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University of San Francisco

**Can Food Sovereignty Practice Intersect with Bolivia's Process of Decolonizing its
Plurinational State? The Politics of Decolonizing Food Systems**

An honors thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the distinction
of Honors in the International Studies Department in the College of Arts and Sciences

by

Karen Crespo Triveño

January 2020

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ABSTRACT

This undergraduate thesis seeks to identify the intersectionalities between decolonization policy and food sovereignty practice within the Bolivian plurinational state. It intends to seek whether or not food sovereignty exists within the execution of Decolonization under the readjustment of Bolivia's plurinational constitution. This research also seeks to acknowledge how this discourse plays out within domestic and international markets, land disputes between Andean highland farmers and Amazonian lowland farmers, and the potential reasonings for those tensions.

KEYWORDS

Food Sovereignty, Decolonization Policy, Morales Administration, Amazonian Lowlands, Andean Highlands, Indigenous Peoples, Fourth World, Decolonizing Food, Bolivia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MAS: Movimiento al Socialismo. Movement Towards Socialism

MST: Movimiento Sin Tierra. Movement Without Land

LVC: La Via Campesina, The Peasants Way, The Campesino Way

UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration on the Rights for Indigenous Peoples

VMD: Viceministerio de descolonización. Vice-Ministry of Decolonization

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

OEC: Observatory of Economic Complexity

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I. Introduction:

Former president Evo Morales Ayma proudly claimed in his 2006 inaugural speech, “The 500 years of Indian resistance have not been in vain. From 500 years of resistance, we pass to another 500 years in power. We have been condemned, humiliated...and never recognized as human beings. The original Indigenous Movement, As well as our ancestors, dreamed about recovering the territory” (Morales, 2006). 9 years later, As Morales speaks in his inaugural speech for his third term in 2015, “Today is a special day, a historic day reaffirming our identity. For more than five hundred years, we have suffered darkness, hatred, racism, discrimination, and individualism, ever since the strange (Spanish) men arrived, telling us that we have to modernize, that we had to civilize ourselves... but to modernize us, to civilize us, first, they had to make the Indigenous Peoples of the world disappear” (Dangl, 2019, p. 2). With Morales’s words in mind, the Plurinational State of Bolivia has continuously considered life with recognition of Indigenous Peoples not only for the next 500 years, but forever.

Under the process of social change in Bolivia’s restructuring of its plurinational state, there has been massive attention towards decolonization. Bolivia has suffered from major post-colonial tensions, even after the country gained its independence in 1825. Bolivia was colonized by Spain in the 16th century, where Indigenous peoples were enslaved by the conquistadors and the country’s natural resources of gold, lead, silver, petroleum, natural gas, tin, and zinc were continuously extracted for Spain’s economic benefit. The process of colonialism in Bolivia left deep colonial trauma of its Indigenous Peoples, which lead to the

marginalization of anyone who claimed indigeneity even after independence. Indigenous people were often referred to as, “*negros*” and “*Indios*” by those who claim Spanish descent, also known as “*mestizos*” or “*Los Españoles*”. This led to deep social and economic inequality between those who claim indigeneity and those who claim Spanish descent, which led to severe political instability especially throughout the Bolivian dictatorships.

Since the election of Bolivia’s first indigenous president, Evo Morales, there has been a movement towards socialism (MAS) and a movement towards decolonizing the plurinational state. Through implementing decolonization as an ideology that can heal ethnic groups who have suffered from inner colonial trauma from their ancestors, one can begin to question how decolonization has executed itself within food sovereignty policy and agrarian reforms in relation to decolonizing food systems. Regardless of the fact that Bolivia has been independent for the past 194 years, internal colonialism has continued to exist in between the country’s diverse ethnic groups. Scholars, politicians, and activists argue that despite the fact that Morales is a controversial political figure, he has brought a drastic social change towards the recognition of Indigenous People and their rights to social inclusion and remembrance of their traditions. Others argue that there is a drastic necessity for citizens to follow the process of decolonization of their own mind to then find the internal path towards freedom and self-liberation away from colonial trauma.

The process of decolonization may take form in a variety of ways. Some may say that decolonization can be defined as a state claiming independence or sovereignty. Others may say that decolonization is a process in which people must think critically of their mentalities and the connection they have with their ancestral roots. In addition to a few of these decolonization

pathways, decolonization can also take place when considering food. Since the past few decades, social movements that emphasize food security, food sovereignty, and food justice have addressed the crisis of multinational industrial food systems that fail to address food affordability. One does not usually question the origin of the food they're buying within their daily lives. One usually buys a product of food for the taste, price, and convenience, and continues to proceed with their day. One must consider the fact that there's an underlying process of food production that heavily connects to our modern world of capitalism, profit, corruption, and political impact. For farmworkers nationally and food producers (or Campesinos) internationally, the process of cultivating each crop's seed, maintaining the crop, harvesting, and packaging derives from capitalism participation to sustain livelihoods, depending on each individual and community. These food systems have consistently failed to acknowledge that the unaffordability of certain healthy and sustainable foods, and the lack of access to culturally appropriate foods for marginalized communities internationally.

While considering culturally appropriate, environmentally sustainable, and affordable food to feed communities, one can begin to think about the ways in which Indigenous communities, tribes, and ethnic groups have produced their food prior to colonialism. One may begin to embark on decolonizing food systems, applying native food systems, and ancestral lands to modern food production. In the case of Bolivia, crops like quinoa, soy, corn, tarwi, amaranth, cañahua, maiz, etc. are foods that have been consumed for generations. One may begin to question how these crops have survived within globalized food production systems, and how they have been affected throughout the making of Bolivia's decolonization process. With food

systems in mind, one can begin to question what the intersectionalities are between the making of Decolonization policy and food sovereignty policy within the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

II. Literature Review

This literature review aims to provide an overview of Decolonization as Theory, Decolonization as Policy, Decolonization of One's Mind, Food Insecurity, Food Sovereignty, Andean cosmovision, Food Security, Food Sovereignty, and Decolonization of Food from various authors such as Quijano, Wallerstein, Paulo Freire, Wilson, and Yellowbird, Simón Yampara Huarachi, Viceministerio de Descolonización Félix Aguilar, Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and others. The purpose of this literature review is to provide readers with context on decolonization, why decolonization is important to consider when thinking about food systems in Bolivia, and how Decolonization policy must reflect on food sovereignty across all Bolivian regions.

Defining Decolonization

Decolonization can be described as the action of *undoing* colonization, where a formerly colonized state has achieved independence away from their former colonial rule, and have achieved self-determination, and autonomy as a self-governing state. In the academic article titled, "*Americanity as a Concept, or the Americas in the modern world-system*" Quijano and Wallerstein argue that, "Coloniality was essentially the creation of a set of states linked together within an interstate system in hierarchical layers" (Quijano and Wallerstein, 1992, p. 550). Quijano and Wallerstein argue the prominent importance of ethnicity when considering colonization. They argue, "Ethnicity delineated the social boundaries corresponding to the

division of labor. It justified the multiple forms of labor control, invented as part of Americanness: slavery for Black Africans, various forms of coerced cash-crop labor for Native Americans, and indentured labor for the European working class” (Quijano and Wallerstein, 1992, p. 551). These authors draw a direct connection between ethnicity and colonialism which led to the institutionalization of racism in the creation of the modern world.

The creation of the Americas was directly caused by the existence of colonialism through the process of changing native traditions, languages, cultures, and displacing them away from their land. As Wilson and Yellow Bird argue in their publication, “*For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*”, they reveal the importance of Indigenous Peoples understanding of colonization to then consider how they exist in our postcolonial world. They define colonization as, “both the formal and informal methods (behaviors, ideologies, institutions, policies, and economies) that maintain the subjugation or exploitation of Indigenous peoples, lands, and resources” (Wilson and Yellow Bird, 2010, p. 5). The authors then go on to recognize the effects of colonization on Indigenous Peoples across various regions of the world. They argue that, “Not only has colonization resulted in the loss of major rights such as land and self-determination, most of our contemporary daily struggles (poverty, family violence, chemical dependency, suicide, and deterioration of health) are also direct consequences of Colonization” (Wilson and Yellow Bird, 2010, p. 2). The authors connect the effects of colonization on indigenous peoples across multiple regions of the world; which ultimately highlights the drastic need for decolonization as a social and political movement.

Self-Determination and Self-Liberation

Other critical decolonial thinkers include the work of Frantz Fanon, in his publication "*The Wretched of the Earth*", Fanon describes the process of achieving self-determination through decolonization. Fanon writes, "Let us leave this Europe which never stops talking of man yet massacres him at every one of its street corners, at every corner of the world" (Fanon, 1968, p. 3). Fanon describes this idea of achieving self-determination, where newly independent countries must achieve their own autonomous state-hood, away from the interests of European colonists. Fanon additionally brings up the fact that colonialism not only leaves an effect that extracts a culture away from natural resources and political identity; but also from their right of self-liberation. Fanon writes, "Decolonization is truly the creation of new men. But such a creation cannot be attributed to a supernatural power: The "thing" colonized becomes a man through the very process of liberation" (Fanon 1968, p. 18). Through the process of colonialism, Fanon is arguing that "the colonized" is a man that has no sense of themselves. They have no sense of self-liberation, which ultimately leads them to neither human rights nor self-agency.

Other decolonial thinkers, such as Edward W. Said discuss the notion of self-liberation as a mechanism to resist the effects of imperialism. Said argues in his publication, "*Culture and Imperialism*" that, "Liberation as an intellectual mission, born in the resistance and opposition to the confinements and ravages of imperialism, has now shifted from the settled, established, and domesticated dynamics of culture to its unhoused, decentred, and exilic energies, energies whose incarnation today is the migrant, and whose consciousness is that of the intellectual and artist in

exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages” (Said, 1993, p. 332). Said argues that self-liberation is a mission within oneself, that prioritizes the effectiveness of resistance against forms of oppression such as imperialism or colonialism. Said continues to further his arguments by introducing the effectiveness of culture, and the embedded fear that’s integrated within others who aren’t apart of a particular cultural group. Said argues, “Yet just as human beings make their own history, they also make their cultures and ethnic identities. No one can deny the persisting continuities of long traditions, sustained habitations, national languages, and cultural geographies, but there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and distinctiveness, as if that was all human life was about” (Said, 1993, p. 336). Due to this embedded fear and prejudice of cultural groups, imperialism and colonialism are rooted in the fear of the “foreign” cultural group, their languages, customs, and traditions. From the imperialist perspective, this further emphasizes imperialists to enforce power and control on these cultural non-sovereign groups to change their traditions, or “teach them” to move away from their barbaric “cultural” ways of life.

