AGRICULTURE AND TRADE LIBERALISATION:

DISCOURSES AND PARADIGM SHIFTS

Maria Grazia Quieti

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ABSTRACT

The negotiation and implementation of the policies proposed by the WTO Agreement on Agriculture (market access, domestic support, export subsidies and consideration of non-trade concerns), show that agriculture remains a most contentious trade issue, despite its diminishing role in the economy worldwide and its accounting for only 8% of total trade. The research has explored how the arguments behind the proposed policies become discourses and how these in turn become resources used by different actors for influencing policy formation.

A heuristic framework of fora and arena has been generated enabling the organisation and interpretation of a set of heterogeneous empirical materials for discourse analysis; the organisational, technical, popular and moralising fora showing the cognitive, emotion and moral matrices of knowledge construction and the political arena being the site for public legitimation. Through the literature review and the case studies of WTO, the FAO, the European Commission and transnational civil society organisations, discourses were found on multifunctional agriculture, roles of agriculture, sustainable agricultural and rural development, food security and food sovereignty. These were formed through the theoretical resources by epistemic communities and also through discursive practices and governance arrangements.

Paradigmatic shifts were found in the conceptualisation of agriculture and trade liberalisation, with convergent views on the need for national food production and local foods, the dismantling of the comparative advantage principle as a guide to policies, the association of agriculture with global public goods and the increased elaborations of the 'non-trade concerns'. The findings suggest that it is consumption and not only production issues that are driving the negotiations. They also highlight agriculture as part of a complex chain linking the physical environment and production to consumption and health on a global scale, as such in need of greater interdisciplinarity than the original economics-driven policies formulation of the Agreement on Agriculture.

PREFACE

In 1999, I was responsible for managing a training programme for developing countries to enable their informed participation in the multilateral trade negotiations on agriculture. In an organisation-wide effort, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) had prepared materials and activities to explain the WTO Agreements related to Agriculture and their implications for the economies of its developing member countries. In that same year, the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle was marred by an unprecedented and unforeseen amount of protests which were disconcerting. I had been implementing the training programme for the trade negotiations, which I assumed to be a rational process to be tackled with the proper knowledge, technical analysis and negotiation skills. With Seattle, this process became blurred by a multitude of demands and expressions of aspirations by many actors other than governments. At the time, these actors appeared as illegitimate to me for two sets of reasons: on the one hand, because of the unclear constituencies behind them and, on the other, because of the absence or weakness of a clearly explicated intellectual base. I could not understand how an emotionally committed engagement without analytics could gain so much resonance and political space to the detriment of the more codified body of knowledge by the recognized experts I had been dealing with.

The events in Seattle were also unsettling in revealing the cognitive dissonance between the official positions of government representatives, inspired by political economy and economic principles, and the perspectives of civil society organisations, so openly ignoring or disrespectful of the body of knowledge behind the Agreements and their stated rationale on the increased benefits accruing to the world economy from trade liberalisation. Having managed the participation of non-governmental organisations in the 1996 World Food Summit, I was aware of their instances which I had considered as parallel and as corollary to the official knowledge and perspectives expressed by governments.

It was this dissonance with the associated clamour that spurred my interest in particular on what agriculture meant to the multitude of protesting individuals and organisations and, more generally, in how organisations as actors construct perspectives on agriculture and trade liberalisation, how they communicate them, and how they make them become consensually shared worldviews guiding policies. I had been working on creating and consolidating knowledge which was to go through a process of technical and scientific validation and which was then turned into dissemination products and activities, such as a *Manual on Multilateral Trade Negotiations,* course curricula for different regions of the world and workshops. The events in Seattle with the self-proclaimed legitimacy acquired through force and disruption by alternative ways of apprehending and communicating shook my certainties in considering technical and scientific approaches as the sole legitimate ones. This spurred my curiosity on the cultural process that determines what gets 'talked about' and made me discover the world of discourses as "... a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1995:43).

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Many persons have contributed to my research, some of them through an explicit relationship of interaction at regular intervals and others unknowingly through conversations, other informal interactions and emotional support.

First of all, I am grateful to Jonathan Murdoch with whom I had my first contacts and to whom I owe that I did not get discouraged along the way; in very discrete and quiet ways, he fed me with the theoretical resources which raised my interest and gave me the courage of intellectual enquiry for the dissertation and also in my professional life. I thank Mara Miele for continuing the support I received from Jonathan, for her warmth and encouragement in exploring the strengths of sociology as a discipline and with these in reviewing critically and setting into context agricultural economic approaches with which I was familiar in my professional life. I thank Terry Marsden for also opening intellectual horizons to the theoretical resources on sustainability and for encouraging me to approach rural studies systematically. I am also grateful to Kevin Morgan who made me see the interest of committed and engaged analysis.

Among the persons who unknowingly had a positive influence on my research, I would like to mention Hilkka Vihininen, who I first met in Trondheim in 2004; through her work, I started to see potential development in analysing what at that time appeared as a large collection of amorphous empirical materials. I thank my long-time friend Linda Trautman for sharing with me her own Ph.D. endeavour so that I did never feel too alone in the process. I thank also my numerous colleagues from the FAO and other organisations, including many committed, engaged members of civil society organisations; all of these were sources of information and reflections throughout the research process.

Finally, I thank my husband, Bob Sonnabend, for sharing the enjoyment and singularity of a life style with no traditional vacations, and with weekends devoted to research and writing; above all, for his emotional support and his interest in listening to the considerations arising from the research during our walks in the streets of Rome at the end of a day's work.

ACRONYMS

AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Acts
AFTA	Arab Free Trade Association
AoA	Agreement on Agriculture
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CCC	Commodity Credit Corporation
CEB	Committee of the Executive Board
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CIRAD	Centre de Coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement
COAG	Committee on Agriculture
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
EC	European Community
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
EEP	Export Enhancement Program
EMPRES	Emergency Prevention System for Transboundary Animals, Plants, Pest Diseases
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
IATP	Institute for Agricultural Trade Policy
ICA	International Commodity Agreements
IFA	International Fertilizer Association
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IICA	Instituto Interamericano de Cooperación Agrícola
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INRA	Institut national de la recherche agronomique
IPC	International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty
IPGRI	International Plant Genetic Resources Institute
IPPC	International Plant Protection Convention
IPR	Intellectual Property Right
ISEAL	International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labelling
ISO	International Standards Organisation
MFA	Multifunctional agriculture
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NTC	Non-Trade Concern
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OIE	Office International des Epizooties
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIE	Office International des Epizooties
PAIA	Priority Area for Interdisciplinary Action
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication
PIC	Prior Informed Consent
ROA	Roles of Agriculture
ROPPA	Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs agricoles de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
RTA	Regional Trade Agreements
SARD	Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development
SOFA	State of Food and Agriculture
SPFS	Special Programme for Food Security
TNC	Transnational Corporations
TSG	Traditional Specialty Guaranteed
UACES	University Association of Contemporary European Studies
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation
UNGLS	United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WAICENT	World Agriculture Information Centre
WCO	World Customs Organisation
WFP	World Food Programme
WFS	World Food Summit
WFS:*fyl*	World Food Summit: five years later
WHO	World Health Organisation
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

The thesis is a systematic enquiry of discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation generated during the period 2000–2005, in the context of the trade negotiations, in support of special policy measures for agriculture, beyond those allowed by the WTO Agreement on Agriculture. I refer in particular to the discourses on multifunctional agriculture, multiple roles of agriculture, food security, food sovereignty and sustainable agriculture and rural development. Related to these are the perspectives generated on the structural changes occurring in the agriculture sector and on food consumption.

The period corresponds with the vociferous introduction of alternative discourses highlighted in Seattle and to the continuation of the agriculture negotiations. The research has investigated how discourses are built and how they contribute to the construction of the policy problem, as yet far from closure, on whether, why and to what extent agriculture should deserve special treatment. It has chosen as case studies intergovernmental organisations such as WTO and the FAO, in view of their mandates, a supranational organisation such as the European Commission and transnational civil society organisations, namely organisations with an international outreach or which are part of transnational networks; the latter have been restricted to those organisations which have been interacting with the FAO and WTO. Both the EC and transnational civil society organisations have been selected in the light of their significant contribution to the formation of the discourses.

1.1. Rationale of the Study

The Agreement on Agriculture, arrived at after lengthy negotiations in 1993, aimed at reducing distortions in agricultural trade caused by protectionist policies. Its three policy pillars – reduction of restrictions on market access, of domestic support policies

and of export subsidies – are the instrument for the reduction of such distortions expected to lead to increases in world output and to benefits for the world economy. The three policy pillars rested on the economic rationale of the comparative advantage principle, whereby countries would specialise in producing the good the production cost of which in terms of other goods is lower in that country than it is in other countries.

Through Article 20, the Agreement on Agriculture also envisaged scope for governments to pursue "non-trade concerns" originally listed as "food security and the need to protect the environment" (WTO, 1999:33). A Conference on non-trade concerns was held in 1999; this lay the ground for the submission of a note to WTO by 38 countries where agriculture was depicted as fulfilling many functions – not only production of food and fiber – and calling therefore for special measures to enable it to continue to fulfil such functions. These varied from country to country and included a heterogeneous list inclusive of protection of the environment, the sustained vitality of rural communities, food safety and other consumer concerns, including animal welfare (WTO, 2000a:29). The common characteristic of such non-trade concerns is that they are not reducible to being analysed through the economics perspective as they refer to the non-market aspects of agricultural production. They can, however, be analysed in economic terms if specified in terms of goods, services or income distribution. The question is whether such non-trade concerns can be accommodated with the support to agriculture envisaged in the Green Box[1] or whether additional subsidies are required; in other words, whether the support is distorting trade or not.

Progressively, the argumentations on such functions in various fora acquire labels such as multifunctional agriculture, roles of agriculture, food security, food sovereignty, sustainable agriculture and rural development. These are elaborated into definitions which, invariably, as a first step deal with the very meaning of what constitutes agriculture, followed by the reasons for, and in some cases the extent of, desirable

[1] The Green Box of WTO allows a number of direct payment schemes which subsidise farmers' incomes without influencing production decisions, such as environmental protection programmes, regional assistance programmes, or provision of research, training and extension services, of basic rural infrastructure or marketing information.

protection. Protection is advocated in order to preserve certain functions or roles whose existence would be threatened by trade liberalisation.[2] More generally, it is feared that trade liberalisation may contribute to shrinking the agricultural sector that in turn, by inducing specialisation in production, may result in smaller rural communities and the disappearance of local farming systems and of local foods.

The comparative advantage principle, as a basis of the policies of the Agreement on Agriculture, is questioned given the changes that are occurring in the agro-food sector. These refer to profound structural changes in production and processing occurring through large transnational corporations which are changing the nature of the trade flows and characteristics; they are no longer based on transactions between countries on the basis of their endowments, but rather are part of an integrated global market with movements of capital, raw and semi-processed goods, final products and consumer retail services. These diminish the importance of natural endowments in determining comparative advantage.

Thus, also agriculture is witnessing a shift from internationalisation to globalisation, namely a shift from trade based on arm's length relationships between countries exporting their own manufactured products to trade based on sub-component products and services, dominated by large and concentrated industries and accompanied by large flows of capital movements impinging on countries' exchange rates. These changes are also at the origin of the phenomenon of the convergence of diets worldwide towards western diets; these imply health problems on a global scale in view of increased consumption of fats, sugar and processed foods. They also imply increases in production of the commodities constitutive of the diets, primarily wheat for direct human consumption and for animal feed, putting pressure on the natural resource base and raising systemic sustainability concerns. Systemic risks are also generated by the increased openness of countries and uncertainties surrounding developments in biological sciences. Concomitantly with these developments, a new element driving the

[2] Liberalisation is understood as concerning whether regulations discriminate against foreign suppliers. This is different from deregulation whereby governments reduce at the national level the extent of regulation they impose on a sector (Hodge, 2002 referenced in FAO, 2003a:33).

negotiations is the new ethical, social and environmental concerns by consumers in rich countries.

The rationale of the research stems from the paradox that although agriculture is a diminishing part of the economy worldwide and constitutes a small part of international trade, it continues to be a most contentious issue in the trade negotiations. It is a sector where the dissonance between the trade theory and the realities of the negotiations are most acute and where varying policy discourses are generated, namely "...problematic situations are converted to policy problems, agendas are set, decisions are made and actions are taken" (Rein and Schon, 1993:145). Agriculture is also the sector where the so-called non-trade concerns, considered a residual category, progressively appear to become the core of the contentions and to suggest that it is consumption and not only production issues that are driving the negotiations.

1.2 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

The aim of the research has been to explore how discourses are built and how they become resources for the construction of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation.

Four main questions guided the research; their rationale is provided below:

1. *What are the discourses built in multilateral organisations like the FAO and WTO, in a supranational organisation like the European Commission (EC) and among transnational civil society organisations, in relation to the original formulation of the policy problem of trade liberalisation in the Agreement on Agriculture?* The WTO Agreement on Agriculture sets out the policies for reducing distortions in international trade, namely policies for increasing market access, reducing domestic support and export subsidies. These are based on the principle of comparative advantage, meant to result in increased world trade and increased benefits to the world economy. Implementation of these policies is not as straightforward as the

problem formulation would imply; there is resistance to a completely liberalised agriculture, and debates and arguments are put forward to support domestic protection of agriculture, expanding beyond the support allowed by the Green Box.

2. *How did they become discourses?* The dynamics of discourse construction is illustrated in detail. A systematic review of a broad range of documentary evidence has been made and has revealed the various fora and arena where cognitive, emotional and moral matrices are built to enhance the persuasiveness and lasting characteristics of the discourses.

3. *How do they exert influence over the construction of the policy problem?* The political arena provides directions to the fora in building and disseminating the knowledge for a different formulation of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation. It then uses such knowledge to strengthen the political stand and to enforce the discourses in the political arena.

4. *Which are the disciplines and theoretical approaches sustaining the different discourses?* The original policy problem formulation of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture is driven by classical economics. The debates surrounding the formation of the discourses are fed by other disciplines and theoretical approaches. The resulting theoretical resources battle for pre-eminence and for breaking the monopoly of economics as sole problem owner, highlighting the complexity of agriculture and the range of disciplines called for by such complexity.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis and Chapter Summaries

The dissertation includes ten chapters, covering three main parts: a first part composed of two chapters providing the introduction and the theoretical background to discourse analysis, the research approach and methods as well as the theoretical resources sustaining the discourses. The second part with three chapters covers the overall context of the discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation, namely the situation of

agriculture that led to its inclusion in the Uruguay Round, the main actors in agriculture and an overview of their main perspectives. The third part includes the chapters on the FAO, WTO, the EC and civil society organisations, as case studies. Conclusions and an epilogue follow. The structure can be seen in its entirety in Box 1.1.

Box 1.1 Thesis structure

Parts of the thesis	Chapter	Topic
Preface		
Introduction, Theory and Research Strategy	1	Introduction
	2	Theoretical framework and research approach and methods
General Context	3	The context: developments in agriculture, agricultural trade and changes in the making
	4	The actors, policies and institutions
	5	How agriculture and trade liberalisation are talked about by the different actors
Case Studies	6	Case study: FAO
	7	Case study: WTO
	8	Case study: EC
	9	Case study: Transnational civil society organisations
Conclusions	10	Summary of research and conclusions
Epilogue		

Following this introduction, the *second chapter* of this dissertation covers the theoretical framework, epistemology and ontology arrived at through the analysis of the discourses. It highlights the policy science orientation followed, and it situates the elements adopted from a combination of a constructive interpretive structuralist approach and from a critical approach to discourse analysis. It presents the research approach and methods followed, including the choice of the case studies. The arguments composing the discourses were traced through thematic readings of a variety of textual and other materials, the identification of which led to their organisation through the heuristic frameworks of fora and arena. The fora and arena identified were the organisational forum, the political arena, the technical forum, the popular forum and the moralising forum. These are places where cognitive and normative matrices become built, according to each forum and arena's rules and conventions. The research deliberately focused on the textual materials; semi-structured interviews were left for

verification of the findings and for their interpretation. The chapter also elaborates on the theoretical resources used to support, contrast or add more argumentations to the original economics-driven policy problem formulation of agriculture and trade liberalisation. These have included policy sciences, economics, management and business studies, anthropology and sociology; the latter being the most significant discipline, together with economics. The chapter ends with critical observations on the methodology and the robustness of the findings.

The *third chapter* provides an overview on the situation of food and agriculture, dating back to the post-war period, thus tracing the trends and developments that led to the Uruguay Round. It reports on agricultural trade flows in global trade and by region thus setting the trade negotiations in context, while also covering the changes occurring in agriculture with increased globalisation. These include the evolution of farming systems worldwide, the structural changes occurring with progress in biological sciences, the increased concentration in the food industry, the systemic risks generated by increased openness of countries and the shift of agriculture from internationalisation to globalisation. The changes also refer to the convergence in food consumption patterns which have implications for health on a global scale as well as for the pressure on the natural resource base of the commodities on which the diets are based, given the growing demand for food by a rising world population. The chapter also reports on the new ethical, social and environmental demands placed by consumers on food and agricultural products.

The *fourth chapter* reviews the growth of intergovernmental organisations dealing with agriculture since the Second World War, following the failure to bring policy and regulatory functions for agriculture under one or few organisations. It describes the rounds of negotiations as the mechanism for progressive trade liberalisation as well as the main landmarks of the global summits and conferences particularly since the 1990s. The chapter reviews the agricultural policies of the main contenders of the negotiations affected by such policies, the USA and Europe, also showing briefly those followed by developing countries. The chapter also documents the increasing number of other actors impinging upon policies and regulations in agriculture, such as transnational

corporations and civil society organisations, epistemic communities, global policy networks and think-tanks.

The *fifth chapter* identifies the main perspectives on agriculture before and after the start of the Uruguay Round, resulting from the work of intergovernmental organisations and from other fora. It reviews the conceptualisations of agriculture by intergovernmental and supranational organisations, focusing particularly on multifunctionality and non-trade concerns as elaborated through the negotiations. It also includes their technical and policy perspectives on the concepts of multiple roles of agriculture and sustainable agricultural and rural development. Alternative perspectives by epistemic communities and non-state actors are also reported. The chapter concludes with the identification of two major streams of perspectives which fight their way to become policy discourses: a first set of perspectives which become negotiated and attempt to be 'legitimised' in intergovernmental fora, such as multifunctional agriculture, multiple roles of agriculture, food security, food sovereignty and sustainable agriculture and rural development (SARD); a second set of perspectives developed in parallel by the epistemic communities and other non-state actors focused on food and on the structural changes in agriculture and on consumption patterns. Through this overview I identified the case studies of WTO, the FAO, the EC and transnational civil society organisations and began to see the different fora and arena constructing the policy discourses.

The *sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth chapters* are devoted to the case studies of WTO, the FAO, the EC and transnational civil society organisations, respectively. The heuristic framework of fora and arena is applied to each of these organisations or set of organisations, providing the empirical basis for the summary of findings, synthesis and conclusions of the final chapter.

The *tenth and final chapter* has a comparative analysis of the findings from the fora and arena of the case studies and highlights the interconnectedness between intergovernmental organisations, supranational institutions and national governments and civil society organisations. It draws conclusions on the paradigm shift, notes the

research limitations and points to directions for further research. The findings point to paradigmatic shifts diverging from the policy discourse of the Agreement on Agriculture with the elaborations made in the technical and political fora on national food production and local food systems through the concepts of food security by the FAO, culturally and territorially grounded agriculture by the EC and food sovereignty by transnational civil society organisations. This goes along with the progressive problematisation of the principle of comparative advantage to explain contemporary trade flows and characteristics. The popular and moralising fora do not support with vigour these paradigmatic shifts while the organisational forum is revealing of the interconnectedness between intergovernmental, supranational and transnational civil society organisations. The weak organisational forum of WTO is at the origin of the absence of alternative policy discourses and of interactive discursive practices with actors other than government representatives. The organisational forum also shows how the discursive practices themselves affect the content of the policy discourse and are becoming a constitutive element of policy-making. The fora and arena demonstrate the displacement of the technical forum as the sole legitimate source of analysis, and within it the progressive 'deinstitutionalisation' of economics and academia as the sole 'problem owners' pointing to the co-construction of the policy discourse by experts, politicians and non-experts from transnational civil society organisations. This applies to all organisations, except for WTO, to which the greatest regulatory power is attributed by the present governance architecture.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The chapter reviews the concepts and theories on discourse analysis and situates the epistemology and ontology arrived at during the research process. It describes the research approach and methods used for the empirical investigations. In addition, the chapter also reviews the theoretical frameworks and associated disciplines sustaining the various discourses, such theoretical frameworks being part of the resources used in the battling of discourses.

2.1 Discourse Analysis, Epistemology and Ontology

The literature review served to identify the broad argumentations on agriculture and trade liberalisation, beyond those I was aware of in my work, driven by economics. Progressively, I came across the repetition and elaborations of some of these argumentations and discovered that they could be interpreted as discourses, as first defined by Potter and Whetherell (1987:7) namely as "...all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds". The social construction of reality by the discourses became clear with the conceptualisation of discourse by Parker (1992 referenced in Phillips and Hardy, 2002:3) "...as an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being". As I progressed in the research, I found Hajer's (1995:43) definition of discourse best corresponding to what I had been doing through the research, namely "...a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities". The interest of both Parker's and Hajer's definitions is that it draws attention to the dynamics of discourse construction, namely to "...the process of creating an inter-subjective reality through a deliberative process in

which one hopes to convince others of one's own 'truth' or vision of the world" (Radaelli and Schmidt, 2004:366).

The focus of the research has thus been to document what gets "talked about" (Johnston, 2002 referenced in Balsiger, 2002) and how through discourses individual or corporate actors "...take up subject positions and identities, create relations to one another and construct worldviews" (Stone, 2001). A parallel focus has been the investigation of the discursive practices and interactive processes through which discourses were formed and communicated for public legitimation. By the latter it is intended both the "elite processes of policy formulation and the mass processes of communication and deliberation with informed and general publics" (Radaelli and Schmidt, 2004).

The analysis of discourses in this research has a policy science orientation. Discourses help to see how an issue becomes defined as a policy problem in the first place. The discourses that are generated are constituted by, and are constitutive of, knowledge which succeeds in conceptualising the policy problem; this becomes then 'institutionalised', as the dominant discourse associated with a certain stability of meaning over time and as such guiding policies. I share Majone's argument that discourse serves three ex post functions: "...it provides conceptual foundations for what would otherwise appear a series of disjointed decisions; it institutionalises ideas; and it makes communication among the players possible, thus transforming one-shot games into iterated games" (Majone 1989). As such, discourses could also be understood as the 'ideological packages' which Klandermans (1988 referenced in Balsiger, 2002) attributed to interpretive processes consisting of the diagnosis of a problem, the prognosis of a solution and the motivation to action.

There are various approaches to conduct discourse analysis as found in empirical studies, including social linguistic analysis, interpretive structuralism, critical discourse analysis and critical linguistic analysis. They fall under the main perspective of social constructivism and critical studies, both of them useful in setting and analysing the historical and cultural context of knowledge production behind the discourses and in

tracing their link with social action. The social constructivist perspective enables to build "fine-grained explorations of the way a particular social reality has been constructed" (Phillips and Hardy, 2002:20). Critical approaches, from critical theory and in particular drawing on the work of Foucault on the relation between power and knowledge, highlight the power dynamics behind the knowledge construction and the discursive practices. As noted by Feindt and Oels (2005:363) Foucaultian-influenced approaches "focus on the linguistic and pragmatic production of meaning". These share the view that discourses do not just depict and describe reality but are constitutive of the reality they describe and that also discourse, like all other social interactionism, is enmeshed in power relations. Foucaultian approaches also view discourse as a situation which is formative of the actors themselves who through discourses can construct their subjectivity, intended both as passive recipients of power relations and as active shapers of the same power relations. The non-Foucaultian approaches relate to symbolic interactionism which views human beings and society deeply steeped in action and to be analysed in terms of actions performed (Blumer, 1969).

Social constructivist and critical approaches are not to be viewed as dichotomic but rather as a continuum with varying degree of emphasis placed on the process of discourse construction per se or on the dynamics of power and diffusion of ideology surrounding or at the base of the discourses. All approaches share some common characteristics, qualified as strengths by Feindt and Oels (2005:363), such as: 1) they recognize the role of language in shaping policies; 2) they are wary about "claims of a single rationality and objective truth"; 3) they view knowledge as "contingent and principally contestable"; 4) they are interested in identifying dominant bias effects of given types of language and knowledge; 5) they relate the use of language and knowledge to the exercise of power; 6) they are interested in "practices (i.e. professional and everyday practices) as constitutive of power relations and knowledge systems"; and 7) they are interested in "democratizing knowledge production and policy making".

While sharing the assumptions of discourse analysis on the constructive effects of language, the research has not focused on the dissection and deconstruction of texts as called for by socio-linguistic discourse analysis. Also, the research has not used

rhetorical analysis, namely the analysis of the persuasive effectiveness of a given argumentation in the tradition of Stephen Toulmin (1958), Kenneth Burke (1959/1969) and Perelman (1982), even though sharing the view that 'we talk of policy problems with words' as described by Deborah Stone (1997). Nor has it used content analysis, in that it was deemed unnecessary and too mechanistic.

The research has rather focused on the themes dealt with in the discourses related to agriculture and trade liberalisation as well as on the analysis of the context and of the discursive practices of the actors reviewed. The research process has led to adopting a constructivist interpretative structuralist approach, in that it found it necessary to elaborate on the social context, namely on the organisations' structures and functioning which enabled or impeded the development of discourses. It soon became evident that discourses are constructed in a political environment made by people and organisations with varying resources, be they financial, intellectual or informational. As clearly pointed out by Radaelli and Schmidt (2004) discourse "is always situated in broader institutional contexts, with institutions and culture framing the discourse, defining the repertoire of acceptable (and expectable) actions". In this sense, the research has paid attention to how discourses became structured and were the result of in institutional arrangements.

The research has also resulted in the partial adoption of critical discourse analysis approaches in that its results show the dialogic struggles for asserting, disseminating and giving stability to a given discourse among the different organisations reviewed and also the struggle among the theoretical resources used by the transnational epistemic communities. These are defined as "... a network of knowledge-based experts or groups with an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within he domain of their expertise. Members hold a common set of causal beliefs and share notions of validity based on internally defined criteria for evaluation, common policy projects, and shared normative commitments" (Haas, 1992). They are not only from the research and academic community but include also practitioners and thinkers from NGOs and other organisations; they lend their expertise to national governments and to intergovernmental organisations. The research also shows how the very definition of a

public policy issue can be related to specific 'problem owners' and how these impose their definition and construction of the policy problem onto others. In particular, unexpectedly, the research documents how the theoretical frameworks of the epistemic communities became used as part of the repertoire of the dialogic struggles in the assertion and dominance of particular discourses. Given the focus of the research on the processes of social construction, the research has not explored in-depth the relationship between power and knowledge nor the benefits gained or disadvantages incurred by the actors through the discourses, as a fully-fledged critical discourse analysis approach would call for (Fairclough, 1995).

The five-year time period chosen the research from 2000 to 2005 is a very limited time frame in the discourses when compared with those first identified through the literature review. This time frame was determined on the basis of several considerations. First of all it corresponds to the post-1999 Seattle Ministerial Conference that spurred the attention to alternative discourses in global governance. It also corresponds to the years where multifunctionality and other argumentations on agriculture became intensified in that they became part of the debate set contextually in the WTO trade negotiations. The time frame was also decided as part of my research methodology where I was very concerned in ensuring that the discourses I would be documenting would not be "...free-floating ideas...largely non-falsifiable" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999:11); that is not grounded in empirical data.

With the five-year time frame I could apply a rigorous research approach and methods, as illustrated in the following section. Along with the rigour and accuracy enabled by the time frame, the thesis scope became restricted and the longer-term tendencies of the discourses that the literature review had identified could not be similarly substantiated. A longer-term discourse perspective could have embraced the period starting from the inclusion of agriculture in the Uruguay Round of negotiations in 1986, with agriculture becoming a recognized integral part of globalisation, and as such debated and discussed in different fora.

2.2 Research Approach and Methods

Personal Positioning

This research was spurred by my interest in understanding a process in which I was directly involved in FAO, as senior officer in charge of a programme for building the capacity of developing countries' officials in the agricultural trade negotiations. My motivation was to acquire a perspective beyond the economics-driven formulation of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation and to explore the why and how of the alternative positions I had encountered in my work, primarily through civil society organisations. This implied that I could not carry out the research as part of my official duties.

I undertook the research as part of a personal quest for knowledge and sense making; I used my vacation time, weekends and special leave periods. Nevertheless, the research co penetrated both my personal and professional life. My days at work became vivid experiencing – if I may borrow a poetic expression – a 'phosphorence of learning' provided by every piece of information that came across my desk, my computer and through personal contacts with colleagues and consultants. I started problematising what I had been used to consider routine and take for granted, analysing anew and building intellectual courage with the help of the theories I was learning. All of this added a new reflexive and thinking dimension to my workday and gave me the intellectual freedom I was looking for to explore beyond what I perceived as the hegemonic boundaries of economics. Pursuing this independence from my work context also contributed to determining the research method and approaches I followed.

Literature Review and the Case Studies

The literature review and the identification of the argumentations on agriculture and trade liberalisation that were constructed and used as discourses led to discovering the organisations which I used as case studies. I started tracing the arguments on agriculture and trade liberalisation and found that a dominant role was being played by the FAO,

WTO, the EC and transnational civil society organisations. The reasons for their selection have to do also with the mandate of the organisations, their intergovernmental (the FAO and WTO) or supranational nature (the EC) which impinges on how discourses are constructed and arrived at and their presence in the trade negotiations debate, as in the case of transnational civil society organisations. I reviewed their argumentations, the dynamics through which they became discourses and exercised influence on the policy problem construction.

Thematic Reading

The work of Hilkka Vihinen (2001) was a useful guide on the methodology. Following her example, I used 'thematic reading' to study how these organisations talked about the topic of agriculture and trade liberalisation. I observed Latour's precept "follow scientists and engineers at work" (Latour, 1987:142) and systematically reviewed textual and other materials produced and their utilisation. Linking the thematic reading to the individual organisations highlighted their practices in producing varying resources, in communicating them and in wanting to gain pre-eminence and distinctiveness. The thematic reading of the discourses benefited from a reiterative process I relied on, fed by empirical findings and theoretical arguments which, in turn, led to other findings and new theories. The research has been inductive in nature and theory building.

It is through the thematic reading that I identified the paradigms related to agriculture and to trade liberalisation. I understood paradigm in the Kuhnian's meaning of a set of scientific assumptions and methods as practiced by disciplines and, by extension, as system of thought dominating in a given time and society (Kuhn, 1962). More concretely, in the research I understood paradigm as an inclusive research perspective comprising a theory, a set of methods and tools, an understanding of the empirical data of relevance and of the best method to interpret them (Green and Walsh, 1988). It is against this latter definition that I argue about the paradigm shifts occurring through

discourses in the very concept of agriculture and in the policy problem of agricultural trade liberalisation.

Corpus of Materials

The concepts and empirical findings of the sociology of science, in particular the studies of scientific fact construction by Latour and Callon have guided the thematic reading. At the beginning, I started gathering the official statements and positions of the organisations, as these had been prepared with a specific communication purpose. Very soon in the research process, I realized the variety of documentary sources that the organisations were using and came to the conclusion that I could not limit my analysis to the official statements and positions only. I found that the organisations had several communication channels aimed at different audiences and therefore included other types of textual and other communication materials and devices.

In line with the original motivation of the research which had been spurred by the need to understand alternative views, I started reviewing all types of documentary evidence, including declarations, statements in forewords of publications, flagship publications, technical reports and studies resulting from meetings, evaluations, texts of speeches, press releases, web pages; electronic news bulletins, electronic community fora, leaflets and study-action packets. In addition to this heterogeneous set of materials, I also found that the organisations as part of their strategies for aligning public opinion, were communicating through consumer goods, events and campaigns. Drawing from the work of Urry on the physical environment being determined by, and at the same time contributing to determining, ideas in an organisation, given that "...the human and physical worlds are elaborately intertwined and cannot be analysed separately from each other" (Urry, 2000:14). I also looked at building characteristics and symbols, whenever found of relevance.

In order to create the distance I needed between my direct professional involvement in work related to the trade negotiations, I decided to focus on documentary evidence and

not on evidence gathered through interviews. This was necessary on the one hand to silence all the informal information I had about the process, the negotiators and the way argumentations were made by the bureaucracies. On the other hand, I wished to focus on the reality as created by the aggregation of resources built by the organisations excluding therefore the intentionality of individual actors which I would have captured through the interviews. In the process I reviewed the theoretical literature that enabled me to frame conceptually the types of documentary evidence, the communicative activities and other information devices encountered, such as textual materials, events, campaigns, artefacts and consumer goods.

Documents

Documents as expressed by Latour (1990) in his essay 'Drawing things together', enable to 'draw together' to 'muster' facts and materials in ways that are persuasive. They have been defined as a technology of power (Harper, 1998) in that they create and sustain meanings and identities in organisations. They are omnipresent in the life of organisations and they are 'immutable' as suggestively expressed by Latour. However, since they are photocopied, circulated, distributed they are also 'mobile', thus becoming 'immutable mobiles' (Latour 1990:44–45). By their being on the web we could add that they are also virtual immutable mobiles. Whether materially consistent or virtual, documents are used as one of the intermediaries that actors put in circulation (Callon, 1992); it is through documents that politicians, government officials and experts can turn an issue into a policy problem and, if convincing and persuasive enough, can become the 'owners' of a policy problem definition and impose it onto others.

Documents become the vehicle, particularly suitable in the political, popular and moralising forum, for story-lines, intended in the sense of Hajer, as "metaphors that allow the unfolding and explanation of complex issues, or also the discursive closure of a policy problem" (Hajer, 1995). This was found a useful concept in the research where the original simple story line of trade liberalisation having a positive effect on agricultural production was disputed in the fora and arenae reviewed thus becoming progressively more complex. According to Hajer, as 'story-lines' become defined and

accepted, they coalesce more and more actors around them; these expand their understanding of the issues at stake beyond their own personal competencies and experience. The repetition of the story-lines generates rituality and certain stability in the interpretations and ultimately, according to Hajer, story-lines " ...play an important role in the creation of a social and moral order in a given domain" (Hajer, 1995:64).

The variety of documents reviewed shows the different purposes and logics of the documents, e.g. political statements and declarations meant to be persuasive and to elicit immediate positive emotions, technical documents intended to be factual and pursuing scientific truth and intellectual innovation, documents for the general public meant to align the readers through positive emotions and moral positions. Documents represent therefore a way for presenting and justifying a given position or fact and for stabilising knowledge around the fact; in addition, they can embed rituals and symbols that induce emotional attachments to the fact the way it is presented.

Events and campaigns

The power of documents is reverberated through events and campaigns where documents can either become one of the devices to create resonance around a policy problem or, more importantly, want to become the definitive piece in the definition of the problem. This latter case refers to the declarations and statements which are prepared, negotiated and agreed to in the summits and conferences, such as the WTO Ministerial Meetings or the World Food Summit and its follow up event five years later. These have a particularly strong ritual and symbolic meaning and epitomize what Callon has called the 'hybrid forums', i.e. public spaces where the "divide between specialists and laypersons is redistributed" (Callon et al., 2002). The public participation in these events allows what Eyerman and Jamison (1991 referenced in Hajer, 1995) have called the 'cognitive praxis' of social movements and individual citizens. Such "grands spectacles" are there to demonstrate not only the need to communicate to the public and to align the public around the policy problem definition, but they are also a tacit recognition that knowledge, and its legitimation, derives from ordinary citizens and not only from experts. The events also show the increasing self-reflexivity of

organisations, as noted by Urry. The events and campaigns use devices other than documents to "draw things together" and to persuade, relying on communications borrowed from marketing in the business world. Thus, also artists and celebrities, such as actors, actresses, football players, become testimonials in the global food system scene. As noted by Geertz (2000:74) they become a most important group of actors in creating what he calls "historical narratives" which "...serve to develop a modify a group's self image by for example apotheosizing its heroes, diabolizing its enemies, mounting dialogues among its members, and refocusing its attention". In other words, they add a mythical aura to the 'story-lines'.

Artefacts and consumer goods

The production of artefacts and consumer goods as supporting devices to enrol others and create attachments and symbolic meanings has also been considered drawing from the work of Urry. He highlighted the tendency from use of textual material to increased mediatisation with images and emotions through internet, the media industry, mega events and consumer purchases noting that "social relations are made and remade through machines, technologies, objects, texts, images, physical environments and so on." (Urry, 2000:14). In some cases, the buildings of the organisations considered in the research have also been included in the analysis as part of the physical environment which influences thinking through its architectural characteristics and its symbols, thus considering the intertwining between the human and the physical world, humans and objects similarly to society and nature.

Concluding remarks

I proceeded systematically to the collection of data and information as deriving from various sources; I was able to follow a systematic approach more rigorously for some of the materials and less so for the 'lay arena' of documentation, i.e. the unofficial documents or devices or consumer goods. During the research process, the nature and characteristics of the communications became problematised. While the documents are an attempt to stabilize meanings, their circulation and the circulation of other

communication devices mean that the traditional communication model on which they were relying (sender–message–channel–recipient) becomes subverted. It is not only the sender that defines the meaning; rather this changes and is defined and redefined by both the producers and the recipients through the circulation of documents and other devices and through the accompanying events, campaigns, testimonials, fora and other discursive practices. In this research, the policies enshrined in the legal texts of the Agreement on Agriculture constitute the core problem definition followed or contrasted by other documents, with the policy problem construction being in a constant flux, some documents and events representing strong punctuations attempting to give some temporal stability to the definitions.

The variety of resources used became a heterogeneous corpus of materials which led to the consideration that knowledge is no longer in the sole purview of professional experts and researchers; these no longer have the monopoly over authorised or legitimate discourse. Many other voices concur to the construction of knowledge, including the voices of lay persons and bureaucracies as shown in this research. The heterogeneity avoided being just an assembly of amorphous materials by the heuristic device of fora and arenae which I found during the research process. This heuristic framework also provided the criteria for the selection of materials.

The Heuristic Framework of Fora and Arenae

The heuristic framework made of fora and arenae proved very useful in generating and organising the data for the period 2000–2005. The key arguments for potential changes or adjustments to the policy pillars of the Agreement on Agriculture could be organised according to their communication pursuit, as offered by the following fora and arena:

1. *Organisational structure forum*: the way the organisation is structured, its changes in the structure, its governance, how it labels its own work units and its physical environment. The sources of evidence were organigrams, the structure of the buildings, documents on their governance system and functioning.

2. *Political arena*: the locus of political struggles, bargaining and legitimation. This arena includes political statements, texts of speeches and forewords of publications.

3. *Scientific or technical forum*: this forum builds the scientific and technical knowledge which can then be used by the other fora and the political arena. A systematic review was made of documents which the organisations presented as their vehicle for communicating within and among themselves and as their intellectual resources to assert their perspective. These documents were either prepared by their staff or by the epistemic communities that revolve around these organisations.

4. *Popular forum*: it includes communications to the general public through various media including written texts, web, consumer goods, events; global events such as Summits and WTO Interministerial Conferences have also become popular fora, in addition to their being the quintessential political global arena for legitimation.

5. *Moralising forum*: documents were reviewed on prizes, awards, campaigns and involvement of eminent persons with intellectual and moral prestige.

These fora and arena represent a personal elaboration based on the work of Jones (1995), Jobert (1992; 1995) and Callon (1992). Jones had identified four arenas of knowledge creation and dissemination: the popular arena addressed to the general public, the political arena where individuals and political parties engage in political struggle, the academic arena pursuing research excellence and the lay arena involving everyday life communications, both intentional or incidental. Jobert (1994 referenced in Muller, 2003:51) in the study of policy making had identified the economists' scientific forum, the political communication forum, and the community of public policy. Fora are therefore the places – both physical or virtual – where individuals who are part of organisations or epistemic communities interact in the generation of ideas; arena, in this case the political arena, is the place where the policy actors "with the power to

formulate policy engage one another in a co-ordinative discourse, fed by the ideas of the fora" (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004).

I have added the organisational and moralising forum. The organisational forum covers on the one hand the tacit knowledge embedded in the organisational structure, the labels created by the organisations, their physical environment and the symbol they create and use; on the other, it also covers the institutional functioning of the organisations, namely their ability to enable discursive and dialogic practices. The moralising forum hosts discourses which make recourse to moral responses, i.e. appealing to a sense of right and wrong. The *popular and moralising fora* reflect the developments that have started occurring from the 1990s with intergovernmental organisations following the same marketing communications as private companies, structuring their messages, following Kotler (Andreasen and Kotler, 1995), to elicit rational emotions in relation to costs and benefits, other positive or negative emotions and moral responses appealing to a sense of right and wrong.

The common factor in all the fora and arena is that they are places where new cognitive and normative matrices get built; each of them has its own functioning rules and its own pursuits. As elaborated by Jobert (1995 referenced in Muller, 2003:51), for example, the functioning rules and pursuits for the technical forum of the economists are academic excellence within existing paradigms but also researching intellectual innovation. The technical forum is the competing place for the epistemic communities. For the policy community the pursuit is to support policies that will facilitate their access to power, to reach a balance between global and sectoral concerns, between administrative and professional pursuits, including the identiterian component. The fora and arena exclude Jones' (1995) 'lay arena' that is all "intentional and incidental communication in our everyday lives" which in the life of an organisation could be equated with the myriad of internal communications, both oral and written, which fight their way for becoming part of the 'official' and public documents of the organisation. Later on it will be seen that even if excluded as an object of analysis, the lay arena may de facto be present in some of the fora cited above, by default or by information 'drifting', i.e. the inability to control messages and texts to the external world prepared and disseminated by the

"street level bureaucrats"[3]. This is the case of documents of lesser status, or not meant for 'official communications', intended to portray the position of an organisation, such as leaflets and reports conveying the views of a particular unit.

The fora can thus be seen as construction and communication of knowledge that includes the tacit knowledge embedded in the organisations' physical and organisational structures (the organisational forum), the knowledge created through scientific procedures (the technical forum), positive or negative emotions (the popular forum) and moral positions on what is good or bad, right or wrong (the moralising forum). The coexistence of the different fora and arenae, with their discursive practices, generate spaces for expressions by both the "experts" and the laypersons; they reveal that texts, broadly intended, were for both the outside and inside for sense making and providing guidance. Most importantly, the fora and arena made it possible to consider not only textual materials from codified research but a broad variety of other texts, including brochures, web pages and even consumer goods, thereby giving all texts equal ontological status.

The fora and arena with their constituent materials were analysed individually and in their networking interactions, as the case studies will show. Along with their being the spaces for knowledge generation and political bargaining, they are locus of policy networks formation, coalescing and battling. The organisational forum is the enabler of pluralist discourses; the political arena gives the themes to the technical forum to work on but also receives such themes from the same forum; the popular and moralising fora are more loosely related to the technical forum but also provide themes for elaboration to the technical forum. Hence, the fora and arena are interdependent with the actors exchanging resources in a network type of structure.

The framework of fora and arena also guided the selection of the corpus of materials used and made them comparable across organisations, as shown in Annex 1. For the

[3] 'Street level bureaucrats' refers to the concept developed by Lipski (1993) to highlight that bureaucrats do not just implement decisions but have the power to mould policies in their implementation and outcomes.

organisational forum it became soon evident that the founding materials were the constitutions or legal texts where the mandates of the organisations could be found. In order to understand the tacit knowledge embedded in the structures, research criteria were found in the organigrams and other documents related to the governing bodies and their functioning, the mission statements of the various departments, qualitative and quantitative information about the staff and official documents of the organisations on their own management practices and reforms. For the political arena the identification of criteria was arrived at very rapidly. Political statements were made recurrently through speeches and press releases and through statements delivered at the punctuating moments in the life of the organisations reviewed (e.g. biennial Conferences for FAO, the WTO Ministerial Meetings). Political statements were also considered the forewords in the publications considered as 'flagship publications' by the organisations, namely publications meant to represent the organisations' positions and perspectives. For civil society organisations, in addition, their position statements posted on the WTO website were considered a manifestation of the way they could participate in the political arena.

Selection criteria for the technical forum were only clarified after sifting through numerous materials and understanding their 'position' in the life of the organisations. Materials were thus selected on the basis of their recurrence, such as annual reports, flagship publications or reports of Conferences, Ministerial Meetings and other meetings during the years 2000-2005 singled out for their significance in relation to the discourses on multifunctionality, sustainable agricultural and rural development, roles of agriculture, food sovereignty and food security or food security. In addition, materials were selected which were intended for technical audiences on these same discourses. This led to a thorough review of the technical forum for each organisation and the identification of different types of technical communications by each organisation (the number of flagship publications published per year, the addition of a World Trade Review Journal to the communication modalities of WTO, the inclusion of an ethics series in FAO, glossaries, etc.). The political statements of the political arena were also considered when justified and backed by an explicitly stated technical content.

The popular forum became conceptualised as such after considering the communications in the web pages and the brochures to which I then added the consumer goods, that is a variety of materials such as t-shirts, wallets, ashtrays, pins, diaries, bags and general stationary articles, to which symbolic devices are added as publicity and reminders of the organisation and its goals. This entailed a systematic review of the organisations' web pages, brochures and their consumer goods as exhibited and sold. While for all textual materials a systematic approach could be followed throughout the research process, this was less the case for the consumer goods. For these a stocktaking was done in 2004 followed by my reviewing the goods at regular intervals of approximately four months. The moralising forum was also an unexpected discovery of the research, once I came across the campaigns, awards, medals and other ethically driven initiatives by the organisations.

In conclusion, through the fora and arena I was able to identify the criteria for selecting the materials; furthermore, the corpus of materials turned into a relatively limited and manageable set of resources, which could be researched and organised very systematically for each forum and arena for the period 2000–2005. The organisation of the data through the fora and arena enabled building bodies of texts and the analysis of the interconnectedness between the fora and arena, thus allowing the study of texts in their ensemble and not individually and in an isolated manner. Should the thesis have adopted a longer-time frame starting from agriculture's entry into the Uruguay Round in 1986, as discussed earlier, the criteria for the selection of materials would still have been the same. Nevertheless, the longer-time frame would have implied a further sifting through the materials and honing the categories of significance in order to make the research manageable.

Semi-structured Interviews

As part of the research process I also conducted nine semi-structured interviews (Annex 2). These were conceived for each actor, with a of flexible list of questions which differed for each of them. I retained however the flexibility of digressions whenever

topics or details of interest arose from the interaction. The interviews were not used as primary data but were conceived as complementary and as a supplement of the documentary materials in support of the primary data. They aimed at checking on the interpretation of the findings in relation to each of the organisations reviewed, on the accuracy of the documentation gathered and, in some cases, checking on the interviewees' own understanding of the theme of agriculture and trade liberalisation. The interviews also provided more insights on the context of the primary data. All interviews were conducted in person and in the language of the interviewees, English, Italian and French.

2.3 Theoretical Resources and Approaches in the Construction of the Policy Problem

Given that, as inherent in the nature of frameworks, these do not provide explanations or interpretations, I used theoretical orientations (ideas, assumptions and methodological approaches) drawn from social constructivism, in order to examine the construction of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation, as built substantively in the different fora and arena. This has helped me understand the process of knowledge construction for the definition of the policy problem, with its historical and cultural context determinants and its interpretative activities enacted in the different fora and arena. As mentioned earlier, social constructivism has also helped to see how public problems could be related to specific 'problem owners' and how these imposed their definition and construction of the policy problem onto others. These problem owners were found not only in the organisations selected as case studies but also in the influence exercised by the theoretical resources backed by the disciplinary approaches informing the actors' discourses, as built primarily by epistemic communities and as battled in the different fora and arena.

I discovered a set of theoretical approaches underlying the policy problem construction in the different fora and arena and used as an instrument of dialogic battles. These have included policy sciences, economics, management and business studies, anthropology and sociology, this latter being the most significant discipline together with economics.

Policy Studies

The first question addressed in the research process was to define the term policy, a term used very frequently and equally frequently taken for granted. We found that Majone's discussion of policies was the most meaningful for the aims of the research. According to Majone (1989:147) "Policy is not a self-defining phenomenon. There is no unique set of decisions, actors, and institutions constituting policy and waiting to be discovered and described. Rather, policy is an intellectual construct, an analytic category the contents of which must first be identified by the analyst. Hence, our understanding of a policy and its outcomes cannot be separated from the ideas, theories, and criteria by which the policy is analyzed and evaluated." It is such ideas, theories and criteria that are reviewed through the different fora and arena.

The ideas, theories and criteria constituting policies are also at the core of the concept of policy paradigm developed by Hall (1990:59 referenced in Stone et al., 2001) as "an overarching framework of ideas that structures policy making in a particular field" which is often largely taken for granted and rarely subject to scrutiny. This concept has been very useful for this research in that it has shown the prevailing policy paradigm of the beneficial effects deriving from trade liberalisation in agriculture drawn from neoclassical economics and the additional or rival elaborations fighting their way through. A very similar concept is the 'référentiel' developed by Jobert (1994 referenced in Muller, 2003) and Muller in their study of policy making in France. According to Muller (2003), the 'référentiel' or policy paradigm is defined as inclusive of four sets of elements: *basic values* or *norms* which form the basis for fundamental policy goals; some *algorithm* i.e. causal relationships which guide policy-makers in the selection of policy instruments and their deployment and *images* that help define a vision of the world. The interesting point about the *référentiel* is that it adds, with respect to Hall, the fact that through the *référentiel* groups build and assert their identity. The research has shown the multiplicity of identities subsumed under the different fora and arena; this is significant in that it shows the varying constituencies interested and concerned by agriculture.

Policy-making under policy paradigms or référentiel is characterised by long periods of incremental change, punctuated by brief periods of major change (Hall, 1990). Policy change can be analysed according to three orders. The first-order change occurs with limited adjustments to current policies. The second-order change and learning are generated by evaluative research and involve changes in the way objectives are pursued, without questioning the existing policy paradigm and orthodoxy. Third-order changes occur with the persistence of the policy problem despite the first and second-order changes made; problems are redefined, "new interpretative frameworks are developed and policy learning from external sources takes place". The research has not focused on policy change as such, but rather on the policy problem construction and found these three levels of analysis useful in framing the interpretations of the policy changes offered by the fora and arena.

The fora and arena can be seen as spaces for coalescing different constituencies around what Hajer has identified as an "interpretive activity" (Hajer, 1995) whereby actors build knowledge and battle with different or competing claims with respect both to the causal factors and the solutions of a given policy problem. In the process they help build new coalescing identities among themselves and among their stakeholders. It is out of the fragmentation of claims that some claims become grouped, more repeated, more convincing and shared, thus resulting in the accepted definition of the policy problem. This end-state is called by Hajer 'the discursive closure of policy problems', i.e. "defining a set of socially acceptable solutions for well-defined problems." This means that the problem has a definition that can be used for targeting policy, that it considers "social accommodation to contain the social conflict" (Hajer, 1995:22) and that it presents the remedy.

The theoretical frameworks of policy communities, policy networks and advocacy coalitions from policy studies were useful in finding and researching on the one hand the interconnectedness between the intergovernmental organisations identified, national governments, transnational epistemic communities and civil society organisations; on the other hand, they helped trace such interconnectedness through the fora and arena. The transnational epistemic communities for example were the main actors in building

the knowledge in the technical forum but it became soon evident that they did not remain confined to such forum but merged with the policy communities, that is a fairly stable network of actors interested in the policy issues of agricultural trade liberalisation and well integrated in the policy-making process of the organisations. Both the transnational epistemic and the policy communities operated through fluid networks which influenced policies through interaction and exchange of intellectual resources. In addition to the interaction between the political forum and the technical forum, the exchange of intellectual resources occurred in the popular and moralising fora, thereby feeding the advocacy by civil society organisations through their networks and coalitions, the latter defined by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999:120) as "...composed of people from various governmental and private organizations that both (1) share a set of normative and causal beliefs and (2) engage in a non trivial degree of coordinated activity over time".

In conclusion, the research has used the concepts of epistemic communities as constitutive of policy networks, intended as open organisational arrangements, without clearly defined boundaries, enabling the intermediation among actors (Moyer and Josling, 2002). It has not used formal network analysis to study the interconnectedness between intergovernmental organisations, national governments, transnational epistemic communities and civil society organisations and the relations between the different fora and arena. As aptly synthesised by John (1998:81), formal network analysis would have implied measuring the density of the relationships among the actors, identifying the centre of the networks, finding a common measurement for quantifying the distance among the actors and identifying and measuring the clusters of relationships. Such methodology pertaining to the study of policy networks was not followed in that the theoretical approach of policy networks itself was only loosely followed. This was due on the one hand to the focus of the research on the construction of the policy problem through the methodology of discourse analysis and not on the analysis of the policy networks per se; on the other hand, given the debated perspectives on the strength of the theoretical model behind policy networks (Marsh, 1998: Peters, 1998: Daugbjerg, 1998), formal network analysis was not found necessary for the aims of the research.

Economics

This section will show that it is the technical forum that has elaborated the trade agenda and within this the economics profession has dominated. It will also show that the non-trade concerns have opened the door to other argumentations and from being considered as residual have de facto assumed greater dimensions and overridden the economics perspective. The latter, however, has an evolutionary potential and continues to elaborate and to drive some of the most powerful argumentations.

It is the technical forum and the economists within it that have influenced the trade policy agenda, have promoted the paradigm of free trade both in developed and developing countries, have documented the costs of protection and the benefits accruing from trade liberalisation. Hence, economics has driven the debate directly, or has induced counterarguments to its theories by other disciplines which had to contend with its dominating position. The research shows that the technical forum of the economists is in a monopoly situation in WTO, it is also dominating the EC and the FAO; in these latter two, however, there are further elaborations from other disciplines and dissenting views. The dominance of the technical economist forum can also be found among some civil society organisations called 'reformist' in that they accept the policy paradigm of trade liberalisation. It is not to be found, however, among transnational civil society organisations part of social movements that dispute economics arguments, reject them or ignore them completely.

The trade policy liberalisation agenda rests firmly on the principle of comparative advantage. This is explained didactically in WTO web pages as "Simply put, the principle of "comparative advantage" says that countries prosper first by taking advantage of their assets in order to concentrate on what they can produce best, and then by trading these products for products that other countries produce best. In other words, liberal trade policies – policies that allow the unrestricted flows of goods and services – sharpen competition, motivate innovation and breed success. They multiply the rewards that result from producing the best products, with the best design, at the best price" (WTO, 2003b). In the words of a trade economist countries trade "in order to take

advantage of their differences" (Krugman, 1991:6). A more technical explanation states that "a country is said to have a comparative advantage in the commodity that it can produce and export at the highest return per unit of fixed factors of production (non-trade inputs such as land and labour) in a well-functioning world economy" (Tweeten, 1992:27).

Such formulations of the comparative advantage principle appear straightforwardly positive and make it difficult to understand the dissonance between economic theory and the obstacles encountered through the negotiations to apply the policies that would enable the realization of this principle. This principle is questioned on several grounds within the economics profession itself within its own disciplinary boundaries or through its consideration of other disciplines. For example, the same Tweeten (1992:27) acknowledges that given the absence of a perfect market or "Because of taxes, subsidies, quotas, and other market interventions in the world economy, competitive advantage is a more widely applicable concept than comparative advantage" (Tweeten, 1992:27). Competitiveness is thus defined as "...a nation's ability to maintain or gain market share by exploiting competitive advantage in world markets through increasing productivity from technological advances or other sources" (Tweeten, 1992:27).

Krugman in his work on the importance of geography in trade points out the new view for which "...much trade represents arbitrary specialization based on increasing returns, rather than an effort to take advantage of exogenous differences in resources or productivity" (Krugman, 1991:7). He explains that the increasing returns approach differs from comparative advantage in that it is founded on the premise that "...countries trade because there are inherent advantages to specialization, even for initially similar countries" (ibid:f6). The principle of comparative advantage has proved to be inadequate to understand the changes occurring in international trade with globalisation, namely the increasing influence of transnational corporations and capital movements which diminish the importance of natural endowments in determining the nature of the trade flows. Other reasons explain why economics cannot be the only frame to understand the dynamic of the trade negotiations in agriculture: the increasing

importance of non-trade concerns, the identiterian character of food and agriculture and having to take into consideration nature.

Economists have to contend with Non-Trade Concerns (NTC)

It is the economists themselves who have coined the term 'non-trade concerns' as an umbrella term to cover issues not reducible or analysable under a strict neoclassical economics perspective. As stated by Anderson (2005) "Economists have been influential in urging that issues [such as environment or labour standards] do not crowd the multilateral trade agenda". Non-trade concerns include a wide range of attributes varying from country to country. It is the EC, through its policy networks, where they are more explicitly recognized, encompassing a range of varied characteristics, such as food safety, environmental protection, rural development, food security or safeguarding the supply of food, cultural diversity, socio-economic viability, animal welfare, traditional landscapes, biodiversity and protecting the rural way of life. Other non-trade concerns are cultural landscape, agriculture as fulfilling a buffer role against sudden macro-economic shocks and as part of national identity. For WTO (2005a) food security stocks, structural adjustment assistance, safety-net programmes, environmental programmes, and regional assistance programmes can enter the category of non-trade concerns. The common characteristic of these is that they are not reducible to economic analysis only, although implications for economic analyses are also considered by economists.

They show that public concerns point to what FAO recognizes as "...a multidimensional welfare function of individuals, countries or the world as a whole" (FAO, 2001e) away therefore from the productivist notion of agriculture at the basis of the trade liberalisation paradigm. They also demonstrate, as explicitly stated by FAO that in the trade negotiations such "...emerging public concerns...would exercise stronger influence than comparative advantage or competitiveness principles" and that they "...play a key role in the current phase of political debate on the future agricultural trading environment" (FAO, 2001d:69). Such non-trade concerns arguments are reported by WTO in its neutral secretariat function, without any additional

argumentations. Nevertheless the debate on non-trade concerns in the technical forum opens the door to a large inflow of other disciplines, as will be shown in the rest of this chapter, to argument the case of the various non-trade concerns and whether they can be pursued without departing from the WTO's liberalisation objectives. The importance of the non-trade concerns is also indicative of major unexpected results of the trade negotiations: on the one hand, namely that it is also consumption and not only production questions that are driving the negotiations on agriculture. On the other hand, from being considered a residual category, non-trade concerns become the core of the contentions surrounding the debate in the negotiations, despite the economists' deliberate efforts of not crowding out the agenda.

Economics treats food and agriculture as undifferentiated products

In the trade liberalisation discourse by the economists and appropriated by WTO, agriculture and food are like any other undifferentiated products, without any privileged position or particular attention. They are commodities like any other. Products which can be considered as 'agricultural' are listed in Article 2 of the Agreement on Agriculture, following the definition of the Harmonized System. The list excludes fish and fish products, these latter considered as "non-agricultural, along with industrial products in general" (WTO, 2005b). Agriculture is broken down into 186 different products (WCO, 2005) and is classified, as all other products, into unprocessed, semi-processed and processed goods (WTO, 2004f). The FAO has its own taxonomy of agricultural "commodities" (FAO:2002j), with the same connotation of undifferentiated products as WTO. While following the same classification as WTO, the EC in its communications makes a constant association of the word food with 'quality', 'safety' and 'health'.

It can be seen therefore that it is the term 'commodity' which prevails in the FAO and WTO which, as noted by Appadurai (1986:7), is a term used in neoclassical economics referring to "...a special subclass of primary goods" no longer playing according to him "...a central analytic role". It follows that if food and agriculture are commodities like any other, they are an unproblematic dimension of globalisation, intended by

economists as openness of the economy through increased trade, to be measured by the ratio of imports and exports over GDP. It also implies that there is a raison-d'être in valuing a commodity-based agriculture solely for its performance in the economy, i.e. its contribution to GDP. For the economists, the negative externalities associated with the extra food kilometres implied by such distance are not reflected in the price of food (FAO, 2003b:286).

