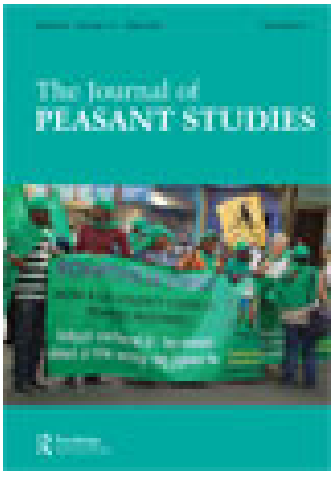

The Journal of Peasant Studies
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fjps20

What place for international trade in food sovereignty?

Kim Burnett & Sophia Murphy

Published online: 22 Jan 2014.

To cite this article: Kim Burnett & Sophia Murphy (2014): What place for international trade in food sovereignty?, The Journal of Peasant Studies, DOI: 10.1080/03066150.2013.876995

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2013.876995

The Journal of Peasant Studies, 2014
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2013.876995

What place for international trade in food sovereignty?

Kim Burnett and Sophia Murphy

International agricultural commodity trade is central to the livelihoods of millions of farmers across the globe, and to most countries' food security strategies. Yet global trade policies are contributing to food insecurity and are undermining livelihoods. Food Sovereignty emerged in part as the articulation of resistance to the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) and the imposition of multilateral trade disciplines on domestic agriculture policy. While not explicitly rejecting trade, the food sovereignty movement is identified with a strong preference for local markets. It challenges existing international trade structures, and on the whole its official position on trade remains ambiguous. We argue that trade remains important to the realization of the livelihoods of small-scale producers, including peasants active in the Food Sovereignty movement. It also matters for food security. That it remains underexplored by the movement risks marginalizing millions of smallholder producers, and risks overlooking opportunities to shape trade rules along more food sovereign lines. The authors suggest further development of the movement's position on trade is strategically important.

Keywords: food sovereignty; La Via Campesina; agricultural trade; food security; food crisis; world trade organization; fair trade; development

Introduction

The Food Sovereignty Movement (FSM) emerged in part in resistance to the model of globalization that was institutionalized in the Uruguay Round of trade agreements (URA) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. Since its inception, the FSM has contested the WTO's legitimacy as an institution for the governance of food and agriculture. The connection between the FSM's origins and its rejection of the WTO has created the impression that the movement is opposed to international trade. This is inaccurate; the movement has objected to the privileged place given to trade in food and agriculture policy and law, and has objected to the multilateral rules that govern trade, but the FSM is not opposed to trade *per se*. Nonetheless, it is our view that there is confusion about what

Sophia Murphy is the grateful recipient of a Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship and a scholarship from the Trudeau Foundation. She thanks both for their support. Kim Burnett expresses gratitude to the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Council for a Joseph-Armand Bombardier CGS Doctoral Scholarship, #767-2008-1014 and to the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Waterloo, Ontario for funding through Balsillie Fellowships. The authors also thank Stuart Clark for his comments on the paper and Hannah Wittman for helping put the paper on track early on in the process. The article is in large part the result of many years of conversation, debate and heated argument with many, many people in many parts of the world. The authors are indebted to all who took the time to engage. Thank you.

kind of trade would be 'all right' in a food sovereignty model and an insufficient consideration on the part of the FSM of what lies beneath the label 'international trade' in particular (namely, numerous and varied markets operating in complex interrelationships) as well as insufficient consideration of how best to regulate those markets.

We argue that the FSM should strive for a clearer and more considered stance on international trade. That stance should take account of the diverse needs and interests of hundreds of millions of smallholder farmers and farm workers around the world. These livelihoods are dependent on export markets and despite many inherent challenges, those involved do not necessarily want to exit international markets. We see three changes to the context of agricultural trade that support a re-examination of the costs and opportunities of engaging in advocacy on multilateral trade. First, who trades which commodities with whom and how, has changed markedly in the past 15 years. Second, the WTO appears to be adapting to some extent to this new context, which also includes changes in the balance of global geo-political power and changes in how the institution relates to civil society. Third, the FSM itself has begun to say more about trade and the conditions under which it should take place. The moment seems propitious for a fresh look at the FSM's strategy on trade.

The FSM has argued international trade should be regulated at the UN, not the WTO. The authors agree the WTO has many limitations in its structure, founding principles and in its negotiating culture. Nonetheless, we see opportunities at the WTO to contribute to a broader food-sovereignty-based trade campaign. We suggest the FSM consider the potential for changes in the existing rules and the difference such changes could make to the lives of smallholders, farm workers and their communities.

Our intention is to raise questions that are important to the FSM but not yet sufficiently discussed by the movement. To that end, the paper begins with an examination of the FSM and its history with regard to trade. We then consider some ways in which the movement's ambiguous position on trade excludes the needs and interests of smallholder farmers and farm workers whose livelihoods depend on trade. We look at changes in trade and at the WTO and assess the movement's stated preference for the UN to house trade negotiations and agreements. Finally, we explore the possibilities for a more engaged FSM strategy on trade.

Food sovereignty: a movement and a concept

Food sovereignty as a movement is a relatively new transnational social movement and advocacy network of peasants, farmers, fisher folk, and other peoples dependent on agricultural production for their livelihoods. The movement originated in the Americas and Europe and expanded quickly to Asia, and later to Africa and other parts of the world (Holt-Gimenez 2010, 204). FSM emerged as a political movement when La Via Campesina (LVC) used the term to assert itself as an international voice for peasant organizations at the World Food Summit in Rome in 1996. In just 15 years, the movement has become a leading transnational agrarian movement of peasant[1] organizations, lead in large part by LVC. As of 2010, the FSM represented primarily marginalized rural people from over 150 social movements and 79 countries, including 12 African countries and several

[1]La Via Campesina in fact defines themselves as an international movement of 'peasants, small- and medium-sized producers, landless, rural women, indigenous people, rural youth and agricultural workers' (Via Campesina 2007). For simplicity, the term 'peasants' is used in this paper to include all of these groups.

countries in South and East Asia (Holt-Gimenez 2010). The movement has become a pivotal force in working to safeguard the rights, dignity and livelihoods of millions of the most vulnerable persons and communities across the world.

LVC introduced the concept of food sovereignty as an alternative to the expansion of capitalist agricultural production and neoliberal globalization of agricultural markets. The emergence of LVC coincided with the birth of the WTO and the coming into force of the URA Agreement on Agriculture (AoA). Under the banner of food sovereignty, LVC members articulated their rejection of the WTO and all it stood for with the slogan: 'WTO out of agriculture.' They were not just rejecting the AoA, but all the agreements that affected agriculture, understanding that just taking agriculture out of the WTO (i.e. removing the AoA) would not keep agriculture free from WTO rules.[2] The slogan was an assertion that agriculture was their space, as producers, and they should have a voice in how the space should be managed. LVC was not just articulating a critique of the AoA's rules and asserting that globalization should not dictate domestic agricultural policies. The organization's wider point was to assert the primacy of agriculture, to allow governments space to support agricultural sectors rather than liberalize them, to insist on the importance of including producers' voices in governance mechanisms and to reject the corporate control of commodity markets. From early on, LVC refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the WTO. The organization chose instead to devote what scarce resources it had for multilateral advocacy to the UN system.[3]

LVC defined food sovereignty at its inception as, 'the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods, respecting cultural and productive diversity' and, 'the right to produce our own food in our own territory' (in Desmarais 2007, 34). The organization later added, 'the right of people to define their agricultural and food policy' to the definition (in Desmarais 2007, 34). The movement and the concept became more formalized at the 2007 Forum for Food Sovereignty (Nyéléni) in Mali. The Nyéléni Declaration contains the most commonly recognized definition of food sovereignty today:

> Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. (Nyéléni 2007)

The forum also established the movement's central focal areas, including land and agrarian reform, market protections for peasants, sustainable and agro-ecological agricultural production, greater control for peasants over seeds and resources, and women's rights (Nyéléni 2007, Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck 2011).