Decolonization of Oneself

Through understanding the traumatic impacts of colonization on ancient civilizations, one can understand why the need for decolonization is necessary in order for indigenous peoples to move on from traumatic colonial narratives with resilience. Wilson and Yellow Bird highlight the fact that, “Once we recognize the truth of this injustice, we can think about ways to resist and challenge colonial institutions and ideologies” (Wilson and Yellow Bird, 2010, p. 2). The authors then refer to Paulo Freire’s book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* through arguing that decolonization is not passive, it’s praxis. Paulo Freire defined praxis as, “reflection and action

upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1972, p. 4). The definition of praxis ultimately highlights the fact that, “In accepting the premise of colonization and working towards decolonization, we are not relegating ourselves to status as victims. On the Contrary, We are actively working toward our own freedom to transform our lives and the world around us” (Wilson and Yellow Bird, 2010, p. 2). Decolonization of the mind is an ongoing process to undo internal trauma from the impacts of colonization. Some scholars may argue that decolonization is far too optimistic and unrealistic as a goal for nation-building, especially if the country has already previously been colonized. For many Indigenous Peoples who continue to exist in this modern-day, decolonization of oneself and the mind is an ongoing process that focuses on understanding the colonial history and unraveling the colonial trauma of Indigenous Peoples.

Another decolonial thinker, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, writes in their publication, *“Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature”* about the importance of rediscovering and reconnecting with our ancestral languages within African Literature. Ngũgĩ argues that, “The call for rediscovery and the resumption of our language is a call for a regenerative reconnection with the millions of revolutionary tongues in Africa and the world over demanding liberation” (Ngũgĩ, 1986, p. 108). Ngũgĩ argues that rediscovering ancestral language is essential to achieve self-liberation, which can ultimately lead to reconnection that can be passed down through generations. Ngũgĩ then writes, “It is a call for rediscovery of the real language of humankind: the language of struggle. It is the universal language underlying all speech and words of our history. Struggle. Struggle makes history. Struggle makes us. In struggle is our history, our language and our being” (Ngũgĩ, 1986, p. 108). Ngũgĩ argues that the universal language for all humankind is struggling, the efforts to achieve liberation can be seen

through the universal language of struggle, that every human can understand and connect with. These radical ideas can connect with all human beings, they begin to understand their native language as equivalent to this notion of struggle. This can connect to the struggle over self-liberation, human rights, cultural rights, and sustainable food.

Indigenous Intellectualism and Andean Cosmivision

The process of decolonization must recognize history, colonial trauma, experiences, perspectives of the colonized, and activism for those who claim indigeneity in our modern world. There are various concepts within Andean cosmivision that have been carried on traditionally that exist in modern Bolivia. Huarachi reflects on the meaning of “vivir bien” or living “the good life” in his Spanish article “Cosmo Vivencia Andina”. He reveals that,

“Suma qamaña, which is to live well in integral harmony, live and coexist, not only refers to living, but also to live and coexist with death. Between death and life is Suma Qamaña as an intermediate action. Be careful when this "living well" moves to "live better", because "living better" implies comparison, implies that while some live "better" others will live "worse," and therefore this question is lost to harmonize the different worlds, the energies of the different worlds” (Huarachi, 2011, p. 13).

Huarachi’s ideas additionally connect to Wane’s idea in his article “[Re] Claiming my Indigenous knowledge: Challenges, resistance, and opportunities”. Wane proposes that indigenous knowledge is the, “alternative, informal ways of knowing. These cultural traditions were what they knew, and they drew upon them whenever they were needed. Such knowledge constitutes an indigenous-centered and locally informed epistemology” (Wane, 2013, p. 100).

These two authors highlight the importance of indigenous knowledge and perspectives that must be carried on through the process of decolonizing one's mind and decolonization as a social movement where indigenous peoples have their rights respected and cared for.

Through understanding the history from the indigenous perspective, it's critical to note that history has been shaped to favor the bias of the colonizer. Benjamin Dangl shares his perspective in his publication "*The Five Hundred Year Rebellion: Indigenous Movements and the Decolonization History of Bolivia*", the fact that language and literacy have been monopolized by colonial elites to control indigenous populations to control history (Dangl, 2019, p. 13). Dangl then introduces indigenous intellectual Carlos Mamani, who argues, "The means used to legitimate and cover up crimes has primarily been through the monopoly of writing; whoever has the ability to write, print reports, newspapers, and books has the capacity to impose their own truth" (Dangl, 2019, p. 13). These arguments from Mamani and Dangl enhance the idea that those who are in control of literacy and language can alter history that favors their "truth", which can ultimately take control over Indigenous Peoples. This raises the importance of indigenous knowledge; without indigenous intellectualism and wisdom, those who want to take control of history will alter the language to sugarcoat their actions against the Indigenous Peoples.

Decolonization Policy

In Johnson's findings on the paradoxes of decolonization, the plurinational state has created structural changes within the new government that include, "significant reformatting of the state bureaucratic apparatus, the quasi-nationalization of numerous industries, projected land

reforms, possible future expropriations of large landholdings, and the approval of a new constitution” (Johnson, 2010, p. 139). Under these innovations, the discussion of how the country can eventually “decolonize” itself has come into conversation as a method to undo vicious colonial trauma. Johnson continues to argue that, “Internal colonialism is a form of socioeconomic-cultural domination based in capitalist hegemony and racism, and historically exercised by local and regional governing elites over subaltern groups” (Johnson, 2010, p. 140). In an effort to decolonize the state and its people, MAS has continuously intervened with an effort to decolonize and “can now be viewed as an experiment in national soul-searching and recreation of everyday life such as education, law, entertainment, and health” (Johnson, 2010, p. 141). Although these soul-searching methods to decolonize oneself are beneficial for Bolivians who want to remove themselves from the social conditioning of colonialism, there must be a greater focus on how decolonization can serve in food security for rural populations.

Through an interview conducted with Felix Cardenas Aguilar, Bolivia’s Vice Minister of Decolonization, Aguilar highlights the importance of decolonization as a drastic necessity for the country to move forward. He argues that,

“Bolivia failed as a proposed country. This country claimed to be modern, claimed to be civilized, wanted to look like Europe, wanted to be Europe while denying itself – this type of country failed. It failed because this type of country, that was born in 1825, wanted to be modern, wanted to be civilized based on the destruction of the indigenous people, based on the destruction of their languages, their culture, their identity” (Dangl, 2015).

As the country works in an effort to move forward while acknowledging the diverse nationalities and the necessity for decolonization, one can examine how extractivism can contradict decolonization. Aguilar acknowledges how extractivism has historically served as a mechanism for development throughout the colonial era to modern Bolivia. He acknowledges, “Bolivia has always lived off of mining, we have always lived off of extractivism. And that it doesn’t just leave [the country] as raw material, but that there’s a need to industrialize, and as we industrialize we can reach the point where we can lower the level of extractivism” (Dangl, 2015).

Food Sovereignty

Food Sovereignty can be defined as a policy framework that’s been developed by civil society to defend their right to food for Indigenous Peoples, Civil Society, and States. This highlights the right that humans have to determine their own food and agricultural policies within their own state away from globalized agricultural practices. Sarndup reveals their definition of food sovereignty in their article, “*The Human Right to Food in Bolivia*”, stating that, “Food sovereignty prioritizes the rights of small-scale or peasant farmers, emphasizes localized food systems, control over natural resources including land, and ecologically sustainable production. Food sovereignty does not explicitly include universal application, a requirement to identify the most vulnerable, or the concept of legal accountability of the state” (Sarndup, 2011, p. 38). Through this framework, Sarndup is arguing the fact that peasant rural farmers must be prioritized so that they can achieve food access. Small-scale peasant farmers must be prioritized so that they can have access to food and produce their own food at a rate where they can become food independent. To accompany this necessity, MAS initiated a development plan to focus on the social inclusion of various communities. Sarndup writes, “Presented in 2006 at the beginning

of the MAS first mandate, the National Development Plan is a five year plan that includes four components: development with social inclusion, decentralization, and community-based social empowerment; transformation of the industrial and export system; and a change of focus for international relations" (Sarndup, 2011, p. 32). In addition to accompanying this five year plan, a plan that focuses on food supply management was established to support small farm worker communities with loans. Sarndup reveals that "The Empresa de Apoyo a la Producción de Alimentos is a government institution created in 2007 as a means to manage food supplies and stabilize prices. Its stated goal is to provide loans and services to farmers with less than 50 hectares of land so that the country would be able to achieve self-sufficiency in food" (Sarndup, 2011, p. 32). Through this initiative, communities can begin to become self-sufficient with their crops to produce more nutritious and sustainably sourced food in their communities. Despite this positive progression, the reality of food access to this day is questionable, as this plan was implemented over a decade ago and there's still high existing malnutrition rates within the Country.

La Via Campesina

La Via Campesina began from a meeting in 1993, in Mons, Belgium where farmer leaders in Central America, the Caribbean, Europe, the United States, and Canada. This meeting led to an international movement bringing together peasants, small-sized farmers, landless people, migrants, agricultural workers, and Indigenous rural communities across transnational borders. Rosset reports his article, "Re-thinking Agrarian Reform, Land, and Territory in La Via Campesina, that this meeting was held in Managua, Nicaragua, April 1992 where peasants and family farm leaders recognized the neoliberal policies that International Financial institutions

(Rosset, 2013, p. 723). These farmers recognized the external debt negotiations and trade liberalization that occurred through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as a mechanism to “drive farmers to extinction”, which drives farmers to fight back in unity across transnational borders (Rosset, 2013, p. 723). This led to peasant leaders from nations across borders to form La Via Campesina, which emphasized a productive model as Global South nations were affected by structural adjustment policies that, “weakened state presence in the countryside, depriving peasants of support prices, technical assistance, subsidized credit and inputs and other accouterments of the developmental state” (Rosset, 2013, p. 723).

La Via Campesina’s website writes in their page, “International Peasants Voices” of the purpose of this movement, to defend “peasant agriculture for food sovereignty as a way to promote social justice and dignity and strongly opposes corporate driven agriculture that destroys social relations and nature” (Via Campesina, 2019). While Via Campesina defends the sovereign rights of marginalized farmers across borders, the movement emphasizes the importance of women, who produce 70% of our Earth’s food production; their human rights and gender equality must be recognized and defended, especially if they’re in threat of violence. (Via Campesina, 2019). La Via Campesina has historically and continues to contribute and advance food sovereignty internationally, withholding 182 local and national organizing in 81 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas, making about 200 million farmers. (La Via Campesina, 2019). While these movements exist, it’s important to note that these organizations are autonomous, multicultural, and political through grassroots organizing within local farmers of diverse identities.