Despite this productivist and undifferentiated view of agriculture and food offered by economics, additional perspectives are added by other disciplines and can be seen in the political, technical and moralising forum of the FAO where there is reference to ethical and symbolic connotations of food and a call for 'local food production' as a way "...for farmers and consumers to benefit from a closer relationship between production and market" (FAO, 2003e). This same plea is repeated by civil society organisations, while for the EC following the theorization offered by its epistemic communities and policy networks, food and agriculture products are considered as identiterian goods. The WTO retains the economics dominant perspective and only differentiates between "search goods, experience goods and credence goods" (WTO, 2005l) according to the degree to which they signal information available to consumers before purchase, after consumption and rarely learned even after consumption (e.g. fluoride or amount of calories).

The perspectives derived from the traditional disciplines of economics and agricultural economics have generally neglected food; Atkins and Bowler (2001:viii) advance the plausible explanation that food is connected with women and as such devalued by the academic (mostly male) community. Yet, in academia in the last 20 years there has been a burgeoning of "food studies". These are multidisciplinary in nature and are focussed to a large extent, as noted already in 1991 by Goodman and Redclift (1991:241) on "...the 'signifying' aspects of food and diet, the semiology of food consumption... to the detriment of a wider understanding of the social transformations implied by the economic and technological changes in the food system". It is worth noting that the remark by Atkins and Bowler (2001:viii) on the need of inter and multi-disciplinary

approaches to food does not mention economics or agricultural economics among the different disciplines that are seen as contributing to the multifaceted issue of food.

Economics does not consider that agriculture is deeply connected with nature

As aptly expressed in the introduction of the book *Worlds of Food: Place, Power, and Provenance in the Food Chain*, "the globalisation of the food sector is uniquely constrained by nature and culture: food production requires the transformation of natural entities into edible form, while the act of eating itself is a profoundly cultural exercise..." (Morgan et al., 2006:8). In the positivist ontology of economics, nature is a backdrop to human activity and agriculture is considered in the scientist conception well expressed by the Scientific American in 1976 as a means "...to divert the flow of energy and nutrients to the benefit of the human species" (Scientific American, 1976:iv). This scientist notion prevails tacitly in the WTO agreements; it can also be found in the FAO with the concomitant presence nevertheless of an initial attempt to analyse the implications of intensification with an ethics perspective. For the EC, agriculture is the result of co-evolution of nature and man's activities which has created agricultural systems through 'critical institutional capital' entailing that "...we must work more and more with nature and not against it" (Fischler and Byrne, 2001). Among civil society organisations, there is clearly the prevalence of the scientist notion in the industry associations while the interest of the majority of civil society groups in sustainable development, however fuzzily defined, attests their considerations of nature, as deserving ontological status at par with humankind.

It can be concluded therefore that agriculture and food are like any other products in the technical forum, the dominating forum in constructing the terms of the debate on agriculture and trade liberalisation, driven by the economics discipline. This is the case for WTO, but also – although less monolithically, for the FAO and the EC and only partially for civil society organisations. This contributes to first- and second-order changes only in the discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation, with the main policy paradigm informed by economics remaining unaltered. However, economics is not entirely consolidated or static; it is in continuous evolution and is contributing to

what we referred to earlier as 'third-order changes' where the prevailing paradigm becomes splintered and new interpretative frameworks are built.

Economics evolves

While the trade negotiations are driven by the policy paradigm of trade liberalisation, as implied in the Agreement on Agriculture, economics has also been producing additional analytical perspectives. These have been generated by the developments in the economics discipline through its elaboration of institutionalism and game theory as well as the meeting of economics with more contextually- and historically-sensitive disciplines, such as sociology, business studies, geography, political economy and political philosophy. The additional, and in some cases alternative, perspectives cannot be found in WTO, while elements can be found in the FAO and in the EC. These additional perspectives refer mainly to the body of research on quality with the *économie des conventions*, the elaborations on the comparative advantage principle applied to agriculture, the additional dimensions brought in international trade theory by geography and the application of economics to negotiations and to political science. More can be expected to come from behavioural economics with its different conceptualisation of *homo economicus.* Finally, what we believe is a most important contribution to the current discourses, is the public good perspective introduced in the debate in relation to agriculture. All of these perspectives add complexity to the original policy problem formulation of the three sets of policies considered the pillars of the Agreement on Agriculture.

Economie des conventions

While not questioning a context dominated by market exchanges, the *économie des conventions* tries to explain the economic and political forces determining product diversity, it considers the quality of products and not only their price and quantity. The *économie des conventions* is useful to understand the quality dimensions that are at the base of the new farming systems evolving in both developed and developing countries in response to rich countries consumers' demands. These do not refer only to the niche

markets of organic products but also to "*precision farming*" where farmers are given specific requirements on product specification, grading and quality. Quality aspects prevail in the EC which in explaining multifunctionality, refers to 'product quality' as a function of agriculture. The EC also makes food quality and safety an inherent component of its rural development policy and programmes. It is the EC that adopted schemes for protecting and promoting quality products, intended both as traditional products or products from a designated origin[4]. These quality aspects are reflected in the organisational forum of the EC where there is a rural development unit in charge of agricultural product quality policy. In the various conceptualisations of agriculture hidden behind the names of Ministries of Agriculture worldwide, we can see that quality is an explicitly expressed concern in the Netherlands Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality and can be assumed under the name of Ministry of Consumer Affairs in Germany.

The concept of the brokering involved among actors to define the conventions (Boltanski and Thenevot, 1991) is useful to understand how quality in FAO, in relation to standard setting work of Codex Alimentarius, has been confined at the request of some countries to the nutritional properties of food. It is also useful in uncovering the conventions on food and agricultural production being fostered by consumers in industrialised countries: "Consumer worries on food safety place greater demands on regulators to ensure not only the safety and quality of the food they consume but also the environmental, social and ethical concerns related to food and agricultural production" (FAO, 2001c).

With the *économie des conventions*, the notion of agricultural production as the result of deterritorialised supply and demand – implicit in the trade liberalisation paradigm – is questioned and is made more complex, adding the sociological dimensions of actors' relations' and actors' behaviour. This is considered as uncertain with respect to the behaviour and expectations of other actors and, above all, as determined by conventions

[4] These regulations were based on the French and Italian system: Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and the Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG).

agreed to among the actors, rather than – or not only due to – profit maximisation, as claimed by neoclassical economics.

Geography

Economists borrow from geography the notion of space and revisit the context of international trade. With the notion of space, there is again the opposition to the unproblematic concept of agricultural production being the result of deterritorialised supply and demand. Rather, there is the view of a territorially grounded agriculture; the EC model of agriculture continues to be, as for the 1988 formulation "... social cohesion agriculture usually constructed as agriculture-in-a-region, this latter contributing to regional development and characterised by small farmers and ecologically sensitive and food quality respecting practices" (EC, 1988). The FAO reiterates the importance of developing sustainable local food production (FAO, 2003b). Civil society organisations grouped in the IPC claim "...agroecological production anchored to a territory" (NGO/CSO Forum, 2002:13). Space and territory are also present in industry associations like the Association Nationale des Agro-Industries Alimentaires (ANIA) with its concept of "agriculture raisonnée" and the desirability to trace the agricultural practices. In WTO these geographic dimensions are absent, except for the work on geographic indications

Economists revisit the context of international trade with its comparative advantage principles with the inclusion of a geographic perspective. As mentioned earlier, Krugman (1991:7) noted the relevance of the increasing returns approach, whereby countries find it advantageous to specialise even in similar conditions. The FAO (2002c), in its flagship publication "Agriculture towards 2015/2030" acknowledges the changes occurring in international trade by noting the disappearance of the taken-for-granted geographic boundaries among nations and the more loosely integrated market of capital, raw and semi-processed goods, final products and consumer retail services. These contribute to diminishing the relevance of natural endowments as the basis of comparative advantage. Food and agriculture products are now also part of this

integrated global market and they have acquired the intra-firm and intra-industry trade characteristics which were once thought to be the exclusive properties of trade in manufactures. Food is therefore the product of international production chains, with a predominant role being played by TNC which pursue lowest cost production opportunities worldwide and adding value to the primary product through processing and marketing.

The notions of space and territory permeate the work of the EC through its policy networks. For food production, agriculture uses the soil thus comprising the space that satisfies many other social needs and it is connected to founding cultural and ethical values (Burrel, 2001). Space is a dimension in agriculture producing both commercial and identiterian goods (Barthelemy and Nieddu, 2003). Anchoring agricultural production systems in a given territory and also considering those activities which may have a very marginal impact on production is the policy response to a new way of conceiving agriculture. As stated by Nieddu (2002) there is "need to interpret agricultural production in a new way, the majority of the agricultural activities being 'service activities'.

The recognition of this increased complexity and the blurring of geographic boundaries lead to refer to the change between 'internationalisation' of agriculture in the late nineteenth century and 'globalisation' in the late twentieth century (Kaplinski,2000). Thus globalisation becomes more than the openness of countries, measured as the ratio of imports and exports to GDP; its complexity requires "...sophisticated forms of coordination, not merely with respect to logistics (who ships what, where and when), but also in relation to the integration of components into the design of the final products and the quality standards with which this integration is achieved" (Kaplinski, 2000). It also calls for paying attention to the "efficiency and equity of price formation, as more and more transactions are internalized by supermarket procurement officers" (Timmer, 2003a). Thus, we see the introduction of governance in the economists' discourses, to enable both efficiency and equity objectives.

Economics applied to activities of exchange and related political and negotiation processes

The original policy problem formulation focused on increasing trade of agricultural products, without considering the political and negotiation processes involved. Latest developments in institutional economics consider economic behaviour and actions as institutionally situated and represent a shift from the focus on the product to the "activity of exchange itself" (Wilkinson, 2004). Thus, economics can prove to be more empirically grounded and acquire additional analytical perspectives that diverge from the basic positivist ontology of the discipline and its methodological individualism. In addition to the methods of mainstream economics, institutionalists apply a pluralist methodology in which interviews, surveys, and participatory observation are put to systematic and sophisticated use. Some of the building blocks of neo-classical economics are elaborated and articulated in greater complexity, thus providing critically useful theoretical insights when applied to policies and policy-making. For example, the insight provided by the administrative sciences on the 'satisficing' rather than 'maximising' behaviour of individuals; also, the principle of rational choice is further elaborated demonstrating how humankind is guided not only by rational choice but also by cumulative causation, habituation to material conditions and constraints. These provide the general context of 'bounded rationality'. North (1990) highlighted that "history matters" and through path dependency theory it is considered that what happens next depends critically on the details of the existing state of affairs which in turn is the outcome of the pre-existing situation. With agency theory, problems posed by limited information and goal conflict within organisations are analysed. The role or ideology and changes in ideology are also used in explaining behaviour beyond the strictly neoclassical constraint of individualistic, rational purposive activity.

It is from orthodox economists like Anderson (2005) that attention is drawn to the interesting results deriving from the application of game theory and institutional economics showing why governments enter into negotiations. Anderson recognizes that economists have not sufficiently analysed and understood the reasons for which governments enter into negotiations. Their "fixation on efficiency" has precluded

explanations other than what the economists refer to as the "terms of trade externality associated with large countries setting their tariffs unilaterally" whereby if each country lowered its tariffs, all countries could be better off . According to Anderson, the explanation given by Ethier (2004, referenced in Anderson, 2005)"... is much closer to what negotiators say they do, which is to overcome a political externality: by securing market access abroad for their exporters, they can get more domestic political support from their export sectors than if they assist them only indirectly (and thereby less obviously) by unilaterally lowering import barriers".

This follows the use of economics in the 'new political economy' or 'public choice'[5] approaches applied to political sciences, and more specifically to the analyses of the political markets. Such analyses review critically the divergence between economic prescriptions and government practice by investigating government agents' behaviour. Public sector agents are no longer considered as omniscient and benevolent dictators but rather as rational agents who aim at maximising "... an objective function with benefits (lobbies), individual welfare (voters), and political support (politicians)" (Swinnen and van der Zee, 1993). Furthermore, there is a strong interaction between both markets: economic markets can create wealth, which can enhance political power; political markets can create wealth, which can result in economic power.

Agriculture and public goods

The three policy pillars of the Agreement on Agriculture rest on the principle of reducing government intervention in agricultural trade policies through facilitating market access, reducing export subsidies and limiting domestic support measures to non-distorting measures. In working on support measures, economists apply the concept of public good to justify government intervention in agriculture. Public goods elements are found in the technical forum that elaborates the concepts of multifunctionality, the roles of agriculture and also the concept of sustainable agricultural and rural

[5] Public choice theory is a branch of economics that studies the decision-making behaviour of voters, politicians and government officials from the perspective of economic theory.

development (SARD). The concept of public good is also used in the political and moralising forum, as a positive justification for supporting agriculture.

In economic theory, public goods are defined as those goods i) whose consumption cannot be denied to any prospective consumer (non-excludable) and ii) consumption by one agent does not reduce the availability of value to other consumers (non-rivalrous). In the case of public goods, the use of the market to allocate goods or services would not lead to economically efficient outcomes where the price of the good reflects the opportunity cost to society for producing it. It is these characteristics that make markets for products and services of agriculture incomplete and that will therefore cause them to be undersupplied. This is a case of 'market failure', calling for some type of government intervention or other collective action (Smith, 1999).

Market failure is also a shorthand expression to refer to situations when the impact (positive or negative) of production or consumption decisions of one individual over the production and consumption decisions of others is not determined solely by the market. Such unintentional impact of decisions is called 'externality'; e.g. agriculture produces benefits (other than direct production) to other agents in the economy that are not remunerated through existing markets or through other mechanisms and hence farmers have no direct incentives to produce such benefits. E.g. a farmer through his or her activities produces farmed landscape that can be enjoyed by others without any remuneration for the farmer. The role of the government becomes then to create such markets.

Agriculture starts being conceived as producing public goods; public good characteristics vary according to what countries and different actors consider as public goods. This association of agriculture with the concept of national public goods can be found in the EC, in FAO and among civil society organisations but not in WTO. FAO uses the concept of public goods in its conceptualisation of multifunctionality, roles of agriculture and SARD. In its statement at the 2002 Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (FAO, 2002d) it refers to SARD as "SARD jointly produces food and other goods for farm families and markets, and also contributes to a range of public

goods, such as clean water, wildlife, carbon sequestration in soils, flood protection, landscape quality. It delivers many unique non-food functions that cannot be produced by other sectors (e.g. on-farm biodiversity, groundwater recharge, urban to rural migration, social cohesion)...". The EC considers agriculture as providing public goods such as environment and sustained vitality of rural areas. It follows for both the EC and FAO that farmers become producers of unrewarded public goods. For WTO, the non-food or non-commodity outputs of agriculture may have the property of being packaged as part of the non-trade concerns or the Green Box.

In addition to national public goods derived from agriculture there are also regional and international public goods that concern more countries or regions. E.g. Kaul et al. (1999) make the case for environment and agricultural research and extension as undersupplied public goods at the regional level. The notion of global public goods is appropriated by FAO which in its flagship publication The State of Food And Agriculture in 2002 with a special chapter on Global Public Goods Ten Years after the Earth Summit points to the global coverage of some of the benefits provided by agriculture such as "... biodiversity conservation and carbon sequestration provided by forests and agriculture through the adoption of more sustainable land-use practices"(FAO, 2002a). However, it does not use this concept any more in official documents, after such date.

This coincides with the term global public goods becoming used rather loosely with gradual loss of significance, when extrapolated from economics to broader contexts, as noted by the CGIAR evaluation (World Bank, 2003b). Nevertheless, this same report notes that the frequent use of the concept of global public goods signals phenomena related to globalisation and the mutuality of benefits and costs related to climate change, the spread of communicable diseases and conflict. These are supra-territorial, in that they are not in the purview of any single government, while at the same time being steeped in a given territory and locality. WTO trade rules, intellectual property rights and international biosafety regulations are examples of how the global and the local interrelate.

In addition to applying the notion of public goods to goods in the standard sense, global public goods become defined as 'outcomes', thus again putting emphasis not on the products of exchange only but also to the activity of exchange itself. According to Kaul et al. (1999) the typology of global public goods includes final global goods to be considered as outcomes that may be tangible (such as the environment or the common heritage of mankind) or intangible (such as peace or financial stability). Intermediate global public goods, such as international regimes, contribute towards the provision of final global public goods. It is in this latter sense that free international trade itself is considered as a global public good in a Handbook of Agricultural Economics by Sumner and Tangermann (1998) as "...In the absence of a global government, international agreements between national governments may have to provide this public good". (ibid.p.2). The same concept applies to WTO itself, considered as an international public good[6] in that governments ".... have a shared interest in its creation and maintenance". This idea first expressed by Bagwell and Staiger (1999) is further elaborated later on by Staiger (2004) in a later writing commissioned by the International Task Force on Global Public Goods.

Staiger equates WTO to a "'market' for the exchange of market access commitments among governments", thus providing an escape from the terms-of-trade driven Prisoners' Dilemma". This refers to a "situation in which both governments could do better if each would cooperate with the other than if both act non-cooperatively, but each government does better yet if it alone acts non-cooperatively, and so non-cooperative behaviour from both governments can be expected unless the governments can reach some enforceable agreement to cooperate." Staiger explains the public good functions of WTO more in detail. These refer on the one hand to the elimination of the terms of trade prisoners' dilemma and on the other to the policy commitments to the private sector. WTO agreements lock-in government policies that strengthen their position and their ineluctability vis-à-vis national private sector agents, prone to protectionist policies, thereby resulting in greater economic efficiency. Staiger elaborates on WTO as an international public good, by stating that it is the

[6] It is not considered global as it has a certain number of countries as members.

establishment and the maintenance of WTO which can be considered as an international public good and not the end use or the utilization of WTO by its member governments which result into private goods. Bagwell explains this with an analogy of a causeway built for escaping to the mainland in times approaching hurricane. "Once built (and maintained) the utilization of the causeway may be largely a private good. That is the main 'collective action' problem associated with the causeway is associated with its construction and maintenance, not with its use. By analogy the creation and maintenance of the WTO can be seen as an act of providing an international public good, but the utilization of the WTO by its member governments can be seen largely as an international private good.". The WTO reports such analyses in its 2004 Annual Trade Report (WTO, 2004a:196).

The notion of public goods shows how economics is contributing to the hybridisation of approaches to studies on food and agriculture. First of all, the public good properties are not immutable and fixed; they vary and are the result of intersubjective agreements and negotiated outcomes on what constitutes a public good. As noted by Hodge (2000) "The distinction between public goods and bads and between external benefits and costs does not depend upon the technical characteristics of the effects being considered. Rather it depends upon a political judgement as to what are the responsibilities or duties associated with land ownership. This can be portrayed in terms of a reference point with respect to environmental quality... where landowners achieve an environmental quality in excess of a given standard they will be regarded as generating an external benefit. This point is not immutable". Hence, the attribution of public good can be considered as the result of a negotiated outcome.

A second consideration follows demonstrating the hybridisation of approaches, including economics and governance, the latter intended as "...governing styles in which the boundaries between and within the public and private sectors have become blurred" resting therefore "...on governing mechanisms which do not rest on recourse to authority and sanctions of government" (Stoker, 1998:17 referenced in Higgins and Lawrence, 2005:2). If agriculture is part of the global public goods it means also that the governability of agriculture is to be beyond the nation state Agriculture, with its

linkages to poverty reduction and food security, becomes incorporated into the theme of the undersupply and governance issues related to global public goods (UNGA, 2001). The creation of 'markets' for the provision of public goods justifies the positive value given to partnerships, intended as forms of semi-autonomous organisations to expand decision-making to include other actors, in addition to government (Sullivan and Skelcher, 2000). As clearly explained by the OECD-DAC, partnerships become "... an agreement on 'a shared orientation or framework' for the provision of a particular public good or service as well as for any arrangement in which public and private sectors and government and civil society organisations cooperate in some way or other to exchange lessons learnt and best practice, harmonise practice and standards and share information" (Bezanson et al. 2004:39). Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2004) state that the concept of partnership is "embodied in the conception of governance as including not just what governments do but how all sectors of society interact to solve problems and produce public goods".

The notion of global public goods serves to couch and legitimate civil society argumentations and actions. As mentioned by Martin (1999) referring to Sen "...some nongovernmental groups transcend individual or even national interests to promote universal – global – interests. In the short term the greatest contribution of these groups to the provision of global public goods may be in their activities of publicizing failures to comply with international norms, such as human rights or environmental norms. In the longer term they can make an even more significant contribution by changing public attitudes towards such issues, as they did on slavery and women's rights."

Despite the overuse and fuzziness of the term, the notion of public good becomes further elaborated. A very interesting development is the possibility of creating a global public goods economics discipline. According to Atkinson (2003) this should enable the analysis of national policy in a global context; the development of models appropriate for the analysis of policy incidence in an interdependent world and the application of principles of cosmopolitan justice to the normative issues of policy making. Atkinson believes that "...the flowering of literature on cosmopolitan justice in the fields of political theory and philosophy may well influence global public economics in the same

way that John Rawls and Robert Nozick influenced national public economics 30 years ago".

Conclusion on economics

It can be concluded that economics has been the leading discipline in providing the policy paradigm of trade liberalisation through the technical forum. The varying elaborations reviewed show the persistence and monopoly of the orthodox policy paradigm derived from neo-classical economics in WTO, while in FAO and the EC they point to a problem definition from first- and second-order changes always within the economics orthodoxy.

The dominion of economics in the policy problem of agriculture trade liberalisation corresponds to the general overestimation of the importance of 'markets' and the more general tendency towards 'economicism', namely as already noted in the early 1990s by Marsden et al, 1990:4) "...the rendering of political and ideological factors as historically contingent...". This section, however, has shown how economics by itself cannot deal with the non-trade concerns which are not reducible to economic analysis. Nor can economics deal with the symbolic values associated with food and agriculture, reduced to undifferentiated products. Nature and space claim analytical space and so do governance questions. However, economics itself is evolving and is contributing with powerful conceptual tools to the hybridisation of approaches towards the construction of the policy problem of trade liberalisation.

The next section will provide an account of how more empirically minded and contextual-sensitive disciplines are contributing to such hybridisation of approaches and to the reformulation of the policy problem even by economists. These other disciplines deal with the non-market aspects of agriculture subsumed under the term non-trade concerns leading in turn to governance issues in agriculture. It is with these that third-order changes are occurring in the policy problem construction. The major contributions to such hybridisation of approaches are chain analysis, considered the meeting ground

of economics with other disciplines, organisation and business studies, ethics, anthropology and above all sociology. .

Chain Analysis

Chain analysis is considered as providing 'a meeting ground for economics, business administration and industrial sociology in the study of one important aspect of globalisation, namely the simultaneous economic integration of countries, and disintegration of production processes' (Kaplinski, 2000). In addition, political science and sociology also contribute to understanding the power relations among actors and the governance of the food chain, in view of the importance of trust in maintaining inter-firm cooperation and new forms of work organisation.

In the cases reviewed in this research, the concept of chain has been used descriptively, to provide an account of the range of activities (and associated actors) required to bring a product from its conception, production, transformation, delivery to consumers and its disposal. Chain analysis is useful in reconsidering the original policy problem formulation of increased trade liberalisation in that it implies a reconceptualisation of trade from a "...multitude of arm's length transactions between countries" to trade organised within a structure or system of international production. In this sense it is internalised' within the common ownership of TNC or quasi internalised within a system of governance that links firms together in a variety of sourcing and contracting arrangements. FAO highlights the transnationalization of the food-production chains which means a shift from focussing on primary agricultural production. It remarks that "... trade policy for food and agriculture is no longer focussed on primary farming but is encompassing more and more issues and interests of the whole food chain, including food processing, marketing and distribution" (FAO, 2003b:14).

In its technical forum, FAO also notes the horizontal expansion and vertical integration of the TNC operating in the food sector, which control the entire food chain from "farm gate to the dinner plate". It highlights that the growth in complexity of the food chain

has reduced the transparency of food; nowadays it is difficult to trace the origin and to know the history of a food product. This is a matter of concern (Brom, 2002 for FAO) as the knowability of the origin and history of a food product is important, as opposed to other products for which it is very common that consumers do not know the origin nor the number and types of transformations the product has undergone. A 'food chain approach' is considered fruitful for food safety. As opposed to the past, where responsibility for food safety used to be concentrated on the food processing sector, FAO (2003c) claims that such an approach allows to trace food safety in a holistic way along all those involved the food chain.

According to Kaplinski (2000), the concept of chain is useful not only as a descriptive device but also because it can offer useful analytical perspectives if the following is considered: "value chains are repositories for rent, and these rents are dynamic; effective value chains arise from systemic, as opposed to point, efficiency; effectively functioning value chains involve some degree of 'governance'". Governance is required because of the competitive strategies adopted by firms selling non-standardised products which are differentiated by price but above all by the quality, variety of the product, reliability and speed of innovation. Therefore, Kaplinski continues "...the seller faces risks related to these characteristics while the suppliers need complex and timely information on changing market requirements and assistance in meeting the product specifications".

In conclusion, in relation to the original policy problem construction of trade liberalisation in agriculture, chain analysis implies a reconceptualisation of international trade, it implies a shift from considering production only and it links economic analysis with the concept of governance of the trade relations including the underlying notion of power relations in the generation of rents in various parts of the chain.

Organisation, Management and Business Studies

The research has drawn loosely from organisation, management and business studies for their relevance in articulating further the original policy problem formulation where

trade is conceived as arms' length transactions among states without due acknowledgement of the inter-firm arrangements which characterise international chains but also without acknowledging the dynamics and life of organisations' impinging on the policy problem construction. Business studies remind that even though it is states that enter into trade agreements, it is private individuals and companies that sell, purchase and negotiate products. Competitive advantage is thus theorised (Porter, 1990) rather than comparative advantage.

Organisation and management disciplines also add 'governance' perspectives to international production chains and to global governance. They are useful in understanding the dynamics of value chains. As expressed by Kaplinski (2000) "The intricacy and complexity of trade in the globalisation era requires sophisticated forms of coordination, not merely with respect to logistics (who ships what, where and when), but also in relation to the integration of components into the design of the final products and the quality standards with which this integration is achieved".

The research also shows that organisations have a life of their own; as expressed by Amin and Thrift (1995) they are 'many different things at once', are also 'modes of representation' and 'sense-making structures' as studied by Weick (1995). They create and sustain meanings through various ways that the organisational forum has helped to identify, ranging from the structure, its symbols to documents and other devices that objectify the organisations' messages and actions. Through the organisational forum we have shown the importance of analysing the structures and how these determine what the organisations say and do. The structure of WTO with its incrementally added working groups and parties shows the 'patchy' nature of the organisation, the absence of a technical think tank to support technically the positions negotiated in the political forum, the very small division of agriculture, the increase in meeting rooms to attest the increasing need for negotiations and the increase in communicative activities, after the debacle of Seattle. Hence, the permanent character of the adhesion of WTO to the original problem construction of trade liberalisation in its most orthodox understanding, is explained by its inability as an organisation – and as a Secretariat – to add and incorporate other perspectives. With FAO, the organisational forum shows the

permeability of the Organisation to influences by its 190 member countries, transnational epistemic communities and civil society organisations through its various governing and advisory bodies and communicative activities; as for WTO, these latter have been made possible and have also been at the origin of the increased number of meeting rooms. The EC presents a unique case of supranational policy management with different layers of decision-making from the sub-national level through the regions, to the national and supranational levels (Mercado, 1997), including also the diffused influence of transnational policy networks and epistemic communities. Discourses result also from the organisational structures of these organisations and their bureaucracies that may prevent the expression of cohesive views.

The research shows how agriculture is spread among so many international agencies that have a given mandate, expand on it and interpret it, attributing different meanings to agriculture. At the same time, as global integration takes place there are more and more private actors dealing with food and agriculture. It is difficult for international agencies to influence and regulate effectively many aspects of the global food and agriculture. On the one hand, at the global level, there are discussions on how to decide which public goods these agencies should take care of (Kydd and Thomson, 2001). On the other, these agencies seek to build alliances and partnerships with non-public sector actors. It is from management studies that the concepts of stakeholders[7] and partnerships are borrowed. The term stakeholder is at the origin of 'multistakeholder processes' developed for the functioning of the global public policy networks (Dubash et al. 2001) and civil society organisations (Major Groups, 2003), slowly becoming – like the partnerships – a consolidated body of knowledge and experience which can be acquired through training (Hemmati et al., 2002; Hemmati, 2002).

[7] The term stakeholder was originally defined by the New York consulting firm Decision Insights (UNEP 2004d) to signify "Anyone experiencing or expecting to experience actual or potential harm and/or benefit as a result of a firm's [government's, organization's, etc.] actions or inaction (adapted from T. Donaldson and L.E. Preston "The stakeholder theory of the corporation", Academy of Management Review, January 1995).

Ethics

The original policy problem formulation implies that through the three pillar policies there will be increased trade which will benefit all countries, given the principle of comparative advantage. Following this, there is no special argument related to agriculture per se and how much more production and exchange can the world afford. Consistently with the positivist ontology of economics, agriculture is the result of the exploitation of nature, conceived as inert backdrop to human activities. The introduction of ethics, shakes the original problem formulation of trade liberalisation and agriculture in different ways, as reported in the discourses identified from the political statements or in the moralising forum, and to a more limited extent in the technical forum. Such ethical considerations can be found in FAO, the EC, and civil society organisations but not in WTO. Of great significance is the fact that agriculture is associated with nature, particularly of 'globalised nature', thus becoming part of ethical considerations concerning animals, plants and nature or the environment in general (Wolters, 1998). This explains civil society organisations' great interest in the theme of sustainable development but also their interest in ethical ways of consuming, producing and transacting (Frans et al, 2001).

The question of intensification of production, resulting also from increased trade, is questioned on ethical grounds by a political philosopher commissioned by FAO (Thompson, 2003). The proposal to have food standards reflect ethical (namely non-science based) considerations is also considered by FAO in acknowledging that the Codex Alimentarius is shifting its work from national standards to providing the point of reference in standards, guidelines and codes of practice for international trade (FAO, 2001c, 2002f). More generally, again in a paper commissioned by one of its Divisions, FAO states "...An explication of the values in food and agriculture is necessary. Moral problematic means that ethical analysis is necessary" (Brom, 2002). This is a relatively new area of work for FAO, resisted by some of its member countries. With its Right-to-Food Guidelines, enabled by the active substantive contributions of civil society organisations specialised in human rights, there is a shift from the productivism prevailing in some of FAO's fora to questions of distributive justice.

The ethical concerns introduced by civil society in international organisations become recognised as one of their characteristic contribution and civil society organisations' are equated to "ethical missionaries"(Ottaway, 2001) with their "standard setters, evaluators, monitoring experts, code setters, monitors, monitors of the monitors, evaluators....". Other concerns are expressed with respect to price changes in the food chains not reaching farmers and not benefiting consumers either (Zachariasse & Bunte, 2003) and therefore with the 'efficiency and equity' of price formation (Timmer, 2003a). Ethical dimensions become the core of arguments on cosmopolitan justice in the work on global public good economics; this is a further reaffirmation that ethics is no longer confined to the moralising forum but it becomes part of the other fora, including the technical forum, thereby contributing to the hybridisation of theoretical approaches required to understand the theme of agriculture and trade liberalisation.

Anthropology

The original problem formulation of the Agreement on Agriculture does not problematise agriculture and its production, nor food, nor the activity of exchange itself. It is through anthropological perspectives that symbolic dimensions of analysis are introduced and that, together with sociology, the core problem of the trade negotiations bottlenecks becomes reconceptualised. The virtualism of the term 'demand' by the economists is turned into an articulate and complex concept by the anthropologists. From the economics' abstract treatment of demand as "private, atomic and passive" in the words of Appadurai (1986), demand through anthropological perspectives reveals to be 'eminently social, relational and active'. Agriculture becomes then reconceptualised from simple production of commodities to a complex sector characterised by its inextricable link with nature, by food being more than just the terminus of a crop and by the provision of cultural and symbolic values.

As part of its work on the roles of agriculture for example, FAO analysed the cultural perceptions of the role of agriculture, thereby continuing some initial timid attempts to

review the role of beliefs and values in agricultural policies (FAO, 1996a), this latter work prompted by the EU enlargement. It also looked at agriculture as foundation of national identity, without, however, any follow up. Surprisingly – for a "Food and Agriculture Organisation' – FAO has done much less work related to food consumption. When reporting on the convergence of diets occurring worldwide, it does not explain such changes nor does it question the "model of a meal" (Sahlins, 1974) behind such changes. FAO does not consider the symbolic aspects of food, if not peripherally, in its technical forum (Brom, 2002); it does, however, acknowledge that food has become the pole around which many social movements aggregate. The neglect of food and its consumption by an organisation like FAO could be due to the fact that, as advanced by Atkins and Bowler (2001), food has always been a women's domain and, as such, devalued in professional circles dominated by males like FAO[8]. In this respect there is an interesting sign of such taboo related to women, in an article by FAO which refers to 'food preparers in the household', without evidence that food preparation may be equally shared by men and women (de Haen et al., 2003).

Even though not theorised as such, civil society organisations appear to have borrowed from anthropological knowledge by rejecting the notion of food as a commodity and understanding it as a 'singularity', in the expression used by Appadurai (1986), meaning that it is characterized by an identity. It is the EC, through its epistemic communities and policy networks, that crystallises the notion of agriculture generating 'identiterian goods', namely products with cultural attributes related to a territory, through its schemes initiated since 1992, for protecting and promoting quality products that focused on traditional products and products from a designated origin[9]. Culture related to a given territory was theorised during the negotiations giving rise to the notion of 'cultural landscape'. This was defined as (Hodge, 2000:6 referencing Hovorka

[8] In 1999, FAO was the agency among the UN ranking penultimate (just before the International Atomic Agency) in the ratio of women among professional staff.

[9] These regulations were based on the French and Italian system: Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and the Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG). In WTO, the post-Doha debate is considering whether the relevant provisions provide a mandate for extending the coverage beyond wines and spirits and how to make the protection of the GIs for wine and spirits effective.

(1997:1)) '...a perceived unity of the spatially effective fabric of natural conditions and human influences. Cultural landscapes develop and change over time as a result of the interplay of socio-economic, cultural and natural factors. The cultural landscape can thus in no way be conceived as a static entity but rather as an expression of ecological, cultural and socio-economic development and change in living and working space". The implications of such definition for agricultural policies and measures of domestic support were not considered, however, by any of the organisations reviewed, nor the notion of cultural landscape made it in being considered part of the non-trade concerns.

In conclusion, anthropological perspectives do problematise the original problem formulation even though to a limited extent because of a number of factors. In the first place, the large divide between economics and the rest of the disciplines does not encourage anthropological studies to be directed to topics such as trade liberalisation, considered the domain of economics and agricultural economics disciplines. There is also a disjuncture between the micro features of social life studied by anthropology and the more macro perspectives of other disciplines. This is reflected in the inability to make use for example of the analysis of the symbolic aspects of food for policy purposes. When Douglas and Isherwood state that "Goods that minister to physical needs – food or drink – are no less carriers of meaning than ballet or poetry" and that the primary function of the ritual process of consumption "... is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events" (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979) they provides insights which would require further translations and intermediation to transform them into statements of use in prediction, as part of the policy problem. According to Ida Magli[10], it is regrettable that anthropology as a discipline has de facto been relegated to the micro-dimensions given that its intellectual history did encompass more macrostructural features of social life through the cultural models as first theorised by Kroeber and Boas. Another factor for the limited use of anthropology in the problem formulation by the organisations reviewed relates to the general consideration that "...consumption has been neglected, under-theorized, treated as an exogenous, structural category and granted 'agency', or transformative power, only in the economistic, abstract terms of

[10] Italian anthropologist (interview).

demand (Goodman and Dupuis, 2002). It is, nevertheless, anthropology that is at the origin of the shift in historical research from the 'powerful' to all those about whom history has kept silent for centuries, as if they never existed and that has legitimised their knowledge.

Sociology

It is from sociology that this research has drawn most of the theoretical insights in analysing the discourses and their influence on the problem as constructed by the policies of the Agreement on Agriculture. Sociology does in fact consider the actors' non-economic goals, the relationships among actors, the intersubjective construction of frames of meaning and the formation and negotiation of identities and interests. The deterritorialised and abstract demand and supply model behind the trade liberalisation paradigm of the policies of the Agreement on Agriculture is made concrete and alive with the introduction of the concepts of space and networks and with the ensuing reconsideration of global/local relations and associated governance. Sociology focuses on understanding the consumers and their demands on agriculture thus re-emphasizing that it is also consumption and not only production questions that drive the negotiations. However, in contrast to the micro-level of analysis of anthropology, sociology adds the analysis of macro-structural tendencies. Sociology is fundamental in unpacking the significance of the non-trade concerns, a contested field that from the position of a residual issue has become the core of the debates surrounding the negotiations. Finally, sociology with its attention to the intersubjective construction of meanings shows how discourses on agriculture become affirmed not only through substantive argumentations by the various actors, using different disciplinary approaches, but also through the discursive and dialogical practices undertaken by civil society organisations at international level.

General Contributions from Sociology and the Unpacking of the Non-trade Concerns

Sociology helps to understand the dissonance experienced from Seattle onwards between trade theory on the beneficial effects of trade and the contrarian views and

instances, however vaguely defined, coming from civil society organisations and coming from the various fora and arena, other than the technical forum of the economists. The sociological approach in the work of an economic geographer like Pritchard (2004) discloses the performative role by economists in striving to become 'owners' of the policy problem and solution through the production and systematic dissemination of studies meant to demonstrate the positive impact of trade liberalisation in agriculture through the black-boxes of complex econometric modelling.

Sociological perspectives are particularly useful in 'unpacking' the non-trade concerns in all of their dimensions that are not reducible to economic analysis. As seen earlier, non-trade concerns include a wide range of attributes varying from country to country. The significance of these is that they reveal a variety of demands on agriculture, moving away from its pure production function, and also that they bring forth the existence of consumers making consumption an analytical category deserving equal ontological status as production. It is the EC, through its policy networks, where non-trade concerns are more explicitly recognized, encompassing food safety, environmental protection, rural development, food security or safeguarding the supply of food, cultural diversity, socio-economic viability, animal welfare, traditional landscapes, biodiversity, protecting the rural way of life. Non-trade concerns are considered also by FAO with the aim, however, of understanding them in the context of developing countries' economies. FAO recognizes in its technical forum (FAO, 2001a) that "...The notion of non-trade concerns refers to the existence of objectives other than the fundamental WTO objective of free trade, but which are also of relevance for a multidimensional welfare function of individuals, countries or the world as a whole". FAO also notes that these other objectives may require considering the primacy accorded to free trade and points out that the core of the debate is whether such other legitimate concerns can be achieved without infringing the trade liberalisation objectives of WTO.

Non-trade concerns are the manifestation of the paradigmatic changes in the conception of agriculture and a move away from the productivist paradigm. The widespread diffusion of the term rural livelihood epitomises this shift with its minimization of the agricultural production base. Such shift can be found in the EC that continues to refer to

agriculture as 'social cohesion agriculture' and as the product of a co-evolution of nature and activities of humankind. While focused on production given its mandate, also FAO acknowledges the non-trade concerns arising from consumers' demands and views them as exercising greater pressure in the negotiations than comparative advantage or competitiveness reasons. The quality and safety of food, for example, have become the locus of interest by social movements. Such demand for safe food and the convergence of diets occurring among high-income countries and spreading also to developing countries are seen as potentially endangering local food systems, replaced by industrial agriculture varieties and by foods demanded by the rich consumers in developed countries. These may be different from local foods or potentially, there may be an opportunity for local food varieties to appeal to rich consumers. Hence, even if not developed analytically, FAO acknowledges the influence of social movements and dietary changes that are traditionally within sociology.

The EC uses the metaphor of consumer sovereignty to state its own policy positions and to justify a departure from the original simple policy paradigm: it is consumers who want a sustainable agriculture, higher quality food, animal welfare, environment and hygiene standards. The word food is almost always preceded by the adjective 'safe food'; for the EC it is '... society should be setting the farming agenda' and agriculture is "...to serve the wider demands of society, not just food production' (Fischler, 2000). No reference to consumption can be found in WTO. The only reference to consumption is in one of its study where WTO classifies goods according to their information content. Consumers' associations' positions are posted on their website; but that is all. For civil society organisations food sovereignty means prioritisation of local production and agro-ecological production anchored to a territory.

We can see therefore that consumers' demands are a major issue in the trade liberalisation agenda; the organisations reviewed take stock of this fact, except for WTO because of its functioning as a secretariat and because of its being so small. It is the sociologists who have rescued consumption from its treatment – to paraphrase Appadurai (1986) – as private, atomic and passive rather than as 'eminently social, relational and active'. What is interesting to see is that now sociologists, together with

other disciplines, deal with macro-structural tendencies thus complementing the anthropological perspective of food as social relations and the food studies field perspective of food as a powerful signifier. Thus, sociology is the discipline that helps in reconnecting production with consumption issues.

Space and Networks

The original policy problem formulation rests on the principle that by adopting the three pillar policies – market access, domestic support and export subsidies – of the Agreement on Agriculture, there will be greater possibilities of production and trade, according to the principle of comparative advantage. It is through sociology that the abstract and deterritorialised demand and supply acquire consistency, that international trade is reconceptualised to take into account movements of people and capital and that spatial dimensions are introduced enabling the reconfiguration of global and local relations and the incorporation of governance questions.

With respect to the articulation of the space concept, Mormont (1990) had indicated in 1990 the paradigmatic changes occurring because of new situations being created by the process of globalisation with a clarity which then became further elaborated by other disciplinary streams. He pointed out the "increased mobility of persons, goods and messages" which meant the end of the idea of a self-contained or autonomous community as well as the end of the chacterizations of area according to their population or their economic activities. He highlighted the 'network' of relations in specific areas, the network being composed of agents who were both local and outside the area. He noted the emergence of the term 'rural space' to signify the influence of non-rural agents in rural areas. In Mormont's clear observations we see the major points of what would constitute the crux of rural studies: the consideration of mobility without giving a privileged positions to people, the idea of networks and the concept of rural space. In a nutshell, Mormont's clear article lays the bases for a reconsideration of the global-local relations with two powerful sociological themes of space and networks, the latter used in this research both as a descriptive tool and as a tool of analysis for global/local relations.

Descriptively, the concept of network has been found to mean generic attributes of complexity and non-linearity (Urry, 2003), as per the basic Oxford dictionary definition "an arrangement of intersecting horizontal and vertical lines, like the structure of a net". It is in such a generic meaning that it has been appropriated by international agencies and by civil society organisations. For example, the World Bank organigram includes seven 'networks' (World Bank, 2005); the CEB calls on UN to become "...a 'networking organisation'..." (CEB, 2004); the Global Compact defines itself as a network including "...an expanding set of nested networks" and "...exhibits many of the attributes of inter-organisational networks" (Ruggie, 2002). Farmers themselves borrow the term to mean their coalescing around networks, such as the Réseau des Organisations Paysannes du Sahel, while the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC) is referred to as a network of networks[11]. The complexity and interrelatedness of networks becomes applied to agriculture that is portrayed as embedded in a network of thematic and organisational relations as evinced from Box 6.2 in Chapter 6. The concept of network is also applied to the varying and shifting associations of countries during the negotiations.

Networks, however, are not just a descriptive tool. Networks can become a tool of analysis for understanding the micro-institutional features of trade, namely the transactions among actors, with the associated power relations; such transactions generate new economic and institutional forms enacted by the actors themselves that help reconceptualise the global/local relations. As well explained by Rossi and Rovai (1999) "*organisations are in a network of relations where their decisions are both determined and determine the network. The actors are identifiable and each actor constitutes a node; actors interact in a social-economic space in which they try to attain their objectives by exchanging both material and immaterial resources. Hence the actors are interdependent, they are interconnected and it is they themselves who create the structure for interaction that creates both opportunities and constraints to their actions. The interaction generates a rearticulating rearrangement of the resources and*

[11] Interview with Antonio Onorati, Coordinator, IPC.

power relations, including the rules of interaction. The network therefore represents the result of a continuous restructuring of relationships, thus introducing the historical/evolutionary dimension in the analysis, allowing to observe the phenomena in their development." Drawing loosely from Actor-Network-Theory, such networks are therefore characterised by both 'network lengthening' and 'acting at a distance'. Through network lengthening it is possible to see how and when other actors 'enrol' or become part of a network. Acting at distance reveals through the analytical process indicated by Rossi and Rovai the points at which actors separated by space have influence over other actors, e.g. the imposition of production standards by a company located in one country to producers' organisations in a distant country.

The networks perspective on trade allows substantiating the relations among actors and also, as noted by Rauch (1999), "...opens space for greater consideration of the role of personal contacts and relationship-building in determining the geographic distribution of economic activity". This is akin to the concept of social capital that can be applied also to trade relations; as noted by Burt (1992) "the social capital metaphor is that the people who do better are somehow better connected". 'Social capital', for example, is said to explain that countries which share a common language and colonial ties trade twice as much as countries which do not; 'networks' are at the origin of the trade relations and their geography (Rauch, 1999). FAO explicitly states its use of the network concept in an evaluation of its support to networks conducted in the 1990 (FAO, 1991).

What is of significance analytically is that networks have both structure and structuring dimensions. As aptly expressed by Whatmore and Thorne (1997:289) networks are "...performative orderings (always in the making) rather than as systemic entities (always already constituted). Modes of ordering are both narrative 'ways of telling about the world' and materially 'acted out and embodied in a concrete non-verbal manner in a network'". The structured and structuring dimension of networks is significant because it implies an evolution from the binary conceptualisations of macro and micro-problems and related solutions as well as from the structure-agency debate. Agency and structure in networks are mutually constitutive; agency goes beyond the

individual components of the network, while the structure is made of the interactions among organisations and individuals, including "material capacities, normative structure and institutions (O'Neill et al., 2004:151).

Such structured and structuring dimensions of the networks can be seen in the cases of the EC and the influence of policy networks and in the case of civil society organisations and their modus operandi. For the EU, as noted by Muller (2003) it is the absence of well-defined decision-making powers between the European Council, the Parliament and the Commission that makes decision-making both very open and very opaque. It is open because of the way the Commission works; as opposed to a traditional bureaucracy it works by mobilizing expertise from very different sources across nations and discipline in a very fluid manner. Hence, it does not rely on institutionalised and relatively stable bodies of expertise, as practiced in national governments. It is opaque because the mobilization of such expertise activates a process of search and selection of expertises that gradually become networks and acquire an elitist character. It is this diffuse networking for the formulation of policies that has solicited the use of the term 'governance' for the EU to signify the different configuration of decision-making. The EU itself has thus become a public space around the formulation of public policies. The concept of policy networks identified in this research has therefore been broadly understood as "...patterns of interaction and resource exchange between agents" (Dowding, 1994 referenced in Marsh, 1998). Deliberately, there has not been an attempt to classify networks and to conduct a formal network analysis.

For civil society organisations, this research has looked at the interactive practices of a network of networks like the IPC and the varied landscape of private sector organisations that interact with intergovernmental organisations like FAO, WTO and the EC. Whether they are transnational advocacy networks like Via Campesina, or the networks of networks like the IPC or the UN-initiated networks, their networking involves, as theorized by Keck and Sikkins (1998), "...working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services". Keck goes on to say that their networking

contributes to changing the behaviour of governments and international organisations and to change policies and procedures of interaction, thus creating new identities and new ways of influencing policies. The multistakeholder dialogues and partnerships become part of the new modus operandi enabling civil society organisations to actively participate, shape the terms of the debate thus helping in building counterhegemonic views on agriculture and trade liberalisation. This is both advocated and theorised by the UN as "The network should integrate the 'new paradigm of global society (...) that is based on networking in pursuit of common interests and on the emergence of non-hierarchical, multilateral and multistakeholder approaches' highlighted by the Secretary General's last ICT Task Force report to ECOSOC" (UNSNRDFS, 2004).

Thus networks are of interest because they "decentre performance and share decision-making" (Urry, 2003: 9). Though networks coordination and interaction among actors are conceptualised as occurring not through a central entity (e.g. the state) but through a multiplicity of "...purposeful interactions by individuals" who exchange information and other relevant resources (Kenis-Schnedier, 1991:26). This means that on the one hand, as noted by Hajer (2003) the state "...is metamorphosing from a relatively well-defined and territorially distinct entity into a polycentric networked form where territorial boundaries are less significant"; on the other hand, policies depend on outcome and institutionalisation of discursive practices. In the case of this research, the discourses reflect substantive argumentations made by the actors, but also the outcome of the discursive and dialogical practices initiated by civil society organisations at international level.

Substantively, the notion of networks helps to clarify that there is no global and local food systems as such and that there is no dichotomy between the two, thus counteracting the reductionism implied by the dichotomy between TNC-driven and local agriculture and food systems and between the global and local dimensions. The concept of networks allows a useful synthesis with the concept of 'food networks' which, although at inception stage, is helpful in analysing the interrelationships between all human actors in a commodity chain, excluding an a-priori overriding influence of global actors such as the TNC. According to Marsden (1997), food networks allow

consideration of all agents from the point of production, including 'action at distance' and also enabling considerations of intended and unintended local and regional effects of globalisation. Food networks are considered within the broader context of knowledge networks and their effects on technological and social effects; they also allow considering the influences of actors other than the nation-states in the regulation of agriculture. Finally, they allow the analysis of the demand of consumer segments and retails requiring "...the renaturalisation of foods as well as their continued industrialisation". In the words of Sonnino and Marsden (2005) "The fundamental question here is whether or not such networks are signalling (and contributing to) a shift towards a new rural development paradigm which redefines nature by re-emphasizing food production and agroecology and which reasserts the socio-environmental role of agriculture as a major agent in sustaining rural areas".

Economists Themselves Redefine the Problem and Borrow from Other Disciplines

The economics discipline itself borrows from sociology and acknowledges the 'overestimation of 'markets' in explaining international trade, the usefulness of the network concept to understand the "microinstitutional features of trade" and the importance of social capital in determining the geographic dimensions of international trade and in "mediating the impacts of international trade agreements" (Rauch, 1999). With the notion of global public good, it acknowledges that public good characteristics are the result of intersubjective construction and agreements, a specific domain of sociology.

It is also from sociology that economists borrow the concept of governance, used for the analysis of the commodity chain and for revisiting the principle of comparative advantage. Much international trade in food and agriculture occurring through transnational corporations is equated to a system of governance linking firms through a variety of sourcing and contracting arrangements, thus resulting in a combination of 'markets' and 'hierarchies' (UNCTAD, 2000). The concept of governance of agriculture is also borrowed by economists to express their concerns for regulation and

coordination of policies for food and agriculture at the global level (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2002).

The policy paradigm of free trade itself becomes problematised. An economic historian like Peter Timmer (2003b) questions the adequacy of trade principles as a guide to agricultural strategies by arguing that "low food prices are as easily accessed by trade as by investing in the domestic agriculture sector". He finds that not enough is known about what such trade-led strategies would miss and concludes that "... Surprisingly, in view of the length of time of the discussion has been going on, there are still no satisfactory empirical answers to this question". This echoes an earlier plea by Le Heron (1993:1) that "...The frustrations encountered in GATT has been the inability to translate analytical conclusions into political decisions about institutions and policies for agriculture".

Finally, the economists recognise the different concepts of agriculture underlying the different policy paradigms of the last fifty years (Josling, 2004) and the major shift from the conceptualisation of agriculture as a share of the economy to agriculture a 'way of life' which will involve general acceptance by society to pay in order to enable farmers to continue to stay on the land. With this, the economists also acknowledge the limitation of the positivist foundation of economics judged "incapable of addressing adequately many of the value-laden seminal issues of the day" and posit the need to make explicit the ethical foundations of their work (Pinstrup Andersen, 2005).

2.4 Conclusions

On Discourse Analysis as a Methodology

Discourse analysis offers a methodology that enables to investigate discourses in their content, their patterns of argumentation and meaning and also their form and materiality they are embedded in. It has proved useful in understanding how discourses are constitutive of the social reality they describe, how they can be used as an instrument of

political resonance and as resources to bring about outcomes (Fouilleux, 2003b). Discourses become a form of knowledge; as such they matter, as through them, actors position themselves and engage into action. The link of discourses with decision-making makes it analytically very relevant to trace the nexus between discourses and reality. Discourses can become political and intellectual resources with the potential for transformative power; they can be used as an instrument of identity assertion and as an instrument to attain political leverage by the less powerful groups. By linking the actors with the discourses, the research has enabled to trace their development, dissemination and creation of subjectivities, thus enabling to refute Sabatier's critique that social constructivist frameworks "... conceive of ideas as free-floating that is, unconnected to specific individuals and thus largely nonfalsifiable" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999:11).

While sharing the understanding that reality cannot be apprehended without the discourses that constitute it – not represent it – I also believe, however, that discourses cannot be considered the only or the primary causal factor for policy change. As well explained by Schmidt and Radaelli (2004) "...interests also matter, as do material conditions and hard economic variables that may serve to drive change...". The contentions over domestic subsidies and the size of the Green Box mentioned in the first chapters are the demonstration of economic interests behind, i.e. what Elster (1986 referenced in Radaelli and Schmidt, 2004:373) refers to as the 'logic of the markets' – not analysed in this research – versus the 'logic of the fora' explored through discourse analysis. It follows that the ontology is not social constructivism as opposed to positivism, rather a continuum between the two. While sharing the interpretivist claims on an intersubjectively created reality, I also believe, as expressed by Miles and Huberman (1994:4) that 'social phenomena exist not only in the mind but also in the objective world – and that some lawful and reasonably stable relationships are to be found among them.

On the Heuristic Framework

A significant result of data gathering and organisation with the help of the heuristic framework of fora and arena is that these have generated spaces for expressions by both the "experts" and the lay-persons and have given equal ontological status to official policy documents, textual and other types of materials, including artefacts and consumer goods. This research has progressively taken the stand that knowledge is a co-production between experts and the social actors, with the experts not necessarily standing in a higher epistemological position (Barry and Slater, 2002c) and has documented how professional experts and researchers no longer have the monopoly over authorized or legitimate discourse. It has also come to share Majone's view that problems nowadays present questions that cannot be analysed only through one or more disciplines "...answers must be transscientific, involving both experts and generalists" (Majone, 1989:5). By transscientific answers, Majone meant answers based on questions "...of fact that can be stated in the language of science but are, in principle or in practice, unanswerable by science" (ibid.2).

On the Theoretical Frameworks Sustaining the Discourses

The heuristic framework of fora and arena proved useful in documenting the heterogeneity of the sources of knowledge construction on the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation; such sources, in turn, proved instrumental in identifying the different disciplines and theoretical frameworks behind the discourses. These became themselves resources used in the process of discourse-making struggling for persuading or for supremacy. Above all, the review of the theoretical frameworks shows the gradual erosion of the hegemony of the economics discipline as single 'owner' of the policy problem construction; nevertheless, economics generates a potentially powerful conceptual framework such as global public goods which transcends the ontological limits of the discipline in that it acknowledges that the properties of what constitute global public goods are not immutable and fixed, but rather the result of intersubjective agreement. The conceptual framework of global

public goods also implies the deterritorialisation of the goods in question, hence raising the question of transnational governance and allowing to extend the concerns to issues of cosmopolitan justice, within global public good economics a sub-field of economics.

Thus economics contributes to an interdisciplinary perspective to the policy problem of trade liberalisation in agriculture, with contributions from disciplines as varied as policy studies, organisation and management studies, anthropology, political economy and sociology, the latter playing a fundamental role with its own theories. The research, therefore, has not relied on a "guiding theory" nor has attempted to arrive at a new theory. The result is not so much a synthesis but rather a hybridisation of theoretical approaches that are mutually compatible and have an overall coherence, even if eclectically assembled; it is such hybridisation that appears to be called for by the interdisciplinary nature of the policy problem of trade liberalisation in agriculture.

Critical Observations

The literature review covered the situation of food and agriculture in the world since the Second World War with large reliance on FAO materials. Only ex-post I realised that the selection of so many FAO materials had been unconsciously guided by my understanding of FAO as the only mandated technical agency of the United Nations with a global outreach on agriculture. I also became aware of my belief in the authoritativeness – both moral and technical – of the UN themselves, as given to them by governments and the transnational epistemic communities working with them.

The heuristic framework of fora and arena proved useful as a method for collecting and organising the information on which I undertook thematic reading but was also useful to enable my own distancing from FAO and my dealing with FAO as with all other organisations. In the process, I found the collection and organisation of the materials a little mechanistic, in that it did not allow capturing the informal type of information I was aware of through conversations with colleagues and members of the organisations used as case studies. Nevertheless, I found that this was a necessary way of proceeding

in order to silence such a large amount of information that would have required careful sifting through.

The documentary materials reviewed have been in English only. Although the origin of the majority of the texts was English, I believe that this language hegemony has probably precluded capturing other voices. Whenever materials were available in different languages, even though able to read them, I used the English version. I did not consider those features of texts that, akin to the nonverbal aspects of spoken language, characterise the emotional and cognitive impact of the texts, such as the way words are presented, the use of graphics or images. I excluded radio. TV, videos as these would have required different interpretation methods. I also did not consider the myriad of electronic communications used particularly by civil society organisations, although recognising its importance as a site of social construction, and not just communication (Markham, 2004).

The interviews added little to the findings through documentary evidence; they rather clarified such evidence or served to highlight certain aspects of what I had reviewed. It was difficult for the interviewees to focus on 'what gets talked about'. The interviews took place in the interviewees' offices and they gave their views as officials representing their organisation. For civil society organisations, one-on-one interviews were used to gather information and confirm certain findings; I was aware of the limitation of one-on-one interviewing in the case of networks and social movements, and the inability therefore to capture the collective nature of the social construction endeavour by social movements and networks.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEXT: DEVELOPMENTS IN AGRICULTURE, AGRICULTURAL TRADE AND CHANGES IN THE MAKING

The last 50 years have seen an unprecedented, rapid evolution in agriculture development, industrialisation and in trade. This chapter provides a contextual overview of the food and agriculture situation in the world since the Second World War. It reviews the overproduction which has been occurring in Europe and the USA, leading to the inclusion of agriculture in the world trade negotiations, the concomitant evolution in farming systems and the structural changes that are still in the making in the agro-food sector.

3.1 Agriculture since 1946

World War II had severe consequences for the economy and for the agriculture sector of countries in Europe, the USSR, large areas of Asia and the Pacific and North Africa, fostering the role of food suppliers of the United States, Canada, Australia and Argentina. In North America, net cereal exports rose from about 5 million tons in 1938 to an annual average of 17.5 million tons in 1946–48 with European imports rising from 9.5 million to 14 million tons during the same period (FAO, 2000). This marked the beginning of policies that would generate high levels of production of agricultural products both in the United States and in Europe; the latter wanting to recover from the war and re-establish its agricultural production potential. This was accompanied by profound changes in agronomic practices, most notable of which was the separation of intensive livestock from cereal production which gave rise to the importance of crops such as hybrid maize and soy (Friedmann, 1993).

In contrast to these developments in the USA and Europe, developing countries adopted policies that *de facto* resulted in discrimination against agriculture through overvalued

exchange rates and taxation privileging industrialisation and import substitution. Countries producing tropical crops found themselves faced with the progressive and steady decline of prices of their commodities, with their indebtedness situation forcing them to expand production for exports and reduce imports. Hence agriculture from the 1950s onwards witnessed an increasing polarisation between agricultural productivity and production growth in USA and Europe and stagnant or decreasing growth levels in developing countries, with occurrences of food shortages and famines in some of them. Overall, for developing countries with agrarian economies, the stagnant agricultural sector implied the persistence of rural poverty and, in many of them, also of hunger and undernutrition.