Trade and food sovereignty

From the inception of the FSM through Nyéléni to today, international trade has been a central focus of the movement's political work, which is critical of the structures of trade, and of the rules institutionalized in international trade agreements. The movement

[2]Interview by Kim Burnett with Nettie Wiebe, International Coordinating Committee member of the North American/Mexican region in LVC from 1996–2001.

[3]This is based on first-hand observation of LVC statements made in trade and agriculture strategy meetings among civil society organizations, including the series of meetings co-hosted by CSOs at the World Council of Churches in Geneva over a number of years starting in 1998, in which Sophia Murphy was an organizer, facilitator and participant as an advisor on trade and agriculture for the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, an NGO based in Minneapolis, USA.

is not, however, hostile to trade. Indeed, a number of the farmers' organizations associated with the FSM have members whose crops are sold in international markets – ROPPA in West Africa, for example, and the National Family Farm Coalition in the United States. As the FSM has evolved, it has taken a clearer position that it accepts trade under certain circumstances.

Trade under certain circumstances

Broadly, the FSM allows for trade where domestic production cannot meet needs, and where agriculture gives priority to providing food for domestic populations with the surplus available for export (Via Campesina 2010). Windfuhr and Jonsén (2005, 32) observe,

> [the] food sovereignty framework is a counter proposal to the neo-liberal macroeconomic policy framework. It is not directed against trade *per se*, but is based on the reality that current international trade practices and trade rules are not working in favour of smallholder farmers...

Similarly, the third pillar in the Declaration of Nyéléni rejects trade and its institutions when qualified as harmful: 'governance structures, agreements and practices that depend on and promote unsustainable and inequitable international trade and give power to remote and unaccountable corporations' (IPC 2009). The movement calls for trade rules that permit the protection and support of small-scale producers, as well as mechanisms such as supply management, commodity agreements, quotas, etc. in support of food security and sustainable livelihoods (Pimbert 2009). These requests in fact mirror many agricultural policies adopted historically by most of what are today industrialized countries (see Chang 2003, Stiglitz 2007, Rodrik 2007).

Some in the FSM also promote 'fairer trade'. At the Nyéléni forum, the declaration states: 'Fair trade initiatives and other arrangements should be supported' (Nyéléni 2007). At the same conference, transparent trade was promoted, where trade, 'guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition'. More recently, the Nyéléni newsletter included a promotion of socially just trade:

> Food sovereignty emphasizes ecologically appropriate production, distribution and consumption, social-economic justice and local food systems as ways to tackle hunger and poverty and guarantee sustainable food security for all peoples. It advocates trade and investment that serve the collective aspirations of society. (Nyéléni 2013)

Notably, LVC, in its 2013 Jakarta Call, cites 'fair trade between countries' as one of the principles of food sovereignty moving forward (Via Campesina 2013b). Yet these are all passing references. The FSM remains vague on what 'fairer' trade should look like.

A report affiliated with the *Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (ROPPA, which in English translates as the Network of Farmers' and Agricultural Producers' Organisations of West Africa) gives a more comprehensive position on trade in traditional commodities and food sovereignty (Koning and Jongeneel 2006).[4] ROPPA is an association of West African peasant associations, a member of LVC,

[4]It's not clear how the report is connected to ROPPA, and how connected it is to the Food Sovereignty movement. However the report does bear the ROPPA logo and ROPPA is a prominent member of the movement.

and active in the FSM. The report considers how cotton and cocoa production can be integrated into food sovereignty principles through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in particular to increase farm-gate prices of these commodities. The authors propose three foundational pillars for autonomy and empowerment in export markets: (a) end dependence on importing markets; (b) involve farmer organizations; and (c) include production controls. Because the United States dominates a large share of the cotton market (roughly 20 percent), international supply management is considered impossible to coordinate, and a shift to processing and selling cotton for the ECOWAS market is deemed necessary (Koning and Jongeneel 2006). The authors do not demonstrate that the domestic demand necessary for this approach to be feasible exists.

For cocoa, the report recommends an international supply control arrangement, which the authors argue is possible because developed countries do not produce cocoa, and there are no close substitutes, giving producers more market power. Recognizing challenges (for example, free riders), the authors argue these can be overcome with the right incentives (Koning and Jongeneel 2006). While the report does not demonstrate a commitment across countries, and is largely conceptual, it does think through how export commodity production can be compatible with the principles of food sovereignty.

Overall, there is little evidence that the FSM works with small-scale farmers whose production is exported and no clear agenda is presented for them. This leaves the conditions where trade is integral to food security unaccounted for. It also leaves ambiguous the precise circumstances in which trade is acceptable to the movement, and makes it possible to identify contradictions in what is said under a food sovereignty banner. This in turn leaves uncertain what place there is within food sovereignty as a concept and as a movement for small-scale producers whose production is exported. It is probably fair to say that the movement does not yet have a position on international trade itself, but that it has taken a position against certain norms and practices around trade.

Local markets first

The FSM clearly prioritizes local market exchange over global trade, in part as a direct response to neoliberal globalization and the tenets of agricultural liberalization that have accompanied it (Rosset 2006, Nyéléni 2007, Wittman et al. 2010). The original definition of food sovereignty put out by Via Campesina in 1996 focused on the rights of nations to develop their capacities to produce their own food. Assertion of this right has been consistent through to Nyéléni, where the forum called for 'localizes food systems' as the third of six pillars of food sovereignty. The pillar promotes a bridging of the distance between producers and consumers and a re-localization of decision-making (IPC 2009). Elsewhere at Nyéléni, it was established that policies should prioritize production for local consumption, and imports should not displace this (Nyéléni 2007).

The movement's prioritization of local markets, promotion of greater self-sufficiency and condemnation of the WTO could lead to the perception that the movement is against trade *per se*. In fact, it would be more accurate to say that the movement's concern is with structures of agricultural production and trade; that is, structures governed by policies promoting liberalization and privatization and entrenching transnational corporate power, which the FSM, with reason, sees as harmful to hundreds of millions of small-scale producers. This analysis motivates the FSM's demand that governments have greater autonomy in their domestic policy-making.

The perception of the movement as against international trade is exacerbated by strongly critical views of trade expressed by proponents of food sovereignty. The

Oakland Institute's materials about food sovereignty link production of coffee, cocoa, and other 'colonial legacy' products to hunger and poverty (Oakland Institute, ND). Peter Rosset documents how export-oriented trade supports the interests of large, wealthy and expanding farms at the expense of small-scale farmers and peasants, who are displaced by the expansion of export trade onto marginal lands with poor soil quality and difficult growing conditions (Rosset 2006, 5). Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) criticize what they label 'mainstream' fair trade[5] and classify it as part of the corporate food regime. The authors acknowledge that some within an 'Alternative Fair Trade' movement take 'progressive and often radical positions on the issues of food and justice', but the distinction only seems to further underline that most of the fair trade movement fails to take a progressive stance.

