produced for export, people in the Andes have truly depended on the production of quinoa for the survival of their families and to achieve food security. And I was especially curious to see whether the progressive discourse and policies of *buen vivir* of President Evo Morales and the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) also translated into action and at what scales. On the international stage, Morales has attracted international attention for his "radical" progressive discourse, which is inclusive, pro-indigenous, promotes pluri-nationality, is supposedly committed to redistributing land and protecting Mother Nature, valourizes the small producer, criticizes Capital and the concentration of power in foreign hands, and promotes collective bargaining and the decentralization of power.

But the result upon arriving in the field, I discovered that not all that glitters is gold. Although quinoa may have traditionally been a subsistence crop, quinoa clearly appeared to be a thoroughly commoditized product. Small-scale farmers in the southern Bolivian Altiplano were clearly struggling to find their market niche amid rising competition in an increasingly industrialized production system. Land disputes, changing relationships of production, increased international competition, climate change, fluctuating market prices, and a lack of government policies and subsidies are all contributing in making Bolivian producers' livelihoods more precarious. Was there any silver lining? Could organic and fair trade markets offer viable alternatives to the neoliberal (globalized) food system? Were these alternative markets truly challenging neoliberal food trends? And just how "alternative" were they? Within a few weeks of discussing the limits of organic and fair trade markets with producers, these questions became the heart of my research.

And coming from a background in community organizing, I was also keen to go beyond a study that only focused on quinoa production: I wanted to use my field research to help facilitate a critical discussion about the challenges and opportunities afforded by these alternatives, talking

directly to producers and tying their local difficulties to larger, structural realities. Despite being an outsider —i.e. giant, six foot tall, white woman — I was invited to give workshops on fair trade to producers, I gave English classes to community members and I also participated in a number of other community spaces, where I found leaders to be open, inviting and friendly.

Research questions

The following research thus analyzes how unconventional markets, specifically organic and fair trade, have impacted quinoa producers' livelihoods, addressing the following research question: **how does quinoa production for organic and fair trade markets affect producers' livelihood decisions?** Sub-questions include: Who has power? What factors — micro/macro, domestic/ international, internal/external, environmental, social, political or economic — influence how Bolivians produce quinoa? How are quinoa-related livelihoods embedded within the community (historically, spatially, environmentally, culturally, politically, and economically)? How is knowledge around quinoa production created? And how have fair trade and organic markets affected general production of quinoa in Bolivia? The research that follows also presents some of the debates, challenges and contradictions that exist among these "alternative" fair trade and organic markets.

Case study sites: Rodeo and Salinas de Garcí Mendoza, Altiplano sur, Bolivia

This study is based on fieldwork conducted from April until August 2015 in the capital city of Bolivia, La Paz (the location of various quinoa cooperatives, contact-people and organizations) and in two communities in the southern part of the Oruro department, close to the border with Potosí, in a region known as the Altiplano sur. The Altiplano sur is the largest producer of quinoa in Bolivia and spans both the Oruro and Potosí departments. I sought to conduct research in two communities that represented 'fair' trade and organic production. I chose Rodeo, a small community producing organic quinoa, because of its accessibility, its location close to the Potosí border (to better understand potential land disputes and issues around land titling and communal resource sharing). In addition, I found Rodeo interesting because half of the producers were selling organic certified quinoa either through their cooperative, *Asociación Nacional de*

Productores de Quinua (ANAPQUI), while the other half were moving away from cooperativization and selling their quinoa directly to the organic firm JATARY. I chose the second community, Salinas de Garcí Mendoza, because of its location (just 50km west of Rodeo) and because of its high concentration of producers growing quinoa for the fair trade market, which they sell through their cooperative *Asociación de Productores de Quinua Salinas* (APQUISA).[2] In sum, I hoped to be able to observe the ways that producers were making livelihood decisions about whether to produce for the organic and/or fair trade market,[3] and the advantages and disadvantages of each form of 'alternative' to the traditional market.

The quinoa market is also particularly interesting to observe since it has been changing so rapidly, in part thanks to globalization. Although quinoa has been produced for thousands of years, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the UN announced "The Year of Quinoa" in 2013, which initially sent quinoa prices through the roof followed by a subsequent downturn. The last three years have seen numerous international quinoa festivals, congresses and conferences. And a burgeoning of studies on everything quinoa-related. On October 30th and 31st, 2013, Milan hosted the International Congress on Quinoa. Organized by the Latinoamericando Group in collaboration with the FAO, the congress had as its objective to "promote quinoa and its potential in the eradication of hunger by highlighting the crop's ancestral history and its multiple beneficial characteristics" (FAO, 2013b). Bolivian President Evo Morales, named Special Ambassador to the FAO for the year in question, has claimed that quinoa is the "most important food for life" (Collyns, 2013; UN, 2013).

Quinoa has been hailed as a "superfood" with the potential to improve food security internationally; even astronauts eat it, with NASA using it to feed crews absent on prolonged space missions (The World Bank, 2014). Its environmental resilience adds in making it a popular

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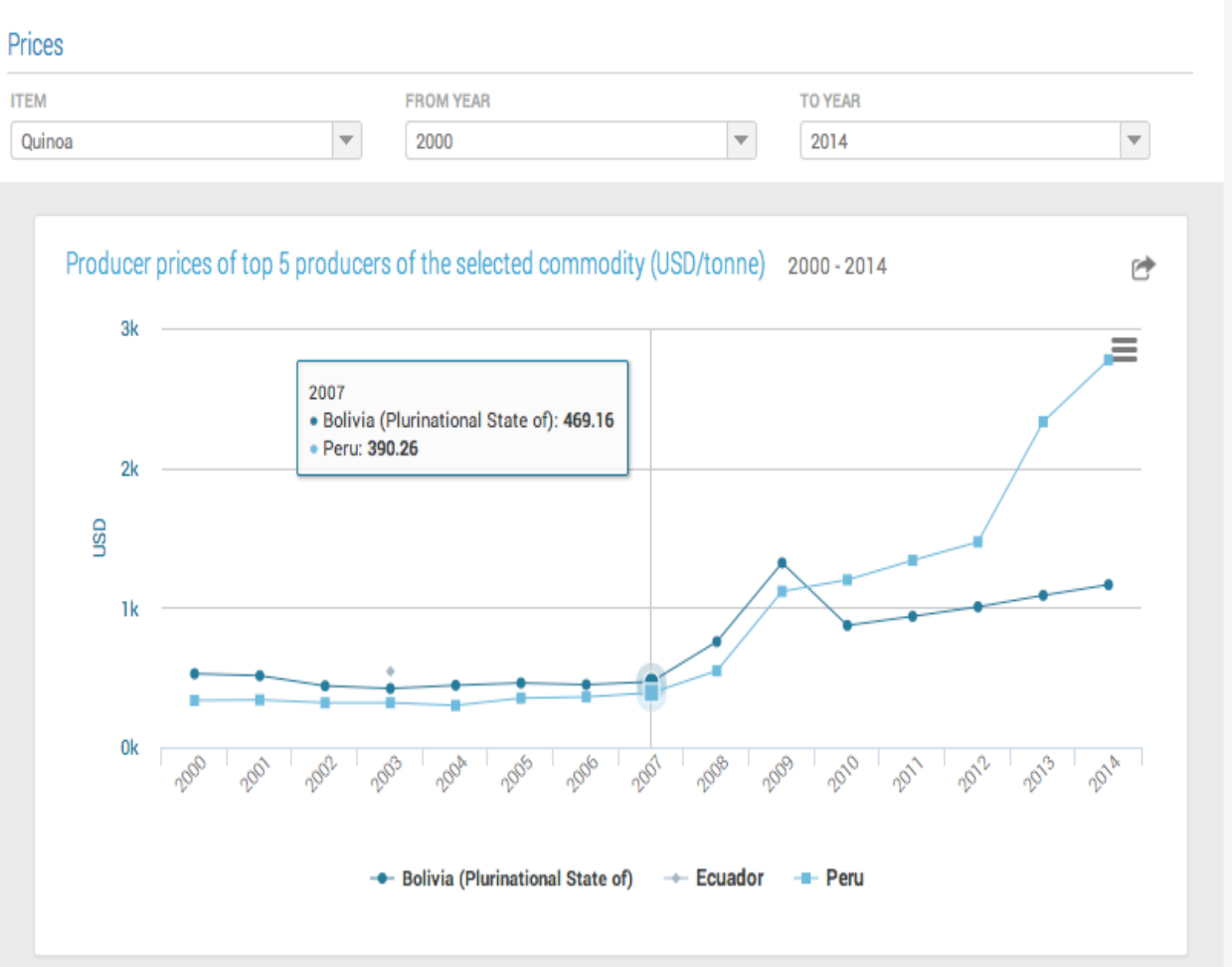
[2] At the time of study, producers in Rodeo were only producing for the organic market (since ANPAQUI had lost its fair trade certification), while producers for APQUISA were fair trade-organic certified. Though Salinas de Garcí Mendoza regrouped producers of all markets (conventional, organic, fair trade organic) I focused on the latter for research purposes.

[3] Unlike other fair trade commodities, Bolivian fair-trade quinoa is also almost entirely (89%) organic (FLOCERT, 2016).

choice, growing at altitudes of over 5,000 metres and persisting through poor soil and semi arid conditions. And since it is gluten free and chock full of protein, health nuts across the globe are flocking to their local health food stores to buy this international sensation. Over the last ten years, demand for the grain has increased 18 times (2004-2014). While this boom has been good for farmers, Bolivians must also pay seven times more for their quinoa (from what they paid in 2004), making it unaffordable to the poorest households (World Bank, 2014).

Many Bolivians depend on quinoa production for their own food security and livelihoods. There are many traditional growers plus scores of people — who are newer to the game — have migrated back to their ancestral communities to start producing. Although in 2013 there were an estimated 70,000 quinoa producers in Bolivia, 79 percent of these (or about 55,300) produced on an irregular basis, primarily for subsistence (Brenes, Crespo, & Madrigal, 2001, p. 8; FAO, 2013a, p. 63). Of the remaining 14,700, about 13,000 produced permanently for their own consumption and market purposes, while 2,000 or so produced primarily for the market, either domestic or international (Cáceres, Carimentrand, & Wilkinson, 2007; FAO, 2013a, p. 63; PROINPA, 2004). Although it is difficult to obtain current statistical data for 2014-2016, following the international year of quinoa, field research revealed a substantial rise in Bolivians returning to this traditional livelihood, primarily due to the considerable rise in prices which had previously remained relatively stagnant from 1991 until 2007. Over the last decade, while Bolivia has traditionally been just behind Peru in terms of production (with the exception of 2001 and 2012-2013) by 2014, Peru, following the year of quinoa, not only receives twice as much in terms of prices compared to Bolivia, but also surpasses its previous year's yield by a factor of 2.2, eclipsing its neighbour by producing 1.5 times more. Such extremes in margins of profit and yield between countries were previously unseen.

Figure 2: Prices: the biggest producers of quinoa



Although Ecuador looks absent, it is actually the tiny dot above Bolivia for 2003 (FAOSTAT, 2016).

Over the last three decades, more and more quinoa producers have formed and joined organizations, cooperatives and associations in order to negotiate better terms of trade. ANAPQUI, created in 1983, is composed of nine regional associations or cooperatives and has approximately 1,100 members from Oruro, Potosí and La Paz (Fair Trade USA, 2014; Quintanilla, 2011). It is the main quinoa cooperative for the Altiplano sur region. The cooperative has come under attack, however, for lack of transparency and its move toward centralization, which has limited the autonomy of their district offices. They even lost their FLOCERT fair trade status briefly (at the time of investigation) but have since regained it.

Although it is supposed to be *the* national quinoa cooperative, many participants expressed disappointment in the lack of strong leadership and problems with accountability. One participant in particular, himself having occupied a managerial position in ANAPQUI in the past, spoke to me at lengths about the lack of checks and balances. He told me a story of how cooperative members, rather than selling their own quinoa (fair trade/organic certified), bought conventional quinoa from nearby communities, and sold this in turn to ANAPQUI, gaining a higher price and playing a very similar role to that of the middlemen in Challapata, the intermediary quinoa market in Bolivia where conventional quinoa prices are set weekly. Third party testing revealed the truth (quality and point of origin) about the quinoa, and ANAPQUI subsequently lost their certification, by his account. And why did this happen? Though all producers interviewed took a certain pride in producing a "healthier" grade of quinoa and utilizing a smaller scale (i.e. "traditional") method of production, they also recognized the increased difficulty in adhering to the stricter rules and environmental standards. The ex-manager of ANAPQUI stipulated that, combined with poor control, monitoring and accountability mechanisms on the part of the cooperative, producers saw an opportunity to substantially increase their profits, which they seized at the first opportunity.

Another important quinoa cooperative in Bolivia is the smaller *Central de Cooperativas Agropecuarias Operación Tierra* (CECAOT), formed in 1974 and composed of 14 quinoa cooperatives and 300 producers from the southern *Salar de Uyuni* region (Ethiquable, 2014; Fair Trade Canada, 2015; Quintanilla, 2011). Current fair trade cooperatives that are certified through the international fair trade certification body FLOCERT are: the *Asociación Comunitaria Integral Florida*; the *Asociación de Productores Agropecuarios del Altiplano Sur*; *Asociación de Productores Agropecuarios Vintuta* (APRAVI); the *Asociación de Productores Comunidad Cayñi*; the *Asociación de Productores de Quinua Llica*; the *Asociación Integral de Productores Orgánicos Capura* (AIPROCA); ANAPQUI; and the *Asociación de Productores de Quinua Salinas* (APQUISA) (FLOCERT, 2015-16). Since the mid 1980s, not only has there been an expansion of fair trade and organic quinoa cooperatives, but also of firms and traders, spurring competition in this niche market.

Increasingly, academic studies, blogs, and the media are looking at how increased international demand has spurred environmental destruction by encouraging monocultures and has heightened food insecurity for Bolivians, many of whom (it is alleged) can no longer afford the higher prices and have been forced to substitute quinoa products for unhealthier alternatives such as rice and pasta in their families' diets (Bland, 2012; Kerssen, 2013b; Ofstehage, 2012; The World Bank, 2014). Bolivia, which produces 35% of the word's quinoa (Peru produces 43%) and is one of the leading exporters followed by and now surpassed by Peru — has intensified production since the mid 1980s, drastically changing the environmental and social landscape of the Altiplano sur (CABOLQUI, 2015; Carimentrand, 2011). In addition to increased environmental degradation, meeting demands of Northern fair trade and organic markets has weakened the position of peasant organizations in the market due to "the heterogeneity of the actors within Fair Trade which leads to differing organizational structures and differing returns along the quinoa value chain, particularly for farmers and their producer organizations" (Cáceres et al., 2007, p. 181). In Bolivia, there are now a plethora of fair trade and organic actors which do not all have the same structure, follow the same rules, regulations, or even offer the same constant prices to producers. The study by Cáceres et al. (2007) is situated within the global value chain literature, expanded from Gary Gereffi's (1996, 2001) commodity chain analysis which looks at the activities involved in the design, production and marketing of a given product, from production to consumption.

Rather than provide a quantitative analysis on changing trends in quinoa production, consumption, and prices in Bolivia, my research seeks to contribute to the qualitative literature that examines the impacts of fair trade and organic certification on producers' livelihood decisions at the local level, interweaving the macro processes of power with the micro realities at the household level by utilizing a political ecology theoretical lens and ethnographically oriented livelihoods approach.

Chapter Outline

Having, in this introduction, presented the conceptual framework and introduced some of the debates which will fuel much of the following thesis, I continue, in *Chapter Two*, by setting out the research design, specifically the theoretical and methodological framework and methods used. *Chapter Three* provides a history of quinoa production in order to better understand current production practices and challenges by analyzing its transformation from a subsistence crop to a market-oriented commodity in a context of post-WWII agrarian reforms, political upheaval and neoliberalism. Drawing on the situated experiences of producers in Rodeo and Salinas de Garcí Mendoza to gather insights, *Chapter Four* uses research findings to analyze how production for organic and fair trade markets affects producers' livelihood decisions. The chapter also looks at contradictions in the fair trade and organic markets and examines the role of the government and NGOs. In the *Conclusion*, I situate quinoa producers in an increasingly problematic and difficult political context where inequality, the concentration of power, and the dependence on foreign capital are not what one would expect under the current Morales government, a direct contradiction to the populist, progressive discourse which gave many in the region (and the world) hopes for an alternative form of development which put people and nature first. I also provide areas I think would be interesting for future research.

Chapter 2: Research Design

Introduction

This chapter will define the research design used in the study, elaborating on the theoretical framework, methodological framework, and particular methods and data analysis used. *Part One*, will introduce key concepts related to my political ecology framework grounded in historical materialism, such as the meaning of *power* and *nature*. *Part Two* will develop the methodological framework used in the study, expanding on both: the comparative, extended case study and the ethnographically oriented livelihoods' approach. *Part Three* will describe the different methods used: *semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews*, *participant observation* and *empirical information*. *Part Four* will describe particular data analysis techniques, paying particular attention to thematic coding which was used to analyze primary data from field research.

Part 1: Theoretical framework

Political ecology and understanding power

Through a theoretical lens of political ecology, the effect of power relations on quinoa producers can be better elucidated. I understand power as: control over the means of production and resources (specifically land and natural resources, but also cultural resources); the availability of options and the freedom, flexibility and ability to choose amongst them; the capability to organize and work collectively, bargain, resist or opt out; and authority over decisions being made. Although this research is inspired by historical materialism, similar to actor network theory, I understand the world as having always been networked and embedded, and created by actors who are endowed with a certain degree of agency (Massey, 1994; Rocheleau & Roth, 2007, p. 433). Rocheleau and Roth (2007) expand the scope of political ecology by incorporating this type of network analysis and elaborating on the aspects of power usually analyzed — power over (control), power against (resistance), power with (solidarity) — to incorporate "power alongside, power from beneath, and power in spite of" (Rocheleau & Roth, 2007, p. 434). I treat power as all of these things.

Political ecology, which interlinks the issues of ecology with political economy, "encompasses the constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, and also within classes and groups within society itself" (Blaike & Brookfield, 1987, p. 17). The historical materialist (Marxist) strand of political ecology focuses on the historical legacy of unequal power relationships within the capitalist global economy (Andersson, Brogaard, & Olsson, 2011, p. 297). As highlighted in Andersson et al.'s study (2011) of "desertification in the Sahel, nutrient depletion in Africa, and rural reforms in China":

> Farmers' incentives and capacities to invest in land are shaped, not only by access to critical resources such as land, labor, and capital, but also by institutions and power structures that determine this access (Andersson et al., 2011, pp. 295, 301).

Understanding quinoa producers' current opportunities and challenges (in both the organic and fair trade export markets) thus requires a closer look at the institutions and organizations actively working with (or against) quinoa producers and historical to modern-day government policies around quinoa production and agrarian reforms, explored further in the literature review and data analysis chapters.

Toward a hybrid definition of 'nature'

> *It is the necessity of bringing a natural force under the control of society, of economizing on its energy, of appropriating, of subduing it on a large scale by the work of the human hand, that plays the most decisive role in the history of industry* (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 648).

Important to consider in a political ecology framework is the notion of "nature." Escobar (1999) argues for an anti-essentialist framework of nature, with three categories or "regimes" which he identifies as: organic, capitalist and techno. For example, he talks about "the 'organic' landscape of the communities, the capitalist landscape of the plantations, and the technoscape of the biodiversity and biotechnology researchers and entrepreneurs" (Escobar, 1999, p. 5). Escobar reasonably argues that these regimes are not linear but rather coexist, overlap and co-produce each other (Escobar, 1999, p. 5). Escobar offers a multidimensional and holistic understanding of

nature that goes beyond the dichotomous notion of nature/society adopted by some of modern Marxist political ecology and derived from Cartesian dualism. I disagree with Escobar, however, that each "regime" has:

> Its particular form of knowledge that seems best suited to its study [...] organic nature through the anthropology of local knowledge, capitalist nature in terms of historical materialism, and technonature from the perspective of science-and-technology studies. (Escobar, 1999, p. 6).

By bounding each form of nature to a particular methodology (anthropology of local knowledge, historical materialism, and science-and-technology studies) such a conceptualization drastically limits in-depth analysis and inter-linkages between categories. For example, focusing solely on the anthropology of local knowledge undervalues historical material conditions or political economic factors such as external economic or government forces. Historical materialism can equally be used in all three cases. When talking about "organic nature," Escobar also argues that local perceptions may involve the notion of a multidimensional territory with different relations, practices, and rituals, where "the relationship between symbolic systems and productive relations can be highly complex [... representing] production relations that cannot be understood in conventional terms, Marxist or other" (Escobar, 1999, pp. 8-9). I would, however, once again disagree, as historical materialism elucidates the relationship between symbolic systems and productive relations.

> It is not what is made but how, and by what instruments of labour, that distinguishes different economic epochs. Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development which human labour has attained, but they also indicate the social relations within which men work (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 286).

Rocheleau (2007) pushes the concept of nature even further, informed by network analysis and arguing that nature and landscapes are simultaneously inhabited and co-created and that a "polycentric model of networks […] allows us to view any given assemblage from a variety of positions within the web of connection" (Rocheleau & Roth, 2007, pp. 433, 435). This starts to

get away from the society-nature dichotomy or the notion of nature as an object of value — an external force which humans are constantly confronting — and gets closer to the idea of nature as a multifaceted actor in its own right: not just a passive object of exploitation.

> The second challenge is to understand networks not in opposition to territory, but to recognize that networks exist in territory, help create territory and in turn are partially created out of territory (Rocheleau & Roth, 2007, p. 434).

