



Cultivating what is ours

Rural development with identity and ethical agro-food networks in Peru



Desarrollo territorial rural con identidad cultural



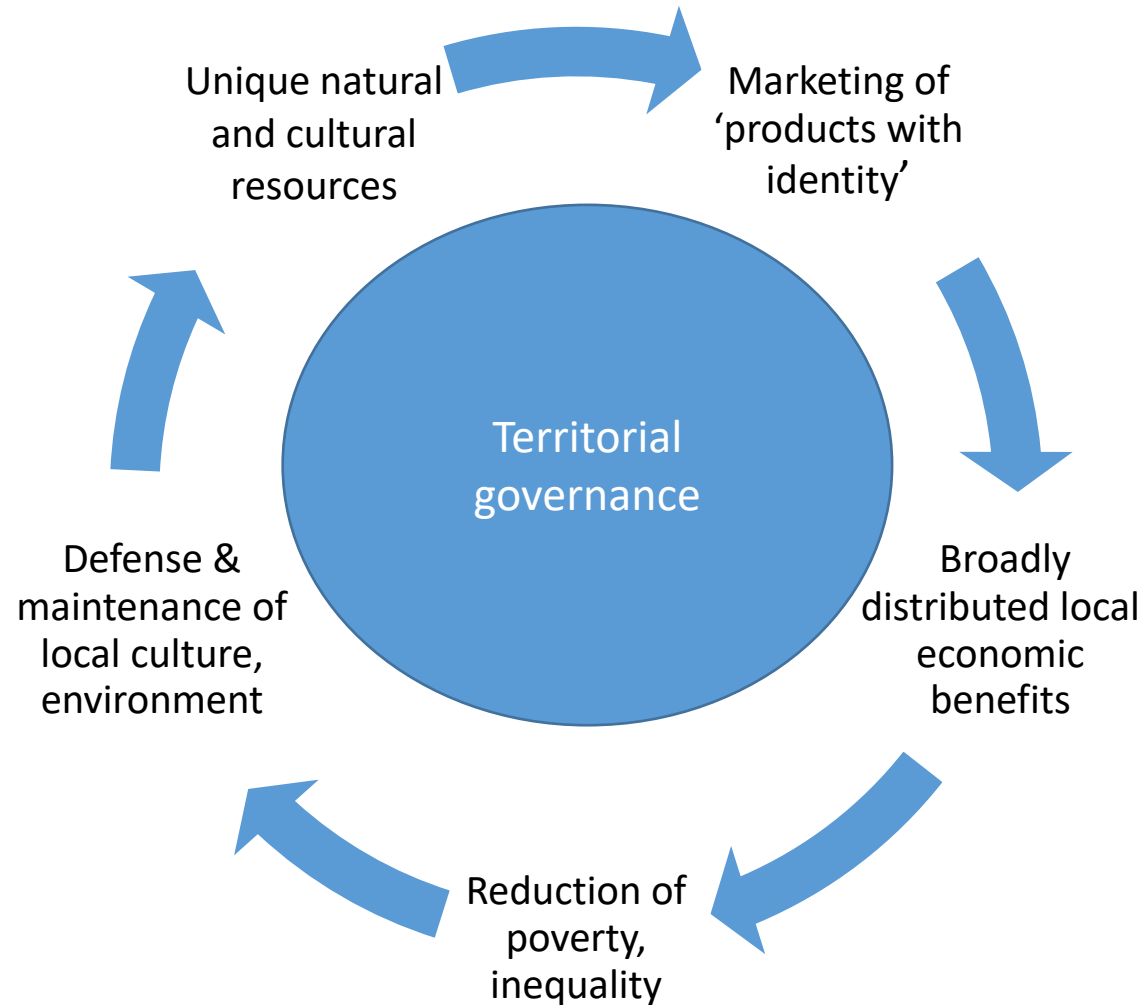
Propositions / assumptions:

1. Rural and indigenous populations often have special connections with the territory which give them a unique 'biocultural' heritage
2. This biocultural identity can be deployed to differentiate and add value to local goods and services, generating 'products with identity' increasingly valued by consumers
3. Such strategies can lead to virtuous circles of poverty reduction, social inclusion and cultural revalorization
4. This requires 'territorial governance' involving horizontal and vertical alliances between public, private and civil society actors

This theoretical and discursive framework has been developed by international institutions with a particular focus on Latin America