Food Security

Food security is the sustainability of food access for people of all regions, nations, and communities internationally. Food can be viewed as a human right, where policies must be completed. As Sarndup argues in his work, “The primary focus of a food security objective is access to food (rather than how food is accessed). NGOs and social movements have criticized this objective as too limited because it does not address structural constraints such as systems of production and distribution” (Sarndup, 2011, p. 28). Despite the positive efforts of food security, especially in the efforts of NGOs, agricultural production and distribution cannot always be controlled and monitored as the state may hold greater accountability. In Bolivia, food has been distinguished as a Human Right, “Bolivian representatives have been outspoken and distinguished advocates of human rights within the United Nations systems, most notably in support of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). This section of the report describes laws, institutions, and policies which the delegation felt best to illustrate the positive steps taken by the Government of Bolivia to promote and defend the human right to food” (Sarndup, 2011, p. 26). The United Nations has declared that humans of all backgrounds, including Indigenous Peoples, deserve to hold a right to food access. While defending the right to food, it’s important to note that environmentally sustainable, economically accessible, and culturally appropriate foods are critical to feed communities of all backgrounds.

Decolonization of Food

Food justice systems must implement both sustainable and nutritious foods, but also foods that are culturally appropriate to all communities, especially Indigenous communities who must preserve their way of living for future generations. Bradley and Herrera argue in their article, “*Decolonizing Food Justice: Naming, Resisting and Researching Colonizing Forces in*

the Movement” the importance of alternative food movements. They argue, “Alternative food movements, in contrast to food justice and despite similarities, evince many primary concerns, from the environmental degradation associated with conventional agriculture to the health consequences of consuming industrial food. As with environmentalism, a moral component comes into play in alternative food movements in such a way that proponents see local, sustainable, environmentally friendly foods as universally good things to which everyone should have access” (Bradley and Herrera, 2016, p. 101). These authors argue the importance of implementing alternative food systems that are accessible to communities of all socioeconomic backgrounds and of all cultures. There’s an evident health concern with consuming foods from conventional agriculture; therefore, the implementation of sustainably sourced, local, healthy food must reach all consumers.

These authors then argue the externalities of 500 years of colonization on many communities internationally, such as a loss of traditional food. Bradley and Herrera reveal that “Over five centuries colonizing forces have included many forms of destruction, for example, through disease; economic exploitation; subjugation and enslavement of Indigenous People’ enlightenment notions of rationality, science, dominion, and civilization; the positional superiority of European knowledge; the dismissal of indigenous spirituality; and the imposition of what is “human” and what is “other” (Bradley and Herrera, 2016, p. 104). Through colonization, traditional ways of thinking and practice, such as food systems, have been scrutinized to be seen as “backward” to marginalize the importance of traditional diet.

Urbanization and Nutrition

Small-scale farmers are typically the same farmers that produce many essential crops for communities in their region. In the context of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, small scale farmers have access to land that can geographically produce essential crops for its region. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations revealed in their study of “*The Economic Lives of Smallholder Farmers*” an analysis of Bolivia as one of its countries of study. FAO reveals that “In the Plurinational State of Bolivia, smallholders cultivate more than 13 crops in farms with an average size of 0.89 hectares. Potatoes, the traditional low-value staple in the country, make up for nearly half of their total household production. Maize, the main cereal, adds another 17 percent. But small farmers produce other grains, such as rice, barley, wheat, and quinoa, as well as vegetables, legumes and fruit” (Raspomanikis, 2015). Raspomanikis reveals that high altitude farming produces the main staples of the Country's food, such as quinoa, potatoes, grains, cereals, legumes, etc. These foods have high nutritional value, but can only be produced in certain altitudes and climates within the country. Despite the recent pursuit of sustainable agriculture within Bolivia's economy, environmental consequences have presented serious challenges, especially for small-scale farmers. Grey and Patel write that “Over the past decades, difficulties have ranged over grounds of intellectual property, commodity prices, land title, real estate swindles, corruption, environmental damage, genetic contamination, and energy dependency” (Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 440). Due to the issues of land title deeds, climate catastrophe, extractivist projects, and environmental degradation, some small-scale farmers no longer have access to producing their crops.

Many of these crops are native and essential to feed communities of Indigenous identity, as their food and their land have high cultural significance. Grey and Patel argue, “Further

threats to Indigenous food sovereignty fuelled by industrial agricultural expansion and ‘innovation’ create tension between the resurrection and the protection of traditional foods and food systems. Because of these threats, some Indigenous Peoples are forced to choose between Indigenous traditional foods and non-Indigenous versions of traditional foods which may have pollen drift from genetically modified crops” (Grey and Patel, 2015, p. 431). Due to the external variables that affect access to healthy sustainable native foods, such as climate change, geography, global warming, crop biodiversity, native seeds, etc., some Indigenous communities are forced to choose between their own native crops from small-scale farmers or non-native crops which may be genetically modified.

Lipus, Leon, Calle, and Andes reveal in their article, *“It’s Not Natural Anymore: Nutrition, Urbanization, and Indigenous identity on Bolivia’s Andean Plateau”* statistics on the nutrition of children of the Andean Highlands. They reveal, “ In terms of nutrition, El Alto has major issues including a high prevalence of anemia in children aged 6 to 59 months (71%) and women aged 15 to 49 years (53%), stunting in children below the age of 5 years (23%), and overweight/obesity in women aged 15 to 49 years” (C. Lipus, 2018, p. 1802). Due to the fact that Indigenous Peoples move towards urban regions to attend school or work, many children are faced with negative health impacts due to the quality of their food consumption. These foods are less nutritious than the foods they were consuming in their rural Native homes, causing them to face amnesia, obesity, and other chronic health effects. In order to fully implement Decolonization theory and policy in any sovereign state, it’s critical to note the overall health of the people, especially Native people. If Indigenous Peoples don’t have access to nutritious and

environmentally sustainable crops, then there's a contradiction with the fact that Decolonization policy emphasizes its care of Indigenous Peoples, their traditions, cultures, and foods.

III. Methodology

To consider the question, "Can food sovereignty practice intersect with Bolivia's process of decolonizing its plurinational state?", I will identify domestic policies that have been active under the Morales Administration. I will highlight policies such as, "*La Ley de La Madre Tierra*", which incorporates food sovereignty as a mechanism to assert the fact that native Bolivian crops must be free from genetic modification, and must promote the preservation of biodiverse native seeds to further spearhead Indigenous seed sovereignty and to promote environmental conservation. I will then focus on identifying "*La Ley 3525*", specifically on its section that focuses on "Regulation and Promotion of Ecological, Agricultural, Non-Timber Forest Production". I will then follow with "*La Ley 144*" which focuses on a productive, communal, and an agricultural revolution which bans the use of GMOs on native Bolivian seed varieties to further promote seed sovereignty. These existing laws will serve to prove that food sovereignty policy exists for Bolivian governance, allowing for the assessment of the connection between law and food sovereignty practice.

These domestic policies have all been active under MAS and the establishment of "*La Nueva Constitución Plurinacional de Bolivia*" since 2009. Evo Morales has presented this constitution to promote further advancements in achieving the processes decolonization of the plurinational state and has incorporated a section on Food Sovereignty. Through this connection,

I will identify “*Artículo 255*” of the Constitution which writes, “Food security and sovereignty for the entire population; the prohibition of the importation, production, and commercialization of genetically modified organisms and toxic elements that harm health and the environment” (Constitución Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2009). I will then identify “*Artículo 405*”, which massively prioritizes the importance of environmental health effectiveness, the prohibition of production of GMOs and other toxic chemicals in the production of food, and rural sustainable development as an objective the plurinational state must commit to. I will be looking for specific language within these documents that promote the importance of food sovereignty, the preservation of native seeds, native crops, and the preservation of Indigenous food systems.

Process of Analysis

Through connecting domestic policies of food sovereignty and articles of the Constitution, I will highlight the intersection of decolonization policy with food sovereignty within Bolivia’s existing government. I will look into Indigenous ideologies of food, to connect Bolivia’s food sovereignty to the notion of “*Decolonizing Food*”. I will look into an Indigenous Ideology that focuses on food production, identity, politics, and environmental sustainability, the “*Ayllu*”. Through looking at these two ideologies, I will analyze how they fit into Bolivia’s continuous process of decolonization, decolonizing food, food sovereignty, and food security.

To look at another angle, I will look into the production and export rates of two crops, Quinoa and Soy, using data from the World Bank, UN Comtrade, and FAOSTAT. I will evaluate whether or not the production and exportation of these crops have increased since MAS, as well as looking into whether or not MAS faces any exterior economic pressures to produce more food for export. I will receive this data from scholars who evaluate the social, environmental, and

economic impacts of producing, consuming, and exporting these crops. I will identify who previously owned these lands, and whether or not farmers have been displaced from their own lands in the competition of other farmers or mega seed and food corporations. I will evaluate these impacts within the framework of how Indigenous populations are impacted, specifically within the Andean highlands and the Amazonian lowlands.

Along with these connections and comparisons, I will incorporate my own research from my time spent studying in Bolivia through The School for International Training: Multiculturalism, Globalization, and Social Change program of Spring 2019. I will incorporate testimonies from my independent study project, a documentary film titled "*La Conservación del Medio Ambiente entre la Alimentación: Una Perspectiva cochabambina y cruceña*". Through conducting in-person film interviews with representatives of non-governmental organizations, community members from Indigenous Bolivian lands, and food sovereignty advocates, these interviewees provided their own perspectives on food sovereignty and decolonization within their own life experiences and professional work pathways. These interview testimonies can serve as differing (or similar) perspectives on the subject of decolonizing food systems.

Limitations

I will be arguing and incorporating evidence from a perspective that does not favor globalized food production systems, such as mega food/seed corporations. I believe that the high speed industrialized food production leads to a human disconnection from our Earth, our Waters, our Lands, and our Air. In order to live in coexistence with our Earth's natural resources, we must reconnect to our source of life, our seeds, and our humanity. I also acknowledge that I come from Quechua descent from my Bolivian ancestry. Despite these biases, I intend to provide

evidence that serves a population of people who are largely underrepresented and socially excluded within their own nation, but also predominantly underrepresented within international scholarship.

IV. Findings

The Morales Administration established a series of legislation, policies, and even a new plurinational constitution. These documents consisted of many objectives to achieve social, economic, and environmental movements that would rephrase and shift the focus on the country's commitments to promote sustainability, social inclusion, and human rights for all Bolivian citizens. These documents promote the movement for environmental sustainability, decolonization, and food sovereignty for the plurinational state.