To producers I interviewed and many Bolivians I talked to, nature — or *pacha mama* — was a revered and respected actor of great value, omnipresent and ever generous. This hybridity and personification of nature and society gets closer to the Aymara concept of nature that underlies *suma qamaña* or *vivir bien* (in English, to "live well"), which is based upon the notion that nature and society are interdependent (rather than opposing forces), emphasizing the wellbeing of community, and therefore representing an indigenous alternative to the notion of 'development' (Gudynas, 2011, pp. 441-442; Vanhulst & Beling, 2014, p. 44). Indeed, throughout La Paz, signs and graffiti of *vivir bien* can be found on shop walls, street enclosures, and billboards. Producers interviewed also internalized this concept of *vivir bien*, which bespoke not only a complex, ancestral, symbiotic relationship with nature, but also a profound, and at times even mystical devotion to it; every single participant interviewed referred to the importance of *vivir bien* and how producing quinoa was a means to this end. This plural concept of *vivir bien* goes beyond cultural and traditional views and was adopted in the 2009 Bolivian constitution, challenging utilitarian and neoliberal values, and promoting cultural diversity, environmental protection, and quality of life (Gudynas, 2011, pp. 443, 445). The manner and extent to which this concept of *vivir bien* is implemented and enforced, however, is another story. One could argue that while its inclusion in the constitution was a positive first step, truly challenging neoliberal tendencies and changing large agro-business land use practices and the increased activities (and conflicts) of extractive activities requires a comprehensive strategy and clear implementation mechanisms centred on the redistribution of arable land and collective resource sharing. Despite over sixty years of three agrarian reforms — essentially all modifications of the 1953 agrarian reform — this redistribution of arable land has been wrought

with difficulties, analyzed in further detail in chapters 3 and 4.

Nature's hybridity also does not preclude power exerted on or by it. For Marx, nature under capitalist production is subjugated by and in turn subjugates humans, transforming itself and humans in the process:

> Labour is, first of all, a process between man and nature, a process by which man, through his own actions, mediates, regulates, and controls the metabolism between himself and nature. He confronts the materials of nature as a force of nature. He sets in motion the natural forces which belong to his own body, his arms, legs, head and hands, in order to appropriate the materials of nature in a form adapted to his own needs. Through this movement he acts upon external nature and changes it, and in this way he simultaneously changes his own nature (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 283).

This conflict, between the forces of nature and the forces of society, is at the base of Marxist political ecology. It represents the first step in capitalist production, a process that ultimately leads to the exploitation of surplus value. But it also represents the first kind of alienation that occurs to a worker within this system: estrangement from nature, which is then followed by estrangement from the products of the worker's labour, estrangement from other people, and ultimately estrangement from him/herself:

> Since, before he enters the process, his own labour has already been alienated [*entfremdet*] from him, appropriated by the capitalist, and incorporated with capital, it now, in the course of the process, constantly objectifies itself so that it becomes a product alien to him [*fremder Produkt*] [...] Therefore the worker himself constantly produces objective wealth, in the form of capital, an alien power that dominates and exploits him; and the capitalist just as constantly produces labour-power, in the form of a subjective source of wealth which is abstract, exists merely in the physical body of the worker, and is separated from its own means of objectification and realization (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 716).

Modern political ecology, with its Marxist leanings, seeks to address these changing identities (of

humans and nature) and to move beyond the nature/society dichotomy, since nature is already so deeply embedded in political identities (Peet & Watts, 2004, p. 4). This integrated, relational approach helps in understanding "interconnected economic, political, social and ecological processes that together go to form highly uneven and deeply unjust" landscapes (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003, p. 898). Urban political ecology, for example, recognizes that urban material conditions are controlled, subjugated and influenced to benefit the elite at the expense of the marginalized. This lens becomes useful in understanding the transformation of quinoa from a subsistence crop to an export commodity, the various bio-politico-economic factors behind the change in biodiversity in producing areas, and the organization of communal communities to market-driven ones (analyzed in further detail in Chapters 3 and 4).

Historical materialism and culture

A historical materialist approach does not negate the question of culture but places particular importance on the relationships of production in order to understand culture (Prasad, 2005). For example, in their study of how artisanal bakeries survived in contemporary industrial France, historical materialists Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame (1981) discover "complex configurations of cultural mentalities, social traditions, and everyday material practices that comprise the bakers' lifeworlds" rather than purely economic reasons behind their survival (Prasad, 2005, pp. 127-128). Relationships of production are a point of departure and are multidimensional in nature, mediated by other forms of oppression such as those based on gender and race/ethnicity (Camfield, 2004, p. 421). As Stuart Hall and co-authors eloquently put it in their reflections on the inter-relation between race and class in Thatcher's Britain, "The structures through which black labour is reproduced [...] are not just coloured by race; they work by means of race [...] Race is the modality in which class is lived. It is also the medium in which class relations are experienced" (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978, p. 394). This is true for other social relations as well, not just race. Gramsci also understood the need to "study the social origins of new classes" and that "working classes are formed out of pre-existing social groups whose particular traditions, aspirations and cultural practices — modified by the devastating experience of proletarianization — will be those of an emergent proletariat" (Camfield, 2004, p.

431). For E.P. Thompson, class was understood as something more historical and multidimensional:

> Class is not this or that part of the machine, but *the way the machine works* once it is set in motion...Class is a social and cultural formation (often finding institutional expression) which cannot be defined abstractly, or in isolation, but only in terms of relationships with other classes (Thompson, 1978, p. 295).

Thompson sees class struggle happening when exploitative relations of production are experienced and class formation occurring when workers experience this struggle: "This is accompanied by a forceful directive to study the specific social determinants of experience and their cultural expressions in each case" (Camfield, 2004, p. 437).

In addition, the "systemic approach to social arrangements in their total contexts," or, the *dialectical method*, makes a rigorous systems-type-analysis possible (Prasad, 2005, p. 117). Marx uses this dialectical method throughout *Capital*. History is understood in terms of relations, processes of change, power dynamics, revolution, transformation, and motion, making a critical analysis possible (Harvey, 2010b, pp. 11-12):

> Because it regards every historically developed form as being in a fluid state, in motion, and therefore grasps its transient aspect as well; and because it does not let itself be impressed by anything, being in its very essence critical and revolutionary (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 103).

A historical materialist approach is thus particularly helpful in elucidating the drivers and causes of quinoa's transformation over time. Combined with a political ecology framework, it helps in understanding the intersecting political, economic, social, cultural and environmental forces that shape the social relationships of production and materialist conditions of quinoa producers.

The present study is thus inspired in part by the work of Fridell (2007a), who uses a historical materialist approach and political ecology theoretical framework to "identify macro-structures of

power and their historical, social, and political-economic roots" in a study that analyzes the effects of coffee fair trade certification (Fridell, 2007a, p. 11). As such, "historically specific 'modes of production' — an abstract concept used to identify how a society mobilizes social labour — are central to determining the distribution of political-economic power and socially produced wealth in society" (Fridell, 2007a, p. 12). Findings of my research regarding the contradictions and dilemmas of fair trade and organic markets are analyzed in further detail in chapters 3 and 4, drawing heavily on Fridell's work.

Part 2: Methodological Framework

The comparative, extended case study

This investigation utilizes a comparative, extended case study methodology combined with an ethnographically oriented livelihoods approach. A case can be defined as:

> An instance of a class of events. The term 'class of events' refers here to a phenomenon of scientific interest, such as revolutions, types of governmental regimes, kinds of economic systems, or personality types that the investigator chooses to study with the aim of developing theory (or 'generic knowledge') regarding the causes of similarities or differences among instances (cases) of that class of events (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 17-18).

The main reason for using a case study methodology in this investigation is because of its ability to develop theory and examine causal mechanisms (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 20). The comparative case study is especially useful in comparing relations, processes of change, power dynamics, and potential transformations, complementing the dialectical method mentioned above and facilitating a larger systems-type-analysis.

In their in-depth analysis of case study methods, George and Bennett (2005) identify six kinds of

theory building case studies[4]; this investigation employs the *discipline configurative* case, which uses "established theories to explain a case. The emphasis may be on explaining a historically important case, or a study may use a case to exemplify a theory for pedagogical purposes" (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 75). It also has the potential to dispute or show gaps in current theory.

One of the benefits of the extended case study method that is particularly useful when using a political ecology theoretical framework, is that it establishes micro-macro connections (Burawoy, 2009, p. xii). It also extends four dimensions:

> The extension of observer into the lives of participants under study; the extension of observations over time and space; the extension from microprocesses to macroforces; and, finally and most important, the extension of theory (Burawoy, 2009, p. xv).

Rather than focus on an individual case study, which does not allow for much comparison, the comparative case study method is especially useful in this investigation because of its ability to compare analytically equivalent cases, of organic and fair trade quinoa producers (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 68). And since a political ecology theoretical framework is utilized, particular attention is paid to historical labour production relationships and power dynamics.

A note on class

I understand class in Marxist terms as both *position* and *process*, or, *relation* and *struggle* (Mohandesi, 2013, pp. 73-74). The prior relates to an economic category and the position that individuals occupy in production relations, whereas the latter refers to class struggle, of one class that "comes together to combat another class" (Mohandesi, 2013, pp. 73-74). Just as Marx analyzes the "contractual relationship between owners, managers, and workers" (Prasad, 2005, p.

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[4] These are: *atheoretical/configurative*, which are more descriptive and do not contribute on their own to theory building; *discipline configurative*, which use theory to explain a case; *heuristic*, which "inductively identify new variables, hypotheses, causal mechanisms, and causal paths"; *theory testing*, which assess the validity and scope of competing theories; *plausibility probes*, which are preliminary studies testing relatively new and untested theories and hypotheses; and "*building block" studies of particular types or subtypes*, which are usually part of a larger study and identify common patterns (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 75-76).

116), this study examines the labour-production relationships among quinoa producers (land owners, managers, and salaried labourers, where existing). I am especially interested in seeing whether exploitative relationships exist between producers and the appropriators of their surplus value.

Ethnographically oriented livelihoods approach

Livelihoods, as 'the means of gaining a living,' include the variety of activities a person undertakes and resources he or she uses (Chambers, 1995, p. 174). The livelihoods approach, grounded in local perspectives and utilizing a participatory approach, seeks to understand and analyze the diversity of strategies in which people engage in order to live: adapting, coping, diversifying, improving, and transforming (Scoones, 2009, p. 172). Given the extended time dedicated to field research (four months, from April until July, 2015) and the qualitative, participatory approach used in this investigation, a livelihoods approach was a logical method which complements both the comparative, extended case study method and the political ecology theoretical framework utilized in this study. The livelihoods approach is "integrative, locally-embedded, cross-sectoral and informed by a deep field engagement and a commitment to action" (Scoones, 2009, p. 173).

A few caveats: issues around reflexivity and language

The goal of this comparative, extended case study is not to produce a new theory but rather to produce "cumulatively contingent generalizations [...] with a high degree of explanatory richness" (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 31). As such, situated knowledge, or knowledge shaped by context and circumstance, is key to the research. More and more feminist geographers take a stab at transparent reflexivity, attempting to make known (or be completely transparent with regards to) their self and their positionality within the research, assuming "that the researcher is positioned in a landscape of power" (Rose, 1997, p. 312). The problem with this, however, as Rose (1997) points out, is that identity is relational and thus a transparently knowable self and world is impossible (p. 314). In addition, the researcher:

> Situates both herself and her research subjects in the same landscape of power, which is the

> context of the research project in question. However, the researched must be placed in a different position from the researcher since they are separate and different from her. Differences between researcher and researched are imagined as distances in this landscape of power. (Rose, 1997, p. 312)

Rather than understanding researchers as positioned in a landscape of power separated by distance, Rose (1997) views "power as punctured by gaps precariously bridged [...] gaps that give space to and are affected by, other knowledges" (p. 315). Although it is important to recognize my own positionality within this research — as a white woman with a socioeconomic status different from the quinoa producers I interviewed — I agree with Rose that it is impossible to transparently situate myself, and in a context of power no less. Identities and positionality are constantly shifting and transforming throughout the research process and are contingent on the varying participants. Rather than aim for a transparent reflexivity, I find standpoint theory, which is both feminist and materialist, helpful in understanding knowledge (rather than "knowledges" in the plural, a hallmark of post-structuralism):

> (1) Knowledge is socially situated. (2) Marginalized groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-marginalized. (3) Research, particularly that focused on power relations, should begin with the lives of the marginalized. Feminist standpoint theory, then, makes a contribution to epistemology, to methodological debates in the social and natural sciences, to philosophy of science, and to political activism. It has been one of the most influential and debated theories to emerge from second-wave feminist thinking. Feminist standpoint theories place relations between political and social power and knowledge center-stage (Bowell, 2017).

Another important limitation worth mentioning is that surrounding language. Srivastava (2006) talks about the "language of the data" (in her case, Hindi) and the "language I use to think in" (English) when doing fieldwork in the rural and urban district of Lucknow, in Uttar Pradesh, India, and although she is of Indian-Canadian background, she sometimes finds difficulty in the

use of Hindi corresponding to either an insider or outsider researcher positionality (211). In my case, the language of data is Spanish while the language I use to think in is English. Luckily since I am fluent in Spanish, I did not translate the transcripts before conducting the formal analysis. I did this in order to try to:

> Minimise the application of an external theoretical *linguistic* perspective (that of English) on to a set of data and keep them in their 'authentic' form, before the application of other external theoretical perspectives (i.e. methodological, conceptual, and empirical) that would undoubtedly be applied during the analytic process (Srivastava, 2006, p. 217).

Rather, elements or quotes from the interviews that are used for analysis within the thesis are translated into English by me and the original Spanish quotes from transcripts remain above in parentheses so potential readers fluent in Spanish are able to verify my translations for themselves.

Part 3: Methods

For this study, I focused primarily on conducting semi-structured interviews with quinoa producers from Rodeo, a community of 34 families, and producers from the areas around Salinas de Garcí Mendoza. Although I originally wanted to focus on a total of two communities located beside each other (or even one community where both organic and fair trade producers coexisted), it was difficult to find enough fair trade quinoa producers concentrated in one specific area. Therefore, I was required to use the fair trade cooperative APQUISA, based out of Salinas, as my point of departure and interview its members — fair trade producers — living and working in the areas around Salinas de Garcí Mendoza. These two areas, Rodeo and the areas around Salinas, were chosen for their proximity (Rodeo is 50km east of Salinas), accessibility, and geographical similarity — both are situated in the Altiplano sur region, in the southern part of the Oruro department, with a difference of 60m in altitude.

The producer interview guide consisted of 24 qualitative and 8 quantitative questions (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the interview guide in Spanish). I also conducted semi-structured and

unstructured interviews with various actors from La Paz, Oruro, Quillacas, and Uyuni. These included: managers, presidents or leaders of quinoa cooperatives; engineers or higher level employees from organic quinoa firms; government officials; NGO workers; FLO representatives; and engineers from organic certifiers. When conducting recorded and non-recorded, semi-structured interviews with these actors, I used a different set of 18 qualitative questions (see Appendix 2 for a copy of the interview guide in Spanish).

I conducted: a total of 12 recorded semi-structured interviews with producers (6 among organic producers from Rodeo and 6 among fair trade producers from Salinas; half of the participants interviewed in both areas were women, for gender parity) using an interview guide geared toward producers (Appendix 1); 3 recorded and 3 unrecorded semi-structured interviews among quinoa cooperative and firm management, using a different interview guide geared toward management (Appendix 2); 20 unstructured, unrecorded interviews; and participant along with non-participant observation (of: a general assembly of the cooperative APROCAY; 3 out of 5 days of Rodeo's general assembly; a three day workshop for members of CECAOT; llama grazing and other activities undertaken in Rodeo during the off season; quinoa processing in a factory in Oruro; workers loading quinoa into a shipping container for export at APQUISA; and other, every-day activities performed by quinoa producers and NGO workers collaborating with quinoa producers).

My first two months in Bolivia were dedicated to building my contact base: I identified participants and organizations who would participate in my study through snowball sampling.

At the beginning of each interview, I asked whether participants wanted to be identified by their name or stay anonymous. Real names are used throughout the thesis in the case of participants who wanted to be identified and descriptions, rather than pseudonyms — which could create confusion between "real" and "false" names, — were used for participants who wanted to stay anonymous (for example: "producer" or "manager of XX").

Participant observation and "giving back to/benefiting" the participants

> *First, we do not strive to separate observer from participant, subject from object, but recognize their antagonistic coexistence. No matter how we approach our research, we are always simultaneously participant and observer because inescapably we live in the world we study* (Burawoy, 2009, p. 9).

Figure 3: APROCAY workshop and assembly

Producers from APROCAY listen (some more eagerly than others) as I talk about fair trade and community organizing (carrying out a group activity in the latter). Women sit in the back, taking care of children and often not participating to the same extent as the men.

One of the ways I tried to "give back" to FAUTAPO, an organization which proved invaluable in helping me establish contact with producers and which was helping facilitate APROCAY's general assembly in the photo above, was by giving workshops on fair trade and community organizing. Often, in these types of meetings and assemblies, although women are given an equal voice to men, they would sit at the periphery, did not engage, or would have to leave early to take

care of the children and prepare food, as seen in the photo above.

One of the challenges related to conducting research in Bolivia is that the subject of quinoa has been overly researched, especially after FAO's Year of Quinoa in 2013 (studies have looked at nutritional benefits, commodity chains, production in different ecological zones, fair trade and organic markets, etc.). More often than not, researchers retrieve the necessary information for their various studies and then do not follow up afterwards with the producers they interviewed or contribute in any tangible, visible way to them at the time of investigation. Bolivians call this the 'extractive model' of research. This practice is one that I wanted to avoid at all costs.

In order to give back to research participants and the community more generally, I asked all participants whom I interviewed if they wanted to receive the results of the investigation via email and, in the cases where they didn't have access to email, I requested that they identify a contact person who would be capable of sharing the information with them. But I also wanted to contribute something more concrete, immediate, and not necessarily "academic" to participants at the time of my investigation. In Rodeo, I did this by: giving evening English classes to community members (producers, children, and youth) who were very keen given they wanted to be able to converse with potential tourists; helping during their general assembly by formatting and editing their *normas comunales* (their by-laws); developing a brochure in English for tourists in order to help them diversify their economy and encourage a form of "ecotourism" in the community; participating in the communal labour requirement (in their annual general meeting) by climbing atop a roof and sweeping the tin to ready it for painting (a feat, I realized, which was normally exclusively done by the men and got me some odd looks from the community members and ultimately, as warned, sick with the flu); and even helping herd and feed llamas one day when tenaciously following one of the participants out to *el campo* to conduct my semi-structured interview with her. Community members would joke and say that I was going to become a *quinuera* and should marry a quinoa producer so I could settle down and live in Rodeo and continue giving them English classes and potentially initiating a plethora of other community projects (greenhouse, library, internet installation...the list goes on). In this way, as

Burawoy eloquently puts it, roles weren't always so neatly separated and I found myself many times "simultaneously participant and observer" (Burawoy, 2009, p. 9).

In part due to these efforts and my previous snowball sampling in La Paz and Oruro, I felt that I received a warm reception from community members in Rodeo and participants from APQUISA. I could not have done this research without them. Upon arriving in La Paz, I spent the first weeks meeting with various representatives of quinoa organizations and cooperatives: Agronômes et vétérinaires sans frontières (AVSF), CECAOT, ANAPQUI, APQUISA, and FAUTAPO. Of the NGOs that worked most directly with quinoa producers—AVSF and FAUTAPO—it seemed that FAUTAPO was better perceived and received by the *quinuera* community. AVSF, in contrast, had published some studies with findings which were negatively perceived by a number of cooperatives and producers and I did not want to complicate my field research or give myself a headache. In addition, the manager of FAUTAPO, Pedro Mamani, was enthusiastic and eager about working together and helped me establish contact with quinoa producers, making the initial introductions.

In order to give back to FAUTAPO, I also gave a few English classes to its employees, helped translate information on their website, compiled statistics on Challapata quinoa prices, and gave a few workshops on Fair Trade and community organizing at various seminars and general assemblies they helped organized for quinoa producers. Pedro Mamani proved to be an invaluable asset in my field research and coordinated contact with leaders of quinoa cooperatives, organic firms, FLO representatives, engineers, government officials, and consultants. Another key contact was Endulfo Gabriel Cautín, president of APQUISA, who helped establish contact with producers in the areas around Salinas de Garcí Mendoza and sent me information on fair trade quinoa from a presentation he would often give to producers from his cooperative. Endulfo was primarily interested in seeing the results that came out of my research and knowing what organic firms — the competition — were paying their producers.

Upon graduation, I aim to prepare two documents. I hope to create a short briefing note that

summarizes the results of my investigation that I plan to send to producers, cooperatives, organizations, and firms that participated in my research. I would also like to send out a separate, less text heavy pamphlet geared toward producers, which compares the different quinoa markets (conventional, organic and fair trade), a task which, surprisingly, has not been undertaken by any of the quinoa researchers to date. This document will outline the steps necessary for producers to take in order to access these different markets along with key contacts (for example, the number one can register with to receive the weekly Challapata market prices or the official FLO representative who helps cooperatives become fair trade certified). While in the field, I noticed this type of practical research geared toward producers was often absent. In chapter four and my conclusion, I explore possible avenues in participatory action research that I think can contribute to knowledge and offer exciting new insights into quinoa producers' livelihoods.

Part 4: Data analysis

When analyzing qualitative primary data from field research I used thematic coding using different colours to represent ideas rather than just using words. These ideas fell into three groups: 1. Themes, such as: production, labor, livelihoods, the commons, *vivir bien*, costs, gender, relationships of production, understanding of fair trade or organic norms, power dynamics, food security, and changes in nature, land degradation and concepts of *pacha mama* (Andean deity similar to notion of "Earth Mother"). 2. Categories, such as: benefits, programs, financing, coping strategies, goals, and challenges. 3. And definitions, which were specifically related to the manner in which producers and participants defined quinoa. These codes were developed using a combination of concept-driven method — rooted in the frameworks described above such as a historical materialist political ecology theoretical framework combined with a livelihoods approach— and data-driven method in which I pulled codes based on the data, and not just pre-existing theory (Gibbs, 2007, p. 46).