Views such as these contribute to the impression – a vague but definite sense – that the FSM rejects trade, and risks oversimplifying the motives and interests of small-scale farmers producing for export markets (which we elaborate on below). In our view, the FSM would benefit from more debate and some clarification on how the movement views trade, the needs and political objectives of small-scale producers engaged in export, and the place of these producers under food sovereignty.

Opposition to the WTO

If the FSM has been ambivalent about trade, its rejection of the WTO as a legitimate institution for governing agricultural trade is crystal clear (Rosset 2006, Holt-Gimenez 2010, Wittman et al. 2010, Via Campesina 2013a, 2013b). Forged in part in reaction to the WTO and the Uruguay Round Agreements (URA), FSM sees the WTO as an illegitimate, undemocratic institution embedding the neoliberal governance of agricultural production and trade, at the expense of peasant and small-scale producers. This deep resistance to the WTO is evident in analyses such as this from Peter Rosset:

> The WTO and other trade liberalization agreements are by nature designed from the ground up to favor the removal of barriers to trade, rather than its regulation in the public interest, and the non-transparent, anti-democratic, superpower-dominated mechanisms they use are unlikely to make anything else possible (Rosset 2006, 77).

Peter Rosset and Maria Elena Martinez invoke 'collective defiance' as a characterization of social movements, citing LVC's defiant attitude to the WTO and World Bank (Rosset and Martinez 2005, 5). In the preparations for the WTO's Ministerial Conference in Bali in December 2013, LVC members are still clearly articulating their strong rejection of the WTO and the underlying interests it is seen to represent (Via Campesina 2013a, 2013b). LVC emerged with a strong critique that the GATT Uruguay Round negotiations[6] were deeply undemocratic and marginalized developing countries and, within countries, the voices of social movements, especially farmers and peasants. LVC's critique targeted the WTO agreements almost immediately, and also the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and the IMF, which they saw as emerging from the same economic logic.

[5]Which they qualify as 'corporate expansion and individual "consumption-as-politics", divorced from political organizing' (Holt Gimenez and Shattuck 2010, 115).

[6]GATT (or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) was the forum in which multilateral trade negotiations took place until the WTO was established in 1995, at which time the GATT became one of the agreements administered by the WTO.

Overall, the existing and expanding structures of global agricultural production and trade were decried as economically, culturally, socially and politically harmful to peasants, small-scale farmers, indigenous peoples and other food producers and to be root causes of poverty, hunger and landlessness around the world (Desmarais 2007, Rosset 2009, Wittman et al. 2010). In this analysis, international trade is an instrument of oppression, part of a larger economic structure that disadvantages the South against the North, the peasant against the transnational grain trader, and local cultural preferences against global consumer culture, embodied by McDonald's, Walmart and Carrefour.

Yet trade matters

Tens of millions of small-scale producers and farm workers earn their living from crops raised for export, and from a food sovereignty perspective, this makes trade important. The FSM has not explained how such producers might make the transition to a new livelihood, nor whether it is a transition that the producers involved actually want to make. The food sovereignty principle that agriculture is for feeding local communities before trade raises questions about where export commodities fit, particularly commodities that are not staple foods, such as cocoa and coffee. Five million small-scale farmers grow almost 90 percent of the world's cocoa while 25 million people produce 80 percent of the world's coffee (Fairtrade Foundation 2013). While primarily grown on plantations using labourers, commodities such as tea, sugar and bananas are also grown by millions of small-scale farmers (Fairtrade Foundation 2013). These livelihoods leave much to be desired, but are too important to people's survival to dismiss or ignore.

Meanwhile, evidence shows that many producers selling in export markets express interest in improving conditions, and especially their economic bargaining power, in the markets they already know (Murphy 2010, Wolford 2010, Vorley et al. 2012). A recent IIED/Hivos study of smallholder agency in globalized markets makes the point that both farmers' organizations and, especially, NGOs, sometimes pursue an ideological agenda that neglects the stated economic preferences of the smallholders concerned (Vorley et al. 2012).

Indeed, many studies, rooted in critical analysis, demonstrate that the interests of small-scale farmers vary (Borras 2008, Murphy 2010, Wolford 2010, Hivos/IIED final 2012). Many small-scale farmers may prefer producing within the existing global structures, even seeing production for exports as prestigious (Singh 2002). Concern for the nature of markets today does not necessarily translate into a desire to confront the global system, but instead leads to demands for space to equitably integrate into the global system:

> Many small-scale farmers themselves are less preoccupied with critiques of global power and more interested in their rights as economic actors. That is, they want to improve their bargaining position in the markets they buy from and sell to, they want laws that accommodate their needs … they want programmes and support structures to help them better meet the demands of the most promising markets … They also want some protection from loan sharks, from unscrupulous middlemen, from dumped agricultural imports, and from landowners who flout the law, or bend it to suit their interests. (Murphy 2010, 27)

Wolford's (2010) examination of Brazil's Landless Workers Movement (MST in Portuguese, and a member of the FSM) and the differences among members in the north and south of the country found that sugarcane producers in the north, who joined the movement in the late 1990s, preferred to return to sugarcane production over switching to agricultural self-sufficiency. This was in contrast to the small-scale producers from the south, who had

joined MST earlier in the movement's history. Ultimately, Wolford concludes that while the MST wanted to move farmers out of sugarcane production on the grounds it is an 'exploitative crop', settlers in the North knew the crop, how to grow it, and how to access its markets. Wolford ascribes this commitment to sugarcane production to "common sense"; that is, decisions motivated more by unconscious and taken-for-granted intuitions emergent from traditions, socialization and institutional influences than by deliberation and reflection. (Wolford 2010, 22–23). They were more comfortable with the risks in the sugarcane sector than with those of home gardens. Knowing the associated risks and power relations in sugarcane, when prices were right, growing sugarcane and acquiring reliable wages was their preference, over domestic production oriented towards greater self-sufficiency (Wolford 2010).

Another example can be found in West Africa, where Kuapa Kokoo, a Ghanaian cocoa cooperative, represents over 40,000 farmers across 1300 Ghanaian villages (Kuapa Kokoo N.D.) and produces 10 percent of Ghana's cocoa supply. It is the country's only cooperative licensed to export cocoa. The cooperative became Fairtrade[7] certified through Fairtrade International (FLO) two years after its creation. Shortly after, it became a majority shareholder of what is today Divine Chocolate, an independent 100 percent certified Fairtrade chocolate company. The chocolate is produced in Germany, operations are based in London, but the profits return to the cooperative in Ghana. In many ways, Divine embodies the sort of fair trade promoted by the FSM.

But Divine Chocolate goes further: the cooperative has publically celebrated the Fairtrade certification of major transnational companies including Nestlé and Cadbury (Divine Chocolate 2011), despite these companies' limited commitment to fair trade and the fact that they are competitors in the same market. But 98 percent of Kuapa Kokoo's production is for conventional markets, and their support for the mainstream adoption of fair trade language appears to demonstrate a broader objective to also improve the market conditions under which it operates. Producers in developing countries demonstrate a range of motivations for producing for fair trade markets, some social and community driven, but they are motivated by other factors as well, including acquiring higher prices, greater financial access, and a more reliable market (Raynolds et al. 2007).