La Ley 3525, Evo Morales Proposal

One of the commitments from the Morales Administration is to focus on promoting and sustaining the development of organic non-timber agricultural and forestry production to promote food production and food accessibility for people of all socioeconomic backgrounds. As stated in Article 1 of Morales's proposal,

“ARTÍCULO 1. Regular, promover y fortalecer sosteniblemente el desarrollo de la Producción Agropecuaria y Forestal no Maderable Ecológica en Bolivia, la misma se basa en el principio que para la lucha contra el hambre en el mundo no solo basta producir más alimentos sino que estos sean de calidad, inocuos para la salud humana y biodiversidad, asimismo sean accesibles y estén al alcance de todos los seres humanos; y los procesos de producción, transformación, industrialización y comercialización no

deberán causar impacto negativo o dañar el medio ambiente.” (Gaceta oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2006).¹

The objective of this law is to produce high-quality food with great nutritional content, while preserving the biodiversity of the seed that’s being cultivated. The law also enforces that this food must be accessible to all humans at an affordable price, and must also preserve the environment through a sustainable method of food production. In an interview conducted with Juan Carlos Ortega of Agrecol Andes, he speaks about food production and the Law of 3525, claiming that, “The government should construct a vision with two elements, a legitimate vision that responds to the realities of its own society, and a vision that has legality. From 2006, there’s been a law that is in favor of the agro-ecological production. It’s called the law of 3525. This is when Bolivia entered a process of normative construction and national public politics” (Ortega, SIT Independent Study Project, 2018). Ortega explains that national public politics regarding agro-ecological production only began relatively recently. The fact that there’s a law that enforces food accessibility is a milestone within Bolivian political history, which leads to a new framework for politics revolving agriculture and food production across the plurinational state.

The second section of the document is focused on food sovereignty, article 6 writes, “El sector agropecuario ecológico al ser productor de alimentos, tiene la responsabilidad de coadyuvar en las acciones tendientes a la seguridad alimentaria y soberanía alimentaria” (Gaceta

¹ La Ley 3525 Articles 1, 6, and 7 is quoted in Spanish, to remain consistent with the original text. Article 1 translates , “To regulate, promote and sustainably strengthen the development of Organic Non-Timber Agricultural and Forestry Production in Bolivia, based on the principle that for the fight against hunger in the world. It’s not enough to produce more food, it must be good quality, harmless to human health and biodiversity, accessible to all humans; and the production, transformation, industrialization and commercialization should not cause negative impact or damage the environment” (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2006).

Oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2006).² Followed by this article, article 7 raises the importance of respecting the human right to accessible food for all people, including Indigenous Peoples. Article 7 writes, “Estando vigentes los Convenios Internacionales para rescatar, conservar y respetar los derechos humanos, económicos, sociales y culturales de los pueblos campesinos, originarios, indígenas y productores ecológicos, la presente Ley deberá ser compatible con los mismos” (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2006).³ These three articles have the same purpose, to hold food producers accountable for promoting food security as a human right for all Bolivian citizens, but to also respect the cultural, social, economic, and human rights of Indigenous Peoples.

La Ley de Madre Tierra

With efforts to preserve the environment, the Morales Administration developed a law that revolves around protecting “Mother Earth”, with many references to respecting the Earth through a decolonized lens, viewing the Earth as “Pachamama”. Pachamama is an indigenous way of perceiving the environment, viewing the Earth as a being that sustains all sources of life. Article 3 of “La Ley de la Madre Tierra” states that, “Mother Earth is a dynamic living system comprising an indivisible community of all living systems and living organisms, interrelated, interdependent and complementary, which share a common destiny. Mother Earth is considered sacred, from the worldview of nations and peasant indigenous peoples” (Bolivia’s Plurinational Legislative Assembly, 2010). Throughout the legislation, two rights stand out the most as a

² Article 6 of the Law 3525 translates to, “The ecological agricultural sector- being a food producer, has the responsibility of contributing to actions aimed towards food security and food sovereignty” (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional De Bolivia, 2006)

³ Article 7 of the Law 3525 translates to, “While the International Agreements are focused to rescue, conserve and respect the human, economic, social and cultural rights of peasant, native, indigenous and ecological producers, this law shall be compatible with these agreements” (Gaceta Oficial del Estado Plurinacional De Bolivia, 2006).

direct commitment to preserving the earth and all of its forms of life. Bolivia's Plurinational Legislative Assembly claims that Mother Earth has the right to, "1. **To life.** The right to maintain the integrity of living systems and natural processes that sustain them, and capacities and conditions for regeneration. 2. **To the diversity of life.** It is the right to preservation of differentiation and variety of beings that make up Mother Earth, without being genetically altered or structurally modified in an artificial way so that their existence, functioning or future potential would be threatened" (Bolivia's Plurinational Legislative Assembly, 2010). Through this commitment to Mother Earth's access to life and the diversity of life, there's a clear commitment to view the Earth in a decolonized perspective, referring to the Earth to be equivalent as "Pachamama". This view of perceiving the Earth is beneficial in terms of decolonizing one's mind, but also to preserve ancestral lands, territories, and natural resources of the Earth for future generations. In an interview conducted with the former director of the department of Traditional Health in the Ministry of Health of Bolivia, Dra. Vivian Camacho speaks on her perspective regarding food sovereignty and the Law of Mother Earth. She says, "There's a law for Mother Earth, this law has been constructed through a lot of social struggle, and it's to respect the Earth's rights. I know there's a lot to be done, but Bolivia is the only country in the world that has this law" (Camacho, 2018). She continues to speak on the relevance to decolonizing food systems with connection to the Earth. She explains, "When you eat, you have to give thanks to the person who planted the seed. You have to thank the watering of the seed, and the wind that gave it strength to grow... food's purpose isn't just to feed our physical bodies, it's also to feed our spiritual beings. That's what decolonization of food is about. We need to start looking at our food with care, and look at how our ancestors knew how to plant,

harvest, and cook so that we physically and spiritually have strength” (Camacho, SIT Independent Study Project, 2018). Dra. Camacho speaks with the mental connection to native lands and the ways of life of Native Peoples. She explains that although there’s progress to be made, the fact that there’s legislation regarding environmental preservation is valuable to international relations.

La Constitution Plurinacional De Bolivia

Through the establishment of a new constitution, the Morales Administration successfully executed new articles that set a framework for successfully achieving decolonization of the entire plurinational state. Through writing these articles, the Morales Administration writes key material that shows the commitment of the administration to execute decolonization in many forms. Article 255 writes that,

“The negotiation, signing, and ratification of international relations shall be guided by the principles of:

1. Independence and equality among the states, the no intervention in internal matters and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.
2. Rejection and condemnation of all forms of dictatorship, colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism.
3. Defense and promotion of human, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights, with the repudiation of all forms of racism and discrimination.
4. Respect for the rights of native indigenous rural Peoples.
5. Cooperation and solidarity among states and peoples.
6. Preservation of patrimony, the capacity of State management and regulation.

7. Harmony with nature, defense of biodiversity, and prohibition of forms of private appropriation for exclusive use and exploitation of plants, animals, microorganisms and any living matter.
8. Food security and sovereignty for the entire population; the prohibition of the importation, production, and commercialization of genetically modified organisms and toxic elements that harm health and the environment.” (The Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009)

The constitution was presented to further advance the pursuits of decolonization and respecting plurinational ethnic identities across the state. Within this article, there's a specific language that speaks in favor of food sovereignty and food security for the entire population, but also the rejection of toxic elements and genetically modified organisms that may endanger Bolivia's environmental health. Another example of similar language can be shown in article 405, which states, “Comprehensive, sustainable rural development is a fundamental part of the economic policies of the State, which shall prioritize its actions to encourage all communitarian economic undertakings and those of the group of rural actors, placing emphasis on food security and sovereignty, by means of the following:

1. The sustained and sustainable increase of agricultural, livestock, manufacturing, agro-industrial, and tourist industry productivity, as well as their commercial capacity.
2. The articulation and internal complementary form of the structures of agricultural, livestock and agro-industrial production.
3. Achievement of better conditions for the economic exchange of the rural productive sector in relation to the rest of the Bolivian economy.

4. The importance and respect of the rural native indigenous communities in all dimensions of their life.
5. The strengthening of the economy of the small agricultural and livestock producers and of the family and communitarian economy.” (The Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).

These documents evidently show the government’s priority to achieving better conditions of economic exchange to work in favor of rural indigenous communities across the plurinational state. With this goal in mind, there’s a specific priority that’s being represented which aims to benefit small scale farmers, their land, their farming practices, and their economic systems.

To accomplish a process which benefits small-scale farmers, Law 144 titled, “La Revolución Productiva Comunitaria Agropecuaria” consists of articles working to promote and regulate the agricultural community productive system to accomplish food sovereignty, to establish institutional, technical, and financial bases to support food production in an environmentally sustainable manner. Article 2 writes, “La presente Ley tiene por objeto normar el proceso de la Revolución Productiva Comunitaria Agropecuaria para la soberanía alimentaria, estableciendo las bases institucionales, políticas y mecanismos técnicos, tecnológicos y financieros de la producción, transformación y comercialización de productos agropecuarios y forestales, de las y los diferentes actores de la economía plural; priorizando la producción orgánica en armonía y equilibrio con las bondades de la madre tierra” (The Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).⁴ This system is also focused on producing organic food to sustain the health and

⁴ Law 144, “La Ley Revolución Productiva Comunitaria Agropecuaria” Article 2 translates, “The purpose of this Law is to regulate the process of the Agricultural Community Productive Revolution for Food Sovereignty, establishing the institutional, political and technical, technological and financial basis for the production, transformation and commercialization of agricultural and forestry products, of the the different actors of the plural economy; prioritizing organic production in harmony and balance with the benefits of mother earth”. (The Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).

nutrition of the Bolivian population, while sustaining the environment as a whole. Article 3 writes, “La presente Ley tiene como finalidad lograr la soberanía alimentaria en condiciones de inocuidad y calidad para el vivir bien de las bolivianas y los bolivianos, a través de la Revolución Productiva Comunitaria Agropecuaria en el marco de la economía plural” (The Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).⁵ This vision of pursuing small scale farming and an agricultural community productive system that focuses on nutrition, economic benefits to small-scale farmers, and the overall health of the land and the people reverts back to “convivir bien”, or “*Suma Qamaña*”, which means to live well in integral harmony with all living beings, a traditional way of perceiving existence.

Land Distribution

Various social movements such as the Landless Peasant Movement (Movimiento Sin Tierra), or MST, consisted of mobilized indigenous communities demanding their rights to land. These movements informed the public of new ways of producing, living, and governing Bolivia. Many of these communities were displaced Indigenous Peoples from the Bolivian highland rural areas, mainly Quechua and Aymara Indians. In Fabricant’s book, “*Mobilizing Bolivia’s Displaced*”, she writes of the connection between land inequality in the colonial era and how this systematic issue continues to reside in contemporary Bolivian political conflict. She writes, “...landed inequality also represented one of those age-old battles that dated back to the Spanish conquest, when indigenous lands in the highlands called “ayllu”- Andean political and territorial

⁵ Law 144, “La Ley Revolución Productiva Comunitaria Agropecuaria”, Article 3 translates, “The purpose of this law is to achieve food sovereignty in conditions of safety and quality for the good living of Bolivians, through the Agricultural Community Productive Revolution within the framework of the plural economy, prioritizing organic production in harmony with Mother Earth” (The Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).

units based on kinship groups and communally held lands-were broken up and Indians were forced to work in the silver mines” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 3). Although one may perceive these systematic political concerns to be resolved, many of these land inequality issues continue to perpetuate into modern-day Bolivian society. As shown in Figure 1, the majority of Bolivia’s land is dedicated to agricultural practices.