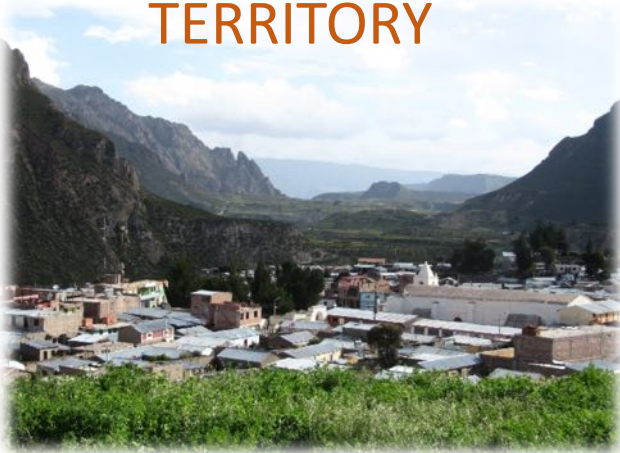
It unites three themes: *territorial development*, *cultural revalorisation* and *environmental sustainability*

The 'virtuous circle' of products with identity



Export / emblematic product

TERRITORY



CONSUMER



Tourism / basket of goods

Ethical agro-food networks

- At a global level:
 - Consumer concerns about quality, equity, food safety, nutrition, environmental sustainability
 - Growing interest in the *provenance* of agro-food products
 - Need for producers to differentiate in competitive, neoliberal context
- In Latin America / Peru:
 - The Peruvian 'gastronomic boom'
 - 'Rediscovery' and resurgence of interest in Andean products
- Meeting point / convergence between rural development with identity and ethical agro-food networks
- Adds a further theme to those outlined above—*sustainable food security*