This situation and the problem of overproduction and growing agricultural surpluses was reported by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) in its 1953 edition of the annual *State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA)* and was discussed at its Conference, the deliberating body of its member countries. The concern was how to dispose of such surpluses without disrupting agricultural markets and how to regulate agriculture so as to ensure a level of production to meet world requirements without adding to the surpluses. The Conference led to the establishment of a standing subcommittee of the *FAO Committee on Commodity Problems* in order to provide a forum of intergovernmental consultations on these issues. The use of surplus food commodities to alleviate food emergencies and promote development was then proposed and food aid as a development tool was at the origin of the creation of the *World Food Programme* in 1961 on an experimental basis.

Some exporting countries started adopting price equalisation schemes to attenuate the price fluctuations and to move towards international commodity agreements to regulate markets by stabilising production and prices at levels considered satisfactory by both exporters and importers. They were also to limit competition by establishing quotas among member countries. The most important and currently active agricultural commodity agreements are for rubber, jute and jute products, sugar, cocoa, tropical wood, olive oil and wheat.

In the 1960s, there were rapid advances in agricultural technology, such as the Green Revolution and the establishment of the first international agricultural research centres. These aimed at research on crops other than the major cereals and on farming systems worldwide, with the aim to increase their resilience and productivity. Overall patterns of agricultural output between 1955 and 1995 show huge growth induced by the large increase in cereals grown for feed use: cereal production almost tripled, meat production value tripled and milk production value doubled (FAO, 2000). Such growth, according to FAO (2000:175–177), has been attributable to developments related to the industrialisation of agriculture, to the results and diffusion of the Green Revolution, the expansion of very productive mixed farming systems and of irrigated surfaces and arable land worldwide.

Scientific and technological developments have been prominent in the industrialisation of agriculture in developed countries. According to FAO (2000), these can be summarised as a) motorisation (internal combustion engines, electric motors, tractors and increasingly powerful machinery, fuels and electricity); b) large-scale mechanisation (increasingly complex and efficient machinery for tillage, treatment and harvesting); c) heavy mineral fertilisation (ammonium, nitrate, nitro-ammonia, phosphate, potassium and compound fertilisers); d) treatment of pests and diseases (herbicides, insecticides, fungicides, veterinary drugs, etc.); and e) the conservation and processing[12] of vegetable and animal products (industrialisation of preservation techniques through cold, heat, drying smoking, freeze-drying, ionisation, fermentation or the addition of salt, sugar and other food preservatives). Furthermore, developments in biotechnology have been at the origin of high-yielding plant varieties and animal breeds. Atkins and Bowler (2001:227) report that since the first transgenic plant, an herbicide resistant tobacco, created in the USA in 1986, "more than 25,000 transgenic field trials were conducted on more than 60 crops with 10 different traits in 45 countries".

[12] Processing in this text is defined as suggested by Atkins and Bowler as "... processing of raw materials into products which retain the characteristics of the original material (as opposed to food manufacturing where such original materials are no longer in the product)" (Atkins & Bowler, 2001:74).

The revolution that has occurred in transport and communications and the free flow of capital has enhanced the application of improvements in the technical bases of agricultural production and its trade within nations and internationally. It has also meant the substitution of tropical raw materials with temperate crops (e.g. sugar beet for cane sugar, soy and rapeseed oil for palm and coconut oil) and with generic sweeteners (e.g. high fructose corn syrup) (Atkins and Bowler, 2001: 27). Thus, the industrialisation of agriculture has meant, on the one hand, the transformation of the agricultural production process into industrial activities whereby the industrially built part of a product constitutes a rising proportion of value added with the agricultural component becoming progressively reduced; on the other hand, it has meant the replacement of the natural components by non-agricultural components, referred to as phenomena of "appropriationism" and "substitutionism" respectively (Goodman et al., 1987).

The production growth at the global level has also been due to the expansion of irrigated surfaces (from about 80 million ha in 1950 to about 270 million ha in 2000) and of arable land and land under permanent crops (from some 1,330 million ha to 1,500 million ha since 1950), to be attributed particularly to developing countries. In the most densely populated areas lacking new land for clearing or irrigation, mixed farming systems developed using high levels of available biomass (combining crops, arboriculture, livestock and, sometimes, fish farming). As of the 1960s, world food production has outpaced population growth; it has nearly tripled, whereas world population only doubled. According to FAO (2002), the growth of agricultural production has been more than sufficient to meet the growth of effective demand, as indicated by the long-term decline in the real price of foods. This has coexisted, and continues to coexist, with problems of hunger and undernutrition in many developing countries, due to the inability to import and produce food.

USA and Europe[13]

Among developed countries, it is particularly the USA and the European countries that have played a decisive role in boosting production and the excess production that led to agriculture being included in the trade negotiations. In the USA as early as 1800, agricultural production was characterised by high productivity leading to enormous gains in production of wheat and meat, which were exported to Western Europe. This represented the emergence of what would become in the 1900s the Western, industrially based agricultural model of production, with the expansion of forward- and backward-linked processing industries. The 'excess capacity' problem – too much supply – that had started in the period 1910–1932 (Le Heron, 1993:84) continued after the Second World War.

A series of policy measures (the Agricultural Adjustment Acts (AAA)) – originally intended to allow an orderly transition of resources out of agriculture – had opposite effects. In the pursuit of social equity objectives (farm versus non-farm income), farmers were assured a 'fair' price by the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) for commodities that had not been voted for production limitations through special referenda. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) was responsible for determining the amount of agricultural production required each year. This was then translated into acreage allotments assigned via licenses to individual farmers by elected state and local committees. Even though participation by farmers was optional, *de facto* the impact of such policies at the local level was enormous. Le Heron (1993:90) cites the example of Indiana where, in 1987, 83 per cent of the land had been devoted to corn.

Price support has been the policy measure determining the excess expansion of the two primary commodities of wheat and corn. This policy of maintaining the level of farm product prices and farm incomes has continued with the introduction of *deficiency*

[13] Europe in this text, unless otherwise specified, will be used to include the European countries that formed the historical core of the European Union up to 2000, and thus excluding the newly accessed countries.

payments in the Food Security Act in 1985. This consisted of a politically determined target price supplemented by another deficiency payment that allowed the loan rate to be reduced by up to 20 per cent. Furthermore, in response to concerns over the falling share of the US in world grain markets in the 1980s, the Export Enhancement Program (EEP) was launched. This provided trading firms with bonuses from CCC stocks; the bonuses were used to lower prices of US wheat, wheat flour and barley in overseas markets. At the same time these policies have been accompanied by attempts to reduce built-up stocks and exercise some production control, to adjust production closer to market needs. For example, deficiency payments were often contingent upon farmers not planting a portion of the area base of a crop. However, these set-aside programmes have not worked; farmers did set aside land but only the most unproductive, and they intensified production on the remaining land.

Even though such policies were originally motivated by social equity reasons – ensuring that farm incomes were equivalent to non-farm incomes – they have persisted even with the disappearance of the small family farms which suffered from the productivity disadvantages in the 1930s. As of the 1990s, US agricultural production is reliant upon large operations (most of which are family owned and family operated). The net result of such policies, coupled with liberalised land policies, has been buoyant production that has been able to meet the increased world food demand. The 2002 Farm Bill allows the continuation of such a trend and thereby the confrontation with Europe, whose agricultural area is about one third of the United States' (130 million ha in EU-9 vis-à-vis 381 million ha. in the USA) (Bureau, 2002).

Europe, soon after the end of World War II, followed what has been called the US 'growth model' and 'policy model' for world agriculture (Le Heron, 1993:197). Support prices for major agricultural commodities were the foundations of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) structure devised at the Stresa Conference in 1958. The CAP had the general goals of favouring economic integration in order to promote growth and prevent the repetition of armed conflict. The particular objectives pursued were self-sufficiency in food and increase in farm income levels. Target prices were set at such levels as to ensure that they would not be undercut by imports. A system of variable

levies and export subsidies was put in place. Variable import levies are charged to cover the difference between the world prices and the threshold price. The intention of the CAP was to have a uniform set of threshold and intervention prices throughout the Community for a particular commodity.

Even though the agricultural sector differed considerably among countries, ranging from 6 per cent of GDP in Germany to 15 per cent in Italy, where agriculture accounted for 28 per cent of total employment, the CAP soon resulted in agricultural surpluses and growth of intra-EU trade. The latter grew threefold between 1960 and 1980, thus obscuring the need of imports from outside the EC. According to Bureau (2002:17), the CAP has been instrumental in "facilitating the transition of agrarian economies to economies of industries and services". The overproduction generated resulted in agricultural surpluses, high support costs to an increasingly shrinking farming population, and also environmental problems. Nevertheless, the CAP model and its success in attaining food self-sufficiency, has raised the interest of policy-makers of developing countries (FAO, 2002g), which are trying to assess the relevance and replicability of such a model for their economies.

The increased production in both the USA and in Europe was achieved along with significant demographic and economic changes. In the USA since the 1930s, there has been a constant decline in the number of farms with concomitant increase in average farm size. According to McMichael (2000), 2 per cent of the farms grow 50 per cent of agricultural produce, and the average family farm earns only 14 per cent of its income from the farm. During the period 1950 to 1990, 4 million farm workers in the USA and 20 million in Europe left the farm sector; such rural exodus then slowed down.

3.2. Evolution of Farming Systems

The production increases have also meant profound changes in the farming systems, defined in this text as

"a population of individual farm systems that have broadly similar resource bases, enterprise patterns, household livelihoods and constraints, and for which similar development strategies and interventions would be appropriate. Depending on the scale of the analysis, a farming system can encompass a few dozen or many millions of households" (Dixon et al., 2001:9).

Such changes have been far-reaching in developed countries since the 1950s and to a less extent in developing countries; the evolution continues nowadays with the emergence of consumer-driven farming systems.

Farming Systems in Developed Countries

In developed countries, agricultural holdings of a few hectares per worker were common in the 1950s. These were characterised by mixed crop and livestock farming using animal traction and producing much of their forage, manure, seeds, livestock and food. Progressive transformations occurred. Cereals and other large-scale grain crops (rapeseed, sunflower, soybean and other leguminous plants, and cotton) provided an opportunity for the agricultural machinery industry, followed by roots and tubers, dairy cattle, forage harvesting, viticulture and vegetable fruit crops. By way of example, a low-horsepower tractor (10 to 30 HP) before the 1950s helped increase surface area allocated per worker from some 10 to more than 20 ha. In the 1990s, the latest four-wheel drive tractors of more than 120 HP extended the area per worker to more than 200 ha. For dairy production in 1950s, one person could hand milk 12 cows twice a day. Nowadays with the latest fully automated milking parlour, more than 200 cows can be milked (FAO, 2000).

The developments resulting from increased yields led to specialisation of regions and farmers – agricultural holdings located in flat regions specialising in cereals, oilseeds or roots and tubers, while farms in hill areas, in low-lying rainy heavy soil coastal regions and in arid areas specialised on pasture and livestock. With trade farms became supplied with capital and consumer goods of every kind and therefore without the need to engage in mixed animal and crop farming for comprehensive localised self-supply (FAO, 2000:182). However, higher productivity did not mean higher income. Only highly

capitalised farms could survive in a time period characterised by the downward trend of real prices of agricultural food commodities and rising wages. This has led to a gradual geographic specialisation due to the progressive emergence of the most efficient specialised product combination and level of equipment (i.e. the most efficient production system).

"As each region abandons the unprofitable activities and focuses on a few profitable ones, the resulting delocalization and then the relocation of all agricultural activities produces a vast interregional division of agricultural work which, taken beyond national borders, gives some countries a very distinctive agricultural profile. However, this has also meant that those farms that were undercapitalised disappeared with migration from rural to urban areas and the spread of derelict land" (FAO, 2000:185).

These changes have meant profound *ecological changes* due to massive spatial relocations of crops and livestock activities in some places, market gardening, flower or other cultivation, fallow land and afforestation elsewhere. Hence the creation of new ecosystems which are different from the past multicrop/livestock ecosystems. FAO (2000:186) refers to them with the following assessment "Today's cultivated ecosystems are simpler and more uniform.... What is more, being better nourished and protected, both crops and livestock are more vigorous and generally more densely stocked than in the past." It also recognises, however, that genetic diversity has been impoverished, that high concentrations of fertiliser and chemicals and the massive application of excreta can cause mineral and organic pollution and at times also adulteration of foods themselves (an excessive amount of nitrates in vegetables, pesticides on fruit and hormones and antibiotics in meat). It talks about 'ecological tolerance' being exceeded. The development of large-scale, monocultural, capital-intensive farms and the gradual disappearance of the smaller and more diversified 'family farms' raise concerns related to the ecological sustainability of agriculture and to is role in preserving what is believed to be rural culture or also rural ways of life.

Farming Systems in Developing Countries

The revolution that has occurred in developed countries has not occurred in developing countries with the exception of small parts of Latin America, North Africa and South

Africa and Asia. Thanks to the work of the research institutes, there have been higher yielding varieties of maize, rice, wheat, cassava, broad bean, sweet sorghum and pigeon peas. Regions that were not accessible to cheap imports of cereals and other food commodities could maintain their production systems characterised by diversity in breeds, implements, crop and livestock combinations and practices. The low productivity and low returns per worker in developing countries meant that farmers devoted their resources and workforce to cash crops (cotton, oil palm, rubber, coffee, cacao, banana, pineapple and tea) with consequent decline of local food production.

Because of falling agricultural prices of the cash crop commodities over the last 50 years, the already low cash income of these farmers (FAO, 2000: 190) becomes insufficient to maintain and renew their equipment and inputs, thus eroding their production capacity. The survival of the farm occurs in a short-term perspective with the progressive decapitalisation (sale of livestock, non-renewal of equipment) and hence also the neglect of the maintenance of the cultivated ecosystem. The changes in farming systems had already been the object of concern with the rising urbanisation phenomenon in developing countries. FAO noted (1984:17) "The change in cropping patterns may be the most radical change to the agricultural system, particularly in farming areas adjacent to rapidly growing urban areas. The result may be toward more specialization in fruits, vegetables, food crops and livestock production".

In what appears a deliberate attempt to valorise the existence of indigenous and diverse farming systems, the FAO and the World Bank (Dixon et al., 2001) have reviewed farming systems in the world, thus characterising and defining about 70 of them. The rationale behind the study was to assess which farming systems of the eight categories identified for each developing region are more likely to help farmers escape from poverty and hunger, off-farm income and exit from farming being also considered as options (Dixon et al., 2001:11). FAO (2002h:192) acknowledges that positive changes are occurring in developing countries with respect to the development of mixed systems, which use intensively biomass combining crops, arboriculture, breeding and sometimes even aquaculture. It advocates the need for a new green revolution for resource-poor regions and farmers.

Overall, research for developing countries has concentrated in commercially important cash crops (coffee, tea, sugar cane and bananas) – while many tropical staples and minor cash crops have received less attention. Less attention has been given to integrated technologies to allow the diversification of the livelihoods of small farmers and increase the sustainability of land use.

"Little is understood, for instance, about the role of organic matter in soils, the development of reduced tillage systems, the use of on-farm organic resources in combination with inorganic fertilisers and the role of legumes in biological nitrogen fixation. Similarly, there has been limited research in Integrated Pest Management (IPM) and in weed and pest control" (Dixon et al., 2001:21).

International support for the International Agricultural Research Centres has diminished; nonetheless, according to FAO (2000), the existing capacity and the development of improved varieties, agronomic practices (integrated pest management), etc. provide technological momentum that will ensure further productivity growth probably at something like the growth record of the 1990s.

Emerging Consumer-driven Farming Systems

New farming systems are evolving in both developed and developing countries in response to rich countries consumers' demands. These are being increasingly influential in the way food is produced thus generating indirectly forms of agricultural production that add specifications or differ from the monocultural, large-scale model prevailing in the USA and to a lesser extent in Europe. For example, with what is called "precision farming" requirements are given to farmers on product specification, grading and quality. This has appeared with the privatisation of information consultancy services and with the increasing importance of retailers. Consumers' concerns with the environment have contributed to "organic agriculture" and "conservation agriculture".

Organic agriculture is a set of practices intended to make food production and processing respectful of the environment. It is essentially a production management

system aiming at the promotion and enhancement of ecosystem health, including biological cycles and soil biological activity. It is based on minimising the use of external inputs, representing a deliberate attempt to make the best use of local natural resources. Synthetic pesticides, mineral fertilisers, synthetic preservatives, pharmaceuticals, GMOs, sewage sludge and irradiation are prohibited in all organic standards. Naturally, this by itself does not guarantee the absence of resource and environmental problems characteristic of conventional agriculture. Soil mining and erosion, for example, can also be problems in organic agriculture. Organically grown foods (FAO, 2001c) have seen rapid advances in production and exports worldwide over the last 10 years. The UNCTAD/WTO International Trade Centre (ITC) estimated retail sales of organic foods in the 11 largest markets at US$13 billion in 1998. In 2005, the Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture estimated world retail sales of organic food products at more than $25 billion, with the US and European Union consumers making up 95 per cent of total purchases (Laux, 2006). Although sales of organic products account for less than 2 per cent of the food market in most countries, these products continue to attract the attention of governments, producers, market operators, consumers and the media.

As opposed to organic agriculture, *conservation agriculture* does not prohibit the use of chemical inputs, although it uses them less than conventional farming. Conservation agriculture is based on the principle of enhancing biological processes. Instead of burning crop residues after the harvest or ploughing biomass into the ground, they are left in place as soil cover. At the start of the next cropping season, fields are not ploughed – instead, special equipment is used to drill the seeds directly into the soil (FAO, 2002f).

3.3 Agricultural Trade and the Negotiations Leading to the Uruguay Round

In addition to technological developments, these changes in farming systems are also adduced to the increase in trade; it is feared that trade liberalisation may threaten further the existing farming systems, and their disappearance is viewed as a loss for humanity.

Between 1948 and 1997, trade grew at an annual rate of 6 per cent, while world production only increased at 3.7 per cent per annum. One reason commonly put forth for trade growth has been the extraordinary breakthroughs that occurred in transport, communication and information technologies. These have helped reduce considerably trading costs. For example, the unit cost of sea freight was reduced by 70 per cent in the last 10–15 years. The cost of air transport between 1930 and 1960 fell by more than 80 per cent and that of telecommunications by more than 98 per cent. After the Second World War trade was seen and theorised as important not only for prosperity but also for international harmony, for political stability and peace.

The bulk of international trade occurs between developed countries. Trade between the USA, Japan and Europe accounts for around one third of world trade while one fifth of world trade is occurring among EU members. WTO estimates that 40 per cent of international trade occurs through transnational corporations (TNC). Overall, agricultural products (food, fish, other food products and raw materials) account for only 8.8 per cent of world trade (WTO, 2005d) – 6.9 per cent being food[14] – the rest being fuels and mining products (13.9 per cent) and manufactures (74.8 per cent).

The increase in trade has been accompanied by a shift from bulk commodities to more processed commodities that have a greater share of value added. There is great variation among commodities in the share of output that is traded. The most traded agricultural commodities – relative to their production – are essentially produced by developing countries. These are cocoa, coffee, rubber, tobacco, veneer sheets, sugar, vegetable oils, tea, fish and cotton lint; they represent the main source of foreign exchange for many developing countries, thus making them very vulnerable to the variations in the markets for these commodities. For the least developed countries,[15] primary commodities make up to 70 per cent of total trade.

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[14] Food is defined by WTO as: " food and live animals; beverages and tobacco; animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes, oilseeds and oleaginous fruit (SITC sections 1,1,4 and division 22) (WTO Statistics, Technical Notes).

[15] According to the UN definition and criteria 50 countries are qualified as least developed countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Kiribati, Laos, Myanmar, Vanuatu, Samoa, Nepal, Solomon Islands, Timor-Lesté, Tuvalu, Vanuatu in Asia; Zambia, Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi,

The prices of most of these agricultural commodities fell dramatically in the 1980s (by 50 per cent for sugar, raw materials, beverage crops, cereals and meat) and have now stabilised since then. Overall trade is important for developing countries to meet their food consumption needs. The issue is whether the greater reliance on trade imports can be met financially through foreign exchange; hence the importance of stable and remunerative prices for their basic exportable commodities. Also of their concern is whether the world market can be relied upon as a source of affordable and stable supplies.

Wheat is the cereal whose trade represents the largest share of total production (around 20 per cent). Developing countries account for nearly 80 per cent of all wheat imports (FAO, 2002b). Not surprisingly, the least traded commodities, relative to their production, are bulky food commodities such yam and plantain, and highly perishable commodities like sugar cane. The vast bulk of food is consumed in the country of origin and trade across borders take up still a relatively small part of final consumption (6.8 per cent for crops and 5.7 per cent for livestock products in 1998). Fruit and vegetables and grain are the most important food commodities traded, although animal and fish products are mounting as rising incomes encourage a more protein-centred diet.

Table 3.1 provides an overview of the share of agricultural trade in global trade, showing the small percentage for North America and for Europe and within the percentage the importance of the primary products for both regions.

Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo and Uganda in Africa; Yemen in the Near East and Haiti in Latin America. (United Nations, 2006).

Table 3.1 Share of agricultural products in trade in total merchandise and in primary products by region, 2004 (Percentage)

	Exports	Imports
Share of agricultural products in total merchandise		
World	8.8	8.8
North America	9.9	6.2
South and Central America	28.9	9.4
Europe	9.1	9.7
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)	9.0	13.7
Africa	12.1	14.5
Middle East	2.4	11.1
Asia	6.0	8.4
Share of agricultural products in primary products		
World	37.9	37.9
North America	49.8	30.8
South and Central America	46.7	34.2
Europe	54.8	45.4
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)	14.4	53.1
Africa	17.0	54.0
Middle East	3.1	64.3
Asia	43.7	30.2

Note: Import shares are derived from the Secretariat's network of world merchandise trade by product and region.

Source: WTO Statistics, 2005:112, Table IV.5.

In value terms, it is the intra-European trade flows that represent the greatest share, as evidenced by Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Major flows in world exports of agricultural products, 2004 (billion dollars)

	Value
Intra-Europe	297.4
Intra-Asia	84.0
Intra-North America	59.7
North America to Asia	40.0
South and Central America to Europe	26.3
South and Central America to North America	14.6

Source: WTO Statistics, 2005:112.

Figure 3.1 provides a synoptic overview of the share of agricultural trade in various regions of the world, showing the dominant share of European agriculture trade.

USA and Europe

From about the 1970s onwards, the problems generated by the disposal of surpluses of Europe and USA took enlarged geographic dimensions and had destabilising repercussions on the international markets. Similarly, the USA/USSR trade in wheat reached historically high peaks, with high fluctuations that destabilised wheat production in the key producing countries.

The overproduction in the USA was turned into a food aid strategy, pursuing different geopolitical objectives, including fighting communism and relieving hunger and famines. In 1954, 35 per cent of world wheat trade was under PL480 of the US Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. In the 1980s the US represented between 1/3 to 1/2 of world wheat exports and 1/2 to 2/3 of trade in coarse grains. The USA market share has risen when market conditions were favourable and has fallen in moments of low prices. In contrast to the EU, this has been due to price-responsive land policies (elastic resource base). Hence the USA has been able to benefit from the increasing world food trade by expanding its production. This has also been due to its price support policies and to the Export Enhancement Program (EEP) of the 1980s, a measure devised to counteract the EC export subsidy policy. Nowadays the United States ranks as the world's largest wheat exporter, contributing around one third of world export volume (FAO, 2002b:4).

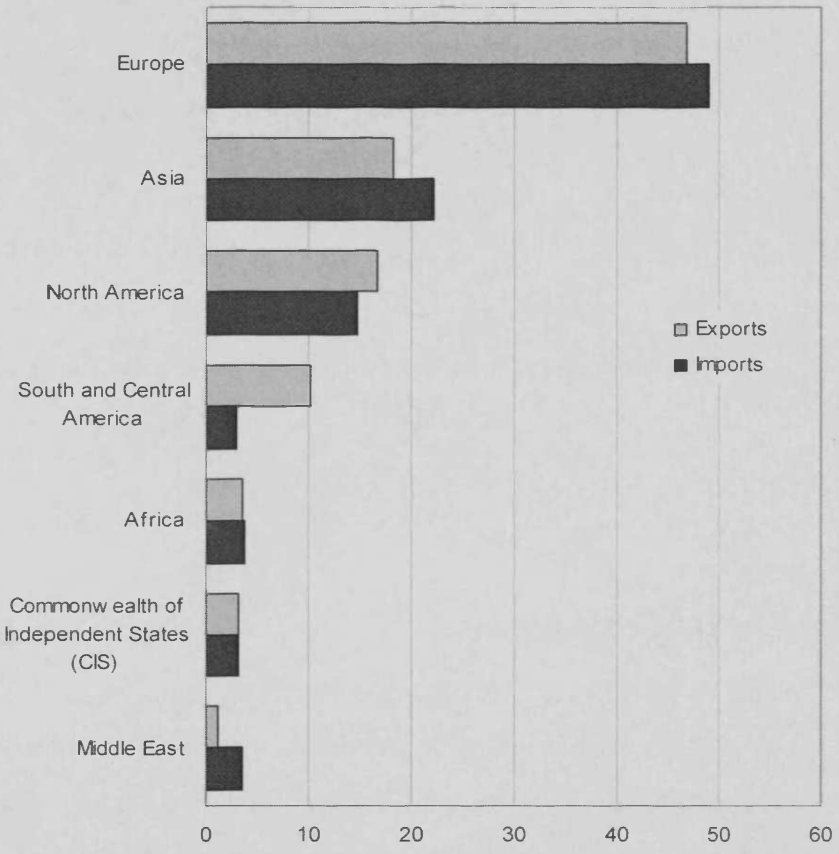


Figure 3.1 Regional shares in world trade in agricultural products, 2004 (Percentage)
Source: WTO Statistics, 2005:11, Chart IV.3.

Europe witnessed agricultural surpluses from the early 1970s onwards. Intra-EU trade grew threefold between 1960 and 1980 to eclipse imports from outside the EU (Le Heron, 1993:120). The overall effect of the CAP on world markets has been criticised, particularly by the USA and Australia. However, the results of the studies are mixed. According to Bureau (2002:61),

"While it is clear that the CAP imposes some negative externalities on other exporting countries, recent simulations suggest that, because of the production limiting effect of the dairy quotas, the biofuel programmes and the mandatory set-aside, the impact of the CAP on world markets is questionable".

In both the USA and the EU, it is the larger farmers who have benefited from the support policies. According to FAO (2003a), the smallest 25 per cent of European farms

receive less than 4 per cent of total European support, whereas the largest 25 per cent of European farms receive 70 per cent of this total. The same figures prevail in the US. According to the UNDP, such support has been increasing; in 2004, it constituted 33 per cent of the value of production for the EU and 18 per cent for the USA (it was 56 per cent for Japan) (UNDP, 2005:129).

Inclusion of Agriculture in the Uruguay Round

Overall the heavy government subsidies of the USA and Europe have led to price distortions at the world level causing what Johnson referred to as the "disarray of agriculture" (Johnson, 1973). The world prices of temperate agricultural commodities were lowered to uncompetitive levels, exercising downward pressure on domestic prices in developing countries and generating global market instability. The price disincentives in developing countries compromised agricultural production and fostered those long-term distortions in their economies from which many are to recover, including also the abandonment of agricultural activities by the population, the loss of land devoted to agriculture, the loss of indigenous knowledge and biodiversity. The problems generated by general market instability have been at the origin of the intense and lengthy negotiations in the framework of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) and the inclusion of agriculture in the Uruguay Round, which started in 1986. This was the result of the concurrence by both the EU and the USA to regulate and end their frictions and to build upon the principles of the GATT, which had proved fruitful in the consecutive rounds of negotiations started in 1947, namely the principles of the Most Favoured Nation, of reciprocity, transparency and tariff reduction.

The objective of the Uruguay Round with respect to agriculture was thus formulated as: "to achieve greater liberalisation of trade in agriculture and bring all measures affecting import access and export competition under strengthened and more operationally effective GATT rules and disciplines." (WTO, 1999). It took seven years to reach consensus; it is only in 1993 that the "Agreement on Agriculture" became part of the "Final Act Embodying the Results of the Uruguay Round Multilateral Trade

Negotiations". The Agreement on Agriculture included rules on restricting market access through tariffs, variable levies, import quotas and other non-tariff barriers, rules on domestic support policies and on export subsidies. Article 20 of the Agreement also included non-trade concerns, originally identified as food security and the need to protect the environment.

Globalisation of Markets

Profound structural changes in production and processing are affecting the trade flows. As clearly expressed by FAO (2003b:14)

"What was once a set of national markets linked by raw material trade from land-rich to land-scarce countries is gradually becoming a loosely integrated global market with movements of capital, raw and semi-processed goods, final products and consumer retail services. Intra-firm and intra-industry trade is increasing in importance so that the food trade is assuming certain characteristics of the trade in manufactures".

Trade in differentiated products – such as processed food, fruits and vegetables – has acquired greater importance (Josling et al., 1996:234) This implies that trade policy for food and agriculture is no longer focussed on primary farming only but is encompassing more and more issues and interests of the whole food chain, including food processing, marketing and distribution. These include the search for low-cost supplies worldwide, which are reinforced by the existing intra-firm arrangements of the transnational corporations (TNCs) operating in the food sector and the emphasis to add value to the raw material and to marketing the final product, with quality and brand becoming major factors for building and maintaining market shares. This also applies to food that becomes the product of international production chains.

Agriculture thereby is transitioning from the 'internationalisation' of the late nineteenth century to its 'globalisation' (Kaplinksi, 2000). Globalisation in this text is understood as "intensification of levels of interaction and interconnectedness between states and

society which make up international society" and as "political, economic and social activity which has become world-wide in scope" (Held, 1991)[16]. A similar general definition applicable to this text is the one by McMichael (1994:277, referenced in Atkins and Bowler, 2001:37) globalisation 'generally refers to the world-wide integration of economic process and of space', including 'a shift of power from communities and nation-states to international institutions such as transnational corporations and multilateral agencies'. In view of the perspective offered by discourse analysis in understanding the cultural process behind the discourses, I also found useful the suggestive characterisation of globalisation by Geertz (2000:72) as 'clashing sensibilities in inevadable contact', whereby moral issues from different cultures are now to be found within one society.

TNCs are prominent nowadays in the agri-food sector. These are companies that view "... the entire world as a potential market and strive[s] to develop integrated world market strategies" (Keegan & Green, 2003:19). They have greatly expanded since their precursors in the 1950s and 1960s (Coca Cola, Del Monte, Heinz, Kellogg, Nabisco, Pepsi and Unilever). These were nationally based and sourced their raw materials through production contracts in many different countries; they were called multinationals. Now, there are varied configurations of TNC presence in the agri-food sector worldwide: TNCs with multi-domestic affiliates, TNCs with complex, vertically and horizontally integrated systems. According to Goodman (1994) reported in Atkins and Bowler (2001:37), their locational decisions are footloose and "... driven by internal firm-specific criteria". There are only few food-manufacturing companies, which conform to the industrial model of a centralised company with global intra-firm division of labour with outsourcing for intermediate products from specialised sites (Watts and Goodman, 1997). Whatever their form, UNCTAD (2001) reports that the 'food/beverage/tobacco industries' in 1999 had the highest transnationality index,[17]

[16] An indicator of globalisation in the economics literature, intended as increased trade and openness of countries, is the ratio of imports and exports to GDP.
[17] The transnationality index is the result of the average of three ratios: foreign assets to total assets; foreign sales to total sales and foreign employment to total employment.

second to the media industry. The growth of investments has primarily been within OECD countries.

Tansey and Worsley (1995:121) report that the OECD estimates that around 60 per cent of global trade is conducted by TNCs, the major of these flows being intra-company trade. In food and agriculture, WTO (1998) reported that 40 per cent of the trade was by TNCs. TNCs in food and agriculture encompass processors, supermarkets, wholesalers and retailers and caterers. The presence of transnational corporations in food and agriculture has become a dominant feature reported with various concerns by agencies and scholars (UNCTAD, 2001; FAO, 2003b; Reardon, 2002; Miele and Pinduccio, 2001). Concerns relate to the market concentration process, the power of the food industry in influencing the regulatory frameworks on which multilateral agencies like WHO and FAO work, such as dietary guidelines, pesticide use, additives, etc. (Boseley, 2003), the appropriation and industrialisation of organic agriculture methods and techniques (Miele and Pinduccio, 2001). Other concerns relate to the disappearance of local food systems in developing countries and to the private initiatives for setting food standards which overrule and ignore the standards set within WTO rules (Reardon, 2002).

In developed countries, food manufacturers and processors have taken over what used to be women's responsibilities of preparing food from basic ingredients. They have expanded in two main directions, vertically and horizontally. Vertically they have taken on all operations of the food chain from "farm gate to the dinner plate". Horizontally, they have expanded into foreign markets. The combined process of horizontal expansion across countries and vertical integration with the company created the typical TNC in food and agriculture. These TNCs are frequently referred to as "food chain complexes" or "food chain clusters". Most of these operate from a Western European or US home base; the US TNCs and European TNCs are increasingly integrated through mergers and direct investments (Friedmann, 1993; Lang 2003). They have extended their influence across country borders and have created vertically integrated or co-ordinated production chains across the globe. They establish contracts with primary

producers in developing countries. The three most advanced food chain clusters are Cargill/Monsanto, ConAgr and Novartis/ADM.

3.4 Changes in the Making and Projections for the Future

Agriculture takes up a diminishing part of the economy worldwide and a diminishing part of global trade, with the developed countries – in particular the USA and the EU – and the TNCs having the lion's share of both primary and processed commodities. At the same time, the changes occurring in agricultural production, processing and consumption raise issues of global concern; these refer to the structural changes in the food sector and the role of trade, the sustainability of the natural resource base to meet the increased demand for food, the persistence of hunger and undernutrition, the creation of new types of food and the convergence of food consumption patterns worldwide (FAO, 2002f).

Structural Changes in the Food Sector and the Role of Trade

Structural changes are occurring world-wide derived from a number of factors encompassing progress in biological sciences, the shrinking role of food and agriculture in the overall economy and the increasing concentration in the food industry with resulting different bargaining and power positions. In addition, changes are occurring in agricultural trade flows and characteristics, changes in the demands put on food and agriculture by consumers in industrialised countries and, finally, the increased distance between producers and consumers, in spatial, temporal, cultural and psychological terms.

Scientific progress in the biological sciences (FAO, 2000:192) has led to the creation of transgenic products for which whole new sets of institutional and regulatory issues are at stake and are being addressed (e.g. Intellectual Property Rights). With regard to food, new techniques such as ultrafiltration and gene-splitting are enabling the production of

"... plants, animals and foods which so far have only existed in the realms of fiction" (Tansey and Worsley, 1995:172). Biotechnologies, however, represent a threat to the relative exclusiveness of different agro-ecological systems which have given geographical specificity to certain agricultural productions. FAO (2002b:192) acknowledges that positive changes are occurring in developing countries with respect to the development of mixed systems, which use intensively biomass combining crops, arboriculture, breeding and sometimes even aquaculture. It advocates the need for a new green revolution for resource-poor regions and farmers.

Trade has facilitated the increase in the array and availability of food to consumers worldwide. At the same time, trade liberalisation is seen as potentially endangering local food systems, replaced by industrial agricultural varieties and by foods demanded by the rich consumers in developed countries. These may be different from local foods or, potentially, there may be an opportunity for local food varieties to appeal to rich consumers. The issue for developing countries is the impact of trade liberalisation on farming systems based on local ecological conditions, local knowledge and local farming practices. Their survival is considered a danger not only for the countries directly concerned but for the world heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Consumers' demand in rich countries has the potential to displace them or to strengthen them. The work of multilateral agencies like FAO and UNESCO intends to create awareness and positive values toward the preservation of unique farming systems in developing countries, linked to centres of origin and diversity of domesticated plant and animal species, built on "natural ecological processes rather than struggling against them". A common feature worldwide is that farmers with different resources tend to specialise in different crops; the increasing specialization of farms – and therefore their decreasing diversification – is consistent with greater diversity at more aggregate levels because of the commercialisation of agriculture (Timmer, 2003a).

In relation to the concern for the loss of biodiversity, relatively high-tech national gene banks have been set up by the Rome-based International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI) renamed Biodiversity International in 2005. In addition, seeds from

many varieties are preserved, produced and improved in farmers' fields (Tansey and Worsley, 1995:178).

Even though, as shown in the preceding sections, agricultural trade is a diminishing part of international trade, trade will be important in meeting global food demand. Food will be traded from developed to developing countries, which will continue to import food. Differences in production and productivity continue to persist between developed and developing countries as well as the patterns of exchange between the two. Developing countries' exports are composed primarily of raw agricultural products, while their imports consist of processed food products. The issue for them will be how much will they continue to be confined to being just suppliers of a few raw materials; to which extent the substitutionism that has occurred in the past will continue (Goodman and Redclift, 1991). In its perspective study *Agriculture Towards 2015–2030* (FAO, 2003b), the FAO concludes that only those developing countries that can cater to the changing needs of middle-class consumers of industrialised countries can use trade as an engine of development. They will be faced, however, with new forms of trade barriers related to food safety and quality standards, while tariff and quantitative restrictions on food and agricultural trade are being progressively lowered.

Both in Europe and in the United States, the food industry and its market concentration, characterised by larger and larger production and processing units, raise concerns about whether they serve public interest. FAO (2002f) signals that "globalisation had major direct and indirect effects: concentration of ownership in the seed and agrochemical industries, the genetic uniformization of production and the disappearance of local varieties and local foods ...", warning, however, at the same time, about the danger that "this may lead to anti-modern views of the sector". It also states that in the next 30 years, TNCs will be handling a growing share of trade and that the 'global market place' (FAO, 2003b:263) will be in need of global competition rules and rules for the protection of intellectual property rights and of geographic indications. While the TRIPS Agreement (Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights) makes provisions for protecting wines and spirits through Geographical Indications (GIs), the post-Doha debate is considering whether the relevant provisions provide a mandate for extending

the coverage beyond wines and spirits and how to make the protection of the GIs for wine and spirits effective.

With respect to the sustainability of the world natural resource base, according to FAO (2003b:259),

"Trade can help to minimize adverse effects on the global resource system, if it spreads pressures in accordance with the capabilities of the different countries to withstand and respond to them. Whether it will do so depends largely on how well the prices of each country reflect its 'environmental' comparative advantage".

Sustainability at the Global Level

Various fora discuss the sustainability of the natural resource base as a matter of global concern. In a meeting convened by the World Bank in Dublin in November 2002, the problems faced by world agriculture in the coming decades were summarised as feeding the world's population, forecast to grow from 7 billion to 10 billion within 50 years; coping with reductions in the amount of land under cultivation, due to the spread of cities and deserts; coping with water shortages, and how to increase public agricultural research (Mason, 2002). The FAO, in its work on projections to the year 2030 (FAO, 2003b), acknowledges that nowadays world production is sufficient to feed 6 billion human beings and states that productivity growth in agriculture will continue for the next 25 years. IFPRI lists the 'efficiency of the global food system' as a main area of its work (IFPRI, 2003). More recently, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) draws attention to the "irreversible loss in diversity of life on Earth" which is taking place through the changes in ecosystems which have occurred over the past 50 years, at a speed unparalleled in the history of humankind. The pressure exercised on agriculture by the growing demand for food, fresh water, timber and fibre make it a most significant source of ecosystem degradation. A multi-agency task force was initiated by the World Bank in 2005 to "... evaluate the relevance, quality and effectiveness of agricultural science and technologies – from organic to indigenous and traditional practices, to biotechnology and transgenic approaches" (World Bank, 2006).

With respect to global food needs, cereals will continue to be by far the most important source (in terms of calories) of total food consumption (FAO, 2003b:8). The traditional cereal exporters in the industrial world (USA, Canada, EU and Australia) are expected to increase their net exports from 144 million tonnes in 1997/99 to 224 million tonnes in 2015 and 286 million tonnes in 2030. Of the projected increment of cereals just over one half will be for feed and about 42 per cent for food with the balance going to other uses (seed, industrial non-food use and waste). Feed use will thus revert to being the most dynamic element driving the world cereal economy. The animal sector will grow considerably and so will the risk of transboundary diseases. Cereals and livestock products will continue to be the major imports of net food importing developing countries (FAO, 2000:278; FAO, 2002i:3). Even assuming their capability to import, the problem for developing countries is how to attain a minimum level of food self-sufficiency at the country level. This is also the preoccupation of countries highly dependent on food trade, like Japan or Switzerland and Norway.

Production in developed countries is expected to slow down because of concerns with the environment and with genetically modified foods. The question is whether the traditional cereal exporting countries have sufficient production potential to continue generating an ever-growing export surplus; if they do so through intensification, it will be at a cost for the environment. While, historically, FAO shows (2002c) that the production system has so far had the capability to respond to meet increases in demand, it raises the issue of the location of production at the global level, the ensuing pressure on natural resources and the inequality in food consumption, both at inter- and intra-country levels (FAO, 2000:279). The concern is with the sustainability of the world resource basis, the danger of systemic risks at the global level generated by the increasing openness of countries, such as loss of biodiversity, the diffusion of transboundary diseases and pests, the loss or transformation of traditional farming systems and local foods. The productivist stance that characterised agricultural policies since World War II has been replaced by the recognition that the expansion of agricultural production has taken place in part at the expense of the environment: soil degradation, pressure on forested areas, overexploitation of marine fisheries resources, water scarcity, increased concentration of carbon dioxide in the air.

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Food Consumption Patterns and New Types of Food

The rising importance of international trade, with low-cost transportation systems and falling trade barriers, has made available to consumers "a market basket that draws from the entire world's bounty and diversity" (Timmer, 2003a). Already in 1993, scholars from Cornell University and Wisconsin-Madison had pointed out the adoption of western diets, as opposed to traditional peasant foods (Raynolds, et al., 1993). Nowadays, among the high-income countries, food consumption patterns (FAO, 2003b:19) show the convergence of diets (75 per cent overlap with those in the USA),[18] characterised by a shift towards livestock products, towards processed foods rather than fresh foods and outdoor consumption replacing home consumption. This means that 75 percent of processed food products are based on the same raw materials and therefore these will determine the global demand for agricultural products, which, in turn, will have implications for the natural resources basis.

The standardisation of diets is also occurring in developing countries, where highly processed food with high sugar and fat content are now available at lower prices. While earlier, the increasing consumption of processed foods was attributed to the urbanisation phenomenon (FAO, 1984:17) now it is also attributed to the growing market power of the TNC operating in the food sector (FAO, 2003b) and to the opportunity cost of the time of "the main food preparers in the household" (de Haen et al. 2003). These factors contribute to the consumption of a higher share of processed and pre-prepared foods, including street foods, even among the poorer households. A number of studies are documenting the 'nutrition transition' which is taking place in the developing world, with changes in diets towards higher content of saturated fat, sugar and processed foods vis-à-vis traditional diets rich in fibre (Popkin, 1999). This is associated with increased

[18] While a typical United States diet is associated with rapid growth in feedgrain needs, in Europe changes in consumption patterns have been brought about through the CAP. There has been an increase in the number of product varieties that could circulate within the EU without custom duties (e.g. olive oil, which was consumed only in the Mediterranean countries of the EU, is now widespread.). The CAP, by encouraging bulk production, has contributed to neglecting quality (particularly, for example, surplus quantities of low-quality wine and low-quality wheat). However, there is now concern and corresponding legislation regarding food safety and food quality (Bureau, 2002:42).

wealth and also demographic and epidemiological factors. Demographically, there is a shift also among developing countries towards low mortality and low fertility; epidemiologically, the shift is occurring between diseases consisting of infections and undernutrition to diseases related to malnutrition and higher incidence of chronic and degenerative diseases.

There is now diffusion on a global scale of health problems, such as obesity, diabetes and cardiovascular diseases, earlier belonging only to affluent industrialised societies (Lang, 2003), and now a source of concern for policy-makers worldwide.[19] Lang and Heasman (2004:118) argue that new food policy perspectives are needed to allow a long overdue "international approach to food and health".

Along with the standardisation of diets, a recent emerging phenomenon concerns the new demands being placed on food and agricultural products by consumers of industrialised countries. Such demands revolve around the characteristics of food and the way it is produced, processed and marketed. This has been interpreted as a shift from a supply- to a demand-driven, also called 'consumer-driven' (USDA, 2002) agriculture, where the traditional criterion of quantity/price is being replaced with other criteria having to do with a variety of safety and quality criteria, as attributed and defined by consumers.

Among the new types of food being offered in response to consumers' demands, Tansey and Worsley (1995) mention 'novel' foods – that is, foods with different appearance and composition, such as the 'crispy' tomatoes with four chambers instead of three; 'designer foods' such as calcium-enriched low fat milks, 'substitutes' such as non-caloric sweeteners and 'functional foods'. The latter consist of foods differentiated by medicinal or nutritional content, in response to consumers' concerns about diet and health. This is the promise of "second generation" biotechnology products, following

[19] The health costs associated with the standardisation of diets and 'food lifestyles' of the rich, industrialised countries was a main theme discussed by US-based and European scholars at an OECD Conference in 2003 on 'Changing Dimensions of the Food Economy: Exploring the Policy Issues' (OECD, 2003a).

the "first generation" innovations that reduced farmers' production costs or boosted yields but did not otherwise change the commodity. Other characteristics of food demanded by consumers have to do with safety, status, entertainment value; information may also be required on the labour standards or animal welfare practices followed. In addition, in opposition to the 'global' foods produced by TNCs, there is an increasing demand for diversified foods, less homogenised, more locally embedded and more 'natural' (Murdoch et al., 2000; Murdoch & Miele, 1999; Halweil, 2003), reconnecting consumers with producers and the functional and symbolic aspects of food (Brom, 2002).

Food quality and characteristics, not considered problematically in the earlier 'productivist' phases of agriculture, become thus a central locus of attention and of social discourse in rich countries. While consumers are becoming more vocal and influential and the food industry more concentrated and powerful, farmers' role and importance in the food chain and land use diminish considerably. For some authors, even the role of the countryside "to produce food is increasingly regarded as residual or irrelevant" (Tovey, 1997:22, referenced in Miele and Pinduccio, 2001).

3.5 Conclusions

The overproduction in the USA and Europe since the Second World War was the result of policy models which viewed agriculture primarily in its production function. Along with overproduction, there have been changes in farming systems and developments in the structure of production, processing, marketing and distribution that are modifying the ecosystems at an unprecedented speed in the history of humankind. The problems raised at the global level by overproduction led to agriculture being included in the trade negotiations where it has become a most contentious issue, despite it being a diminishing part of the economy worldwide as well as a diminishing part of global trade. Its inclusion in the Uruguay Round rests on the goal of achieving "a fair and market-oriented agricultural trading system" for which policies were formulated to promote market access, to reduce domestic support and eliminate export subsidies.

These policies rested on the principle of comparative advantage, based on countries' natural endowments; with Article 20 of the Agreement on Agriculture, room is made for the so-called non-trade concerns, namely the non-market aspects of agriculture, such as food security and the environment.

The changing nature of trade flows and the globalisation of markets through capital movements, raw and semi-processed goods, final products and consumer retail services by the TNC in the agri-food sector diminish the importance of natural endowments in determining comparative advantage; they also imply that policies can no longer be focused on primary production but that they have to encompass issues and interests of the whole food chain, with increasing importance of food quality and safety. While trade is considered important in meeting global food demand, its further liberalisation is seen as threatening local food systems and in other cases as promoting food systems induced by the demands of rich middle-class consumers of developed countries. Trade is also seen favourably as facilitating the availability of food from all over the world but also facilitating the convergence of diets, which is causing health problems on a global scale. Trade can also serve to minimize the adverse effects on the global resource system, provided prices reflect environmental comparative advantages.

The questions of sustainability of the natural resource base of agriculture, the increased concentration in the agri-food sector and the convergence of diets make agriculture a problematic sector with implications of global concern. Agriculture has become a complex and multifaceted sector; it is no longer looked at in isolation and from a production standpoint. It is at the centre of competing demands and requirements, and food has become a visible and important component of the tensions between production and consumption. Above all, agriculture is now part of a chain linking the physical environment and production to consumption and health on a global scale. As such, it is in the domain of numerous and varied actors at various institutional and spatial levels, who make assertions, devise rules and policies and exert varying degrees of influence over developments and directions of change.

CHAPTER 4

THE ACTORS, POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS

A multitude of actors exert influence ad develop policies and regulations affecting food and agriculture at the global, regional, national and sub-national levels. This chapter will review the organisational landscape and policies in agriculture which have evolved since the Second World War up to nowadays, including the intergovernmental organisations established to regulate and devise policies for agriculture from a systemic and global perspective as well as governments like the USA and the EU countries which have had a pervasive influence on the characteristics and flows of international trade. The chapter will also include an overview of the more fluid social movements, transnational epistemic communities and civil society organisations that have been increasing over the years.

4.1 The Quest for a Global Vision and the Growth of Intergovernmental Organisations

In the aftermath of the Second World War, a number of organisations were created as part of the regulatory infrastructure to ensure peace and economic progress and stability. The monetary system and trade were main pillars, both of which depended in their conception and implementation on the US leadership. In 1944 the ***International Monetary Fund (IMF)*** and ***The World Bank*** were established at Bretton Woods to deal with matters of international finance.

The IMF was promoted to foster international monetary co-operation and financial stability. It is managed by a Board of Governors, with a governor from each of its 180 member countries. An executive Board with 24 directors supervises policies set by the Board of Governors. Voting is weighted according to the value of deposits of the Fund. The Executive Board makes its decision not on the basis of voting but relies on the formation of consensus among its members (Harper, 2001:105). The IMF has been

particularly influential in determining the macro-economic policies which have a bearing on investments and public expenditures. Its executing arm for implementing such policies has been the World Bank through the structural adjustment loans and programmes. The World Bank started lending to Europe for post-war reconstruction in 1947. While reconstruction was an important part of its mandate, the Bank has adjusted the scope of its work to international crises and needs through the years and nowadays it states that its work is focused on the problem of poverty reduction. Given that 70% of the world's poor live in rural areas, agriculture and rural development are part of its areas of work which are multiple and cover all sectors including governance issues (World Bank, 2003a).

As early as 1937, agriculture, with its problems of overproduction in the USA and deficit in Europe, famines in third world countries, became part of a renewed concern for a multi-nation, global governance system. A report for the League of Nations on "The Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy" was discussed in a series of international conferences, thus contributing to what an FAO senior executive referred to as the beginning of a "world food movement" (Hambidge, 1955:46). This was accentuated by the expansion of trade which has led to increased requirements for regulation in the areas of markets for agricultural commodities, agriculture-environment relations and, more recently, food quality and safety and intellectual property rights.

The first attempt to view agriculture in a systemic and global perspective can be traced back to John Boyd Orr, the first Director-General of the ***Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO),*** founded in 1945. FAO was the result of an initiative in 1943 of President Roosevelt and 44 governments to set up a commission to plan a permanent organisation for food and agriculture. The Organisation was to have three broad functions: "to collect, compile and interpret statistics relating to agriculture and food consumption; to organize a worldwide service around the sciences affecting agriculture; and to provide technical guidance and help for the less developed countries by recruiting groups of agricultural experts who would be available to sent to any part of the world to assist in improving agricultural methods, securing better land tenure

systems, bringing about more effective marketing or promoting agricultural education" (Hambidge, 1955:49).

John Boyd Orr launched the proposal of a World Food Board to face the critical challenges the world was facing at the end of World War II, namely the depletion of stocks of agricultural products in Europe and the oversupply in the USA, due to 100% productivity increases. The World Food Board was to have as a mandate to deal with global food supplies and farmers' productivity, to stabilise prices of agrarian commodities on the world market, to establish food reserves to meet emergencies, to allow nations in need to purchase surplus production at special conditions and, finally, to cooperate with organisations in trade and in provision of credit and investments to agriculture (Peterson, 1990). FAO in its yearly publication the *State of Food and Agriculture* in 1948 pointed out the paradoxical existence of burdensome excess food supplies in some parts of the world and acute scarcities elsewhere. It also warned that synthetics would displace several agricultural raw materials (FAO, 1948). In such a proposal, the third world makes its appearance in the first aborted attempt to regulate world agriculture, albeit as a passive and atomised interlocutor.

The proposal was opposed, especially by the UK and USA, and was outvoted confirming the long-standing opposition to any centralised world food set up. In 1949, a proposal for an International Commodity Clearing House was proposed to allow countries in need, without hard currencies, to purchase food through a revolving fund. Also this proposal was turned down; equally rejected was a proposal in 1951 to set up an Emergency Food Reserve to prevent famine. The systemic global interaction and synergy intended by the proposals of the World Food Board, the International Commodity Clearing House or the Emergency Fund Reserve were replaced by a series of discrete regulatory functions which were, and continue to be, built incrementally and spread among different organisations on the global arena, as explained further in this chapter and summarised in Annex 3.

In 1951 FAO was moved from Washington to Rome. In this same year, the Holy See sponsored an international meeting on agriculture and rural life, the first in the history

of the Holy See. Initially, global regulatory functions rested with FAO. In 1954 a Committee on Commodity Problem was established to keep the commodity situation under review; a code of conduct for the disposal of surplus was devised and a mechanism through a Consultative Subcommittee on Surplus Disposal was set up to oversee its observance. FAO also assured the secretariat of a World Food Council that was created, as a result of a World Food Conference in 1974, "to coordinate the activities of various international agencies in the agricultural field. The Council would be established at the ministerial or plenipotentiary and function as an overall coordinating mechanism for policies concerning food production, nutrition, food security and food aid, as well as other related matters of concern to all agencies of the UN system...." (FAO, 1975:44). As such, it was to report to the UN General Assembly. The World Food Council without resources and without strong political backing only lasted until 1993.

Also as a result of the World Food Conference in 1974, a *Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment in Developing Countries* was also set up jointly by FAO, the World Bank and UNDP. This Group, which only lasted five years, was composed of bilateral and multilateral donors and developing countries with the aim of better coordination and increased efficiency in technical assistance. A *Committee on World Food Security* was also established as a standing Committee of the FAO Council. Finally, the World Food Conference also endorsed the proposal to have FAO start a *Global Information and Early Warning System* on food and agriculture.

The regulatory functions on food safety and quality standards are also in the domain of FAO together with the ***World Health Organisation (WHO)***, established in late 1940s, specifically through the joint *FAO-WHO Codex Alimentarius.* FAO also assures the secretariat of the *International Plant Protection Commission* for phytosanitary standards, the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture and, as of 2002, the secretariat for the UN Inter-agency working group on The Right to Food. In addition, it has a number of voluntary codes of conduct (e.g. the Code of Conduct on Responsible Fisheries; the International Code of Conduct for the Distribution and Use of Pesticides; Model Code of Forest Harvesting Practices; The

International Code of Conduct for Plant Germplasm Collection and Transfer; Draft Conduct on Biotechnology, Good Agricultural Practices). In 2001 it set up a committee on ethical issues in agriculture. Like in other UN technical assistance agencies, its policy and work programmes are determined by its 179 member countries, with each country having one vote.

The ***World Food Programme (WFP)*** was created in 1963 for the problem of dealing with surplus supplies and food aid. Its mission statement reads "It provides food aid to save lives in emergency situations, to improve the nutrition and quality of life of the most vulnerable people at critical times in their lives, to help build infrastructural assets and to promote the self-reliance of poor people and communities" (WFP, 2003). De facto WFP handles around 20–25 percent of food aid (Tansey and Worsley, 1995: 236), the rest being handled bilaterally. It is governed by a committee of 30 members elected for a three-year term half by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the UN and half by the FAO Council, the FAO governing body, which meets every two years. Like FAO, WFP is located in Rome.

Agro-industry, as a component of agriculture, was included in the mandate of ***the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)***, which was set up in 1966 and became a specialised agency of the United Nations only in 1985. UNIDO promotes industrialisation and assists countries "in their fight against marginalization in today's globalized world" (UNIDO, 2003). Agro-industries is one of its eight areas of work; its proclaimed objective is assistance to the food industry by "building capacities and capabilities at different levels thus contributing to sustainable industrial development'. It encompasses micro-, small-scale, medium and large-scale food processing.

Rural employment and the safety and health aspects of agriculture became under the purview of the ***International Labour Organisation (ILO)***, the first specialized agency of the UN established in 1946 (after its creation in 1919 as the only surviving organisation of the Treaty of Versailles) with the mandate of formulating international labour standards. ILO became engaged in agriculture in the early 1960s primarily from

safety perspective. ILO views agriculture broadly as farming as well as associated operations ranging from domestic tasks to processing, packaging and distribution. In one of its recent works (ILO, 2003) ILO refers to agriculture as "one of most hazardous occupations worldwide" reporting that the accident rate doubles the average for other sectors. As of 2005, ILO together with FAO has included child labour in agriculture as one of its thematic areas of work.

The recognition of the persistent problem of rural poverty, brought to the international attention by the World Food Conference of 1974, led to the creation of the ***International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)*** as a separate institution in 1977, although originally intended to be part of FAO. IFAD's objective is to lend to the poorest people in the poorest countries by supporting projects that increase food production and reduce rural poverty. IFAD has a governing structure that gives equal power to three groups of countries: the rich industrialised countries, the oil-rich developing countries and the non-oil exporting developing countries. The Fund's highest authority is its Governing Council on which all 163 member countries are represented; it meets annually (IFAD, 2003).

The common geographic location of FAO, IFAD and WFP was to favour in principle the coordination and synergy between the general watchdog function of FAO on the state of food, nutrition and agriculture at the global level, its technical assistance function, the investment needs to be met by IFAD and the emergency and humanitarian assistance to be provided through food supplies by WFP. The ***International Plant Genetic Resources Institute,*** founded in 1974 and renamed Biodiversity International in 2005, has also been located in Rome, the promotion and conservation of agricultural biodiversity being its mandate. The common geographic location could be interpreted as a remnant and legacy of the systemic approach to agriculture prognosticated by John Boyd Orr in 1946; the member countries of all three organisations continue to be concerned with their work co-ordination and synergy (FAO, 1995).

Box 4.1 International Agricultural Research Centres

Date	Crops and research themes	Research Centre	Location
1960	Rice and multiple cropping in Asia	IRRI – Int. Rice Research Institute	Philippines
1966	Wheat, maize, triticale, barley	CIMMYT – Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Maiz y Trigo	Mexico
1967	Cassava, beans, forage	CIAT – Centro Internacional de Agricultural Tropical	Colombia
1967	Cropping systems, grain legumes (cowpeas, soya beans, lima beans, pigeon peas), cassava, sweet potatoes, yams, rice and maize	IITA – International Institute for Tropical Agriculture	Nigeria
1970	Swamp Rice	WARDA – West African Rice Development Association	Côte d'Ivoire
1972	Potatoes and sweet potatoes	CIP – Centro Internacional de la papa	Peru
1972	Sorghum, pearl millet, pigeon peas, chick peas, groundnuts, cropping systems in the semi-arid tropics	ICRISAT – International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-arid Tropics	India
1974	Promotion of agricultural biodiversity	IPGRI – International Plant Genetic Resources Institute	Italy
1975	Policy research	IFPRI – International Food Policy Research Institute	USA
1977	Tropical deforestation, land degradation, agroforestry	ICRAF – International Centre for Research in Agroforestry	Kenya
1979	Policy, organisation, management of national agricultural research systems	ISNAR – International Service for National Agricultural Research	Netherlands
1984	Irrigation management systems	IWMI – International Water Management Institute	Sri Lanka
1992	Sustainable forest research	CIFOR – Centre for International Forestry Research	Philippines
1995	Fisheries	ILCLARM – International Centre for Living Aquatic Resources Management	Philippines

Source: http://www.iclarm.org/ quoted in Atkins & Bowler (2000: 225).

In response to the concern with the weak research on developing countries' products and farming systems, a network of research centres (Table 1) began to be established in the seventies under the aegis of the ***Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)***. This was created in 1971 by a consortium of the World Bank, various regional banks, UN agencies and some national governments. A meta-evaluation of the CGIAR conducted in 2003 concluded that the CGIAR has been a "unique instrument of international cooperation... and that its productivity-enhancing research has had sizeable impacts on reducing poverty...". At the same time, the evaluation makes the point that it is "less focused on enhancing agricultural productivity than it used to be" and that "its current mix of activities reflects neither its comparative advantage nor its core competence" (World Bank/OED, 2003).