Primary data analysis (from interviews and participant observation in the field) in this research was complemented and triangulated with data from secondary sources —studies from NGOs on the ground, *Cámara Boliviana de Exportadores de Quinua y Productos Orgánicos* (CABOLQUI), information and statistics from cooperatives, government and non-governmental

sources, government archives, newspaper articles, academic studies, and other empirical data sources.

Chapter 3: Historical Background

This chapter will provide a historical overview of quinoa production in Bolivia in order to better understand and contextualize current production practices and challenges. The chapter starts with a historical analysis of property rights leading up to the 1953 agrarian reform and contest over governance of the "commons." Next, current debates around fair trade — specifically on its "alternative" or "decommodifying" nature — are presented and explored. *Part three* problematizes fair trade and organic quinoa production in the Bolivian context while the subsequent section focuses on historical production of quinoa in Bolivia. *Part five* synthesizes present day quinoa production with agrarian reforms and environmental degradation. Finally, *part six* explains how quinoa as a subsistence crop has turned into a market commodity.

Part 1: The "tragedy of the commons," land tenure and degradation in the Altiplano sur: traditional property rights leading up to the 1953 agrarian reform

Figure 4: Land on fire

Some of the residents in areas around Rodeo either burn vegetation which does not serve as a

natural barrier (having natural barriers is one of the requirements of organic farming) or garbage.

The "tragedy of the commons" is a term coined by Garrett Hardin (1968) and refers to land degradation (and other adverse consequences that impact the commons and the people who use them) that arises from communal resource sharing and individuals pursuing their own self interest under capitalism. Ostrom (1990) unpacks this concept further by looking at incentives, collective action, self-organizing mechanisms, internal and external governance of decisions and resources, institutional arrangements, and alternative solutions to common resource issues. In the case of Bolivia, the "commons" have historically faced numerous challenges. A common misconception, however, is that Bolivian land in the entire precolonial era was communally owned. This was not the case for the Aymara kingdom (1100s-1460s), where people were separated into corporate and class structures by kin groupings — or *ayllus* — with the upper *ayllus* consisting of the nobility and the lower *ayllus* consisting of peasants (Klein, 2011, p. 14; Morales, 2004). Although the subsequent Incan empire (1460s-1532) was more economically and socially equal, prohibiting private property ownership and distributing "goods and services by taxing up to two-thirds of the produce of the Andean peasantry," many Aymara nobles were able to keep their privately owned lands along with the peasant labourers who worked them (Klein, 2011, p. 18). Even within the Incan empire, there was still a significant component of private property for both the Aymara and Incan elite.

Over time the *ayllus*, however, became something larger and more general, transcending vertical, language, and ethnic boundaries, and transforming into an important form of peasant organization, granting land and organizing labour across Bolivia (Klein, 2011). These new *ayllus* did not include the nobility — the *cacique* — but were important social and territorial units of indigenous organization, representing autonomous nations within different territories. Although after colonization by the Spanish (which started in 1532) there was a "royal patent" in place to protect previously communally owned lands, this was mostly disregarded by European settlers who either grabbed land illicitly through *repartimientos* (land-grants) or *encomiendas* (labour-

grants) (Heath, Erasmus, & Buechler, 1969). Communal land still existed under colonization, but under Spanish administration, which defined and decided communal territories and collected taxes which benefited the *hacienda* system. After Bolivian independence in 1825, this landholding system, along with the growing economic power of mestizos as the descendants of colonial landowners (who deliberately resisted any kind of preferential treatment to indigenous peoples) would characterize the Bolivian landscape (Heath et al., 1969). In 1826, legal land reforms tended to privatize communal land, reinforcing the previous colonial hacienda system (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, p. 532). This dual system of communal and individual property rights has historically characterized Bolivian society and continues to this day.

Remarkably, subsequent republican governments did even less for the peasant *ayllus* than their colonial predecessors. Although initially granting corporate possession of land to peasant communities, this practice ended in 1866 when communal property rights were no longer recognized (Klein, 1993). The situation was aggravated with the first great republican reform in 1874 under Tomás Frías: a law was passed, the *Ley de exvinculación*, which transformed collective property from the *ayllus* into individual property. The law also allowed the state and army to remove indigenous people from their lands and parcel out their collective territories to create individual titles. This ushered in a new age of *haciendas* and *latifundios*[5], where indigenous people became the labourers and serfs of these new private property landholdings. Previously communal lands continued to be systematically targeted or sold off to varying degrees until the 1930s-40s (and the agrarian reform of 1953), resulting in a large population of landless peasants (Klein, 2011). Another element of uncertainty came with the 1938 Constitution Convention, which drastically 'unprotected' private property rights; land which was not seen as fulfilling a social-economically useful purpose could be reclaimed by the state (Heath et al., 1969; Klein, 2011). This amendment still holds in Bolivia today but is often sidestepped by large landholders "claiming fictitious subdivisions of their property, or by moving herds from one place to another to convince inspectors that the land was in full use" (Fabricant, 2012b, p. 38).

[5] "The State does not recognize the latifundium (latifundio), the large, rural holding which is minimally exploited by antiquated labour-intensive methods, and which perpetuates a system of feudal oppression." Article 12, *Paraphrase of Bolivia's Agrarian Reform Law of August 2, 1953* (Heath, 1969, 402-403)

Land titling in the Altiplano sur and the *Oriente* region (the north-east part of the country) was very different, based on different political and economic actors who had power at the time in the different areas (the "*villa campesina*" in the Altiplano sur, and the "*villa empresarial*" in the *Oriente*). In addition, land titling and communal property which is legally recognized was extremely fragmented in the Altiplano sur, in part due to a harsh environmental landscape, which resulted in larger migrations, primarily for younger generations — descendants of the 1953 agrarian reform — who were often unable to gain access to sustainable lands (FAO, 2004, p. 29). As shall be explored in more detail further below, the Altiplano sur and *Oriente* experienced the agrarian reforms of 1953, 1991 and the current Morales government quite differently.

Although the "tragedy" of degrading communally owned and managed resources occurred under colonial, republican and modern day rule, perhaps the true tragedy was the lack of recognition of communal property rights. Had these rights been recognized and protected, modern agricultural practices in Bolivia might look quite different today.

Part 2: Debates around fair trade: getting closer to or further from commodity fetishism?

Fair trade attempts to recalibrate the inequalities of conventional international trade by offering producers a 'fairer' price for their product, which is set above global market prices. Fair trade is often seen as an alternative to conventional trade and seeks to: 1) improve the livelihoods of the poorest producers by fixing regional prices for commodities; 2) negotiate between the producer and purchaser for a fair price or "a partnership between consumers and producers"; 3) implement better environmental practices; 4) offer a premium to producers which goes toward community development projects or environmental sustainability; 5) shorten the distance between consumers and producers by eliminating the middleman 6) and offer a fairtrade minimum price which "aims to ensure that producers can cover their average costs of sustainable production. It acts as a safety net for farmers at times when world markets fall below a sustainable level." (Raynolds, 2002; University of Edinburgh Social Responsibility and Sustainability, 2013; World Fair Trade Organization & Fairtrade Labelling Organizations, 2009). It can be argued, however, that fair

trade interferes with the market by fixing prices; keeps farmers at the bottom by disregarding mechanization and industrialization; keeps producers in a position of dependency on consumer tastes and markets; does not actually empower small producers but rather retains a top-down structure; creates dependency amongst poor producers on NGOs for support on fair trade crops; is costly for certification; is difficult to meet standards; and lacks transparency (Guthman, 2008; Moore, 2004; Ruben, Fort, & Zuñiga-Arias, 2009).

Quinoa producers access the organic and fair trade markets differently in Bolivia. They can access the organic market individually (or collectively), but if they choose to produce for the fair trade market, they must be associated with a producer organization. Producer organizations — such as cooperatives or associations — involved in fair trade are often considered a means in achieving rural development and improving livelihoods. Through increased bargaining power, they can increase employment, generate higher incomes, improve community members' access to social services, and offer a decentralized food security and resource management system (Chambo, 2009, p. 7). Through self-management and a democratic, decentralized system (requirements for participating in fair trade), they can transform labour-production relationships of inequality and, ideally, offer an alternative to the capitalist-driven system of agriculture, which tends to opt for large scale, mechanized, intensive production — concentrated in the hands of the few — over traditional small scale practices. But producer organizations can also reinforce or even (re)create power dynamics if certain checks and balances are not in place or if implementation mechanisms are absent or not respected, ultimately resulting in the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals who make all the decisions.

Producer organizations involved in fair trade and organic production also have to adhere to strict rules around transparency, traceability, accountability and quality, sometimes struggling to do so due to their organizational structure or lack of assistance. And with the declining intervention of the state in the wake of the structural adjustment era, NGOs have come to play a more important role over the years with producer organizations, but have a localized rather than a systemic approach. How much do NGOs or producer organizations actually collectively organize with

other actors or lobby the government in order to implement policies that support and empower small scale quinoa producers who produce for the organic and fair trade markets? Perhaps more realistically, producer organizations can help their members "in developing niche markets or in strengthening their bargaining position vis-à-vis large, often foreign-owned, processors and retailers" and realizing value added by incorporating into additional levels of the commodity chain (Bijman, Omta, Trienekens, Wijnands, & Wubben, 2006, pp. 100-102).

Fair trade, which seeks to "maintain a decent and dignified livelihood" and develop producers' full human capital (World Fair Trade Organization & Fairtrade Labelling Organizations, 2009, p. 6) is often seen as a panacea for the volatile global commodity market and producers' resulting precarious livelihoods. But fair trade comes with its own challenges. A study on coffee fair trade certification by Méndez, Bacon, Olson, Petchers et al. (2010) analyses the impacts on cooperative member's household livelihood decisions. They find that coffee fair trade certification had no obvious effect on education or livelihoods in general, but that it had a positive effect on savings and credit. Part of the reason for this is that producers, although producing for the fair trade market, were unable to sell all of their crop as fair trade, being forced to sell in some measure on the conventional market. They also find no positive effect on food security, possibly because of the higher costs associated with organic/fair trade production, but also because of the timing of coffee production payments which do not coincide with the 'skinny cow' (*vacas flacas)* months. In addition, they find that most producers involved in the study had serious concerns about "accountability, lack of transparency and miscommunication between households, cooperatives and unions" (Méndez et al., 2010, p. 247). So rather than truly transformative and impacting livelihoods, the benefits to producers tended to be purely financial.

Their study uses primarily quantitative statistical methods — Pearson's chi-square test and Kruskal– Wallis non-parametric test — to analyze household level "savings, credit, food security and incidence of migration" and "differences in coffee price, volume, gross revenue and education between certifications" (Méndez et al., 2010, p. 236). The authors conducted field surveys for over one year in four countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Mexico),

collecting data from 469 households and 8 cooperatives. To replicate a similar study is beyond the scope of this research. Instead, my research employs a more qualitative, household level analysis of changes in livelihoods associated with fair trade and organic production, using the case of Bolivian quinoa, which seems absent in the literature.

And as Fridell (2007b) argues, current fair trade is not a true alternative to conventional trade, advancing the decommodification agenda, but rather a market approach, what he terms the "fair trade network," an initiative fundamentally weaker than the previous "fair trade movement" (established in the 1940s and 1950s); this change in direction of fair trade ultimately contributes to furthering commodity fetishism. Whereas the "fair trade movement" was characterized by state involvement and global cooperation through international commodity agreements such as the International Coffee Agreement (abolished in 1989 under neoliberal reforms), the "fair trade network" is NGO-led, "voluntary, member-specific and dependent on the unpredictable vagaries of the international market" (Fridell, 2007b, p. 100). Although organic and fair trade quinoa cooperatives are on the rise in Bolivia, state intervention still benefits large agro-business. Although higher prices associated with organic and fair trade production are allowing producers in Bolivia to climb out of poverty, their traditional production methods are marketed and commodified. Reification, the objectification of social relations and people, still occurs as the "moral" aspect of fair trade is commoditized by selling the notion of "solidarity," environmental stewardship, and through the "commodification of difference [...] of 'self' and other'" to rich consumers (Dolan, 2005; Fridell, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Goodman, 2004; Lyon, 2006). This purchased solidarity is false and:

> Based on moral appeals as opposed to a common cause; and connectedness between consumers and producers is mediated by the market, which shields consumers from shared responsibility for their actions. Truly disrupting the fetishism of commodities involves not just making information on how a good is produced available to consumers, but it requires carrying out production in a democratic and consciously regulated process in which both producers and consumers are involved and are accountable for the decisions they make (Fridell, 2007b, p. 93).

This decision-making that Fridell mentions is isolated into separate spheres which are neither transversal nor communicate back and forward with one-another: consumers, traders, and producers are all alienated from each other. Commodities are personified while poor, indigenous producers from the Global South are reified, with the prior becoming an active, determining agent and the latter becoming an impassive thing. Both consumers and producers remain alienated under fair trade: consumers are still disconnected from the producers and their own market power (consumption decisions) while producers are estranged in terms of their own identity (which is constantly being transformed and marketed), the labour process itself and the commodity they've produced. For fair trade to truly work, what is needed is "a project aimed not just at confronting unethical market behaviour, but the social relations that underlie them" (Fridell, 2007b, p. 101).

Many studies have analyzed the impact of fair trade on agricultural cooperatives, specifically looking at the cases of coffee and bananas (Calo & Wise, 2005; Jaffee, 2007; Ronchi, 2002). In seeking to measure the impact of fair trade on development, Ruben, Fort and Zuñiga-Arias (2009) collect data from fair trade and non fair trade coffee and banana cooperatives in Peru and Costa Rica. They find that additional income from fair trade was relatively modest but that fair trade involvement significantly strengthened farmer organizations' bargaining power. Participation in fair trade has also been shown to reduce small-scale farmer exposure and vulnerability to low market prices (Bacon, 2005). But farmers are not always able to sell their entire crop at a fair trade premium, instead being forced to sell part of their higher quality product (destined for fair trade markets) to the conventional market (Bacon, 2005). Such studies show how market powers have explicit influence on livelihood decisions and that market approaches are limited in challenging labour production relations.

In Bolivia, quinoa started to be exported internationally through fair trade and organic channels in the late 1980s, primarily to fair trade stores belonging to members of the European Fair Trade Association (EFTA): *GEPA* in Germany and *Artisans du Monde in France* (Carimentrand, 2011,

p. 314). Producer organizations such as ANAPQUI started to certify their quinoa following European norms for organic production (Norm# 2092/91), CECAOT followed suit, and various quinoa organic firms were created in the late 80s, such as Jatary, Quinoa Food, Andean Valley, Quinoa-Bol and Quinoa Food (Carimentrand, 2011, p. 314). In 2005, the first fair trade labels were created — Max Havelaar and Transfair — while the organic label "bio-équitable" was created by Jatary and distributed in France (Carimentrand, 2011, p. 314).

Part 3: Traditional production of quinoa: persisting through the ages

The production of quinoa, an ancient Andean grain, goes as far back as 7000 years ago (Jacobsen, 2003; PROINPA, 2011), long before the Tihuanaco civilization, Aymara people, and Incan empire which characterized the Altiplano region of the Andes before the Spanish conquest. The crop is distinct from other fair trade commodities (such as coffee, cacao, bananas, sugar, tea, flowers, etc.) as people actually depend on it for food, rather than producing it for luxury consumption — not composing a vital part of their diet — for export to developed countries. Given the notions of food security put forward by organic and fair trade certification, quinoa, traditionally a nationally consumed subsistence crop, actually provides insights on whether or not producers — and the population at large — are more food secure.

Quinoa, traditionally produced and consumed for subsistence purposes, was largely lost after Spanish colonization (Rojas, Soto, & Carrasco, 2004). Although extremely nutritious and environmentally resilient, adaptive, and tolerant to high altitudes, minimal care, frost, drought, and poor soil — conditions that characterize the Altiplano region — it wasn't until 1948 that quinoa started to re-emerge once again, when the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations began to research its uses and benefits (Claure, 1946; Eiselen, 1956). At the time (1950), ninety per cent of private farm land was owned by less than five per cent of total rural landholders; the United Nations also ranked Bolivia as the country with the "smallest proportion of agriculture crop land to total area (0.3 per cent) in all of Latin America," (Heath et al., 1969, p. 36) a proportion insufficient to meet even domestic food demands.

In this context, quinoa was and is still seen as a possible solution to domestic and international food insecurity. But at the time, promoting large-scale consumption and scaling up production on a national level was difficult (and virtually impossible on an international level), given the complicated process of de-husking saponins (the bitter outer shell of the seed), a laborious task done by hand which would take 2-3 days for 150 pounds (Kim, 2013). In the 1970s, the *Central de Cooperativas de Campesinos Agrícolas Operación Tierra* embarked on a mission to mechanize the de-husking process by using a $15,000 grant from Catholic Relief Services to buy a machine, which still only succeeded in removing 70% of the saponins (Kim, 2013). Technological innovation was relatively slow over the next decade and even in 1979, when Kevin Healy, the Inter American Foundation's portfolio manager for Bolivia, visited and approved a $105,000 grant to the co-op for technical training, assistance, and a new de-husking machine, this new machine also failed to remove all the saponins (Kim, 2013). Improvements in mechanization continued through the 1980s with a concessional loan from Inter-America Development Bank (Kim, 2013) and these new improvements in mechanization, along with structural adjustment policies which were sweeping the country at the time and pushing forward industrialized farming, succeeded in putting quinoa on the map; from an area of 24,930 hectares dedicated to quinoa production in 1982, Bolivia went to covering 43,086 hectares in 1983 (FAOSTAT 2014).

Quinoa was traditionally grown on raised fields, technology introduced by the Inca. Archeological studies (Bruno & Whitehead, 2003) have also found that quinoa and other crops played a critical role in the emergence of complex societies in the Lake Titicaca Basin area, the Altiplano region where Aymara and Incan empires (and later the Spanish) would be centred. Although quinoa was produced primarily for domestic consumption with the surplus directed to various Bolivian regions, farmers utilized "large-scale strategies such as exploitation of fertile ecozones, creation of raised fields and terraces, and intensified use of stone digging implements region-wide" (Bruno & Whitehead, 2003, p. 339). An archeological study by Erickson (1992) examines the prehistoric landscape phenomenon of raised fields in the Andean highlands — which covered 82,000 hectares in the Lake Titicaca Basin area — and finds that the traditional

land use system was in fact more efficient, productive, resilient, sustainable and environmentally sound than current farming practices in the Altiplano. By means of an agricultural experiment and empirical data, Erickson finds that: “raised fields increased cultivation soil depth and fertility, provided drainage and conservation of water, improved crop microclimates, and produced and recycled nutrients which could be utilized on the fields” (Erickson, 1992, p. 291). Quinoa production in Incan times would appear to have been more environmentally sound than conventional modern day practices, which is dependent on certain levels of precipitation and is vulnerable if these are not met.

Quinoa, amongst other crops, was also part of a complex non-market economy (through exchange, kinship, and labour obligations) that contributed to the region’s vertical integration between diverse ecological zones (Godoy, 1984; Klein, 2011, p. 15). Products such as coca, fruit, maize, fish, condiments and beans — which could not be produced or procured in the high altitudes of the Altiplano — were exchanged for other crops (such as quinoa), meat, and wool (from alpacas, llamas, vicuñas and sheep) (Klein, 2011, p. 15). These upland-lowland production linkages were vital to the functioning of pre-Hispanic societies (Painter, 1991). Since the Altiplano is also rich in mineral and hydrocarbon resources (not including coal), agriculture in this area has historically been tied to the extractive industries (Godoy, 1984; Painter, 1991). Before the quinoa boom of the late 20th and early 21st century, it was still common, in quinoa producing communities in the departments of Oruro and Potosí (both in the Altiplano sur), for producers to alternate between quinoa production and mine labour (Quintanilla, 2011). The Incan system, which used peasants for forced draft labour to work the mines (*mita*), was later taken up by European colonizers when the mining industry expanded and intensified. This transformed how quinoa and other traditional crops were used, sped up the process of environmental degradation, and largely isolated the previously integrated ecological zones. Mines required fuel for smelting and given the expense of transporting and acquiring coal, the best alternative was cheap local fuels, derived from quinoa, lama excrements, grasses, moss, and turf (Godoy, 1984, p. 368). As the mining industry expanded, so did the demand for local fuels, removing much of the ground cover (and consequently much of the top soil) in the Altiplano, deforesting

hinterlands, and decreasing soil fertility by depleting previously used animal fertilizers (Godoy, 1984).

In their work, Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) analyze marginality by examining the interrelated and causal categories of economic, ecological, and political-economic marginality. They use the example of land managers becoming *politico-economically marginalized* through imposed taxes, which subsequently influences their land-use and investment decisions. The resulting intensification of production diminishes longer-term investment in soil and water conservation, which in turn leads to diminished profits. The land thus becomes *economically marginalized*, further pushing the agro-ecosystem to become *ecologically marginalized.* Similarly, quinoa has also historically experienced interrelated and causal economic, ecological, and politico-economic marginality. Peasant land-users became *politico-economically marginalized* through forced labour and tribute payments imposed by the Incan, Spanish, and which continued through post-independence republican governments, which in turn influenced their land-use decisions. Resources (such as quinoa, lama excrements, grasses, moss and turf) previously employed for a diversity of uses became exploited for a primary purpose: to meet mining industry demands. Land became both *economically* and *ecologically marginalized*, resulting from land degradation, and no longer produced to the same capacity as before. In addition, due to decreased fertility and viability of highland areas, Painter (1991) finds that farmers coped by: increasing their number of livestock (which then results in overgrazing communal pastures); deforesting larger areas, with women deforesting closer to home out of necessity; and converting commonly managed pasture, forest and forage areas into arable land for agriculture. These coping strategies further perpetuate the cycle of land degradation. Thus, due to changing priorities in colonial and republican times, quinoa, along with other traditional Andean crops and livelihoods, was placed on the margins. But in the case of present day quinoa, the opposite is true with relation to livestock grazing: whereas quinoa producing areas used to be characterized by a symbiotic relationship between lama grazing and quinoa production, the boom has resulted in intensified production and expanded areas dedicated to producing quinoa, precipitating erosion and a reduction in soil fertility (Kerssen, 2015; Quintanilla, 2011). This is the legacy which current

quinoa producers in the Altiplano sur have inherited.