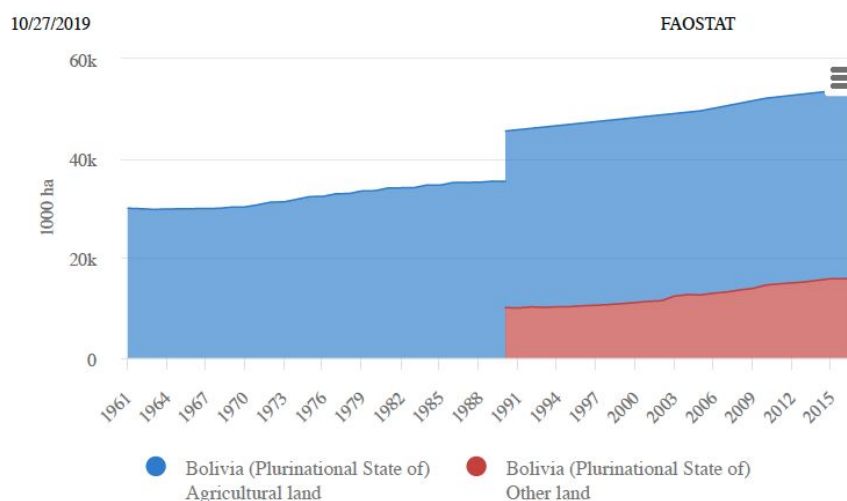


Figure 1: Agricultural Land vs. Other lands in Bolivia’s Plurinational state. Source: FAOSTAT Land Distribution

This figure reports the fact that Bolivia’s land is dedicated to agricultural practices. Although the percentage of agricultural land has decreased between 2009-2015, the majority of the land is still used for domestic agriculture and export-based agriculture. Bolivia’s wide gap between agricultural production systems reflects on the number of small scale farmers and large scale farmers. In a report on “Food Security and Productivity Impacts of Technology Adoption in Small Subsistence Farmers in Bolivia”, there’s 775,000 productive agricultural units across

the country, and growing. Approximately 6% belong to medium/large scale producers, while 94% belong to small scale farmers who focus on family farming (Salazar, 2015, p. 6).

With a concentration on the interior and exterior economic pressures, Bolivia has been pursued to develop to alleviate the state's poverty rate. As reported from [Export.gov](#), Bolivia imports its agricultural machinery from countries like the United States, China, Argentina, and Brazil. Commercial agriculture is implemented within Santa Cruz, whereas agriculture in the highlands is carried out by small scale farmers. In the Agriculture summit of April 2015, the summit announced to triple the government's efforts to increase food production and to make up for lost revenue and the fall of natural gas prices. Through achieving this, irrigation infrastructure and agricultural machinery were shown to be a driving factor for economic success, resulting the Bolivian government to import agricultural machineries such as tractors, multipacks, chisel plows, harrows, grain chart, farm trucks, grain dryers, and plows (Export.Gov, 2019). The intention was to improve agricultural technology and infrastructure, as requested by farmers. This request was evidently approved by the government, as they also received requests to improve the construction of transportation roads. Through these requests and foreign imports, there's an evident exterior pressure to produce more food for export through the use of imported agricultural technologies. Through domestic pressures, there's a demographic of farmers who want to produce more food for Bolivia's economic progression and for profit.

Ayllu

An ayllu system is a traditional form of community and local government in the Andes, consisting of Quechua and Aymara Indigenous Peoples of South America. Through the colonial legacy of the Spanish dismantling this traditional community system and forcing these native peoples into laborers, the Ayllu system was destroyed and left into colonial historical trauma to modern-day Indigenous Quechua and Aymara Peoples. In an interview with Silvestre Saisari, an original member and founder of the Movimiento Sin Tierra (MST) in Santa Cruz, Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social, or Center for Legal and Social Science Research (CEJIS), conducted by Fabricant, she reports Saisari's grievances of her life history and faint memories of their lives in mining towns such as Potosi and Oruro. She reports Saisari's experiences of migrating to the Santa Cruz lowlands to work as day agricultural laborers and their motivation to restore the Ayllu system and to reclaim ancestral lands, "We pay daily for this horrible mark that the Spanish have left upon the country. For five hundred years, comrades, and we now have an indigenous government that speaks Quechua and Aymara, who has the capacity to govern. Last year, (the agroindustrial powers) beat us down, and I haven't run away, and after they beat me...two weeks later, I was denouncing this violence. If we don't fight for what we don't have, who's going to fight for us? (Fabricant, 2012, p. 25). Saisari's testimony of the remembrance of their ancestral connection of the Ayllu system and grievances of colonial trauma inspired a motivation to mobilize indigenous groups to reclaim their ancestral lands and cultural rights.

A few examples of mobilization processes to reclaim ancestral lands and cultural rights include activist Aymara intellectuals of the Taller de Historia Oral Andina (Andean Oral History Workshop, THOA) who worked to reconstitute the ally among native people. This movement

was spearheaded by an Aymara sociologist Silvia River Cusicanqui, who calls for the recognition of colonial territorial boundaries between communities and the reestablishment of traditional Andean forms of governance. These processes of mobilization served as a form of an “alternative counter-public and oppositional consciousness, and they consequently stood against prevailing intellectual practices, which historically relegated indigenous peoples and the category of the premodern other” (Fabricant, 2019, p. 29). Some activists, like Andrew Otra, utilized the ideal of an ayllu system to reinvent as a nation-state as a multiethnic state or political process to render a new movement for future historical processes.

Quinoa Exports from the Highlands

Through Bolivia’s process of alleviating poverty between 2004-2014, Bolivia’s economy grew with an annual rate of 4.9% through exporting products such as natural gas. Through this decade, the Gini coefficient of inequality dropped from 0.60 to 0.47, and poverty reduced from 59% to 39% (World Bank, 2019). Since 2014, the poverty rate and inequality rates have slowly continued reducing, where the rate of poverty reduced to 35% in 2018 (World Bank, 2019). Bolivia’s economic and social progress has increased, reducing the state’s poverty and inequality rates. Despite this progress, Bolivia remains to be one of the poorest countries in South America. As reported by the World Food Program, 53.7% of children under 5 suffer from anemia, while 57.7% of women of reproductive age are overweight or obese, out of 11 million in the population (World Food Program, 2019). Bolivia's poverty rate reduced through the export of hydrocarbons, minerals, but also of ancient grains such as Quinoa from the Bolivian highlands. Quinoa originates from over 7000 years ago, as an ancestral grain. In the late 1970s, an import of foreign

modernized commodities led Bolivian locals to perceive Quinoa as food for lower-class citizens (Capoditrias, 2013, p. 2).

Quinoa is an ancestral grain to Andean Indigenous Peoples which high nutritional value containing a vital source of amino acids, vitamin A, vitamin E, vitamin B1, omega 3, 6, 9, calcium, magnesium, and zinc. (Capodistrias, 2013, page. 3). Additionally, Quinoa has a great adaptation to low precipitation and low soil moisture, the crop can adapt to various agro-ecological regions within a humidity of 40% to 88% and tolerates extreme temperatures (Capodistrias, 2013, page 3). In recent years, quinoa production has increased and intensified due to increasing prices on the intentional market, overall increasing the price of Quinoa to sustain its placement in the global market. The price of the quinoa sold by the farmer tripled from 1999 to 2008, which is pricier than other crops like corn and wheat. The export value of quinoa has overall increased from 2.7 million USD in 1999 to 8.9 million USD in 2006. (Jacobsen, 2011, page 392). Regardless of this increased export, domestic consumption of this crop continuously decreases as shown in Figure 2.

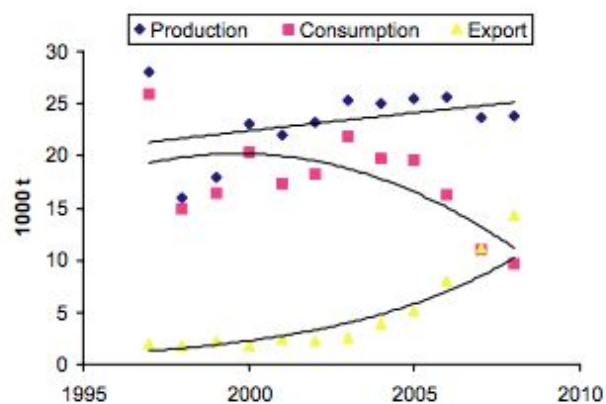


Fig. 2 Domestic consumption and export of quinoa in Bolivia, 1000 t (elaborated from MDRyT 2009). Lines are polynomic (production and consumption) and exponential (export).

Figure 2: Domestic Consumption and Export of Quinoa in Bolivia (Jacobsen, 2011, p. 392).

As noted, this figure shows the production, consumption, and export value of quinoa from as early as 1995 only until 2010. In a more recent study conducted by the Food Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, "*The Impact of the Quinoa Boom on Bolivian Family Farmers*", findings based on a survey of 100 households, specifically in Salar de Uyuni, In Southern Bolivia. The official data is based from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Institute of Statistics) as the infographic was prepared by FAO of the United Nations for International Year of Quinoa, 2013 (FAO of the United Nations, 2014). This study shows that an increase in Quinoa exports has led to a few benefits. Results indicate that Bolivian farmers have experienced an improvement in basic assets, better living conditions, a possibility for higher education, and a reversal of large migration flows. The study raises the question, "Can the Pressure of Foreign Demand Put Food Security at Risk in Bolivia?" Looking at past relationships of higher quinoa consumption, where families would eat the grain several times per week. The study shows that local diets are now varied, due to the increased demand for quinoa, financial accessibility, and increase of informal local trade. Despite these positive outcomes from the local perspective, the study shows that some challenges introduce land degradation, where more than 50% of farmers interviewed in the study have poor soil quality compared to previous years. These farmers state in the study that although there's an increase of quinoa production, expansion of areas for quinoa cultivation, there's the unintended consequences of increased soil erosion, adverse impact on other farming activities, such as a decreased number of llamas to cultivated hectares, and a reduced cultivation of quinoa varieties as seen in figure 3.

2. REDUCTION OF CULTIVATED VARIETIES

● Percentage of quinoa production (in qq) by variety

Just three varieties cover more than 75% of the entire production, because they are the most demanded by the export sector.