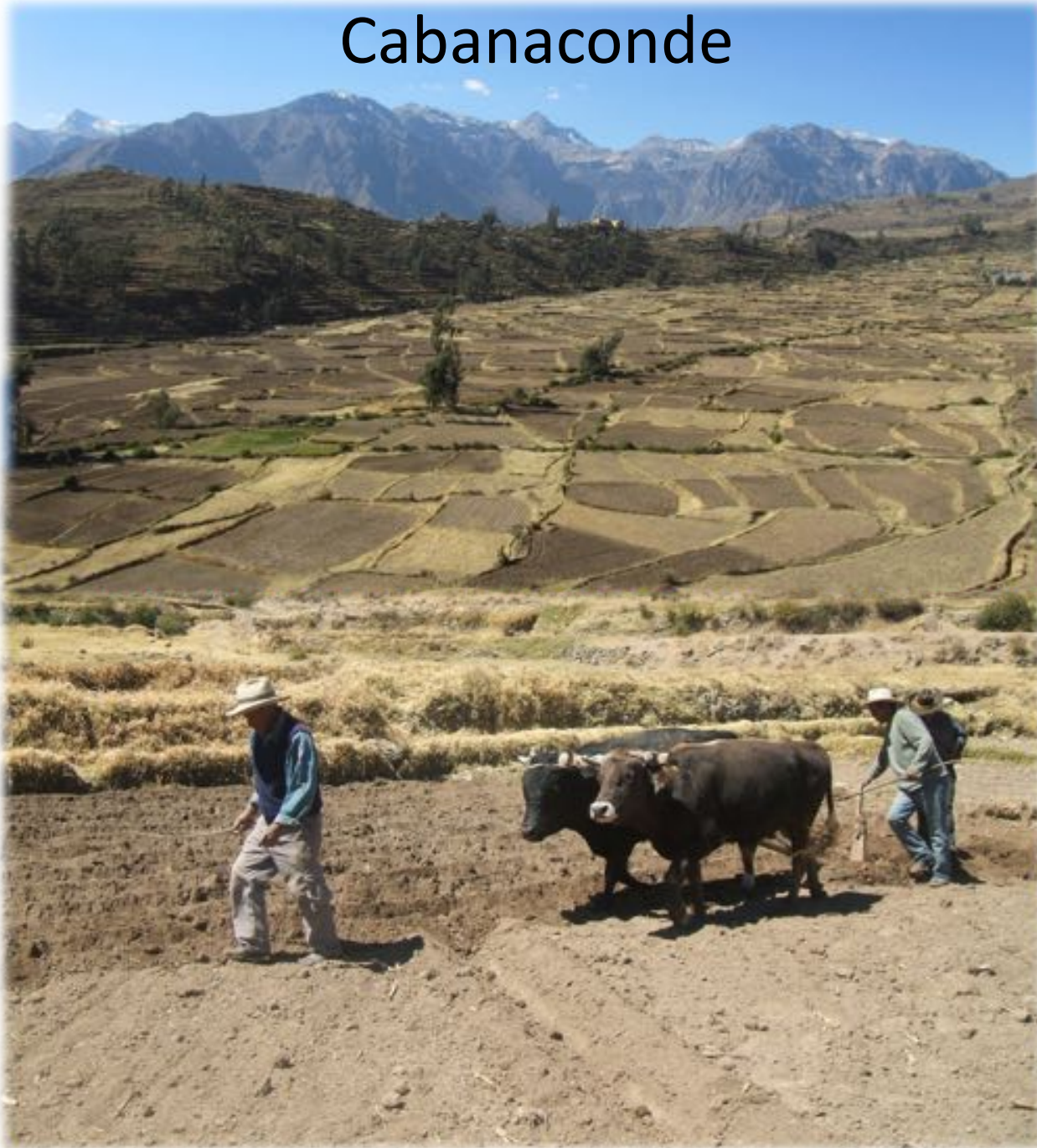
Methodology

- Theoretical / discursive (global level):
 - Historical summary and analysis of changes in attitude towards local biocultural diversity and its relationship with development
 - Specific study of how this has played out in Latin America and Peru
 - Critical analysis of changes in 'development discourses'
- Case studies (local level):
 - Cabanaconde and Tuti in the Colca Valley – two cases of attempts to revalorize place-based products and local biocultural heritage
 - History of the initiatives in the context of existing social and productive changes
 - Analysis of the objectives of the initiatives and the extent to which they have succeeded (and why / why not)
 - Ethnographic study of the experiences and opinions of the local population (taking into account population diversity in terms of gender, age, occupation and place of origin)

The Colca Valley – Arequipa – Peru



Cabanaconde



Tuti



Cabanaconde y Tuti – context and initial state

CABANACONDE	TUTI
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3,287 metres above sea level • Population 2,200 excl Pinchollo (2007 Census), but in 2016 prob. 2,500-3,000 • 2nd largest urban centre in the Colca Valley • Centre of the Cabana ethnicity– important territory – culture – identity relationship • Specialised in maize production since Incan times • Emblematic product - <i>maíz cabanita</i> – with unique characteristics and strong links to the local culture (el <i>solay</i>, <i>mocco tinkay</i>, <i>alsa</i>, etc.) • Tradition of being the ‘granary’ of the Colca – other people come seeking maize • Nickname related to a local product – <i>chiri mote</i> • Important impact of tourism in past 20 years • Migration to Lima and the United States and important influence of return migrants • Recent history of an important social movement –action to claim water from the Majes Project and extension of the agricultural frontier 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3,800 metres above sea level • Population 800 (2007 Census) – 1,000 (local Census 2009) • Population historically concentrated in ranching homesteads – urbanisation from the 1970s and establishment of secondary school in 1988 • Ethnically part of the Collagua culture – local identity associated with the administrative district • Dual territorial vocation – crop farming and herding • Cultivation of a variety of native and exotic products – Andean sweet potato, yam, potatoes, beans, barley, quinoa – largely for self consumption • Livestock farming main traditional source of cash income • Nickname related to a local product – <i>año arete</i> • Tradition of commerce and barter trading – people from the upper valley linked the Colca with Cusco, Majes y Camaná through trade networks • Little direct contact with tourism • Migration focussed on Arequipa and Chivay • Recent history of an important social movement – the ‘dry law’

Cabanaconde – *tierra del maíz cabanita*



- Context – water quotas from the Majes Project and extension of the agricultural frontier del Proyecto Majes
- Support from COPASA 1987-2001 – focus on productivity in the new agricultural areas .
- Growing commercialisation of maize through local shops and traders & intermediaries / payment in kind and at low prices
- 2007 – The NGO Desco created the ASPOMAC association, established the Maiz Cabanita Festival and funded a sorting & processing plant
- 2008-10 – transition to organic certification along with trademark, sanitary registration, bar code – *maíz cabanita* started to be sold in supermarkets
- 2010 – Contestable funds obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture, but the local association could not obtain matching funds
- 2011-14 – Sierra Sur II project supported denomination of origin application, trips of local leaders to Italy, maíz cabanita was present in the Mistura fair in Lima
- 2015-16 – production crisis brought about by plagues and diseases / up to 30-60% of harvest reported lost
- 2016 – organic certification lost (Desco's support ended in 2015)