Part 4: Fair trade and organic Bolivian quinoa

Figure 5: Bag of organic quinoa

Photograph from my visit to Quinbolsur, an organic quinoa firm which processes quinoa.

Similar to fair trade coffee and banana — and other commodity— producers elsewhere, quinoa producers in Bolivia exporting to the fair trade and organic market should be expected to have advantages over producers who rely on conventional markets. But how do fair trade and organic quinoa producers in Bolivia actually benefit from certification? Existing studies have suggested that Bolivian quinoa producer organizations inserted into the fair trade and organic markets are vulnerable to and dependent on the demands of private fair trade and organic companies such as *Jatary, Quinoa Food, Andean Valley,* and *Quinoa-Bol* (Carimentrand & Ballet, 2008). Carimentrand and Ballet's (2008) field research revealed that Jatary had extremely strict standards which were sometimes difficult for producers to adhere to while other participants expressed that Andean Valley was starting to "have a monopoly" and dominate the market in Bolivia. In a later study, Carimentrand (2011) argues that a depersonalisation behind the ethics of fair trade occurs through third party certification. This, once again, plays into Marx's 'fetishism of commodities,' where commodities are seemingly disconnected from the workers who produce them. If fair trade indeed seeks to shorten the distance between consumer and producer through

ethical consumerism and showing the invisible face of the producer behind the commodity, then this depersonalisation moves it away from its goals. In addition, prices are kept low (without going below their fair trade level) due to competition between producers certified by FairTrade International's (FLO) certification body, FLOCERT (Carimentrand, 2011). Suppliers on the list of fair trade producers are thus substitutable to importers; this market competition and subsequent downward pressure on quinoa prices creates, according to Carimentrand (2011), a disparity between fair trade principles and practices.

Part 5: Modern quinoa: the impact of land reforms and environmental degradation

The 1953 Bolivian Agrarian Reform implemented one of the most radical and far-reaching land transfers in Latin America, "second only to the Mexican Revolution's agrarian reform" (Morales, 2004, p. 148). Previous feudal and unpaid labour practices were outlawed, *haciendas* were distributed between the *hacendado* (landowner) and peasants who hitherto had worked them, previously seized collective land (during the colonial and subsequent republican era) was returned to peasants, and the *latifundia* was disbanded — declared outlawed and redistributed among peasants (Heath et al., 1969; Klein, 2011; Lagos, 1994; Morales, 2004). The land reform also affected producers in the highlands (Altiplano) and *Oriente* (north-east) quite differently. In the 1930s-1940s, *sindicatos campesinos* (peasant unions) were formed and peasants started to occupy *haciendas* and redistribute land in the Altiplano, historically (and currently) an extractive/mining stronghold, while the *Oriente* saw little activity and had traditionally remained relatively uninhabited. Peasant unions in the Altiplano started to accumulate quite a bit of political power and the agrarian reform of 1953 implemented by the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* merely legalized and continued this process of re-appropriation and redistribution of land by peasants, but beyond the Altiplano.

In the 1940s, funding by a United-States driven economic development plan sought to relocate people from the densely populated, infertile Altiplano region to the productive lowlands of the east (McKay & Colque, 2016, p. 583). In 1960, a national process of spatial restructuring occurred where highland peasants who came from particularly populated areas of the Altiplano

relocated to "empty" Amazonian lowlands, the *Marcha hacia el Oriente* led by the *Instituto Nacional de Colonización* (INC) which was created in 1965 (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, pp. 530, 534). This sparked regionally different agrarian processes in Bolivia: highland producers had little recognition of their communal lands or *Tierra Comunitaria de Origen,* while lowland settlers (who originally came from the highlands and had gained significant political power due to their experience in organizing and redistributing land through peasant unions) not only gained new territorial space for farming but also gained new political-economic space and power at a regional and national level, since they were better organized into unions and "received considerable direct financial support from foreign donors combining land registration with capacity-building" and, "Unlike the indigenous people of the highlands, lowland indigenous people based their demands for property rights on international conventions. Among them, Convention No. 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO)" (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, p. 537). Peasants from the lowlands started to emerge as an important business sector, concerned about material conditions, and subscribing to international market norms and demands.

Unions were the way peasants accessed titles to land. In order to have land redistributed to them, peasants had to form unions and saw themselves as "land workers struggling over their means of production"; the first peasant unions were founded in 1936 in Ana Rancho and 1939 in Ucureña, Cochabamba (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, p. 532). Unfortunately, lowland/highland discrepancies weren't the only issue with the 1953 reform, but land distribution in general remained unequal and concentrated in the hands of the few:

> Alongside this wave of colonization of the lowlands by indigenous people from the highlands since the 1970s, land distribution was used by Banzer's military regime to satisfy a rich class of mainly foreign large-scale farmers and thereby establish ties with Western oligarchies […] Seventy per cent of the total amount of land distributed in 1953 — 57.3 million hectares, which is 50 per cent of the country's available land -— was distributed during the dictatorship of Banzer Suárez between 1971 and 1977 (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, p. 535).

Andean settlers were often prioritized over local populations in the lowlands; from 1953 to 1993 2 million hectares were distributed to 50,000 beneficiaries — gaining individual or communal titles — who were primarily Andean settlers and white farmers (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, p. 534). In addition, using political connections, *latifundia* and *hacienda* owners could have their property declared smaller than it really was and maintain their titles, while smaller properties could be declared *latifundia* and see their land entirely seized (Heath et al., 1969; Morales, 2004). And neoliberal tendencies only continued to persist…

In the mid 1980s, facing raising interest rates, hyperinflation, and plummeting global tin prices and demand, Bolivia's economy was on the verge of collapse.[6] Bolivia, like many Latin American countries at the time, sought to rectify the problem by implementing structural adjustment policies and the conditions that went along with them from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s. This created a bit of a countermovement to what the 1953 reform theoretically tried to achieve, with the concentration of land in even fewer hands, a collapse of small scale farming, and the "expropriation of productive resources, such as land and forests"; many people were also pushed into the informal sector (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012; Fabricant, 2012a, p. 37; Hylton & Thomson, 2007). In 1996, the law of the *Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria* (INRA), funded by the World Bank, was created, promoting the privatization of land and seeking, by eliminating tenure restrictions, to create a land market which facilitated land titling to peasants (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, p. 537; Redo, Millington, & Hindery, 2011, p. 232). In 1997, the *Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu* (CONAMAQ) was created to recuperate territorial sovereignty that existed in precolonial times, particularly with regards to the quarter of the Incan Empire known as '*colla suyo*' which makes up today's highlands of Bolivia and Peru — the Altiplano (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, pp. 537-538). As a consequence, a new category of land titling was created: *Tierra Comunitaria de Origen* (TCO), which is recognized legally under INRA. Some land in the Altiplano was titled as TCO around this time, with support from progressive NGOs and

[6] On October 24th, 1985, tin prices were cut in half, drastically affecting Bolivia — one of the main world producers of tin — and other countries worldwide (Crabtree & Duffy, 1987). For a detailed account of the tin crash and the effect on Bolivia, see Crabtree & Duffy's (1987) book: *The Great Tin Crash: Bolivia and the World Tin Market*.

international organizations (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, pp. 537-538), but most of the land remains without legal recognition. Most of the legally recognized TCOs are in the Amazon and Chaco.

In the twenty-first century, under Morales, the pendulum has theoretically swung back to the left from previous neoliberal policies, with renewed efforts to distribute land to peasants and with recognition of individual and community rights (Klein, 2011). In November 2006, the *Ley de Reconducción Communitaria de la Reforma Agraria* was enacted, a light reform to INRA which re-emphasizes the necessity for land to fulfill an economic and social function (present in previous land reforms) and expropriating land which does not fulfill these requirements (Bottazzi & Rist, 2012, pp. 540-541). After 16 constitutions — the first dating from Independence in 1826 and the last a result of the military dictatorship in 1967 (which started under Barrientos in 1964) — a new constitution comes into effect in 2009 which: "guaranteed all the traditional rights of the indigenous community governments and also reinforced decentralization through departmental, regional, communal, and municipal autonomies" (Klein, 2011, p. 291). This autonomy, unfortunately, is quite limited and has no legal status. So what is the state of land ownership after centuries of struggle? Unfortunately, in the twenty-first century, medium and large landholdings still make up ninety per cent of all land ownership in Bolivia and property remains concentrated in the hands of a few (Hylton & Thomson, 2007; J. Spronk, R. Webber, & (editors), 2014, p. 311; R. Webber, 2011, p. 26).

For quinoa, intensification of production has fundamentally changed the environmental and social landscape of the Altiplano sur. Liberalized trade and mechanized production characterized the 1970s, which in turn led to consolidating producers' organizations and increased demand in the 1980s (land dedicated to quinoa production jumped from 24, 930 hectares in 1982 to 43,086 hectares in 1983); this was the beginning of a drastic change in how and how much quinoa was produced in Bolivia (Kerssen, 2013a; Quintanilla, 2011). The southern Altiplano region (specifically the Oruro and Potosí departments) is the largest producer and exporter of quinoa in the country and Bolivia has seen an over fourteen-fold increase in the land dedicated to quinoa production, from 12,200 hectares in 1970 to 173,960 hectares in 2014, without much change in

productivity (FAOSTAT, 2016; Quintanilla, 2011). International demand in the last six years has also impacted quinoa production: from 2010-2014, the land dedicated to quinoa production has increased threefold (FAOSTAT, 2016). See Figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Intensification of quinoa over the decades

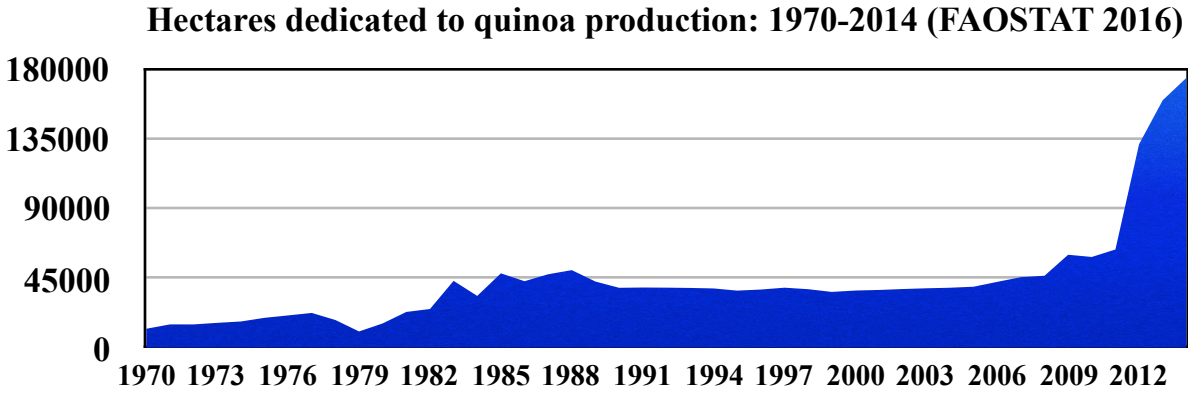
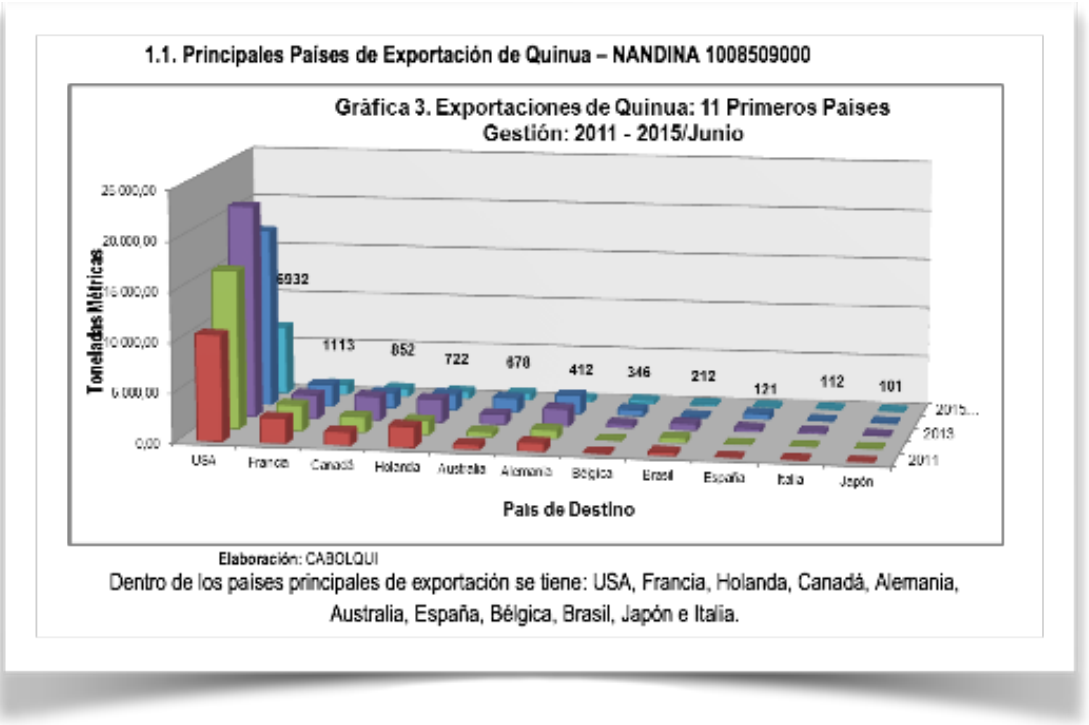
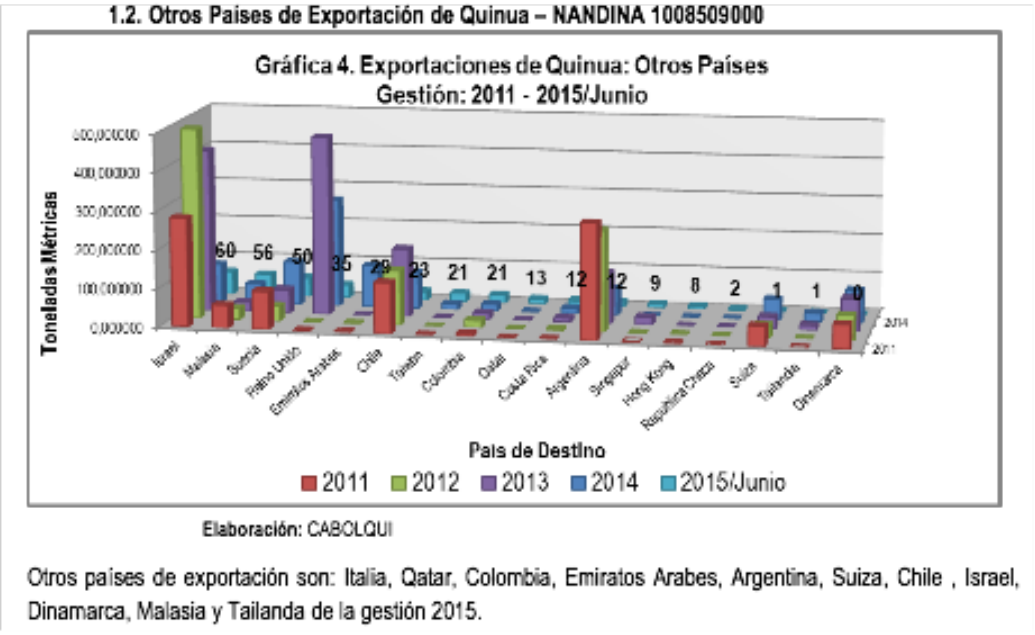


Table developed by the author from FAOSTAT data (2016)

Yields have increased due to the expansion of land used for quinoa production rather than gains in efficiency from machinery or improved production practices (Quintanilla, 2011). In addition, international demand has heightened food insecurity for Bolivians who can no longer afford the higher prices and have been forced to substitute quinoa for unhealthier alternatives (Jacobsen, 2011; Ofstehage, 2012; Quintanilla, 2011). This was also observed in the field; many producers ate rice and pasta more frequently than they ate quinoa, the crop they actually produced. Interestingly, in Incan times, when the Altiplano region produced an agricultural surplus, this was equitably distributed and sufficient to feed the people of the region. However in modern times, the surplus produced, especially in the case of organic and fair trade quinoa, is exported to the global North, since the domestic market for high quality, certified quinoa is virtually absent.

Figures 7-8: Primary quinoa export countries





1.1: Main quinoa export countries. 1.2: Other quinoa export countries. Cámara Boliviana de Exportadores de Quinua y Productos Orgánicos (CABOLQUI, 2015, pp. 3-4).

The increased intensification of quinoa production has also escalated previous environmental degradation, furthering farmers' long-term livelihoods' vulnerability. Since the intensification of quinoa production, the Altiplano sur has seen a series of problems: a decrease in soil fertility due to insufficient incorporation of organic matter; erosion; shorter fallow rest periods; diminished vegetal cover; desertification; increased insect infestations; a growing use of insecticides; and a general decrease in genetic diversity from quinoa monocultures (Carimentrand & Ballet, 2008; Metais, 2011; Ormachea & Ramirez, 2013; Rojas et al., 2004). Most of these challenges were mentioned by the majority of producers interviewed, along with climate change, which they find to be exacerbating the situation. Current quinoa production seems to be becoming increasingly precarious and occurring in a context where land is becoming more and more environmentally marginalized. This environmental marginalization is twofold: from economic factors, principally the rise in international demand and increased prices which have pushed more people into quinoa production; and from political factors, particularly the lack of government intervention and policies, especially the ones that encourage domestic consumption or a national organic or fair trade market, analyzed further in chapter four. With land becoming environmentally marginalized by these politico-economic factors, the cycle of environmental degradation is spurred forward.

Part 6: Quinoa: from a subsistence crop to a market commodity

According to Marx:

> A thing can be useful, and a product of human labour, without being a commodity. He who satisfies his own need with the product of his own labour admittedly creates use-values, but not commodities. [...] The medieval peasant produced a corn-rent for the feudal lord and a corn-tithe for the priest; but neither the corn-rent nor the corn-tithe became commodities simply by being produced for others. In order to become a commodity, the product must be transferred to the other person, for whom it serves as a use-value, through the medium of exchange.[7] (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 131)

> The product of labour is an object of utility in all states of society; but it is only a

[7] The third and fourth sentences were added in a later edition by Engels.

> historically specific epoch of development which presents the labour expended in the production of a useful article as an 'objective' property of that article, i.e. as its value. It is only then that the product of labour becomes transformed into a commodity. (Marx, 1867/1990, pp. 153-154)

For Marx, use-value can be understood as a product or thing that is produced for its utility function, rather than for exchange value. The transformation of a product into a commodity is understood historically, over time, as the process by which a product not only starts to be produced for others, but when it goes beyond subsistence needs, is *exchanged,* and becomes inextricably linked with capitalist modes of production. Although quinoa — in precolonial times — was part of a complex non-market economy (as seen earlier), the exchange of quinoa from one hand to another had more of a distributive quality, exercised by the Incan State which redistributed the agricultural surplus to regions surrounding the Altiplano. Quinoa was produced primarily for subsistence purposes. Even when this purpose changed with the expansion of extractive industries, the 'exchange' of quinoa was still one way: from peasant farmer to colonial or republican ruler, similar to Marx's medieval peasant producing corn-rent for the feudal lord. Quinoa, through the ages, remained a subsistence crop used primarily for private consumption. It wasn't until the recent 1980s that this changed and quinoa could be considered a commodity. This intensification of quinoa production changed the way the ancient staple was produced, subsequently transforming the relationships of production.

Ormachea and Ramirez (2013) have analyzed the transformation of quinoa from a subsistence crop to a market-oriented commodity (starting in the 1980s), framing their study within a Marxist-Leninist lens. They look at how previously collectively owned and managed property has become unofficially private through parceling and accumulation, drastically increasing the number of land disputes (Felix & Villca, 2009; Ormachea & Ramirez, 2013). Accompanying these changes in production, the authors have documented the adverse transformations to customs, culture, and the environment. They argue that, in quinoa producing communities, traditional conflict resolution mechanisms no longer seem to work and individual interests no

longer seem to correspond to the collective good or to traditional norms (Felix & Villca, 2009; Quintanilla, 2011). At an advantage are those with the technological means — such as tractors — as they receive higher yields and can physically expand their land illicitly (Ormachea & Ramirez, 2013). Previously ignored in studies, Ormachea & Ramirez (2013) show how mechanization and the use of salaried labourers are responsible for developing capitalist relationships of production in the Altiplano sur. The authors use secondary empirical information gathered from case studies, national statistics, and private institutions; and primary information from semi-structured interviews with key informants such as producers, trade specialists, technical specialists and participants from a quinoa conference. Notably, through the case of quinoa, they find that preconditions for a capitalist market system can exist in previously collectively managed property due to mechanization. The study illustrates how the main driver of capitalist production is market pressures rather than government power.

Conclusion

This chapter has situated quinoa historically and within a context of dialectically changing agrarian reform and property rights in Bolivia. Debates around fair trade have been elucidated, particularly around claims of fair trade as an "alternative" economy or a decommodification project. This does not seem to be the case since current fair trade and organic production are ultimately a market approach and suffer from the same problems of a capitalist system: profit maximization (exploiting surplus value) and competition. Ultimately, Bolivian quinoa has transformed from a subsistence crop to a market-oriented commodity, drastically transforming the environment and relationships of production, particularly in the Altiplano sur region, the largest quinoa producing area in Bolivia. The impact on livelihoods and actual benefits of producing quinoa for fair trade or organic markets compared to conventional markets remains unclear and is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Analysis of "alternative" quinoa markets: realities on the ground

Introduction

This chapter analyzes how alternative Bolivian quinoa markets, specifically fair trade and organic, affect producers' livelihood decisions through an exploration of field research findings based on observations, semi-structured and unstructured interviews carried out in the field. Sub-questions will also be examined. These include:

- What are the factors — micro/macro, domestic/international, internal/external, environmental, social, political or economic — that influence how Bolivians produce quinoa?
- How are quinoa-related livelihoods embedded within the community (historically, spatially, environmentally, culturally, politically, economically)?
- How is knowledge around quinoa production created?
- How have fair trade and organic markets have affected general production of quinoa in Bolivia?