True certified fair trade products represent a niche market and their potential to be scaled-up and replicated is limited by structural constraints. But fair trade products and the efforts of the market can be considered an important part of the process of change, even part of a broader fair trade movement (Raynolds et al. 2007). In many ways the market mechanism creates new normative and discursive framings that challenge claims of the benefits of free trade and current commodity chain relations. As Bacon points out, while imperfect, fair trade does embody elements of a Polanyian Double Movement, that is, a social movement that emerges in confrontation of existing economic structures that embed society in markets, engendering harmful socioeconomic impacts, with an effort to re-embed markets in society (Bacon 2010). Fair trade markets also provide important opportunities for farmers, most of whom have too few market alternatives, and are evidence that not all small-scale producers are pursuing the same model of governance. These examples demonstrate smallholder farmers resisting radical and ideological change and instead looking for practical opportunities. This raises questions about representation in

[7]Fairtrade (one word) is used to denote the FLO certification program. Fair trade two words is used for the concept of fair trade and the broader movement.

the FSM, and how the many production practices that the movement promotes can all find their place.

Representation and smallholder exporters[8]

Food sovereignty holds that people should define their policies in a democratic system, the specifics of which should be determined by context. Diverse outcomes are expected and welcomed (Patel 2009, 663, Nyéléni 2013). The model clearly includes space to produce for export markets. But at the same time, food sovereignty is committed to a number of core tenets, which include prioritization of production for domestic food consumption and a strict resistance to transnational corporations. The requirement to respect these principles presumably constrains the choices people have in shaping their food production and consumption choices. In other words, there are uncertainties around the boundaries food sovereignty sets on 'allowed' choices. The boundaries are not firm on many issues, but on trade there are some clear parameters, linked, as we saw above, to the unambiguous rejection of the WTO, and the critiques of mainstream fair trade markets but without a clear idea of what exactly 'true' fair trade would look like.

Principles of representation are complex. LVC emerged as an alternative peasant voice, challenging those who claimed at the time to represent the voices of peasants: IFAP (the International Federation of Agricultural Producers) and certain NGOs, who often spoke in the name of the smallholder producers they worked with in the global South.[9] The FSM saw IFAP as representing the often large-scale farmers who benefited from the neoliberal, capitalist structures of agricultural production and trade (Desmarais 2007, Borras 2008, 2010, Holt-Gimenez 2010). Meanwhile, although NGOs are recognized to have been useful when peasant organizations were unable to participate in governance forums, there were tensions around what role NGOs should play as peasant voices came forward to speak for themselves (Desmarais 2007, 23). Today, the FSM works selectively and on carefully defined terms with a small number of NGOs, such as the Foodfirst Information and Action Network (FIAN), the Land Research Action Network (LRAN), and the Inter-Church Organisation for Development Cooperation (ICCO) and (until recently), Oxfam-Novib (Borras et al. 2008).

To claim representation, however, by the account of many, including supporters, is to engage in the exclusionary (Borras 2008, Boyer 2010, Wolford 2010). Borras (2008, 268) makes the critique that the movement is relatively absent in national and local settings, and that, despite its intentions to the contrary, it fails to represent peasants across class, political and ideological divides, as well as in many geographical areas. Others have found the movement's efforts at the international level were not aligned with the understandings of peasants at the ground level (Windfurh and Jonsén 2005, Boyer 2010). Boyer's study in Honduras specifically argues that members at the local level felt that the movement's objectives in international spaces did not reflect their understandings and needs, causing tensions (Boyer 2010). In her case study on the MST in Brazil, Wolford's (2010) main finding is that the appearance of representation necessitates contradictions and exclusion of interests within a movement. She does not see this as necessarily problematic; but more a natural

[8]Representation is a big issue. Here we only discuss smallholders, but issues related to consumers would also be an important element as well, one affected by trade. It is simply beyond the scope of this contribution to include this here.

[9]IFAP has since been dissolved. A new organization with a broadly similar constituency has emerged in its place: the World Farmers Organization.

tendency for tension, and a disjuncture between a public façade and actual engagement, which for Wolford is a normal part of activism. She also recognizes, however, that an over-simplified ideal of representation is not without consequence. In the case of the Brazilian MST trying to integrate sugar cane producers in the north, the challenge proved to be the assumption on the part of organizers that once joining the MST, sugarcane growers would come to share the movement's ideals. This proved not to be the case and sugarcane farmers eventually withdrew from the movement.

Given the limits of representation, although recognizing its importance for political movements, the question arises of how to regulate an international trade system that serves the broader interests of smallholders, within and outside of the FSM. The movement advocates the establishment of an equitable system that empowers smallholders as economic actors in markets, while allowing for diverse ways of engaging in agricultural production. The question is not just one of how to construct a system of trade that is true to FSM's vision, but also how such a trade system might emerge from current structures of international trade. The governance of international trade has undergone significant change since LVC emerged. Resilient food systems – and their producers and consumers – need many markets; the global trade rules dictate a single market. Can this change?

Agricultural trade in international markets

Free trade theory argues that a division of labour and specialization will encourage systems of production and exchange based on comparative advantage, maximizing efficiency and reducing costs. The claim of free trade is that the removal of government interventions such as tariffs, subsidies and market protections will allow consumers and producers to follow their economically rational self-interest, which in turn will create a 'first best' single market in which welfare is maximized. While obviously important, this theory of trade is ultimately unpersuasive on a number of counts, from the empirically measurable irrationality of many market actors when assessed against economists' expectations (Thaler and Sunstein 2009) to the challenges of unequal distribution that mar so many supposedly 'free' markets (Stiglitz 2007). Agricultural trade is in fact characterized by large political and economic power asymmetries (Clapp, 2009, Koning and Pinstrup-Andersen 2007, Morrison and Sarris 2007) and is dominated by modes of production that pose huge ecological challenges (see UNCSD 2011, UNCTAD 2013).

Despite these limitations in theory and practice, international trade remains important in agriculture; indeed, it has been vital to communities, countries and empires for thousands of years in many parts of the world. Trade can form part of an important safety net, guarding against local crop failures. If one region does not get the harvest it needs, then another can provide some of its surplus. Trade can also make it possible for human settlements to exist in places where the food available locally would not be sufficient for a large population. Trade has allowed people to enjoy different foods and different tastes, enriching diets. People trade food for other goods, too, thereby diversifying their economies. Trade can create ecological efficiencies, allowing a more intelligent distribution of stresses on natural resources such as land and water than do the political boundaries of nation states (see for example the discussion of Caroline Saunders and others of the energy use and emissions of New Zealand's agriculture – Saunders et al. 2006). Trade in some form is a given – the challenge lies in how to align trade rules with food sovereignty's broad principles.

The rules that govern international trade were first negotiated at the end of the Second World War, and were signed in 1947 as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). GATT did not exclude agriculture but first the United States and then the

European Community successfully secured an exemption from GATT rules for their agriculture sectors (Wilkinson 2006). This exemption lasted until the URA, which concluded in 1994 with a revised version of GATT and a standalone Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) as well as a number of other agreements that have determined the evolution of agricultural trade and investment over the past 13 years, including Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs), and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS). Before the URA, international agricultural markets were largely dominated by governments and state-trading boards, although a handful of private grain traders were also present and important (Morgan 1979). Much of the trade in international markets was residual. This meant agricultural commodity markets were relatively thin (supplies were limited) but the major exporters held large stocks, which stabilized international prices (Galtier 2013).