This reduction in cultivated varieties is associated with a reduction in biodiversity. However, people in the villages can appreciate the differences among the varieties (some varieties are preferred for specific uses or ways of cooking, and a few of them are still used in traditional medicine).

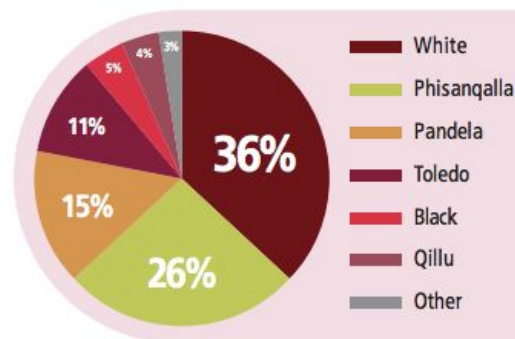


Figure 3: Reduction of Cultivated Varieties of Quinoa (FAO of the United Nations, Collar, 2013)

Considering a more recent study on Quinoa production impacts and consumption rates, the Food Agricultural Organization of the United Nations raises the question of external economic pressures from the global market in their study regarding the impact of the Quinoa Boom. The study raises the connection between Quinoa's export rates, quinoa prices, and domestic consumption, as shown in figure 4. This study argues the fact that there was higher quinoa consumption in previous years, where families ate quinoa at least three times a day, seven times a week (FAO of the United Nations, Collar, 2013). Although quinoa was consumed more frequently before, the study argues that between 2012-2012 a more varied local diet is consumed through reducing quinoa consumption.

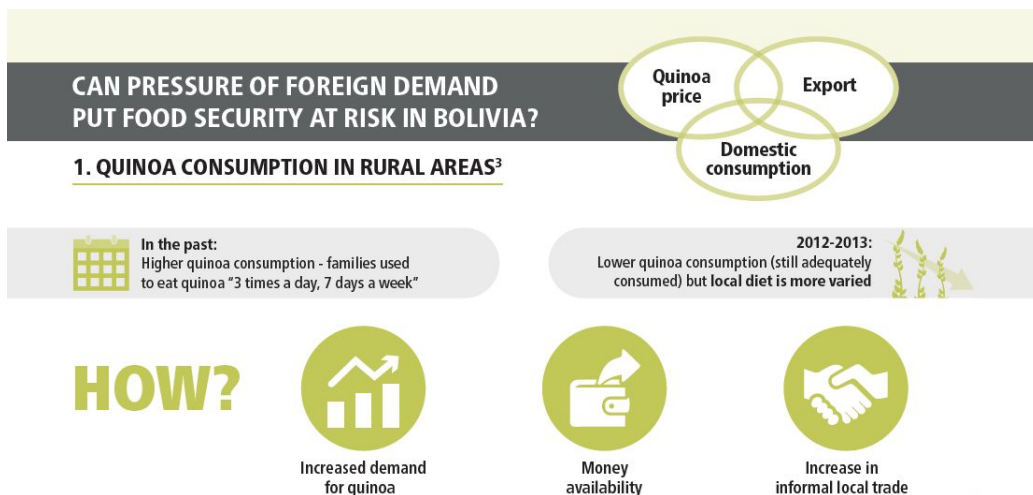


Figure 4: Can Pressure of Foreign Demand Put Food Security at Risk in Bolivia? (FAO of the United Nations, Collar, 2013)

Along with this study, Quinoa consumption in urban areas was calculated to be increasing per capita from 2008 to 2012. FAO United Nations reports, 0.35kg/year of quinoa was consumed in urban areas in 2008, while 1.11kg/year of quinoa was consumed in 2012, as shown in figure 5.

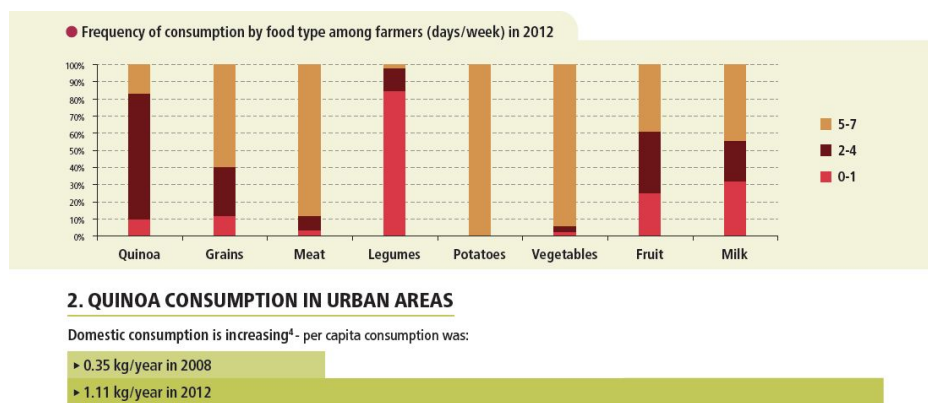


Figure 5: Quinoa Consumption in Urban Areas (FAO of the United Nations, Collar, 2013)

The increasing consumption of quinoa within urban areas and local diet appears to have a positive connotation. If export rates of this ancestral grain are increasing, and domestic

consumption of the crop is increasing as well, then one may conclude that this crop production is sustainable. In an even more recent study conducted by Tanya M. Kerssen, she reports in her article, *“Food sovereignty and the quinoa Boom: Challenges to Sustainable Re-Peasantisation in the Southern Altiplano of Bolivia”* the truth behind Bolivia’s quinoa production. This study reports, “23.7% of Bolivia’s quinoa production is sold in the domestic market, compared to 51.9% exported through legal channels and almost a quarter (24.4%) leaving the country as contraband. While domestic consumption is said to have tripled between 2009 and 2013- from 0.35 to 1.11 kg per capita, this a small portion of domestic cereals consumption, which remains heavily dominated by wheat.” (Kerssen, 2015, p. 495) While Kerssen reports the fact that quinoa domestic consumption has increased, the reality is that this consumption is small in comparison to the consumption of other cereals, while the majority of production is still going to export through legal channels and through contraband. Although quinoa domestic consumption is scattered and has shown to increase, the majority of the crop production is still being exported internationally, while domestic consumers are choosing to consume other crops like wheat. Kerssen’s reporting derives from an article from La Razón, *“El Consumo de Quinoa en el País se Triplicó en Los Últimos 4 Años.”* Where an interview conducted with the Vice Minister of Rural and Agricultural Development, Victor Hugo Vásquez tells news reporting agency La Razón, that the increase in the internal consumption of cereal is due to the fact that the population values it more through “cultural demystification”. He reports, "It has been discovering the nutritional qualities it has, such as its high nutritional value, which has caused it to increase its demand." (Quispe, 2013). From the perspective of the general manager of the Bolivian Institute of Foreign Trade (IBCE), Gary Rodriguez, he reports that quinoa consumption

has increased but “not as desired”, because there is a lack of greater promotion of cereal qualities and the high price of the product. It constitutes a “barrier” for the population to eat cereal (Quispe, 2013). These sources of interviews, statistics, and infographic reveal, quinoa consumption has increased domestically; however, there are layered tensions such as export rates of quinoa being higher than domestic consumption, quinoa prices increasing which leads to unaffordability, and there’s an increasing issue of reduced cultivated varieties of the crop itself.

Quinoa Exports: The Use of Agricultural Technology

In a study conducted by Shahbandeth, The major exporters of Quinoa in 2018 were countries such as Peru, Bolivia, and the Netherlands, as shown in Figure 6. Bolivia amounted to exporting 80.71 million USD, coming second to Peru’s export value of 125.5 million USD.

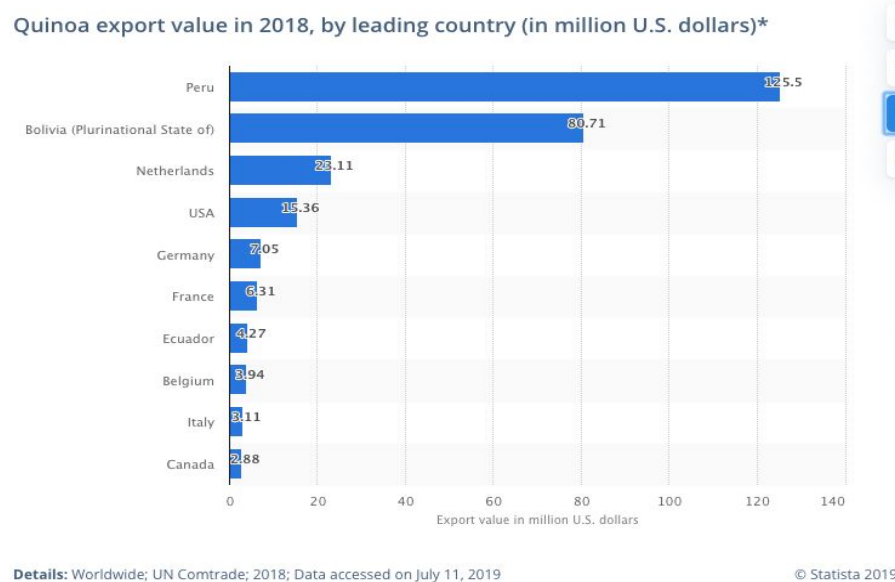


Figure 6: Source: UN Comtrade. (July 11, 2019). Quinoa export value in 2018, by leading country.

Specifically looking at the export of quinoa from Bolivia, in a study conducted by the UN Comtrade in 2018, Bolivia exported 17,302.29 kilograms to the United States. As Figure 7 shows, the United States is a major country of import, next to France, Canada, and the Netherlands.

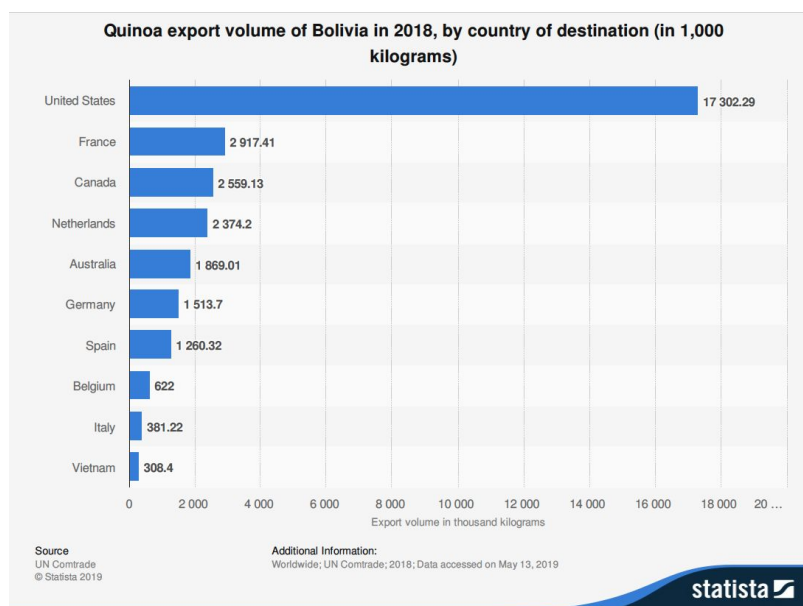


Figure 7: Quinoa Export Volume of Bolivia, by country of destination, (UN Comtrade, 2019). Source: UN Comtrade. (May 13, 2019).