As of February 2005 the Science Council recommended setting the following priorities: 1) Sustaining biodiversity for current and future generations; 2) Producing more food at lower costs through genetic improvements; 3) Creating wealth among the rural poor through high-value commodities and products; 4) Combining poverty alleviation and sustainable management of water, land, and forest resources; 5) Improving policies and facilitating institutional innovation to support sustainable reduction of poverty and hunger. (CGIAR, 2005).

Agriculture, defined as "sustainable agriculture" is also one of the five priority areas of the ***United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)***, the other areas being water, clean and renewable energy, health and the environment and biodiversity (UNEP, 2003). Agriculture as practised through traditional farming systems is also in the realm of the ***United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)*** and its work on the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2003). Such work falls in its mandate as established since its inception in 1945 to serve as a clearinghouse that disseminates and shares information and knowledge.

We can conclude that there has been a proliferation of intergovernmental organisations which have included agriculture in their sphere of action, analysis and policies. Already by 1976, it was considered that there was in place a full and functioning network of

financial organisations at the international level with the World Bank, the InterAmerican, the Asian and the African Development Banks, and at national level with agricultural banks. "The world now has in operation most of the institutions needed to finance major agricultural efforts.... as well as institutions to assist with technical and managerial development of national programs" (Scientific American, 1976).

World Summits and Conferences

Since 1974, a series of summits and global conferences, attended by heads of states, have been promoted by the United Nations to draw attention to issues of global concern (summarised in Box 4.2), including agriculture. For example, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 adopted Agenda 21, which includes a chapter on 'Changing Consumption Patterns' and on 'Sustainable Development' thus drawing attention to the natural resources bases of agricultural production. Agriculture development as a basic step for the growth of the economy and for poverty reduction was at the centre of the World Food Summit in 1996 which had as its main theme the persistence of hunger among 800 million people in the world. The same idea of agriculture as a means "to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger" is repeated as the first of the goals of the UN Millennium Development Campaign agreed to by 189 countries. Agriculture is also subsumed under the Millennium Development Goal 'Develop a global partnership for development' calling governments to develop further an open trading and financial system that is rules-based, predictable and non-discriminatory.

Box 4.2. UN Summits/Conferences

Year	Conference/Summit	Agriculture-Related Domains	Documents Produced
1974	World Food Conference, Rome	Rural poverty; investments in agriculture; coordination of agriculture with the World Food Council; World Food Security	Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition
1992	UN first International Conference on Nutrition, Rome	Undernutrition and malnutrition	World Declaration and Plan of Action on Nutrition
1992	UN Conference on Environment and Development, (Earth Summit), June, Rio de Janeiro	Sustainable use of natural resources	Agenda 21
1993	World Conference on Human Rights, June 1993, Vienna	Food as a human right	
1993	International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, Egypt, 3–19 September	Demographic factors in agriculture development	Plan of Action
1995	World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, Denmark, 6–12 March	Social dimensions for development of agrarian-based societies	
1995	Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4–15 September	Improvement and empowerment of women as food producers	Five-Year Action Plan
1996	World Food Summit (WFS), Rome	Hunger as a result of insufficient food production, food availability through access, instability of supplies	Rome Declaration and Plan of Action
2002	World Food Summit: five years later	Same as WFS of 1996 Investments required in agriculture at the global level	
2002	International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, Mexico, 18–22 March	Agriculture under funded	
2002	UN Millennium Summit	MDG1. Agriculture development to eradicate hunger and poverty MDG8. Global partnership for development	Millennium Development Goals Declaration
2002	Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg	Agriculture as locus of natural resources enhancement or depletion. Shift towards sustainable consumption and production	Plan of Implementation
2005	2005 World Summit	Commitment to trade liberalization and expeditious work towards implementing the development dimensions of the Doha work programme	

In Monterrey in 2002 at the International Conference on Financing for Development, the case was made of the under funding of agriculture[20]. Agriculture as originator of adverse effects on the environment was highlighted in the Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in 2002. Agriculture, as practised by the developed countries, was accused of causing water pollution through nitrogen emissions and phosphorous emissions into surface water as well as of being a major factor in global warming through methane and dioxide emissions from livestock operations and rice production (OECD, 2002a: 38).

Through the UN foray and the conceptual work promoted by the UN agencies, agriculture, with its linkages to poverty reduction and food security, becomes incorporated into the theme of the undersupply and governance issues related to global public goods (UNGA, 2001). Global public goods are goods that benefit large number of people or even all of humanity; they are underprovided, as their prices through the market will not reflect the opportunity cost to society for producing them.

As of 1999, in parallel to, but separately from, these UN Summits and Conferences (United Nations, 2003), the regulatory framework for agriculture has been discussed with great global resonance at WTO Ministerial Meetings (in Seattle in 1999, in Qatar in 2001, in Mexico in 2003 and in Hong Kong in 2005).

From GATT to WTO

Originally, when organisations were being set up in the aftermath of World War II, agriculture was not included in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established in 1947 in Geneva as a framework to regulate and stimulate international

[20] At the global level FAO (2002a:17) reports that external assistance to agriculture, narrowly defined, was 57% of the total (2 % of which was accounted for by the fisheries sector and 2 % by forestry). In the broader definition of agriculture, the most prominent component in terms of allocations is assistance to rural development and infrastructure, which increased from 13 percent of the total in 1996 to 24 percent in 1999.

trade. The main principles of GATT constituted the foundations of the ensuing round of negotiations, as described in Box 4.3 below.

Box 4.3 The Principles of the 1947 Act

– *Non-discrimination*: the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) principle, whereby each contracting party is to treat all contracting parties in the same way as it would treat its "most favoured nation".
– *Reciprocity*: the benefits of any bilateral agreements between contracting parties, regarding tariff reductions and market access, are extended simultaneously to all other contracting parties.
– *Transparency*: harmonisation of the system of import protection, so that barriers to Trade can then be reduced through the process of negotiation. The GATT therefore limited the use of quotas, except in specific conditions widely used by agriculture.
– *Tariff reduction*: tariffs were the main form of trade protection, and negotiations in the early years focused primarily upon tariff reduction. The text of the 1947 GATT lays out the obligations of the contracting parties in this regard.

Source: Healey et al.(1998:4)

Agriculture was not considered like the other sectors, was accorded 'special treatment' and was exempted from some important GATT rules, such as quantitative import restrictions, export subsidies and other mechanisms, such as variable levies and domestic subsidies. Quantitative import restrictions could be used in the case of agricultural commodities under certain conditions; subsidies were also permitted conditional on a not well defined 'equitable' market shares and variable levies and domestic subsidies could be applied to protect agriculture. The GATT was to be followed by an International Trade Organisation (ITO) that would enforce the regulations. However, this Organisation never came into being and the GATT continued therefore to be governed by 'provisional' and 'interim' measures. It remained an Agreement without a formal organisation to enforce it. The failure to set up such an organisation meant that developing countries could not use the GATT for commodity agreements. This discontent was at the origin of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964.

UNCTAD was established "to serve as an agent of accelerated economic development for all countries by means of formulating and carrying into effect new development-oriented trade policies through combined efforts of the entire international community" (UNCTAD Document TD/L.37, 18 April 1968, p. 21 referenced in FAO, 1968). According to the UN General Assembly it was to concentrate on a few subjects. These included access of primary commodities to markets in industrialised countries; preferences for manufactures and semi-manufactures exported by developing countries; the volumes, terms and conditions of development aid; trade expansion; economic cooperation and integration among developing countries; and the *world food problem* (my italics) in relation to trade and development. As opposed to GATT it focused on commodities that were typical of developing countries' economies through international commodity agreements. Such agreements were negotiated in the 1960s and 1970s for tin, rubber, coffee, cocoa, wheat and sugar. Even nowadays, it is in UNCTAD that the volatility of commodity prices and declining terms of reference are discussed[21] as a global forum.

The successive rounds of negotiations constituted the mechanism at international level for progressive trade liberalisation, as shown in Table 4.1. below.

Table 4.1. The GATT Negotiating Rounds

Round	Date	No. of member countries	Value of trade (US$ billion)	No. of tariff concessions
Geneva	1947	23	10	45,000
Annecy	1949	33	–	5,000
Torquay	1950	34	–	8,700
Geneva	1956	22	2.5	–
Dillon	1960–61	45	4.9	4,400
Kennedy	1962–67	48	40	–
Tokyo	1073–79	99	300	–
Uruguay	1986–93	118		–

Source: Healey et al. (1998:5).

[21] A panel of eminent people met in October 2003 and recommended to set up an International Diversification Fund, to promote diversification in developing countries (UNCTAD, 2003).

During these rounds, individual commodities had been the object of negotiations, such as cutting tariffs on soya beans, cotton, vegetables and canned fruit to very low levels with the Dillon Round in 1960, the International Wheat Agreement and the International Dairy and Meat Agreements in the Kennedy Round in the period 1962–67. The International Commodity Agreements (ICAs) set up in the 1970s became gradually dissolved or lost their original commodity marketing functions.

It was only with the Uruguay Round of 1986 that agriculture, as a sector, became part of the negotiating agenda and that the objectives of trade liberalisation with respect to agriculture were made explicit, namely to pursue greater liberalisation of trade in agriculture and to apply the GATT rules and disciplines to measures related to import access and export competition. This result was due to the protectionist wars engaged by the United States and the European Community which resulted in overproduction with surpluses being sold in international markets, at very low prices, with depressing effects on national production of temperate products, generating global market instability (Healey, et al. , 1998:6). The surpluses were generated in the USA through export subsidy programmes; in the EC through the fixed internal price of the variable import levies maintained by fluctuating according to movements in the world prices. In both cases, producers were insulated from exposure to international prices with resulting distortions in international markets. Trade liberalisation in agriculture was therefore advocated with the economic rationale of using the comparative advantage principle, of wanting to reduce world market instability and minimise the effect of protectionism in developing countries.

In order to achieve a fair and market-oriented agricultural trading system, the Agreement on Agriculture divides policies into three categories (Healey et al, 1998:):

"Market Access (Article 4): import restrictions that limit foreign producers' access to the domestic market; these are usually tariffs, variable levies, import quotas and other non-tariff barriers. The consequence of such import restrictions is to supply agricultural commodities to consumers at higher prices than the world market prices.

Domestic Support Commitments (Article 6): these are measures meant to support farmers' incomes and domestic production. They can be: market price support; government procurement; deficiency payments (paid to farmers to bridge the gap

between a low world price and a guaranteed minimum price) and input subsidies. All measures that cause distortions in trade are quantified through the Aggregate Measure of Support (AMS). These are classified as "Amber Box". Measures that do not have distortionary effects are placed in the "Green Box"; these include "producer retirement programmes; resource (e.g. land) retirement programmes; environmental protection programmes; regional assistance programmes; certain types of investment aid; general services that provide for example research, training and extension; marketing information; certain types of rural infrastructure" In addition to the Green Box there is a Blue Box which covers compensatory payments and land set-aside programmes of the EU and the USA.

Export Subsidy Commitments (Article 9): subsidies to producers."

In addition, Article 20 of the Agreement on Agriculture cites non-trade concerns as part of the continuation of the reform process (WTO, 1999:46).

By following the principle of comparative advantage, countries would produce and export those commodities in which they had such comparative advantage, thus reducing the inefficiencies experienced so far. This would contribute to re-establishing an international market based on prices resulting from supply and demand. It would also thereby contribute to re-establishing the proper price incentives for producers in developing countries ending the disastrous disincentive effects on national production and long-term negative effects due to the abandonment of agriculture, a sector constituting the main source of livelihood for the majority of the population.

In the year 2000 the ***World Trade Organisation (WTO)*** was established. Decisions in WTO are made by its 149 member governments, "either by ministers (who meet at least once every two years) or by officials (who meet regularly in Geneva)" and rely on consensus (WTO, 2003b:102). Proposals to create a smaller executive body, perhaps like a board of Directors each representing a group of countries, are being discussed, in view of the length required and difficulties encountered for all 148 members to reach consensus. WTO has procedures to resolve trade conflicts through the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU), the main WTO agreement on settling disputes (WTO, 2006a). WTO regulations, however, apply to member governments only. They do not affect directly decisions that may be taken within a private firm or association. If there is evidence that some trade practices by a transnational are not in conformity with WTO

regulations, it is impossible for a competitor to sue the corporation within WTO. The only claims that can be discussed within WTO are those made by a particular member state with respect to policies implemented by other member states. As mentioned in Chapter 3, a rapidly growing share of international trade (about 40% at present) is therefore de facto taking place outside the scope of WTO and may not be in conformity with the principles that determine its rules. Some WTO members have already raised this issue – several reports have been prepared by WTO experts – but no decision has yet been taken by the organisation on this important matter.

4.2 Regional Groupings, Supranational Organisations and National/Subnational Governments

In addition to the international organisations reviewed in the previous section, regulatory and policy functions related to food and agriculture are carried out by regional groupings and organisations – on the increase – by national governments and by subnational levels of governments as well as private sector organisations operating at these various levels.

The proliferation worldwide of informal and formal regional groupings is explained by the increasing number of countries considered as independent nations (from 76 in 1946 to 193 in the year 2000), with half of these having a population less than 6 million (Alesina, 2000), and the presence of the two coexisting processes of regionalisation and regionalism. Regionalisation reflects the de facto grouping of countries, fostered by cross-border economic activities. An increasing number of customs unions, free trade areas and common markets are being set up around the world as a result of economic integration. Regionalism instead is a state-led project of institution building among groups of countries (Cini, 2003: 123). This is often pursued, especially by smaller countries, as a means to increase their bargaining power in negotiations with larger trading partners.

Among the many informal groups, reference can be made to the Cairns group, formed spontaneously in 1986 by non-subsidising agriculture exporting countries pursuing agriculture trade liberalisation, such as Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Fiji, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Paraguay, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Uruguay. The informal groups that are most influential in impinging substantially, even though indirectly, on agriculture through economic policies, loans or debt relief are the G-77, the G-8 and the G-20, this latter established in 1999 to allow the participation of 11 developing countries in the broader decision making of the G-8 (UNGA, 2002). As of 2005, these informal groupings are more numerous showing the multiple and shifting affiliations of countries according to the theme and interests in trade (the G-20 plus, the cotton group, the G-90, the G-33, the Quad, the New Quad, etc.), as shown in Annex 4.

The formal groupings include the establishment and growth of regional economic groupings with varying degree of autonomy in policy-making or regulation, covering both developed and developing countries, the most notable being the European Union, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the MERCOSUR in Latin America, ASEAN in Asia, the Arab Free Trade Association (AFTA) for the Near East and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for Africa, this latter continent having the largest number of (often overlapping) integration arrangements (Matthews, 2003:70). It is important to note that during the GATT years there were 125 notified regional trade arrangements (RTA); 125 new RTAs have been notified since the establishment of the WTO on 1 January 1995 up to 2002. WTO reports that approximately 300 RTA might actually be in force by the end of 2005 (WTO, 2006b).

The reasons usually adduced for the formation of such groupings and their proliferation is the drawn out nature of the Uruguay Round negotiations and the self-proclaimed success and fears aroused by the EU bloc as a single market. Many of such regional trade arrangements cover agriculture and they look at the EU Common Agricultural Policy as a successful example of a set of policies enabling self-sufficiency in food production. Such a process of regionalism is encouraged and supported by the United Nations. At a meeting of ECOSOC (2003) the deliberations were that "It was necessary

to strengthen and use increasingly regional organisations and groupings as a way to enhance the voice and participation of smaller and poorer countries in financial and economic decision-making". Similarly, regional and subregional development banks (e.g. the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank, the InterAmerican Development Bank, the Central American Development Bank, etc) and reserve funds are fostered and supported by the United Nations for their instrumental role in financing development and in supplementing IMF funds in times of difficulty (report of the Executive Committee on Economic and Social Affairs of the UN Secretariat entitled "Towards a new international financial architecture" (UNGA, 2002).

The regionalisation and regionalism wave is extended to civil society organisations. The Economic and Social Council of the UN in 2002 recommended (to) "(c) encourage informal regional networks of nongovernmental organisations as a means of building the capacities of these organisations to take part in the UN work, support coalitions of NGOs and disseminate information on the work of the Council" (UNGA, 2002). Many regional networks now exist including in the developing countries (e.g. the Réseau des Organisations Paysannes du Sahel).

An organisation worth mentioning for its analytical and advisory work for developed countries' agriculture, is the ***Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)***. Originally established to administer American and Canadian aid under the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe, it transformed its goal in 1961 as one aimed at building strong economies among its member countries. Nowadays OECD has 30 member countries which contribute to its funding (USA being the largest contributor with 22%). It has a Directorate for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries. Sustainable development is the overarching framework of its work as stated in its WebPages presentation "The emergence of globalisation has seen the scope of the OECD's work move from examination of each policy area within each member country to analysis of how various policy areas interact with each other, between countries and beyond the OECD area. This is reflected in work on issues such as sustainable development...". (OECD, 2003a)

Agricultural Policies in a Supranational Setting: the EC

Soon after World War II, a group of six countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands) embarked in talks for an economic union and created three distinct communities, on coal and steel, on civilian nuclear energy and the European Economic Community (EEC). The administrative arm, the Commission of the European Communities, was created in 1965. Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined in 1973, Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986, Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. In 2000 other ten countries joined[22]. The Single European Act of 1987 turned the custom union into a free trade area, which became a common market in 1993[23], thus enabling the free flow of people, capital, goods and services.

Agriculture started being under the purview of the Community as early as 1957 with the Rome Treaty which lay the seeds of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and thereby restricting the scope for national policy making in agriculture. At that time its goals were stated in general terms, such as increase the productivity of the sector, the level of income and the supply of food to consumers at reasonable prices. As of the 1960s a set of policy instruments for managing the agricultural sector at the community level were set in place: the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (known by its French acronym FEOGA) and the Common Market Organisations to orient production, stabilise prices and ensure stable supplies. A system of guaranteed prices was set, at a higher level than the world price, and an intervention mechanism ensured a guaranteed outlet for all quantities produced. This had as effect to encourage and sustain consumers' preferences for food produced in the EU.

The Council of Ministers has the main responsibility for the CAP but it is the Commission that prepares proposals and follows up on the application of the Council's decisions. The Council of Ministers is a committee of ministerial representatives of the member states. The Commission includes 20 commissioners appointed by member

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[22] Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia.
[23] Since the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 the European Economic Community became the European Union. The acronym EU will therefore be used when referring after 1993.

states. The president of the Commission allocates a particular area of responsibility to each commissioner. As for other areas, the allocation of competencies in agriculture between the Commission and national governments has not been without contestation. (Marks et al, 1996). National policy making has been limited to measures that have minor impact on production such as "rural development" or "environmental payments" which initially were minimal. As of 1988, with the reform of the structural funds and the publication by the Commission of a document on the "Future of rural society", a change became public in the conception of agriculture as a sole provider of commodities. The 1996 Cork Conference on rural development triggered much more attention and corresponding funding to rural development and environment. With Agenda 2000, the second pillar of the CAP was established: rural development to supplement earlier market-focused policies.

The EC has been a source of regulatory functions for its member countries in many areas concerning food and agriculture. For example, in 1992, the EC adopted a scheme for protecting and promoting quality products that focused on traditional products and products from a designated origin. These regulations were based on the French and Italian system: Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and the Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG). More recently, the EC have made it mandatory to label food containing GMOs (Bureau, 2002:48).

A large share of agricultural policies is also managed at the regional level. For example, subnational organisations have in many cases been put in charge of making payments to farmers. Their level and their allocation have not always been transparent to the EU authorities. In Italy, a large share of the agricultural policy is now managed at the regional level (Bureau, 2002:10). The direct relation of regions with the European Commission has been referred to as the 'Europe of regions' (Amin & Thrift, 1995) to signify the shift towards decentralised policy making. In addition to a Committee of Regions (established under the Maastricht Treaty), in Brussels there are about 100 regional offices of subnational authorities and a variety of interregional associations (Marks et al., 1996).

Agricultural Policies in the USA

Agriculture has historically been under the purview of government intervention in the United States, where policies have been formulated through continuous and institutionalised debate, judged much more fertile than in Europe, between the administration, farmers' associations, universities and individual experts (Revel and Riboud, 1986:80).

Like in Europe, agriculture has benefited from legislative measures and price support that have been at the foundation of the overproduction in the country as a whole. Since the 1930s, the US policies have been enacted as support to basic commodities through a series of Agricultural Adjustment Acts (AAA). These set the foundation for a complex of price supports and production controls for seven politically favoured "basic" farm commodities. In 1954 the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act saw 35% of world wheat commerce under US aid under Public Law 480 (PL 480). This was used strategically as a foreign aid programme pursuing different geopolitical objectives, including fighting communism and relieving hunger and famine (and at the origin of the World Food Programme in 1963).

Price support legislation was formulated in relative autonomy: the US 'iron triangle' Congress, the United States Department of Agriculture and a select group of agribusiness and commodity associations have played a major role in shaping the broad direction and detailed content of commodity-based agricultural legislation. The most recent Act, the "Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002", also called Farm Bill, sets out various agricultural programmes over a 6 year period, under 10 titles (i. Commodity programmes; ii. Conservation; iii. Trade; iv. Nutrition Programs; v. Credit; vi. Rural Development; vii. Research and Related Matters; viii. Forestry; ix. Energy; x. Miscellaneous) (USDA, 2003).

Increased specialisation of farms and fragmented farm groups tested the capacity of general farmer organisations to aggregate and represent the heterogeneous interests of farmers. As of 1990, agricultural production in the US is not undertaken by small family

farms but rather by large operations (most of which are family owned and family operated). One effect of the reduced cohesion has been the reduction of farm policy to commodity price policy, a conception that includes agribusiness interests. The food and agriculture industry is the largest industrial sector in the United States (Le Heron, 1993:112). Already in 1985 for each farmer, there were more than five workers upstream and downstream involved in provision of farm production supplies or equipment, in processing, transporting and distributing products.

The cooperative movement tried to favour decision-making in agriculture towards farmers to counterbalance the power of agribusiness. Regulatory choices were: "1) assistance to farmers by way of farm supplies and processor regulation; 2) promotion of processing and marketing cooperatives and collective farmer action based on the notion of government as a facilitator rather than a supportive framework; 3) fairer farm-labour conditions and greater market intervention including land nationalization" (Le Heron, 1993:85). Direct incomes assistance programmes to farmers were initiated through "decoupling" intended to eliminate those farm programmes affecting farmers' production decisions, such as price supports, inputs subsidies and programmes affecting the choice of input mix.

In the regulation of major agriculture commodities such as wheat, corn and soybeans, private companies control the operations of the futures markets, following national legislation. The USA is reported as witnessing the greatest increase in such markets, from 37 million contracts in 1976 and 99 million in 1981 (Le Heron, 1993:119). Futures markets started in the 1960s as a mechanism to reduce market fluctuations in the major commodities traded by rich countries by allowing hedging and thereby enabling transactions with firm prices in a long term perspective. The major markets are the Board of Trade in Chicago for wheat, corn and soybeans; the Mercantile Exchange for livestock products and the Mid-America Commodities Exchange.

Agricultural Policies in Developing Countries

In developing countries, governments have played a major role in determining policies for the agriculture sector in the past, with generally unsatisfactory results. These have been due to a macroeconomic context that has penalised agriculture and farmers through overvalued exchange rate and taxation. Hence, Ministries of Finance have determined to a great extent the growth opportunities for the agriculture sector, more than the Ministries in charge of agriculture. These were traditionally the Ministry of Agriculture proper, Ministry of Irrigation, of Rural Development, of Livestock and now encompass a growing number of public sector organisations such as Ministries of Trade, Environment, Industry and Food. The proliferation of government agencies in the agricultural sector and related problems of coordination has been a long standing issue raised in different instances with the increasing participation of the government in agriculture, through development planning (FAO, 1959:168).

Nowadays, developing countries' policy agenda for agriculture is very influenced by international agencies and events as mentioned in the earlier section, and is related very much to restoring agriculture development as a means to reduce poverty and hunger. For example, FAO (2000:201) considered these policy trends for developing countries:

- "increasing accountability on the part of nation states and the international community, not just for famine deaths, but for food and nutrition security;
- from about 1980, a shift from state action to reliance on markets;
- a shift from concern about national food security, measured by staples self-sufficiency, to potential household food security, measured by dietary energy supply;
- a shift towards consideration of food entitlements, rather than food availability as the main guarantor of food security".

In most developing nations there is a shift from agricultural development planning to agricultural policies, with a much more reduced government role.

4.3 Other Actors

Transnational Corporations (TNC)

The largest TNC in food manufacturing and retailing are based in Europe and the USA. Thirty supermarket chains and food companies account for about one-third of global grocery sales (UNDP, 2005) and 100 firms world-wide represent 80% of the value added in the agri-food sector, according to recent research (Lang, 2003).

Table 4.2. World Top 29 Food Retailers, 2002

Country	Company	Turnover ($m)	%	No. of countries	Foreign Sales (%)	Rank
USA	Wal-Mart	180,787		10	17	1
	Kroger	49,000		1	0	3
	Albertson's	36,762		1	0	6
	Safeway	31,977		3	11	9
	Costeo	31,621		7	19	11
	Publics	14,575		1	0	25
USA sub-total		**344,722**	**37%**			
EU						
France	Carrefour	59,690		26	48	2
	ITM	30,685		9	36	12
	Auchan	21,642		14	39	17
	Leclerc	21,468		5	3	18
	Casino	17,238		11	24	20
France Sub-total		150,723	*16%*			
Germany	Metro	42,733		22	42	4
	Reve	34,685		10	19	7
	Aldi	28,796		11	37	13
	Edeka	28,775		7	2	14
	Tengelmann	25,148		12	49	16
	Lidl &Schwartz	16,092		13	25	22
Germany sub-total		160,137	*17%*			
NL	Ahold	41,251		23	83	5
UK	Tesco	31,812		9	13	10
	Sainsbury	25,683		2	16	15
	Safeway	12,357		2	3	28
	Marks & Spencer	11,692		22	18	30
Sub-total UK		122,795	*13%*			

Country	Company	Turnover ($m)	%	No. of countries	Foreign Sales (%)	Rank
Belgium	Delhaize	16,784	2%	11	84	21
EU subtotal		**491,690**	**52%**			
Japan	Ito Yokado	32,713		19	33	8
	Daiei	18,373		1	0	19
	AEON	15,060		8	11	23
	Lawson	11,831		2	1	29
Japan sub-total		**77,977**	**8%**			
Australia	Coles Myer	14,061	**1%**	2	1	26
Canada	Loblaws	13,548	**1%**	1	0	27
Grand total		**941,998**	**100%**			

Source: adapted from Lang (2003)

Table 4.2 reports the world top 29 retailers, their base country, their turnover and the number of countries covered, Walmart being the first by far, in terms of business turnover, followed by Carrefour and Kroeger. The major agricultural exporters are also the countries with the largest business turnover.

TNC are undergoing a high degree of concentration which is occurring through mergers and acquisitions; in the USA, for example, four meatpacking firms have traditionally controlled about 2/3 of the beef supply, and by the mid-1990s over 80 percent of the beef supply was controlled by four firms. Both in Europe and the USA the most concentrated food industries are the same, such as baby foods, soups, coffee, chocolate confectionery, tea and breakfast cereals (Connor, 2003). Such concentration implies the development of global sourcing and supply systems which link millions of producers and consumers in the world. According to the UNDP, Wal-Mart's purchases are from more than 65,000 sources, Tesco's fruit and vegetables from more than 200 suppliers and also "Carrefour sources its melons in northeast Brazil to supply its retail outlets in that country and its distribution centres in another 21 countries. Royal Ahold sources apples in Chile for distribution through a centre in Peru" (UNDP, 2005:142).

The share of *supermarkets* in the retail sector is gaining importance in developed countries and slowly but progressively also in developing countries. In the US the retail

sector of supermarkets represents 70% of total sales (with another 10% for convenience stores and another 20% for small shops and markets)(Reardon, 2002). In Belgium, the UK and Spain the share of the ten largest food retailers amounted to 79, 78 and 66 percent of total sales, respectively. In Latin America, the share of supermarkets for 3/4 of the Latin American and Caribbean economies went from about 15–20% in 1990 to 60% in 2000 (Reardon, 2002). The impacts of supermarkets (and fast foods) on agrifood systems/chains/markets as they contribute to restructuring the agri-food chains in several ways. They impose private quality and safety standards onto local markets; they procure food directly through contracts and they have become themselves wholesalers and exporters (Reardon, 2002). In addition to supermarkets, an important role in food is played by caterers that supplement family food, like fast food outlets, restaurants, and vending machines. In developing countries, the equivalent can be found in what are called "street foods".

The convergence and standardisation of diets worldwide are attributed to the powerful outreach of the TNCs operating in the food sector which eschew the regulatory frameworks being built by the multilateral agencies. TNC are viewed as operating out of the market (Goodman, 1994 referenced in Atkins & Bowler, 1995:37) while for other schools of thought in the economics profession they are seen as adaptive and responsive to market demands[24].

Civil Society Organisations (CSO)

Civil society is a relatively new term which began to be adopted in the 1990s, subsuming the term non-governmental organisations (NGOs), widely used in the past to cover non-state actors. A definition was provided by the study commissioned by the UN Secretary General in 2003, as part of the UN reform, to a Panel of Eminent Persons on

[24] Personal communication by Carlo Cappi, former FAO economist.

improving United Nations-civil society relations[25]: *"...associations of citizens (outside their families, friends and businesses) entered into voluntarily to advance their interests, ideas and ideologies. The term does not include profit-making activity (the private sector) or governing (the public sector). Of particular relevance to the UN are mass organisations (such as organisations of peasants, women or retired people), trade unions, professional associations, social movements, indigenous people's organisations, religious and spiritual organisations, academe and public benefit non-governmental organisations."* (UNGA, 2004).

This definition is revealing of concurrent phenomena which have been occurring since the 1990s. On the one hand, there has been the growth of a variety of organisations' attendance of the deliberative fora by the UN and the shift from considering such organisations as implementers of programmes to participants in policy-making. This growth and shift have been accompanied by new and increasing requirements on the international institutions for managing these changes. On the other hand, there has been the adhesion to, and formation of, social movements and networks by civil society organisations with varying modes of interaction and communications, including global public policy networks. These phenomena also affect the organisations dealing with agriculture and food which form a varied landscape.

Transnational social movements and networks participate in global events and express their views on food and agriculture. The most recent example of a transnational social movement focused on food and agriculture is the *International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC),* a network of networks grouping about 50 organisations of smallholder farmers, pastoralists, fisherfolk, women, youth, indigenous people, agricultural workers and NGOs. Consumers through their associations exert great influence by making demands on both the products of agriculture and their mode of production, basing their decisions on a range of criteria that encompass financial, social, ethical, ecological and scientific dimensions. Consumers – and not producers –

[25] The Panel was chaired by Enrique Cardoso, a sociologist and former President of Brazil. The report was presented at the 58th session of the General Assembly in June 2004. In the text of this chapter it will be referred to as the " Cardoso report".

therefore are increasingly influencing public policies towards food and agriculture. The general public is being sensitised, informed or consulted on policy changes (EORG, 2002; Frans et al., 2001) and agriculture is referred to as 'Consumer-driven agriculture' by USDA (2002). Only those developing countries that can cater to the needs of consumers of rich countries will be able to benefit from trade, according to FAO (2003b).

Social movements have emerged which are very active in pushing their environmental and ethical concerns, such as organic agriculture, conservation agriculture, community supported agriculture (CSA) in the USA, fair trade, etc. According to Goodman and Dupuis (2002), referring to CSA, these movements represent the beginning of a political struggle to redefine consumer-producer relationships in modern societies where the distance between production and the product has become huge and with itineraries unknown and beyond the control of consumers. Such movements are amalgamated by a usually general opposition to globalisation and its perceived effects; many of them are temporary or may be virtual communities, part of the so called 'resistance identities' (Castells, 1997:356 referenced in Urry: 2000:43). They often operate through transnational networks, such as the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (the IPC), via Campesina and others.

In contrast with developed countries, producers and consumers in developing countries are less well organised and have had little impact on national policy-making. Strengthening of such organisations has become one feature of the development aid and a feature of the "transnational rural solidarity" (Ray, 2002) occurring via international NGOs and networks (e.g. Via Campesina). These are being encouraged by the UN and other NGOs, as a strategy to create a system of check and balance on governments, to put pressure on them to adhere to common policy norms, from technical standards to the basic human rights agenda (Kaul et al., 2000: xxv).

Concomitant with rising trade, there has been a major expansion of regulatory bodies with international coverage like the International Standards Organisation (ISO) (Atkins & Bowler, 1995:183) created to set technical standards for food products, including

environmental conditions under which they are produced. Private organisations are setting standards worldwide directly with producers. For example, the International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labelling (ISEAL) Alliance, composed by nine organisations, sets standards and monitors their implementation on a voluntary basis as regards both process and production methods in order to contribute to a 'world where ecological sustainability and social justice are the normal conditions of business" (ISEAL, 2002). The proliferation of regulatory bodies encompasses intergovernmental organisations (such as the ISO) but also a multitude of private bodies. Nowadays, it appears that the major part of standard setting is done by the private sector (industry and supermarkets) with transnational regulatory scope. Similarly to NGOs, private sector companies group themselves into associations and federations and participate actively in international fora, such as the International AgriFood Network, Crop Life International and the Sustainable Agriculture Initiative (SAI) Platform.

Epistemic Communities, Think-tanks and Global Public Policy Networks

The epistemic communities are an important component of the actors who create knowledge which influences policies and regulations affecting agriculture. They are commissioned studies and consulted by governments and international organisations on many different issues ranging from strictly agronomic questions to socio-economic measures and policies. It can be noted that up to the 1970s, it is the members of this scientific and academic community that dominate; particularly close is the relation between such community and the policy making bodies in the USA and to a lesser, or less organised extent, in the European countries. In the USA a very important role in agricultural production has been played by the network of 53 American agricultural universities, the Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture and the network of private foundations. It is the Ford and Rockefeller foundations that in the 1960s created the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines and the international grain institute CIMMYT in Mexico, both of which developed the high-yield dwarf varieties of rice and wheat for which the agronomist

Borlaug won the Nobel Peace Prize. In the EU, policy networks are an important actor contributing to policy making (Muller, 2003).

Gradually, in the 1980s and 1990s greater influence in building knowledge and in advocating or providing policy advice is gained by the broad community of 'technical experts', i.e. experts with recognised expertise or claiming authoritativeness in some fields bound together – not by vested interests or by shared backgrounds or organisations – but by shared causal beliefs. These technical experts may be from academia, but they may also be professionals from government, international or non-governmental organisations, research organisations, foundations, religious organisations, etc. Such differentiation between the scientific community and the more broadly defined epistemic communities is revealing, as will be seen in the next chapters, of the gradual displacement of academia as the sole source of knowledge creation or of expert advice, of the very notion of knowledge about food and agriculture and of its formation and use for policy-making. It is these epistemic communities that appear to plea repeatedly for the need of regulating and coordinating policies for food and agriculture at the global level (FAO, 1995 and Pinstrup-Andersen, 2002) as part of the concern with global policy coherence (ECOSOC, 2003b).

Think tanks and global policy networks are committed to the production and dissemination of information and knowledge on public policies, generated often through action research, thus beyond traditional academia. They are also action-oriented but are more institutionalised and professional than social movements and want to influence policies; e.g. the World Resources Institute defines itself as "committed to change for a sustainable world – believes that change in human behaviour is urgently need to halt the accelerating rate of environmental degradation..."(WRI, 2005). A few *think tanks* have been working for many years on food and agriculture issues with a transnational outreach (e.g. the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in the area of food policies, the Action Group on Erosion, Technology and Concentration (ETC) on genetic resources, the World Resources Institute on forestry assessment, the Institute for Environment and Development (IIESD) on sustainable development, etc.). Particularly active in the area of agricultural trade is the Institute for Agricultural Trade Policy (IATP).

Global policy networks such as the World Commission on Dams and the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI)[26] (UNEP, 2004b) gather representatives from different groups, ranging from governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, the affected people's groups and private sector to engage in extended dialogue independently from the convening institutions. These have developed independently of the UN, as noted by the Cardoso report. In some cases they have given rise to hybrid organisations: e.g. GRI is now a new independent, international institution whose mission is to develop, promote, and disseminate globally applicable Sustainability Reporting Guidelines. In its own words "It seeks to elevate sustainability reporting to the same level of rigour, comparability, credibility and verifiability expected of financial reporting, while serving the information needs of a broad array of stakeholders" (GRI, 2002). While some such global policy networks may touch on agriculture from an environmental and sustainability perspective, there is no global public policy network devoted to food and agriculture issues.

In addition, there are knowledge networks addressed specifically to civil society, such as for example the International Development Institute knowledge network for civil society organisations with the aim of fostering communications on various themes or the Trade Knowledge Network (IISD, 2005) which communicates research on sustainable development in trade).

Growth of Civil Society Organisations in Summits and Conferences

The broader and increased participation of civil society organisations has been much more limited in food and agriculture issues. In a review of NGO participation in the different summits and conferences of the last ten years conducted by the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service (UNGLS, 2003), it comes out quite clearly that the

[26] The Global Reporting Initiative; created in 1997 by the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES) and UNEP. At the time of the WWSSD in spring 2002 the GRI became a permanent institution with a Board of Directors and headquarters in Amsterdam. It works to design and build acceptance of a common framework for reporting on the linked aspects of sustainability - the economic, the environmental and the social.

participants in the World Food Summit (1996) and the World Food Summit: five years later (2002) have been much less numerous than other global conferences, as shown in Table 4.3 below. Even though about 2000 NGOs did correspond with the Secretariat at the time of the 1996 World Food Summit[27] preparation only 500 participated in the Summit and 1,300 in the parallel NGO Forum while 250 and 1,000 participated in the Summit five years later and its parallel NGO Forum, respectively[28]. An event like the Financing for Development Conference at Monterrey came out with a resolution which made reference to the need for increased official development assistance to agriculture and rural development but neither agriculture nor rural development nor sustainable development were included the eight thematic areas for the NGOs to work on (UN, 2002).

Table 4.3. NGO participation in summits, conferences and parallel fora

Year	Venue	Conference Issue	No. accredited NGOs	Parallel NGO Forum participants
1995	Copenhagen	Social development	1138	c.a. 30,000
1995	Beijing	4th World conference on women	26,000	300,000
1996	Rome	World Food Summit	500	1,300
2001	Durban	Racism	1,290	c.a. 15,000
2002	Monterrey	Financing for development	258	2,600 representing 700 organisations
2002	Johannesburg	Sustainable Development	737	35,000
2002	Rome	World Food Summit:five years later	250	1,000

Source: United Nations (2003)

Further evidence on the little interest by NGOs in food and agriculture issues, can be derived from a review of the UNGLS-electronic and hard copy bulletin of 2004 which informs the NGO community about the work of the UN. The little coverage of

[27] Author's information.
[28] The lower number could be adduced to the lower capacity to manage such a process by FAO, the convening organization.

agriculture and food issues can also be seen from the work of CONGO (Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations in Consultative Relationship with the United Nations) which assists NGOs in participating in the life and conferences of the UN. The Geneva Branch of CONGO, which participates in FAO and WTO meetings lists the following Committees and Sub-Committees areas: ageing; development; sub-committee on the South; disarmament; human rights; freedom of religion and belief; sub-committee on racism, racial discrimination and decolonisation; status of women; panel on health; spirituality, values and global concerns; youth. The New York Branch does, however, include 'Sustainable Development'.

As evidenced in Seattle, there is however great interest by civil society organisations in WTO and in being present at WTO Ministerial Meetings.

Table 4.4 NGO attendance at WTO Ministerial Conferences

Ministerial Conference	*Eligible*	*Attended*	*No. of participants*
1996 Singapore	159	108	235
1998 Geneva	153	128	362
1999 Seattle	776	686	approx. 1,500
2001 Doha	651	370	370
2003 Cancun	961	795	1,578

Source: WTO, 2004a.

In addition to participating as observers in these WTO Ministerial Meetings and UN Conferences and Summits[29], civil society organisations have been organising their own meetings in parallel. These have become a recurrent feature of the global governance landscape. Even though the official mechanism for the NGO participation in the UN was established as early as 1948 (this was the Consultative Status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), such mechanism for regulating and

[29] For example, about 2000 civil society organizations corresponded with the secretariat of the 1996 World Food Summit (communication by the author).

expanding their participation in global governance is now being reviewed by a Panel of United Nations-Civil Society Relations set up in 2003 by the UN Secretary General. The presence of civil society organisations has been particularly noted in the last decade or so and has been characterised as the emergence of a 'transnational civil society to create more legitimate, bottom up and democratic inclusion of the voice of sub-sections of citizens who have little access to UN processes' (FIM, 2003).

4.4 Conclusion

The last fifty years have witnessed a proliferation of intergovernmental organisations dealing with food and agriculture issues which is still continuing[30]. Concurrently, there has been the growth of regionalism and of non state actors' influence on agricultural policies and regulations. With the expansion of trade there are increasing requirements for regulation in the areas of markets for agricultural commodities, agriculture–environment relations and more recently, food quality and safety and intellectual property rights.

The proliferation of organisations indicates on the one hand the continuation of the global quest initiated by the League of Nations, as early as 1937, and pursued through various attempts of creating a 'global food movement' through organisations and regulations with a global outreach. On the other hand, it testifies the failure in having policy and regulatory functions for agriculture under one or few organisations, as attempted with the initiatives of the World Food Board, a Commodity Clearing House, the Emergency Food Reserve and the short-lived World Food Council. Discrete measures continue to be built incrementally and spread among numerous organisations in a context of shifting alliances with the most powerful influence being exercised by

[30] An additional 'Global Environment' organisation was proposed by *The Economist* (23 August 2003) " to deal with a range of " green" issues, some of which relate closely to farming, and which are proving particularly tricky for the World Trade Organization" when reviewing a book on food security and globalisation (Ford Runge, C. et al. 2003, Ending Hunger in our Lifetime: Food Security and Globalisation, The Johns Hopkins University Press).

the IMF and the World Bank through their conditionalities and by WTO through the Agreements.

The organisations reviewed show different governing structures determining the degree of attainable influence and different regulatory frameworks with varying enforceability. Intergovernmental organisations compete over the control of policy among themselves and with nation-states; their number, the adequacy of their mandate, their accountability and their division of labour with respect to global public goods are a source of concern (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2002; Kydd and Thomson, 2003) and their reform is discussed in different fora. The supranational decision-making in the EU has made possible common agricultural policies for its member countries, thus enabling the EU to acquire the same hegemonic status as the USA in agriculture, while the fluid and changing aggregations of other countries point to the creation of counter hegemonic blocs to both the EU and the USA.

In addition to the regulatory frameworks and policies of international organisations with a global outreach, TNC, regional groupings and supranational organisations like the EU establish their own. All of these reduce the scope of national decision-making in agriculture, with pressures on governments coming from the international environment through international or multi-country organisations but also from transnational and nationally-based non-state actors. Non-state actors interested in agriculture are diversified, representing the whole spectrum of actors involved in the food chain from farmers to processors and consumers. They participate actively in the events and negotiations preceding or sanctioning treaties, codes of conduct or other regulations and policies related to agriculture and at the WTO Ministerial Meetings. They also set up their own standard certifications and their own food safety and quality norms. As opposed to discrete organisations or to circumscribed institutional and location-bound organisations, many of them are part of transnational networks and exercise influence through their networking at transnational level.

Agriculture thus continues to be part of the concerns related to global governance and coherence, discussed by the UN (UNGA, 2002; ECOSOC, 2003b) as well as WTO and

IMF. All the actors reviewed in this chapter exercise some form of influence or decision-making that affects food and agriculture in an intricate web of relations among themselves. In so doing, they make statements, promote studies, produce documents, network and hold conferences and summits to explain, recommend or justify their decisions (or non-decisions) concerning food and agriculture and its liberalisation. Different views, beliefs and values are generated in the process on what agriculture is or should be, in its own right and what the effects of trade liberalisation in agriculture mean, thereby contributing to the construction of the policy problem, as further elaborated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

HOW AGRICULTURE AND TRADE LIBERALISATION ARE TALKED ABOUT BY THE DIFFERENT ACTORS

With the entry of agriculture within the GATT framework in the Uruguay Round, there is a proliferation and intensification of positions and viewpoints on the effects of trade liberalisation on food and agriculture. These serve to back the positions at the trade negotiations which, after the debacle of the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle in 1999, have been acquiring great public resonance, with agriculture remaining a most contentious issue. Two broad analytical perspectives prevail: first, the very definition of food and agriculture. As negotiations progress, more and more definitions are coined on what constitutes food and agriculture and what constitutes the 'agricultural' sector for which protection or liberalisation are advocated. Related to this definitional question, is the issue of the contribution of agriculture as a sector to the national economy, national welfare and, more broadly, to life on earth. These two related positions are taken as the substantive bases for the construction of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation, namely whether agriculture needs to be protected through special measures to avoid the perceived or analytically derived threats of liberalisation and whether such measures can be accommodated within the Green Box or whether they are trade distorting. This is the core theme around which knowledge and perspectives continue to be built and negotiating positions upheld.

This Chapter provides a general overview of the perspectives and positions on agriculture and its liberalisation prior and subsequent to the Uruguay Round, as expressed in intergovernmental fora and as built by the various actors, national governments, intergovernmental organisations, a supranational organisation like the EC and the diffuse epistemic and non-governmental communities. The Chapter reports on the argumentations leading to multifunctionality, to non-trade concerns, multiple roles of agriculture, food security, food sovereignty and SARD; it also provides an account of the perspectives on food and on the structural changes in the agro-food sector. The

overview leads to three sets of findings related to the paradigmatic shifts underway in the conception of food and agriculture, to how the perspectives become policy discourses and to the increasing interconnectedness between intergovernmental organisations, states and civil society through multiple knowledge-creation sites and decision-making fora.

5.1 Food and Agriculture Prior to the Uruguay Round

The perspectives on agriculture prevailing before the Uruguay Round derived from the natural sciences and from the economics and agricultural economics disciplines, primarily. As such, there was not so much need of defining agriculture per se but only in a derivative sense for its biological characteristics and for its 'performance' in the economy. Soon after World War II, the intergovernmental organisations' as well as national governments' stances reflect almost entirely the positions resulting from the research work of Universities, the link between governments, intergovernmental organisations and academia being then very direct. These 'expert' perspectives prevailed and were clearly distinct from alternative or ancillary views in other disciplines or in literature, not yet formalised as worldviews (e.g. the green instances expressed in Silent Spring by Rachel Carson first published in 1962). The important role of government was not questioned, following the US experience and its transposition to Europe. De facto is through governments' positions and the academic world that the perspectives on agriculture become built and disseminated.

The conceptualisation of agriculture in the fifties borrows primarily from the natural sciences, economics and agricultural economics disciplines. Their focus was food production and how this could keep up with an increasing world population. Food and agriculture were inextricably linked and usually mentioned as constituting an inseparable whole. FAO entitled its major annual publication 'The State of Food and Agriculture' (SOFA). Theorisations of agriculture in the post-war situation referred to agriculture as a sector which could provide labour, capital, foreign exchange and food to

the industrial sector and could also supply a market for industry, in terms of both consumption good and production inputs.

FAO, for example, in its first SOFA in 1948 stated that "The optimum rate of agricultural expansion depends largely on the rate of expansion that is found to be possible in industry" (FAO, 1948:36). It is only about ten years later that viewing agriculture as dependent from, and serving, industrialization is critiqued "[agriculture] tends to be regarded as a reserve of finance and manpower rather than a key sector in its own right" (FAO, 1959:2). Food was characterised as coming to "...occupy a central position in government policy in many countries and it may ultimately take such a position in all countries" (FAO, 1948:2). While earlier food was just "considered as fuel", the importance of "the so-called vitamins" and of new qualitative factors give food new dimensions. Apart from this mention, food appears to be equated with crops and there is no further elaboration on food, its composition and quality characteristics.

Up to the 1970s views and policy positions concerning increases in agricultural production were permeated by scientism and inspired by the US production and policy model. The Foreword of a Scientific American book entitled "Food and Agriculture" published in 1976 starts with:

"A cycle of UN Conferences on population, food and resources has established the framework for concerted international action on a world agricultural development plan. The US National Academy of Sciences is engaged in a study, under presidential directive, of ways to mobilise US scientific resources for the effort. Much of modern agricultural technology is American. As is well known one American on the farm feeds more than 50 fellow citizens off the farm. This is the outcome of the well-placed faith in science and in education expressed by the founding of the land-grant colleges in the middle of the last century" (Foreword, Scientific American, 1976)

The same book notes the 'trend for more and more people to be nourished by fewer and fewer plant and animal food sources'. Eighty percent of the human species' food supply depends on 11 plant species, which represent enormous genetic complexes with wheat, rice, maize and potatoes being the largest contributors. Agriculture is considered as part of the global biological system which is "... a continuous flow of energy and nutrients through a network of interlocking cycles." The "function" of agriculture is thus seen as

diverting such flow of energy to the benefit of a single species, that is the human species.

The scientism that pervades the vision of agriculture becomes tempered by the recognition of the importance of human institutions. "The food system would be heavily dependent, however, on the smooth functioning of the larger society". Hence, human intervention over the biological and climatic factors determining agricultural production is justified. "...The benign neglect of agriculture as one of the lesser pursuits of man is no longer possible". The acknowledgment of the intensification that is occurring in agriculture and of the reduction in plant genetic resources is not expressed with any particular emphasis or concern. The word 'function' of agriculture appears in what is intended to be a neutral scientific discourse. The displacement of raw materials by synthetics is also brought to the attention of the international community (FAO, 1964).

For the economists, agriculture is judged by its "performance" in the economy: this is measured in terms of its contribution to Gross Domestic Product, to employment, to exports, to the share of value added accruing to farmers. Progressively, in the 1980s and 1990s, the idea of performance came to encompass its positive and negative contribution to rural livelihoods, to the environment, to natural resources and, for the majority of developing countries, to poverty reduction and food security. For trade, the concept of comparative advantage applies to agriculture products as for products of any other sector. International trade allows increases in world output if each country specialises in producing the good in which it has a comparative advantage, i.e. the opportunity cost of the good in terms of other goods is lower in that country than it is in other countries.

It is from the academic world, from the social sciences other than economics or agricultural economics, that concerns are raised in the 1980s on the evolution of agriculture and associated social and ecological changes. Agriculture and food trade are dominated by the increasing influence of nationally based agribusinesses from North America and Europe (such as Coca Cola, Del Monte, Heinz, Kellogg, Nabisco, Pepsi and Unilever) which source raw materials and primary products through production

contracts on a global basis as of the 1970s. In the 1980s, the image of agriculture as distinct from the industrial sector becomes blurred and the complexity of modern agriculture and the transformation process with its physical and chemical alterations to enhance the marketability of the product are highlighted. For some scholars (Goodman et al., 1987) industrialisation of agriculture means the progressive elimination of the rural base of agriculture. Even the high-yielding varieties of the Green Revolution reduced the importance of land in production.

Progressively, agriculture by becoming more than production of food and fibre starts to lose its distinctiveness and to become conflated with rural development, with natural resources and, for developing countries, with equitable economic growth and poverty reduction and food security. FAO (1984:xx) reports the OECD definitions of agriculture for the sake of reporting on external assistance as: "The 'narrow' definition of agriculture now referred to as 'directly to sector' includes the following items: appraisal of natural resources; development and management of natural resources; research; supply of production inputs; fertilizers; agricultural services; training and extension; crop production; livestock development; fisheries; agriculture, sub-sector unallocated. The 'broad' definition includes, in addition to the above items, activities that are defined as 'indirectly to sector'. These activities are: forestry; manufacturing of inputs; agro-industries; rural infrastructure; rural development; regional development; river development."

5.2 Food and Agriculture during and after the Uruguay Round

Definitions and characterisations of agriculture become more frequent in the late 1980s and 1990s. Agriculture becomes broader and broader, less easy to circumscribe and being recurrently defined and redefined. Varying conceptions of agriculture come to the fore assertively and claiming primacy during the negotiations. What is new with respect to the past, is the proliferation of definitions and characterisations of agriculture that different groups express and also the variety of actors that elaborate such definitions and make them known with unusual degrees of resonance at a global level.

Intergovernmental, Supranational and Government Technical and Policy Positions on Multifunctionality and Non-trade Concerns

UN intergovernmental agencies, supranational organisations like the European Commission and governments have been actively engaged in wanting to demonstrate the overall importance of agriculture for the global economy and the need to protect it from what are perceived as the threats of trade liberalisation. European countries are major contributors to the debate, either individually or as part of the European Commission or through funding awareness and analytical activities in intergovernmental organisations and fora. These are the organisations in which definitions and positions are prepared technically and then 'negotiated' and legitimised at the international level through consultations, Conferences and Summits.

Multifunctionality and non-trade concerns are debated concepts which have permeated the negotiations, particularly after the 1999 WTO Ministerial Meeting at Seattle with multifunctionality being associated with the European perspective. Originally, multifunctional agriculture was a neutral term. It was first formulated in 1993 by the European Council for Agricultural Law "...in an effort to harmonize agricultural legislation across Europe and to provide the general notion of 'sustainable agriculture' in a legal definition" (Sonnino and Marsden, 2005). In 1996, for example, multifunctionality was depicted as one of the functions of agriculture in a neutral assertion in the text of the Rome Declaration on World Food Security and World Food Summit Plan of Action (FAO, 1996b) where Commitment Three reads: 'we will pursue participatory and sustainable food, agriculture, fisheries, forestry and rural development policies and practices in high and low potential areas, which are essential to adequate and reliable food supplies at the household, national, regional and global levels, and combat pests, drought and desertification, considering the multifunctional character of agriculture' (emphasis added). In the same year, the Cork Declaration "...articulated the commitment of the European Commission to multifunctionality, stressing that agriculture is a major interface between people and the environment and that farmers have a responsibility as stewards of the natural resources of the countryside" (Gorman et al., 2001 referenced in Sonnino and Marsden, 2005).

It is in 1998 that the term multifunctionality acquires a distinctive conceptual connotation and is proclaimed politically by the OECD Agriculture Ministers at their meeting on 5–6 March. "The Ministerial Communiqué (OECD, 1998) recognised that beyond its primary function of supplying food and fibre, agricultural activity can also shape the landscape, provide environmental benefits such as land conservation, the sustainable management of renewable natural resources and the preservation of biodiversity, and contribute to the socio-economic viability of many rural areas" (OECD, 2001:9). During the preparatory work on the multilateral trade negotiations on agriculture, the concept becomes further articulated in government position papers (France reported in Guyomard (2000), Mauritius (Government of Mauritius, 2000), Norway (Government of Norway, 2000) by intergovernmental organisations (FAO, 1999a, 1999b, 2001a; OECD, 1998) and by a supranational institution like the European Commission (2000a). FAO (1999b), through a project funded by the Netherlands, recognised explicitly that the "concept of MFCAL (Multifunctional Character of Agriculture and Land) has evolved and builds upon SARD (Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development)". The various policy statements converge on claiming the importance of agriculture for other non-primary functions identified as environmental (land conservation, management of renewable natural resources, preservation of biodiversity), economic, social and cultural (food security, viability of rural areas and rural ways of life, eco-tourism, historical architectural or archaeological remains) and aesthetic (farmed landscape).

A particular conceptualisation is the one of cultural landscape as a function of agriculture (Nersten, et al. 1998). This is defined as (Hodge,2000:6 referencing Hovorka (1997:1)) '...a perceived unity of the spatially effective fabric of natural conditions and human influences. Cultural landscapes develop and change over time as a result of the interplay of socio-economic, cultural and natural factors. The cultural landscape can thus in no way be conceived as a static entity but rather as an expression of ecological, cultural and socio-economic development and change in living and working space. It should be understood as a process where nature and human culture and organisation are bound up in the production of a particular landscape (e.g. alpine landscape)'. For some

countries this is further specified as the outcome not just in general of farming activities but of farming resulting from activities of the 'family farm' (Bredahl et al.,1999).

In the draft text discussed in Seattle, whether the concept of multifunctionality should be considered in the context of non-trade concerns, was a major contentious issue with regard to the future negotiations. For the EU, Japan and other countries like Norway and Switzerland, the multifunctionality of agriculture requires maintaining a certain degree of government support and regulation in the sector. The inclusion of multifunctionality in the draft text was opposed by the Cairns Group and the US. A compromise was reached whereby the elements pertaining to multifunctionality would be retained without the specific mention of the term multifunctionality; in return the US gave up its demand to include in the text a reference to the goal of bringing trade in agricultural products under the same rules as trade in other goods.

In its book of 2001, where years of analytical work are condensed, the OECD recognises (OECD, 2001:10) that the "terminology may not be perfect, but it will evolve as the discussion advances". It also acknowledges that even though the term multifunctional has been used with various meanings in the agricultural policy debate, depending on the country and on the context in which it has arisen, "...it is nevertheless necessary to adopt a 'working definition' that provides an anchor for the discussion and defines the angle from which to approach the analysis. Such a working definition needs to encompass the core elements of multifunctionality that have been recognised by Member Countries" (OECD, 2001:13) It states that in previous work on multifunctionality, the terminology food and non-food outputs was used. The reason was that food production is generally the primary function of agriculture and the outputs that are jointly produced with food, such as the agricultural landscape, are non-food outputs. Yet, it was pointed out that on a significant portion of farmland, the primary products are non-food outputs, including flowers, fibres, renewable energy or raw materials for industrial production. In such cases the agricultural landscape would not be a by-product of food, but of a non-food output.

The point of these political positions and technical work is that some of the functions of agriculture, such as production of foods and fibre have a market and can therefore be regulated following the policy pillars of the Agreement on Agriculture based on comparative advantage principles; for other non-food functions, such as agricultural landscape etc. there are incomplete or missing markets. The contention is whether these non-production functions are joint with production or whether they can be achieved through specially targeted measures.

In the course of the trade negotiations, the term multifunctional agriculture is directly associated with the European position and it becomes the recognisable pole of contention between groups of countries favouring trade liberalisation (USA and Cairns Group) and those for which special measures are needed to protect agriculture, the EU falling in this latter category (Bohman et al., 1999). Multifunctionality becomes part of the non-trade concerns in the proposals submitted to WTO by the EU, Japan, Switzerland, Mauritius, Republic of Korea, Norway, Poland, Congo D.R. and Jordan (WTO, 2000a). These constitute the group of "Friends of Multifunctionality", formed by the EU, that opposes the "antisubsidy" front led by the Cairns Group and other developing countries (Bureau, 2002:85). For Switzerland (WTO, 2000a:7) "...agriculture provides public goods...decentralised settlement of the territory...consumers may also wish to link food production to cultural and/or ethic concerns". The UK Government never used the term 'multifunctional' in its own policy statements, neither when referring to its own rural and farm policy (Lowe and Ward, 1999; Policy Commission, 2002) nor when referring to developing countries (Harvey, 2002).

In the negotiations, multifunctionality characteristics become subsumed under the term non-trade concerns as called for by Article 20 of the Agreement on Agriculture. As part of its secretariat's function WTO reports what different countries consider as non-trade concerns (WTO, 2000h), summarised in the Table 5.1.

Only the EC highlights food safety and quality as a non-trade concern and it is the EC which provides the most articulate and open policy implication, namely that given the

interdependence between the various functions of agriculture, supporting the non-production related functions cannot be completely separated from the production function, the argument developed analytically over the years, and finally published in 2001 by OECD (2001). The EC also introduces alone the notion of agriculture as provider of "public goods". The table also reports the main dissenting arguments that the same objectives can be reached through targeted policy measures, as allowed by the Green Box.