The changing face of international trade

International trade has evolved significantly since 1994. It is less about an exchange of goods between two firms from clearly identified countries and increasingly about what are called global value chains (GVC),[10] in which one or more firms organize the production of a good – say green beans – by engaging directly with producers (or their cooperatives of local buyers) and overseeing all stages of processing through to the point of final sale (usually a supermarket shelf). John Humphrey and his colleagues were among the first to describe this phenomenon in the post-URA world, looking at the role of supermarkets in shaping production and demand (Dolan and Humphrey 2000, Humphrey and Schmitz 2001).

The emergence of vertically integrated GVCs in international trade, including agricultural commodity trade, has a complex history, linked to innovations in communication, storage and transportation as well as policy changes within countries and at the multilateral level. The AoA was a catalyst for these changes, as were GATS, TRIMs and TRIPs, and the Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards (SPS). Change came from outside the WTO trade agreements, too, from bilateral and regional trade agreements and national policies to shift power from the state to the private sector.

As these changes have taken effect, the US and EU no longer dominate as exporters and importers in international agricultural commodity markets (Bureau and Jean 2013). Brazil, Argentina, Thailand, India, the Ukraine, Russia and China are among the countries that have emerged as big producers, buyers and sellers of agricultural commodities (Daviron and Douillet forthcoming). An estimated 69 percent of LDC food imports in 2006–2007 came from other developing countries (cited in Mold and Prizzon 2011).

While the source of food exports has shifted, private traders have consolidated their power. Four companies control an estimated 75–90 percent of all cereal trade in international markets (Murphy et al. 2012).[11] The privatization of the Canadian and Australian wheat boards,[12] an outcome aggressively sought by the private grain firms through domestic and multilateral lobbying efforts, has led to takeovers by the already dominant commodity traders, further reducing competition for farmers and consumers alike. New companies are emerging, as Hopewell (2013) discusses in relation to Brazil and as Schneider (2011) and Peine (2013) describe in China. These firms will no doubt change

[10]The term value chain was first coined by Porter (1985).
[11]These are Archer Daniel Midland, Bungee, Cargill and Louis Dreyfuss.
[12]The Canadian Wheat Board has lost its monopoly but will remain a voluntary public firm until 2016.

the landscape over time, but for now they appear to be copying the global model set by existing agribusiness.

Demand for food continues to grow, reflecting dietary shifts in middle-income countries as they increase both meat consumption (creating demand for feed), and the consolidation of biofuels markets, powered by mandates and subsidies in the US and EU. This demand is shaping what is grown, what is traded, who to and at what price. Meanwhile, as demand grows, so does waste. In one widely cited report, as much as half of all food produced is estimated to be thrown away – nearly two billion tonnes per year globally (IME 2013). According to a recent UNEP report, 'If current population and consumption trends continue, humanity will need the equivalent of two Earths to support it by 2030.' (Moomaw et al. 2012). This demand (and much of the waste) comes from relatively affluent consumers who are less sensitive to price increases. As the global food price crisis (discussed below) illustrated, it is the poor who have absorbed price shocks and uncertain demand (Dawe and Timmer 2012, McCreary 2012). All of this fuels unstable politics and mounting pressure for change, as evident in local fights over resources, food riots, and the dramatic spike in foreign investment in land, too often accurately characterized as land grabs.

The food price crisis

In 2007–2008, food commodity prices doubled, hitting their highest levels in 30 years or more (Wise and Murphy 2012). Governments began to question the idea that international markets were a sound basis for food security. Their doubts were fuelled by a stream of analysis on the failings of international commodity markets, including a report prepared by eight inter-governmental agencies for the Group of 20 richest economies on price volatility (IAWG 2011); the CFS High Level Panel of Experts report on the same topic (HLPE 2011); and public statements such as the 2009 G20 L'Alquila Declaration, which many more governments and agencies than the G20 membership also signed (Wise and Murphy 2012). National policies started to change: food importers such as Saudi Arabia significantly increased their food reserves, while other countries, such as Uganda and Senegal, invested in stockholding infrastructure to support improved marketing and distribution of domestic production (ActionAid 2012).

Changes at the WTO

Meanwhile, the WTO itself has undergone some changes. Although the epitome of globalization in some circles, the WTO has proved in some ways a surprisingly flexible institution. Today, the dominant economic powers at the WTO are the United States, the European Union, Brazil, India, and China. The so-called Quad of negotiators that dominated talks in the 1980s and 1990s (the United States, Europe, Canada and Japan) is no longer relevant (Hopewell 2013). Economically less powerful states have begun to cooperate and to challenge the more powerful. For example, the Group of 33 (G33) countries, a group of developing countries, large and small, led informally by the Philippines, Indonesia and to some extent India, has emerged as a decisive voice on agriculture. Some of the G33's demands, articulated around the objective of protecting national food security and providing support to 'resource-poor, low-income farmers', are aligned with the principles of food sovereignty. The G33 fought for the right to raise tariffs, at least temporarily, and to protect certain agricultural commodities from import liberalization (Khor 2008b). These positions were one of the reasons the WTO negotiations broke down in

July 2008. Contestation of US cotton subsidies, led by Brazil but involving African cotton producers, also contributed to the negotiation stalemate (Khor 2008a, 2008b).

There is also a G20 in the context of the agriculture negotiations, separate and not entirely aligned with the G33, which is led by agricultural exporters such as Brazil and Argentina. G20 proposals target industrialized countries for further tariff concessions while also remaining committed to opening markets in the South for their exports. Among this group, Brazil in particular has emerged as a trading powerhouse with a strong presence in the WTO negotiations. Brazil has led two successful challenges, one against the United States (on cotton) and the other against the European Union (on export subsidies for the sugar industry) using the WTO's Dispute Settlement Mechanism. Brazil is not a typical developing country in the context of agriculture, yet the fact that a developing country could force a trading powerhouse to change its laws (or, as the US chose to do, pay a fine) is an indication that the institution does not only represent the interests of industrialized countries' agri-businesses.

In addition to changes in the political balance of power within the WTO, there have been changes in relation to civil society engagement. In 1998, Scholte et al. argued CSOs could carve out a stronger democratic space if they focused on sustained and substantial advocacy with the organization (Scholte et al 1998). In the decade after the WTO was founded, procedural changes supported this view. The WTO General Council agreed to dramatically improve public access to documents and to create some space for civil society, including accreditation procedures to give CSOs more consistent access to the organization. It seems reasonable to suppose that this change was in part the result of the pressure created by NGOs, who would post negotiating texts and other documents on their websites, sometimes even giving governments access to the texts before the WTO secretariat could do so.[13] These changes were in some ways small, and many of them were informal. They were made possible by the relationships some NGOs developed with government delegates and with the WTO secretariat staff.[14] They did not change the fundamental disagreements on what trade policies would be best but they made it possible to have an open debate on some issues.

The work of the Special Rapporteur (SR) on the Right to Food, Olivier de Schutter, illustrates the possibilities for engagement. In 2011, the SR engaged directly and publicly with the WTO, setting out some challenges to the trade rules from a right-to-food perspective and making proposals on where the rules should be reformed to better support national food security strategies (de Schutter 2011). Among the SR's recommendations was a call for the rules to allow the establishment of public food reserves – a call that was then reflected in the G33 proposal on public food stocks in 2012. This is not in itself evidence of a direct causal relationship, but given the SR's close engagement with the FSM, it is interesting both that he chose to engage in an uncompromised but constructive way with the WTO, and that at least some number of governments heard what he had to say.