Walsh-Dilley in her article, “Negotiating hybridity in highland Bolivia Indigenous Moral Economy and the Expanding Market for Quinoa” presents a case study of San Juan de Rosario, a rural community in the altiplano (highlands) where local populations share their experiences with understanding the opportunities and challenges of Globalization, considering quinoa as an international crop for export. This community comprises the majority Quechua people with about 500-800 people, where they produce potatoes, quinoa, and llama meat. Through the increase of tourism of the Uyuni Salt Flats, 2013 the village became a tourist destination, earning

revenue gradually (Walsh-Dilley, p. 664). Through the growth of Quinoa's International export, the campesinos of San Juan would take advantage by expanding quinoa production to export in the international market.

Despite this capitalist benefit for the farmers, San Juan heavily relies on reciprocity and cooperation as a form of agricultural production, or the *ayni* (Walsh-Dilley, 2013, p. 666). The *ayni* is a cultural protocol for tradition, or a cooperative strategy, where labor exchanges would lead to norms of obligation and repayment, as a way for humans to interact with each other but also with their environment. Another cooperative strategy is *mink'a*, where services can be paid for in other ways aside from currency. While keeping these traditional cooperative strategies in mind, the overarching economic pressure for this community to cultivate and harvest Quinoa continued to increase. Agricultural technologies such as tractors were being used to reduce labor intensiveness and produce crops at a faster rate. The tractor would also reduce physical labor, as the machine would separate the Quinoa grain from their stalk, reducing human labor on Quinoa production (Walsh-Dilley, 2013, p. 669). In another interview conducted with a campesino, Walsh-Dilley reports the perspective of Marco V., where they state, “The tractor works alone. For example, you have to prepare food for a single person. But with *ayni*, you have to prepare food for everyone. You always have to serve. In the morning, mid-day, supper, the tractor has the advantage that you don't spend as much. It's more economical, and planting with people is more expensive” (Walsh-Dilley, 2013, p. 670).

Despite the positive attributes of tractors, the tool can lead to crop failure through inadequate rainfall, wind, or lack of soil moisture. Weather conditions are a factor that cannot be controlled by campesinos, so the fields planted by tractors don't germinate well, small seedlings can become damaged, and lower yields may need replanting depending on weather impacts. Another campesino reports, "If I plant with a tractor, I'm taking a risk. If the wind buries it, I have to do it again, with people. And that's two expenses, which is why I go with one that's more certain. Another campesino interviewee says, "Others plant with the machine. But not me. Twice I planted it by machine. It didn't give good results. That's why I don't want to plant with machines anymore". (Walsh-Dilley, 2013, p. 671). Due to the added risks of using agricultural tools to produce Quinoa for exports, many farmers refrain from adopting to avoid crop risks. This creates a clear divide between preferred quinoa farming practices. Some farmers prefer to use agricultural technologies such as tractors to produce more crops to achieve economic profit in a convenient manner. Other farmers want to sustain their traditional ways of producing quinoa by opting out of using agricultural technologies. The connecting factor that divides these farmers throughout quinoa production is the exterior pressure to make their lands productive and participate in capitalism.

As shown through evaluating the impact of quinoa production and export domestically and within the international market, Bolivia and more specifically, MAS has faced the recurring challenge of participating in the international global market, while facing external economic pressures. Fabricant quotes scholar Jeff Webber's publication "From Rebellion to Reform in Bolivia: Class Struggle, Indigenous Liberation, and the Politics of Evo Morales" where he states, "this continued dependence on transnational corporations as part and parcel of Morales's

“reconstituted neoliberalism” whereby he continues to rely upon extraction and exportation of primary raw materials, such as mineral wealth and hydrocarbons” (Webber, 2011, p. 227).

Fabricant then follows this process of analyzing through stating, “By working in alliance with multinational corporations, Morales is constrained in carrying through on his constitutional legislative proposals regarding reinvestment in small-scale agriculture, developing domestic markets, or protecting the environment, because this model of extraction continues to rely upon the exploitation of land, workers, and natural resources, all in the interests of private capital” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 176).

Through external economic pressures and the continuous reliance on an extractive economic model for Bolivia’s growth in capital, food sovereignty cannot be achieved, especially if there’s a conflict of domestic consumption, land conflict, and conflict of natural resources. To achieve food sovereignty within the plurinational state, local communities must take ownership and direction of their crop production, with the implementation of their agricultural practices and sustainable products from a grassroots level. Evidently, this task is challenging because this requires a new creation of legislation, statehood, and intellectual property proposal with ideologies of various communities that will conflict with one another. With an understanding of these inevitable conflicts regarding agricultural practices and food production, we can begin to acknowledge that MAS “food sovereignty” policy cannot be justified, considering the internal conflicts and the fact that export is greater than domestic consumption. These tensions cannot equate to the idea of “decolonizing food”, because to do so, all Indigenous Communities must have access and consume their ancestral grains in a manner that doesn’t clash with global food systems that seek private capital.

Soy Export from Bolivian Lowlands

The Bolivian Amazonian lowlands are continuously being cleared to produce more soy meal and soy oil for export. In a study conducted by the Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC), data shown in Figure 8 exemplifies the products that Bolivia exported in 2017.

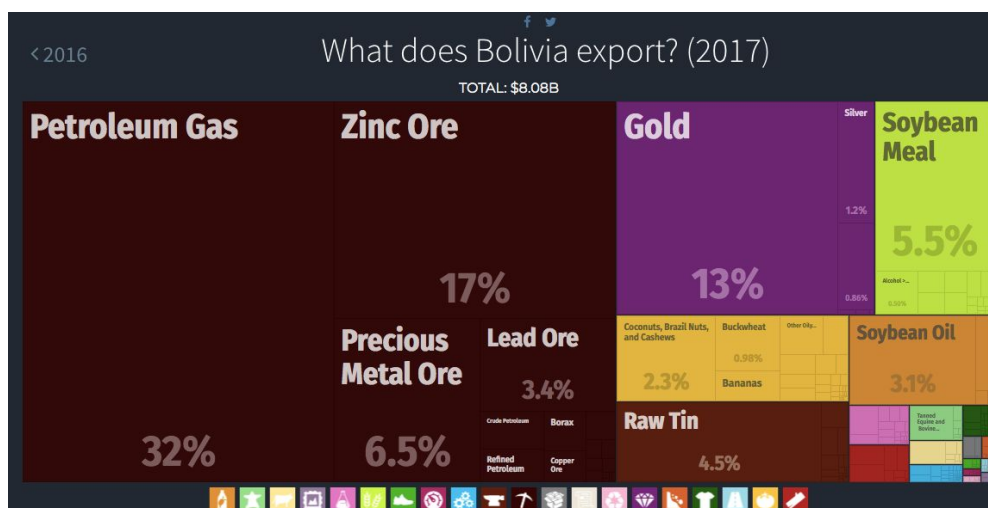


Figure 8, “What does Bolivia Export?” (OEC, 2017)

Aside from gas, zinc, metal, lead, and gold, a macro export commodity is soybean meal and soybean oil. Due to the fact that soy is a popular commodity for export internationally, land disputes between both large scale farmers and small scale farmers come into political conflict as one group may be seeking land tenure security for economic production, while the other group may be reclaiming their ancestral and cultural connection to the land.

Bolivia’s Soybean production and export rates have been crucial in sustaining the Bolivian economy, especially since the entrance of MAS. In a study conducted by Global Agricultural Information Network, a harvested area in 2015 has amounted to 1.28 hectares, 45%

of total agricultural land across the plurinational state, and 55% residing in Santa Cruz.

Soybeans account for 3% of Bolivia's GDP, 10% of total exports internationally, and employs 45,000 workers and generate 65,000 indirect jobs (Gaspar, 2015). While soybean production has served the economy for export, the majority of producers are small-scale farmers. As adapted from the USDA Foreign Agricultural Service through the Global Agricultural Information Network, figure 9 shows that soybean production in Bolivia is sourced from small-scale producers based on a study of 14,000 soybean producers, the following figure showcases how many hectares of land they own.

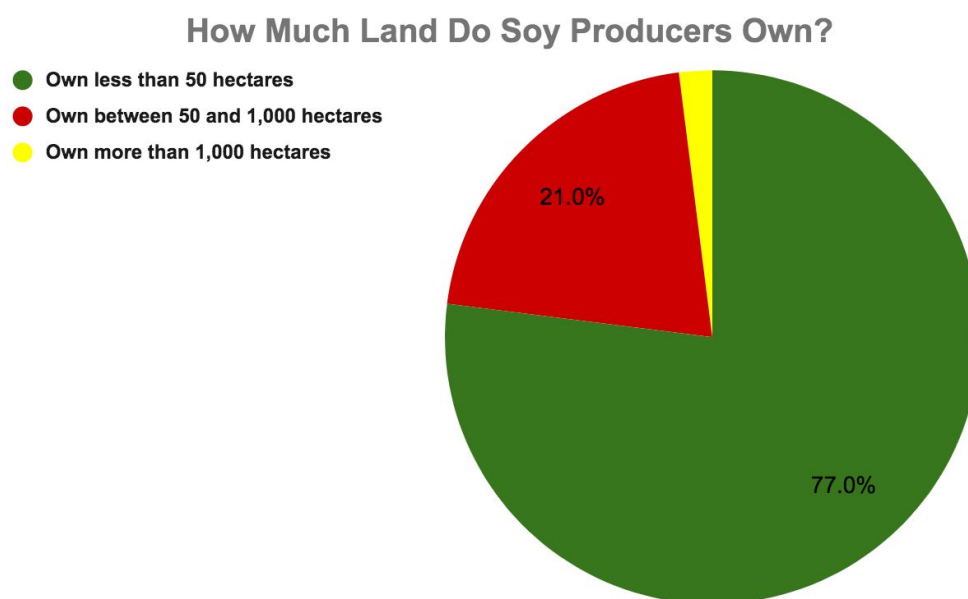


Figure 9: Soy Producers Land Ownership, data adapted from USDA Foreign Agricultural Service. (Gaspar, 2015)

Soy Production Conflict Between Farmers, External Tensions

In the case of soy production, the story of small scale and large scale farmers becomes complex with many variables regarding land title deeds and mobilized landless peasants.