Part one describes the two sites and explains the reasons for focusing on Rodeo and Salinas de Garcí Mendoza for the comparative case study. Part two delves, once again, into the Tragedy of the Commons, situating land tilting issues, common resource use, and border disputes in field research findings. In the next section, I analyze whether government policies are sufficient and actually reaching the producers, while in part four, I analyze how livelihoods have shifted, changed, adapted and transformed. Parts five and six look at contradictory class consciousness and contradictions in fair trade and organic markets. I end the chapter with reflections on food sovereignty and a number of new questions that arose during field research.

<u>Part 1: Case study site: Rodeo & areas around Salinas</u>

Driving by the many quinoa producing communities that dot the landscape, Rodeo immediately stands out: it is cleaner than others — devoid of plastic bags and trash blowing in the wind, — seemingly well organized, and the nearby *thola* — a native plant that is also used as a natural barrier in organic quinoa production — is not being burned to make charcoal. Perhaps part of the reason for this relative success has been the involvement of NGOs such as FAUTAPO, *Complejo*

Productivo Altiplano Sur (COMPASUR), and the FAO who have had projects ranging from putting in place cisterns, green houses, bio-digestors, solar panels, and garbage cans throughout the community to building a park with a swing set and teeter-totters for children to use, but perhaps this success is more attributable to the community's organization — their competent, responsible and respected community leader (*corregidor*) and their clear community rules (*normas comunales*), which, for the most part, the 34 families living in the community are able to follow and implement collectively. Rodeo has also been hailed as a model community by FAUTAPO and COMPASUR for their ecological production of quinoa.

Figure 9: Bird's eye view

A view from above: the small town of Rodeo.

Rodeo sits at an altitude of 3,675 meters. The community is about 50km east of Salinas de Garcí Mendoza in the southern part of the Oruro department and extremely close to the Potosí border.

To the west lies the community of Cochevillque, to the north, the community of Capura, and to the south, the community of Cajihuata[8]. All four communities and Rodeo are in the department of Oruro. Rodeo is particularly close to the Potosí border, making border and land disputes quite common place.

Figure 10: The Altiplano Sur

Altiplano sur, ancient stomping grounds of the Inca (Soraide et al., 2013, p. 10).

This small community is nestled in the centre of a distant range of mountains that form a U-shape to the north, west, and south. It is immediately west of a large hill which overlooks the entire community and reveals an expansive plateau with clearly delineated parcels (thanks to the use of *thola* as a natural barrier) of land dedicated to quinoa production or llama grazing to the north. The hill is also the site of the community's satellite, cell phone tower, solar panel station, generator and water tank. During the off season, the landscape is desert-like and mostly clay-red with sparse patches of green from the *thola*, a native, shrub-like plant with medicinal properties

[8] Unless otherwise stated, the following information, data, numbers, and statistics used in this chapter come from primary data collected during field research (semi-structured/non structured interviews and participant/non-participant observation) and from Rodeo's historical archives and *normas comunales*.

and which, tenaciously and surprisingly, manages to grow in arid areas with very little water.

Entrance into the community is gained by crossing a mostly dried out, saline river which hugs the southwestern part of Rodeo. Given the proximity of Salar de Uyuni, the largest salt flats in the world that cover over 11,000 square kilometers south of Rodeo, in the department of Potosí, quinoa producers in southern Oruro tend to incorporate salt in their production, mostly to manage frost.

Figure 11: Neighbours: Rodeo and Salinas de Garcí Mendoza

Google map of Rodeo and Salinas de Garcí Mendoza, which both sit on the edge of the Oruro/ Potosí border.

According to the community's historical documents, Rodeo gets its name from the people of the nearby community of Quitamalla who used to circle (*rodear*) their bulls around the area. Rodeo was founded in 1857 by the *comunarios* Melchor Villca and his wife Juliana Nina and according to all community members present at the time of investigation, quinoa production was handed down to them from generation to generation by their ancestors. Quite rurally located and isolated, the community has traditionally been rather disconnected: they didn't feel as keenly the 1953 agricultural reforms that were sweeping the country at the time and it wasn't until 1980-85 that they started producing quinoa more formally. The community's first tractor arrived in 1970-71, subsequently making it easier to produce quinoa in larger quantities, although still considered small scale by today's standards.

Rodeo has a total of 6,272.68 hectares of land, 800 of which are dedicated to quinoa production and llama grazing. These 800 hectares are separated equally into two *mantos*, or sections, and on any given year, only 400 hectares are used for quinoa production, while the remaining 400 in the other *manto* lie fallow and are used for llama grazing. This separation of land between two *mantos* — one in use and one lying fallow — is common among fair trade and organic producers, although, according to producers, fallow periods used to be 3-4 years rather than just one.

The whole community produces on average about 3,500 quintals of quinoa annually or approximately 70-100 quintals per family. There are around 60 young people in the community, fifteen of whom go to the nearby school in Puqui, which is a community roughly twice as big as Rodeo that is about a 30-minute drive away. Students who go to school in Puqui — the school is a small house-like structure that combines primary and secondary — usually board at family members' houses during the school week and are back in Rodeo on the weekends. During the off season (and the less labour-intensive periods of quinoa production), most families do not actually reside in Rodeo but can be found in Salinas de Garcí Mendoza, Oruro, Cochabamba, La Paz, Challapata, and other cities in Bolivia. This means that for most of the year, Rodeo appears to be deserted. Only the six families with livestock (primarily llamas, but also sheep) stay year-round

in the community in order to take care of their animals.

Rodeo has a total of four tractors, available to rent for 400 bolivianos an hour, which usually covers one hectare. These are owned by different families but available for use by everyone. Precipitation is not what it used to be; due to shifting seasons and climate change, rainfall has drastically decreased, even if Rodeo has a number of water catches. The community has four semi-deep wells that can hold approximately 8000 litres of water each, and which, through irrigation systems and cisterns that can hold 2200 litres disperse water at 3 litres per second. Rodeo gets its potable water from a deep well — the only one in the community — which can hold 15,000 litres of water. The community also has access to a water tank, a reserve which can hold 14,000 litres of water, one kilometre away. Additionally, the community has: two green houses put in place by the FAO to produce vegetables for household consumption; four bio-digesters of 5,000 litres each which convert manure, water and organic waste and compost into biogas (*biol*); limited water irrigation systems that use a finite number of motorized water pumps that run on gasoline; and one class 6 truck that can contain 20,000 pounds of llama manure.

Though only 50 km west of and 60 meters higher than Rodeo, Salinas de Garcí Mendoza, in contrast, has a much larger population of over 11,000 people. Due to time restrictions, I wasn't able to remain as long in Salinas as in Rodeo and collect as much ethnographic information. The producers whom I interviewed tended to either live in Salinas or use it as their central base while producing in the neighbouring communities, which were all less than 10 kilometres away from Salinas. Being more centrally located permitted most producers to engage in other livelihood activities, such as owning shops, making specialty quinoa products or driving. Fair trade producers in Salinas also tended to have more land, inputs (such as tractors and organic fertilizer) and hired labour than their organic producing counterparts in Rodeo. Differences in production, labour, and land between fair trade producers in Salinas and organic producers in Rodeo are examined in more detail in the subsequent sections.

Part 2: The *tragedy of the commons*: a weak land titling system for communal property rights, differing land use practices, and border disputes between Oruro and Potosí

Bolivia currently has one of the most inefficient land titling systems in Latin America and the Caribbean, for both individual and communal property rights. Property distribution, possession, transfer and administration is governed by Bolivia's Civil Code (USAID, 2011). The main agrarian reform law — el *Acto Nacional para la Reforma Agraria* (INRA) — was established in 1996 and modified in 2006 and responsible for resolving "limitations on access to land and insecurity of land tenure through regularization of land rights, issuance of titles, resolution of land disputes, and distribution of land" but proved to be largely inefficient and ineffective (USAID, 2011, p. 5).

The 2009 Constitution, which adapted and modified the 1953 agrarian reform and INRA law from 1996, outlines Bolivia's new land tenure system. In Bolivia, land can be held individually, communally (by families or indigenous groups), or by the government. There are four types of tenure: 1) ownership by individuals and collectives, 2) lease-holding (known in Spanish as '*anticrético'),* in urban areas where the lessee gives the owner a sum of money to use the land for one term, after which point he/she leaves and the money is returned to the owner, 3) rural land leasing, where land can be rented out, and 4) squatting, usually done by the poor, landless, or marginalized indigenous groups (USAID, 2011). Though the 1953 and 1996 agrarian reforms in Bolivia claimed they would redistribute arable land for more equitable titling:

> 7 percent of the population owns 70 percent of the land. This is the case even though land reforms over the past 50 years have regularized land titles on almost a third of the national territory, and 28.4 million hectares have been titled as TCOs over the past four years (Due Process of Law Foundation & Oxfam, 2013, p. 7).

Research has shown that strengthened and clear property rights improve involvement in the formal sector of the economy; in her study analyzing a titling program in Peru, Field (2007) finds that "recipients of titles increased their participation in the formal labor market when they were

no longer required to invest in a multitude of informal activities to maintain tenure security" (Deininger & Feder, 2009, p. 276). But the issue goes far beyond simply involving people in the formal economy. Just handing over individual property rights and market driven land reform is not a silver bullet solution. In Latin America, out of all internal conflicts, the vast majority are conflicts around natural resources and extractive industries, given the importance of agriculture, mining, fishing, deforestation, and industrial activities in the region. The extraction of raw materials in Latin America has jumped from 2400 million tonnes in 1970 to about 8300 million tonnes in 2009 (Temper, Bene, & Martinez-Alier, 2015). Not recognizing indigenous land rights and collective property aggravates the situation further.

In terms of property rights, labor and investment freedom, Bolivia ranks among the worst in the world. Property rights are often listed among the most inhibiting factors that make it difficult to start a business, making Bolivia one of the least competitive countries in the world. In the World Bank's 2016 Doing Business Report, Bolivia ranked 178th (out of 189) in terms of the easiness of starting a business, far worse than the regional average for Latin America and the Caribbean which is 110. In terms of registering property, it ranked 143rd, where the region average is 118. If the bureaucratic process of registering land and obtaining property title is difficult for businesses, it is even harder for indigenous peoples, peasants and in the case of communal/ collective land titling. Is there an efficient middle ground, one between collective and individual land titling? Countries such as Mexico with the *ejido* system can offer insights, where land is handed down from generation to generation but cannot be sold to outsiders of the community, and where land is communal yet individually farmed. Collective land rights have also been found to foster better economic development and fairer societies:

> Nations that recognize and enforce land rights achieve greater and fairer economic growth – a benefit made more sustainable because secure land rights help to deliver environmental protection. Secure land rights also fill stomachs […] land rights correlate well with an absence of hunger. Most recent land grabs have been in countries with a hunger ranking of 'alarming' or 'serious' […]

> A frequent charge against collective ownership of pastures and forests is that it locks people into poverty. In reality, community tenure – either through collective rights or individual rights under community jurisdiction – is often much more productive than national statistics suggest. This is partly because national statistics typically only count cash sales or income that is taxed (Due Process of Law Foundation & Oxfam, 2013, pp. 15-16).

In Bolivia, land is often re-appropriated by peasants, but this re-appropriation lacks regularization, equitable distribution, a functional land tax system, increasing the opportunities for land grabs and corruption (Calvo, 2006). Producers across Bolivia — in Rodeo, Salinas, Challapata and producers from the Altiplano Central and Altiplano Sur — often talked to me at length about how producers, especially in departmental border areas, would expand their land illicitly with tractors or be able to stake a claim by marrying individuals from other areas. Community members used these expansion strategies to try to address problems related to poor border delineations, ambiguous or non existent communal and individual property rights, inefficient implementation of existing property rights, and lack of a competent governing body.

Technically, such responsibilities fall under the jurisdiction of the central government's *Fondo de Desarrollo para los Pueblos Indígenas Originarios y Comunidades Campesinas* (*FDPPIOYCC)* — more commonly referred to as the *Fondo Indígena* — which was created by Evo Morales's predecessor (interim President Carlos Mesa) in 2005 as a fund to promote development more directly among indigenous, peasant, and original inhabitant communities. The fund was conceded to indigenous people, primarily those close to mining areas in the Altiplano, who demanded compensation from extractive industries. This type of fund exists in part due to Bolivia's more pluri-national and decentralized composition which seeks to give more autonomy to the multitude of different nations which make up the country ("Decreto Supremo No2493," 2015) and in part to placate indigenous populations in extractive zones. The *Fondo Indígena* also helps with land titling of indigenous lands and has a significant amount of money to work with. Five percent of this money comes from the Direct Tax Revenue (IDH) collected from the

exploitation of hydrocarbon resources (an amount which is supposed to be deducted from the National General Treasury, or TGN for acronym in Spanish), as well as internal or external donations or credits, and other financing sources from the National General Treasury ("Decreto Supremo No2493," 2015, p. 4). But the *Fondo Indígena* has been crippled by corruption, and up until recently, funds for various projects and land titling initiatives were frozen, which has made it extremely difficult for smallholding farmers to access it. A government audit conducted in spring 2015 found that 171 million bolivianos were missing and 153 projects were never implemented ("Hay 20 personas implicados en casos de corrupción del fondo indígena," 15 April 2015). News is constantly shifting in terms of how much money was embezzled, who was involved, and how many projects were affected, but some reports put the damage at 6.8 million U.S. dollars, implicating over 200 people and 49 projects (Carrasco, 11 December 2015).

Many of the issues around land grabbing and illicitly expanding land could be resolved by an improved land registration system, especially for communal titling, combined with a government body capable of applying, monitoring, and enacting penalties where necessary. Unfortunately, efforts at registering communal property have resulted in the overly bureaucratic, corrupt, and a momentarily defunct *Fondo Indígena*. And despite Rodeo following the right procedures and having their documentation in order, these factors have inhibited advancement in acquiring legal registration of communal property by the *Fondo Indígena.* At the beginning of each season, producers with parcels of land closer to the Oruro border either see their land diminished by their southern neighbours or find themselves in a mad dash to claim that land first.

Figure 12: Fondo Indígena Scandal

Online news clipping of corruption amid the Fondo Indígena ("Bancada de UD pide congelar cuentas del Fondo Indígena," 11 April 2015).

And not all surrounding communities are as strict in their organic quinoa production or use communal resources as responsibly as Rodeo, opting for individual self interest by either depleting the native *thola* for charcoal or fumigating their land instead of using the more labour intensive methods to manage pests. In Rodeo, community members self-monitor each others' land use and communal resource use practices, thanks to a clear internal community norm (*norma interna de la comunidad)*. This collective vigilance and enforcement of rules around communal resources and individual land use practices works for Rodeo but not necessarily with neighbouring communities. One day, I noticed an older man riding back and forth on his bike to a nearby field, loading straw on the back, and mending the roof of his adobe house. When I walked over we talked a while and he shared the following experience with me, regarding producers nearby who fumigate their land and subsequently contaminate his:

> *[Nunca he fumigado mis parcelas de quinua. Siempre he producido quinua orgánica. Pero cuando llevé una porción de mi quinua para probarla en el laboratorio los resultados llegaron positivos. Porque no todos alrededor producen quinua orgánica. Fumigan, y el viento lleva esta contaminación a mis parcelas.] (miembro de la comunidad de Rodeo)*
> I have never fumigated my quinoa parcels in my life. I have always produced organic quinoa. But when I brought a portion of my quinoa to get tested in the laboratory it came back positive. Because not everyone around me produces organic quinoa; they fumigate, and the wind brings it over and contaminates my parcels. (Community member in Rodeo)

Such experiences resonated strongly with me and reminded me of similar stories back in Canada but with farmers with land beside Monsanto fields, with GMO seeds finding their way in farmers' crops. Many producers from Salinas had similar stories of border conflicts or nearby producers who did not adhere to the same environmental production standards.

Part 3: Government policies and NGO programs...reaching the producers?

In Bolivia, there exist more opportunities for large scale farming in the lowlands than for small scale farming in the highlands, a tendency which started with the state-led "March to the East" (*marcha hacia el oriente*) in the 1940s and 1960s (and subsequently). Many trends under Morales and his party (Movement towards Socialism, or *Movimiento al Socialismo, or* 'the MAS') are actually counterintuitive to a government that (ostensibly): a. has a law to protect mother nature and concepts of *buen vivir* incorporated into its constitution; b. promotes redistribution of land to peasants and indigenous people; c. offers up strong discourse on alternative forms of development and solidarity economies; and d. promotes autonomy, self-determination and decentralization.

Figure 13: Time to play

Playground in Rodeo, an initiative funded by FAUTAPO.

But in terms of the concentration of land in Bolivia, under Morales, there has actually been an increased concentration, monopolization and concentration of the best agricultural lands in foreign hands, primarily among Brazilians and Argentinians in the cattle industry (Urioste, 2012, p. 451). This concentration of land is due to state policies and market conditions, and not just attributable to the increase in food prices after the economic crisis of 2007-2008 (Urioste, 2012, p. 451).

One might also expect a decrease in environmental degradation with Morales; reduced state intervention means less regulation while a stronger state presence means more protection. But deforestation has actually increased since Evo's election (Redo et al., 2011). Under Evo's agrarian reform, there is a ban on clearing and burning forests and land must fulfill a socio-economic function, otherwise it is expropriated and redistributed as *tierra comunitaria de origen*. Somewhat surprisingly, such measures have actually spurred deforestation among individuals and companies who believe their future is in danger and feel a "threat to their livelihood and freedom. It is this climate of fear that has indirectly led to the greatest contributor to deforestation by individuals and companies under the reform" (Redo et al., 2011, p. 239). To many critics, Bolivian and non-Bolivian alike, Morales' government is more a case of 'reconstituted neoliberalism:' the changes that have taken place are superficial and largely in the symbolic realm; they have not affected a systemic change to the political economy. Furthermore, many social movements and their organizations have been coopted by the state; medium and large scale agrarian capitalism has been reinforced rather than dismantled; and state policies have actually "reproduced dependency relationships with agro-industrial capital" (Cordoba & Jansen, 2014, p. 497; McKay & Colque, 2016).

Despite these shortcomings, there have been some improvements for small scale quinoa farmers. The National Quinoa Policy (*Política nacional de la quinua)*, for example, seeks to promote quinoa consumption among different sectors of the population in Bolivia. The Morales government has implemented various policies and subsidies in the form of credits for quinoa producers. The Ministry of Rural Development and Land has introduced a food security and

sovereignty policy via the Rural Revolution, Agrarian and Forestry Plan (Política nacional de la quinua, 2009, p. 8). And to encourage domestic consumption and to raise the nutrition standards of vulnerable populations, the government has implemented school breakfast programs, maternal and infant food subsidy systems, an army nutritional program which incorporates quinoa consumption, and other food programs amongst police and government instances (Política nacional de la quinua, 2009, p. 49). As many participants observed, however, the quinoa that goes to these government programs is the quinoa which hasn't passed the strict quality control standards required by fair trade and organic production. The best quality — organic or fair trade certified quinoa — is therefore exported overseas while Bolivians are left with a lower grade of quinoa, most often than not produced by conventional farming practices which do not necessarily adhere to environmental standards or follow small scale production practices. Some participants mentioned that this quinoa, which stayed behind, wasn't as nutritional and that in the case of some of the school breakfast programs, the quinoa had even gone bad.

In Rodeo's case, the type of government support — from the Central Government Ministry of Rural Development and Land (*gobierno central del ministerio de desarrollo rural y tierras*) — came as organic fertilizer/manure inputs, but wasn't enough to fertilize all of producers' hectares. Despite this limited support, Rodeo felt particularly neglected by government, but admittedly, it was not always clear how much intervention they actually desired. If anything, community members seemed more keen on working with NGO projects and the FAO. Based on the community's archives, between 1985 and 2004, the government carried out a total of four projects in Rodeo: a green house and well for irrigation in 1985 by the *Programa Anual de Contrataciones* (PAC); a dam that turned out to be useless based on its location in 1991 by the PAC, *Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas Públicas*; and a system for potable water between 1999-2004 by the *Fondo Nacional de Inversión Productiva y Social* (FPS), from the municipal government of Salinas de Garcí Mendoza. And although a number of government policies exist around quinoa, they rarely make their way to small scale producers.

Most producers interviewed, of both groups — fair trade producers in Salinas and organic

producers in Rodeo — felt quite removed and alienated from any government policy, either responding that none existed (the majority of participants), or that they existed but didn't affect them in any way or reach their community or cooperative. This was the case for cooperative members at all levels in Rodeo and Salinas: "I've seen them [government programs] but with us they never support us [*He visto pero a nosotros nunca nos apoyan*]" (Leonida Mamani Peres, a producer from APQUISA in Salinas). Another producer in Rodeo explained that:

> [*Aquí no nos han apoyado, hasta el momento, años pasados no hemos tenido. Año pasado hemos logrado algo con el conflicto también ¿no? [...] depende del alcalde también. A nosotros nos ha hecho un poco a un lado [...] Nos ha discriminado. Si de ahí tampoco hemos insistido... nosotros hemos dejado entonces… pero nosotros de otro lado buscamos financiamiento para los productores. Pucha, buscamos cuando el pueblo unido la comunidad se busca donde sea se va (Productor, Rodeo).]*
>
> Here they haven't supported us, up until now, but over the years we haven't received anything. Last year we succeed in achieving something through conflict, you know? [...] it depends on the mayor as well. They've put us aside [...] discriminated against us. And we haven't insisted too much either...we've kind of let things go...but on the other hand, we look for funding for producers. Jeez! We look for funding when the people of the community are united and decide where it should go (Producer, Rodeo).