Table 5.1. Non-trade concerns as expressed by countries

Non trade concern	Countries	Policy implications
Food security	Cuba, Dominican Rep. El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Pakistan, India, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Norway, Switzerland	– Measures to be exempted from reduction commitments – Special safeguard mechanism (Jamaica)
Preserving environment	Cuba, Dominican Rep. El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Pakistan, EC, Japan	Measures to be exempted from reduction commitments
Provision of public goods (environment and sustained vitality of rural areas)	EC	– Given the interdependence between the various functions of agriculture, supporting the non-production related functions cannot be completely separated from the production function – Direct aid measures
Agricultural landscapes, cultural heritage, agri-biological diversity, good plant, animal & public health, food security	Norway	
Viability of rural areas	India	Developing countries need to be allowed to provide domestic support in the agricultural sector
	Norway	
Local communities	Japan	
Landscape	Japan, Norway	
Needs of a scattered population	Switzerland	
Cultural heritage	Norway	
Agri-biological diversity	Norway	
Maintenance of a good plant, animal and public health	Norway	

Land conservation and prevention of floods	Japan	
Rural development	EC, India, Japan, Norway, South Africa	
Food safety and quality	EC	
Animal welfare	EC	
Dissenting views		
Production supports are unlikely to achieve specific objectives and are more likely to cause harm in other areas and in other countries	Australia, New Zealand , United States	NTC can be achieved by identifying specific objectives and using targeted policies that are decoupled from production; the range of fiscal policies could include fines and taxes, as well as subsidies. USA: the Green Box covers NTCs
Consumers in the subsidising country and farmers in third countries are adversely affected by the resulting distorted message from markets	Argentina and USA	
All human activities are multifunctional	Uruguay	Targeted policies for MFA

Progressively, the term 'multifunctional' loses some of its poignancy and becomes muddled in the general debate on agriculture, without any particular prominence. FAO, for example, in its annual report on the State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA) in the world (FAO, 2002b:160) states: "Policy discussions in many (OECD) countries focused on such areas as sustainable development, food safety, the environment, rural development, the multifunctional role of agriculture, market concentration and competition policy, but actual policy changes in these areas were few. Institutional changes in some countries reflected the increasing priority given to food safety and rural development issues".

The EC continues to use the word 'multifunctional' until 2002 as NTC includes multifunctionality. In its Trade Policy Review (WTO 2002b) notes that the "...Doha Ministerial brought a satisfactory outcome on agriculture, in confirming the commitment to negotiate on market access, domestic support and all forms of export subsidies, without prejudice to the final outcome, and clearly acknowledging the

multifunctional nature of this sector and the need to take fully into account the interest of developing countries". As noted by Bureau (2002:85) the concept of multifunctionality as defined by Pascal Lamy, European Commissioner for Trade, in a speech given in September 2002, continues to remain sufficiently broad to please almost all EU countries ("For us, the concept of multifunctionality denotes the importance of agriculture for food security, product quality, the countryside and the rural way of life, the protection of the environment and jobs").

FAO is requested by some of its member countries not to work on the topic of multifunctionality and the term disappears from its documents. FAO proposes to WTO to consider food security as a non-trade concern, food security being defined as "...physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet [their] dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (De Haen, 2001); this is to be ensured at individual, household, national, regional and global level. Intergovernmental fora resort to other terms to discuss the subject more neutrally. New terms are coined such as 'multiple roles of agriculture' (FAO, 2001e, WTO 2002b) and the usage is renewed of older terms such as sustainable agricultural and rural development. The arguments at stake coincide with the multifunctionality concept and add to it. .

Technical and Policy Perspectives on Multiple Roles of Agriculture and Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (SARD) at Intergovernmental, Supranational and Governmental Level

WTO (2002b) itself uses the term 'multiple roles of agriculture in a briefing document where it acknowledges that most countries accept that agriculture has 'functions' in addition to food and fibre and it states that "... although some dislike the buzzword 'multifunctionality' – the question debated in the WTO is whether 'trade-distorting' subsidies or subsidies outside the 'Green Box', are needed in order to help agriculture perform its many roles". WTO reports what the countries state and does not appear to develop its own technical work.

The concept of the various functions or multiple roles of agriculture continues to remain in FAO. FAO makes a distinction on such roles between industrialised and developing countries. For industrialised countries the non-commodity outputs of agriculture refer primarily to the environment, food safety and rural amenities, while for developing countries they refer to social stability, poverty alleviation, access to food and environmental concerns. As part of its work to define the multiple roles of agriculture for developing countries (Aldington, 1998; FAO 2001e; Boyle, 2001), FAO promotes empirical research and analytical work – funded by Japan – which it claims "of an interdisciplinary nature, embracing historical, environmental, economic and socio-anthropological viewpoints" (FAO, 2001e:17). The anthropological perspective is to analyse the cultural perceptions of the role of agriculture, thereby continuing some initial timid attempts to review the role of beliefs and values in agricultural policies (FAO, 1996a), this latter work prompted by the EU enlargement. The roles of agriculture refer to environmental externalities; poverty reduction; food security; buffer roles against sudden macroeconomic shocks or financial crises; social viability and stability; contribution to common national identity. The contention of the analytical work promoted under these different headings is that the conjunction of these roles has not been identified clearly nor evaluated.

The identification of the roles of agriculture leads to sustainable agricultural and rural development (SARD). The concept of sustainability was drawn to international attention particularly with the 1987 report 'Our Common Future' of the World Commission on Environment and Development. In 1988 FAO gave its own definition as a necessary first step "to the construction of a global effort": "Sustainable development is the management and conservation of the natural resource base, and the orientation of technological and institutional change in such a manner as to ensure the attainment and continued satisfaction of human needs for present and future generations. Such sustainable development (in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors) conserves land, water, plant and animal genetic resources, is environmentally non-degrading, technically appropriate, economically viable and socially acceptable" (FAO, 1989:65). SARD is explicitly stated at the 1991 United Nations Conference on

Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio, specifically in its Agenda and Declaration for Action on Sustainable and Agricultural Rural Development.

Sustainable agriculture, without the mention of rural development, is the recurring expression used in a generic sense by the World Bank (World Bank,2003a) and other UN agencies, such as UNESCO (2003) and UNEP (2003), ILO (2003).

The EC reports to WTO in its trade reviews that it is committed to trade liberalisation but with some caveats, as required by the general context of sustainable development (WTO, 2000b: para 11; WTO, 2002c) called for by Article 6 of the Treaty. It also proposes that there be a balance between the policy pillars of the Agreement on Agriculture (market access, export competition, domestic support) and non-trade concerns, listed as the protection of the environment, the sustained vitality of rural communities, food safety and other consumer concerns including animal welfare (WTO, 2002c:29). The EC draws its technical positions on multifunctionality from those elaborated by the OECD (2001); it does not appear to elaborate its own but rather to derive them from the perspectives built by the academic community in Europe. Its perspectives reflect the coexistence of two types of agriculture: a commercial agriculture expected to compete in the global economy and a "social (cohesion) agriculture, usually constructed as agriculture-in-a-region", as originally formulated in 1988 by the Commission document on the "Future of Rural Society" (EC, 1988). Social cohesion agriculture contributes to regional development with small farming being no longer viewed as an obstacle to progress but as an advantage in that they are able to accommodate the segmented market demand of European consumers.

None of these terms enter the official information by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA, 2003); there appears to be no 'formalisation' of a discourse except the recurring theme of agriculture being driven by consumers' needs which is at the origin of the expression 'consumer-driven agriculture'. Yet, the USA contributes 22% of the budget of OECD, the most authoritative producer of analytical work inspired by economics on 'multifunctionality' and earlier on, in 1999, on 'rural amenities' (OECD, 1999). Such work on rural amenities, in which USDA participated, could be considered

a forerunner of the work on multifunctionality, especially with respect to the notion of 'cultural landscape'. It suggested a categorisation of amenities according to the different levels of human involvement: 'almost intact nature' when amenity derives from a lack of human intervention, 'interaction between man and nature', where rural areas have been transformed by human activities over long periods of time and 'man made', where values stem from human construction and traditions.

For developing countries, the role of agriculture as the basis for rural development and for its linkages with poverty reduction and for its potential to lead to growth characterised by more equality becomes reiterated again in the 1990s (World Bank World Development Report in 1990, UNDP Human Development Report in 1990). Some of them align themselves with the "Friends of Multifunctionality" in 1999–2000 where they list their non-trade concerns, as reviewed earlier, as food security, preserving the environment, viability of rural areas and rural development. The Doha Development Agenda (DDA) in 2001 is a response to their complaint about the imbalance of the Uruguay Round, reflecting primarily OECD countries' interests that for agriculture take the form of the heavy subsidies to farmers and exporters.

Epistemic Communities and Other Non-state Actors Build Knowledge and Alternative Perspectives

Epistemic communities play an important role in defining agriculture, its role in the economy, the expected effects of liberalisation and in advising governments and international organisations on policies to be followed. They are asked by governments, by intergovernmental organisations, by universities, research institutions or private foundations to substantiate normative policy positions with conceptual and empirical knowledge as well as to advocate given policy perspectives. Other non-state actors contribute to the debate with alternative positions, often accompanied by mediatic resonance. These are a variety of actors including what are called non-mainstream academic community or think tanks, that is that part of the academic community committed to social engagement and activism and not only to neutral knowledge

building, non-governmental organisations active in international affairs like Oxfam, farmers' organisations, etc. These perspectives are expressed through traditional vehicles such as papers in journals but also through other media.

... On Multifunctionality, Multiple Roles of Agriculture and SARD

Multifunctionality was to demonstrate the need to subsidize agriculture because of missing markets for the products related to production, such as rural landscape, viability of rural life, etc. It is primarily the economists who develop and argue this concept more prominently, followed by elaborations of other disciplines. Both in the USA and in the EU, economists converge about the non-novelty of the concept of multifunctionality and question the relevance of the term for research (CIRAD, 1999; OECD, 1998; Josling, 2000). Multifunctionality 'properties' are found in forestry, in soil and wetlands (Gren et al., 1994 referenced in Hodge, 2000). Economists in Europe use their discipline to demonstrate the jointness of agricultural production implied by the multifunctionality concept, i.e. agriculture produces outputs that can only be produced simultaneously, e.g. paddy production and terraced landscape. Given the absence of markets for the non-agricultural product, the level of this will solely be determined by that of the marketable good. Consequently, benefits will be smaller than is socially optimal. Hence, there is a role for the public sector in either creating markets for the non-marketable good and/or providing direct or indirect incentives to producers to ensure its supply (OECD, 1998;2000a;2000b;2000c;2000d).

Economists apply the analytical concepts of public goods and externalities (Whalley, 1999; Latacz-Lohmann, 2000; Stringer, 2001; Cooper, 2001) which call for collective action. These arguments are criticised as 'thinly disguised protectionism' by European economists like Swinbank (2000 and 1999). 'Multifunctional Agriculture' becomes part of the regular (multidisciplinary) courses in Universities (such as Pisa and Florence) and it also becomes exported to countries beyond Europe, through such Universities (e.g., contributions of Florence University staff to a training programme for the Syrian Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform) (information of the author). In the USA

the term multifunctionality is not used; while sympathetic to the claims for valuing and fostering the existence of the non-food, non-commodity products of agriculture, Bohman et al. (1999) contend that the same aims can be reached without subsidies and they criticise it as outright misuse 'to maintain distortionary domestic policies', or 'prenegotiation rhetoric' targeted at influencing the size of the Green Box (Boyle, 2001).

Other economists (Hodge, 2000) show the differing underlying assumptions by Europe and the USA which are referred to as 'output model' and 'input model' of agriculture, respectively. These are adduced to a political judgement and not to the technical characteristics of the effects reported under such models. For the input model, followed by North American and Australian scholars, reducing price support leads to less intensive production and henceforth less use of inputs with consequent improvement in environment. In such a model agriculture is viewed in opposition to the 'natural' environment. For the output model, followed by Europeans, instead, the result of price support reduction is more ambiguous; it may lead to improvement in environment but also to reduced countryside services. In this model agriculture is the result of co-evolution of nature and man's activities whereby agricultural systems have been created, through what is called "critical institutional capital'. In such a model, "payments to farmers can represent the correction of a market failure rather than a distortion to trading relationships".

Non-economic approaches are followed by scholars from the French INRA (Laurent et al. 2003) for whom multifunctionality also means looking at producers' and their farming systems in ways which differ from the traditionally economics or agronomy driven models. Multifunctionality implies: 1) a greater ability by external viewers to observe the production process (treaceability of products, environmental standards, etc.) and therefore the importance of putting into place agricultural production models which convey such information through adequate organisational and management practices; 2) changes in the nature of producers' activities (pluriactivity, development of service activities related to agriculture etc.) and inducing invention and new practices; 3) an evaluation of the performance of the production systems based on different criteria,

different time and space dimensions; 4) a different analysis of the households and relations among themselves if environmental objectives are to be met and if they contribute to the maintenance of the social and economic fabric in an area, irrespective of whether they are more or less market driven and market oriented.

There are cases where governments fund research and analytical work on these themes through intergovernmental organisations in order to allow greater dissemination of such ideas and the formation of constituencies in favour of a given official position (e.g. The Netherlands supported work on multifunctionality, Japan funded the project on Roles of Agriculture, Germany a project to enable FAO to work on the right to food). The concept of multifunctionality becomes also appropriated by farmers' organisations. The EU Committee of Agricultural Organisations in their strategy paper dated 11 February 2002 claims that 'agricultural policy must enable each and every farmer to carry out his or her multifunctional role' (Committee of Agricultural Organisations, 2002). Via Campesina, a network of farmers' organisations worldwide, also adopts the multifunctionality concept (Nieddu:2002).

With respect to the expression 'multiple role' this is found in the academic literature (e.g. in Marsden et al, 1996) but it is not singled out for its significance; it is rather part of the argumentation on the contributions of agriculture to the economy and to employment. What appears more explicit is that it allows a multidisciplinary approach and enables taking into consideration the non-economic aspects of agriculture production, including food. In fact, in the social sciences, function refers to a part which is component and constituent of a complex system.[31] As opposed to this characterisation of 'function', the term role does not 'subscribe' to viewing agriculture as one whole composed of different parts fulfilling 'functions'. Rather, it leaves room for interpretation and for attributing such roles, which are no longer a given, parts of a biological natural process, a physical reality distinct from humankind.

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[31] It can be assumed that the use of the term functional has been borrowed in its meaning from the natural sciences (the operation through which a part or a process of the organism contributes to the construction of the total organism) or from systems theory . The latter emphasises that while all systems can be broken down and analysed in their constituent parts, they can only be apprehended when the system is studied as a whole.

SARD is developed by environmental and ecological economists and natural scientists with concepts such as ecosystems, natural capital, land-carrying capacity, total economic value (to include option values, existence values and bequest values[32]), to name a few. Nowadays, its various elaborations show that in addition to the ecological sustainability and the conservation of nature, the concept includes paying attention to "'...the dynamic process by which societies manage the material conditions of their reproduction, including the social, economic, political and cultural principles that guide the distribution of environmental resources" (Becker, et al., 1997: 18). While technically controversial with no definite and clear conceptualisation, it becomes almost an automatic adjective before the word agriculture, seen both as enhancing sustainability and as the major user of natural resources and as responsible for their depletion.

... On Food

For the conceptualisations of agriculture reviewed above, food is not an issue deserving any particular attention or deserving to be singled out. In the Agreement of Agriculture food is subsumed under the agricultural commodities, some of which qualify as food. Yet, with the increase in food trade and the transformation it undergoes from production to consumption, food becomes problematised.

On the one hand, the growth in complexity of the food chain has reduced the transparency of food; consumers no longer know the origin and the history of a food product. This is considered a matter of concern (Brom, 2002) as the knowability of the origin and history of a food product is important, as opposed to other products for which is very common that consumers do not know the origin nor the number and types of transformations the product has undergone. The greater distances between food producers and consumers are at the origin of the loss of cultural identity and the

[32] Option values refer to the value of maintaining the availability of potential uses: existence values are those associated with the knowledge that certain things exist: bequest values are those for which people are willing to pay now in order to be assured of their existence for the future generations (Hodge, 2000).

disharmony between the functional and symbolic aspects of food, causing the perception of threat to one's own identity. As already noted in 1986 in general for commodities that travel large distances, also for food its institutional, spatial and temporal knowledge tends to become "... partial, contradictory and differentiated" (Appadurai, 1986:56). For the economists, the price of food does not reflect the negative externalities associated with the extra food kilometres implied by distance (FAO, 2003b:286).

On the other hand, the 'commoditisation' of agricultural practices, namely production based on monocultures and one-dimensional agricultural practices generate 'global foods', the result of more and more homogenised production systems no longer related to a specific country's agro-ecological and cultural context. Even products which were once produced artisanally become standardised; in this respect, Friedland (1997) notes that what was earlier considered as the 'fordist product of lettuce is being sloanised for different niche markets'. Substitutionism implies changes in the identity of foods which become more and more associated with a specific industrial process and the proprietary brand of the agribusiness corporations rather than associated with a family- and rural-based mode of production. It is through the TNC that consumers build their knowledge about food.

Scholars in the U.K. (Kaplinski, 2001) work on the "de-commodification of commodities and how to have producers benefit from such decommodification" and consider that it is necessary to educate high-income country consumers about the ethics of consumption. In the UK, a distinction is drawn between 'local foods' originating near the buyer and 'locality foods' which "comes from farther afield but has a strong sense of provenance" (Policy Commission, 2002). The same Commission on the Future of Farming and Food notes that the local food sector is the result of small farming and small food businesses that have gone against the consolidation trend. It advocates the reconnection between farming and food production and the countryside, this latter viewed as the result of farming.

This reflects needs by high-income countries' consumers: already in 1993, Friedmann (1993) had noted that "the most privileged consumers have revived demand for handicraft goods, including meals... now expressed in the language of 'designer foods'". Such demand for diversified foods, less homogenised, more locally embedded and more 'natural' appears to be amplified (Murdoch et al., 2000; Murdoch & Miele, 1999). These needs are seen as moulded by international agribusiness, originally noted by Le Heron (1993:91) who also highlighted the change in diets of rich countries' middle class consumers towards more processed foods as well as the emerging global market of fresh fruit and vegetables "built up around the post-modern dietary demands and distribution and retailing practices of the advanced economies" (p.41). However, TNC are also seen as able to address these new stances by consumers, even though for some authors (Goodman and Redclift, 1991:240) not in a substantive way but only through 'repositioning', i.e. altering the way products are described rather than the products themselves. Yet, similarly to the concept of a territorially grounded agriculture or agriculture in a region, also for food there is a reassertion of territory through standards and appellations.

Non-standardised food becomes the core of alternative agriculture movements, such as organic agriculture, fair trade, eco-labelling, slow food, community-supported agriculture, etc. Their common characteristic is to re-establish ecological diversity and to re-establish the link between producers and consumers through the exchange of non-standardised food. Other voluntary associations arise with special interests and with global reach on the way food is produced and its standards, such the International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labelling Alliance (ISEAL, 2000) and the Global Reporting Initiative (Maitland, 2002). Safe and ethical ways of producing and transacting foods are also dealt with by non-governmental organisations such as the European Society for Agriculture and Food Ethics (EURSAFE) (Frans et al., 2001). Networks of human-rights organisations develop the concept of 'right' to food', whereby access to food is recognized as a human right, thus exercising pressure on governments to create the legal, institutional and policy environment conducive to increasing people's ability to feed themselves.

These alternative perspectives are noted in the officially designated organisations and reverberated in the press. FAO in 2002 warned about the influence of consumers in industrialised countries in regulation of agricultural production "Consumer worries on food safety place greater demands on regulators to ensure not only the safety and quality of the food they consume but also the environmental, social and ethical concerns related to food and agricultural production" (FAO, 2001c). Hence for FAO (2002f) the crucial importance of the role of civil society "... in reshaping the agriculture sector ...A careful balance will have to be sought between science driven innovation and consumer concerns, including ethics". The press echoes such concerns over food which, in the trade negotiations, should not be dealt with as any other commodity (Aslet, 2002).

Alternative agriculture movements and alternative perspectives stem from and elaborate upon the nature aspects of agriculture. Nature is no longer a backdrop to human activity; as an object of philosophical investigations (Wolters, 1998:169), it becomes a contested concept. The relationship of humans to nature is problematised; ethics is seen as expanding from a preoccupation with humans to a concern for animals, plants, rocks and nature in the environment in general. Transdisciplinary studies on humans and nature, such as geophilosophy, note that the 'deterritorialisation' and the belief in manipulating nature by strengthening the economic and technological dimensions to the detriment of symbolic meanings, has generated a movement demanding to "reinstore the 'culture' in all its dimensions in agri-culture (Bonesio, 2000).

Therefore, food becomes part of the emerging public concerns in the trade environment which, as forewarned in 1999 for FAO by Alan Matthews, a trade economist from Trinity College in Dublin, would exercise stronger influence that comparative advantage or competitiveness principles (FAO, 2001d). However, all these perspectives on food do not reach the negotiating fora and do not become part of the official positions. Nevertheless, the EC includes 'safe food' as part of the non-trade concerns, while reference to food safety is also included in the concept of food security prepared by FAO and submitted to WTO.

It is a network of small farmers' organisation like Via Campesina that develops the concept of 'food sovereignty' and presents it at the World Food Summit in 1996, as an alternative to the neoliberal policy paradigm of the Agreement on Agriculture. Food sovereignty is the right of peoples' and countries (and groups of countries) to define their agricultural and food policy, but without practicing any dumping vis-à-vis third countries; it is the right of people to produce their own food, to fulfil their domestic needs regarding food (NGO-CSO Forum, 2002). To attain food sovereignty, priority is placed on" food production for domestic and local markets, based on peasant and small-scale, diversified and agro-ecologically based production systems".

... On Structural Changes in the Agro-food Sector and the Role of Trade

The structural changes occurring in the sector are viewed problematically by social scientists that do not share the faith in science and vision of progress of the natural scientists (McMichael, 1996; Goodman and Watts, 1997). In a nutshell, productivist agriculture has made prices drop but has made health costs rise and has exercised pressure on natural resources and reduced wildlife and biodiversity. Under such productivist agriculture, food processors and retailers have changed the food economy and have promoted changes in people's diets. It is feared that trade liberalisation will accentuate further the pressure on natural resources and that it will contribute to the shrinking of the agriculture sector, considered the basis of economic growth for many developing countries and a sector considered strategic in industrialised countries for its link with natural resources, with employment and social cohesion. It is also believed that, by inducing specialisation in production (Whalley, 1999:14), trade liberalisation may cause smaller rural communities in some countries, the disappearance of local farming systems and also of local foods.

Epistemic communities from both the Anglophone and Francophone world focus on global commodity chains; these are characterized as 'buyer-driven global commodity chains' where production is increasingly outsourced to a competitive decentralised stem of subcontractors (Raikes et al. 2002) and 'supply chains' driven by retailers (Dobson,

2003). Contrasting views are expressed on their outsourcing deemed by some as positive contributions to the economies of developing countries and to the survival and enhancement of local food systems (Atkins and Bowler, 2001:37; FAO, 2003b; Reardon, 2002) and negatively by the same FAO and others for the displacement caused to local food systems (FAO, 2002f; Friedmann, 1993; Heffernan, 2002). Other concerns are expressed with respect to price changes in the food chains not reaching farmers and not benefiting consumers (Zachariasse & Bunte, 2003) and therefore with the efficiency and equity of price formation, as transactions occur within the same firm (Timmer, 2003a).

Heffernan (2002) expresses the concern that farmers become just 'growers' of what distant others decide; these not only decide what farmers should grow but and how. A particular concern regards small-scale farmers (Reardon for FAO, 2002) and their ability to adapt and to respond to the requirements of caterers and supermarkets. The self-interest of farmers and their survival become theorised by the epistemic communities in Europe as a prerequisite for a living countryside as opposed to the 'folkloric' maintenance of rurality (Lowe and Ward, 1999) and as a prerequisite to the very survival of society in France (Goodman & Redclift, 1991). The danger of losing farmers' technical expertise in producing food is expressed (Marsden et al., 1990). At the same time, epistemic communities help in bringing to the fore the demands put on the countryside by people other than farmers, the so called 'consumers of rurality'. With the term 'rural space' they highlight the functions that may or may not depend on the activities of farmers, such as farmed landscape, flora and fauna for visual consumption, cultural heritage, etc. (Marsden, 1990:12).

Alternative visions of agriculture arise both by epistemic communities and other non-state actors. More recently, scholars (Lang, 2003 for OECD) oppose the traditional, productivist view of agriculture with what is referred to as 'ecological integration paradigm'. The ecological integration paradigm is described in opposition as 'working with nature rather than on it'. In the USA, the view is expressed to take stock of the developments that have occurred in food and agricultural production, marketing and food consumption and to differentiate between 'industrial agriculture' or '*agribusiness*'

and *'alternative agriculture'*. For Friedland (2002) agribusiness is a "set of industrial processes physically located in the open air rather than under a roof" while agriculture should be understood as small-scale, family based multicropping enterprise. This latter would require a new Department of Agriculture which would be "dedicated to providing science, social science, community development, and extension services to support what remains of small-scale agriculture and to make 'alternative agriculture' a major direction in US policy".

Such alternative views of food and agriculture are also expressed by farmers' organisations and other organisations in support of the agrarian ethos in the USA[33]. They express their preoccupations on the food industry and its agglomeration in a few giant corporations, on the disappearance of 'family farms' (Turning Point Project, 2000), the promotion of a more 'ecological agriculture' and the quality of food (Turning Point Project, 2002). Ecological agriculture means "1) eliminate monocultures; 2) reduce soil erosion to natural replacement levels by eliminating soil-depleting chemicals and heavy machinery. Return to natural nutrients... 3) reintroduce time-honoured safe practices for maintaining healthy soil... 4) ban corporate farming; 5) bring anti-trust actions to reverse corporate consolidation in the food industry; 6) revive rural communities; 7) let nature be the final measure; 8) nurture an agrarian mentality... agrarian approach; The agrarian mind begins with the love of fields and ramifies in good farming, good cooking, good eating and gratitude to God...". Trade Unions commission studies to Universities on the concentration of the food industry (Heffernan et al. 2000; Elshof, 2002).

As was seen earlier for the distinctive discourses developed by governments and intergovernmental organisations on food and agriculture, also for these discourses on food and structural changes the construction of knowledge is compartmentalised. Even though the terminology 'food system' is recurrently used, the question of the persistence of hunger is not made part of the overall analyses, except by a few scholars who

[33] Characterisations of the agrarian ethos in the USA converge on closeness to nature 'self-reliant families of farmers struggling against a hostile environment with few resources beyond their own labour' (Le Heron, 1993:83).

advocate the need to make such a link. In 1993 Le Heron had pointed out that "despite many attempts to bring hunger to the fore...matters of human needs have been subordinated to the profitable production of food' (Le Heron, 1993: 194). He forecast that developing countries would have to resort to their local food systems, geared to their peoples, warning however, that such systems would be "vulnerable to restructuring induced by overproduction and the dietary preferences of rich consumers". In 2003, the need to view the food system in its entirety is reasserted whilst acknowledging the difficulty in dealing analytically with such comprehensive array of issues (Maxwell & Slater, 2003; de Haen et al., 2003).

To counteract the reductionism implied by the dichotomy between TNC-driven and local agriculture and food systems and between the global and local dimensions, the concept of 'food networks' is coined (Marsden, 1997). This helps to analyse the interrelationships between all human actors in a commodity chain, excluding an a-priori overriding influence of global actors such as the TNC. The interrelationships also include non-human intermediaries in a commodity chain, which bind the actors together in power relationships. Contracts between farmers and TNC are examples of such intermediation as well as regulations that link the local to national politics and to international agreements (Atkins and Bowler, 2001:45), thereby demonstrating the alternative positive view of TNC for their 'deepening' the periphery (Baker, 199:140 referenced in Urry, 2000:209), namely for fostering a dynamic relationship between the centre and the periphery through the exchange of goods and services.

5.3 Conclusions

The overview of this chapter has enabled to trace how agriculture and trade liberalisation have been viewed and debated prior and after the Uruguay Round, as summarised in Annex 5. Prior to the Uruguay Round, agriculture and its linkages were in general theorised and analysed to make agriculture 'productive' in an efficient and socially responsive manner. Food was a natural outcome of agriculture; the two terms were linked unproblematically. Quality and safety of food were not major issues.

Environment and natural resources remained in ancillary discourses being built by other disciplines or literature. Progressively, with the industrialisation of agriculture, the definition of the sector becomes more blurred. The perspectives built reflect experts' advice and analysis, experts being from the natural sciences disciplines, economics and agricultural economics, primarily. With the Uruguay Round, agriculture acquires multiple meanings and attributions. These contribute to a variety of analyses and statements on the effects of trade liberalisation which present additional perspectives to the original policy formulation of the Agreement on Agriculture.

Thus, we have found two major streams of perspectives which fight their way to become discourses, as outlined in Table 5.1 below: the first related to the distinctive series of perspectives which are prepared, negotiated and 'legitimised' in intergovernmental fora, such as multifunctionality, SARD, multiple roles of agriculture, non-trade concerns and food security. The other set of perspectives which are being developed in parallel by the epistemic communities and other non-state actors focus on food and on the structural changes ongoing in food and agriculture, primarily through agro-industry and TNC.

Box 5.1.

During and after the Uruguay Round

a. intergovernmental/government fora: →	Multifunctionality (MFA), Sustainable Agricultural & Rural Development (SARD) Roles of Agriculture (ROA) Food security Non-trade concerns
b. mainstream (academia) and non-mainstream (all others including those with loyalties outside agriculture) →	-Food consumption - Structural changes

The positions which become negotiated and 'legitimised' in intergovernmental fora are developed by FAO, the EC through its epistemic communities and reported – not

elaborated – by WTO, in its secretariat function. They attempt to become policy discourses, namely "...problematic situations are converted to policy problems, agendas are set, decisions are made and actions are taken" (Rein and Schon, 2003:145). They show that multifunctionality is dealt with analytically in-depth and becomes a cohesive policy discourse for the EC. Multifunctionality characteristics become part of the Non-Trade Concerns in WTO negotiations, as such they become atomised, do not become part of a cohesive policy perspective, and are too hidden and fragmented to become a policy discourse. The concept of multiple roles of agriculture has not had the same amount of technical elaboration as multifunctionality and the conjunction of the different roles has not been clearly identified or evaluated. SARD becomes asserted repeatedly in various fora, with many attributes and analytical stances. FAO proposes that food security be considered as a non-trade concern. Civil society organisations instead propose the term food security, not accepting the reliance in trade implied in the concept of food security.

The other set of perspectives which are being developed in parallel by the epistemic communities and other non-state actors focus on food and on the structural changes ongoing in food and agriculture, primarily through agro-industry and TNC. Alternative visions of agriculture are developed. On the one hand, agriculture is viewed as part of the food system, with its links to the sustainability of the natural resource base, to consumption and health on a global scale. On the other, alternative visions and practices reject the productivist notion of agriculture and try to reconnect agriculture to 'nature', food being part of this link between humankind and nature. As opposed to a dualistic interpretation of an agriculture dominated by the TNC and pockets of alternative agriculture practices, the concept of food networks is coined to capture such diversity not in dichotomic and uncommunicative manner but as interacting and influencing each other.

In conclusion, these views and knowledge on agriculture and food, both through the distinctive discourses prepared for, and negotiated in, multilateral fora and through the mainstream and non-mainstream literature on food and structural changes point to three sets of findings which have been explored further through the case studies.

The first relates to the *paradigmatic shifts* in the conception of food and agriculture occurring with the Uruguay Round. On the hand, agriculture is no longer a distinct sector, whose presumed distinctiveness made it almost unnecessary in the past to define it; on the other, it is not only the outcome of deterritorialised supply and demand but the result of market and trade relations determined also by non-economic factors. As such, agriculture acquires multiple interpretations and definitions, given to it no longer only by the farmers and other actors involved in production but also by all other actors of the food chain, including consumers, as well as other actors, with interests and loyalties outside of agriculture. Food also becomes problematised and acquires great prominence in the discourses.

The second set of findings is that the perspectives are generated by different actors through different modalities and fora of knowledge construction and communication and most importantly, that there is interconnections between the different modalities and fora. The negotiated positions are backed by technical work; prior to the Uruguay Round this was dominated by economics and by experts. Progressively, such technical work is done by epistemic communities comprising academics and non-academics of different institutional provenance and disciplinary backgrounds. Non-state actors, particularly after Seattle, contribute with their own knowledge and positions communicated through various media, often with great clamour and resonance as witnessed by their presence in the WTO Ministerial Meetings and other international conferences. In the process, intergovernmental organisations, epistemic communities and non-state actors learn to interact with each other thus generating new knowledge reflecting consensual positions. In other words, knowledge does not seem to be any longer the result of codified research practices but also of ways of communicating and of actions which become constitutive of the knowledge constructed and of the discourses. Perspectives battle their way through various battlefields to become discourses, as accepted patterns of meanings.

The third sets of findings relates to the increased interconnectedness between intergovernmental organisations, states and society through multiple communication,

knowledge-creation networks and multiple decision-making fora. Many other actors concur to policies and regulations in agriculture.

These findings from the overview will be tested and further articulated with four case studies illustrating the discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation in intergovernmental organisations like FAO and WTO, in a supranational organisation like the European Union and in transnational civil society organisations. For each of these, a systematic review of discourses over the period 2000–2005 has been made by reporting and analysing the political arena and the organisational, technical, popular and moralising forum of each organisation.

CHAPTER 6

FAO

6.1 Fora and Arena

Organisational Forum

The organisational forum will consider FAO's mandate, its governing bodies, its organisational structure and staff and the building. FAO's mandate as defined by Article 1 of its Constitution covers information collection and dissemination and policies related to nutrition, food and agriculture, including "agricultural commodity arrangements". It reads as follows: "*1. The Organisation shall collect, analyse, interpret and disseminate information relating to nutrition, food and agriculture. 2. The Organisation shall promote and, where appropriate, shall recommend national and international action with respect to: a) scientific, technological, social and economic research relating to nutrition, food and agriculture;b) the improvement of education and economic research relating to nutrition, food and agriculture, and the spread of public knowledge of nutritional and agricultural science and practice; c) the conservation of natural resources and the adoption of improved methods of agricultural production; d) the improvement of the processing, marketing and distribution of food and agricultural products; e) the adoption of policies for the provision of adequate agricultural credit, national and international; f) the adoption of international policies with respect to agricultural commodity arrangements*" (FAO, 1947).

FAO's governing structure is made up of different decision-making and advisory organs with each member countries having one vote. The official policy advisory body of FAO is the FAO Conference which meets on a biennial basis and is constituted by its member countries. "Its main functions are to determine the policies of the Organisation, approve the programme of work and budget, and make recommendations to members and international organisations" (FAO, 2004a). Participants in the Conference are in the

majority delegates from Ministries of Agriculture and whatever else countries associate with agriculture (ranging from traditional livestock, water, fisheries to more unusual or contemporary associations such as environment, middle classes, women, consumers, etc.) and Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Annex 6 shows the variety of denominations of Ministries that deal with agriculture; it also shows the Ministries, in addition to the Ministry of Agriculture that attend the FAO Conferences.

In addition to all members and associate members of the organisation, the FAO Conference is also attended by observers from non-member countries, intergovernmental organisations and non-governmental organisations. These, as will be explained further in chapter 9, participate through practices which have been institutionalised, whereby their work or declarations become an integral part on how Conferences and other meetings are conducted. Non-governmental organisations also participate in the regional conferences that precede the biennial Conference (Asia and the Pacific, Africa, the Near East, Latin America and the Caribbean and Europe). The executive organ of the Conference is the Council, reserved to governments only, a small group of 49 elected member countries that serve three-year rotating terms.

There are then a number of committees with different functions[34], one of them specifically related to 'commodity problems'. Eight of the 73 statutory bodies cover 'Commodities and Trade'[35]; these rely on the advice of experts from different organisations. In addition to these formally constituted committees, there are committees established by the staff for specific areas of work, some of which are totally new in the life of the Organisation, such as the Ethics Committee established in 2001.

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[34] The *Programme Committee* and the *Finance Committee* assist the Council with respect to development and implementation of the organisation's programme of activities.
The *Committee on Commodity Problems* keeps commodity problems of an international character affecting production, trade, distribution, consumption and related economic matters under review.
The *Committee on Fisheries*, the *Committee on Forestry* and the *Committee on Agriculture* also with review functions.
The *Committee on World Food Security* serves as a forum in the United Nations system for review and follow up of policies concerning world food security, including food production and physical and economic access to food. (FAO, 2004(a)).

[35] Agriculture (3); Animal Production and Health (3); Commodities and Trade (8); Fisheries (12); Food Policy and Nutrition (30); Forestry (9); Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (1); Land and Water; Development (1); Plant Production and Protection (5); Statistics (1).

FAO is headed by a Director General elected by its member countries every six years. It has 3450 staff (as of Sept. 2004), of whom 1450 professionals and 2000 support staff, 27.3% of whom are in offices in different regions of the world[36]. The office in Geneva has one staff member, an agricultural trade economist, specifically devoted to following WTO matters. About ¾ of the professional staff do technical work, carry out analyses, provide advice to member countries and produce studies which feed the work of the various committees and Conferences in a variety of domains only partly captured by its organisational structure. It has a core budget and also extra-budgetary funds which member countries choose to give for specific projects.

The organisational structure of FAO (in Box 6.1 below) comprises a broad variety of domains encompassing both the biophysical and social sciences. The variety of domains covered is also reflected in the specializations of the staff who have different backgrounds, economics being one of them. The organisation does not have a single policy unit or think tank; technical development of policies is carried out by the different departments in their own technical domains.

Externally, FAO has progressively become a partner in a more or less leading role in a variety of multilateral networks and initiatives related to agriculture, as shown in Box 6.2. In addition it has actively promoted networks. An FAO study conducted in 1990 for the period 1986–89 found that FAO had promoted 135 technical cooperation networks, the latter defined as "a voluntary cooperative arrangement among individuals or institutions and/or individuals in two or more countries, set up for a period of at least several years to carry out jointly certain specified activities for the purpose of direct exchange of relevant techniques and experience on common development issues". FAO devoted some 6% of its regular programme to supporting these networks (FAO, 1991).

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[36] In addition to its Headquarters based in Rome, FAO has five regional and sub-regional offices covering Africa (in Accra and in Harare, respectively), the Near East (in Cairo and Tunis), in Europe (located in Rome and in Budapest), in Asia (in Bangkok and Samoa) and in Latin America (in Santiago de Chile and Barbados). Furthermore, there are about 78 country offices, headed by an FAO Representative. There are also two liaison offices which work with the international system (Geneva and New York); three liaison offices, one dealing with the USA and Canada (in Washington), one in Brussels with the European Union, and one in Tokyo dealing with Japan.

Box 6.1 FAO Technical Departments and Divisions

Agriculture Department

Animal Production and Health Division; Joint FAO/IAEA Division of Nuclear Techniques in Food and Agriculture; Land and Water Development Division; Plant Production and Protection Division; Agricultural Support Systems Division;

Economic and Social Department

Global Perspectives Studies Unit; Agriculture and Economic Development Analysis Division; Commodities and Trade Division; Food and Nutrition Division; Secretariat, Codex Alimentarius Commission'; Statistics Division.

Fisheries Department

Fishery Information, Data and Statistics Unit; Fishery Policy and Planning Division; Fishery Industries Division; Fishery Resources Division.

Forestry Department

Forestry Policy and Planning Division; Forestry Planning and Statistics Branch; Forest Resources Division; Forest Products Division.

Sustainable Development Department

Research, Extension and Training Division; Secretariat of the Technical Advisory Committee to the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR); Gender and Population Division; Rural Development Division;

Technical Cooperation Department

Unit for Cooperation with External Partners; Investment Centre Division; Field Operations Division; Policy Assistance Division;

General Affairs and Information Department

Unit for Liaison with National Committees; WFD Special Events/TeleFood Coordination Unit; Conference, Council and Protocol Affairs Division; Library and Documentation Systems Division

Source: Excerpt from Annex VII of the FAO Programme of Work and Budget, 2002 (FAO, 2002p). It covers only technical departments, thus excluding personnel and administrative divisions, and the office of the Director-General.

Box 6.2 Agriculture-related networks and initiatives at global level

A. NETWORKS

FAO provides the secretariat of

- International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC)
- Codex Alimentarius Committee (with WHO)
- International Treaty for Plant Genetic Resources (ratified in March 2004)
- International Rice Commission
- UN Fish Stock Agreement (1995)
- Model Code of Forest Harvesting Practices (1996)
- Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (1995)
- Mountain Partnership (established at WSSD in 2002)
- Science Council to the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (2004)

FAO is a partner of

- Convention on Wetlands of International Importance, especially as Waterfowl Habitat
- Global Framework for the Progressive Control of Foot-and-Mouth Disease and other Transboundary Animal Diseases (FAO and OIE, 2003)
- Global Integrated Pest Management Facility
- Global Strategy for the Management of Farm Animal Genetic Resources
- Global Water partnership
- Global Crop Diversity Trust (joint FAO/CGAIR initiative)
- Interim Secretariat of the Global Diversity Trust. Joint FAO/CGIAR initiative in 2004
- International Task Force on Commodity Risk Management
- Kyoto Declaration and Plan of Action, 1995
- National Agricultural Research System (NARS)
- Global Terrestrial Observing System
- Global Plant and Pest Information System
- Montreal Protocol on Substances that Delete the Ozone Layer (1987)
- Rotterdam Convention on the Prior Informed Consent Procedure (entered into force in February 2004)
- Soil Fertility Initiative
- UN Convention on Biological Diversity (1992)
- UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
- UN Convention to Combat Desertification in Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa (1994)
- UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992)
- UNEP Programme on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs)
- UN ACC Network on Rural Development and Food Security

FAO sponsors

- African Network for Horticulture Development
- Global Network on Mushrooms
- International Cactus Pear Network
- Inter-American Citrus Network
- Latin American Tropical Fruits Network
- Date Palm Global Network
- Maize Network for Tropical Asia
- Network on Plant Biotechnology for Latin America and the Caribbean
- Near East and North Africa Network for Agricultural Policies (NENARNAP) (2002)

B. INITIATIVES

2004	International Alliance against Hunger (IAAH)
2004	International Year of Rice (FAO as lead agency)
2003	International Year of Freshwater
2002	International year of the Mountains (FAO as lead agency)
1999	Teheran Process of Low Forest Cover Countries

As part of the analysis of the organisational structure we should also consider that the last two director-generals of the organisation[37] have been agronomists. Following Argyris (1980), it could be inferred that their 'theories-in-use', coming from their professional background, would predispose them to select even unconsciously the areas of work congruent with their own views of what constitutes agriculture and which problems agriculture can solve. Their practical, results-oriented inclinations can be seen, by way of example, by the statement made by the Director-General at the 39th Session of the FAO Conference in 1997: "...actually halving the total of 800 million people without adequate access to food by the year 2015 calls for more than speeches, seminars, studies and consultants' reports. Concrete field actions have therefore been conducted, spearheaded by the Special Programme for Food Security..." (FAO, C1997 REP). Both the two last Director-Generals followed a Director-General (B.R. Sen) whose "role in transforming FAO from a study organisation to a development agency" (FAO DG Bulletin 2004/17) became enshrined by the Organisation in an annual prize, as part of its practical hands-on image legitimacy, both internally and towards the external world.

The expansion of the domains covered by agriculture is also at the basis of the organisation's initiative to foster cross-organisational communication and multidisciplinary work with the creation of the *Priority Areas for Interdisciplinary Action* (PAIAs). "FAO still has to change its technical culture by moving its former compartmentalized mentality into thinking across departmental lines and addressing developmental problems in more interdisciplinary ways" (FAO, 1997). The sixteen areas considered as priority areas around which staff gather, exchange information and work are:

- Biological diversity;
- Biosecurity[38];

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[37] Mr. E. Saouma, Lebanese, Director-General for the period 1976-1993 and Jacques Diouf, from Senegal, Director-General since 1994 till 2005 (at the time of writing) with a mandate up to 2011.

[38] This is a recent concept which refers to "...the process and objective of managing biological risks associated with food and agriculture in a holistic manner". (FAO-COAG, 2003).

- Biotechnology in food and Agriculture;
- Climate change;
- Ecosystem management;
- Ethics in food and agriculture;
- Food for the cities;
- Gender and food security;
- Global perspective studies;
- Integrated production systems;
- Organic agriculture;
- Definitions, norms, methodologies and quality of information;
- Emergency operations;
- Spatial information;
- Sustainable livelihoods;
- Trade in agriculture, fisheries and forestry.

As of 2005, these PAIA groups appear not to be effective and enhancing the interdisciplinarity which the Organisation wants to foster.

The building, conceived in 1930s, belong to the rationalist architecture evoking belief in the notion of progress in line with the 'developmental' function privileged over the 'study organisation' by R.B. Sen, Director-General in the sixties (Annex 7). In 1999 the Director-General praised the modernization promoted by him "Our Headquarters now possess a selection of meeting rooms, a press club and audio-visual centres of enviable quality. So much so in fact that other organisations are increasingly eager to hold their meetings here". In addition to large conference facilities, FAO has 19 formal meeting rooms, the furnishings of which are donated by its member countries. The older meeting rooms have symbols related to agriculture crops and production, while the more recent ones have symbols that either relate to the donating countries or rural scenes; others have no symbols at all. Hence, the FAO building has infrastructure to host and facilitate its own as well as other organisations' meetings and the networking that goes with them.

Political Arena

Under this arena, we will consider the reports of the FAO Conference, as the body determining the Organisation's policies but also the Declarations emanating from Summits and major celebratory meetings, the Director-General's forewords in the publications which FAO considers as its 'flagship' publications and the Director-General's speeches. The oral delivery of such texts will not be looked at nor their construction in the layman arena represented by the papers prepared by FAO staff, by the battleground for the acceptance of some over others and their transformation for public delivery.

As mentioned earlier, it is the biennial Conference which determines the Organisations' policies. A first level of analysis will therefore include the study of the four Reports of the Conferences during the years 1999 to 2005. The Conference reports result from debates during the Conferences, based on papers prepared by FAO staff. The priorities listed in such reports can be both the result of the debates as well as of the lobbying which goes on in the corridors between countries and between government representatives and FAO staff.

The reports show a great variety of domains revealing of the complexity that goes under the 'agriculture' mandate of the Organisation. A recurrent theme is the plea to increase investments in agriculture; the term 'sustainable' is interspersed throughout when referring to natural resources and gender is also ritualistically mentioned. In relation to trade, Codex Alimentarius and International Plant Protection Convention feature explicitly in 1999, together with multilateral trade negotiations (FAO, 1999e). The plea for flexibility in the Doha Round for food security objectives and assistance to diversify the export base are mentioned in 2001 (FAO, 2001g) as well as access of small farmers to local and international markets in 2003 (FAO, 2003l).

Although each of the Regional Conferences follows its own unique agenda, they are fed by technical papers which are much more diversified and revealing of the differences among the regions in problems affecting food and agriculture, in the transformation of

agriculture as well as in the varying 'cultural' perceptions of agriculture and its role (FAO, 2002l; 2003e;). For example, the Latin American region describes much of its work on the themes of rural development, rurality, rural space and alliances which are almost non-existent in the Near East Region. Both the Near East and the African Regions emphasize the productive and hard-core aspects of agriculture, such as investments in irrigation, drought management, infrastructures with minor emphasis on institutional aspects and on rural development. The European region, as could be expected, highlights problems of food safety, consumer protection and multifunctional agriculture. For Asia, a region that has experienced high economic growth, a prevalent motive is poverty alleviation and sustainability. For all regions, international trade negotiations are a concern together with the almost ritualistic presentation of gender. The technical papers prepared by staff or commissioned to consultants are also revealing of the epistemic communities prevailing in a given region or with a transnational outreach (e.g. Wilkinson, de Janvry in Latin America, think tanks and research institutions from France and the UK for Europe, such as ODI, CIRAD, INRA; UK and USA research and academic institutions for Anglophone Africa and French and Belgium institutions for Francophone Africa).

The declarations reviewed consider those made in Quebec in 1996 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Organisation, the Rome Declaration on World Food Security prepared at the World Food Summit in 1996, the statements made by FAO at the WTO Ministerial Meeting at Doha in 2001 and at the Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002 and the Declaration made at the World Food Summit: five-years later in 2002. Even though the first two declarations are beyond the time period of the research 2000–2005, they are considered in that they constitute an important part of the 'punctuations' in the life of an organisation. They set the tone and mould the vision and messages for the staff and for the external world.

The Quebec Declaration in 1996 on the occasion of FAO's fiftieth anniversary reaffirmed the basic principles on which FAO was founded, acknowledged the new paradigms emerging out of the international conferences and summits and concluded on the "...need for a concerted attack on poverty and environmental degradation... and on

the twin necessities of producing enough food for the people while protecting and sustaining the resources of the planet" (FAO, 1996c). The same idea is conveyed in a more articulated concept in the declaration prepared at the World Food Summit in 1996 which advocated the "...elimination of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production" (without linking them causally). The Declaration acknowledges that "trade is a key element in achieving food security". It also advocated for "food trade and overall trade policies that will encourage our producers and consumers to utilize available resources in an economically sound and sustainable manner". The same Declaration implicitly recognizes the question of governance in agriculture "...In a world of increasingly interlinked institutions, societies and economies, coordinated efforts and shared responsibilities are essential" (FAO, 1996b). The text of the Declaration itself is structured in such a way so as to recommend what the international community should do, followed by what national governments and by civil society should and can do.

At the WTO Fourth Ministerial Conference at Doha FAO suggests a definition for considering food security as a non-trade concern: "*Appropriate rules of the multilateral trading system to govern agricultural production and trade are among the essential instruments for promoting food security and rural development.... The Ministerial Conference may wish to endorse the following definition of food security accepted by the 1996 World Food Summit: "Food security at the individual, household, national, regional and global level will be achieved when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". This definition could provide guidance in the search for ways and means of taking into account food security concerns*" (de Haen, 2001).

In 2002, the declaration of the *World Food Summit: five years* later (FAO, 2002a)[39] stated in Commitment 4 of the WFS Plan of Action that **trade is a key element in**

[39] As for other summits and conferences, the World Food Summit followed the tradition of take stock five years later of progress towards the established goals.

achieving world food security but also reaffirmed "the fundamental **importance of national production** and distribution of food, sustainable agriculture and rural development, fisheries and forestry, in achieving food security" (emphases added by author).

Sustainable agriculture and rural development (SARD) was very explicitly defined by FAO in its statement on the occasion of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 in Johannesburg:

"What do we understand by sustainable agriculture? In the first instance, a more sustainable food production system seeks to make the best use of nature's goods and services whilst not damaging the environment. SARD does this by integrating natural processes such as nutrient cycling, nitrogen fixation, soil regeneration and natural enemies of pests into food production processes. It also minimizes the use of non-renewable inputs (pesticides and fertilizers) that damage the environment or harm the health of farmers and consumers. It makes better use of the knowledge and skills of farmers, so improving their self-reliance. And it seeks to make productive use of people's capacities to work together to solve common management problems, such as pest watershed, irrigation, forest and credit management (now commonly termed as social capital). SARD jointly produces food and other goods for farm families and markets, and also contributes to a range of public goods, such as clean water, wildlife, carbon sequestration in soils, flood protection, landscape quality. It delivers many unique non-food functions that cannot be produced by other sectors (e.g. on-farm biodiversity, groundwater recharge, urban to rural migration, social cohesion). SARD is therefore multipurpose, having many positive externalities, whilst reducing negative externalities to a minimum" (FAO, 2002d)

The same concept is repeated in the foreword of one of the Organisation's flagship publications[40], the 2002 *State of Food and Agriculture* where specific reference is made to agriculture as providing local, regional and global public goods: SARD is explicitly related to global public goods:

"However, I would like to highlight one particular aspect that is strongly featured in the report. This is the recognition that agriculture, fisheries and forestry have an importance

[40] The Organization considers as its flagship publications the following: The State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA), World Agriculture: towards 2015-2030; The State of Food Insecurity (SOFI); The State of Fisheries and Aquaculture (SOFIA); the State of Forestry (SOFO); the State of World Commodities is a new one in preparation. In this research only the two first two have been considered, as all the others have a more sectorally focused content, beyond the scope of this research.

beyond that of providing us with the food and raw materials necessary for our survival and well-being and ensuring the livelihoods of farmers, fishermen and foresters worldwide; people employed in these sectors play a role in managing resources the benefits of which accrue far beyond their own individual livelihoods. Through the proper management of these resources, farmers, fishermen and foresters provide a range of benefits to others, such as landscape conservation, watershed protection, biodiversity conservation, ecosystem stability and maintenance of fish stocks. These are so-called public goods, good that benefit large sections of people – locally, regionally or globally – but that cannot be expected to be provided for free. Some public goods are even global in nature; they benefit all of humanity. Obvious examples are biodiversity conservation and carbon sequestration provided by forests and agriculture through the adoption of more sustainable land-use practices"(FAO, 2002a).

The use of the concept of local, regional and global public goods was in the wake of the UNDP sponsored book (Kaul et al., 1999) on global public goods which wanted to propose a global strategic approach; this book had listed agricultural research and extension as a regional public good.

The Director-General's Foreword in *World Agriculture: towards 2015–2030*, a major flagship publication of the Organisation, issued in 2003, reiterates SARD as a priority area, as it had said in the previous edition in 1995 (FAO, 2002a:2005:xiii) which had indicated "food security and nutrition and improved sustainability of agricultural and rural development" as the most important underlying themes of the study. The importance of **"sustainable local food production** and of rural development" (emphasis added by author) is reiterated, particularly for low-income countries. The causal link is made explicit between "the crucial role of agriculture in the process of overall national development...." and agricultural development as the critical component of any strategy to improve food security and alleviate poverty. On trade the Foreword mentions that the study foresees that it "will play a larger role in securing the food needs of developing countries as well as being a source of foreign exchange".

Most of the speeches are directed to governments at the governing bodies or on the occasion of World Food Day celebrations and to the UN; speeches to academic audiences or other audiences are much less numerous. The speeches are revealing of the changing notions and aspects of agriculture, the short-lived discourse on multifunctionality, the introduction of food security as a non-trade concern reflecting

the needs of developing countries in the international trade negotiations and in 2005 the deviation from the free trade paradigm, in asserting the need for some intervention in domestic markets while transitioning towards liberalisation. Even though not directly relevant for policies, these speeches similarly to the forewords of the flagship publications, are revealing of the values and normative dimensions which underlie policies and which are not made explicit elsewhere.

Agriculture involves partnerships and is the locus of multiple demands

At the 1996 World Food Summit, the groups considered partners are listed:

The participatory process forged dialogue with our many partners:
– the government, the technical ministries in charge of agriculture, fisheries and forestry and water, but also the ministries for the economy and finance, trade, transport...
– the parliamentarians through the Inter-Parliamentary Union
– the private sector, producers and trade associations, consumers and intermediaries...
– the non-governmental organisations
– the youth
Finally, all the participatory process has been extensively covered by the media (Diouf, 1996a)

In 2001 in Missouri at the World Agricultural Forum, St. Louis, Missouri, USA, "The contract between Society and Agriculture: achievements and failures" (Diouf, 2001)

...Similarly, the CAP of the EU is another instrument through which the contract between a number of nations and agriculture is implemented...other demands on agriculture ...

Multifunctional approach to agriculture

In 1999, the Special Programme is also mentioned as an example of a multifunctional approach to agriculture in the speech given by the Director-General to the FAO/Netherlands Conference on Multifuntionality of Agriculture and Land, from 12 to 17 September 1999 (Diouf, 1999):

Le programme special pour la sécurité alimentaire de la FAO constitue l'exemple même d'une demarche multifunctionnelle d'amélioration des conditions de l'agriculture et de la mise en valeur des terres, qui contribute aux efforts pour l'augmentation en quantité et en qualité de la production alimentaire, a l'amélioration de l'accès aux aliments, a l'amélioration de la qualité de vie et de la justice par l'equité sociale, a la disponibilité des facteurs de production, a la fluidité de l'offre et de la demande par le transport et le marché[41].

Recourse to moral appeal and ethical principles

In 1996 at the World Food Summit (Diouf, 1996a):

The Rome Declaration submitted for your approval draws from universal principles that are rooted in ethics.[42]

In 2002 at the NGO parallel event of the World Food Summit:five years later (Diouf, 2002):

How many OECD heads of state and government have made the journey to this event? 2 out of 29. If we exclude certain exceptional national circumstances, we see a good indicator of the political priority that is given to the tragedy of hunger. You, the NGOs can do much to change this immoral world order by participating in the international alliance against hunger. You are the Vox Populi therefore the Vox Dei

Agriculture becomes subsumed under sustainable food security

In 1996 in speech to the parliamentarians at the World Food Summit (Diouf, 1996b):

Sustainable food security for all calls for a radical reordering of political, economic and social priorities, for without altering the existing balances of power and without questioning the present distribution of resources, there can be no meaningful change

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[41] The Special Programme for Food Security of FAO constitutes the very example of a multifunctional approach towards improving agricultural conditions and land use which contribute to the efforts for increasing agricultural production in quantity and quality, improving access to food, quality of life and justice through social equity, improving the availability of production factors, enabling smooth supply and demand through transportation and markets. (translation by author).

[42] And after the Summit, an Ethics Committee was formed and one series of the FAO publications is the Ethics Series.

... and food security is introduced in the trade negotiations as a non-trade concern (de Haen, 2001)

On free trade and protectionism

In 2005 at a High-Level Round Table on Agricultural Trade Reform and Food Security in FAO (Diouf, 2005)

Although there seems to be broad consensus that trade liberalisation fosters efficiency and economic growth, the immediate results for the poor and food insecure seem to me to be mixed. Experience shows that gains and losses and the distribution of winners and losers among individuals and countries are determined by context.

...Even if we agree that the goal is freer agricultural trade, some type of intervention in domestic markets or at borders might be necessary during the transition phase.

Technical Forum

The technical forum is the largest in the organisation, FAO being primarily a technical agency "predicated in the whole view as against the partial or fragmented view" as expressed in the report which proposed its creation (UN, 1945). An analysis will be made of those publications reviewed in the earlier section which the Organisation considers as 'flagship', the documents resulting from the work of the various statutory Committees, from the evaluations carried out upon request by the governing bodies and the documents directed to the staff and to member countries providing guidance on directions and themes[43], all of them publicly available. These represent only the point of the iceberg of the technical work of the organisation, carried out also at the level of the developing countries and regions and through numerous expert meetings and technical conferences.

[43] The FAO Medium-Term Plan; FAO Strategic Framework 2000-2010 (FAO,1999C).

The most significant work with respect to the themes of multifunctionality, sustainable agriculture and rural development and the roles of agriculture was reported in Chapter 5. In this chapter, we will report on the major episodes in FAO related to this work highlighting the role played by the multiple policy and epistemic communities, their competing with each other and their attempt to influence policy. After the international conference on the Multifunctional Character of Agriculture and Land in 1999, funded by the Netherlands, organised by a Dutch Assistant Director General in collaboration with a French Assistant Director General, multifunctionality becomes dismissed by the Organisation in the light of the association of the term with the EU position at the negotiations. In that same year, a document intended to provide guidance on FAO's strategy, expresses very clearly that FAO should work on sustainable agriculture and rural development and abandon multifunctionality:

"...FAO is also well placed to advise on potential trade-offs and synergies between the productive and other functions of agriculture and land use.... It is the task manager for chapter 14 Promoting sustainable agriculture and rural development of Agenda 21 (promoting sustainable agriculture and rural development)" (FAO, 1999c:23).