Cabanaconde – balance of the current situation

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Maíz cabanita</i> is sold in different niche markets (Franco, El Super, bio-fair in Arequipa, organic shop in Arequipa)• Some individuals sell directly to the consumer (shop in Cabanaconde, Feria del Altiplano) and represent the area in fairs and festivals• <i>Maiz cabanita</i> is differentiated by origin in some stalls in traditional markets (Arequipa, Chivay)• Some local transformation (bread, cookies, use of toasted maize in some small local restaurants)• A price margin is maintained compared to other varieties of maize• <i>Maiz cabanita</i> is well known throughout Arequipa and other parts of southern Peru for its texture and taste• The wider population has pride in maíz cabanita as an emblematic product• Different varieties of <i>maiz cabanita</i> and local maize bread are recognised in Slow Food's Ark of Taste	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• There are serious problems with pests and diseases (2014/15 y 2015/16) and climate change / El Niño (higher temperatures, delayed and scarce rains)• Production reduced by 30-60% in some cases• The ASPOMAC association is barely active• No sustained support from any institution• Organic certification lost in 2016• Sales in niche markets are small and don't compensate the producer• No strong presence of maize or local gastronomy in local tourist restaurants• <i>Maiz cabanita</i> is becoming a generic product not differentiated by origin• Pollution in the countryside is worsening• Some traditional practices are being abandoned in the name of 'efficiency' (not necessarily more or better production)

Cabanaconde – overall evaluation



- Identity based in ‘inherited exceptionalism’
- Rich, deeply embedded relationships between territory, identity and local agro-food product
- But not the ‘right’ kind for extralocal niche/quality markets – micro scale, not added value, food staple rather than luxury product
- Issues of identity, differentiation and commercialisation overtaken by productive crisis
- No platform for sustained collective action

Tuti – *un pueblo ecológico*

- Context – local ‘dry law’ (1985 – but took about a decade to be fully effective)
- COPASA 1987-2001 – support for irrigation, agricultural productivity, introduction of Brown Swiss cows and Hampshire sheep
- 2001-05 – growing interest in ecological production and opposition to agro-chemicals
- 2005-06 – formation of Agro Eco Tuti with NGO ASDE – focus on beans and potatoes
- 2004-08 – Construction of the milk products plant, concession to make cheese and other products
- 2007-10 – With NGO Desco, obtained organic certification and established a grain processing plant
- 2011- contestable funds won from Agro Emprande, but poor management led to a crisis in the association, loss of interest
- 2012-14 –Agro Eco Tuti reconstructed with the support of Desco, Sierra Sur, local government– focus on quinoa
- Up to the present: Livestock improvement, expansion of milk production (from 80 litres per day in 2008 to 1,200 litres in 2016)
- 2014 – ‘bonanza’ price for quinoa – S/. 12
- 2015-16 – drop in price for quinoa, increasing problems with pests and diseases
- New funds obtained from Procompite, UNDP GEF, Agro Ideas, national level prize for environmental management
- 2015-16 – construction of the new milk products plant (ongoing) – [but loss of organic certification in 2016]



Tuti – balance of the current situation

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• ‘Bonanza’ prices for quinoa in 2013/14• New contestable funds won recently – from Procompite and UNDP GEF• Tuti has won national recognition for environmental management• Local government takes active role in supporting local associations (renewal of legal status, contracting consultant support to win contestable funds, physical infrastructure)• Milk production continues increasing, and cheese from Tuti sells well – it has won prizes and is becoming known at a regional level• Cattle farmers get a better prices for their milk and are paid every fortnight• ‘Ecological’ identity is a source of pride for the local population (together with the dry law)• Even if they don’t get higher prices, organics products are valued for own consumption• Small but successful experiences with tourism based on local products and gastronomy• There is representation at fairs and some individuals sell value-added products, including local people (quinoa flakes and flour) and extralocal buyers (cookies)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The price for quinoa has dropped dramatically• Pests and disease have affected production• Pressure on water resources and crops stressed by El Niño / climate change• New projects focus exclusively on quinoa• Organic potatoes and beans are not differentiated and are sold at individually for the same prices as conventional products• Local associations remain vulnerable – suffer from reduced participation, dissatisfaction, dependence on external institutions• Organic certification lost in 2016 – neither funding not internal inspections were organised in time• The new milk processing plant needs to be finished in order to improve quality, add value (organic certification, matured cheeses, other products)• No collective process to add value to the quinua or other products• No networks at provincial or regional level