With such little government attention put on agriculture, issues around titling, and constraints around land ownership, productivity has improved at a snail's pace, with agriculture value added per worker (in constant 2010 USD) going from $1009 in 2000 to $1113 in 2014 (World Bank, 2016). Agriculture value added per worker in Bolivia is by far the worst in the whole Latin American and Caribbean region which has an average of $7007 for 2014; even the second worse, St. Kitts and Nevis, was still close to twice as high as Bolivia at $2052 for 2014 (World Bank 2016). And out of fifty-two countries sharing the lower middle income status (and where data is available for forty countries in 2014), Bolivia finds itself in the lower quartile along with Bangladesh ($715), Bhutan ($845), Cambodia ($803), India ($1103), Kenya ($794), Lao ($1014), Lesotho ($494), Vietnam ($791), and Zambia ($639) (World Bank, 2016).

Yet Bolivia has one of the highest degrees of employment involved in agriculture in Latin America and the Caribbean, which accounts for 32.1% of total employment (2009) (The World Bank, 2016). In the entire Latin American and Caribbean region, only Honduras has more employment dedicated to agriculture (37.1%) and the regional average is 15.9% (The World Bank, 2016). And yet Bolivia is "still one of the most backward agricultural nations in the Americas," mainly due to the fact that it "spends less money on agriculture research and extension programs than any other country in Latin America" (Klein, 2011, p. 285).

Figure 14: Mechanization

Quinoa processing machinery at CECAOT.

All producers whom I interviewed reported that they felt a certain pride associated with quinoa production, a livelihood handed down to them for generations. Yet government intervention does not seem to reflect the same valourization of this *grano de oro* (golden grain). And rather than potentially crowding out small local investors by foreign capital and policies that favour large agribusiness in the lowlands, it would be interesting to see what would happen if the government were to truly invest in quinoa research and extension programs in the Altiplano sur. Instead,

NGOs seem to be taking up the mantle:

> *[Del gobierno sí, pero muy poco nos llega a nosotros, más a través de ONGs que son los intermediarios donde ahí se va el grueso de la plata y al productor llega un poquito, generalmente eso ocurre por eso los productores no le dan mucha importancia [...] Le hablaba de PROQUIOR[9], PROQUISA[10], de la gobernación que Evo cumple, de la FAO, fundaciones, habían varios pero que no se han visto buenos resultados en la práctica estamos casi en los mismo. De la misma manera ha llegado así, VSF-CIDCA[11] con ganadería [...] pequeñas partecitas que ponen con invernaderitos, capacitaciones, asistencia técnica, ahí la parte económica se esfuma y no hay buenos resultados [...] Más aquí con sus propios esfuerzos los productores han conseguido (Franz Quispe, productor y gerente en APQUISA, Salinas).]*
>
> From the government, yes, but very little reaches us. We get more through NGOs who are the intermediaries and where the majority of the money goes, with very little making it to the producer, which is generally why the producer does not grant much importance to NGOs [...] I was telling you about PROQUIOR, PROQUISA, of Evo's government, of the FAO, foundations... there were several but they haven't had great results, which is why, in practice, we're in the same place we were. In the same way VSF-CICDA came with livestock [...] small parcels on which they put small greenhouses, they do capacity building, provide technical assistance...here the economic side of things slowly disappears and the results aren't great [...] More than anything, producers have managed gains through their own efforts. (Franz Quispe, producer and manager at APQUISA, Salinas)

NGOs seem more present than the government in the Altiplano sur, especially in both case study

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[9] Programa Quinua Orgánica

[10] Proyecto de Investigación y Transferencia de Tecnología para la Quinua en Salina

[11] Vétérinaires sans frontière - Centre international pour le développement durable

sites. For example, FAUTAPO and the *Programa Complejo Productivo Altiplano Sur* (COMPASUR) implemented a project of 2,234,891 bolivianos in five municipalities of Oruro (Salinas de Garci Mendoza, Pampa Aullagas, Santuario de Quillacas, Santiago de Huari y Challapata) to encourage organic, ecological production of quinoa ("Compasur y Fautapo fortalecen la producción de quinua con Bs. 2,2 millones," 28 July 2011). FAUTAPO works at various levels with communities, producers and cooperatives on: sanitation and recycling systems; technical capacity building; accompanying producers and quinoa producing communities in their collective and communal organization processes; and assisting with communities' elaboration of effective communal norms/bylaws (*normas comunales*) through practical, simple, accessible, and interactive guides:

> [*Nosotros aquí en Rodeo más bien hemos gozado gracias a los beneficios de las ONGs, FAUTAPO nos ha ayudado (Mihdonio Villca, productor, Rodeo.*]
> Here in Rodeo we've enjoyed benefits thanks to NGOs. FAUTAPO has helped us. (Mihdonio Villca, producer in Rodeo).

Producers get better terms of trade and are buffered to a certain extent from the volatile fluctuations in market prices by being associated and organized through their cooperatives. These tend to be more directly supported by NGOs rather than the government; there is no Bolivian equivalent of the Canadian Wheat Board for quinoa, leaving the vast majority of producers in the conventional market to take the brunt of shocks in prices. In Bolivia, there is no state producer marketing system acting on the behalf of quinoa farmers which negotiates the best price and transfers profits back to quinoa producers, such as was the case with the Wheat Board in Canada, which, until it was dismantled by the Harper government, acted as a monopsony, a system where there was only one buyer who interacted with a multitude of producer-sellers.

In general, the Bolivian government does not seem to be investing enough in small-scale agriculture. Combined with the fact that it also does not invest in labour-intensive manufactures, this situation means that Bolivia has:

> One of the largest informal labor markets in the Americas. It is estimated that 80 percent of

> the labor force today is employed in low-productive and low-wage jobs in the informal sector or in subsistence agriculture [...] Given the major shocks to the economy in the 1980s and again in the late 1990s and 2000s, Bolivia has not been able to generate a significant number of jobs to change this dynamic. This lack of well-paying and productive jobs helps explain the extraordinarily high levels of poverty throughout the country. (Klein, 2011, 289)

Part 4: Shifts in livelihoods?

> [*A mí me gusta más estar en el campo que en la ciudad [...] En la ciudad hay más contaminación, es más cerrado… no sé. Un rato me gusta ir, he viajado hasta Perú… [...] Aquí como llegan también, como tenemos ese turístico. Entonces hago galletas para vender, pan, pan de quinua a eso me dedico. Como la llama también, ahora voy a comenzar a hacer tejido con lana de llama. [...] Eso es mi meta, pero aún me falta construcción, ambientes ¿no? [...] Pero con calma. Como veo hay muchas cosas que en el campo se puede… se puede vivir del campo. Entonces esa es mi meta de mí, ya voy a tener siempre (Productora, Rodeo).*]
>
> For me, I prefer being in the countryside to the city [...] In the city there is more pollution, it's more closed minded...I don't know. I like leaving for a bit, I've travelled to Peru [...] Here tourists come as well. So I make cookies to sell, bread, quinoa bread, this is what I make. With llama products as well, now I'm going to start making fabric with llama wool [...] This is my goal, but I'm still lacking a certain level of infrastructure, the right environment, you know? [...] But I'm working on this calmly. The way I see it, there's a lot one can do in the countryside...you can live off the land. So this is my personal goal, which I'll always have (Producer, Rodeo).

In his book *Mallas y Flujos: acción colectiva, cambio social, quinua y desarollo regional indígena en los Andes Bolivianos*, Pablo Laguna (2011) talks about the *doble residencia* or "double residency" common to many quinoa producers who stay in their community for part of the year and live in the city for the remainder. Laguna notices that many participants had various

means of employment that would have been difficult to implement in their communities because of a lack of electricity or due to their remoteness (such as workshops, artisan stores, driving services, etc.) (Laguna, 2011, pp. 173-174). In the case of Rodeo, even though many producers enjoyed (and often preferred, such as the producer in the opening quote of this section) community living, their other livelihoods and the off season brought them to the city.

All of the participants I interviewed from Salinas were in fact double residents, whereas those I interviewed in Rodeo stayed in the community yearlong to tend their livestock (the rest of the community being absent and living in various cities throughout Bolivia). This was not due to any differences between quinoa production destined for fair trade versus organic markets, but rather availability of participants and timing; I was conducting field research during the quinoa off season. In general, community members return to their community for peak producing periods (seeding, harvesting, etc.) and for the annual general assembly, which usually occurs over a few days to a week. Although this "double residency" permits producers to engage in a number of different livelihoods, it also makes it particularly difficult to implement any kind of large scale project or long term community infrastructure, only benefitting a minority of the community that stays around yearlong. Rodeo, for example, has no school or health services of any kind. Milán, the *corregidor* for Rodeo, who left behind his life as a police officer in the city to live full time and produce quinoa, seemed to think that these types of services, projects, and infrastructure could encourage community members to stay year round, along with diversifying the community's revenue and tapping into tourism-related activities:

> [*El turismo también… Estamos queriendo incentivar lo que es el turismo comunitario también. Tiene también su época. Tampoco es todo el año que vienen, sino que llegan cuando la producción de quinua justamente está en su auge; esa es la época empezando desde enero. Como el Dakar es cuando ya vienen los turistas. La ruta del Dakar pasa por esta zona del Salar y mucha gente extranjera viene a visitarnos (Milán Arcayne, productor y corregidor de Rodeo).*]
>
> Tourism as well...We want to encourage community tourism as well. Which also has its season. It's not all year round that they come, but rather when quinoa production is at its

> peak: around the beginning of January. Tourists come for Dakar. The route comes through this zone of Salar and many foreigners come to visit us (Milán Arcayne, producer and *corregidor* of Rodeo).

In Rodeo, many of the community members knew how to make various quinoa or llama products which gave them value added and allowed them to process/transform their raw/unprocessed quinoa products, which they in turn could sell directly to tourists with no middleman — such as quinoa pastries, sweets, snacks, soups, breads or llama wool socks, hats, rope, yarn, etc. — but couldn't sell these in any significant way due to a limited tourist market. This is one of the reasons members in the community of Rodeo wanted to continue diversifying their economy and improve tourism throughout the year.

All participants interviewed, save one producer from Salinas who would transform his quinoa, sold their quinoa in raw/unprocessed form to their cooperative (ANAPQUI in Rodeo or APQUISA for fair trade producers in Salinas) or the organic firm JATARY in Rodeo. Yet all producers interviewed except for one —Doña Nora Calahuara from APQUISA who said she didn't have enough time because of all of her other responsibilities — expressed a desire to process or transform their quinoa and sell this directly to the market or through their cooperative in order to gain a higher price through value added:

> *[A mí me gustaría hacer… ser mini productor de quinua pero…como, sacar directo para el consumo […] Procesar la quinua. Ser productor y procesar y entregar al mercado. Eso me gustaría hacer desde aquí. Eso es mi sueño pero…(productora, Rodeo)]*
> I would like to be a mini producer of quinoa...be able to sell directly for consumption [...] Process the quinoa. Be a producer, process and sell directly to the market. I would like to do this from here. This is my dream, but...(producer, Rodeo).

Most producers wanted to be able to process and sell processed or finished quinoa products, connecting directly with the consumer rather than going through the cooperative or organic firm. But in all cases (save for one producer from APQUISA who already sold his processed quinoa to

his cooperative) producers lacked various inputs: machinery, access to credit, capital, investment, and technical know-how:

> [*Hemos tenido capacitación, más que todo las esposas, las beneficiarias de Rodeo. Han recibido capacitación en transformación, tanto en galletas, pan, algunas cosas; pero el problema es que nos falta un poco lo que es la industrialización, maquinaria. Recientemente también en la ciudad de Oruro nos capacitamos en el preparado. Inclusive hicimos sopas instantáneas allá, pero nos falta maquinarias (Milán Arcayne, productor y corregidor, Rodeo).*]
>
> We've received training, the wives more than anyone and the women of Rodeo. They were trained in how to transform [quinoa] into cookies, bread, a few things; but the problem is that we lack a bit of industrialization, machinery. Recently in Oruro we were trained in the preparation [of quinoa]. There we learned how to make instant soups, but we lack the machinery (Milán Arcayne, producer and *corregidor*, Rodeo).

All producers interviewed processed and transformed a portion of their quinoa, through labour intensive and difficult[12], artisan methods, which involved roasting, grinding, pressing, pre-cooking, de-husking, drying, ventilating, and washing quinoa, often repeating various steps in this process multiple times. They processed quinoa in this way either for private consumption or for subsequent use in transformed products such as flour, cookies, bread, soup, etc. which they then sold independently, directly to consumers, but in relatively small quantities.

Quinoa production was identified by ten out of twelve producers[13] interviewed as their principle means of income, food security and way of ensuring their family's wellbeing, yet every

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[12] Mery Antonieta Silvestre Chila from APQUISA commented to me on the processing work: "We press the quinoa with that stone and it hurts." *["Pisamos la quinua con esta piedra y me duele"]*

[13] Milán Arcayne from Rodeo reported that his main means of income, food security and ensuring his family's wellbeing was equally divided between producing quinoa and raising lamas. Franz Quispe from Salinas, although having produced quinoa all his life, reported that his main income came from working as an employee for APQUISA:

> [*La producción de quinua no es segura por las inclemencias del tiempo... hay sequías, hay granizadas, hay heladas. No hay nada de seguridad. Es un ries*go.]
> Production of quinoa is not certain because of inclement weather... there are droughts, hailstorms, frost. Nothing is certain. It's a risk.

participant from both groups (organic production in Rodeo and fair trade production in Salinas) also engaged in a number of other livelihood activities. Other agricultural related livelihoods included: raising llamas and sheep for wool and meat; growing potatoes and other vegetables on a very small scale; and selling manure (primarily llama). Non agricultural related activities included: selling transformed quinoa and wool products to tourist, in shops, or in fairs and festivals; owning shops; driving; working as employees for APQUISA; and teaching in a nearby school (in Puki, the closest school to Rodeo).

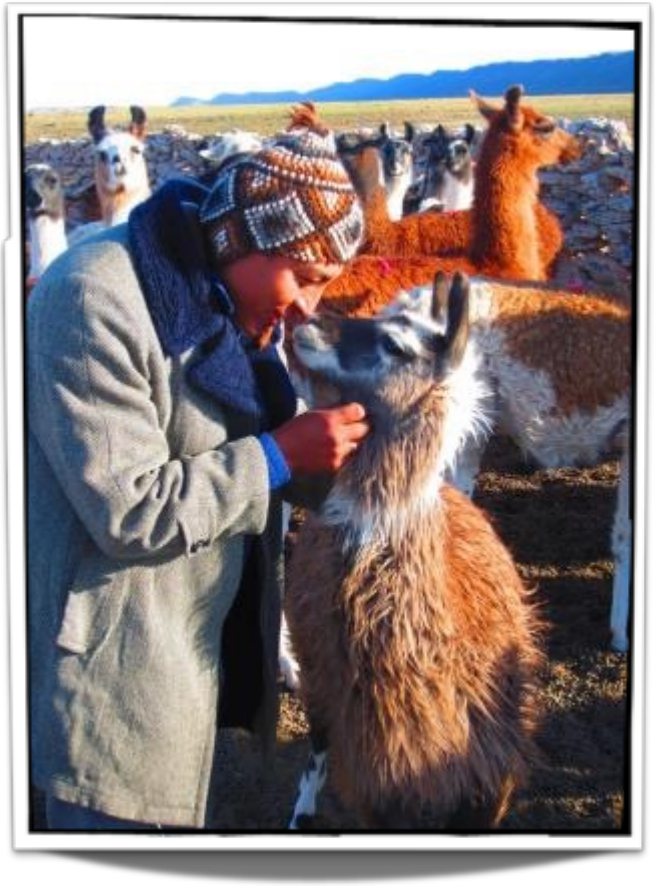
Both groups interviewed seemed to constantly be finding new ways to diversify their livelihoods in order to improve their lives and the lives of their families. But these diversified livelihoods were also a coping and adapting strategy to confront increased competition (and volatile quinoa prices), and, most importantly, environmental and climate change factors such as: irregular seasons; droughts or irregular rainfall; frost; hailstorms; decreased soil fertility; and infestations. These were the two main challenges to their primary livelihood, quinoa production, identified by all participants: climate change and competition. And climate change especially. The agricultural period for quinoa production is from September until March and producers are entirely dependent on rainfall, since there is virtually no water and very limited irrigation systems. Respondents keenly felt their vulnerability facing climate change: if there was no rainfall in the early seeding period (September-October) or frost hit during germination (October-November), quinoa would not grow; if wind eroded the soil, covering new growth with dirt, quinoa would not grow; if changing weather patterns brought new pests and infestations, entire crops were lost and quinoa would not grow. In sum, respondents felt that it was becoming harder for producers to anticipate when to start producing or what might strike their crop at any time.

Producers also did not sell their entire yield of quinoa, keeping between 10-20% for their own consumption or as a safety net and coping strategy in difficult times. When money was scarce, they could sell a few bags and make some fast cash through the intermediary market of Challapata, since loans, credit and other types of financial support were mainly absent or not accessible for the vast majority of participants:

[*Yo he vendido [a intermediario]. A veces la necesidad, hermana, obliga. ¿Qué vas a hacer?Tu hijo está en el estudio, a veces necesitamos por urgencia, es la fuerza que tenemos como productor, por urgencia le llevamos, entonces, yo he llevado, sí. (productora, Rodeo)*]

I've sold [to an intermediary]. Sister, sometimes necessity forces us. What are you going to do? Your son is studying, sometimes an emergency arises, and this is the strength we have as producers. Due to emergencies, we bring them [our quinoa], so yes, I've sold to intermediaries (producer, Rodeo).

Figure 15: Staying warm



Milán Arcayne, the corregidor of Rodeo, touches noses with a baby lama when he takes me out to meet the herd on my birthday, also San Juan Bautista in Bolivia.

For all producers interviewed, producing for the organic and fair trade market was seen as a way of getting a better price for their quinoa and continuing to produce in a more traditional, small scale manner that adheres to strict environmental standards. It was a way for them to find their niche. Producers also took pride in knowing that they produced a higher quality grade and, in their view, healthier form of quinoa that stayed true to its roots. Many participants noted that their health and longevity was thanks to eating quinoa.

But all participants interviewed commented on the changes in quinoa production over the years, especially in terms of use (from a subsistence crop to a market commodity), amount, mechanization, the use of salaried labour[14], and environmental factors, which were mostly weather and pest related:

> [*Bueno, antiguamente era pues todo manual… se sembraba. Como te digo, no en cantidad. Pero ahora, poco a poco, salió la revolución verde, pues [...] Desde 1968-1970 digamos [...] Antes siempre no se vendía la quinua. Solamente era alimentación para nosotros nomás. Pero han venido gente también buscando quinua, esas veces cuando yo era niño para cambiar harina o con azúcar. Nosotros teníamos que dar un quintal de quinua, él nos tenía que dar un quintal de harina (Don Román Calani Villca, productor, Rodeo)*.]
> Well, in the past everything was manual...sowing. I'm telling you, not in quantity. But now, little by little, the Green Revolution came [...] Since 1968-1970 let's say. Before, we never sold quinoa. It was just a source of food for us, nothing more. People came looking for quinoa, in the times when I was a boy, and we would trade for flour or sugar. We had to give one quintal of quinoa, he had to give us one quintal of flour (Don Román Calani Villca, producer, Rodeo).

Among these changes, participants noted the increased competition and highs and lows in quinoa prices, especially over the last decade. Producers not only demonstrated a solid understanding of

[14] This was more the case for producers from APQUISA in the Salinas area, who, on average, had more land and inputs dedicated to quinoa production and made more use of salaried labour (*peones*) than producers from Rodeo who worked the land among family members and using the *ayni* system. *Ayni* is an Andean (Quechua and Aymara) concept of reciprocity: if someone works for a day on your land, you work for a day on their land.

market conditions, but also had a strong grasp on how decisions were made at the community and cooperative level, democratically, through general assemblies and votes, even if they lacked certain information specific to organic and fair trade certification, processes, markets and benefits (such as the fair trade premium, analyzed further in section 6).

Both women and men played a variety of roles and engaged in a variety of livelihoods. I interviewed a total of twelve producers[15], six from Rodeo and six from Salinas. For gender parity, half of the producers I interviewed were women (three in each group). Although producer discourse tended to be very egalitarian and democratic, women tended to occupy very different spaces during assemblies, gatherings, meetings and workshops. As shown in the photograph earlier (Figure 3), women were often at the periphery of these physical spaces (and sometimes with their children or toddlers). As a result, they did not speak out as often as men, even if they were listened to and seemed to be treated with respect by their male counterparts. Often, women also had to leave these gatherings, decision-making and knowledge creation spaces early, having to tend to children or prepare meals for the family. In terms of household, family-level decisions, most participants responded that this was a responsibility shared between husband and wife, except in the cases where the household head was single or the primary benefactor was the matriarch (women in both situations). Only a few participants responded that this responsibility fell unilaterally on the husband's shoulders, an assertion usually made by the husbands themselves. Women in both groups tended to be responsible for managing household income:

> [*Bueno ella, ella maneja el factor económico. Yo, casi no, a veces el hombre nos echamos a perder también. Entonces yo casi no [...] la jefa… Mis hijos dicen, "papá no sabe de la plata mucho, que la mamá es la que sabe" (Don Román Calani Villca, productor, Rodeo).*]
> Well, she manages financial matters. I hardly do, sometimes, we men have a tendency lose money too. So I'm hardly responsible [...] she's the boss...My children say "dad doesn't know much about money...the mother is the one who knows" (Don Román Calani Villca, producer, Rodeo).

[15] I also interviewed cooperative and firm management (3 recorded interviews with a separate interview guide) and had a number of unstructured interviews which were not recorded.