"...This implies adopting policies and actions that contribute to efficient and socially desirable management of land, water, fisheries and forest resources and which, considering the multifunctional character of agriculture, enhance its positive and mitigate its negative impacts on the environment and natural resources. However, as FAO's Members have noted that there is currently no consensus on the meaning of the concept of the multifunctional character of agriculture, nor on a role of FAO with respect to work on it, they agree that the Organisation should pursue and further develop its work on sustainable agricultural and rural development" (FAO, 1999c:26)

SARD becomes an expression which embraces many dimensions both of technical and normative nature. FAO with the collaboration of the International Institute for Environment and Development characterizes SARD as "*...a more sustainable food production system (that) seeks to make the best use of nature's goods and services whilst not damaging the environment. SARD does this by integrating natural processes such as nutrient cycling, nitrogen fixation, soil regeneration and natural enemies of pests into food production processes. It also minimizes the use of non-renewable inputs (pesticides and fertilizers) that damage the environment or harm the health of farmers and consumers. It makes better use of the knowledge and skills of farmers, so improving*

their self-reliance. And it seeks to make productive use of people's capacities to work together to solve common management problems, such as pest watershed, irrigation, forest and credit management (now commonly termed as social capital)" (FAO, 2002d). In its flagship publication Agriculture Towards 2015/2030, FAO reports that the technologies that are considered as constitutive of sustainable agriculture are Integrated Pest Management (IPM), Integrated Plant Nutrient Systems (IPNS) and no-till/conservation agriculture (NT/CA) (FAO, 2003b:303). However, the same FAO also warns (p.304) "*Sustainable agriculture is not a concretely defined set of technologies, or is it a simple model or package that can be widely applied or is fixed over time. The lack of information on agro-ecology and the high demand for management skills are major barriers to the adoption of sustainable agriculture. For example, much less is s known about these organic and resource-conserving technologies than about the use of external inputs in modernized systems*".

The encompassing nature of the term gives rise to additional characterisations of the concept. FAO, at its 2003 technical governing body meeting (Committee on Agriculture), presents the concept of "Good Agricultural Practices" (GAP) defined as "*While GAP responds, in part, to the growing demands of a globalised agriculture, the approach is also valid within the context of local food systems. Agriculture depends on viable communities and local food systems that provide the mechanism for farmers and consumers to benefit from a closer relationship between production and market, empowering local communities by creating and keeping financial and human resources within the community... The four GAP principles apply to all scales of farming: economically and efficiently produce sufficient, safe and nutritious food; sustain and enhance the natural resource base; maintain viable farming enterprises and contribute to sustainable livelihoods; meet the cultural and social demands of society*" (FAO, 2003e). In the wake of The Rio and Johannesburg Summits, SARD progressively becomes a black box, with definitions that emphasize the physical and social aspects of sustainability. As such it is not further elaborated technically.

In these same years, the traditional perspective of the economic contribution of agriculture to the economy continues to persist in the Organisation. In a publication

prepared through consultations with FAO officers and the research community from the different regions, intended to "...making known how policy problems are seen at the operational level...", agriculture performance is evaluated in a retrospective analysis of the policy reforms. This is done through the "simplest and possibly the most significant indicator" which is the growth of agricultural GDP (FAO, 2001f:20). It states also that "*However, in relation to the objectives of policy reforms promoted in the context of structural and sectoral adjustment, other performance criteria can be adopted that permit to verify progress toward the achievement of stated objectives. These would include for example, changes in the agricultural terms of trade, the shift in agricultural production patterns towards products identified as having a comparative advantage for the country concerned, the growth of agricultural exports, and the share of total value added accruing to farmers and, more generally, to the rural population*".

It is through a project funded by Japan that the analytical work interrupted on multifunctionality and not fully developed through SARD starts again in the year 2000 with the expression 'roles of agriculture' (ROA) and under the leadership of a French Director. The stated aim of the project was "...to promote discussion of these roles and supply empirical data on them. The ultimate goal is to provide policy makers with the information they need to create agricultural incentives and make sound investment decisions conducive to sustainable development" (Sakuyama, 2006). The project had a first phase from 2000 to 2004 and continued thereafter through a second phase focused on policy implications. The roles of agriculture are defined as 'the function that agriculture has or is expected to have in society'. These are classified into direct and indirect; private and public, as summarised in Box 6.3 below.

Numerous studies were produced leading to a conceptual framework on the changing non-market roles of agriculture in the course of different stages of development. FAO took the care of differentiating such work from the work on multifunctionality and explained that the work on 'roles of agriculture' has "...a normative element (i.e. how it ought to be?) and [is] characterized by market-mediated linkages (e.g. poverty alleviation) and externalities (e.g. environmental services), whereas 'multifunctionality' is defined as a positive concept (i.e. how it works) and distinguished by joint production

and externality and public good characteristics" (Sakuyama, 2006). Box 6.4 below provides the elements for the comparison between FAO's work on the roles of agriculture and the OECD's work on multifunctionality.

Box 6.3 Classification of roles of agriculture

	Private (internalised)	Public (externalities)
Direct	• food production • income generation • employment opportunity	
Indirect	• surplus labour provision • saving for investment • market for industrial goods • export earnings • materials for agro-processing industries	• poverty alleviation • household food security • environmental externalities • reduction in out-migration from rural areas • buffer roles to mitigate the surge in urban unemployment in times of economic shock • enriching the rural sector's contribution to national cultural identity

Source: Sakuyama, 2006

Box 6.4 Comparison between FAO's role of agriculture and OECD's multifunctionality

	Role of agriculture (FAO)	Multifunctionality (OECD)
Scope	Developing countries	developed countries
Objective	providing policy guidance to take best advantage of the roles of agriculture in development strategies	establishing good policy principles to harmonize multifunctionality objectives with trade liberalisation
Definition	functions that agriculture has or is expected to have in society	non-commodity outputs with externalities and public goods characteristics that are jointly produced with commodities
Key concepts	• market-mediated linkages • externalities	• joint production • externalities • public goods

Source: Sakuyama, 2006

The relation with the trade negotiations which was very explicit in the elaborations on multifunctionality is reasserted again with the concept of "food security" introduced

officially at the time of the 1996 World Food Summit. This rested on the notion of self-reliance (as opposed to food self-sufficiency which had been prevailing in many developing countries), hence accepting free trade as part of the development agenda and as part of the solutions in meeting global food demand. Although predating the Summit, food security became then officially defined as "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life", (Rome Declaration on World Food Security, 1996). This became a conceptual tool which was then operationalised as consisting of four components: food availability (through production); food access (through resources to produce or acquire food); stability of access (through control over temporal and geographical fluctuations); food utilization (through adequate diet, clean water, sanitation and health care) (FAO, 2003n).

The role of trade for world food security had been so defined in one of the fifteen technical documents prepared as background to The Rome Declaration on Food Security[44] with the contribution of Alan Matthews, a trade economist from Trinity College in Dublin: "In the long term, global food security depends on maintaining and conserving the national resource base for food production. Trade affects the environment in three ways: it raises incomes, hence boosting the demand for environmental goods and the means of satisfying these demands; it changes the location of production and consumption; and, the act of trading itself uses resources and may lead to spillages and other environmental damage". These documents were prepared also through consultants from the academic community and were the subject of consultations with a broader spectrum of civil society organisations.

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[44] Fifteen technical background documents were produced on: 1. Food, agriculture and food security: developments since the World Food Conference and prospects; 2. Success stories in food security; 3. Socio-political and economic environment for food security; 4. Food requirements and population growth; 5. Food security and nutrition; 6. Lessons from the green revolution; towards a new green revolution; 7. Food production: the critical role of water; 8. Food for consumers: marketing, processing and distribution; 9. Role of research in global food security and agricultural development; 10. Investment in agriculture: evolution and prospects; 11. Food production and environmental impact; 12. Food and international trade. 13. Food security and food assistance; 14. Assessment of feasible progress in food security; 15. Technical atlas.

The definition of food security was offered by FAO for consideration at the WTO Ministerial meeting in Doha in 2001 as part of the non-trade concerns. In its 2001 edition of the State of Food and Agriculture the debate on food security in the trade negotiations context is explained:

"The discussion on food security has certain features in common with the multifunctionality debate. A group of mainly developed net food-importing countries, such as Japan, Norway, the Republic of Korea and Switzerland, puts strong emphasis on domestic, or national, aspects of food security. They argue that a certain level of self-sufficiency would reduce the negative effects of world market instabilities generated by changing climatic conditions and/or the influence of dominant exporters and importers on the world market. Such world market volatility is identified as being particularly detrimental to net food-importing countries and would thus require a certain level of domestic agricultural production to be maintained. Preserving national food security through domestic agricultural production would qualify as a non-trade concern and thus legitimise exceptional treatment of agriculture within WTO". (FAO, 2001a:50)

Food security becomes FAO's core strategy calling for interdisciplinarity and partnerships to which all programmes of the organisation are conduced:

"The focus on food security is not limited to these two special programmes; it permeates all of FAO's work. The Global Information and Early Warning System; FAO's policy advisory services; work on technology development and transfer; work on extension, education, training and communication; work on agrarian reform, integrated rural development, human resource development, gender issues and nutritional improvement; technical work on irrigation, food crops and livestock systems, fisheries and forestry – ...work on food losses, international trade in food commodities and food quality and safety under the Codex Alimentarius Commission... food security is also closely linked to the proper management of the natural resource base" (FAO, 1999c: 15).

In practice, the focus on food security became elusive and circumscribing what FAO could or should do in relation to other partners became even more difficult and complex.[45] Nevertheless, the notion of food security implicitly recognised the

[45] In view of the dimension of 'access', i.e. enabling producers to access to resources to produce or to purchase food, it implied reducing poverty, thereby going beyond agriculture. The author had the occasion to participate in some of the national national meetings (UK) and civil society organizations meetings (Denmark, Paraguay) organised as part of the preparatory process to the World Food Summit where FAO was viewed as the organization which raised the issue by convening the Summit but also as

interdependent aspects of world food production, the geographical dimensions of product and price fluctuations, health aspects related to diet and to the sanitary conditions enabling the adequate intake of food, a novel perspective trying to reconcile the liberalisation trade agenda with the requirements of developing countries.

Food security as asserted at the 1996 World Food Summit also spearheaded the introduction of an ethics dimension in FAO's work and ethics started to become considered as a 'technical' domain for which FAO looked for expertise externally (Busch, 2000). At the time of the Summit, an attempt was made to prepare a paper on ethics which did not come to fruition (author's own knowledge). Subsequently, an Ethics Committee and a Priority Area for Interdisciplinary Action on Ethics were set up; a 'technical' publication series of FAO on ethics was initiated and work began on the right to food with the contributions of networks of NGO working on human rights such as FIAN (Food First International Action Network) and the Jacques Maritain Institute. At the 2002 World Food Summit, member countries adopted the decision to develop "Voluntary Guidelines on the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security". These were adopted by the FAO Conference in November 2004, resulting in the first document negotiated by states that "...uses the obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the right to food."(FAO, 2006). The right to food gives a legal dimension to food security and is considered by the Organisation as a new 'paradigm' whereby food security "...is acknowledged as a right and cannot be treated as a non-binding policy goal" (FAO, 2006). Work on the right to food is funded through a technical project by Germany with strong inputs by the network of human rights civil society organisations.

The trade dimension implied in the concept of food security becomes emphasized by FAO with the new term of 'biosecurity', introduced in 2003 through technical consultations with experts. Biosecurity describes "the process and objective of managing biological risks associated with food and agriculture in a holistic manner".

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one of the many actors, responsible internationally to tackle the problem of poverty framed conceptually as the main determinant of food insecurity.

(FAO-COAG, 2003). The increasing importance of trade as a subject of concern to countries and elements of the structural changes which are occurring in the food sector, with the associated governance problems, can also be derived from the evaluation of the *Codex Alimentarius* and other work on food standards (FAO-Programme Committee, 2002) in which numerous non-governmental organisations and industry associations participate actively as members of the national delegations.

"The importance of the work of the Codex Alimentarius Commission has gradually shifted from providing a basis for national standards, to providing the point of reference in standards, guidelines and codes of practice for international trade.... A number of issues have already been identified as being of importance. These include a) consumer concerns related to health, environment and culture; b) proposals to reflect ethical (or non-science based considerations in food standards); c) concerns that growing demands on Codex bring into question its ways of working.... e) the necessity to ensure the independence of Codex bodies and the scientific panels that advise them".

Agricultural trade and its changing context, not dealt with at the time of the 1996 World Food Summit, are taken up and discussed by FAO in 2002 in its flagship publication" World agriculture: towards 2015/2030" (FAO, 2002c:iii), the only publication covering at that time the structural changes occurring in food and agriculture at the global level. This publication "assesses the prospects, worldwide, for food and agriculture, including fishery and forestry, over the years 2015 and 2030. It presents the global long-term prospects for trade and sustainable development and discusses the issues at stake in these areas over the next 30 years". It highlights the convergence of diets occurring in concomitance with increased food trade. In relation to agricultural trade, it explains that

"The intra-trade dimension in trade means that trade policy for food and agriculture is no longer focussed on primary farming but is encompassing more and more issues and interests of the whole food chain, including food processing, marketing and distribution. These include the search for low cost supplies world-wide, which are reinforced by the existing intra-firm arrangements of the TNC operating in the food sector and the emphasis to add value to the raw material and to marketing the final product. In the next 30 years... as a growing share of trade will be handled through ever larger and more transnationally active companies, there will be a growing need to establish global competition rules. A global marketplace will also augment pressures to work on global rules for the protection of IPR and of geographic indications (p.263).

Finally, under the technical forum it is worth mentioning that the very definition of agriculture undergoes many changes in the Organisation in different contexts; this reveals the expansion of the boundaries of agriculture, as already noted under the organisational forum, and also the recurring need to define agriculture evidences the elaborations on such boundaries. Box 6.5 below provides examples of the definitions taken from technical documents and glossaries.

Box 6.5 Definitions of food and agriculture

1947 – Article I of FAO Constitution, 1947: "...agriculture and its derivatives include fisheries, marine products, forestry and primary forestry products" (FAO, Basic Texts, Constitution (2000 edition p. A.3).
1948 – FAO considered as food "cereals, rice, fats and oils, sugar and livestock products"(FAO, 1948:1)
1996 – Rome Declaration on World Food Security contains a footnote: In this document, "agriculture" and "agricultural" include livestock (FAO, 1996b).
1999 – Strategic Framework: Agriculture – in the broad definition including fisheries and forestry – will have to meet the needs of growing and increasingly urbanized populations while at the same time protecting the natural resource base for the benefit of future generations (FAO, 1999c).
1999 – Agriculture in FAO's terminology: A broad class of resource uses which includes all forms of land use for the production of biotic crops – whether animal or plant. (Terminology for integrated resource planning and management, (FAO, 1999d – X2079E)
2002 – (adopting the OECD definition of 1984): "The narrow definition of agriculture includes only agriculture (crops and livestock), agricultural services and input provision, fisheries, forestry and development of land and water resources. The broader definition also includes (in declining order of importance): rural development and infrastructure, environmental protection, research, training and extension, regional and river development, manufacturing of inputs and agro-industries" (FAO, 2002a:48).
2002 – FAO's taxonomy of agricultural commodities: 1). Basic foodstuffs (grains, rice, beef, pork, poultry, sheep meat, milk and mild products, oilseeds, oils and fats, oilcakes and meals, cassava, pulses); 2) Raw materials (cotton; natural rubber, jute, hides and skins, hard fibres; 3) Tropical products (tropical fruits); 4) Sugar and beverages (sugar, cocoa, coffee, tea); 5. Horticultural products (citrus and bananas) (FAO, 2002b:48).
2003 – Agriculture in a footnote: used in its broadest sense to include agronomy, livestock, forestry, fisheries and related environmental aspects (FAO-COAG, 2003).
2003 – (In a footnote) "'Agriculture' in this proposal includes cropping, forestry livestock, artisanal fisheries and aquaculture systems as well as gathering and hunting activities" (FAO, 2003h);
2003 – "Agriculture includes crop, livestock, fisheries and forestry, including natural resource and environment issues" (FAO, 2003i).
2003 – Food: means any substance whether processed, semi-processed, or raw, which is intended for human consumption, and includes drink, chewing gum and any substance which has been used in the manufacture, substance,, preparation or treatment of "food" but does not include cosmetics or tobacco or substances used only as drugs (Source: Codex Alimentarius Commission, Procedural Manual 11th edition (X4263)]
2004 – FAO, 2004b The broad definition of agriculture includes:
- agriculture and animal husbandry (subfunction 70421)

- forestry (subfunction 70422)
- fishing and hunting (subfunction 70423);
- R&D for agriculture, forestry, fishery and hunting (subfunction 70482);
- protection of biodiversity and landscape (function 7054); and
- R&D environmental protection (function 7055)

(In the framework of defining agricultural spending, using the Classification of Functions of Government (COFOG), defined by the UN and integrated in the 001 Government Finance Statistics(GFS) Manual of the IMF).

The literature produced by the technical forum uses an academic style with the difference, however, of wide use of the passive verbs which in the culture of the organisation are taken to represent objectivity and assurance against possible intrusion of a personal nature or of manipulative 'street level bureaucrats'.[46]

It is interesting to note that the literature produced by the technical forum consists of usually sober publications and reports. Through the years these have become more colourful and appealing to readers; an enormous change in presentation and graphics can be seen when one compared for example the first SOFA in 1948 with the latest SOFA in 2004. The technical literature thus becomes conceived not only for the experts but also for non-experts and visual incentives are created to induce reading in a process of simplification and visualization similar to the one developed by the popular forum in the following section.

Popular Forum

Under this forum we will consider the WebPages and brochures – how FAO describes its work, apart from technical papers – as well as events, initiatives and consumer goods sold or given away.

[46] Even the mission reports of individual officers are written with the expression 'the reporting officer' to avoid personal types of inputs and to reflect what the organisational culture believes as 'professional neutral reporting'.

The presentation of what the Organisation does on its WebPages appears to confirm the fragmentation of agriculture in that so many different issues are presented as part of agriculture, without a nexus binding them together into a coherent picture. The description of FAO, entitled "Serving its Members" is reproduced below (FAO web page accessed on 9 August 2004). After informing that FAO has undergone a series of internal reforms and it has developed a Communication Strategy, the web page reports what FAO does under the title that follows:

"Normative and operational activities.

- Normative: neutral forum for policy dialogue among nations and for the negotiations of international agreements. Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries and the Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources; Codex, IPPC, PIC; databases and statistical information. WAICENT.
- Operational activities: Special Programme for Food Security; National Strategies for food security; Antihunger programme, CAADP within NEPAD; Regional Programmes for Food Security; EMPRES; the Technical Cooperation Programme; the creation of the Emergency Division.
- Looking ahead: Antihunger Programme

The Special Programme for Food Security is presented on the web as the 'flagship programme through which it would assist its developing member countries in cutting the incidence of hunger and malnutrition"

This short description hardly reproduces the wealth of information provided and organized by each Department. It could be interpreted as the political synthesis of the work of the Organisation as decided by its Director-General or whoever on his behalf. It could also however be the result of the 'street level' bureaucracies trying to synthesize the information they receive to put on the web by acquiescing to demands of individual officers pushing for the visibility of their own programme.

FAO's mandate is described as "... to raise the levels of nutrition, improve agricultural productivity, better the lives of rural populations and contribute to the growth of the world economy". The work of the Organisation is also distilled in various formats in the Newsroom Web page, namely:

"– news stories
– focus on the issues

– FAO field projects
– FAO in action
– Audio online
– Videoservice
– Online photos
– Fact sheets
– Media contacts
– Archives"

All of these give titbits of news, as is the practice for news on the web, are akin to the first page of a newspaper with a major title and a few lines of explanation in simple narrative style and language. Their fragmentary nature is not reducible to a single theme; their underlying message is "action", actions taken to solve problems and the causal nexus between the problem and the action is obvious and not a matter of controversy. It can be noted that from 2000 to 2005 trade and agriculture was the object of only one issue of Focus, i.e. brief explanations on various issues on a yearly basis. What appears interesting about the Newsroom Web page is the information given that these are resources available for whomever, individual or organisation, wants to use them. The implication would seem to be that FAO needs allies in its work of dissemination and advocacy.

The FAO Brochure "FAO at Work. Helping to build a world without hunger" (FAO, 2002n) explicitly chooses the focus of hunger, as seen from the title, and food security, without causal links to global food supplies and without a convincing narrative that reports on its more global work, except for the reference to its being a 'meeting place'. The four main areas of work are described as:

"Putting information within reach; sharing policy expertise towards"...strategies to achieve rural development and hunger alleviation goals"; Providing a meeting place where "rich and poor nations can come together to build common understanding"; Bringing knowledge to the field".

Events and initiatives

FAO has launched a series of initiatives intended to popularise its work among the general public since the early 1980s, as listed in Box 6.6.

The slogans of World Food Day convey the prevalence of hunger, the need to work towards its eradication through an International Alliance and in the last two years, introduce the concepts of biodiversity and intercultural dialogue.

Box 6.6 Events and initiatives

Date of initiation	*Event/initiative*	*Topic*
1979	***World Food Day***	On 16 October, the founding day of FAO. This is accompanied by slogans and posters and, more lately, by concerts. The slogans are: 2000 – A Millennium Free from Hunger; 2001 – Fight Hunger to Reduce Poverty; 2002 – Water: source of Food Security; 2003 – Working together for an International Alliance Against Hunger; 2004 – Biodiversity for Food Security. 2005 – Agriculture and Intercultural Dialogue Annual teleconferences are organised by the US National Committee for WFD in cooperation with George Washington University and USAID (1000 interactive sites mostly in Canada, Mexico and USA and included or the first time in 1997 the House of Congress and the World Bank (FAO, 1996b).
1996	***Food for all campaign***	This campaign replaced the Freedom from Hunger Campaign launched in 1960 to mobilize non-governmental support. It was launched at the time of the World Food Summit and it has now been replaced by the International Alliance against Hunger.
Yearly on 8 March	***Rural Women's Day.***	"A global awareness and information campaign to bring rural women, the world's invisible workers – into the limelight."
1997	***Telefood***	A "campaign of sporting events and other activities to harness to the power of celebrities and concerned citizens to help fight hunger". In 2004, the talk against hunger by Olympic gold medallist Debbie Ferguson is offered on the web; in 2001 a concert in Johannesburg and in 2002 galas in Spain. Donations are elicited for small projects "that help poor families produce food for their families and communities". Projects are in the range of 5–10,000$ to cover inputs such as seeds and simple farming tools; donations are not used to cover administrative costs.

2003	***International Alliance against Hunger***	Launched "as a leading global, political and moral force to end hunger". This 'alliance' will be described more in detail under the 'moralising forum' below.

Telefood provides a 'narrative' a simplified story of what is food security, far from the complexity of the concept as presented in the technical literature and as operationalised by the organisation. Telefood appeals to 'activism' not compassion; the images portray an action-oriented organisation and action-oriented people, not ailing people wishing to be helped but people helping themselves. A speech by the Director General highlights that "The Telefood awareness raising campaign against hunger and malnutrition has helped convey FAO's message to more than 500 million people".

With the celebration of Rural Women's day there is the recurrence of the theme of women which was seen under the other forums highlighting also the increasing femeninisation of agriculture. Like other events, also this day is celebrated both at the organisation's various offices and in the countries.

The International Alliance against Hunger is the last of the Campaign. The word alliance reflects the increasing vocabulary of 'coalitions, alliances, networks...' to denote that the Organisation is working with others, that the problems it is tackling can only be solved with the participation of various actors.

In conclusion, these initiatives would seem to show on the one hand the distancing of the organisation's work from agriculture whether narrowly or broadly defined, the falling into obsolescence and creation of new campaigns every five years or so and the resorting to ethical and moral principles as appeal towards the problem hunger, this latter causally disconnected from broader food systems issues.

Consumer goods

From the time of the World Food Summit, borrowing on the experience of other summits, FAO started to produce consumer goods with FAO logos or other FAO-

related information. These included the usual panoply of small and low-priced consumer goods, such as various types of shirts, wallets, ashtrays, pins, diaries and other stationary, bags etc. Not all the goods have the FAO logo and none has any image related to agriculture or hunger. In the course of the years, such consumer goods have come to occupy a larger and larger physical space. As of September 2005, the hall of the building with the most circulation has a larger space assigned to consumer goods than to the Organisation's publications.

Moralising Forum

Under this forum, speeches and initiatives are considered which make the moral appeal, the recourse to a sense of right and wrong, as their major argumentation. Among the initiatives, prizes are also included.

Hunger is obviously a major theme under this forum, again not related to the global food system and international trade. Among the various campaigns launched, reviewed in the earlier section, it is the last one launched in 2003, the International Alliance against Hunger which was characterized by the Organisation "as a leading global, political and moral force to end hunger". Moral appeal is also in the motivations of some prizes established by the Organisation for its own staff and for individuals or organisations from developing countries, thus instilling a moral dimension in the work of its own and other organisations' staff.

Box 6.7 provides information on the awards given in the last few years, in compliance with the above characteristics of each prize.

In addition to these, FAO awards a medal, the Ceres Medal – named after the Roman goddess of agriculture – to "distinguished women who have made an outstanding contribution to agricultural development and food security". (FAO, 2005a) Recipients

have been the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina, the President of Panama Mireya Moscoso and Mother Theresa of Calcutta.

Box 6.7 FAO Awards[47]

	Sen Award	**Boerma Award**	**Saouma Award**	**M. Lizarraga Medal**
Motivation	outstanding contribution to the advancement of countries in particular in the fields of sustainable agricultural and rural development or food security	for journalists who have helped focus public attention on food security and rural development in developing countries.	for national or regional institutions which have implemented with particular efficiency a project funded by the Technical Cooperation Programme	serving "with distinction in the application of the code of conduct for responsible fisheries of FAO
2000	Restoration and management of the environment in Burundi	1) CNN Correspondent for awareness on problems of African continent; 2) changes in nature of development debate on food, hunger and rural development in India	Goat and Rabbit Research Centre in Vietnam for development & dissemination of milk production & processing technologies adopted by poor farmers	Canadian Responsible Fisheries Board for grassroots approach to development of a national Code of Conduct
2001	Sustainable Agrarian Reform Communities in the Philippines			
2003	Rebuilding seed production system in Afghanistan	1)Television reporter and documentary film-maker publicizing hunger in Brazil; 2) correspondent for increasing awareness about food-related issues to a wide global audience	National institutions in Nicaragua for rural women's programme; and China to Sichuan Plant Protection Station for developing rodent monitoring and control technologies	International Collective in Support of Fishworkers, an international NGO based in Chennai, India

[47] All named after Director-Generals of FAO except for Lizarraga, a Fisheries Department Officer.

	Sen Award	Boerma Award	Saouma Award	M. Lizarraga Medal
2004	Promotion of farming as a business among small farmers in several Pacific Island countries through the application of sustainable agriculture techniques, sound farm management, and good planning and marketing decisions.	For 2004–05 *1)* Italian journalist from *La Repubblica*, for documenting the problems of hunger and poverty; 2) Two reporters of the American daily newspaper *Wall Street Journal*, for raising public awareness regarding food and development-related issues.	For 2004–2005 "Instituto de Investigaciones en Fruticultura Tropical" (IIFT) in Cuba for dissemination improved propagation and production of tropical fruit and integrating in government policies.	For 2004–05 Agreement on the International Dolphin Conservation Program (AIDCP), in reducing dolphin mortality in the tuna purse-seine fishery in the eastern Pacific Ocean, thereby ensuring sustainability of tuna stocks and associated species in the ecosystem.
2005	Development of community-based natural resource management on the Tonle Sap Great Lake in Cambodia resulting in the protection and better management of forest and fisheries resources, reduction of illicit logging and fishing.			

Source: FAO Conference Reports (FAO 1999e; 2001g; 2003l; 2005a)

Moral appeal can also be found in the FAO Ambassadors Programme initiated in 1999 "to attract public and media attention to the unacceptable situation that almost 800 million people continue to suffer from chronic hunger and malnutrition in a time of unprecedented plenty". The Ambassadors must have a personal ad professional commitment to address" the universal humanitarian issues that underpin FAO's mission: to build a food-secure world for present and future generations". None of the

Ambassadors[48] have a direct or symbolic link to agriculture or agriculture-related themes.

Altogether, again, as in the popular forum, prizes stress the action-oriented character and the developmental nature of FAO's work. These prizes stress "practical, hands-on contribution. The issues of the world food system do not appear in these prizes. We can see the variety of domains covered by the organisation, confirming somewhat the fragmentary nature of what constitutes agriculture, the increased use of the term food security and hunger.

6.2 Summary and Conclusions

The different fora and arena of FAO point to repeated attempts to create discourses within the organisation and to propose them to the international community and to the general public. The discourses reveal progressive paradigmatic shifts in the conceptualisation of agriculture leading to different analyses and interpretations of the implications of trade liberalisation.

The paradigmatic shifts in the conceptualisation of agriculture recur particularly in the organisational, political and technical forum. In the organisational forum, the FAO organigram and the denominations of the 147 Ministries of agriculture worldwide attest the complexity of agriculture, the erosion of its neatly defined boundaries, as first formulated in 1945, and the multiple aspects countries associate with agriculture. These encompass natural resources such as water, forestry, fisheries, land, livestock, fisheries but also social attributes or social groups such as cooperatives, consumers, middle classes, rural resettlement, hunters. The institutional mechanism of the Priority Areas

[48] The twenty ambassadors cited in 2004 are: Magida Al Roumi, Robergo Baggio, Dee Dee Bridgewater, Al Bano Carrisi, Debbie Ferguson, Gilberto Gil, the Italian Singers' Soccer Team, Mory Kante, Khaled, Gong Li, Gina Lollobrigida, Miriam Makeba, Mana, Rita levi Montalcini, Youssou N'Dour, Noa, Justine Pasek, Massimo Ranieri, Oumou Sangar'e, Dionne Warwick.

for Interdisciplinary Action (PAIA) testifies the recognition of the complexity of agriculture and the need to work in an interdisciplinary manner.

In the political forum agriculture is made an integral part of the problem of hunger and part of systemic issues such as the sustainability of the natural resources and the "...elimination of unsustainable patterns of consumption and production". In 1999 the political forum has to abandon the discourse on multifunctionality and resorts to the term food security which is introduced officially at the 2001 WTO Ministerial Meeting as a non-trade concern. With this term, there is a link with systemic issues of global supply and demand while allowing room for trade to enable self-reliance. The political forum asserts in 2002 that trade is "a key element in achieving world food security" along with the affirmation in the Declarations of the 'fundamental importance of national production' which becomes qualified as 'local food production' in the forewords of the flagship publications. In 2003, in referring to sustainable agriculture and rural development, the political forum proposes to consider agriculture as provider of local, national and regional public goods. In 2005, while still supporting "...freer agricultural trade" (Diouf, 2005) it advances the idea that interventions in domestic markets may be justified.

The technical forum follows and supports the political forum, even though not entirely, and it is the forum which represents the most elaborate departure from the concept of agriculture and the policy paradigm of trade liberalisation of the Agreement on Agriculture. It is also the forum where there is strong evidence of the contributions made by transnational epistemic communities and policy networks. Similarly as for the political forum, also the technical forum has to abandon work on multifunctionality which had benefited from a large amount of analytical work done by OECD. The recommendation to work on 'sustainable agricultural and rural development' implies that SARD becomes an umbrella term encompassing many dimensions of technical and social nature; the link made with local, national, regional and global public goods is not continued in its flagship publications after its formulation in 2003. The technical forum continues its analytical work with the concept 'roles of agriculture' which, however, does not filter to the political level where it is not picked up and which no longer offers

a direct link with the discourse on trade liberalisation which multifunctionality had established through the concept of joint production.

The concept of food security is worked on analytically and operationally, is put in relation to global food security which also "...depends on maintaining and conserving the national resource base for food production". It becomes a discourse in the Organisation not always in-keeping with the original boundaries given by the staff. The notion of food security offers the link with systemic issues of global supply and demand of food. The technical forum of FAO discusses the globalisation of markets, thus implicitly questioning the principle of comparative advantage based on countries' endowments. It recognises that food is at the centre of social demands and reports on the convergence of diets, with the associated health risks, favoured by increased food trade. It also identifies the benefits of trade for developing countries that are able to respond to the demands of middle-class consumers of industrialized countries. It notes that trade contentions in the future will have to do more with the social, environmental and ethical demands of consumers than with criteria strictly based on comparative advantage. The technical forum also introduces ethics and the right to food, novel perspectives in the life of the organisation.

These shifts are not found in the popular and moralising fora; these fora attest the organisation's will to seek alliances and legitimacy with the general public. The popular forum is very fragmented and does not relate a coherent message or picture of agriculture, in its either productivist or broader understanding. A recurring theme is hunger disconnected from a narrative on the global food system situation. This forum shows very weak linkages with the technical or political forum. The moralising forum has hunger as its main focus and a stated emphasis on action (as opposed to studies). Hunger is not linked causally to the global food system situation. This forum does not seem to derive themes and content from the work of the Ethics Committee established in 2001 (e.g. the ethics of intensification or the rights of nature or animal welfare). It does not make explicit, as we will see from the epistemic communities working on WTO, the questions of international social justice with the contributions of the incipient global public economics.

There is thus a disjuncture between the organisational, technical and political fora with the popular and moralising fora; these do not create convincing narratives or story lines nor events of spectacular resonance nor consumer goods capable of carrying on the messages of the other fora. The disjuncture demonstrates on the one hand the strengths of the policy networks constituted by the technical staff of the organisation, national governments, epistemic communities and civil society organisations that participate in its governing and advisory bodies. These define and assert the conceptualisations in the organisational and technical forum and in the political arena which are the result of a continuous interplay among the actors themselves and among the fora and arena. On the other hand, the disjuncture also shows that while the policy networks permeate easily the organisational and technical forum and the political arena, they do not reach out as easily to the popular and moralising fora. This may be due to the short life span of the discourses and the inability of the policy networks to communicate with the staff in communications departments, usually staff with a generalist or journalism background. It also shows that the organisational and technical forum and the political arena are considered by the organisation *de facto* the privileged *loci* for turning problem issues into public policy issues. It is in these two fora and in the political arena that there is most circulation of persons and of texts; particularly for the latter, there is a conversion and adaptation of texts into different uses – be they for statements at conferences and summits, for forewords for flagship publications, for press releases or for the web. Nevertheless, as an organisation FAO has a weak unitary and cohesive communicative discourse; this may also be due to the organisation's culture that emphasises 'action' and the weak intellectual basis on global systemic issues, resting on only one publication using primary data and statistics (Agriculture towards 2015–2030), thus unable to influence the vision and ensuing operationalisation of the findings.

The discourses in FAO nevertheless show how agriculture is inextricably linked with social, environmental and ethical issues, no longer reducible to being just a share of the economy and that is at the centre of many conventions and regulatory frameworks. As such it entails interdisciplinary approaches and institutional mechanisms to encourage interdisciplinarity and to enable the inclusion of perspectives from a variety of

stakeholders, institutionally going well beyond the Ministry of Agriculture and socially, well beyond farmers. The World Food Summits in 1996 and its successor in 2002 at the level of the heads of states and governments are an implicit statement on the governance of agriculture being beyond the Ministry of Agriculture and related ministries but also beyond individual nation states.

The findings summarised in Annex 8 also show that there is increased interconnectedness between an intergovernmental organisation like FAO, its national governments and other non-state actors. While working in an intergovernmental mode, some countries promote analytical and advocacy work through projects in order to create the technical supporting infrastructure to alternative discourses such as multifunctionality (The Netherlands), roles of agriculture (Japan) or the right to food (Germany). As evidenced by the numerous networks in which the Organisation is involved, agriculture is in the sphere of influence and interest of many different actors. It is of interest to social movements and networks of civil society organisations which participate in the governing bodies of FAO and in other meetings through institutionalised practices, such as accreditation, multistakeholder dialogues, informal lobbying, consultative meetings. FAO also relies on a broad variety of epistemic communities from many countries for its technical work. The increased variety of partners requires increasing communicative and consensus building activities as witnessed by the importance attributed to FAO's meeting rooms.

Following Muller's notion of 'referentiel', it could be said that an overarching 'référentiel global', namely a vision on agriculture powerful and cohesive enough to guide the elaboration of values, images and causal explanations of the different fora and arena is in process. This is not an easy task given the complexity of FAO's organisational forum, namely reconciling the views of 190 member countries, of a multitude of private sector and non-governmental organisations worldwide and the absence of a central policy think tank. Nevertheless, discourses demonstrating the paradigmatic shifts in agriculture continue to be built using multidisciplinary perspectives converging on the discourse of protection justified by the need for a given amount of national food production and local food systems, within a free trade

environment. FAO also questions the principle of comparative advantage without going further in-depth. In the words of a senior officer "Governments want trade matters to be dealt within WTO for better management of their participation in intergovernmental organisations". With food security, FAO connects with interdependence and macro-level structural issues. Non-state actors, be they epistemic communities and civil society organisations, are important contributors to such changes.

CHAPTER 7

WTO

7.1 Fora and Arena

Organisational Forum

The organisational forum for WTO will review the structure and functioning of WTO, including the building. The WTO is based in Geneva. It was created in 1995 as a *sui generis* intergovernmental organisation, as successor to the GATT which was a specialized agency of the UN deriving from the 1948 UN Conference on Trade and Development. Its core functions, stated in Article III of the Legal Texts are to facilitate implementation of Agreements, to be a forum for negotiations, to administer the dispute settlement and the Trade Policy Review mechanisms and to work with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and affiliated agencies, to ensure "greater coherence in global economic policy-making" (WTO, 1999:5). As of 2005 WTO has 146 members and 30 new applications are being considered; its present membership represents 90% of world trade. Because not all nations are members, WTO is a "multilateral" as opposed to global or world organisation (WTO, 2001b).

The WTO decision-making body is the Ministerial Conference convened every two years; immediately below is the General Council which also meets as the Trade Policy Review Body and the Dispute Settlement Body. There are then the Council for Trade in Goods, Council for Trade in Services and the Council for Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights which report to the General Council. In addition, there are 19 committees, 4 working parties and 5 working groups on the different areas of work of the Organisation. These include a Committee on Agriculture and a Committee on Trade and Environment. The Committee on Agriculture is responsible for overseeing three implementation issues: the implementation of the Marrakesh Decision on Measures Concerning the Possible Negative Effects of the Reform Programme on Least

Developed and Net Food Importing Countries, the management of tariff quota regimes and implementation of Article 10.2 of the Agreement on Agriculture on export credit and export credit guarantees or insurance programmes. (WTO, 2004c:15). The Committee on Trade and Environment mandate is to identify "...the relationships between trade measures and environmental measures in order to promote sustainable development and making appropriate recommendations on whether any modifications of the provisions of the multilateral trading system are required" (WTO, 2005e).

The WTO is structured into 17 divisions which are reported as "functional, information and liaison and support roles" dealing with the functional domains of WTO (e.g. Accessions; Council and Trade Negotiations Committee; Development; Economic Research and Statistics; Institute for Training and Technical Cooperation; Intellectual Property; Legal Affairs; Market Access, etc.). These include one Agriculture and Commodities Division and a Trade and Environment Division. The Agriculture and Commodities Division deals with all aspects of the agriculture negotiations and implementation of existing agreements (the Agreement on Agriculture and the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS)). It services the Committee on Agriculture and supports the implementation of the Ministerial Decision on Measures Concerning the Possible Negative Effects of the Reform Programme on Least Developed and Net Food Importing Countries. It also deals with trade in fishery and forestry and natural resource-based products and looks after the dispute settlement mechanism in the case of disputes on agricultural products (WTO, 2004c:121). The Trade and Environment Division supports the work of WTO on trade and environment and technical barriers to trade, through the various committees, working parties and working groups.

The WTO is headed by a Director-General elected by its member countries every four years who is assisted by four deputy Director-Generals. The WTO annual reports regularly inform on the status and nationality of the organisation's staff. As of 2005, the WTO secretariat has 630 regular staff composed mostly of economists, lawyers and specialists in trade policies. Two thirds of the staff carry out substantive tasks, as opposed to merely administrative tasks. Four fifths of the staff comes from developed

countries; as of 2005, the largest number of staff is of French nationality (165) followed by a big gap by the UK (82), Spain (47), Switzerland (35), Canada (27), United States (27), Germany (17), India, Ireland and Italy (12 each), Australia (11), New Zealand (7). If one takes the EU membership as of 2005, 345 staff were from the EU. The Agriculture and Commodities Division has 15 staff, approximately equivalent in number to the other functional divisions' staff, except for the Economic Research and Statistics Division which has 50 staff. The Secretariat provides 'technical and professional' support to the organisation of the Ministerial Conference and to the various committees and working groups, including the Trade Policy Reviews[49] and the dispute settlement process. It does not make decisions itself; it functions to enable decision-making by the organisation's member countries (WTO, 2004c:117) .

Other organisations can have observer status in certain bodies and committees to which they can contribute technically. These are listed in the WTO Annual Report and include organisations like UNCTAD which participate in practically all WTO committees and working groups and others which participate only in few. Decisions by member countries are taken by consensus; this is defined in Article XI as : 'The body concerned shall be deemed to have decided by consensus on a matter submitted for its consideration, if no Member, present at the meeting when the decision is formally taken, formally objects to the proposed decision' (WTO, 1999:30). This practice implies presence. As reported by Narlikar (2001:6), as of 2000 24 countries had no delegation in Geneva, 26 countries were represented by other countries and only 65 developing countries were able to have their delegations in Geneva. On average, least developed countries' missions have two professional staff; the EU has 140 staff (UNDP, 2005:146).

The WTO has several informal mechanisms for decision-making, as reviewed by the South Centre (2003:25–26): informal open-ended working groups (usually attended by

[49] At present the Trade Policy Review mechanism reviews the EU, the USA, Japan and Canada (largest traders) every two years; "the next 16 largest trading partners every four years; and remaining WTO members every six years, with a longer interval envisaged for least developed countries"(WTO, 2004c:67).

technical delegates to discuss substantive technical questions); confessionals (informal meetings with the Chair by a few members to familiarize the Chair with the negotiating positions taken by the members); Green Room meetings (informal meetings of about 24–30 developed countries delegations, chaired by the WTO Director General or the Chair of the General Council, for the discussion of positions on issues, to be later presented to the broader membership); Mini-ministerials (informal meetings with the same country composition of the Green Room meetings, but held outside Geneva upon invitation of one country); Informal Heads-of-Delegation meetings (as the name suggests, these are informal meetings open to all heads of delegation to discuss issues which if consensually agreed to, become then decisions of the General Council or Ministerial Conference).[50]

In June 2003, the then Director General Supachai established a 'Consultative Board on the Future of the Multilateral Trading System' with the task "to reflect on how to improve the functioning of the organisation as it expands to near universal membership, the role of the international organisations and greater public outreach" (WTO, 2003b). This Consultative Board, composed by the former GATT Director General, Peter Sutherland, two economists and two law specialists, has produced a report on the current functioning of WTO and has advanced proposals for reform. The report explains the functioning of WTO, as a *sui generis* intergovernmental organisation and as part of the international legal system through a *lex specialis*. The characteristics of such *lex specialis* is that "...it cannot be changed from the outside by other international organisations that have different membership and different rules regarding the creation of rules"(Sutherland et al. 2004:39). The proposals made concern a larger secretariat, on the one hand to be on equal footing with the World Bank and IMF in order to ensure "horizontal coordination" of policy, and on the other to provide technical assistance to its member countries. They also include the creation of a Parliamentarian Assembly of WTO and the reconsideration of the consensus approach to decision-making "in light of

[50] What appears interesting is that *de facto* these meetings have generated alliances among countries which have evolved and are still evolving over time, as shown in Annex 4.

possible distinctions that could be made for certain types of decisions, such as purely procedural issues"(ibid.p.81).

Other fronts advocate the expansion of WTO for "...creating scope and devising procedures that allow for arbitration on other moral controversies besides those which have to do with harmfulness of products" as mentioned by the Dutch Minister of Agriculture referring to consumer concerns (Apotheker, 2000). Related to this is the question tackled by many, including NGOs, on how to include directly "in the formulation and implementation of conditionality", those whose livelihoods are directly affected by WTO rules (Woods, 2003).

WTO is in the Centre William Rappard building originally intended to host the League of Nations and related institutions (see Annex 8). It was inaugurated in 1926, named after William Rappard, a Swiss diplomat and internationalist; it was first occupied by ILO. Its architecture is based on the design of classical Florentine villas; it has "...an interior courtyard, a grand entrance and a sweeping staircase off the main reception area." (WTO, 2005j). Its decorations and sculptures evoke themes related to labour. At its entrance it has two imposing statues representing peace and justice. As punctiliously described in a note, the WTO building has 1,300 windows, 1,000 doors and 2.2. kilometres of corridors. It has 21 meeting rooms and the adjacent conference centre, with a capacity to accommodate gatherings ranging from 580 to 12 participants (WTO, 2005f).

The logo of WTO is a globe with swirling circles of different colours, the globe being the core logo of many intergovernmental organisations.

Political Arena

The political arena for WTO can be derived from the preamble of the Legal Texts, speeches and statements made by the WTO Director-Generals and chairpersons at the Ministerial Meetings and in other fora and the Director-General's forewords of the

annual World Trade Report. In addition, it is derived by the discourses and analyses on WTO functioning and fulfilling its role as a political forum.

The Preamble of the WTO Legal Texts (WTO, 1999:4) underlines the goals pursued by the negotiations namely "...raising standards of living, ensuring full employment and a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, and expanding the production of and trade in goods and services while allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development...". The preamble of the Agreement on Agriculture more specifically recalls that the "...long term objective as agreed at the Mid-Term Review of the Uruguay Round is to establish a fair and market-oriented agricultural training system..." and later on "...noting that commitments under the reform programme should be made in an equitable way among all Members, having regard to non-trade concerns, including food security and the needs to protect the environment..." (ibid.p. 33).

Agriculture is generally incorporated as part of the negotiating agenda in the speeches made by the WTO Director-Generals, but it becomes singled out on the occasion of speeches at summits and conferences related to agriculture. A general motive is that agriculture is a "core issue" (WTO, 2003c), "one of the most sensitive areas of the negotiations under the Doha Development Agenda" (Perez del Castillo and S. Panitchpakdi, 2003) "...the single most important contribution the multilateral trading system can make to help developing countries, including the poorest among them, to trade their way out of poverty"(Supachai, 2002). Other recurrent motives are that trade liberalisation is positive for agriculture development and that WTO rules allow domestic support for protection of non-trade concerns (Moore, 2000a; Hoda, 1996; Moore, 2002). These concern a variety of domains, as it will be seen below.

At conferences and meetings on agriculture and agriculture-related topics, these points are further reiterated with additional qualifications. For example in 1996 at the World Food Summit the speech of the then WTO Deputy Director General Anwarul Hoda focused on food security, the key theme of the Summit, while reasserting the positive view of liberalisation of production and trade in agriculture. He declared that "The path

to food security is through integration and interdependence, not protection and autarchy" (Hoda, 1996)[51] and added WTO's definition of food security as "Food security is not simply the production in a particular country of a particular food stuff, but an interaction of the fuels, fertilizers, machinery, capital and other inputs from domestic sources or from neighbouring or distant countries" (ibid.). The World Food Summit is one of the instances where WTO made the point that "...nothing in the WTO Agreements prevents the use of most domestic agricultural policies to improve the environment for food production or to tackle other food security issues". In the World Food Summit: five years later in 2002, the same points are reiterated by the then Deputy Director-General (Rodriguez Mendoza, 2002), reasserting the notion of food security related to "access to international markets and income to buy imports".

Non-trade concerns are recognized as legitimate; they are cited as comprising "...food security, regional assistance and environmental concerns" in a speech given at a meeting on "WTO negotiations: agriculture and developing countries", held on 6 December 2000 in Paris (Moore, 2000b). According to WTO, they can be accommodated within the domestic support measures countries can avail themselves of. The same Mike Moore in the 2002 International Conference on Financing Development (Moore, 2002) in his speech entitled "A Grand Bargain: A New International Deal" refers to the OECD subsidies to agriculture linking them causally with the export problems of developing countries. Negotiations on agriculture, and on fishery subsidies, are mentioned as explicit contributions to sustainable development in Supachai's speech in 2002 at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Supachai, 2002a).

The Ministerial Statements[52] do not contain particular references to agriculture except for the Doha Declaration which reiterates maintaining "the process of reform and

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[51] It is interesting to see, as of 2005, that the WTO Glossary on the WTO webpages, meant to familiarize the general public with the terms used in the trade debates, defines food security as "concept which discourages opening the domestic market to foreign agricultural products on the principle that a country must be as self-sufficient as possible for its basic dietary needs" (WTO, 2005b), despite the official declaration and definition offered by FAO at the Doha Ministerial Meeting (de Haen, 2001)

[52] The Cancun Ministerial Statement (WTO, 2003e) has only six points in which "Notwithstanding this setback, we reaffirm all our Doha Declarations and Decisions and recommit ourselves to working to implement them fully and faithfully".

liberalisation of trade policies...", reaffirming the "commitment to the objective of sustainable development, as stated in the Preamble to the Marrakesh Agreement" and recalling "the long term objective referred to in the Agreement [of Agriculture] to establish a fair and market-oriented trading system" (WTO, 2001b).

The Forewords by the WTO Director-General of the World Trade Reports are technical in nature; the only plea repeated in 2003 and 2004 (WTO, 2003a and 2004f) is that governments should continue to show and renew their political commitment. The Forewords of the Annual WTO Reports are almost identical; in three to four paragraphs they list the contents of the reports, the reports themselves being justified as part of WTO's "...our efforts to inform and explain the role and work of the WTO" (WTO 2003d and 2004a:iii). The editions of 2003, 2004 and 2005 they all end with the sentence "They are part of the WTO's continuing efforts to work in a manner which is transparent, informative and in tune with the expectations of the public around the world".

Technical Forum

The technical forum for WTO is constituted by a number of printed and electronic materials. These are: a) the negotiated Agreements related to agriculture (the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS), the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), as it pertains to genetic resources in agriculture), b) the WTO Annual Report; c) the WTO flagship publication "World Trade Report"; d) special studies, discussion and working papers published only electronically. e) documents prepared by the Secretariat as part of its work to support the negotiations; f) the World Trade Journal published with Cambridge University Press; g) the NGO position papers posted on the WTO web page; h) the production by the epistemic communities on WTO as an organisation, its functioning and its work.

a) The Agreements are in the Legal Texts as concluded with the Uruguay Round in 1993. With respect to agriculture, this Round, initiated in 1986, stated its objectives in the Punta del Este Declaration as "to achieve greater liberalisation of trade in agriculture and bring all measures affecting import access and export competition under strengthened and more operationally effective GATT rules and disciplines" (WTO, 1999:33). The Agreement on Agriculture starts by recalling the long-term objective of establishing "...a fair and market-oriented agricultural trading system" (WTO, 1999:33) and later on "...having regard to non-trade concerns, including food security and the need to protect the environment". This latter reference provided the rationale for the establishment of the WTO Committee on Trade and Environment (Blackhurst, 1997). The Agreement on Agriculture does not give a definition of what is meant by agriculture; however, Article 2, provides in an annex the list of products which can be referred to as agricultural products, following the definition of the Harmonized System categories[53] (in Box 7.1 below), less fish and fish products, these latter considered as "non-agricultural, along with industrial products in general" (WTO, 2005b). Agriculture is broken down into 186 different products (WCO, 2005)[54] and is classified as all other products into unprocessed, semi-processed and processed goods (WTO, 2004d).

In order to achieve a fair and market-oriented agricultural trading system, the Agreement on Agriculture divides policies into the three categories reviewed earlier in the text of enabling market access (Article 4), of supporting farmers' incomes and domestic production (Article 6) and of reducing subsidies to producers (Article 9). In addition, Article 20 cites non-trade concerns as part of the continuation of the reform process (WTO, 1999:46).

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[53] The Harmonized system is an international nomenclature developed by the World Customs Organization (WCO), in six digit codes to enable a common classification of traded goods. Beyond the six digit level, countries are free to introduce national distinctions for tariffs and many other purposes

[54] This list excludes agriculture-related products covered in the Agreement (mannitorl, sobitorl, essential oils, albuminoidal substances, modified starches, glues, finishing agents, hides and skins, raw furskins, raw silk and silk waste, wool and animal hair, raw cotton, waste and cotton carded or combed, raw flax and raw hemp).

Box 7.1 Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System (HS) for agriculture

Live animals
Meat and edible meat offal
Fish and Crustaceans
Dairy, eggs, honey, and ed. products
Products of animal origin
Live trees and other plants
Edible vegetables
Ed. fruits and nuts, peel of citrus/melons
Coffee, tea, mate and spices
Cereals
Milling industry products
Oil seeds/misc.grains/med.plants/straw
Lac, gums, resin, etc.
Vegetable plaiting materials
Animal or vegetable fats, oils and waxes
Ed. Prep. of meat, fish, crustaceans, etc.
Sugars and sugar confectionery
Cocoa and cocoa preparations
Preparations of cereals, flour, starch or milk
Preps. of vegetables, fruits, nuts, etc.
Misc. edible preparations
Beverages, spirits and vinegar
Residues from food industries, animal feed
Tobacco and manufactured tobacco substitutes

Source: www.foreign-trade.com/reference/hscode.cfm?cat=1 accessed on 1 August 2005

b) The WTO Annual Report is published "...as a guide and compendium covering the institutional aspects of WTO, its regular activities, the work of WTO Members and the secretariat's budget and staff" (WTO, 2004a). Agriculture is part of the factual account of progress in the negotiations as covered by the report.

c) It is with the World Trade Report, initiated in 2003, that WTO contributes to research and analysis of "...problems and issues which currently confront the global trading system" (WTO, 2004f:i). This Report reviews trade trends and, in addition, has "three essays on topical trade policy issues and a longer study on a core theme" (WTO, 2005h). Since its beginning, the core themes and the topical trade issues have dealt with

a variety of topics, some of which have also included agriculture, as indicated by the asterisk in Table 7.1.

The disciplinary perspective of the World Trade Report is economics. Agriculture is part of the core themes but without any particular emphasis; there is no coverage of multifunctionality, roles of agriculture or SARD in any of the core themes nor in the topical trade issues. There is also no coverage of the structural changes in food production and consumption.

d) Overall, there are few special studies, discussion and working papers published every year. "Special studies" are defined as "substantial papers that explore particular policy issues of topical interest to the WTO"; discussion papers as "shorter analyses that seek to do the same thing"; working papers as "work-in-progress" (WTO, 2005i:161). All of these can be published by WTO without having to ask authorization of its members. Since its establishment up to the time of writing (mid-2005), WTO has only produced seven special studies[55], where agriculture is included, nine discussion papers[56] and 48 working papers, the latter two reflecting opinions of staff members and not of the Organisation. Agriculture, more specifically, the declining commodity prices, are dealt with in a discussion paper pointing out the declining terms of trade and the consequent "...theoretical possibility of 'immiserizing growth' "(Acharya and Daly, 2004:17), namely the gap between the declining terms of trade and the gains from increased trade. No other study or working paper has a special focus on agriculture or non-trade concerns. Their inspiring discipline is economics and institutional economics.

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[55] No.1 Opening Markets in Financial Services and the role of the GATS; No.2 Electronic Commerce and the role of the WTO; No. 3 Trade, Finance and Financial Crises; No. 4 Trade and Environment; No. 5 Trade, Income Disparity and Poverty; No. 7 Adjusting to Trade Liberalization; No. 6 Market Access: Unfinished Business – Post Uruguay Round Inventory. (WTO, 2005j)

[56] No. 1 Industrial Tariffs and the Doha Development Agenda; No.2 Improving the Availability of Trade Finance during Financial Crises; No.3 Income Volatility in small and Developing Economies: Export Concentration Matters; No.4 The Role of Export Taxes in the Field of Primary Commodities; No.5 the Global Textile and Clothing Industry post the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing; No. 6 The Trade, Debt and Finance Nexus: at the Cross-roads of Micro- and Macroeconomics; No. 7 Selected Issues Concerning the Multilateral Trading System; No. 8 The Changing Landscape of Regional Trade Agreements; No. 9. The WTO and Direct Taxation (WTO, 2005j).

Table 7.1. WTO World Trade Report core themes and topical trade policy issues

Year	*Core Theme*	*Topical trade policy issues*
2003	Trade and Development	Developments in South-South trade* Trends in non oil-commodity markets* The growth of regional trade agreements
2004	Exploring the linkage between the domestic policy environment and international trade	Trade preferences The temporary movement of natural persons Geographical indications*
2005	Trade, standards and the WTO	The use of quantitative economic analysis in WTO dispute settlement International trade in air transport services Offshoring services

Sources: WTO, 2004d; 2003d; 2005c.

e) Secretariat's documents. The work of WTO is very much a work of compilation of issues as raised by governments or bibliographic work to inform its members on latest developments in a given areas. Examples of this type of work are the information compiled from members' schedules and notifications (WTO, 2000b), members' Green Box categories, or types of measures, covered by the notifications (WTO, 2000c), reporting on disputes (WTO, 2005k), technical notes like the availability of world indicator prices (WTO, 2005l), surveys of literature (WTO, 2000d), selected bibliographies (WTO, 2002c) and notifications[57] on the Green Box categories (WTO, 2000c). These cover the domestic support measures (Annex 2 of the Agreement on Agriculture), namely: Research; Pest and disease control; training services; extension and advisory services; inspection services; marketing and promotion services; infrastructural services; public stockholding; domestic food aid; direct payments to producers; decoupled income support; income insurance/safety-net programmes; natural disaster relief; producer retirement programmes; resource retirement programmes; investment aids; environmental programmes; regional assistance programmes. As stated in the Agreement on Agriculture, such measures correspond to publicly funded

[57] All members of WTO have to notify their Green Box measures annually, except for least developed countries which have to notify WTO every other year.

programmes "not involving transfers from consumers" and will not affect prices to producers.

The WTO Secretariat also reports on issues as raised by member countries (WTO 2000b; 2000e); of particular interest is the detailed account on non-trade concerns (WTO, 2000a), reported in Chapter 4. The summary reports "Most countries accept that agriculture is not only about producing food and fibre but also has other functions, these non-trade objectives – although some dislike the buzzword 'multifunctionality'". It also reports on the argument between countries that claim that agriculture needs special treatment as the non-trade concerns cannot be addressed through the Green Box only and the other group of countries which state that the objectives can be achieved through 'Green Box' subsidies.

In addition, WTO secretariat compiles the 'Agriculture Negotiations Backgrounder', an account of the status of the negotiations. The 2005 backgrounder reports on Phase 1 dealing with non-trade concerns and Phase 2 with rural development. The non-trade concerns given as examples are "food security stocks, direct payments to producers, structural adjustment assistance, safety-net programmes, environmental programmes, and regional assistance programmes" (WTO, 2005a). These are considered as non-price distorting. The WTO also provides a glossary (WTO, 2005b). This reports the definition of agricultural products as "...defined for the coverage of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, by the Agreement's Annex 1. This excludes for example fish and forestry products. It also includes various degrees of processing for different commodities". Food security is defined as "concept which discourages opening the domestic market to foreign agricultural products on the principle that a country must be as self-sufficient as possible for its basic dietary needs".

f) World Trade Review. In 2002 WTO launched the World Trade Review, as a scholarly journal and a joint initiative between WTO and the Cambridge University Press. In the words of Mike More "The aim of the Journal is to deepen understanding of issues facing the international trading system through critical analysis and constructive debate" (WTO, 2002e). It has three issues per year and has an independent editorial

policy and board drawn from universities. As of 2005, the editorial board is composed of academics from economics, international relations and international economic studies, political science, law and from the WTO Economic Research and Analysis Division. As stated in the Review the articles include "...economic, legal, political and inter-disciplinary perspectives on issues of relevance to the multilateral trading system" (Editor, Cambridge Journals, 2005). A review of the articles since its inception shows that the topics dealt with range widely, with only five articles directly covering agriculture topics dealing with safeguards for developing country agriculture, biosafety, US lamb safeguard measures, Canadian importation of dairy products, price band system and safeguard measures for certain Chilean agricultural products. Agriculture may be included under the more generic titles referring to the trade negotiations (e.g. articles on trade and Africa or small countries). There are no disciplines represented, apart from international political economy, economics and law. No coverage on alternative views on agriculture and trade liberalisation nor articles on agriculture related non-trade concerns (World Trade Review, 2005).

g) NGO position papers: as further elaborated in Chapter 9, an "NGO Room" on the WTO website posts NGO positions. For WTO, NGO represent the full spectrum of civil society, from religious and development NGOs to research institutions and private sector associations. The latter two elaborate on the benefits of trade liberalisation.

h) Articles by the epistemic communities: there are many articles especially based on law and economics. These have been reviewed in connection with the discourses on multifunctionality, roles of agriculture and SARD in chapter 3. This chapter will only cover the epistemic communities' contributions to the theme of WTO as an organisation and its governance. Of particular clarity in explaining the influence of economists is the article by Kim Anderson (2005) in which he explains how the economists' role has been fundamental in defining the trade policy agenda "for establishing multilateral trade rules, disciplines and procedures and for negotiating the most favoured nation and preferential reductions in trade barriers and subsidies". He also asserts the role of economists in promoting a paradigm and in providing quantitative analyses on the extent, cost and other economic effects of protection. In relation to these, he refers to

the various measurements devised for agriculture since the 1960s. He also reports on the claim made about agricultural being multifunctional and deserving government support. The rationale for such conceptualisation of agriculture and for the ensuing policy implication can be traced to divergences in concerns not optimally addressed by governments. "That too can lead to smaller actual social welfare gains than our economic models might suggest, or even to losses, from trade liberalisation (e.g. if there is a sufficiently large and uncorrected negative environmental externality associated with producing more exportables)".