Before the food crisis broke, many countries were already unhappy with the Doha proposals for agriculture, as evidenced in the G33 and G20 proposals. The crisis then showed the vulnerability of poor countries that depended on international markets for food security.

[13]Evaluations of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy's (IATP's) trade work include quotations from government negotiators acknowledging their gratitude for the documents and analysis of what they might imply.

[14]This observation is based on Sophia Murphy's first-hand involvement in WTO negotiations as a senior policy advisor with IATP, between 1997 and 2008, as well as on her consulting work with civil society organizations, government and the UN.

It also shone a light on the one-sidedness of rules that gave exporters significant policy space and importers so much less (Sharma 2011). The differences among negotiators grew irreconcilable in the wake of the crisis and agriculture was central to the collapse of the Doha negotiations in 2008.

It is still an open question whether the Doha negotiations will ever be completed. Whether or not they are completed, the shifts in political focus and balance of power observed in the last five or so years suggest the WTO offers room for manoeuvre that the FSM might want to consider. There are some specific advantages to the multilateral trade system, as well as costs to ignoring the system, despite its significant challenges.

For the FSM, what role for the WTO?

Food sovereignty, too, has evolved and taken root in the last 15 years. A number of governments have integrated food sovereignty into their constitutions or laws, including Ecuador, Venezuela, Mali, Bolivia, Nepal and Senegal (Wittman et al. 2010, 8). A growing number of constituencies are choosing food sovereignty as a way to express their dissatisfaction with the food systems with which they must interact. National and sub-national food sovereignty movements have emerged, adding depth and complexity to a project that began as an international exchange among peasant organizations. Can this evolving and changing FSM see opportunity in international trade regulation to advance its agenda?

While rejecting the WTO as a forum, the FSM accepts the need for multilateral discussion of trade and proposes the UN, especially the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), to be the appropriate forum in which governments should determine the rules by which to govern global food and agriculture. The FSM judges the UN to be more democratic than the WTO, more accessible to civil society and thus more likely to represent the interests of diverse stakeholders. LVC in particular has invested significant time and political energy in a successful bid to create a voice for small-scale producers at both FAO and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), two of the three Rome-based food agencies.[15] This work has been led by the International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty (IPC) and most recently culminated with an important role for civil society, and within that for producers, as part of the renewal of the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS) in 2009 (Brem-Wilson 2010).

The appeal of the FSM emphasis on the UN as the forum that should govern all aspects of agriculture, including trade, has appeal. The UN has a better basis from which to integrate trade into a broader vision of agriculture and food as having political and cultural, as well as material, importance.

The FAO has changed in the years since LVC started building their multilateral presence, responding to heavy criticism by reforming and amending its work to renew its place as an important institution for the governance of food and agriculture. Food security has moved to the top of the global policy agenda, and definitions of food security have also evolved importantly in the years since the 1996 World Food Summit. Not least, the right to food has now a prominent place in the international debate, as evidenced by the range and depth of the issue-based reports coming from the office of Olivier de Schutter, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food. The reformed Committee on World Food Security

[15]The third is the World Food Programme.

(CFS) is tackling some of the biggest challenges to global food security at its annual meetings, with governments, civil society, and the private sector all at the negotiating table.

Nonetheless, the proposal that the FAO becomes the forum for international trade negotiations is not persuasive. The FAO has no mandate to govern agricultural trade. And while isolating agricultural trade policy from broader agricultural policy is highly problematic, so, too, is the proposal that agricultural trade rules can somehow be isolated from other trade discussions. This is especially so now that trade encompasses so many aspects of the economy, from the rules that govern the movement of labour, to intellectual property rights, to investment. Somehow the trade rules for agriculture, while having to respect agriculture and its specificities, are going to have to come to terms with other sectors and economic priorities as well. Agriculture's future is intimately bound to the future of other sectors of the economy. FAO is simply not equipped to allow an integrated discussion of this kind.

The WTO does have a mandate to govern trade, and not just in the eyes of the dominant economic powers. Other countries seek to participate actively at the WTO, whether as part of formal groups such as the Least Developed Countries or the African Union, or in more fluid groups built around negotiating positions, such as the G20 and G33.

While the struggle to renew and re-empower the UN remains of obvious importance to the FSM objectives, a shorter-term objective could also be to support those countries that want to change the WTO from within. The risk of not engaging is to lose an opportunity to strengthen small-scale producer voices in negotiations that shape the rules determining producers' livelihoods. Many of those small-scale producers live in some of the now more dominant countries: Brazil, India and China especially. While China presents enormous challenges for organizing civil society, both India and Brazil have well-developed and articulate civil society organizations that are active in influencing national policy, including trade policy. If the FSM ignores this avenue, it both loses an opportunity and allows others, especially agri-business, to dominate that chance to influence policy.

This position has echoes of the debate between 'insider' and 'outsider' strategies that were prominent around the time of the Seattle Ministerial in 1999. Our view echoes those of Green (2012) and others who argue that an engagement within policy spaces and a confrontation from outside of them are necessary. The significant changes in the balance of power within the WTO over the last decade suggest the costs and opportunities of engagement by NGOs as 'insiders' need to be revisited. As a consensus-based organization, moving slowly closer to universal membership (although not yet there), the WTO's authority is not trivial. The organization is led less by the secretariat than most UN agencies and is in that sense more accountable to the members, who are ultimately the spokespeople of (mostly) elected governments. While continuing to advocate for changes at the UN that would curb and direct trade policy (especially through the CFS), why not simultaneously push for a change that could lead to new multilateral trade rules at the WTO?

The dissolution of the WTO meanwhile could create a void in international trade governance that would risk strengthening plurilateral agreements among the richest economies. The trend towards more fragmentation in international systems is highly detrimental to the realization of food security. In such contexts, weaker states lack the space in which to cooperate and build alliances with one another, leaving them more vulnerable to the whims of the more powerful countries. The outcomes of too many bilateral and regional free trade agreements attest to this (for example, the Central America Free Trade Agreement.).

Many will question the extent to which the WTO can be made more democratic. Changes in accreditation, access to negotiating documents and meeting summaries, and the creation of a public forum for open debate give some ground for hope. In addition to the evolving and improved channels for civil society engagement, developing countries

have emerged as stronger and more able negotiators. Meanwhile the political context has changed markedly to a more critical examination of modern globalized agricultural systems. The situation is far from perfect but so are the alternatives.

One question is the extent to which the WTO as an institution for the negotiation of trade agreements can be separated from the pursuit of a specific agenda, often called 'corporate globalization' (Hopewell 2013). It is possible to imagine multilateral trade rules that encourage and support a plurality of markets and that empower governments to negotiate policy spaces for these markets in the interests of their citizens, in the interests of food security and sustainable poverty reduction. In some small way, the space the G33 has sought to carve out with its proposal to exempt expenditures on public grain reserves from limits under WTO spending controls is a step in this direction. We think it is possible to imagine the WTO as a place that counterbalances the power of those countries (and companies) that have set the rules to their benefit and to the detriment of small-scale producers and farm workers. Such a WTO would move away from a mandate of increased liberalization to increased consideration of the needs of specific markets and supporting special and differential treatment, special products, commodity agreements, and other measures as seems useful to protect the public interest, broadly speaking, and the rights and interests of producers and farm workers more specifically.