Most of the men interviewed across both groups responded that their wives were in charge of managing the economic side of things in their family, whereas women tended to respond that this task was shared. Women also tended to be in charge of other agricultural related activities not related to quinoa production, usually tending to livestock or producing vegetables for small scale, personal consumption. Women were not necessarily the primary agriculturalists (in terms of quinoa production, the main livelihood for all participants but one), but played an important role in other livelihood activities:

> The peasant household or family farm […] is typically characterized by a gender division of labor and gendered internal power relations, that in many world regions women are the primary agriculturalists, and that women's participation in small-scale agriculture and non-farm rural activities appears to be increasing, in part as a result of growing male migration (Edelman, 2013, p. 7)

Across both groups, for the most part (except for single or female-headed households), men tended to be in charge of the different aspects of quinoa production: sowing, harvesting, selling and promoting. Livelihoods related to wage labour (working for APQUISA, driving, teaching, and renting out tractor services) tended to be occupied by the male household head, whereas more "entrepreneurial" type livelihoods (owning and running shops, transforming quinoa and lama products and selling these) tended to be mostly occupied by female household heads.

In general, field research findings confirm conclusions reached in the historical background chapter: that quinoa has transformed into a commodity from a previously subsistence crop. In addition, producers play a double role, that of peasant and labourer. The term peasant is unpacked further below. This double role represents producers' dual reality of living in the countryside and in the city, a reality born out of necessity: producers engage in a number of livelihoods because of the precariousness of any one livelihood on its own. Although quinoa production still remains the main livelihood for the majority of participants, they also *need* other options which essentially act as a buffer and protect them when prices fluctuate or when environmental calamity ensues. Producers thus assume the role of buffer rather than the state and

do this by diversifying their livelihoods.

Part 5: Contradictory class consciousness

> Rural direct producers, in response to the instability of their wage-earning situation, shift back and forth between the condition of semi-proletarianized rural workers and peasants, combine both for an extended period, and often seek to regain their peasant condition (Vergara-Camus, 2009, p. 378).

As seen in the section above, *quinueros* shift between roles depending on their location and many producers interviewed expressed a desire to stay in their communities all year round to "regain their peasant condition" as Vergara-Camus puts it. It's important to understand this dual class consciousness which is both rural and urban and not historically linear but occurs simultaneously, especially in Latin America, a region that has experienced industrialization quite differently than England, the United States and many countries in the industrialized Global North. Class-formation, often seen as an "urban-industrial phenomenon," was more of a rural process in Latin America, where agriculture was traditionally important and maintains a stronghold in the region to this day (Striffler, 2004, p. 11). In addition, stable industrial work in the cities was uncommon in South America (and Bolivia) — with essentially no urbanized proletariat and scarce factory work available in comparison to informal employment opportunities — meaning that workers lived a precarious working condition, often weaving together a diversity of livelihoods and shifting between wage labour, the informal economy, and rural agricultural activities (Striffler, 2004, p. 11). In this way, class-consciousness among *quinueros* was not clearly delineated or one-dimensional, but focused on:

> Roles rather than persons, recognizing that individuals can and do often occupy several different roles, even deeply contradictory positions (as when, in our time, a worker has a pension fund invested in the stock market). This focus on roles rather than individuals is as perfectly legitimate as if we were analyzing the relations between drivers and pedestrians in the streets of Manhattan: most of us have taken on both roles and adapt our behaviors accordingly (Harvey, 2010a, p. 48).

Though there were clear identities, various roles, labour and cultural practices embedded in the

term *quinuero,* which producers identified themselves with, a uniform class consciousness among *quinueros* seemed absent. Rather than a shared, national consciousness of common conditions and collectively organizing to change these and improve their relations of production through forms of collective bargaining and organizing, the *quinuero* consciousness seemed to be limited and localized, not going much beyond the community or cooperative. As David Camfield notes in his analysis of Marx's discussion of French peasantry in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

> French peasants of the early 1850s are said to form a class to the extent that they find themselves in a similar economic relation to those who have a different way of living and different interests than theirs [...] However, the weakness of association between peasant families beyond their locales and their lack of common organization undermines their "classness." [...] Because of the disorganized and localized character of their class formation, conditioned by the class relations in which small-scale independent rural producers find themselves, the French peasantry is incapable of playing an independent role in national politics: "They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented" (172). "Community," "national bond," "political organization" — Marx's essay notes these as aspects of how people exploited in similar ways can become a force capable of conscious intervention as a class in the making of history (Camfield, 2004, p. 428).

Some of the observations Camfield makes about the French peasantry can also be applied to quinoa producers, especially in terms of their local — rather than national or international — level of organization. Although quinoa cooperatives offer national representation and organization of workers and seek better prices and terms of trade for their members at the national and international level, they seem to work independently and are not articulated or working together toward a common cause: quinoa cooperatives as a whole do not seem to collectively work together to lobby the government, but do so more individually.

Though agrarian cooperatives are often seen as a way to counter neoliberalism, Brass (2007) uses the case of a Peruvian cooperative in the 1970s to illustrate how internal and external class

divisions and distinctions made it possible for better-off peasants to impose their own accumulation project within such cooperatives. For example, the cooperative's labour requirement was easier fulfilled by better off peasants who could hire waged labour and had control over labour-power, whereas those who couldn't fulfill the requirement were expelled. The government department, *Oficina Nacional de Reforma Agraria* (ONRA), was tasked with facilitating the cooperative in transitioning it away from accumulation to full cooperativization through capacity building in four areas, a "labour requirement, increased output on the cooperative sector, payment of the agrarian debt, and quorate assembly meetings" (Brass, 2007, p. 265). Failure to meet these requirements, however, resulted in "the transfer of capital resources from the cooperative sector co-owned by the membership as a whole to (and thus accumulation in) the peasant sector where members owned individual holdings" (Brass, 2007, p. 265). Through his minute examination of class dynamics in a specific time and place, Brass (2007) illustrates how the voices that dominated within the cooperative were better-off peasants who had their own accumulation agenda, while poorer peasants were pushed out and increasingly underrepresented.

Marxist scholars have often been quite critical of agrarian cooperatives, seeing them more as embodiments of capitalism rather than alternatives, with their own power dynamics, labor-production relationships and market orientation. ANAPQUI, for example, has been criticized for its top-down structure and move away from decentralization. In cooperatives, despite a rhetorical claim for egalitarianism, in practice not everyone has the same voice, power, or necessarily understands how decisions are being made, even if cooperatives have to adhere to certain democratic principals if they want to participate in fair trade. Peasants in Bolivia who are producing quinoa are not challenging neoliberalism, but rather trying to find their niche within the capitalist world system. Producing for the fair trade and organic market provides them with this niche, and it also allows them to maintain some vestiges of small-scale, ecological production which stays truer to its historical roots, traditional production and cultural values. And as seen above, a clear-cut *quinuero* class consciousness was absent, more localized (at the community and cooperative level) and multidimensional, given the diversity of rural-urban

livelihoods and roles played by producers.

The discussion thus-far has focused on the multidimensional nature of class experiences amongst quinoa producers based on the diversity of livelihoods in which they engage and the limitation of considering agricultural cooperatives as truly challenging the capitalist world system. It is worth noting, however, that producers' multidimensional class experience is not only shaped by the diversity of roles they play (both rural and urban), but also by the diversity of identities they embody. For example, quinoa producers interviewed identified themselves strongly as both indigenous and peasant:

> *[Es nación y pueblo indígena originario campesino toda la colectividad humana que comparta identidad cultural, idioma, tradición histórica, instituciones, territorialidad y cosmovisión, cuya existencia es anterior a la invasión colonial española (Norma de la comunidad de Rodeo, 2015).]*
>
> A nation and its people — who are the original habitants, indigenous, and peasant — can be defined as every human collective which shares a cultural identity, language, historical tradition, institutions, territory, Cosmo-vision, and whose existence predates the colonial Spanish invasion (Community of Rodeo Regulations, 2015).

I've used the term "peasant" (*campesino*) in this section a number of times — a highly contested and debated term, with varying definitions over the centuries — which deserves to be unpacked further. In Bolivia, *campesino* became an "official governance category" after the 1952 revolution, with the establishment of the Ministry of Peasant Affairs (Edelman, 2013, pp. 2-4). *Campesino* became a term which came to reflect the diverse makeup of Bolivia, coexisting alongside rather than challenging indigenous identity, "not only an analytical construct... but a social group which exists in the collective consciousness and political deed of its members" (Edelman, 2013; Shanin, 1990, p. 69):

> Similarly, "peasant" could be understood not just as a role or a social structural position, but also as a form of identity and self-ascription (and not necessarily a primordial or

> overarching one, since it could coexist in the same person alongside multiple other identities, ranging from "indigenous" to "microentrepreneur," "migrant," "teacher" or "electrician") (Edelman, 2013, p. 8).

Just as *quinueros* engaged in a variety of roles and livelihoods, forming a multidimensional class experience, they also encompassed a variety of complementary — rather than contradictory — identities. In his paper "What is a peasant? What are peasantries? A briefing paper on issues of definition," Edelman identifies four different kinds of definitions for "peasant":

> (1) Historical definitions, such as those from societies where peasants constituted an estate- like, caste-like, corporate or subordinated social group, characterized by specific restrictions on geographical or social mobility, limited rights, and obligations to provide services and perform particular deference behaviors for superordinate groups;
> (2) Social scientific definitions from anthropology and sociology and from the interdisciplinary fields of peasant studies and agrarian studies.
> (3) Activist definitions employed by agrarian movements, particularly Vía Campesina and its constituent organizations, that self-identify as "peasants" (or "campesinos," etc.).
> (4) Normative definitions, including those proposed by civil society organizations and by the Advisory Committee of the Human Rights Council (Edelman, 2013, p. 2).

Peasant identity among *quinueros* seemed to embody elements of these four categories of definition: *historically*, with the legacy inherited by the rural poor and agricultural labourers of the areas; *social scientific* in terms of previously engaging primarily in subsistence agriculture and their relationship of producing for cities; activist, such as *Vía Campesina's* overarching definition of "people of the land"; and *normative*, incorporating civil society organizations' definitions and affording *pueblos indígena originario campesinos* a special place in Bolivia's constitution (Edelman, 2013). Based on field research and observation of *quinueros* in Bolivia, the closest definition of the term "peasant" suitable to quinoa producers resembles that put

forward by *Vía Campesina*:

> A peasant is a man or woman of the land, who has a direct and special relationship with the land and nature through the production of food and/or other agricultural products. Peasants work the land themselves, rely above all on family labour and other small-scale forms of organizing labour. Peasants are traditionally embedded in their local communities and they take care of local landscapes and of agro-ecological systems.
>
> The term peasant can apply to any person engaged in agriculture, cattle-raising, pastoralism, handicrafts-related to agriculture or a related occupation in a rural area. This includes Indigenous people working on the land (Vía Campesina, 2009, p. 6).

The concept around the term *campesino* amongst *quinueros* most closely resembled this definition, which ultimately underlines the important relationship producers have to land and nature and is complementary rather than contradictory with other identities and class experiences they live. Even if, in today's globalized world, producers more closely resemble small commodity producers than Marx's peasantry — which "form the basis of the feudal mode of production, and, on the other hand, appear alongside capitalist production after the dissolution of the feudal mode" (Marx, 1867/1990, pp. 452-453) — the term peasant has evolved and changed over time, making it difficult to do away with altogether. For Bernstein:

> There are no 'peasants' in the world of contemporary capitalist globalisation [...] Its principal points include processes of the 'commodification of subsistence' in capitalism, the transformation of peasants into petty commodity producers, the consequent internalisation of commodity relations in the reproduction of farming households, and inherent tendencies to class differentiation of petty commodity production, whether farming is practised as the sole or principal basis of household reproduction or combined with other activities – in other branches of petty commodity production (including crafts and services) and/or, most importantly, the sale of labour power. Other closely related dynamics are the (near) ubiquity of 'off farm' income for all classes of farmers (albeit typically from different sources, and for different purposes, according to class) – so-called 'pluriactivity' (below) – and of rural labour markets on which much 'peasant' farming

depends (Bernstein, 2014, p. 1044).

Though I tend to agree with Bernstein, I would argue that the historical definition of peasant is no longer sufficient in representing the modern *campesino*, who represents a complex mosaic of identities which go beyond its historical feudal roots.

While in the field, I also forayed briefly into participatory-action research, adding an exercise in collective organizing at the end of each workshop I did on Fair Trade, where producers identified a problem (different aspects and reasons for the problem), a target (corporate or government actor responsible for resolving or aggravating the problem), a solution, and some sort of collective action in order to achieve the solution. This exercise seemed quite well received by producers and allowed them to problematize a common lived experience, such as garbage and other pollutants — non-organic fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides — being carried over by the wind, contaminating their parcels, and threatening the quality of their quinoa which was destined for the organic or Fair Trade market. Although this common lived experience was often local in nature, producers were able to identify macro processes of power responsible for the problem, such as a lack of government policies, regulation, and implementation mechanisms like inspections, penalties and rewards which deter environmentally destructive practices and encourage ecological production. In the exercise, producers saw themselves as a united front against a common problem; competition and competitiveness amongst cooperatives and producers did not enter the debate. It seemed this type exercise was seldom seen by producers who seemed to individually carry the burden of fluctuating prices, environmental factors, and soil contamination, rather than questioning the political, economic and ecological factors which subjugate and marginalize them, ultimately threatening their main livelihood: quinoa production. This kind of participatory-action research among associated producers, using a very grassroots and community organizing approach, could be an exciting area for future research.

Part 6: Contradictions in the fair trade and organic markets: who wins and who loses?

> *[Los capitalistas vienen aquí para explotar, no para ayudar (comentario de productor en la asamblea general de AROCAY, 19 de junio 2015).]*
>
> Capitalists come here to exploit, not to help (producer comment in APROCAY's general assembly, 19 June 2015).

One of the many issues facing quinoa producers in these two "alternative" markets is the different rules and restrictions for fair trade and organic certification. In fair trade (through FLO-CERT), producer organizations are the "owners" of their certification label. This means that the producer organization has complete autonomy over who it sells to using the FLO label. This is not, however, always the case for organic certification, where organic certification can only be granted either through a firm or an officially recognized certification body. In the case of the former, the firm is the owner of the certification label and plays the role of intermediary between the producer and the consumer. Assuming the production requirements are met, organic certification costs U.S.$800 per producer or $1000 for a group of 10 producers (at the time of investigation), making it attractive for producers to become certified through a firm, which assumes this cost. Organic firms help individual and organized producers in becoming organic certified, but in return, producers can only sell their organic quinoa to them.

A producer interested in fair trade certification, however, cannot individually access the market, but must be associated through either a *corporación agropecuaria campesina (CORACA)*, *organización económica campesina* (OECA), *asociación*, or *cooperación*. These different producer organizations must have legal status (fiscalization for producer organizations is done through the *Ministerio de Autonomías*), internal statutes, and regulations in order to participate in fair trade. This level of formalization — and a lack of sufficient hands that can help in this process — often poses a challenge for quinoa producers. In the case of APROCAY, they were still struggling, a year later, in depositing the fair trade premium in a bank account that met all the requirements. As one producer from APROCAY noted: "There's money, but there's nowhere to deposit it" ["*Hay plata pero no hay dónde depositar*"]. Navigating bureaucratic requirements

and jumping through prerequisite hoops makes fair trade especially hard for producers to access, but once in, the higher price, fair trade premium, cooperative processing plant (which not all cooperatives have), and closer contact to clients provide value-added and better terms of trade — even if, at the end of the day, this market is international rather than domestic.

Organic and fair trade certification are also done through different channels, where having one does not necessarily facilitate or guarantee the obtaining of the other, hurtling producer organizations in parallel, complex, and often confusing processes. For fair trade, the internationally recognized FLO-CERT isn't the only game in town: Fair Trade U.S.A., Ecocert, SPP, and WFTO are all vying for a piece of the fair trade pie. And both organic and fair trade production have their version of the middleman: in organic production, it's the firm, while in fair trade production, it's the producer organization. Although it could definitely be argued that it is preferable for producer organizations to have this more direct contact with clients — and power in terms of who they sell to — there is little accompaniment or assistance with commercialization and improving international and national competitiveness, or with expanding and creating demand in the domestic market for fair trade quinoa. Producers from both groups expressed a desire to be able to sell processed and transformed quinoa products directly to consumers, avoiding having to go through the cooperative or firm, but they lacked the mechanical inputs and scale to be able to do so.

In terms of prices, it was hard to properly compare between both groups — organic producers in Rodeo and fair trade producers in Salinas — since the producers in Rodeo who sold to the organic firm JATARY had sold for 2013-2014 but had yet to consistently make their sales for 2015. Prices were quite similar between producers who sold to JATARY in Rodeo and producers in Salinas who sold to APQUISA for 2013-2014, where quinoa prices were particularly high that year. Prices were between 1900-2000 bolivianos per quintal, sometimes higher by 50-100 bolivianos in one group, sometimes in the other. For 2015, prices were closer to 900-1000 bolivianos.

Where prices *did* significantly vary, however, was between the two groups of producers in Rodeo, those who sold to the organic firm JATARY and those who sold to the quinoa cooperative ANAPQUI. I was surprised to see that producers who were *not* organized and sold directly to the organic firm JATARY received a significantly higher price, a difference ranging between 300-600 bolivianos for 2013-2014[16]. This could be due to difficulties ANAPQUI was facing at the time or be a symptom of a larger problem. Analyzing causes and the reasons for the fluctuation in prices amongst different actors, however, was beyond the scope of my research; a rigorous analysis on fluctuating prices, combined with a livelihoods' approach, could provide useful insights into why organic producers — as in the case of Rodeo — are moving away from cooperativization, opting to individually sell to organic firms rather than being organized, which in theory should offer more stability and better terms of trade. In the case of organic quinoa production in Bolivia, it would be interesting to see whether this move away from cooperativization is more of an outlier or a trend amongst producers.

Amongst fair trade producers in Salinas, most understood what the premium paid to the community/group was and had a general idea of what it had been used for (improvements to the APQUISA processing plant, fertilizer, buying and installing garbage cans in their community, etc.), with the exception of two people who had no idea what the premium was or how it was used. Half of the participants understood the premium concept in general terms, namely, that decisions surrounding how the premium was spent were made in general assemblies and voted upon by the members. By contrast, only one producer understood the specific rules (that 70% of the premium has to be spent on socio-economic related projects and 30% on environmental related initiatives) and the actual amount (US$260 per metric ton) of the premium. All producers recognized their quinoa as being organic but did not seem to grasp the differences between organic and fair trade organic markets or the certification process. In addition, producers in both groups sold their quinoa in raw/unprocessed form — which in turn is processed in the firm or cooperative plant — but standard, minimum FLO and organic prices are for processed quinoa,

[16] It is hard here to reach any definitive conclusion, as I interviewed a total of six producers in Rodeo, three from ANAPQUI and three from JATARY.

making producers dependent on the firm or cooperative to produce the finished, marketable product. And it was not clear, at the time of research, what mechanisms were in place to guarantee a minimum price for raw/unprocessed quinoa or make sure that the margin of profit between raw/unprocessed and processed quinoa was not too large, which would ultimately make quinoa producers the losers and the various middlemen the winners in the quinoa value chain.

Amongst organic producers in Rodeo, the main benefit of producing organic quinoa was in the increased price. All participants also commented on the widespread perception of increased nutritional value of producing organic quinoa versus conventional. The higher prices allowed participants a higher standard of living, a safety net when times were difficult, and, in the case of Rodeo, a community fund where every member contributed one quintal of quinoa. This was invested in various community projects such as painting the roofs, improving the museum, and promoting tourism.

Another issue in organic certification is with regards to the varying standards of the different certification bodies in Bolivia: Biolatina, Bolicert, CERES, and IMO Control. Although all four follow general requirements and must respect norms established by the *Asociación de Organizaciones de productores ecológicos de Bolivia* (AOPEB), n*orma NB 663* — passed by the *Instituto Boliviano de Normalización y Calidad* (IBNORCA) — Regulation 2092/91 of the European Union, and the National Organic Program (NOP) of the United States, it is known amongst producer organizations and various experts that some certification bodies are more rigorous and adhere to stricter production and farm-level standards than others.

So are fair trade and organic markets challenging the global, neoliberal food system? Hardly. Do they offer better terms of trade, more stability in producers' main livelihood — quinoa production — and allow producers to maintain hints of their traditional, small scale production and validate, rather than quash, community levels of organization? Definitely.

Part 7: Food sovereignty

> The right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments...as a critical alternative to the dominant neoliberal model for agriculture and trade (Wittman, Desmarais, & Wiebe, 2010, p. 2)

In his article, "Food sovereignty via the 'peasant way': a skeptical view," Bernstein is doubtful that food sovereignty can be achieved the "peasant way," what he deems to be a system of production based on agro-ecological farming with "low (external)-input and [which is] labour-intensive" (Bernstein, 2014, p. 1031). He argues, quite vehemently, that small-scale farming may not be able to feed the current world population and that the food sovereignty movement is greatly weakened by its "belief in humanity's salvation through small-scale farming" (Bernstein, 2014, p. 1057). Based on investigation conducted in the field, however, I would have to disagree with this particular claim of Bernstein's. Of all the producers I interviewed, the smaller scale producers in Rodeo who had fewer external inputs and generally used more labour intensive methods had a greater surplus and saw higher yields per hectare. In Rodeo, producers had an estimated average of 13.4 quintals per hectare while the producers from APQUISA in the areas around Salinas only had 7. Land dedicated to quinoa production also varied quite a bit across the two groups. In Rodeo, the average producer had approximately 16.4 hectares for quinoa production, half of which would lie fallow on any given year. Most of the individual producers I talked to in the community had between 3 and 6 hectares to cultivate per year, and those with more, such as 35-36 hectares, separated these amongst multiple family members. In contrast, producers from APQUISA had on average 31 hectares per individual, half of which would also lie fallow.