A seminal article among economists has also been the article by Bagwell and Staiger (1999) "An economic theory of GATT" where the GATT's principles of reciprocity and non-discrimination are viewed as rules that "assist governments in their effort to implement efficient trade agreements" and to overcome what they call "...the terms-of-trade-driven inefficiency that characterizes unilateral trade policies". This idea is further elaborated later on by Staiger (2004) where he equates WTO to a "'market' for the exchange of market access commitments among governments", thus providing an escape from the terms-of-trade driven Prisoners' Dilemma"[58] and therefore qualifying as a 'global public good'. It is the epistemic community that defines WTO as an international public good, namely it presents characteristics of non rivalry (no country can be excluded from its consumption) and non-excludable (consumption by one country does not diminish the amount available to others). Bagwell and Staiger (1999) argue that WTO can be equated to an international public good in view of governments' willingness to establish and maintain the institution.

In a later writing commissioned by the International Task Force on Global Public Goods, Staiger (2004) explains the public good functions of WTO more in detail. These refer on the one hand to the elimination of the terms of trade prisoners' dilemma and on the other to the policy commitments to the private sector. WTO creates a 'market'

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[58] This refers to a " situation in which both governments could do better if each would cooperate with the other than if both act non-cooperatively, but each government does better yet if it alone acts non-cooperatively, and so non-cooperative behaviour from both governments can be expected unless the governments can reach some enforceable agreement to cooperate."

where the inefficiencies resulting from the non-cooperative behaviour of governments can be resolved through exchange of market access commitments. WTO agreements lock-in government policies which strengthen their position and their ineluctability vis-à-vis national private sector agents, prone to protectionist policies, thereby resulting in greater economic efficiency. Staiger elaborates on WTO as an international public good, by stating that it is the establishment and the maintenance of WTO which can be considered as an international public good and not the end use or the utilization of WTO by its member governments which result into private goods. The WTO reports such analyses in its 2004 Annual Trade Report (WTO, 2004d:196).

Free international trade is considered as a global public good by Sumner and Tangermann (1998:2) in their Handbook of Agricultural Economics where they state that "In the absence of a global government, international agreements between national governments may have to provide this public good".

Popular Forum

This is constituted by a) speeches of the WTO Director-Generals addressed to non-specialist audiences, b) the WTO web pages, c) press releases and d) WTO publication "Understanding WTO"; e) the Guide on WTO policy issues for parliamentarians.

The speeches addressed to non-specialist audiences are like those reviewed under the political forum. In addition, there are the speeches by Mike Moore reassuring a German audience that "...WTO will not force Europe to dismantle its social market economy", asserting that "... WTO is often misunderstood" (Moore, 2000a). The importance of trade liberalisation in agriculture is expressed by Supachai at a Farming Congress where he states that "...trade liberalisation in agriculture [is] the most important achievement" (Supachai, 2002a)

Particularly since Seattle, the WTO has been making a big effort in communications and in improving its public image. As explicitly expressed by Mike Moore "The WTO

is too often misunderstood, sometimes genuinely, often wilfully. We need to put our case better... and we are trying to make the WTO's work even more accessible to the man and woman in the street. We are constantly improving our website so that it offers an even greater wealth of information. We welcome public scrutiny" (Moore, 2000a). The WTO web page has information for all audiences; it includes documentation related to its meetings, all its discussion, special and working papers, it has a site for NGO positions papers and a community forum open to anybody for discussions and views on WTO issues as raised by WTO or by the public. It also has a site on WTO as an organisation. This latter has an equivalent hard copy version which is now being published under the title "Understanding WTO" (WTO, 2003ab), previously published as "Trading into the Future". It also has a Guide on WTO explicitly addressed to parliamentarians, the rationale of which is to allow "...parliaments around the world to give greater scrutiny to the organisation and to educate themselves more fully on its services (WTO, 2001c). The site includes easily readable pieces about "10 benefits of the WTO trading system" and "10 common misunderstandings about the WTO" (WTO, 2005m).

The benefits of trade liberalisation are explained with economics and the principle of comparative advantage: "Simply put, the principle of "comparative advantage" says that countries prosper first by taking advantage of their assets in order to concentrate on what they can produce best, and then by trading these products for products that other countries produce best. In other words, liberal trade policies — policies that allow the unrestricted flow of goods and services — sharpen competition, motivate innovation and breed success. They multiply the rewards that result from producing the best products, with the best design, at the best price" (WTO, 2003a). The Agreement on Agriculture is explained in detail with a brief didactic section on what are price distorsions. Except for reporting Article 20, there is no full explanation of non-trade concerns.

The concern over the critique of little transparency of the organisation, led the General Council in 2002 to decide on the derestriction of WTO documents, following the 1996 guidelines for WTO greater transparency and communications (Sutherland et al.,

2004:42). These guidelines "recognize the role NGOs can play to increase the awareness of the public in respect of WTO activities". It is particularly in relation to NGOs that particular efforts appear to have been made. Every month a list of NGO position papers is circulated to the members, as seen in the previous section. An electronic news bulletin is issued monthly and made available to NGOs for their information on WTO events and outcomes. Since 1999, annual public symposia have been organized where "participants from governments, parliaments, civil society, the business sector, academia and the media' are invited" (WTO, 2005n). These have addressed broad themes of the negotiations and have not focused in any particular area, hence not even agriculture[59]. NGO attendance at the Ministerial Conferences has also been increasing as reported in Chapter 4. In addition WTO organizes special meetings, seminars, workshops, expert and other meetings.

A review of the press releases issued since 2001 up to the time of writing (August 2005) shows that out of approximately 208, only three address agriculture explicitly in their titles.

Moralising Forum

There is very little under this Forum initiated by WTO. The WTO has never aligned any prominent personality of moral prestige around its mandate and work. Yet, little known, the WTO in 2002 received a peace award from the Goi Peace Foundation "to mark the organisation's contribution to world peace". The award consisted of a peace pole[60], a hand crafted monument, given to WTO for its leadership and achievements for the improvement of welfare of the peoples living in the WTO member states and for ensuring and improving the multilateral trading system" (WTO, 2002f). This peace

[59] The topics have been: 2002. The Doha Development Agenda and Beyond; 2003 Challenges Ahead on the Road to Cancun' 2004 Multilateralism at a crossroads; 2005 WTO After 10 years: Global Problems and Multilateral Solutions

[60] UNEP and the World Bank also received such a peace award. "To date, more than 200,000 Peace Poles, planted in 180 countries, can be found in national parliaments, government offices, international organizations and other public places" (WTO, 2002f).

motive can be found also in the political forum, expressed by one of Supachai's speeches in 2005: "The WTO's contribution to efficient production is obvious and actually requires no elaboration. What is perhaps less obvious is the WTO's contribution to keeping the peace which is so vital to ensuring that supply channels remain open. Let us not forget that international trade conflicts have historically been a frequent cause of war which jeopardizes directly people's access to food.... If I may quote from Montesquieu "Peace is the natural effect of trade". (Supachai, 2005).

A moralising theme can be found in the reprimand on WTO having a 'mercantilistic ethic' (Finger and Schuler, 2000 referenced in Jaware and Kwa, 2003:3), echoed by Mike Moore in his speech at Monterrey where he accused the ministers of trade of the member countries to cast issues in a "petty mercantilistic methodology..." (Moore, 2002). The themes of peace and justice can be found in the sculptures of the WTO building which also has paintings and murals on dignity of work, labour on land and sea and on the human effort. It is the academics who advocate that concepts such as social justice and the principle of fairness enter the work of WTO and guide its agreements, as expressed by an economics Nobel laureate (Stiglitz and Carlton, 2004), while the notion of cosmopolitan justice begins to be part of the field of global public economics (Atkinson, 2003).

7.2 Summary of Findings and Analysis

Annex 10 summarizes the main findings through the texts and other media reviewed.

Organisational Forum

As repeated in various instances, WTO is "...a member-driven organisation" and "...in large measure a negotiating machine" (Sutherland et al., 2004:61; WTO, 2003b:102). Its being the result of incremental pieces constituting the sum total of a series of negotiations explains the rather unstructured organigram, with a large number of

committees and working groups which work independently of each other[61], a structure judged as "unworkable" (Vines, 1997). It also explains the reason for WTO being a small and neutral secretariat, an administrative body that assists the functioning of WTO as a "negotiating machine".

Compared with other organisations, particularly those with which WTO has to "ensure coherence in global economic policy making", WTO has a very small budget and staff.[62] On the one hand, the limited resources impinge on the functioning of the WTO to fulfil its mandate and there are pleas to make it a larger organisation on effectiveness grounds; on the other, as discussed later in this section, there is a will not to enlarge further the scope of WTO's mandate.

With respect to the effect of a small budget and staff on WTO's functions, Sutherland et al. (2004:70) refer to holding the Ministerial Conferences every two years as insufficient, turning such Conferences into "...unwieldy events with too a large agenda and too many expectations". The numerous informal meetings which characterize the life of WTO are also difficult to handle by a small secretariat. Jawara and Kwa (2003:17) report that in 2001 there were some 500 such meetings at WTO.[63] In the case of the Trade Policy Reviews, meetings have progressively taken the form of small, back conference room meetings, without influence and impact, presently considered as weak accountability mechanisms (Woods, 2003). Generally, WTO meetings are characterized as unfair and non-transparent or as "medieval" in the case of the Green Room meetings[64] (Schott and Watal, 2000), because they are informal and unofficial, do not

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[61] This includes the weak relationship between the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Trade and Development.

[62] As of 2005, WTO has 630 staff as against approximately 6,500 of the World Bank and 2,500 of IMF. Its budget is very limited when compared with a technical agency which has a mandate on agriculture, fisheries and forestry.

[63] Blackhurst notes that the increase in meetings may also be due to the move of WTO to the part of the Centre which was previously occupied by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; this meant that meetings previously held in the delegations own offices moved to the WTO building.

[64] Participation in Green Room meetings has increased over time. While in the Tokyo Round they were attended normally by about 8 delegations, nowadays the participants are of the order of 25 to 30 (typically including the Quad, i.e. United States, EU, Canada and Japan and also Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, Norway, possibly one or two transition economy countries and a number of developing countries).

follow procedures for ensuring equitable representation by all countries (invitations being at the discretion of the convening country), are without any minutes and official records.

Rather than a small secretariat, a line of thought (Sutherland et al., 2004; Vines, 1997) proposes that the staff should be increased and be relieved from its passive role. This would enable to have the Ministerial Conferences on an annual basis, and in addition, to have a summit of world leaders every five years. The staff could do more analysis work to assist their members, rather than – as at present – leave the support and analysis to other organisations which do not always provide advice in consonance with WTO. An analytically stronger secretariat would make the Trade Policy Review mechanism more meaningful if it had the authority to evaluate independently the effects of countries' policies, particularly those by developed countries on the world economy and on developing countries, in particular. A more technical profile, with competencies and experience, would also be required for the Director-General of WTO rather than the profile of international spokesperson and marketing executive, as enacted in practice in the last few years.

The view that the Secretariat at present has a merely administrative and passive role is contested by some (Jawara and Kwa, 2003:xvi), who rather underline its influential role in redrafting texts, usually in favour of the more powerful countries (Jawara and Kwa, 2003:210), in pursuance of the neoliberal agenda, and in facilitating the non transparent meeting practices. The composition of the staff is a further factor in attesting their non-neutrality. Recognized as a legacy of the GATT, predecessor to WTO, by both contestants and WTO itself (Moore, 1999), the staff are mostly from developed countries, over half of them being European, their majority being economists and lawyers criticized for their neoclassical economics background and their neoliberal ideologies (Narlikar, 2001).

The practice of arriving at decisions by consensus is prone to critiques in that it is found to be like a 'black box' arrived at through manipulative chairing of meetings and informal meetings. While WTO recognizes that such practice is difficult to implement

given the increased size of its membership, it also recognizes however that "... Its main advantage is that decisions made this way are more acceptable to all members" (WTO, 2003a:102). As evidence of this, it states that many agreements have been reached with such a practice. It also points out that consensus reaching favours those members who can be present at all meetings, a very small proportion when one looks at the composition of the delegations in Geneva (Jaware and Kwa, 2003:20–21). Another drawback is that since consensus is the only way to make decisions, some members refrain from participating not feeling free to express their disagreement with the major powers. Other scholars acknowledge that "the ethos of confidentiality" continues to be a hallmark of modern diplomacy" (Roberts, 2004) undertaken on realist grounds, namely the limited management capacity of negotiators to deal with multiple constituencies representing multiple points of view.

The Consultative Board suggests to re-examine the practice of reaching consensus (Sutherland et al., 2004:81). Examples of different structures are given such as the IMF and the World Bank which have an executive board "with permanent participation by the major industrial countries and weighted voting" (WTO, 2003a). This is reported as a box in Sutherland's report and as an alternative proposal, hence not developed analytically, by Jeffrey J. Schott, Institute for International Economics Washington. Other authors recognize that there is a democratic deficit "because people do not directly elect or through out their representatives on the IMF, WB nor those who represent them in international trade negotiations" (Woods, 2003). Organisations like Oxfam (2000) suggest a hybrid system of governance for WTO, in contrast to the one member one vote (the UN model) or the weighted voting (the Bretton Woods institutions model), following the example of the Global Environmental Facility. This Facility has a decision making body in a Council made up of 32 constituencies, representing a combination of donor/recipient countries, geographical distribution and self-selection in accordance with agreed criteria.

Blackhurst (1997) notes that the mandate of WTO is carried out not only through its small secretariat but also through the member country delegations in Geneva and through their staff in the national capitals. In addition he also considers the NGOs. This

is what determines the capacity of WTO. If these types of resources are considered for the functioning of WTO, there is need to establish "procedural fairness" at WTO (Stiglitz and Carlton, 2004:15), namely acknowledging the asymmetry of power and information among countries and acting on the latter. Despite all these shortcomings, WTO is recognized as being a "rules based" institution (Bagwell and Staiger, 1999), as opposed to a "power-based" institution, where negotiations would take place between governments without reference to previously agreed upon rules and thereby dependent on the countries' bargaining powers. This is seen as a general evolution in the history of international relations which has seen a gradual progression from a power-based to a rules-based approach.

According to Blackhurst (1997), a number of factors, which he calls "market failures" concur in making the WTO under financed: a) The large scope of WTO mandate, familiarity and knowledge of which are "dispersed among many different ministries"; b) the too many meetings; c) the complexity and length of the dispute settlement mechanism; d) the complexity of issues as WTO enlarges its areas of work (services, environment, intellectual property rights, etc.).; e) little ability to provide technical assistance to countries (with only 13 professionals assigned to this task). At the same time, there is an unresolved tension between the 'pencil-sharpening model' of the Secretariat, limited to organizing and servicing meetings, and the 'cutting-edge model', namely a Secretariat with "an independent high profile role in decisions about the evolution of the multilateral trading system", as proposed by Blackhurst or by the Consultative Board. A larger secretariat is not considered favourably by the richer WTO members. As noted by Nzelibe (2004), the question of expansion of WTO is kept at bay by interest group dynamics and power politics, namely the powerful countries that benefit from international trade would not see the extension of WTO favourably, also in view of the increased contributions they would have to pay, to the benefit of other countries.

However, the expansion of the mandate of WTO into areas like intellectual property rights (even if there is the World Intellectual Property Organisation) is the fact that WTO is the only enforcement mechanism in intergovernmental organisations, i.e. from

soft law to hard law. It is this enforcement that raises concerns about sovereignty. The critique of loss of sovereignty induced by WTO is rebutted by Sutherland et al. in a discussion of the notion of sovereignty. They report the Appellate Body's comment that the WTO Agreements are like contracts and "It is self-evident that in an exercise of their sovereignty, and in pursuit of their own respective national interests, the members of the WTO have made a bargain. In exchange for the benefits they expect to derive as members of the WTO, they have agreed to exercise their sovereignty according to the commitments they have made in the WTO Agreements" (Sutherland et al, 2004:29). The text continues with the observation that "In committing to the WTO and its procedures and disciplines, governments are returning to themselves a degree of "sovereignty" lost through the process of globalisation. If governments are losing the capacity to regulate meaningfully at the domestic level, they are reclaiming some control of their economic destinies at the multilateral level (ibid: 34).

The WTO building has a classical architecture not evocative of globalisation or increased trade and has symbolic sculptures and paintings (representing peace, justice, the dignity of work, labour on land and sea) not congruent with its mandate. The humanism implied in the classical architecture does not become translated into evoking images or slogans. The globe logo is the only symbolic representation of intergovernmentality and globalisation, with differing colour spirals around it possibly signifying undifferentiated trade flows.

Political Arena

The political arena reinforces the consideration derived from the organisational forum on WTO's broad range of areas by showing the little coverage given to agriculture. Nevertheless, it is significant that 'sustainable development' is explicitly mentioned as a general objective of the negotiations in the Preamble of the WTO legal texts. In the Preamble of the Agreement on Agriculture there is the explicit reference to "...a fair and market oriented agricultural trade system...having regard to non-trade concerns, including food security and the need to protect the environment" (WTO, 1999:34)

In spite of the emphasis given to agriculture in some speeches, where it is defined as a 'core issue', 'one of the most sensitive area of the negotiations and as the single most important contribution to the multilateral trading system, the speeches addressing agriculture as such are very few. Agriculture is never defined and no speech mentions the notion of multifunctionality or the roles of agriculture. Agriculture, including fishery, is mentioned as relevant for sustainable development at the 2002 speech at the World Summit on Sustainable Development. Non-trade concerns are recognized as legitimate; in the speeches these deal with "food security, regional assistance and environmental concerns". It is interesting to see that when the same Mike Moore who had explicitly stated the legitimacy of the non-trade concerns speaks to a European audience at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation he reassures the audience that "...WTO is not going to force Europe to dismantle its social market economy" (Moore 2000a). He continues by saying that if the Europeans are ready to pay taxes to maintain their welfare, they can continue to do so. He does not mention agriculture as part of the domains for which Europeans are ready to pay taxes. Food security, considered as a non-trade concern by many countries, is viewed by WTO from the perspective of 'integration and interdependence' that it implies, not for national production

It is also of interest to see that in a speech (Moore, 2002) the OECD subsidies to agriculture are referred to as a malfunctioning for the global economy and as an obstacle to developing countries' agriculture development. The recurrent motive that trade liberalisation is positive for agriculture development is criticized as WTO Director-Generals should not "...take upon themselves the role of promoting trade liberalisation. Rather, the fundamental principle, for the secretariat and the organisation as a whole should be the conduct of trade relations 'with a view to raising standards of living' in accordance with the preamble of the Marrakesh Agreement" (Jaware and Kwa, 2003:290).

The Ministerial Statements and the forewords of the annual and the trade reports do not single out agriculture particularly; however the Doha Declaration reaffirms the commitment to the objective of sustainable development.

In conclusion, the political arena appears a weak arena for agriculture. The themes tackled are not prominent in the technical work of WTO; the link between agriculture and sustainable development is never dealt with.

Technical Forum

a) The Legal Texts. The Legal Texts, and in particular the Agreement on Agriculture, do not provide a definition of agriculture. Agriculture is a collection of 186 products; all else which is not these products and that is agriculture-related can be captured by the term non-trade concerns and be considered as part of the Green Box. We can see therefore a big gap between the atomised view of agriculture, as discussed in the Agreements, and the holistic and multifaceted view proposed in the concepts of multifunctionality, roles of agriculture or SARD. The legalistic and economicist language of the legal texts do not make space for alternative views on agriculture, treated as a sector, like any other and fish and forestry products are considered non-agriculture, along with industrial products. Even so, as noted by Anderson and Morris (2000) the Agreement on Agriculture "...served to both define the problem and place some loose bounds around it. More than that, the Agreement on Agriculture altered the climate of farm policy making in both advanced and developing countries, and raised the consciousness of policymakers on the international implications of their actions".

b) The Annual WTO Report and the World Trade Report. The annual trade reports reviewed in the last five years do not elaborate particularly on agriculture. The World Trade Report deals with agriculture in its essays on topical trade issues, such as the 2003 'Developments in South-South trade', 'Trends in non-oil commodity markets' and in the 2004 'geographical indications'. Agriculture receives no particular coverage; the inspiring discipline is economics or law, and is not as interdisciplinary as it claims.

c) WTO special studies, discussion and working papers. It is difficult to understand how the special studies, the discussion and working papers are prepared, namely how decision are taken on their preparation and on the selection of issues they are meant to clarify. There is the clause that the authors do not represent the view of the organisation.

The 48 working papers are to be work-in-progress but it is not clear what their final production is. Overall, there is a very limited amount of studies (7 in total), discussion and working papers; for example in 2004 only 4 discussion papers and 2 special studies were prepared (WTO, 2004c). There is very little directly related to agriculture, even though agriculture may be part of some more general texts. Their inspiring disciplines are economics and institutional economics. Even for its work on the future of WTO, WTO uses one of his former Director-Generals and a famous trade economist Baghawati without any other influence and discipline (Sutherland et al.). Generally, the WTO production is considered 'unadventurous' and lacking the analysis of the implications of the agreements (Sutherland et al. 2003), these being left to other agencies. Sutherland et al. note that the passive role given to the Secretariat implies de facto that WTO does not have influence on the trade debate. In the reform of WTO, it is proposed that the Secretariat should produce greater intellectual input in the debate and should be able to provide policy analysis to the countries.

d) Secretariat's documents. These show the compilation work of the secretariat in its discussed passive role. Of interest is their work on documenting what countries consider as non-trade concerns (WTO, 2000a). The EC is the only one that states as policy implications that the various functions of agriculture supporting the non-production related functions cannot be completely separated from the production function and calls such functions as "provision of public goods", i.e. uses the WTO economist language. Public goods allows to incorporate concepts which otherwise would not be transferable in the cognitive frames of WTO, such as vitality of rural areas. The EC is also the only one that cites animal welfare as a non-trade concern. There is no mention of multifunctionality by any country. Other countries with holistic visions of agriculture do not translate their concepts into public goods (e.g. Switzerland and Japan who claim scattered populations on the territory and preservation of local communities, respectively, as part of the functions of agriculture in their economy). The dissenting views are those of the Cairns group, the same group of countries which requested FAO not to work on the question of multifunctionality. Overall, the documents produced by the Secretariat are compilation, reviews, bibliographies; the only instance where the Secretariat is requested to use its analytical capacity is in the case of the Trade Policy

Reviews, considered the only 'intrusion of the Secretariat in the internal trade policy of members' (Narlikar, 2003:4). The derestriction policy of WTO on access to documents resulted from acknowledging the futility of restricting their circulation, given the different interests of the member countries (Roberts, 2004).

e) The World Trade Review: economists and international law specialists are the main contributors to this Review, which is not interdisciplinary as it claims. The Review appears to be an effort by WTO to align the academic community around its work and to remedy its own weakness in producing influential intellectual outputs and policy analyses. Despite the political claims of agriculture being the 'core' and one of the most essential elements of the negotiations, only five articles refer explicitly to agriculture in their titles and there is no coverage of agriculture related non-trade concerns or of alternative views on agriculture in trade liberalisation.

f) NGO position papers. It is difficult to discern the influence of such position papers on the WTO secretariat, countries' delegations or on the epistemic communities. Nevertheless, the work of some environmental NGOs, such as Greenpeace on energy subsidies, the World Wide Fund for Nature on fisheries subsidies, the International Institute for Sustainable Development and Friends of the Earth on subsidy reforms, as well as the work of Oxfam, are cited by Anderson as examples of NGOs converging on the economists' position on the social and environmental benefits deriving from subsidy reduction.

h) Epistemic communities. It is primarily economists and law specialists that write on WTO as an organisation and institution. From a law perspective, it is the move from soft to hard law which makes the WTO a singular intergovernmental organisation, different from the existing ones. This is also the reason for expanding the WTO mandate into areas such as for example, intellectual property rights, despite the existence of an organisation like the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). The economists justify WTO with the concept of international or global public good. In the case of Sumner and Tangermann (1998), it is free international trade that is considered as a global public good, enabled by the international agreements among

national governments. For Bagwell and Staiger 1999), WTO can be considered an international public good as it eliminates the terms of trade prisoners' dilemma and helps in eliminating inefficiencies by locking-in government policies vis-à-vis national lobbies requests of protectionism. Staiger's further work (2004) limits the concept of international public good to the establishment and maintenance of the WTO as a negotiating forum and not to the use of WTO by its members which can result into private goods. Anderson (2005) points out the "fixation on efficiency" by economists in focusing on the terms of trade prisoners' dilemma and refers instead the explanation given by Ethier (2004) on what the negotiators really do "...which is to overcome a political externality: by securing market access abroad for their exporters, they can get more domestic political support from their export sectors than if they assist them only indirectly (and thereby less obviously) by unilaterally lowering import barriers". An alternative economist's view is the one by Stiglitz that notes that negotiations should now include a principle of fairness. Whilst in the previous rounds, agreements were reached among self-interested governments, the expansion of the membership of WTO calls for applying the Rawlsian principle of fairness, to be followed 'behind a veil of ignorance, namely without knowing whether one belongs to developed or developing countries'. He proposes to work on such principle, particularly with respect to informational resources.

At the same time, as noted by Kym Anderson, economists continue to be influential in restricting the scope of WTO's work and perspectives.

Popular Forum

WTO has made a huge effort, particularly after Seattle, in communications particularly aimed at dispelling what Oxfam (2000) defined as "...the arcane and complex nature of GATT law and economics". In 2003 WTO received high marks by the first Global Accountability Report, among 18 intergovernmental organisations, transnational corporations and international NGOs, ranking third on access to online information, eighth on member control and fourth overall (WTO, 2003f). Its communication efforts

are related to making more understandable the technical forum, primarily the trade theory with the ensuing benefits of increased trade. As noted by Sutherland et al. (2003:79) "The Consultative Board believes that the process of globalisation and the role played by the WTO are widely misunderstood and seriously misrepresented". These popularised communications therefore focus on trade theory; they do not elaborate on the themes of the political forum, such as the impact of subsidies of developed countries nor on the link between negotiations on agriculture and sustainable development, as mentioned in the speeches by the Director-Generals of WTO. WTO has no posters or other consumer goods to disseminate its work among the broader public.

Moralising Forum

The moralising forum is a very weak forum for WTO. WTO has not created any information or messages with moral posture nor has tried to align eminent personalities with moral prestige on its work. The motive of peace brought in by trade is not elaborated further and made into an appealing narrative. The symbols of its building relating to peace, justice and labour are not related to trade, thus remaining rather incongruent with WTO's mission. The introduction of notions of fairness and cosmopolitan justice is recognized as being at inception stage, a promising development path for global public economics,"... in the same way as John Rawls and Robert Nozick influenced national public economics 30 years ago" (Atkinson, 2003).

7.3 Conclusions

The arena and fora reviewed show a generally very weak coverage of agriculture. The organisational forum in particular indicates that WTO is an organisation with an overloaded mandate and goals, with a 'patchy' organisational structure, a small, rather passive secretariat, resulting essentially in what is judged as a very "fragile body" (Vines, 1997). The "perceived secretiveness" of its governance practices is part of the

concerns on the legitimacy of the WTO, similarly to other intergovernmental organisations (Roberts, 2004). It is not surprising, therefore, to see that agriculture, despite its being considered as a 'core issue' by the political forum, de facto, receives scant treatment in all fora and arena, both in its atomised definition into 186 products by WTO and in its more elaborate characterizations, as per countries' inclusion of the non-trade concerns and Green Box categories. It is the free trade policy paradigm that dominates; both free trade and the organisation itself are considered as global public goods.

The political forum for agriculture is not only weak but is also ineffectual; the few assertions made on agriculture's relevance in the negotiations, on non-trade concerns or on the effects of developed countries' subsidies are not followed up in the technical forum. The political forum states that agriculture is a core issue, is sensitised to non-trade concerns and it states that trade liberalisation is good for agriculture. Food security, considered as a non-trade concern by many countries, is viewed by WTO from the perspective of 'integration and interdependence' that it implies, not for national production. Hence, it can be seen that the core paradigm of productivist agriculture and the beneficial effects of trade liberalisation dominate.

Overall, it is the *technical forum* of WTO which is the strongest and most varied. However, even when WTO increases its intellectual resources in 2002 and 2003 with the annual publication of the World Trade Report and the issuance of the World Trade Review Journal , the neglect of agriculture remains and the discourses of other fora and organisations on multifunctionality, roles of agriculture, sustainable agriculture and rural development are totally absent. The WTO technical forum is dominated by international law and neoclassical and institutional economics. Even so, Stiglitz and Carlton note that little economic analysis is made of the consequences of the agreements on individual countries and on an interdependent world and query "...what is driving the prioritisation of trade issues on the WTO agenda other than a melange of prevailing orthodoxies and the momentum of special interest groups" (Stiglitz and Carlton, 2004). The views by the non-governmental organisations are simply 'posted' in the website; they cover thinly all areas of WTO negotiations, agriculture being a small fraction,

without any prominent discourse. It should also be added that for WTO NGOs encompass all organisations which are not public; hence, the NGO position papers encompass positions of business and industry associations also. It is interesting to note that there is no room for alternative 'epistemic 'communities or observers' points of view. The discursive interactions by WTO (meetings and symposia) do not allow cross-fertilization of ideas with the non-government sector or with the non-mainstream communities reviewed in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, for the technical forum agriculture is constituted by 186 products; as such, their being traded internationally is not problematized. Market access and domestic support commitment policies are based on the core policy paradigm of agriculture as a bundle of tradeable products. The Green Box is the element that allows consideration of the other dimensions of agriculture. The non-trade concerns remain peripheral and undeveloped, left to the countries which have different perspectives. Hence, it can be said that there is the persistence of the core policy paradigm of productivist agriculture with a small indentation in the paradigm made by the Green Box and the non-trade concerns. An indentation in the productivist agriculture and the associated positive view of trade liberalisation is also made by the incipient notion of cosmopolitan justice and fairness as part of global public economics.

The popular forum is a simplified version of the technical forum, particularly focused on convincing the general public (and more in particular the Parliamentarians) about the beneficial effects of trade liberalisation in general and explaining the negotiations in various domains, including agriculture. It only relies on written texts and videos, no other 'popularising' media or consumer goods. In conclusion, given the large agenda of WTO the popular forum remains weak for agriculture and, when this is covered, it remains in the productivist policy paradigm.

The moralising forum is particularly weak without any leading strong idea or leading eminent personality aligned around WTO's work. The link between liberalized trade and peace is faintly proposed while the plea to countries to abandon their 'mercantilistic practices' remains a plea of good intention. The symbols of the WTO building related to

labour are incongruent with the function of the organisation and do not encompass food and agriculture. The policy paradigm of the benefits of free trade is questioned with the introduction of the principles of cosmopolitan social justice and fairness by the epistemic community.

In conclusion, the organisational forum impinges on functioning and governance of WTO and influences the range, focus and extent of possible discourse formation and discursive practices. The domination of neoclassical economic orthodoxy in the technical forum guides all other fora with the law of comparative advantage applied to all sectors, including agriculture; this is considered "...another important structural force against a more inclusive, deeper and more open dialogue" (Scholte et al., 1999) and against inclusion of alternative perspectives. Although weak, it is the technical forum that dominates and that operates with one way communications only; no other more interactive discursive practices or media are enabled in the organisation. Thus, for WTO itself, there are no paradigmatic shifts in the conceptualisation of agriculture and no particular attention is devoted to food. It is the epistemic communities outside the WTO, its fora and its communication and technical products that create a splinter in the neoclassical economics orthodoxy with the concept of global public goods, and the related concepts and principles of fairness and 'cosmopolitan social justice'. Thus, WTO does not have the same degree of interconnectedness with epistemic communities as FAO and the EC; its epistemic communities are much more limited in number and in areas of specialization, limited to lawyers and economists. In the same vein, it is not as strongly interconnected with civil society organisations. It is these that dialogue with WTO on WTO terms through its website.

CHAPTER 8

THE EC

8.1 Fora and Arena

Organisational Forum

The organisational forum reviews the governing bodies of the EU and the decision-making process, with particular reference to the Directorates dealing with agriculture and with trade.

The European Council is the organ of the EU which provides the main policy orientations. It is composed of heads of governments and its presidency rotates every six months among the member states. Given the sectoral nature of the decisions considered, heads of state are usually represented by ministers of the sector concerned. For agriculture and matters related to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), ministers of agriculture take decisions, while for trade and multilateral negotiations it is the ministers of trade. The Council of Ministers is the executive power and ultimate decision-maker, particularly in agriculture where the role of the Parliament is limited (Bureau, 2002). The European Parliament with the Council contributes to decisions on EU regulations and directives and votes the budget. Conflicts between EU institutions and member countries are regulated by the Court of Justice.[65]

The Commission is the executive organ and is responsible for the implementation of policies, including the Common Agricultural Policies (CAP). Its legislative proposals can be amended by the European Parliament, except on the CAP where the power of the parliament is more limited. The Commission has 26 directorates-general and nine

[65] In agriculture, the Court of Justice has reviewed several CAP arrangements and has often been very critical (e.g. the review of environmental aspects of the CAP in 2000).(Bureau, 2002).

services; there is a General Directorate for Agriculture and Rural Development and one for Trade in the External Relations. The Commissioners at the head of the Directorates are nominated by the European Parliament. The Commission represents the EU on behalf of its 25 member states in negotiations with third countries.

The Directorate-General (DG) for Agriculture and Rural Development is headed by a Commissioner and led by a Director-General. The DG-Agriculture and Rural Development has about 1,000 staff working in 12 Directorates. Its structure is subdivided by countries and by products; in addition there is a unit of international affairs, dealing in particular with multilateral trade negotiations, a unit in charge of relations with the other community institutions and agricultural NGOs, a unit of agricultural trade policy analysis and three units in charge of rural development. The functions of the DG-Agriculture and Rural Development are: "managing and developing the common agricultural policy; reinforcing rural development policy as the second pillar of the CAP; safeguarding the European Model of Agriculture in a changing context; successfully conducting the enlargement process." (EC-Agriculture, 2005a).

Trade, including agricultural trade, is the specific function of the DG-Trade, whose tasks are described as follows:

"– on the basis of high-quality analysis, to define (and reappraise) the trade interests of the European Community in both defensive and offensive terms;
– to negotiate bilateral, regional or multilateral agreements
– to ensure consistency within the Relex group between the commercial policy and the Union's general external relations policy on the one hand and the contribution of the European Union to global economic governance on the other;
– to provide the public, both sides of industry, civil society and professional circles with clear, comprehensive and up to date information while seeking their opinions in compliance with the rules set down in the Commission's codes of conduct" (EC-Trade, 2005a).

On trade and WTO matters, the Commission acts as one single actor through the Common Commercial Policy, in consultation with a special committee called "the Article 133 Committee". Article 133 of the European Community Treaty is the basis for the Common Commercial Policy. Together with Article 131 it sets the principles of the

European commercial policy "to contribute, in the common interest, to the harmonious development of world trade, the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade and the lowering of customs barriers, instruments and scope" (EC-Trade (2004a). This is under the general aims of Article 2 of the Treaty which include the promotion of the development of economic activities, high employment and competitiveness and environmental protection. With trade policy being covered by the Commission, individual member states are left with decisions and implementation of trade activities such as "organising fairs, promoting national exports, promoting inward investment, providing tailored advice on importing and exporting to/from their country" (EC-Trade, 2004a).

The Article 133 Committee meets weekly, as all other Commission Committees. It ensures permanent dialogue between the Commission and the EU member states. The Commission meetings are not open to the public. Minutes of each meeting are available with the register of Commission documents. Decisions are recorded in writing in a decision-project which is circulated to all Commissioners for comments and for suggestions on changes. (EC, 2005b). The "assent" of the European Parliament is required for major treaty ratifications when covering more than trade. "However, the Commission favours greater Parliamentary involvement in trade policy and hence consults and informs the Parliament as systematically as possible. It supports a more formal extension of the Parliament's powers over trade policy". (EC-Trade, 2004a).

The decision-making process therefore is as follows: the Commission negotiates on behalf of its members; the Council approves the result of the negotiation (usually by qualified majority); the European Parliament gives its assent on major treaty ratifications.

The EC is an active proponent for improving the functioning of the WTO system. In 2003 it produced a paper (EC-Trade, 2003) where it stated its support for more transparency in WTO meetings, in particular support to the African Group's proposal that WTO develop guidelines for the conduct of informal consultations. It also suggested holding the Ministerial Conference on a yearly basis, derestricting the

circulation of most WTO documents, opening the Trade Policy Review Mechanisms to parliamentarians and NGOs of the country being examined, holding annual meetings with Parliamentarians. With respect to NGOs another document in a web page recommends to contemplate a formal accreditation system (newround/eu_wto/legis/we cwto01.htm accessed on 15 December 2005).

In relation to civil society organisations, in 2000 it established a Contact Group with self-selected representatives of civil society organisations "...to contribute to transparency in both directions and to help with the circulation of information to the wider group of their constituencies" (EC, 2005b). In 2005, the EC signed a "partnership agreement with FAO", as detailed later on in the political forum. However, the individual states finance both WTO and FAO also separately for specific projects.

Political Arena

The political arena for the EC is constituted by the Treaty (EC, 2002a) and by speeches and press releases. The Preamble of the Treaty provides a glimpse of two fundamental positions of the EC on its adhesion to the free trade paradigm while at the same time clarifying the nature of the agricultural sector. The Preamble declares "DESIRING to contribute, by means of a commercial policy, to the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade,..." and Article 33, referring to the objectives of the common agricultural policy, states: "c) the fact that in Member States agriculture constitutes a sector closely linked with the economy as a whole...".

A thematic reading has been made of the speeches (SP) and press releases (PR). These amount to 496 for the period 2000–2005 (June) taken from DG-Agriculture and DG Trade. Unless otherwise indicated, the speeches are all at public events, ranging from the WTO Ministerial Meetings to Conferences and Symposia. They focus on references to non-trade concerns, to characterizations of farmers and agriculture and to views on agriculture and trade liberalisation and trade negotiations. The salient sentences are reported in Annex 11.

The term *non-trade concern* occurs frequently during the period 2000 to 2003 while it gradually fades away later on. Under the term, the following characteristics are cited repeatedly either individually or in a varying bundle:

food safety	SP 705,2000; SP 1160/2000; SP 457/2003;
environmental protection	SP 705, 2000; PR 1068/2000; SP 1160/2000; SP 867/2000; PR 1892/2002; SP 457/2003
rural development	PR 1068, 2000; SP 1160/2000; SP 867/2000; PR 1892/2002
food security or safeguarding the supply of food	PR 1068/2000; SP 867/2000; SP 457/2003
cultural diversity	PR 1068/2000
socio-economic viability	SP 867/2000
animal welfare	PR 1892/2002
traditional landscapes	PR 1892/2002
biodiversity	PR 1892/2002
protecting the rural way of life	SP 457/2003

Farmers are viewed as:

providers of guardianship of the countryside, the protection of the environment in rural areas and vitality of the countryside... food safety'	SP 1584 /2001
farmers to regain their entrepreneurial functions and to produce for their customers	SP 1062/2002
farmers to produce public goods demanded by society, such as preservation of the countryside and environment	PR 814/2003;

Agriculture is characterised in different ways :

To serve the wider demands of society, not just food production	SP. 153/2000
European agriculture provides public goods	SP. 1153/2000
Secure the continued existence of agriculture according to countries' conditions, historical and cultural background	PR05/2000
The EU model of agriculture	PR 705/2000 SP 1741/2002 SP 451/2002
Sustainable agriculture	SP. 74/2001
Responsible agriculture	SP. 301/2001
What we eat and drink (and the future of farming) not to be left to politicians and experts only	SP 671/2001
We call rural development: programs to boost the environment, food quality and safety, organic farming or animal welfare	SP 183/2003

Europe is tasty...European food a great history of quality	SP 362, 2004
...rural development can no longer be geared solely to agriculture	PR 1542/2003

On *trade liberalisation and negotiations*:

WTO agriculture talk must reflect public demands on environment and rural development	SP 1068/2000
Food safety and environmental protection cannot be achieved by market forces alone	SP 705/2000
An exclusive focus on trade liberalisation would fail to consider demands of civil society	SP 1068/2000
yes to liberalisation	SP 1153/2000
Green Box measures should not distort trade	
[Like the US], we stand for competitive farm policy...and support to agriculture	SP 1457/2001
EU is committed to reducing trade-distorting farm subsidies	SP 647/2002; SP 1247/2002
Trade is important but does not take precedence over all other interests	SP 183/2003
With decoupled payments a major share of our support will move from the Amber Box to the Green Box	PR 446/2004
Every democratic society has the right to choose its own agricultural policies	EU negotiator IP/01/1313 Fischler IP/01/1352

It is quite common to find in both the speeches and press releases, references to the public opinion support or to demands by consumers, 'people', 'society'; examples are provided below:

- EC launches broad debate on food and agriculture
- consideration of the public's ethical and ecological concerns
- consumers want a sustainable agriculture
- consumers want higher quality food,...animal welfare, environment and hygiene standards in good production
- people want safe food, animal welfare and a healthy environment (speech 99/2003)

- Safe, healthy food and support for improving rural life were top priority in future member states (PR 246/2003)
- People believe that the primary role of the CAP is to ensure that foods are healthy and safe (PR 1281/2004).
- Society should be setting the farming agenda (SP 331/2001)

Several speeches and press releases emphasize that the EU imports "more agricultural goods from the developing countries than the US, Japan, Australia and New Zealand together" since 2001 as a defensive statement against the criticism of EU as an agricultural fortress. Very frequently, the negotiations are referred to as 'farm negotiations' rather than 'agriculture negotiations' as defined in WTO terms. In 2001 the then Commissioner for Agriculture, Franz Fischler, used the metaphor "EU ready to walk the farm liberalisation walk" (EC, 2001c); later on in 2003 and 2004 the metaphor became more cogently related to agriculture "EU will plough on with its farm reforms".

It is also interesting to see that some speeches are not reported in the list of speeches available on the EC page, but can then be found in journals or newspapers, meaning that they are not 'vetted' by the EC. For example, Pascal Lamy's speech in 2004 where he states that agriculture cannot be left to the law of comparative advantage (Lamy, 2004). In 2002 in France where he states that agriculture is a choice of civilization, "...agriculture is different from coal and farmers will not be the miners of the 21st century' civilisation' (Speech 02/451).

The partnership agreement with FAO, signed bv Paul Nielson, the European Commissioner for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid, is limited to development and humanitarian aid and not to the regulatory or more normative aspects of FAO's work. The breakdown by sector shows a visibility for the EC in supporting "... agricultural production and support systems (47%), food information and early warning systems (20%), forestry (20%), animal health and production (9%) and fisheries 4%." (EC Press release IP/03/1041).

Technical Forum

Under this forum a number of products have been found reflecting the EC technical work on trade. These include the Treaty, the Trade Policy Reviews prepared biennially by the EC for WTO; Newsletters and Briefs, technical papers available through texts or web pages or PPT in the web pages; Green and White papers, Online Reflection Papers and other anonymous papers on the trade web pages.

a) The Treaty provides the orientation to the EC trade policies. Its preamble states clearly the EC desire "to contribute, by means of a commercial policy, to the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade". Its other articles constitutive of EC trade policies are Article 2 and Article 6. Article 2 has as its overarching goals the establishment of a common market and an economic and monetary union and the implementation of common policies to promote "a harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of economic activities, a high level of employment and of social protection, equality between men and women, sustainable and non inflationary growth, a high degree of competitiveness and convergence of economic performance, a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment, the raising of the standard of living and quality of life, and economic and social cohesion and solidarity among Member States". Article 6 states that "Environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of the Community policies and activities...". Part Three of the Treaty, Title II. Agriculture, Article 32.1 provides a definition of agricultural products as "products of the soil, of stockfarming and of fisheries and products of first-stage processing directly related to these products." Article 33 defines the objectives of the common agricultural policy. Articles 131 and 133 explain the way in which the common commercial policy shall operate in principle – "to contribute, in the common interest, to the harmonious development of world trade, the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade and the lowering of customs barriers, instruments and scope" (EC-Trade, 2005b).

b) Trade policy reviews, reports by government: The reports by the EC are a mix of political statement and factual accounts of trade developments, as opposed to the WTO

Secretariat's review which are very technical. In the EC reports there is a commitment to multilateral trade negotiations and to trade liberalisation, with some caveats. In the years 2000 and 2002 it states that EU's trade policy is implemented within the general context of sustainable development as required by Article 6 of the Treaty (WTO, 2000b:para 11; WTO, 2002c). In the year 2002, the report states again its commitment to multilateralism and to "an open and dynamic market economy" qualifying however that "trade policy, like other fields of economic policy, is a means to the end of providing for economic prosperity, and providing the economic underpinning for the chosen level of social provision societies consider appropriate" (WTO, 2002c). In 2002 the report makes explicit reference to Article 20 of the Agreement on Agriculture and the need "to aim at a balance between trade concerns (market access, export competition, domestic support) and non-trade concerns (the protection of the environment, the sustained vitality of rural communities, food safety and other consumer concerns including animal welfare, which reflect important societal goals" (WTO, 2002c:29). It also makes explicit reference to the multifunctional character of agriculture, as a point endorsed at Doha (p.42).

The 2004 report repeats the same commitments to multilateralism and to free trade and adds information on the process of trade policy in the EU. It informs about the weekly meetings of the Article 133 committee joined as of April 2003 by the new ten member states and qualifies again the need for integrating sustainable development objectives through what is now called the "Cardiff process" (WTO, 2004e:23–31). The 2004 report also mentions trade statistics which are used recurrently in other fora, namely that the EC is the largest importer of farm products from developing countries, amounting to the level of imports of the USA, Canada, Australia, Japan and New Zealand taken together. It also adds that the "The EC alone absorbs around 85% of Africa's agricultural exports" (ibid, p..). It also expresses its regrets for the refusal of some trading partners to engage in rule-making of geographical indications, considered as the EC approach "to complement further market opening with stronger rules and disciplines".

It is interesting to note that in all its reports, the EU states that trade policies are formulated in a very transparent way through "a campaign of awareness, information and exchange of views with all actors of the civil society" in 2000 and in 2002 through "open dialogue with stakeholders, *inter alia* by organising regular meetings sessions with representatives of interest groups and civil society, including representatives from industry, the social partners and the NGO community". In 2004 it refers to "policy dialogue and consultation with social partners and representatives of broader civil society". Farmers are not singled out; the EC goes further in recommending that WTO and trade could benefit "from frequent and structured dialogue with parliaments and civil society". (WTO, 2004e).

The reports by the WTO Secretariat are very detailed accounts of the trade regime (namely the institutional framework, policy formulation and implementation, trade policy objectives, trade regulations and business environment, trade agreements and arrangements), the trade policies and practices by measures and by sector. They are quite substantive and lengthy (150 pages on average) (WTO, 2004f; 2002g; 2000f).

c) Newsletter and Briefs: Monitoring Agri-Trade Policy Newsletter (MAP) "is a quarterly publication which provides in-depth analyses on relevant agricultural trade and agri-trade policy issues. It is interesting to note the disclaimer at the bottom of the page that the Newsletter "does not necessarily represent the official views of the European Commission". For the projections of a number of commodities reviewed in the MAP 03–05 in December 2005, it uses data published jointly by the OECD and FAO, as well as the World Markets Outlook of the Food and Agricultural Policy Research Institute (FAPRI), with main units at the University of Missouri-Columbia and Iowa State University "which provides analysis and economic forecast to the US Congress". (EC-Agriculture, 2005b). The MAP Briefs "provide on-the-spot-commentary on specific agri-trade issues as they arise".

d) The Trade Directorate has on the web documents and PPT that explain EC position in the trade negotiations. It is interesting to note that multifunctionality of agriculture appeared as an explicit approach of the EC trade policy in 2000; it was

defined as part of the non-trade concerns and as encompassing "food safety and quality, policies to protect the environment and animal welfare' (EC-Trade, 2000). In 2005, a PPT presentation with very detailed explanation on the objectives and the institutional set up for trade policy mentions that the basic features of EU trade policy with added parenthesis to specify the reference to multilateral (EC-Trade, 2005b). The objectives are stated as "promoting market access with rules in the context of effective global governance... including the promotion of EU values...". These are listed as: "environmental concerns; food safety; cultural diversity... and how to promote core labour standards?" (EC-Trade, 2005c).

e) The Guidelines on rural development include an annex on the European model of agriculture which is stated as reflecting "...the multifunctional role farming plays in the richness and diversity of landscapes, food products and cultural and natural heritage" (EC, 2005e). What is interesting in these guidelines is the blurred boundary between agriculture and rural development. They clearly state that rural development policy focuses on three main areas: the agrifood economy, the environment and the broader rural economy and population. It also revolves around four axes: a competitiveness axis for agriculture, food and forestry, a land management-environment axis, a quality of life/diversification axis in rural areas and innovative governance axis with locally-based bottom up approaches to rural development. The competitiveness axis is explained as the potential of "Europe's agriculture, forestry and its agrifood sector ...to further develop high quality and value added products that meet the diverse and growing demand of Europe's consumers and world markets".

f) The EC also produces 'Green and White Papers'. Green Papers are "intended to stimulate debate and launch a process of consultation at European Level on a particular topic (such as social policy, the single currency, telecommunications)" (Europa, 2005c). White Papers then follow with actions for implementation. The Green Papers reviewed for the period 2000–2005 show that out of 35 Green Papers produced only two deal with trade explicitly in their title (in 2003: On the future of rules of origin in preferential trade arrangements and in 2001 On the future of the Common Fisheries Policy).

g) In addition, we found the Online Reflections Papers of the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES, 2005) focused on the broad theme of 'the future of Europe'. The aim of the series is to provide a means through which reflections may be published on issues concerning the 'Future of Europe' debate launched at Nice in December 2001 and which has resulted in agreement on a Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe in June 2004. The papers listed are of a political nature and have no reference to agriculture.

h) Anonymous documents on the Trade Directorate web page. An undated technical document (EC, undated (a)) questions the paradigm of trade liberalisation. It explains that the common commercial policy was devised on the understanding of trade "in the classical sense of cross-border movement of merchandise goods and agricultural products". It draws the attention to the fact that such view of trade is no longer applicable in nowadays globalised economy characterised by "cross-border movement of services, capital, technology, information, investment and persons". It recommends strengthening the authority of the Commission to deal with globalisation and trade policy. It equates the WTO law with the EU law, both "... based on the principles of free trade and both share the common aims of progressive liberalisation through removal of barriers, elimination of all forms of discrimination and the abolition of unfair trade practices". It also adds that both systems of law "allow for general exceptions from free trade for the higher ethical goals of protecting life and life-supporting ecological systems". It informs and appears to endorse the fact that "A broad band of public opinion is opposed to the narrow economic focus of global rules...". It highlights the problems of legitimacy and recommends the institutionalisation of the dialogue between civil society and the Commission. Judging from the references the document dates to 2003 or later.

Another undated document (EC, undated(b)) deals with the importance of agricultural trade, the Uruguay Round pressure for reform and the 'European farm model' also called multifunctionality, consisting of food safety, environment care, animal welfare and rural development

Popular Forum

According to a collection and analysis of materials gathered in 2005, the EC employs a variety of communication modalities for the general public; its web pages are the most prominent channel of communication which embeds texts, glossaries and other forms, such as brochures, leaflets, booklets, maps, audiovisuals, posters and postcards. They also enable interaction between the EC and the general public through Internet consultations[66], live Internet chats (EC, 2001b), e-mail digests, information networks, the "Interactive Policy Making Initiative" and easy e-mail access to information services. Surveys are also often used by the EC. In addition, the European Commission holds hearings (EC, 2004a).

The EC web pages in 2005 have a large number of communications for the general public. There is a web page called Europa with an 'Easy Reading Corner' which contains information on what the EU is and what it does. It has booklets, maps, posters and postcards and a section for young people. A review of the posters indicates that they are meant to convey the political project of Europe (flags, staff of the commission, map to explain the enlargement). There is also one poster on 9 May indicated as Europe Day. In addition it offers information on: Panorama of the European Union; Europe in 12 lessons; key facts and figures; How the European Union works; Travelling in Europe; Europe on the move. In the latter there is a booklet on 'Making globalisation work for everyone'. The European Union and the world trade dated 2003, which has no reference to agriculture. The same site provides access to the documents of the Commission, European Parliament or Council (Europa, 2005a).

The site of the Trade Directorate web page entitled 'What we do' lists the trade issues, giving information on the twelve industrial sectors and the two sectors related to agriculture and fisheries (EC-Trade, 2005c). The Trade web page, similarly to the Agricultural Directorate web page, has a glossary. This site has a 'Beginners' Guide to Trade' where it states that "whatever your age is, trade policy concerns you" and offers

[66] For example the internet consultation about the future of organic farming (EC, 2003a).

materials for 13–15 years old, 16–17 years and 18 years and above. For the 18 years old and above, it has a two-page leaflet entitled "The EU's place in the global market. Shaping a more prosperous and equitable world". This explains the markets' proper functioning as meaning "... that consumers can obtain the goods and services they need at the most affordable prices. It also means that producers and workers can charge a fair price for their products and labour". The same Trade web pages provide a link on "Trading on values" where it states that "The EU believes that price is not the only value in trade and it has been working hard to conduct its business with heart and soul. It has achieved this by continuously integrating its citizens' values into its trade policy. This means that European trade policy is geared towards social solidarity, providing a social safety net to those who need. It also seeks to reduce the environmental impact of trade through such measures as reducing emissions, developing environmentally friendly technologies, using renewable energy sources and more. It also makes efforts to achieve sustainable development both for Europe and the rest of the world. One way it does this is by employing trade as a tool in aid policy".

A link on Agricultural Policy and Trade in the Trade web page, prepared in 2004, discusses the motive of 'opening of trade for agricultural products' presented as a contribution to 'sustained and continued economic growth' for all countries'. At the same time, it states that "...progress in trade must not damage the wide role of agriculture and legitimate consumer concerns. Citizens are worried by the impact of globalisation on environment, health, social standards and cultural diversity". These are referred to as 'non-trade concerns'. A link is made to the CAP as evolving from the need to maintain and increase food production to broader issues, such as: environment, landscape preservation, viability of rural economies and their cultural heritage, food quality and animal health and welfare standards (EC-Trade, 2004b).

The CAP is also explained through a brochure which can be downloaded from the web. Agriculture is defined as involving "much more than the production of crops and animals for food consumption. The complexity of their profession requires farmers to play many roles. For most farmers it's a way of life too" (EC, 2005a:4). The Agriculture Directorate web page has also information on From Farm to Fork on Food Safety. Later

on it is also affirmed that "The EU has a particular model of agriculture that responds to the requirements of civil society – in terms of their expectations on food production, food safety, environmental standards and conservation of the rural environment, relations with the developing world (agricultural trade) and value for money for their taxes. The CAP is the vehicle that delivers this" (ibid.:33).

Neither glossaries in the Agriculture or the Trade directorates report on multifunctionality or non-trade concerns; there is an item, however, on food safety. Similarly to WTO, general public can subscribe to an e-mail digest on agriculture which was launched in 2002 (EC, 2002b). This provides a quick and simple language overview of developments. In the general Europa web page for the public, there is a 'Gateway to Europe' where, under services, there is 'Interactive Policy Making'; this provides a link with 'Your Voice in Europe'. This is described as "The European Commission's single access point to a wide variety of consultations, discussions and other tools which enable you to play an active role in the European policy –making process..." (EC, 2003a). It is described as "...part of the Commission's Minimum Standards on Consultation, it aims at improving European governance and introducing Better Regulation".

There is also an information network 'Europedirect' which aims at being an 'interface between the Commission and the local level'. The information network relays: 3 national information centres in Paris, Lisbon and Rome; students who can access more than 600 European Documentation Centres at universities and research institutes; a network of independent conference speakers specialized in European affairs (EC, 2005g).

The EC also holds consultations through Internet. For example, in 2003 it launched a consultation about the future of organic farming (EC, 2003s). Frequent references are found to surveys and opinion polls. For example in the Agriculture Directorate General web pages reference is made to recent surveys showing that "...European citizens appreciate the benefits of changes on the ways the CAP supports farmers and rural areas. 66% of EU citizens consider the adjustment of the CAP from a system based on

production-linked subsidies to one which funds the protection and development of the overall rural economy (as well as providing direct support to farmers) as a good thing". (EC-Agriculture, 2005b). In another report about a Commission poll[67] on citizens' views on the CAP, it states that for the citizens "the priority of the CAP should be to ensure that agricultural products are healthy and safe, promote the respect of the environment, protect medium or small sized farms and help farmers to adapt their production to consumer expectations" (EC-Agriculture, 2005c). Finally, the EC funds information campaigns to improve the competitiveness of EU quality products on markets outside the EU (EC, 2003a and 2004a).

Moralising Forum

There is little explicitly aimed at inducing moral responses in this Forum with respect to food and agriculture issues. No specific reference to food and agriculture is in the two celebratory events promoted by the EU, such as the Europe Day on 9 March and the European Consumer Day on 15 March. The latter had the theme of food safety in 2001 (EC, 2001a).

The EC organized a Sustainable Trade Day in Cancun (EC, 2003c) which was not replicated in other WTO Ministerial Meetings. It focused on sustainable development. Its stated aim was to "enhance mutual understanding and to identify new ideas and policies to enrich the contribution trade policy makes to sustainable development...". Ways were indicated as the use of market measures, the development of public/private partnerships and the sustainability impact assessments. (EC, 2003c). There was no specific reference to agriculture.

However, it can be noted that with the gradual abandonment of the term 'non-trade concerns', appeal is made in many instances to European "values" in relation to agriculture. On the Trade Directorate web page there is reference to the multilateral

[67] The EC subcontracts opinion surveys (EORG, 2002).

trade policy "...mostly implemented in the framework of the WTO with the aim of promoting market access with rules in the context of effective global governance... including the promotion of EU values, namely environmental concerns, food safety; cultural diversity; and how to promote core labour standards" (EC-Trade, 2005b).

8.2 Summary of Findings

Organisational Forum

This forum, under the aegis of the European Commission, offers three parallel set of discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation: the discourses related to the CAP, those wishing to "safeguard the European Model of Agriculture" in the domain of the Agriculture Directorate, and those on trade liberalisation between the EU and the rest of the world, under the purview of the Trade Directorate.

The Commission is meant to act as single actor on trade and WTO matters following the European Community Treaty principles, thereby contributing to "harmonious" world trade. This is not without problems; according to Christiansen and Gray (2004), the Commission has come to resemble a "proto-government within a federal Europe" due to its many functions (legislative, administrator and policy implementer) in an ever-increasing number of areas. Despite the reform process (EC, 2000b), the role of the Commission persists in not being totally clarified with unclear definition of competences between member states and the Commission and related problems of politicisation of issues. For example, the Commission has been excluded from the bilateral contacts between member states which are taking place in addition to the contacts in the context of the European Council. The Commission as a single actor is disputed by many scholars who demonstrate that it is not a "purposive, single-minded institution" but that rather it is highly fragmented (Peterson and Bomberg, 1999) with an influential role played by the Commissioners (Smith, 2003).