Fabricant reveals the case of the MST- Pueblos Unidos who protested the production of soy. Fabricant writes, “Soy was the key export-oriented crop through which regional elites had consolidated wealth, power, and control. Soy was eating away at available farmland, and because it relies heavily upon chemicals and fertilizers, it affected both the environment and communal health, in addition to leading to new forms of displacement through debt and dependency” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 68). Fabricant begins to unravel the story of a group of 200 landless men and women in 2003 in an occupied region titled “San Cayetano” to reclaim their ancestral land and resources. This land was controlled by an agribusinessman, named “Francisco Marchety” of Brazil. Despite these peaceful protestors, they were violently removed. Later that same year in September, Los Pueblos Unidos protested another zone called “La Luna” which is situated in the province of Guarayos in Santa Cruz. Fabricant writes, “This property was controlled by Juan Guillen, who was a member of the agribusiness elite who was investing in soy production” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 68). After these protests, there were verbal negotiations with the landlord and the state bureaucrats who ultimately removed the settlers in the zone. Fabricant then explains a similar case in 2004, where families of the MST occupied Los Yuquises, a hacienda owned by agribusiness man Rafael Paz Hurtado. Fabricant interviewed Hurtado, a large scale farmer to understand how his perspective of the occupation was a violation of private property rights and a failure of democratic institutions that should have protected landowners from these land invasions.

In Hurtado’s interview, he explains, “I am a large scale agricultural laborer. I have always worked in agriculture. I started out in the 1980s in the zone called Peta Grande. The problem of land comes from a much earlier era. It’s not just about the government of Evo

Morales. In the late 1990s, people from western highlands started coming down to the lowlands in truckloads and invading our lands...we were always fighting for them” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 69). Hurtado explains his story of becoming a soy entrepreneur, where he disciplined himself to become hardworking and earn a land title deed, because of his productivity. Despite his efforts, his land was invaded and was the victim of theft. Hurtado explains in his interview, “There are many hostages; MST members took people hostage, that’s when lots of people got involved and MST put marijuana in my soy production plants. They put twelve plants of marijuana and they made it seem like I was a narco-trafficker. Where you plant soya, you use a lot of chemicals, so that there’s no way I could be growing marijuana in the middle of that” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 70). Within this case, it’s evident that the story of social movements and land tenure security is complicated, especially when relating these stories back to the Morales Administration and the policies they’ve established.

Shifting the lens back to the perspective of the MST, Fabricant reveals that, “MST- Santa Cruz entered the property of Los Yuquises in August 2004 and squatted with about five hundred occupiers. They began to work the land collectively, setting up productive workgroups and advancing a model of agroecology and sustainable development. A few days after the occupation, the Hurtado family demanded the evacuation of the MST settlement on their property” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 71). Fabricant then reveals that after a month of little government intervention, The Office of the Compliance Advisor/Ombudsman (CAO) decided to intervene and publicly support the Hurtado family through media outlets such as “La Razón” to demand that Bolivia’s interim president, Carlos Mesa, take measures to define private property in Santa Cruz. Two weeks later, the prefect of Santa Cruz, Ruben Costas, signed authorization without

approval from the national government, to send a military intervention to clear the MST. Months later, Hurtado hired sicarios (assassins) to displace the landless workers from his hacienda. A few days later, armed hitmen looted homes, burned pineapple and rice fields, beat and abused women, and took several MST members hostage. In an interview, Fabricant conducted with Luis Salvatierra, one of the hostages, who explains “The police arrived at Yuquises and said that a man, one of the sicarios disappeared. I had this old coat and never thought or imagined that it disappeared to the disappeared man, they grabbed me because of the coat, they took me away to a little prison in Montero. I wasn’t allowed to have contact with anyone. They tortured me in prison. They said, “we don’t care about your feelings, they paid us to hit you, beat you, and torture you to give up the names of the MST” (Fabricant, 2012, p. 72). These cases show the underlying complexities of grassroots movements from the landless indigenous communities with large scale agricultural farmers. On one hand, there are the elites who want to perpetuate methods of violence and torture to silence peasants who won’t submit to the state’s norms of citizenship and land tenure. On the other hand, the landless are searching for transnational agrarian connections to receive private capital to mobilize indigeneity to reclaim rights to their ancestral land.

Fabricant reports that in 2011, MAS presented the Bolivian Congress legislation to reduce the use of genetically modified foods, especially for export-oriented crops like soy in the Amazonian lowlands (Fabricant, 2012, p. 177). Although there’s a reduction of chemicals being used on cash crops, there’s an undeniable external pressure from global international markets for Bolivia to continue export-based production. Fabricant argues, “Multinational agribusinesses stand against the proposed agrarian and food reforms, just as corporations like Cargill and ADM,

which have control of the soybean and sunflower production in Santa Cruz, and John Deere, Monsanto, and Calgene promote genetically modified seeds" (Fabricant, 2012, p. 2012). She then reveals the perspective of an MST-Ichilo representative who states through personal communication, "The government is fomenting the production of GMOs...but as campesinos this does not convince us as the best way to produce or work the land. We want to be able to certify our seeds, the native seeds that we are producing. However, the government does not have the strength, the economic resources, or the power to limit the use of these GMOs" (Fabricant, 2012, p. 178). In addition, Ramiro Tellez of La Via Campesina explains, "It will not suffice that this principle is written simply into the new constitution, but named in new laws or given the status of a ministry or some other governmental program. The political will of the State will be necessary to deepen a genuine comprehensive agrarian reform, to rescue and respect our native seeds by not allowing the introduction of GMO seeds, that will support the productive culture of the small and medium producers...there must be guarantees of markets for peasant and indigenous products but by the means of a fair market for the people" (Fabricant, 2012, p. 179). These tensions lead to a greater question, is establishing decolonization and food sovereignty policy within a new constitution effective when the reality of these discourses relies on sustaining transnational flows of natural resources? From the perspective of the Morales Administration, there's a desire to establish radical legislation and policy that focuses on food sovereignty for all ethnic groups, while enforcing their rights and social inclusion through decolonization policy. Other perspectives show that food sovereignty may not be executed in this manner when the economy heavily relies on export-based production of cash crops such as soybeans from the lowlands, as these processes can be perceived as reconstituted neoliberalism.

V. Conclusion

This paper sought to identify the intersectionalities between decolonization and food sovereignty practice. I intended to seek whether or not food sovereignty exists within the execution of Decolonization under the readjustment of Bolivia's constitution, how this plays out within markets, exports, land disputes between Bolivian highland and lowland farmers, and the reasonings for those tensions. Through viewing these layers of overlap between these findings, it's critical to note that this research was intended to seek connection, layers, and tensions. The role of this research was to not provide answers as to what food sovereignty should look like when executed in a decolonized state; rather, the intention is to highlight that decolonization and food sovereignty looks differently in the eyes of various actors. Within the context of existing law, the language of decolonization and food sovereignty appeared to be vague, and difficult to imagine legitimately within practice. Due to nuance, existing law may be open to interpretation, depending on how one evaluates "successful" decolonization or "food sovereignty" practice.

Decolonization executes itself differently within the mind of a person in the Global North, while decolonization can look another way within the mentality of people in the Global South, or the Fourth World. Within the case of Bolivia, decolonization took place decades ago through establishing independence; however, continuous social exclusion of Indigenous Peoples continues to this day. For some Indigenous Peoples, decolonization began through the Morales Administration, where their livelihoods began to exponentially improve through making their land productive to export crops internationally, or through being socially included within the framework of governance of the plurinational state. For other Indigenous Peoples, decolonization

is still continuing or has not taken place yet, due to the fact that they've been socially excluded from participating in making their land economically productive, displaced from their ancestral lands, or have experienced food insecurity from the lack of access to healthy, locally produced, organic ancestral crops. With these intersections in mind, it's critical to note the existing tensions within the making of food sovereignty policy and how that plays out various campesinos, policymakers, food producers, and how it ties in the international framework.

From seeking these connections and tensions, this research aims to highlight that the experience of decolonization and food sovereignty is a mental process that comes with points of conflict, depending on the human experience within a "decolonized" state. This research is not to dictate how other humans should feel or experience decolonization or food sovereignty, rather, the role is to point out the fact that conflict and tension are apart of the human experience. The role is to also raise questions, can a decolonized state achieve full inclusion of all of its Peoples? Is it inevitable that people will be displaced, excluded, or suffer regardless of who takes governance? Looking at the fact that Morales was the first Indigenous president of Bolivia, history was achieved through the creation of a new constitution that raises the importance of decolonization and food sovereignty as an autonomous practice of the state. Regardless, is it out of his (or any human) control to dictate the way in which food sovereignty is played out within all regions of the country? Is conflict inevitable; despite policy, social program, law, and governance is in place?

In the current time frame, it's critical to note that the fight for Indigenous Peoples rights; specifically, the rights to their ancestral lands for food production is continuous. Along with food

sovereignty, where groups of people have the right to produce their own food, must also take place with the political sovereignty of these same groups of people. Within the case of food production and food sovereignty, Bolivia can continue to produce food within their own borders as a practice of sovereignty; however, the effects of food sovereignty policy may benefit or negatively impact various campesinos of various ethnic backgrounds inevitably through conflict. These conflicts are inevitable; however, the Bolivian government and the international community must identify that these tensions exist and engage with impacted campesinos accordingly. Although food sovereignty takes place, one must not ignore nor become oblivious to the unintended consequences of food sovereignty policy and practice throughout decolonizing food systems and the desire for large scale and small scale farmers to participate in capitalism.

One also must recognize current events, including Morales's attempt to change the constitution to allow him to run for a fourth term in office, the controversial attempts of accused electoral fraud committed by Morales, and the process of his resignation from office declaring that MAS was the victim of a military coup. As Morales resigned, he declares, "My responsibility as indigenous president and of all Bolivians is to prevent the coup leaders from continuing to persecute my union leaders and brothers, mistreating and kidnapping their relatives," (Bacigalupo, 2019). Following Morales's resignation, Bacigalupo reports the political commentary of the president of the Civic Committee of Santa Cruz, Luis Fernando Camacho. She reports, "He entered walking through the halls of the Government Palace holding the Bolivian flag in one hand and the Bible in the other. One of his followers exclaimed to the media abroad: *"The Bible has re-entered the palace. Pachamama will never return."* The commentary demonstrates a colonialist ideology that continues to exist and strengthens division and racism

throughout the country” (Bacigalupo, 2019). Taking a step back, one must recognize Bolivia’s processes of decolonization and colonial tensions that continue to surface today across urban and rural regions. These tensions are existent and are continuous, and will leak into the discourse of decolonizing food systems, land disputes, crop export, and food production depending on the government that follows Morales. As Morales stated in his inauguration speech, the fight for Indigenous power and resistance is not only for the next 500 years but forever. This must continue with or without the Morales Administration, as justice for Indigenous Peoples must be respected and coexist with the rights of other groups of people and the rights of all living things that take space within Earth.

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