In terms of external inputs, Rodeo was also quite different from Salinas. The community had a total of 4 tractors for everyone — which community members rented at 400 bolivianos per hour, which would be adequate to complete work on one hectare — while producers from APQUISA normally owned their tractors individually. Similar comparisons could be made with other inputs

such as organic fertilizers and fumigation. Rodeo producers did not fumigate or use organic fertilizers (excluding llama manure) while most producers from APQUISA did both. Although my comparative case study was only between a group of producers from Rodeo and a group of producers from Salinas, comparing yields between high input, large-scale quinoa producers and low-input, small scale quinoa producers in Bolivia could potentially give Bernstein a run for his money. Or not. Either way, it would be interesting to investigate further.

Cultural beliefs with regards to production varied greatly across the two groups, with few people from APQUISA participating in rites or rituals to *pacha mama*, while the community of Rodeo partook wholeheartedly in the "mystical production" of quinoa. Even the pests weren't killed; community members in Rodeo utilized companion planting, sowing other insect-luring flora near their quinoa fields and would physically move the pests to these:

> *[Por eso nosotros, en esta comunidad de Rodeo, estamos implementando la producción mística. Mística se refiere a una producción así con usos y costumbres, ¿no? Nosotros somos muy costumbristas. Para eso, nosotros para iniciar la siembra, ofrendamos un rito a la pachamama. A media siembra de igual forma y después, cuando quiere entrar la helada, el frío, hacemos otra costumbre también. Para que no pueda ingresar el frío intensamente. Y hacemos también controles así superficiales. La sal aquí es muy fundamental en esta zona. Porque toda esta ruta del intersalar ayuda a oxigenar harto. Por esto justamente nosotros traemos también en cantidades y ponemos en las parcelas. Cuando hace intenso frío, respira, cosa que no deje entrar el frío en mucha intensidad. Por eso nosotros lo llamamos una producción mística, así costumbrista [...] Pero como le indicaba es una producción mística, nosotros no querremos matarle al gusanito. Es por eso una...tiene que haber esta biodiversidad, entendimiento no, con las aves silvestres, todo ello…Más al contrario, por eso hacemos un rito hasta los gusanitos. Y ellos hacen que esté equilibrado...no se van a comer todo sino equilibran con las vivencias en las tholas y van poco a las parcelas de quinua (Milán Arcayne, productor,Rodeo).]*

> For us, in the community of Rodeo, we are implementing a mystical method of production. Mystical refers to a type of production with specific uses and customs, right? Our customs are very important to us. For this reason, when we are about to start seeding, we do a rite for pacha-mama. In the middle of the quinoa season, we do the same thing and after, when frost or cold threaten, we partake in another custom as well. So that the cold doesn't affect the quinoa intensely. We also have superficial methods of control. Salt in this area is fundamental. The whole intersalar region helps in terms of oxygen. For this reason, we also bring salt — in certain quantities — to our various parcels of quinoa. So when there is intense cold, the quinoa plant can breathe, something which deters the cold from entering in any significant way. [...] This is why we call our production "mystical," we don't want to kill the larvae and pests. That's why it's...there needs to be this kind of biodiversity, an understanding with wildlife, with everything. So we do a rite for the pests and caterpillars. And this makes it so that everything is in equilibrium...they won't eat everything but will be in harmony with the *tholas* [native plant] and will seldom go to the quinoa parcels (Milán Arcayne, producer, Rodeo).

In terms of food security, producers in Rodeo with higher yields also seemed to keep a larger percentage of their crop — twenty per cent — for their personal consumption in comparison to their counterparts in APQUISA who kept on average around 10%. This quinoa, not sold to the cooperative or firm, is transformed into other quinoa products (cleaned and sorted for flour, flakes for soup, cereal, kernels, etc.) and acts as an important safety net or "emergency fund" for producers. Producers know that amidst financially difficult times, at least they will be able to eat or can sell a portion of their quinoa reserve for some fast cash at the Challapata intermediary market, even if this price is lower than what they receive through their cooperative or organic firm. For producers, quinoa is truly their lifeline. When asked, "For you, what significance does quinoa have? (*Para usted, qué significación tiene la quinua?)*, producers answered the following:

> *[Para mí tiene pues todo (productora, Rodeo).]*
> For me, it's everything (producer, Rodeo).

> *[El significado es bastante por eso lo llaman el grano de oro ¿no? El valor, costo, en alimentación también te nutre bien, ingreso… (productor, APQUISA).]*
>
> It has quite a lot of significance, that's why they call it the golden grain, right? In terms of value, cost, it's food too and nourishes you, gives you income… (producer, APQUISA).

The question shouldn't be whether or not the surplus from small scale farming can be used to feed the *global* population, since it clearly can be and is. The *corregidor* of Rodeo, Milán, even talked to me about how the community wanted to start a separate quinoa reserve which would be used to help alleviate international food insecurity and hunger:

> *[Como le decía, con 50 quintales de quinua que tu vendes, vives bien, y tienes restante tal vez otro 50 quintales más, ¿no? Unos 10 o 5 ya podrías asignar para cooperar. Porque pobreza existe por todo lado. En Italia mismo yo vi pobreza extrema, una desnutrición. Inclusive allá había conversado con la embajada de Italia...nosotros como Rodeo, podríamos ayudar, pero con un producto de quinua orgánica garantizada (Milán Arcayne, productor, Rodeo).]*
>
> Like I was telling you, with the 50 quintals of quinoa that you sell, you live well, and you have another 50 quintals or so, right? So you can pool 5-10 collectively. Because poverty exists everywhere. Even in Italy, I saw extreme poverty, malnutrition. When I was over there I talked with the Italian embassy...we, here in Rodeo, we could help, but with a guaranteed organic quinoa product (Milán Arcayne, productor, Rodeo).

The question should be, however, whether this surplus produced by small scale farmers, especially in the case of fair trade and organic Bolivian quinoa, can be used to feed the *domestic* population. And this is the problem in Bolivia: there is virtually no domestic market for organic quinoa and even less for fair trade quinoa, which is getting exported almost in its entirety to the global North. Bolivians are therefore essentially left with a lower grade, industrially produced product that hasn't gone through the same rigid quality control as organic and fair trade quinoa and which is often produced unsustainably and in environmentally questionable ways, while the best, most nutritious quinoa vamooses from Bolivian borders for greener pastures — i.e. health-

food stores — in the global North. I am not arguing here for a delinking from international markets, but rather of finding ways for organic and fair trade markets to exist at the domestic level as well, creating better policies and more subsidies to encourage domestic consumption of the healthy crop, and ultimately improving food security (and even food sovereignty) at the national level, all the while promoting small scale, environmentally responsible farming.

The main causes for food insecurity stem from national availability and accessibility, the latter determined by whether or not people can obtain necessary alimentary products based on their level of poverty (L. C. Smith, Obeid, & Jensen, 2000). In the case of Bolivia, national availability isn't the issue since one can find quinoa being sold ubiquitously. When talking to participants, it became clear that quinoa, domestically, has never been consumed by a majority of the population, since it was considered a "peasant" crop for so long that was consumed primarily by the rural people who produced it. Only with quinoa's recent popularity in the last 5-7 years has this perception started to change, but so has the price, which has also made it a less popular choice for Bolivian consumers, who prefer to buy cheaper and unhealthier alternatives such as pasta and rice and which also, presumably, have a longer history of being higher status foods as part of a "modern" diet amongst elites. And the government hasn't done enough to subsidize the cost of quinoa to encourage consumption at the domestic level. According to one participant, Eduardo Ramos, a fair trade and organic consultant who previously worked for ANAPQUI, these government programs that enable quinoa consumption also use the lowest grade of quinoa. When examining the quinoa supplied to one primary school in particular, Mr. Ramos noticed the grain had actually gone bad. In order for Bolivia to improve its food security at the national level, the government needs to regulate quinoa prices at the domestic level by subsidizing them in order to encourage consumption by Bolivians, rather than let the market reign, where volatile fluctuations in prices subsequently deter consumers and throw producers into precariously producing quinoa. Otherwise Bolivians will continue to decrease their consumption of quinoa, choosing cheaper, unhealthier alternatives.

Taking a closer look at the central actors within this food sovereignty discourse, Bernstein (2014)

argues that capital's *other* is often epitomized by peasants, with their sustainable production, autonomy, cooperation, diversity, and collective management of the commons, notions that are founded in agrarian populism and older notions of "peasants" and "the peasant way." As seen earlier, he is critical of this romanticized view of peasants and goes as far as arguing against the very existence of the "peasant," making the case instead that they are rather "dynamic petty (and not so petty) commodity producers (Bernstein, 2014, p. 1045). Although I wouldn't go as far as arguing against the very existence of the "peasant" — as seen earlier — I would agree with Bernstein that capital's *other* isn't found amongst peasants and that these have indeed become petty commodity producers. It just makes good sense to export quinoa: producers are dependent on the market for their subsistence and reproduction. And just as peasants are not capital's *other*, neither are fair trade or organic markets. They are *markets.* They are *niches.* Participating in the organic or fair trade market is not a heroic act of resistance against the capitalist system, but rather a way to gain a comparative advantage, to get on top. Bolivian quinoa producers, like so many others, are conforming to the globalized food system and trying to navigate the neoliberal seas, using organic and fair trade markets to quite simply, be better off than they were before.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: How much power do quinoa producers of "alternative" markets ultimately have?

Figure 16: Challenging the system?

El neoliberalismo: "causante de la soledad y el desmoronamiento de la sociedad" (Acever, 2016).

> The most blatant evidence of the abandonment by MAS of its promises to reduce Bolivia's dependence on foreign capital and reverse over 500 years of unsustainable extractive development has been the expansion of predatory extractivism[17] […] Morales has opened national parks to fossil fuel exploration, exploitation, and pipelines, reversed the process of

[17] As Hollinder explains:

> Predatory extractivism refers to the expansion of extractive activities beyond hydrocarbons and minerals to agriculture, forestry, and fishing, and also to foreign control of arable land and water resources. It involves the use of increasingly risky technologies (such as fracking and deep-sea drilling), and reduced regard for ecosystem integrity and social rights (as extractive activities have expanded into protected areas and indigenous territories) (Hollender, 2016, p. 54).

> land reform to favor private interests and large landholders, inaugurated new mining, hydroelectric projects, and highways without and/or in spite of the lack of legally-required prior informed consent by local communities (Hollender, 2016, p. 54).

Rather than producing for the conventional market, producing quinoa for the fair trade and organic markets has allowed Bolivian quinoa producers to preserve their main livelihood, which is more stable, true to traditional production practices, smaller scale, less environmentally destructive, and less dependent on or vulnerable to fluctuating international prices. The quinoa boom has permitted many farmers — at times — to return to farming and the cooperatives that they have joined have helped protect them from the worst vagaries of market competition. But upon returning from the field I was still troubled by one of the central questions that had animated my research early on: how much power do these producers actually have to challenge multi-dimensional, political, economic and environmental realities?

In a way, I feel like my research has raised more questions than it has answered. I thus see this project as a humble first step, in which I attempt to connect decision-making at the household level to larger political, economic, and environmental processes in order to question whether organic and fair trade markets within the global neoliberal food system truly represent "alternatives" to capitalist production. Upon returning home, I am also left with questions about the wide gulf between the rhetoric of the Bolivian government's discourse about 'food sovereignty' and the reality: that their efforts to promote quinoa do not even achieve food security. Morales is "Old wine, [in] new bottles," with a political economy that looks frighteningly a lot like the old one (Hylton, 2011, pp. 243-244). The focus of MAS continues to be on export oriented agro-business and extractive industries. Shockingly, GMOs still make up 99% of the soya in Bolivia, even if they are outlawed in the 2009 constitution, and now, because of ambiguous language in the 2013 Agrarian Reform Law, legalization of GMOs in the near future is looking more and more probable (Hollender, 2016). Furthermore:

> Morales's promise for radical agrarian reform has been compromised by the globalization of food production, the worldwide demand for export-oriented crops like soy, which

> continue to create a highly uneven distribution of resources and land […] The high global prices of crude oil and excessive use of fossil fuels by industrialized nations have led to a more urgent and aggressive search for turning food crops into new energy resources in peripheral areas of South America (Fabricant, 2011, p. 281).

Agrarian reform under Morales has been the least radical and far reaching of the three previous efforts at reform (1953, 1996 and 2006). And if looking at the actors largely responsible for his rise to power — the six progressive indigenous, workers' and peasant organizations once unified into the *Pacto Unidad* — they have now been disbanded and split into camps that are either "pro" or "anti" *MAS*. Some leaders have received funding and been "coopted," while the government has coerced, threatened, and at times visited violence on other factions (Hollender, 2016). Disbanded, suppressed social movements no longer exert the same power on the state in terms of policy changes. Is this the way forward for politics in Bolivia? Should we be resigning ourselves to this new outlook?

Facing this multitude of uncertainties and questions, and realizing, somewhat chagrinned, that Bolivia is hardly the first country in Latin America where a left-wing government acts against its own progressive, popular discourse, I find myself wanting to understand why…

Following this logic, I think a vital area of future research is in the field of state capture, using process tracing of specific Bolivian cases — such as Bolivia's 2014 mining law or implementation of other policies, practices and laws that clearly favour foreign capital, predatory extractivism, and the concentration of land — to understand the mechanisms, actors, and reasons the MAS has reinforced the capitalist system which it originally sought to transform. This type of research, following a specific timeline (such as Morales' time in office) would trace sequences of events, identify actors (specific government departments, politicians, the corporate elite, etc.) and the mechanisms they use to dictate norms, policies, practices and laws. Such a study could be complemented with a Marxist analysis of power dynamics to better understand the forces of production and possible collective action tactics, being a first step in challenging multi-

dimensional, political, economic and environmental power. But the question would then be: do Bolivians have the objective and subjective conditions necessary to collectively rise up and struggle? Do quinoa producers? Do they have a sense of class consciousness and desire to struggle? Is it possible given the erosion of political openness of MAS?… And, as Laura Enriquez asks in the Venezuelan case: can we truly expect a redistribution of power resources in the absence of armed struggle or the threat of it?

Appendix 1 - Preguntas para las entrevistas semi-estructuradas con productores: guía de entrevista

1. ¿Está parte de qué cooperativa? ¿Produce para quién? (ahora)
    - empresa o organización
    - ¿hace cuánto tiempo?
    - ¿cómo se hace (contrato, normas, reglas, etc.)
    - ¿individual o a través de su cooperativa?
2. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que produce quinua?
3. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que produce quinua oficialmente orgánica? ¿Cuáles son los beneficios? ¿Porqué no producir quinua normal/convencional?
4. ¿Han sido cambios en cuánto o dónde produce?
    - Por ejemplo:
        - **en escala**: más/menos tierra dedicada a la producción;
        - **empleados salariados o labor de familia**;
        - elementos requeridos y usados para la producción o equipamiento comprado/nuevas herramientas;
        - **en el sistema de producción**: tipos de granos/semillas [por causa del mercado exportador, condiciones para el comercio justo o orgánico];
        - **intensidad** [tipos de elementos requeridos y usados para la producción, frecuencia en cuánto se desherba o control/mantenimiento de peste])
    - si la respuesta es "sí": ¿cuáles/qué tipos de cambios?
    - ¿porqué?
6. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo que ha sido certificado al comercio justo (/comercio orgánico)? O: ¿Ha sido alguna vez certificado al comercio justo? ¿Cuando? ¿Qué pasó? (alternativamente: ¿le gustaría estar certificado al comercio justo? Porqué?) ¿Ha visto cambios desde su certificación? ¿cuáles? ¿qué tipos de cambios?
7. ¿Cuáles costos están asociados con la certificación de la quinua al comercio justo/ orgánico? ¿Quién paga para la certificación? (e.g.: costo de certificación o otros costos de

negocio relacionados a la certificación [e.g.: teléfono, viajes de negocio, reuniones, contabilidad, etc.], costos asociados con "nuevas" maneras de producción [e.g.: más labor necesitado, más tierra, más o diferentes elementos requeridos y usados para la producción, etc.]).

8. ¿Ha alguna vez utilizado intermediarios para vender su quinua? ¿Cuando? ¿Qué tal la experiencia?
9. ¿Cuál era el último precio que recibió para su cosecha de quinua? (para el comercio justo y/o también para el mercado convencional exportador)
    - para el comercio justo: ¿qué era el recargo (premium) o otros pagamientos que recibió?
    - ¿cuáles eran los otros beneficios que recibió?
10. ¿Cómo su cooperativa/asociación le ayuda a vender su quinua? ¿Cómo podría mejorar?
11. ¿La producción de quinua es su principal fuente de:
    - ingreso?;
    - seguridad alimentaria?
    - de asegurar el bienestar de su familia?
12. ¿Cuáles otros tipos de actividades hace para generar ingreso o para vivir?
    - ¿éstas actividades han cambiado desde el boom de quinua?
    - si la respuesta es "sí", ¿cómo? porqué?
13. ¿Cada año se logra a vender toda su cosecha al mercado deseado? ¿Cómo?
14. ¿Quién, adentro de su habitación y familia, es responsable para: 1) las decisiones? 2) los ingresos? 3) producir/sembrar/cosechar/vender/promocionar o anunciar la quinua? 4) otras actividades de agricultura asociadas? 5) otras actividades que no están asociadas con la agricultura?
15. ¿Cómo se decide a dónde va la prima? ¿Qué tipos de proyectos ambientales, sociales, o económicos se han hecho (o se van a hacer) con la prima? ¿Hay reglas para dónde va la prima? ¿Cuales son?
16. ¿Procesa su quinua antes de venderla? ¿Qué hace? ¿Le gustaría procesar? ¿Porqué? ¿Qué necesitaría para hacerlo?

17. ¿Cómo recibe financiamiento? ¿De dónde/quién? ¿Es suficiente? ¿Qué le gustaría ver? ¿Cuando las cosas están difíciles financieramente, que hace? (e.g.: diferentes estrategias como: pedir préstamos del banco, un amigo o de un miembro de su familia/de la comunidad; dedicarse a diferentes tipos de labor salariado o intercambiado; cambiar su consumo o otros sacrificios de bienestar; etc.)
    - ¿Cómo se mejora las vidas de usted y su familia?
    - Alternativamente: ¿cómo sus vidas empeoran o deterioran?
    - ¿Qué le gustaría lograr y obtener para su y su familia?
    - ¿Qué haría más fácil/mejora la vida?
18. ¿Qué significación tiene la quinua para usted? Cómo lo definiría?
19. ¿Ha visto cambios con la naturaleza? ¿Qué pasa? ¿La pachamama es tan importante hoy en día como antes en su opinión?
20. ¿Cómo se hacen las decisiones: 1) entre los productores de quinua? 2) en su casa/con su familia? 3) en las reuniones de cooperativas? 4) en las conferencias de quinua? 5) en otros eventos/otras actividades asociados/as 6) en la comunidad?
21. ¿Hay programas gubernamentales que ayudan o apoyan a los productores? ¿Cuáles?
22. ¿Cómo están controlados y divididos los recursos:
    - en su casa/con su familia?
    - en la cooperativa de quinua?
    - en su comunidad?
    - ¿Por quién?
23. ¿Usted emplea obreros o trabajadores salariados o basados sobre otros tipos de intercambios para ayudar con el trabajo? ¿Ha siempre sido el caso? ¿Porqué?
    - si la respuesta es “no”: ¿qué cambió?
24. ¿Cuáles son, en su opinión, los principales obstáculos o dificultades que le enfrentan?

Preguntas cuantitativas asociadas a la producción de quinua (para comparar productores del comercio justo y el comercio convencional exportador):

1. Hectáreas dedicados a la producción de quinua: _____
2. Cantidad de quinua cosechada: _____
3. Ingresos que vienen de la quinua: _____
4. Gastos sobre la quinua: _____
5. Estimación de otros ingresos (actividades de agricultura): _____
6. Estimación de otros gastos (actividades de agricultura): _____
7. Estimación de otros ingresos (NO asociados a la agricultura): _____
8. Estimación de otros gastos (NO asociados a la agricultura): _____

Appendix 2: Preguntas para entrevistas semi-estructuradas con gerentes del comercio justo y orgánico: guía de entrevista

1) ¿Dónde se encuentra estadísticas sobre los precios orgánicos y del comercio justo?

- precios

- cantidades compradas y procesadas

2) ¿Cuál es el porcentaje de quinua exportada por las empresas y por las asociaciones? ¿Dónde se encuentra esta información?

3) ¿Si un productor quiere certificarse, qué sería su primer paso?

4) ¿Si una cooperativa/asociación quiere certificarse, cuáles etapas tiene que cumplir?

5) ¿Qué es mejor, que una asociación se certifica a través de una empresa o una organización certificadora?

6) ¿Cuáles empresas del comercio justo (o orgánico) existen hoy en día en Bolivia?

7) ¿Cuáles son las certificadoras que existen en Bolivia?

8) ¿Cuáles ONGs o programas gubernamentales asistan a las asociaciones o individuales a certificarse? Con los documentos, normas, certificación, etc.

9) ¿Cuáles son los recursos disponibles a los interesados a certificarse? ¿Dónde deberían irse?

10) ¿Hay alguien que ayuda con los costos de certificación? ¿Quién?

11) ¿Hay financiamiento disponible para los que quieren certificarse? ¿A dónde van?

12) ¿Existen iniciativas/organizaciones/programas gubernamentales que apoyan a los productores que quieren procesar o transformar su quinua en sus comunidades?

13) ¿Hay un precio internacional mínimo (en el comercio justo y orgánico) para la quinua en bruto? ¿Dónde?

14) ¿Dónde se encuentra el precio mínimo para la quinua orgánica (o fair trade)

15) ¿Hay un precio orgánico internacional para la quinua orgánica? ¿Dónde? ¿Para quinua bruta también?

16) ¿Existe todavía una prima para el comercio justo para la quinua bruta o nada más para la quinua procesada? ¿Como se gestiona eso? ¿Cómo llega a las comunidades...o va nada más a la asociación o empresa?

17) ¿Existe una prima sobre la quinua orgánica? Qué es? ¿Cuáles son las reglas/normas?

18) ¿Los métodos artesanales de procesamiento están aceptado o no para el producto final que se va a FLO/mercados orgánicos?

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