Conclusion

This paper begins a process of considering why trade should be integrated into a vision for food sovereignty. The FSM's ambiguous, unclear and sometimes contradictory position on trade lends to misunderstandings about the movement's vision for trade and how it might be realized, which in turn may close political doors and result in fractures within the movement. As the movement evolves and takes on an increasingly important (and more broadly based) political role, rethinking where, with whom, and with which institutions to engage also takes on some urgency. Engagement with trade offers not only new ways to realize food sovereignty, as it has been defined, but also ways to round out and further develop the concept of food sovereignty itself. Dialogue with small-scale export producers will be an important part of this, to understand their interests and their motivations, and to use this understanding to broaden the scope of food sovereignty. Whether producing for fair trade markets, or traditional or non-traditional agricultural commodity chains, some fieldwork evidence suggests that these producers are motivated to continue their engagement in export markets. Millions of farmworkers, too, are working to improve their working conditions, but are also protective of their jobs. They perceive international trade to be important for their livelihoods.

We suggest the movement reconsider its dismissal of the WTO. The literature on social movements and political change argues that contentious issues require contentious politics, which are essential for opening doors where opportunities for engagement are absent. Yet the literature simultaneously argues that movements should be open to opportunities for structural changes when such opportunities arise (Gaventa and McGee 2010, Tarrow, 2011). There appear to be cracks in the edifice of the WTO today: opportunities that were not evident 20 years ago. These could present important opportunities to transform not only the rules of trade but the way in which those rules are determined, with some potential for the principles of food sovereignty to be integrated.

We remain cautious in making these arguments. Our hope is to contribute some perspective, grounded in theory and analysis, that may be of use to the FSM as it continues to act against the dominant structures of agricultural production and trade that have been

harmful to small-scale producers and farm workers everywhere. We hope work will continue on forging a stronger strategy, one that includes a place for trade.

References

ActionAid. 2012. Cobwebbed: international food price crisis and national food prices. Some experiences from India,' ActionAid International and the International Food Security Network.

Bacon, C.M. 2010. Who decides what is fair in fair trade? The agri-environmental governance of standards, access, and price. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 37(1), 111–147.

Borras, S.M., Jr. 2008. La Via Campesina and its global campaign for agrarian reform. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8(2–3), 258–289.

Borras S.M., Jr., M. Edelman, and C. Kay. 2008. Transnational agrarian movements: origins and politics, campaigns and impacts. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8(2–3), 169–204.

Borras, S.M., Jr. 2010. The politics of transnational agrarian movements. *Development and Change*, 41.5, 771–803.

Boyer, J. 2010. Food security, food sovereignty, and local challenges for transnational agrarian movements: the Honduras case. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 37(2), 319–351.

Brem-Wilson, J. 2010. The reformed Committee on World Food Security. A briefing paper for civil society. Facilitated by the International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty, with the support of the Center Internazionale Crocevia, and Mundubat.

Bureau, J.C. and C. Jean. 2013. Do yesterday's disciplines fit today's farm trade? Challenges and policy options for the Bali ministerial conference. ICTSD issue paper. Geneva.

Chang, H.J. 2003. *Kicking away the ladder: development strategy in historical perspective*. London, UK: Anthem Press.

Clapp, J. 2012. *Food*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Daviron, B. and M. Douillet. Forthcoming. Major players in international food trade and world food security. Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), Delhi and the Global Development and Environment Institute, Tufts University, Boston.

Dawe, D. and C.P. Timmer. 2012. Why stable food prices are a good thing: lessons from stabilizing rice prices in Asia. *Global Food Security*, 1(2), 127–133.

De Schutter, O. 2011. The World Trade Organization and the post-global food crisis age. Activity Report. Office of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food. November.

Desmarais, A.A. 2007. *La Via Campesina: globalization and the power of peasants*. Canada. Black Point: Fernwood.

Divine Chocolate. 2011. Divine Chocolate Welcomes Latest Major Chocolate Brand to Fairtrade Certification. *Divine News*. 5 October. Available from: http://www.divinechocolate.com/us/newsid/160/divine-chocolate-welcomes-latest-major-chocol.aspx [Accessed April 2012].

Dolan, C. and J. Humphrey. 2000. Governance and trade in fresh vegetables: the impact of UK supermarkets on the African horticulture industry. *Journal of Development Studies*, 37(2), 147–76.

Fairtrade Foundation. 2013. Powering UP smallholder farmers to make food fair. Available from: http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/includes/documents/cm_docs/2013/F/FT_smallholderpercent20report_2013_lo-res.pdf [Accessed May 2013].

Galtier, F. 2013. Gérer l'instabilité des prix alimentaires dans les pays en développement. *A Savoir* No. 17. Agence Française de Développement. France.

Gaventa, J. and R. McGee. 2010. *Citizen action and national policy reform: making change happen*. London: Zed Books.

Green, D. 2012. *From poverty to power - how active citizens and effective states can change the world*. 2nd Edition. Oxford, UK: Practical Action Publishing and Oxfam; Kindle Edition.

HLPE. 2011. *Price volatility and food security*. A report by the high level panel of experts on food security and nutrition for the committee on world food security. Rome: FAO.

Holt-Gimenez, E. 2010. Grassroots voices: linking farmers' movements for advocacy and practice. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 37(1), 203–236.

Holt-Gimenez, E. and A. Shattuck. 2011. Food crisis, food regimes, and food movements: rumblings of reform or tides of transformation. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(1), 109–144.

Hopewell, K. 2013. New protagonists in global economic governance: Brazilian agribusiness at the WTO. *New Political Economy*, 18(4), 603–623.

Humphrey, John and Hubert Schmitz. 2001. Governance in Global Value Chains. IDS Bulletin 32(3). Institute for Development Studies. Sussex University. UK.