Tuti – overall evaluation

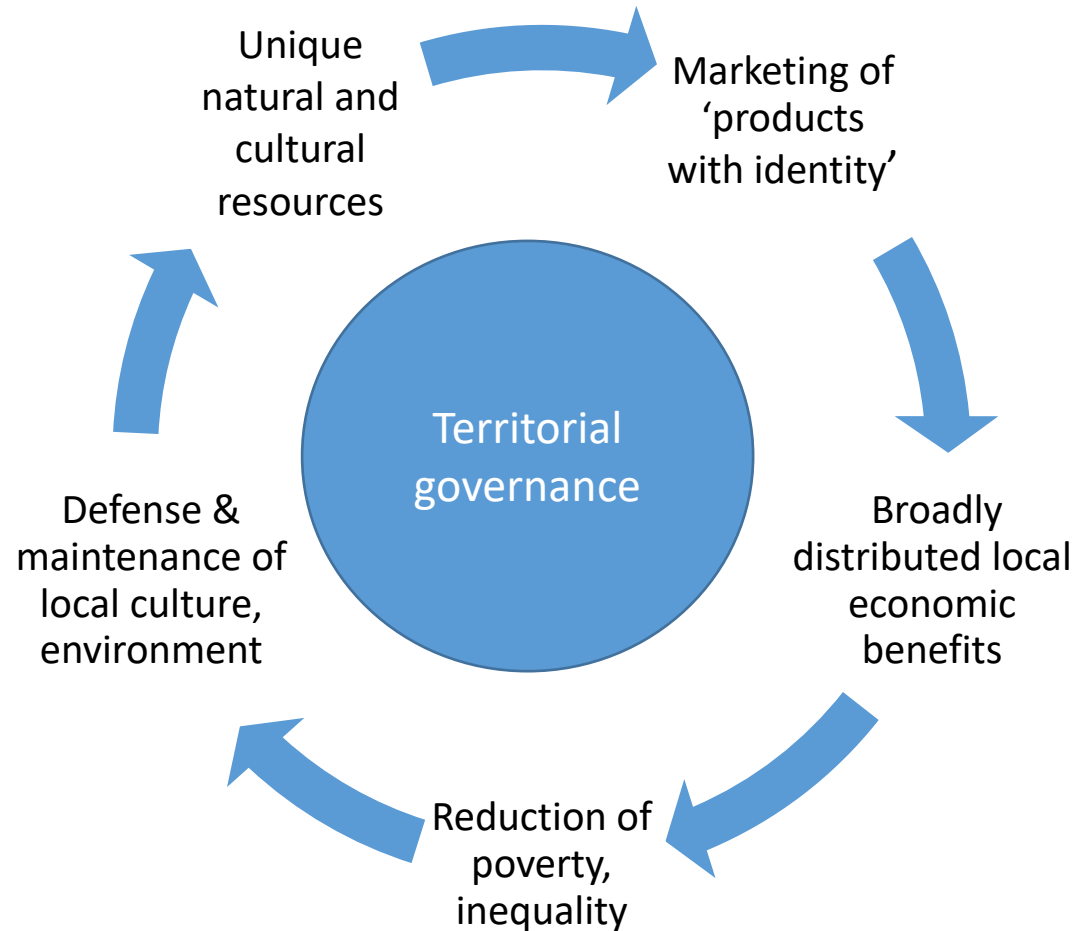
- Has successfully performed ‘success’ to ensure the reproduction of development assistance
- Has negotiated space within the agendas of external actors – eg, export value chains (national / regional govt), agrobiodiversity (UNDP GEF), to advance local ‘organic’ priorities – secure production, healthy food and diversified income
- Flexible engagement with different products and markets (beans, quinoa, cheese)
- Identity based in ‘earned exceptionalism’ – the dry law, hard work and frequent meetings
- Unusually robust top-down / bottom-up dialectic between population and local government – but collective initiatives remain fragile