IAWG: Interagency Working Group. 2011. Options for promoting responsible investment in agriculture, Interagency Working Group on the Food Security Pillar of the G-20 Multi-year Action Plan on Development.
Institution of Mechanical Engineers (IME). 2013. *Global food. Waste not, want not*. London: IME.
International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty (IPC). 2009. What is the IPC. Available from: http://www.foodsoveoreignty.org/Aboutus/WhatisIPC.aspx [Accessed May 2013].
Khor, M. 2008a. Trade: Africans played pivotal role at turning point of WTO negotiations. *North South Development Monitor* (SUNS), No. 6531, August 5.
Khor, M. 2008b. 'Agriculture: Falconer report says WTO talks failed on political factor'. TWN Info Service on WTO and Trade Issues *North South Development Monitor* SUNS No. 6537, August 18.
Koning, N. and R. Jongeneel. 2006. Food sovereignty and export crops: Could ECOWAS create an OPEC for sustainable cocoa? *Forum on Food Sovereignty*. ROPPA. West Africa.
Koning, N. and P. Pinstrup-Andersen (eds). 2007. *Agricultural trade liberalization and the least developed countries*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
Kuapa Kokoo. N.D. Available from: http://www.kuapakokoo.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=48&Itemid=56 [Accessed April 2012].
McCreary, I. 2012. Food Reserves in India. Report for the Canadian Foodgrains Bank. Winnipeg, Canada.
Mold, A. and Prizzon, A. 'Two steps forward, one step back: LDCs and the challenges of South-South trade in times of 'Shifting Wealth'' *Trade Negotiations Insights*. Volume 10. No. 8. November 2011. International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development. Geneva.
Moomaw, W., T. Griffin, K. Kurczak and J. Lomax. 2012. The critical role of global food consumption patterns in achieving sustainable food systems and food for all, *UNEP Discussion Paper*, United Nations Environment Programme, Division of Technology, Industry and Economics, France. Available from: http://www.humanmedia.org/dcc/pdf/unep_food_report_2012.pdf
Morgan, D. 1979. *Merchants of grain: the power and profits of the five giant companies at the center of the world's food supply*. New York: Viking.
Morrison, J. and Sarris, A. (eds) 2007. *WTO rules for agriculture compatible with development*. Rome: FAO.
Murphy, S. 2010. Changing perspectives: small-scale farmers, markets and globalization. IIED/HIVOS Working Paper. UK and the Netherlands. Available from: http://www.hivos.net/content/download/37718/244245/file/Sophia_Murphy-Web.pdf
Murphy, S., Burch, D. and Clapp, J. 2012. Overview and Part 1: The ABCD commodity traders, pp. 5–21 in Cereal secrets: The world's largest grain traders and global agriculture. UK: Oxfam Research Report. Available from: http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/rr-cereal-secrets-grain-traders-agriculture-30082012-en.pdf
Nyéléni. 2007. Declaration of Nyéléni. Available from: http://www.nyeleni.org/spip.php?article290 [Accessed March 2011].
Nyéléni. 2013. Editorial: food sovereignty now! *Nyéléni Newsletter* Number 13, March. Available from: http://www.nyeleni.org/DOWNLOADS/newsletters/Nyeleni_Newsletter_Num_13_EN.pdf [Accessed May 2013].
Oakland Institute. N.D. Food Price Crisis: A Wake Up Call for Food Sovereignty. *Policy Brief*. Available from: http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/content/food-price-crisis-wake-call-food-sovereignty [Accessed May 2013].
Patel, R. 2009. What does food sovereignty look like? *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36(3), 663–673.
Peine, E.K. 2013. Trading on pork and beans: Agribusiness and the construction of the Brazil-China-soy-pork commodity complex. *In*: H.S. James Jr, ed. *The ethics and economics of agrifood competition*. Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, pp. 193–210.
Pimbert, M. 2009. *Towards food sovereignty*. London: IIED. Available from: http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/5851/14.855IIED.pdf
Porter, M. 1985. *Competitive advantage: creating and sustaining superior performance*. New York: The Free Press (Simon and Schuster).
Raynolds, L., Murray, D.L. and Wilkinson, J. 2007. *Fair trade: the challenges of transforming globalization*. London: Routledge.
Rodrik, D. 2007. *One economics, many recipes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Rosset, P. 2006. *Food is different*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood.

Rosset, P. 2009. Fixing our global food system: food sovereignty and redistributive land reform. *Monthly Review* 61(3), 114–128.
Rosset, P. and Martinez, ME. 2005. Participatory evaluation of La Via Campesina, for the Norwegian Development Fund and La Via Campesina. Norwegian Development Fund, Oslo. Available from: http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication?key=117349 [Accessed May 2013].
Saunders, C., Barber, A. and Taylor, G. 2006. Food Miles – Comparative Energy/Emissions Performance of New Zealand's Agriculture Industry. Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit: Research Report 285. Lincoln University. New Zealand.
Schneider, M. 2011. *Feeding China's pigs: implications for the environment, China's smallholder farmers and food security*. Minneapolis: Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy.
Scholte, J.A., R. O'Brien and M. Williams. 1998. The WTO and Civil Society. CSGR Working Paper No. 14/98. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick, Coventry.
Sharma, R. 2011. Food export restrictions: Review of the 2007-2010 experience and considerations for disciplining restrictive measures. *FAO Commodity And Trade Policy Research Working Paper* No. 32. May. Rome: FAO.
Singh, S. 2002. Contracting out solutions: political economy of contract farming in the Punjab. *World Development*, 30(9), 1621–1638.
Stiglitz, J. 2007. *Making globalization work*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co.
Tarrow, S.G. 2011. *Power in movement: social movement sin contentious politics*. 3rd Edition. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Thaler, R.H. and C.R. Sunstein. 2009. *Nudge*. New York: Penguin.
UNCSD. 2011. Food security and sustainable agriculture. *Rio 2012 Issues Briefs* No. 9. New York: UN Commission on Sustainable Development Secretariat. December.
UNCTAD. 2013. *Trade and environment review 2013*. Geneva: UNCTAD.
Via Campesina. 2007. "The International Peasant's Voice". Wednesday, July 11th, online at http://www.viacampesina.org/main_en [Accessed 30 March, 2008]
Via Campesina. 2010. Towards a common agriculture and food policy 2013 within a food sovereignty framework. Available from: http://www.eurovia.org/spip.php?article274&lang=fr [Accessed May 2013].
Via Campesina. 2013a. End the WTO and the (sic) STOP the new wave of Free Trade Agreements. Available from: http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/actions-and-events-mainmenu-26/10-years-of-wto-is-enough-mainmenu-35/1389-end-the-wto-and-the-stop-the-new-wave-of-free-trade-agreements [Accessed May 2013].
Via Campesina. 2013b. The Jakarta Call. Available from: http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/our-conferences-mainmenu-28/6-jakarta-2013/resolutions-and-declarations/1428-the-jakarta-call. [Accessed August 2013].
Vorley, B., Del Pozo-Vergnes, E. and Barnett, A. 2012. *Small Producer Agency in the Globalised Market: Making Choices in a Changing World*. UK and the Netherlands: IIED/HIVOS. Available from: http://pubs.iied.org/16521IIED.html
Wilkinson, R. 2006. *The WTO: crisis and governance of global trade*. London: Routledge.
Windfuhr, M. and J. Jonsén. 2005. *Food sovereignty: towards democracy in localized food systems*. Warwickshire: FIAN International/ITDG Publishing.
Wise, T. and S. Murphy. 2012. Resolving the food crisis: Assessing global policy reforms since 2007. Boston: GDAE and Minneapolis: Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy. Available from: http://iatp.org/files/2012_01_17_ResolvingFoodCrisis_SM_TW.pdf
Wittman, H., Desmarais, A.A. and Wiebe, N. 2010. *Food sovereignty: reconnecting food, nature and community*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood.
Wolford, W. 2010. *This land is ours now: social mobilization and the meanings of land in Brazil*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Kim Burnett is a SSHRC-funded doctoral student with the University of Waterloo's Global Governance program. Her research focuses on governance of agricultural production and trade, examining how Fair Trade and Food Sovereignty challenge neoliberal structures of agricultural production

and trade, and with what efficacy. Kim worked in the private, public and non-profit sectors before her studies, was a research fellow with Oxfam America in 2009, and has held research contracts with Oxfam America and World Vision. Kim authored a recently published article in *Geopolitics* on Fair Trade and Food Sovereignty responses to governance opportunities after the global food crisis. Email: Kimberly.burnett@rogers.com

Sophia Murphy has 20 years' experience in public policy analysis. She is a writer, researcher and occasional teacher whose work is focused on agriculture, market power and food systems. She is a PhD student at the Institute for Resources, Environment and Sustainability at the University of British Columbia, working on trade and food security. She has a Trudeau Foundation scholarship and a Vanier scholarship from the Canadian Government. Sophia is a member of the High Level Panel of Experts to the UN Committee on World Food Security. She is also a member of the ActionAid USA board. Email: Sophia@foodresilience.net