Case studies: Evaluating the objectives

OBJECTIVE	CABANA CONDE	TUTI
Local economic dynamism	Higher prices for maize are countered by reduced production and higher costs. The economy is driven by other dynamics (remittances, tourism, public and private investment).	Growing market for milk / cheese provides higher and more frequent returns for farmers. Crop farming is more limited and fickle.
Poverty reduction / social inclusion	Other dynamics have more (uneven) impact on monetary poverty – migration, extension of the agricultural frontier. Popular opinion associates traditional maize cultivation with poverty and contrasts it with ‘progress’ but it remains a source of security and resilience.	There are individual and family processes of multi-local accumulation that include farming and herding. The local associations work to attract outside funding and projects in a relatively inclusive way.
Conservation of biocultural heritage / diversity	Traditional maize cultivation continues but it is facing rapid change and some practices, customs and knowledge could be lost.	The focus on agrobiodiversity (for example, from UNDP GEF) contrasts with a growing prevalence of non-native and improved products (beans, cattle, sheep)
Environmental sustainability	Inconsistent and superficial commitment to organic production. Worsening pollution of the countryside and waterways with solid waste.	A general population commitment to the ‘ecological’ ethic (although not perfect). Rejection of agrochemicals linked to rejection of alcoholism.
Territorial governance	Rivalry and conflict between authorities, discontinuities between municipal administrations, lack of shared or coherent vision.	Local government leads coordination of devpt initiatives, continuity across different administrations. But limited to district level, as ‘an example to others’; not connected to other territories.

The 'virtuous circle' of products with identity



Objective: *Revalorize the special characteristics of local products to generate added value, ensure that an important share reaches local producers, and continue the sustainable reproduction of the resources and activities that underpin this specialness (a 'virtuous circle')*

Faces challenges in three categories:

- Production
- Social organisation
- Commercialisation

The virtuous circle of 'agro food products with identity' – challenges

- Production:
 - Land fragmentation / minifundismo
 - Climate – frost, heat, drought
 - Plagues and diseases
 - Changes in the productive system (disappearance of reciprocal labour exchange, absentee owners, etc).
 - Occupational diversification – agriculture is becoming a complementary activity
 - These factors disincentivise investment of the time and money needed to maintain the 'special' aspects of local products in the medium and long term



The virtuous circle of 'agro food products with identity' – challenges

- Social organisation:
 - Few people with management / technical skills – planning, marketing, accounting, documentation, etc –lack of involvement of younger generations
 - Members are reluctant to contribute resources to the association – matching funds, discount from sales, etc.
 - Mutual mistrust between association leaders and members (*Leaders*: 'the president has to do everything'; *Members*: 'he/she only works for his/her own benefit')
 - Lack of links to the 'next level' of organization – such as a provincial association or cooperative comprising various community associations



The virtuous circle of 'agro food products with identity' – challenges

- Markets:

- Product characteristics are not recognised (organic beans and potatoes from Tuti) or subject to uncontrolled passing off
- Markets may be very low volume (tourism, local supermarkets), or their supply demands can't be consistently met (exporters), or the processor / retailer captures most of the added value
- Local associations have insufficient resources or capacities to search for and maintain contacts in potential markets (regular emails, travelling to Arequipa or Lima, follow-up after festivals and fairs)
- Added value requires simultaneous change in many elements (processing, trademark, bar code, sanitary certification, organic certification of the whole process)
- Markets are targeted where the product is not known or valued (eg, export of *maiz cabanita*)
- In some cases, appropriate markets don't yet exist (for example, product origin is rarely identified or valued in local produce markets or in gastronomy)



The virtuous circle of 'agro food products with identity' – challenges

- These problems tend to be papered over by the support of different development institutions:
 - International aid agencies
 - State institutions and programmes
 - Local government – provincial, district
 - Private consultancies.
- However, projects are fragmented, duplicated, short-term with a focus on their own priorities (sometimes funder-driven)
- The role of local government is key to give coherence, but they lack resources, skills and continuity
- Much is said about avoiding 'welfarism' (*asistencialismo*) but rarely are there integrated efforts to prepare local associations for independence



Thoughts & recommendations



- Develop alternatives to the non-profit community association (fundamentally misaligned with commercial objectives):
 - For-profit associations / cooperatives - with paid manager
 - Small family businesses (is there a role for the State, NGOs and aid agencies in supporting private actors?)
 - More specialisation, development of ‘clusters’ – producers, processors and traders in commercial relations but with complementary activities and shared values— linked to *territory*
- Generate the ‘next level’ of organisation at the level of wider territory or province, or a cooperative made up of multiple producer associations
- Also need to work on the *demand* side so the value of identity-based products is actually recognised.

Thoughts & recommendations

- Aim for appropriate markets: adding value is all very well, but more processing is not always better, and more distant or formal markets aren't necessarily worth it – being in the 'global shop window' may not pay any better
- Don't underestimate the importance of own / local consumption - as well as sustainable food security, this is the basis of long-term commercial success and added value (see examples from Europe)
- Accept that the state (or someone else) might need to *directly* support objectives such as protection of biocultural heritage / diversity – markets don't necessarily work
- Recognise that sometimes initiatives take 10 to 20 years to have an impact (Mario Tapia)