Other scholars argue that de facto the EC is an intergovernmental organisation because nation states continue to have the power to influence policies and use the EC as a shield to resist domestic pressures (Milward, 1992 and Moravcsik, 1994 referenced in Peterson and Bomberg, 1999). For example, for the CAP, according to Bureau (2002:14), the countries have played a role in its being more or less open to liberalisation, following the respective assessments of costs and benefits. Countries that have contributed more to the funding of the CAP, such as the Netherlands, Germany and the UK supported liberalisation while countries benefiting more supported more protectionist policies, such as France. However, the relative specialization of each country has further complicated their positionings. For example Italy supported protectionist policies for those sectors where it would benefit from subsidies, such as olive oil and tomatoes; the Netherlands for the animal sector, while favouring liberalisation for grains and oilseeds, inputs for their animal sector. Overall with respect to the CAP, according to Eve Fouilleux, the Commission' ends up with a "...rather schizophrenic position: leading a double CAP discourse, in the WTO defending conservative positions, in the CAP pushing for reforms" towards liberalisation" (Fouilleux, 2003b). Yet, with respect to the Uruguay Round negotiations, it is believed that the EC as an organisation was able to push the EU towards less protectionist policies than the individual member states. According to Sutherland (1995:9) "...Had the member states negotiated individually I cannot believe that in fact global consensus would ever have been achieved".

Overall, there appears to be consensus that the process of decision-making is not so clear-cut as described in the official texts. An undated document of the EC (EC, undated[68]) states that the "Community competence is becoming more fragmented. As the community becomes party to an increasing number of international agreements, the question of competence becomes more muddled". Decision-making in the EU is referred to as being both "open and very opaque" due to the absence of well-defined decision-making powers between the European Council, the Parliament and the Commission (Muller, 2003). The EC, rather than counting on its staff, avails itself of a large range of expertise from the outside. Such experts come to constitute informal and

[68] The references are up to 2003.

rather closed networks assuming over time an elitist character. In addition, there are interest groups, 700 of which were considered truly transnational, the rest being national or subnational in orientation (estimated at 2,200 in the late nineties) (Wessels, 1997b:17 referenced in Peterson and Bomberg, 1999:26).

On the Political Arena

The political arena has an overall coherence in portraying agriculture and trade liberalisation. It is well epitomized by the Treaty (EC, 2002a) which supports free trade and at the same time it makes the point that agriculture is "a sector closely linked with the economy as a whole". This is the thread which is then articulated throughout the evidence gathered, fairly consistently. It is in tune with the technical forum, guided by the economics orthodoxy on trade, but also drawing on the same economics discipline for not adhering completely to the orthodoxy, with the notion of public goods, market failures and missing markets associated with agriculture.

The political arena uses the notion of non-trade concerns up to 2003 to characterize agriculture disappearing thereafter from political parlance. Some of the numerous enumerated non-trade concerns become part of rural development which is considered as inclusive of environmental programmes, food quality and safety, organic farming and animal welfare. Rural development becomes thus a container of characteristics defined as non-trade concerns and is described as 'no longer geared solely to agriculture'. The non-trade concerns denote a culturally and territorially grounded production (cultural diversity, socio-economic viability, traditional landscapes, protecting the rural way of life).

The concept (and related adjective) of multifunctionality are sparsely used while consistent use is made of the term sustainable development. The claims made on what agriculture should be are attributed to "consumers", "civil society" or "people". Farmers are viewed as providers of the public goods related to agriculture and as in need to regain their entrepreneurial functions; there is no iconic positive image of the farmers or

farmer families. They are conspicuously absent in one speech where it is stated that the farming agenda should be set up by "society".

Many of the speeches and press releases have as imaginary interlocutor the United States, which allows to single out and differentiate European agriculture from the rest of the world, the latter being tacitly understood as the United States.

On the Technical Forum

As for the political forum, the Treaty with its goal of contributing "...to the harmonious development of world trade" sets the pace for the technical forum, with its numerous and diverse communicative activities. The technical forum is constituted by the Treaty and reports; there is a dearth of analytical or outlook studies, of the kinds promoted on multifunctionality by OECD or by FAO on world agriculture. This reflects a situation which has at its roots the lack of analytic and forward looking studies at the EU, until the mid-1990s when the EU hired Alan Buckwell, agricultural economics professor was a DGVI staff during a sabbatical year in the mid 1990s (Fouilleux, 2003b). The technical forum thus presents positions and statements in a distilled form. However, it does present a consistent double position: the first stated as a clear commitment to multilateral trade negotiations and to trade liberalisation. The second position relates to multifunctionality, expressed as a deliberate trade policy approach in 2000, to non-trade concerns used often as the balancing argument to free trade, up to 2003; subsequently, such non-trade concerns become subsumed under the term 'values'. Overall, therefore, the technical forum presents a coherent discourse, with the CAP being dealt with in the two camps, as an uneasy reconciliation of its productivist approach with international trade reduction commitments. However, there is nothing in the technical forum with respect to the structural changes in agriculture and to changes in diets at global level.

It is interesting to note the absence of links with the large amount of work funded by the Commission to epistemic communities e.g. on multifunctionality (Cairol et al., 2002) or other information work also promoted by the Commission to enable the general public

understanding of research results with an economics underpinning (Davos, 2002) or the results of research projects such as the research Project FAIR5-CT97-3481 entitled "Co-ordinated studies in view of the future round of multilateral trade negotiation in agriculture and food sector" from 1999 to 2002[69]. (Fouilleux, 2003).

On the Popular and Moralising Fora

The popular forum is generally consonant with the messages of the technical forum, although it is the environment and not agriculture that features more prominently; as for the technical forum, there are plenty of communicative conduits between the EC and the public. This strong communicative emphasis is due, according to Schmidt and Radaelli (2004), to the Commission seeking to increase its legitimacy, after the criticisms in the early 1990s for its "perceived democratic deficit".

The moralising forum of the EC is rather weak. The characteristics of agriculture, originally referred to as non-trade concerns, become values in documents prepared in 2005. These refer to environment, food safety, cultural diversity and core labour standards. There is a slight attempt to reject economicism "...price is not the only value in trade." (EC-Trade, 2005a). The emphasis on sustainability of the other fora, would seem to confirm that it is environmentalism that continues to serve as conduit of 'natural morality', as originally identified by Lowe and Ward (1997). Overall, it appears that this forum is left elsewhere to the national level, such as exemplified by the Dutch Minister of Agriculture statement to have WTO also deal with "...other moral controversies besides those which have to do with harmfulness of products" (Apotheker, 2000). Another example is the letter sent by seven ministers of agriculture to the Financial Times in relation to the CAP which refers to the "fruits of love of the land..." and to the pride Europe should have about its "rural civilization" (Agriculture Ministers, 2002).

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[69] This was coordinated by the Economic and Social Department of the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, Rennes, France, involving various scientific teams (German, British, Dutch, Italian and other French ones).

8.3 Conclusions

The fora and arena of the EC point to paradigmatic shifts occurring in the concepts of food and agriculture. These are behind the discourses on multifunctionality elaborated following the analytical work of OECD and seeking to rally other countries' support with the group of 'Friends of Multifunctionality' in 1999 and 2000. They are also behind the formulation of the 'European Model of Agriculture', encompassing characteristics which become labelled by the EC as non-trade concerns up to 2003. These include a varying bundle of attributes in the political forum including food safety, environmental protection, rural development, food security, cultural diversity, socio-economic viability, animal welfare, traditional landscapes, biodiversity and protecting the rural way of life. The EC technical forum borrows from the OECD the notion of public goods associated with agriculture, identified as environment and sustained vitality of rural areas; agriculture, or more precisely "European agriculture" is characterised as provider of public goods, as multifunctional, as culturally and territorially grounded agriculture. The non-trade concerns become 'values' to be preserved in international trade through the moralising forum.

The EC consistently appears to report its commitment to multilateral trade negotiations and to trade liberalisation while at the same time expressing the need for a balance between trade concerns and non-trade concerns. Its stance on trade liberalisation is due to the Commission acting as a single actor vis-à-vis WTO; its positions on non-trade concerns and related protectionist policies are left to the national governments and to the communicative activities of the EC political and popular forum. These are the fora that express the nuances with respect to multifunctionality, to sustainability to food safety and more generally to the inability of the market to meet the demands of what the EC refers to as 'society', 'civil society', 'consumers' or 'people'. The political forum questions the principle of comparative advantage. The non-trade concerns expressed by the EC represent a major important repository of views on agriculture that it is difficult to think of them as residual; they are rather the more substantive part of the conceptualisations rendering the production aspects of the Agreement on Agriculture almost as secondary.

The technical forum does not elaborate these positions and appears to rely on the work of the OECD and on a diffuse networking with policy communities and epistemic communities. It is diffuse networking that according to Muller (2003:104) makes the EC "...a public space around the formulation of public policies". The popular forum of the EC feeds such public space with many communicative activities directed to the general public. It is in the popular forum that slippages on the web can be found with unauthored documents pointing to the globalisation of trade flows – hence the questioning of the comparative advantage policy paradigm – and to the unclear competencies of the Commission with respect to member states.

With the EC, as a public policy space, we see the prevalence of the supranational level at political level with a coherent double discourse supporting both trade liberalisation and a balance between trade and non-trade concerns. We also see that EC supports WTO and its functioning; supports FAO in its developmental function only (not in its regulatory functions) and is attentive to civil society stances to the extent that it proposes an accreditation system in WTO. Its political stances reflect the opposition to the US (the tacit interlocutor of many speeches) with the resulting effect of the EU presenting itself as a counter hegemonic power to the US.

CHAPTER 9

TRANSNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Since the 1990s the burgeoning of civil society organisations in international fora has brought in new streams of discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation. Concomitantly with their growth at national and international level, civil society organisations have been coalescing into fluid social movements and networks. As such they elaborate their own perspectives trying to turn them into discourses acceptable to states and intergovernmental organisations and they participate in the governing structures and processes of these organisations. Thus, they become embedded in their work either directly, or as a silent interlocutor these organisations have to consider.

This chapter will provide an overview of the context which has seen the increasing participation of civil society organisations in international debate and events and will then focus on those transnational civil society organisations interacting in particular with FAO and WTO. The reasons for this choice are grounded in the evidence found about the presence of civil society organisations in FAO's discourses and their absence in WTO as well as in a practical consideration related to my participation in the evaluation of FAO's partnerships in 2004 (FAO, 2005a); through this evaluation, I came to know the leaders and members of many of these organisations.

9.1 The Growth of Civil Society Organisations in Deliberative Fora

The term civil society has gradually become accepted in international fora, encompassing the broad variety of non-governmental actors who have become active participants in summits, conferences and in the advisory and policy making bodies of intergovernmental organisations. The increase of such participation has its origins since the creation of the United Nations in 1945 and has been developing since then. Article 71 of the UN Charter gave the possibility of granting formal consultative status to

international NGOs because of their expertise and international standing. According to Tony Hill (2004) of UNGLS [70] 'the relations between the UN and NGOs ...were more of a formal and ceremonial nature rather than of a political nature'. Nevertheless, they brought in new ideas but above all were instrumental in establishing the right of non-governmental actors to participate in the UN deliberations.

This uncontroversial situation lasted until the late 1980s. After such date, with a series of international conferences initiated by the UN and the growth of non-governmental organisations, both international and national, the presence of non-governmental actors in the deliberations of these conferences became more active, vocal and politically influential, as shown Tables 4.3 and 4.4. This meant a re-examination of their relationships with the UN and the UN policies on how to work with these new actors. Civil society organisations have been involved in the negotiation of Conventions, Treaties and voluntary Codes of Conduct (e.g. Biodiversity, Climate Change, Desertification, International Waters, Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, the Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources, Codes of Conduct on Responsible Fisheries and on Forest Harvesting). The Rio Conference of 1992 is usually considered as the 'watershed' in the relations between the UN and civil society because of their great number and of the dialogue procedures promoted since then. In these same years, all UN agencies intensified their operational work with non-governmental organisations to which accrued resources were provided by donors (estimated at $11–12 billion annually for international development and relief) (World Bank, 2004:17).

In 1993, a working group was set up by ECOSOC to review relations with NGOs which resulted in 1996 in the adoption of Resolution 1996/31 on 'Consultative relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organisations'. This consisted in updating the Council resolution 1296 (XLIV) of 1968 giving national NGOs the possibility of qualifying for UN consultative status. Hence, the new system confirmed the position of international NGOs by giving them 'general' consultative status; national

[70] The United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service assists NGOs in dealing with UN agencies; it has one office in Geneva and one in New York and is funded by several of the UN agencies.

NGOs achieved the right to 'special' consultative status; a third category of NGOs was put on the 'roster' of NGOs that might occasionally make contributions even though they did not have access to the work of ECOSOC. For all three categories, principles on consultation with the Council were outlined, including attendance at meetings, submission of written statements, oral presentations, undertaking special studies, participating in international conferences convened by the United Nations and suspension and withdrawal of consultative status.

This contributed to a large number of NGOs requesting consultative status, from 744 in 1992 to 2,350 in 2003 (Hill, 2004) causing an almost unmanageable backlog of applications by the ECOSOC's Committee on NGOs. The variety of organisations included business, trade, professional or industry related associations (as of August 2001, 200 out of the 2.088 NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC) (United Nations, 2002b) as well as very conservative NGOs. These, according to Tony Hill (2004) "...seek to roll-back or curtail UN agreements in areas such as women's reproductive rights, firearms control, and pre-emptive military action.... even advocate the virtual abolition of the UN in some cases". Overall, the larger numbers of civil society organisations' participation in meetings implies increased number of staff to deal with them, more meeting spaces, devising procedures for communication and interaction, their slowing down the running of meetings with interventions sometimes of a disruptive nature to the irritation of government representatives.

The complexity and the massive numbers of such organisations cause concern among the international NGOs and present management problems to intergovernmental organisations. The international NGOs wrote a letter to the UN Secretary General expressing their "Concern that the term civil society and its inclusiveness may undermine the importance of NGOs to which article 71 of the UN Charter gives a special and unique recognition" (CONGO, 2004). Intergovernmental organisations define, redefine and classify such organisations in the attempt to cope with their increasing number and to manage their involvement through accreditation procedures in the international conferences, summits and in their governing bodies as well as advisory and policy committees.

For FAO, for example, civil society is defined in a policy document as "rural and urban people's organisations (farmers' associations, cooperatives, women's groups, credit unions, consumers' organisations, etc.); southern national and regional development NGOs; northern development NGOs; humanitarian NGOs; advocacy NGOs; international NGOs and NGO networks; professional associations and academic/research institutions; agricultural trade unions and private sector associations"(FAO, 1999f:5). In the same document, there is the implicit idea of the costs involved in dealing with such a variety of organisations; the document states that "due to its limited resources, the Organisation will focus on priority partners, such as farmers and consumers, and technically competent intermediary NGOs that are able to commit to ongoing cooperation with FAO". A more recent evaluation document notes the increased importance in FAO's work, since 1999, of human rights organisations, consumers' associations and non-profit media organisations (FAO, 2005b).

All intergovernmental organisations recognize that the definitions are 'working definitions' not meant to determine who is 'in' and who is 'out' (World Bank, 2004) but corresponding more to their own organisational needs to establish who deals with whom given the nature of the organisations, namely the goals they pursue. A common feature is that of keeping separate the profit from the non-profit sector. All these quandaries on defining, classifying and naming civil society organisations are not found with WTO which does not differentiate among non-state actors; de facto, these are considered as recipients of information briefing and as attendees of press conferences and global symposia. Differentiation is only in the types of products and information delivered to various organisations, those concerned with food and agriculture having no special status, of course, given the multisectoral mandate of WTO.

9.2 Escaping Classifications by Dissolving into Social Movements and Networks

While intergovernmental agencies struggle with the categorization of organisations and the establishment of rules for their accreditation and participation in meetings and events, responding to internal and external calls for greater accountability, the

organisations in the 1990s evolve and coalesce towards new forms of aggregation and self-organisation through transnational social movements, networks, global policy networks and think tanks. By way of response, some networks are created by the UN agencies themselves. At the same time, in developing countries, there is the phenomenon of Government-Organized Non-Governmental Organisations (GONGOs) in view of donors' proclivity to fund NGOs; in these countries, the growth of civil society organisations is rather induced by donors and the international community and not due to an endogenous process.

Transnational social movements and networks begin to make their voices heard on food and agriculture issues. Transnational social movements can be characterised by 'groups with adherents in more than one country committed to sustained action' (Balsiger, 2004b). They are autonomous forms of self-organisation, fluid and often of a temporary nature, and escape, deliberately and *de facto*, the categorization put on them by the international organisations. On food and agriculture, the most recent example of a transnational social movement is the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC), a network of networks grouping about 50 organisations of smallholder farmers, pastoralists, fisherfolk, women, youth, indigenous people, agricultural workers and NGOs. The IPC excludes private sector associations and includes a broad variety of organisations: networks of peasant farmers in the developing world like the Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs agricoles de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (ROPPA) and the Kenyan National Farmers' Union, farmers' networks and federations like Via Campesina and the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, representing small-scale, family farming and larger scale commercial farmers, respectively; trade unions; youth organisations; NGOs working on sustainable agriculture and food security. The complete list is in Annex 13. Through a flexible and decentralised structure, the IPC reaches thousands of members. The affiliation to IPC is loose as organisations can also interact directly with international organisations; its merit, in the view of the coordinator, is that it allows to speak with one voice and it allows social movements which are not members of ECOSOC to interact on the questions of food and agriculture (interview Onorati, 30 November 2004).

The IPC has a very small liaison office in Rome, acting as the international secretariat of the network and six focal points covering all regions (for example, the Asian focal point reaches 115 organisations). In addition the IPC has focal points for major constituency groups; these are farmers, indigenous peoples, sustainable agriculture/food security NGOs, trade unions, ad hoc Group of International Rome-based INGOs and youth. It also has experts in its priority areas of work, namely right to food, food sovereignty and trade, agro-ecology production and access to mechanisms to enable ongoing dialogue on land management and access as well as on criteria and indicators for best practices.

Another form of aggregation initiated by the United Nations at the Commission on Sustainable Development to support the implementation of Agenda for the Twenty-first Century (Agenda 21)[71] are the Major Groups; these comprise women, children and youth, indigenous people, NGOs, local authorities, workers and trade unions, farmers, business and industry, and the scientific and technology community. These categories group organisations which concurrently may have other affiliations; for example, a few organisations belonging to the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty are also members of the Major Groups. The Major Group members themselves may belong concurrently to various groups and therefore have multiple affiliations; a woman may adhere to the women's Major Group but be also active among farmers and youth.

Civil society organisations are invited to be part of UN initiated networks. As an outcome of the World Food Summit, FAO initiated in 1997 in collaboration with IFAD and WFP a network on rural development and food security which it defined as "a global partnership approach towards tackling rural development challenges at the country level". This network comprises 20 UN organisations and is considered as an inter-agency mechanism for follow up to the World Food Summit and the World Food Summit: five years later (UN, 2004a). It consists of thematic groups, organized at country level on rural development and food security issues, composed of governments,

[71] Agenda 21 is the global action plan for sustainable development agreed at the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

civil society organisations, donors and private sector representatives. By the end of 2002, 80 thematic groups had been established in the world. The evaluation of the network conducted in 2004 recommended that "The network should integrate the 'new paradigm of global society (...) that is based on networking in pursuit of common interests and on the emergence of non-hierarchical, multilateral and multistakeholder approaches' highlighted by the Secretary General's last ICT Task Force report to ECOSOC" (UNSNRDFS, 2004b).

Similarly to NGOs, private sector companies group themselves into associations and federations, call themselves networks and as such interact with intergovernmental organisations. Examples are the International AgriFood Network (Sukalac, 1999: IFA, 2003) which was formed at the time of the 1996 World Food Summit and which facilitates informal liaison among the professional organisations in the agri-food chain at global level, as well as communications with NGOs; CropLife International "a global network which represents the plant science industry" (CropLife International 2004); the Sustainable Agriculture Initiative (SAI) Platform "...created by the food industry to actively support the development of and to communicate worldwide about sustainable agriculture involving different stakeholders" (SAI, 2001).

9.3 Fora and Arena

Organisational Forum

The organisational forum for civil society organisations will focus on their forms of aggregation and their interactive practices with international organisations which influence the way the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation is constructed and negotiated. The most prominent and significant feature is their networking and the new modalities of interaction that evoke equality in relations and that become institutionalised, such as partnerships and multistakeholder dialogues.

As reviewed earlier, also in food and agriculture issues there is increasing coalescing of organisations into networks. These are initiated by civil society organisations such as the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty, started in 2001 or are induced by the UN like the Major Groups initiated in 2002 at the World Summit on Sustainable Development and the United Nations System Network on Rural Development and Food Security, initiated by FAO in 1997, with the other Rome-based agencies dealing with agriculture, IFAD and WFP (UNSNRDFS, 2004b). More generally, civil society organisations also establish themselves as global observatories and guardians of the relations with multilateral institutions (FIM, 2003) or as facilitators of the relations with the UN, such as the Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations in Consultative Status with the United Nations (CONGO).

In addition, also in food and agriculture, there is a diffusion of multiactor coalitions and alliances as well as the formation of hybrid organisations; these pursue their own agenda and include trade, even though not always very visibly. For example, a campaign such as the *More and Better Campaign*, intended to foster increased investments in agriculture, gathers together civil society organisations, governments and international agencies. Civil society organisations are represented by organisations dealing with large farmers such as IFAP (International Federation of Agricultural Producers), with small farmers such as Via Campesina and ROPPA, and others such as Action Aid International, Green Movement of Sri Lanka, ...etc; FAO, WFP, IFAD participate as well as the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (More and Better Campaign, 2005). The CGIAR[72] itself is a global programme with 24 developing countries' governments, 22 industrialized countries, 12 international/regional organisations and 4 foundations, funded by many donors. IUCN (the World Conservation Union) is composed of 62 states, 114 government agencies and 436 NGOs. The International Agri-Food Network comprises different size companies, with some of them being federations of national and regional associations and including both private and public sector interests in their membership (Sukalac, 1999).

[72] The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research

New terms develop to encompass the heterogeneity of these new aggregative formations, their unstable affiliations and identities and their fluidity. Words such as 'constituencies', 'partnerships', stakeholders' become recurrent in the vocabulary of international agencies to characterise civil society organisations but also more significantly to imply new ways of dealing with them. *Constituency* is the term used throughout the Cardoso report presented as "....opening up of the UN to a plurality of constituencies and actors not as a threat to governments, but as a powerful way to reinvigorate the intergovernmental process itself" (UNGA, 2004:3). The Committee of the Executive Board of the UN Agencies (CEB) in commenting Cardoso's report goes as far as to say that multilateralism should be reinterpreted to mean multi-constituencies and characterizes as "old way" how governments come together in an intergovernmental framework to decide by reaching sufficient consensus (CEB, 2004). It goes on to recommend that "The UN should use its moral authority and convening power more strategically to create multiconstituency forums and processes... use sparingly global conferences and... instituting public hearings".

Partnership is also a term which becomes widely used acquiring different meanings. From its original formulation in the management literature (Merrill-Sands and Sheridan, 1996) as a management tool for more cost-effectiveness and efficiency and as an instrument to access private capital and expertise, partnerships become semi-autonomous organisations. They become the tangible manifestation of a network and imply the expansion of decision-making to include other actors, in addition to government. Partnerships become associated with the notion of decision-making over the production of public goods. Bezanson et al. (2004:39) report the OECD-DAC definition of partnership as "... an agreement on 'a shared orientation or framework' for the provision of a particular public good or service as well as for any arrangement in which public and private sectors and government and civil society organisations cooperate in some way or other to exchange lessons learnt and best practice, harmonise practice and standards and share information". Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2004) clarify further that the concept of partnership is "embodied in the conception of governance as including not just what governments do but how all sectors of society interact to solve problems and produce public goods".

The UN draws from all this and with a General Assembly Resolution provides its definition of partnerships as "...voluntary and collaborative relationships between various parties, both State and non-State, in which all participants agree to work together to achieve a common purpose or undertake a specific task and to share risks, responsibilities, resources, competencies and benefits" (UN, 2003:10). Partnership building becomes part of the know-how of international agencies and courses on knowledge and structured methodologies to build the competencies required start becoming disseminated (Zadek, 2004 and Malena, 2004). At the same time, as it often happens in the UN, the term becomes overused, it becomes jargon (Zammit, 2003:52; World Vision, 2000) and it broadens to include all sorts of relationships. Nevertheless, concern is expressed by civil society organisations about the possible displacement partnerships imply of intergovernmental commitments, about their use for 'greenwash' or 'bluewash', the lack of clearly stated accountability mechanisms and the possible dispersion of funding possibilities (LaVina et al., 2002).

Similarly to partnerships, also the term stakeholder is borrowed from private sector management[73] and comes to signify new forms of interaction and decision-making. Multistakeholder processes become institutionalised whereby civil society organisations can express their views at par with governments in public meetings (Major Groups, 2003); they are an integral part for the functioning of the global public policy networks (Dubash et al. 2001). Like for partnerships a body of knowledge is formed on multistakeholder processes which can be acquired through training (Hemmati et al., 2002; Hemmati, 2002).

A concrete case of multistakeholder process is given by the IPC interaction with FAO. In 2002 IPC stated that as a network "...it offers to work with FAO to create an informal space for NGO/CSO and social movements that would better the rapport between civil society and the work of all the Rome-based Food, agriculture and agricultural research

[73] It was originally defined by the New York consulting firm Decision Insights (UNEP 2004d) to signify "Anyone experiencing or expecting to experience actual or potential harm and/or benefit as a result of a firm's [government's, organization's, etc.] actions or inaction (adapted from T. Donaldson and L.E. Preston "The stakeholder theory of the corporation", Academy of Management Review, January 1995).

agencies: FAO, IFAD, IPGRI/CGIAR and WFP." (IPC, 2002a). It requested FAO to facilitate the inclusion in its fora of "the constituencies about which policy is being discussed or made" and to give them the same importance granted to governments. IPC emphasizes particularly the small-scale producers and invited FAO to discuss the implications of its work for them and to value their knowledge. It also requested that FAO facilitate raising of funds for the NGO/CSO participation and that the NGO/CSO be given "...three hours of interpreted plenary to debate issues".

The interaction with civil society organisations becomes enshrined in the World Food Summit Plan of Action which envisages specifically that each of the seven commitments would be carried out by "Governments in partnership with all actors of civil society and with support of international institutions..."(FAO, 1996b). This is part of a broader trend which is advocated by the Committee of the Executive Board of the UN Agencies to make the UN "...a 'networking organisation' more outward looking." (CEB, 2004). To this end the Cardoso report recommends the establishment of a "new office for constituency engagement and partnership" (UNGA, 2004). This is followed by UN Agencies and other organisations which establish similar units and devise their strategies for dealing with civil society. For example, FAO has a Resources and Strategic Partnership Unit and has made 'Building Partnerships and Alliances' one of its major strategic axis (FAO, 2005b). UNDP has a Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partnerships (UNDP, 2004); IFAD calls its strategy with the private sector as its "Development and Partnership Strategy" (IFAD, 2004); the CGIAR had a Partnership Committee (Bezanson et al. 2003). UNEP has a Major Groups and Stakeholders Branch (UNEP 2004c). For the private sector, the UN created a Global Compact which defines itself as a network which includes "an expanding set of nested networks" and "...exhibits many of the attributes of inter-organisational networks" (Ruggie, 2002). As against these developments showing the internalisation of civil society in the functioning of these organisations, WTO deals with civil society through its External Relations Division.

Political Arena

The political arena will consider the political statements by the IPC and the Major Groups as these are the most prominent in their dealings at intergovernmental level related to agriculture and sustainable development; it will also consider the statements and papers related to food and agriculture posted on the WTO website.

The political statement of the IPC at the NGO/CSO Forum for Food Sovereignty in 2002 expresses its disappointment with the official declaration of the World Food Summit: five year later because of its support to policies in favour of economic liberalisation. It also proposes again the concept of Food Sovereignty. Food Sovereignty is defined as the "right of peoples, communities, and countries to define their own agricultural, labour, fishing, food and land policies which are ecologically, socially, economically and culturally appropriate to their unique circumstances. It includes the true right to food and to produce food, which means that all people have the right to safe, nutritious and culturally appropriate food and to food-producing resources and the ability to sustain themselves and their societies" (NGO/CSO Forum, 2002:13).

The same statement goes on to explain the requirements for food sovereignty to be realized: giving priority to food production for domestic and local markets, based on peasant and family farmer diversified and agro-ecologically based production systems; ensuring fair prices; access to land, water, forests, fishing areas through redistribution and not through market forces; recognition of women's role, community control over productive resources; protecting seeds with consequent "no patents on life and a moratorium on the genetically modified crops" and, as last requirement, increased public investment.

The statement also makes a plea to remove agriculture from WTO; it calls for a Convention on Food Sovereignty "in order to enshrine the principles of Food Sovereignty in international law" and have food sovereignty as the "principal policy framework for addressing food and agriculture" (NGO/CSO Forum, 2002:13). It ends with rejecting the "one size fits all policies" of the World Bank, WTO, IMF and

propounding the peoples' right "to define their own policies". Topics that had been presented at the time of the 1996 World Food Summit are no longer included in the 2002 statement to the World Food Summit:five years later. These were the request of accountability of transnational corporations, the criticism of patterns of over consumption, of industrialized agriculture, the rejection of considering food as a commodity and the statement that "agriculture fulfils multiple functions, all essential to achieving food security" (FAO, 1996b:5). The 2002 Declaration makes only reference to 'agroecological systems of production" described as "locally-controlled, small-scale agroecological production" (NGO/CSO Forum, 2002:166).

There is an "NGO Room" on the WTO website where position papers by NGOs are listed with only a few of them being directly accessible. The NGOs that post their papers on the WTO web page are those representing the so called 'conformers' "who "...accept the established discourses of trade theory and broadly endorse the existing aims and activities of the WTO" (Scholte et al., 1999) as well as the 'reformers' who are also interested in changing the trade theories and operational practices. A third group of 'radical' NGOs do not dialogue with WTO, as they would like to see WTO abolished, or at least, have agriculture be taken out of WTO.

A review of such papers for the period 2000 to 2005 shows that they are very varied, covering the full spectrum of issues being negotiated. Out of the total 381 reviewed for the period 2000–2005 (July), 57 explicitly mention agriculture (or fisheries), 23 mention sustainable development (including forestry) as detailed in Annexes 14 and 15. Only one NGO, the Transatlantic Environmental Dialogue (TAED) mentions Multifunctionality in the year 2000 in a position paper entitled "World Trade, Food Production and Multifunctionality". The majority of the position papers are in English only and from developed countries' NGOs. The NGOs themselves are most varied. They include farmers associations, industry groups, research institutions, professional and business associations, religious and spiritual groups, trade unions, etc. The religious and spiritual movement NGOs that explicitly mention food or agriculture in the title of

their position papers is only one (APRODEV[74]) and only one mentions sustainable development (Bah'a''I International Community). Some NGOs present position papers repeatedly over the years (e.g. the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Paris, 12 times; the International Institute of Sustainable Development, 8 times; the USA National Foreign Trade Council USA, 4 times; Oxfam, 3; WWF, 2; international chamber of commerce of France, 7).

The list of NGO position papers shows a large variety of organisations, ranging from producer and professional associations to business and industry groups. WTO does not differentiate among them; all organisations can post their papers on the WTO website. As envisaged under Article V:2 of the Marrakesh Agreement establishing the WTO "the General Council may make appropriate arrangements for consultation and cooperation with non-governmental organisations concerned with matters related to those of the WTO". As noted by one senior official, WTO's work is so broad, that it is hard to think of which NGOs would be excluded. While a count based on the title, shows that approximately 14% of the posted position papers deal with agriculture, it can be assumed that agriculture is included in many more, when papers deal with Africa or with subsidies. A small percentage (about 6%) deals with sustainable development, based again from the title only.

The political statements by the religious organisations stress the right to food and the theme of sustainable development (APRODEV, 2004 and Bahái International Community, 2001). Agricultural policies "founded on rights" is also the plea of small-scale farmers' organisations in their Dakar Declaration (Various, 2003) while an organisation representing larger-scale farmers, such as the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP) state their support to the continuation of the 'Green Box"and to direct payments to producers "to meet non-trade concerns"(IFAP, 2002:7). The more variegated group of NGOs question the paradigm of free trade for its impact on the environment and on food security and many make proposals for a more transparent and inclusive WTO (listed in Annex 14 as WWF, 2003; The '92 Group and

[74] Association of World Council of Churches-related Development Organisations in Europe

the Danish North/South Coalition, 2001; UK NGO Trade Network, 2000). The business associations in addition to providing their political statement such as the "Hong Kong Joint Business Declaration: a Call for Substantial Progress Towards Trade Liberalisation"(Various, 2005), also propose discussion papers (Canadian Businesses, 2004; Food and Drink Federation, 2000). Environment is the main topic of research institutions and think tanks (listed in Annex 15 as Unisféra, 2003; International Centre for Trade and sustainable Development (ICTSD) and the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD).

Technical Forum

Under this forum, we will review the work done by the IPC, the Major Groups, industry associations and think tanks to support their political positions.

The IPC has a network in the regions but it also has experts in its priority areas of work, namely right to food and food sovereignty, management and control of natural resources, small-scale family-based agro-ecological food production and trade. The concept of food sovereignty was elaborated by Via Campesina, itself a network of farmers' organisations, at the time of the World Food Summit in 1996. It was later appropriated by the Our World is not for Sale Coalition, a loose coalition of peasant farmer organisations and NGOs which then created the People's Food Sovereignty Network in 2001 (People's Food Sovereignty Network, 2005). The concept became the slogan of the parallel NGO/CSO Forum held at the time of the World Food Summit: five years later in 2002.

IPC elaborated the concept and discussed it with FAO through a 'discussion text'; the intention was to have the concept endorsed technically, and eventually disseminated by. FAO. The text explains the elements that constitute food sovereignty: prioritisation of local production which implies land reform, rejection of GMOs, free access to seeds and safeguarding water as a public good; the right of farmers and consumers to decide what to produce and consume; the right of countries to protect themselves from unfairly low

priced agricultural and food imports; setting agriculture prices linked to production costs, imposing taxes on excessively cheap imports; participation in decision-making on agricultural policy choices by the population; and, finally, recognition of the rights of women farmers. The text includes statements on neoliberal policies favouring international trade but not food for the people, on institutions like IMF, the World Bank and WTO favouring the interests of large transnational companies and superpowers and on WTO being "a completely inadequate institution to deal with food and agriculture-related issues". The text also exhorts to stop the dumping practices of developed countries. It includes fair trade as part of the food sovereignty, states that access to international markets is not a solution for farmers and concludes that "agricultural policies have to support sustainable family farm based agriculture in the North and the South" (IPC, 2002b).

The designated trade expert of the IPC, Steve Suppan, from the Institute of Agricultural Trade Policy (IATP) proposed six policies to be debated for the preparations of the June 2002 World Food Summit:five years later: 1) implementing the Marrakesh Decision on means to alleviate the negative effects of the Agreement on Agriculture for Least Developed Countries and Net Food Importing Developing countries; 2) regional basic commodity reserves; 3) a global food security convention, outside WTO; 4) WTO disciplines to phase out agricultural dumping; 5) policies grouped in an Agreement on Agriculture 'Development Box' and 6) a formalized and annual NGO report to monitor government programmes to realize WFS objectives and implement the WFS Plan of Action (Suppan, 2002). In the area of trade, the IPC has tried to convince FAO to adopt and to work on the notion of food sovereignty – rejecting the idea of trade liberalisation – but it has not succeeded so far at the technical level.

The IPC supports the concept of agro-ecology portrayed as the sustainable and appropriate alternative for family farming and as including organic, ecological, biological and natural agriculture (FAO, undated). Positive results of agro-ecology could be enhanced, according to the IPC, if policies and R&D resources were geared to support agro-ecological alternatives. The IPC therefore recommends that an organisation like FAO should promote scientific agroecological research, take the lead

in promoting "humane sustainable animal production systems" and "through public awareness work, sensitise public opinion globally about the need to adopt sustainable production and consumption patterns, include the need to avoid or reduce levels of animal-based foods; eliminate the industrial model of intensive confined animal feeding, "factory farms" (IPC, 2002b). Apart from these definitions, the work on agro-ecology is not theorized any further; it has succeeded in collaboration with FAO officers to inspire projects in some countries.

It is in the ethics field that civil society organisations have a major impact in bringing about new perspectives and in dealing with them at intergovernmental level. This can be seen particularly from the work initiated by the network of FIAN (Food First International Action Network) with FAO on the right-the-food in collaboration with FAO. This network, grouping about 300 NGO working in human rights, loosely associated with the IPC, has been very important in advancing the work on the Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security. The right to adequate food was first affirmed in the Rome Declaration adopted by the World Food Summit in 1996 which, however, had little substantive directives. The NGO Parallel Forum had pushed towards a more binding Code of Conduct and a Convention on Food Security. FIAN in collaboration with WANAHR (World Alliance for Nutrition and Human Rights) and the International Jacques Maritain Institute started drafting a code for which they obtained the support of over 800 NGOs and some governments. The FAO Council, however, set up an Intergovernmental Working Group for the elaboration of voluntary guidelines, where FIAN played a predominant role. The Guidelines were completed and adopted in 2004 and represent the realization of the first of the economic, social and cultural rights – albeit on a voluntary basis – carried forward by a non-human rights organisation with the participation of governments.

Sustainable development is the characterizing concept for the Major Groups. They assert that "sustainable development requires a major contribution from agriculture" and reiterate "...the positive impact of agriculture on the natural resource base and rural societies and cultures while enhancing food security and reducing poverty"(Major

Groups, undated). They endorse the UNCED stated objective in 1992 of agriculture "...improving farm productivity in a sustainable manner, as well as to increase diversification, efficiency, food security and rural incomes, while ensuring that risks to the ecosystem are minimized". They view agriculture inextricably linked with social processes and claim that sustainable food production is the result of a commitment "to structures and processes that build partnerships, capacity and accountability among stakeholder groups".[75] This concept becomes concretised in a 'partnership data base' fostered and maintained by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA, 2003). As of 31 January 2004, 266 partnerships had been registered with varying thematic foci described as sustainable development encompassing: human settlements; sanitation; water; air pollution/atmosphere; climate change; energy for sustainable development; industrial development; agriculture; desertification, drought; land; rural development; sustainable development for Africa; chemicals; mining; sustainable consumption and production; transport; waste management; biodiversity; biotechnology; forests; mountains; tourism; disaster management/vulnerability; marine resources; ocean and seas; sustainable development of small island developing states. The generic concept of sustainable development is also appropriated by industry associations; they borrow resources from international organisations and participate in global events.

It is in the preparation and negotiations of the regulatory and voluntary frameworks and standards that the industry associations are most active. For example, they provide data to Codex Alimentarius, which has acquired greater political importance in view of the compliance of food standards with WTO regulations. In the past, this has generated occurrences of undue influence exercised on the work related to nutrition requirements and food standards.[76] This led FAO and WHO to define more rigorously the notion of "expert advice" and to regulate more strictly and in a more transparent manner the

[75] The stakeholder groups, or the Major Group constituencies, were identified as of September 2004 by the SARD-Initiative, for which FAO is the Task Manager, as follows: Business and Industry; farmers; indigenous peoples; media; NGOs; scientific and technical community; women; workers and trade unions and youth.

[76] One case reported by the Press is the case of the International Life Sciences Institute (ILSI) accused of positioning " ...its experts and expertise across the whole spectrum of food and tobacco policies" (Boseley, 2003)

participation of these associations. Industry associations also advise on instruments, including market based instruments, for the implementation of voluntary codes like the Code of Conduct on the responsible use of pesticides, Code of Conduct on Forest Harvesting and the Code of Conduct on Responsible Fisheries. They participate in the technical work of intergovernmental organisations (e.g. in FAO, IFA collaborated on a fertilizer retailing guide; Carrefour funded the preparation of a meat industry hygiene practices, etc.). The same participation in negotiations of regulatory frameworks could be found among NGOs. For example, ETC (Action Group on Erosion, Technology and Concentration, formerly called RAFI) has been very instrumental in the preparation and negotiation of the Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources[77]. ETC started their interaction with FAO as early as the 1970s, generated themselves the idea of the Treaty and participated throughout the work of the Commission since its establishment in 1983 with their technical lobbying vis-à-vis both governments and FAO. In the words of the FAO Senior Officer, Secretary of the Commission on Plant Genetic Resources "there would be no Treaty nowadays had there not been the NGOs".

Think tanks also influence the work of intergovernmental organisations through consultancies, participation in expert consultations and in negotiations. The Institute for Agricultural Trade Policy (IATP) for example is a prominent think tank specialized in trade. It has offices in Geneva and in the USA and has a trade observatory where it follows the developments in the negotiation. Its stated mission is to promote "resilient family farms, rural communities and ecosystems around the world through research and education, science and technology and advocacy". (www.iatp.org accessed on 29 December 2005). Other examples of think tanks that have extensive discursive practices and interactions with intergovernmental organisations and governments on agriculture are the Overseas Development Institute based in the UK and the World Resources

[77] "The Treaty ensures to plant breeders (particularly for small-scale breeders in developing countries) access to the plant genetic resources they need, and prevents their monopolization by large players. It provides the CGIAR Resesearch centres with a long-term, secure legal framework for the ex-situ collections which they hold in trust and on which their research programmes are based. It provides the private sector a clear and predictable framework for access to plant genetic resources which will promote investment in agricultural research. The Treaty also provide the agriculture sector with a new forum, on a par with the trade and environment forums, in which to address the special needs and problems of agriculture. This will lead to greater equilibrium in international policy development" (FAO, 2004c).

Institute with Headquarters in Washington. ODI contributes to FAO with a conceptualisation of agriculture and of the food system which they suggest to judge according to 17 criteria (Maxwell and Slater, 2003)[78], with very few of them having to do with production. At the same time, they see as ineluctable that "...in the near future agriculture will be largely commercial, most rural people will be disconnected from the land, and agriculture will be a relatively small sector in the national economy". The diminishing production base of agriculture is also highlighted by the livelihood perspective, much favoured by aid agencies, which features income as an objective but also reduced vulnerability, more sustainable use of the natural resource base and stronger 'voice' (Maxwell and Pearcy, 2001).

Popular Forum

Not much textual material could be found under this Forum. The IPC has a small secretariat (2 persons based in Rome) and devotes most of its efforts in communicating with the members. The IPC has a web page which is stable over time, not too informative and so do their members (e.g. Via Campesina). No other 'popularising' activities or communications have been produced. Also the Major Groups have a web page, as part of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development. The web page emphasizes that public participation in decision-making is one of the fundamental prerequisites for sustainable development. (UNCSD, 2005). There is also a leaflet by the UNDESA (2003) which states that at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, for the first time, partnerships were recognized as complementing the work of governments "...in meeting the goals outlined in the international sustainable development agreements". The SARD-Initiative of the Major Groups held an E-Forum

[78] Agriculture can evaluated according to whether 1. is technically efficient in social prices; 2. is allocatively efficient in social prices; 3. leads to increased consumption by the poor; 4. leads to increased asset-holding by the poor; 5. is good for health; 6. is good for nutrition; 7. supports higher standards of education; 8. enables people to have status; 9. enables people to have dignity; 9. enables people to have rights; 10. enables people to have influence; 11. underpins freedom; 12. offers security; 13. reduces vulnerability; 14. is good for environmental sustainability; 15. promotes gender equality; 16. promotes equality in general; 17. promotes social inclusion.

in 2002 in preparation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development. The minutes of this Forum conclude "We were cautioned to think in terms of sustaining civilizations and not just agriculture..." (Neely and Foster, 2002).

Civil society is given a presence in the communication activities of organisations like FAO which states in a leaflet "...civil society will be crucial in reshaping the agriculture sector. A careful balance will have to be sought between science driven innovation and consumer concerns, including ethics. (FAO, 2002f). In a press release, the Director-General of FAO in thanking the NGOs for their support to the adoption of the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources, refers to them as the "conscience of humanity" (FAO, 2002o). At the parallel NGO/CSO Forum the Director-General of FAO noting the absence of the OECD states at the World Food Summit:five years later (2 out of 29), states "You, the NGOs can do much to change this immoral world order by participating in the international alliance against hunger. You are the Vox Populi therefore the Vox Dei" (Diouf, 2002). In the celebrations on World Food Day at its Rome Headquarters, in addition to dignitaries and personalities, now FAO invites as one of the speaker a representative of farmers' associations.

The food system is the content of a "study/action packet" which is issued each year by the US National Committee, prepared in 2004 (USNC, 2004). The study/action packet cites data and information from universities and international organisations and focuses on the politics of decision-making on what it refers to as "the global food system". It refers to the present destructive food system which is pushing farmers, scientists, politicians and consumers towards a new 'regenerative' food system that "... better serves the public interest...This new model is also sometimes called 'multifunctional' or 'agroecological'." It is worth noting that the US National Committee is led by a lady in her eighties, Patricia Young, who has been working for the last 30 years on a totally voluntary basis, establishing a network outreach of 450 sponsoring organisations for World Food Day. It is organized with George Washington University and USAID through a teleconference with some 1000 interactive sites mostly in the USA, Canada and Mexico, including also the US House of Representatives and the World Bank. Hence, the content is derived from the technical forum. Organisationally, it is

interesting to note that while the World Food Day committees established at the country level are fairly stagnant even though supported by national governments of developing countries, it is in the US that it is most vibrant, almost in antagonism with the current (Bush) administration and thanks to a volunteer.

Moralising Forum

Under this Forum, campaigns led by civil society organisations will be discussed as well as awards and prizes related to food and agriculture. Brief mention will be made of the current trend of corporate social responsibility in private sector companies and their associations, the increasing reference to ethics in agriculture and to the positive value given to partnerships, almost as an end in themselves.

With respect to *campaigns,* the NGOs themselves organize a campaign 'More and Better Campaign'. Its main goal is to "to increase the level and quality of development assistance directed towards food, agriculture and rural development to eradicate hunger and poverty". The Campaign is supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and FAO, IFAD and WFP. Echoing the preoccupations of the supporting organisations, the Campaign declares its concern "...with the decline of aid to agriculture and rural development" and supports "... sustainable, farmer-led, smallholder/family community agricultural systems (e.g. agroecology, sustainable agriculture, organic agriculture) (More and Better Campaign, 2005).

Hunger is the focus of campaigns organized by individual NGOs; e.g. Bread for the World organizes the 'One Campaign' and for its communications relies on materials produced by FAO. Action Contre la Faim, as part of the celebrations for its 25 years, organized in 2004 a 'dish against hunger campaign', with more than 290 dishes signed by hand by celebrities ranging from the President Chirac to film and sport stars (ACF, 2004). An International Alliance Against Hunger was launched at the World Food Summit: five years later by FAO, WFP and IFAD replacing the earlier Food For all Campaign launched at the time of the 1996 World Food Summit (FAO, 1996d). The

International Alliance against Hunger is based on the same idea of national committees with the objective of promoting advocacy, accountability, resources mobilization and coordination of efforts towards reducing hunger. What is new in this Campaign is the expressed aim of intensifying "international advocacy efforts... strengthening the provision of global public goods related to hunger eradication".

With respect to awards, the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) and FAO created the Nutrition Award for those WAGGGS national member organisations that are working on food and nutrition. WAGGGS also designated 22 February as "Thinking Day" (this happened in 2004) devoted to food and nutrition for its 10 million members (FAO-WAGGGS, 2004). NGOs are recipients of awards created by FAO, e.g. the Margarita Lizarraga Award discussed in Chapter 6, granted to organisations which stand out for their work on the code of conduct on Responsible Fisheries. Awards are given for partnerships as an end in themselves, thus acquiring a positive moral aura. For example, the Seed Initiative includes a Seeds Award scheme meant to valorise the "most promising innovative or entrepreneurial ideas for action through partnership". It is supported by IUCN, UNDP and UNEP. Examples given of recipients of awards are a consortium of European companies, with government and coffee farmers in Ecuador to ensure that pesticides do not contaminate water supplies... solar technologies in rural areas... cooperative organic farm in Tanzania) (IUCN et al., 2003). The Commission on Sustainable Development holds partnership fairs "...a venue for showcasing progress made by existing partnerships for sustainable development" (CSD-12, 2004).

Moral appeal is behind the trend and phenomenon of *corporate social responsibility* practices. These have been referred to as "The commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve their quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development" (Jorgenson et al., 2003). Some of these practices refer to production and process practices with a rising interest in voluntary certification. In a meeting with civil society organisations, FAO concludes that there has been "... an expansion of certified products from niche to mainstream markets over the

past 19 years" with consumers being unable to differentiate between the various sustainability initiatives. Hence, the proposal of a 'Sustainable Agriculture Coordination Platform under the umbrella of the ISEAL Alliance (FAO, 2004d; ISEAL, 2002).

More explicit reference to *ethical principles* is made in international fora impinging on the technical forum. As underlined by La Vina et al. (2004) "Although neither the Plan of Implementation nor the Political Declaration makes a reference to the Earth Charter, the incorporation of ethics into the sustainable development agenda provides an opening to those who believe that development and environment issues cannot be dealt with adequately unless governments, societies and communities acknowledge the critical role of ethical norms in making policy decisions". Ethics is also introduced in 2005 in the analysis of agricultural trade by the Institute for Agricultural Policy (IATP) in its series called *Thread* which stands for Trade Human Rights and the Economy; this is meant to "...analyze the WTO agreement on Agriculture from a human rights perspective" (IATP, 2005).

9.4 Summary Overview

Before discussing the discourses of the various fora and arena (summarised in Annex 16), an analysis will be made of the phenomenon of the growth of civil society organisations in deliberative fora and of their autonomous self-organisation into social movements and networks, also of relevance for those working on food and agriculture issues.

The growth and increased participation of civil society organisations in deliberative fora occurs also in food and agriculture, even if to a more limited extent than other domains. Their massive and unprecedented presence at the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle in 1999 raised concerns but also introduced ideas on global governance and the question of defining the concerned constituencies on transnational issues. The Economist (11 December 1999) referred to civil society organisations as 'citizens' groups' but also asked "...are they to be viewed as the first step towards an 'international civil society'

...or do they represent a dangerous shift of power to unelected and unaccountable special-interest groups?".

The growth of transnational NGO networks can be adduced to the growth of the environmental NGOs dealing with cross political boundaries..."or issues that are transnational in a moral sense, e.g. women's rights" (Ottaway, 2001), to the development in communication technology, to donors and northern NGOs encouraging the birth of similar NGOs in the South. The success obtained by some NGOs also encouraged others to follow suit. This is true in particular for national NGOs which can exercise more influence by being part of a transnational network and its activities in mobilizing public opinion and international pressure. Ottaway notes the different motivation in including NGOs in UN fora at UN inception and presently. Originally, NGOs were included in the work of ECOSOC because of their expertise meant to help people and "not because they were thought to speak for the world's people and to represent them in front of governments". Presently, she notes the defensive and adversarial nature of the relations with NGOs, due to the success of some NGOs in mobilising public attention and in organizing consumer boycotts which have pushed transnational corporations to align themselves towards labour and environmental practices judged as acceptable.

The phenomenon of categorizing and classifying civil society organisations by the UN is viewed as a paradox which results in having such organisations conform to "the rules and style" (Ottaway, 2001) of the UN bureaucracy thereby contributing *de facto* to dividing them and weakening their very strength of networking among a variety of very diverse organisations. On their side, the NGOs complain about such procedures which are found "humiliating" (Malena, 2004) and under total control by the UN (Third World Network, 2004). The more traditional NGOs with long standing consultative status with the UN complain about the undifferentiation implicit in the concept of civil society used by the UN and claim to retain their identity (CONGO, 2004). The Cardoso report itself states that the "UN should resist handpicking civil society organisations, especially in deliberative processes (UNGA, 2004:59).

For some civil society organisations the classification into Major Groups has been experienced as an 'imposition' on them by the UN. Others accepted such classification as a challenge in their dealing with the UN, as testimony of their support to multilateralism and their understanding of the difficulties encountered by the UN in working with a growing and diversified number of civil society organisations, grouping into fluid networks without legal status. For others, the Major Groups concept is no longer adequate as it is considered to be non-inclusive and to foster divisions among civil society interests rather than unifying them. As analysed by UNGLS (2003), the controversies refer to the traditional distrust by the NGO community of including business among the major groups, the discontent by indigenous people in being considered as non-state actors, by other groups which feel left out "such as the elderly, the disabled, faith based communities, educators, media, etc" and by governments for the inclusion of local authorities, considered part of the public sector, as one of the Major Groups. Criticisms relate also to the fact that discussions on a given issue are entered to by Major Groups which have nothing to do with the issue, with distorting effects on the outcome.

With respect to the analysis of the different fora and arena, the *organisational forum* shows that there are various forms of self-organisation, such as the IPC and the various industry federations, or grouping induced by the UN such as the Major Groups; there is no global public policy network while the existing ones touch peripherally on agriculture. The analysis of the discourses on food and agriculture to follow will be made also through the lenses offered by the characteristics of networks. Firstly, it will be seen that discourses vary greatly and that there is no one dominating discourse. The non-hierarchical structure of networks contributes to making no one discourse prevail, except in the political statements where one voice has to speak for all the others and where it can be seen that it is the political agenda that drives the networking.

The patterns of interaction described in the previous sections – the multistakeholder and open dialogue, the experts meetings, the special events and partnerships – constitute new forms of mobilization whereby members of the organisations argue on issues but at the same time are also creating new modalities of interaction and negotiation among

themselves and with public authorities as well as defining new concepts of political legitimation. At the same time, as it often happens in the UN, the term becomes overused, it becomes jargon (Zammit, 2003:52; World Vision, 2000) and it broadens to include all sorts of relationships. Nevertheless, concern is expressed by civil society organisations about the possible displacement partnerships imply of intergovernmental commitments, about their use for 'greenwash' or 'bluewash', the lack of clearly stated accountability mechanisms and the possible dispersion of funding possibilities (LaVina et al., 2004).

From the *political forum*, it can be seen that the IPC political statement in 2002 emphasized small scale family farming; agro-ecological production anchored to a territory and propose the notion of 'right of peoples, communities and countries to define their own ...policies...'. It also stressed the concept of food sovereignty, implying the rejection of the belief that trade liberalisation in agriculture is to be viewed positively (NGO/CSO Forum 2002:13). The systemic dimension on patterns of over consumption, criticism of industrialized agriculture, accountability of transnational corporations expressed by the same NGOs, not yet networked in the IPC, in the 1996 World Food Summit could no longer be found in the 2002 Declaration. Similarly, the concept of 'multiple functions of agriculture' is no longer there, while the concept of SARD has been turned into the undifferentiated adjective 'sustainable' dispersed throughout the text, thus mirroring the political stances and discourses of international agencies and industry associations. The acceptance of the principle of the right-to-food and the consideration to take out agriculture from the scope of work of WTO are also revealing of the distance from the core productivist policy paradigm, with the introduction of ethical principles and the implicit rejection of treating agriculture as any other good or of considering free trade or WTO as global public goods.

With respect to the *technical forum*, not much material could be found which could be classified as technical. IPC interacts with FAO both in reactive terms to what the organisation produces and also tries to introduce new ideas and concepts. For both the IPC and the Major Groups there is an attempt to technify issues, in order to make them acceptable. The concept of food sovereignty remains exhortatory rhetoric; it does not

succeed in being taken up by governments or other organisations, even though it is presented to the Commission on Human Rights by the Special Rapporteur on the right to food in 2004 (ECOSOC, 2004b). In the area of trade, there is no real exchange between FAO and the IPC. In the words of one senior FAO officer, the IPC should endow itself with an authoritative champion able to dialogue with the economists that drive the trade discourse. Agro-ecology, one of the areas of work of the IPC, is not theorized by the IPC and is understood by FAO rather generically. The technification of SARD by the Major Groups is in progress.

It is in the area of the right-to-food that the technical contribution of a network like FIAN has been of importance and impact. Of significant importance is also the technical contributions through data and information – referred to as 'scientific advice' by private sector associations to the work on regulatory aspects (e.g. *Codex Alimentarius*), on policy (trough the various statutory committees) and on private certification and standards. These are atomised scientific contributions, not resulting in overt discourses. With regard to think tanks, it is interesting to note that the Institute for Agricultural Trade Policy after years of follow up of the negotiations and of analytical work ends up reviewing the WTO Agreement on Agriculture from a human rights perspective.

In conclusion, the technical forum offers a varying spectrum of policy paradigms. These include third-order change with the IPC and IATP with the shift of the core policy paradigm towards food security, right to food, locally based production without international trade. Other think tanks and NGOs (like ODI or Oxfam) would seem to propose second-order changes in the policy paradigm; while accepting the core paradigm of productivist agriculture and beneficial effects of free trade, they appear to be working to refine the instruments so as to add equity and sustainability dimensions. The core productivist policy paradigm remains unaltered with the industry associations.

With respect to the *popular forum* there is not much materials from the IPC or the Major Groups nor any symbols of resonance and broad outreach. The Cardoso report had noted that "...by acting on the media system, particularly by creating events that

send powerful images and messages, transnational activists induce a debate on the hows, whys and whats of globalization and on societal choices" and also "...it is not only capitals and goods that are being exchanged in the global arena. It is also information, values, symbols and ideas" (Cardoso, 2004). It can be concluded that in food and agriculture, no resonant images or messages or new cognitive frames have been created yet. What it does appear is that the NGO and the international organisations send to each other and reinforce each other's sense of issues and values The UN, FAO and other agencies send out positive messages to civil society organisations, presented to themselves and to governments as a positive addition to intergovernmental fora, write extensively about them and give them a place in international fora.

The *moralising forum* introduces ethical analysis of agricultural trade and is populated by campaigns, prizes and the new trends in corporate social responsibility. A human right perspective on the WTO Agreement on Agriculture becomes introduced by the IATP in its technical work The campaigns analysed have hunger as their causal story with the conceptually difficult link on how agriculture contributes to hunger reduction. Hunger is presented as the result of poverty, to be tackled multisectorally, even though agriculture plays an important role in predominantly agrarian economies. The International Alliance against Hunger Campaign introduces explicitly the association of agriculture with global public goods. The under funding of agriculture is the core message of the The More and Better Campaign – a motive borrowed from international agencies and conferences. Overall, agriculture remains peripheral to the corporate social responsibility trend which is more widespread on environmental issues.

9.5 General Conclusions

The conclusions of this chapter relate to governance issues, as derived from the analysis of the organisational forum and its interaction with the other fora and as affecting the discourses specific to food and agriculture. There is no one prevailing discourse, but a set of discourses which try to impose themselves at the political level; only some of

such discourses survive if sustained through the technical level. This may explains why the more systemic issues which had been addressed by civil society organisations in the 1996 World Food Summit (patterns of overconsumption, the effects of industrialized agriculture, accountability of transnational corporations) were not rediscussed in the 2002 parallel forum to the World Food Summit:five years later.

Civil society organisations push international organisations to work on the technification of the issues they stand for (food sovereignty, right to national policy making, right to food, agroecology of IPC or SARD of the Major Groups) or work themselves on such technification or use their own experts. This corresponds to a general trend for civil society organisations to build their own 'technical' knowledge. As noted by Keck and Sikkink (1998:21), even organisations like Greenpeace "which initially had eschewed rigorous research in favour of splashy media events, began to pay more attention to getting the facts right". In general, however, there is reliance from civil society organisations on selective choice of the technical work of international organisations and little permeation of the work of think tanks on civil society organisations.

The networking of civil society organisations facilitates the multiplication of sites for the negotiation of meanings and for helping frame the debates and get the issue of agricultural trade liberalisation on the agenda of such multiple sites. Their agile and fluid networks are judged useful in "historical periods characterised by rapid shifts in problem definition" according to Keck and Sikkins (1998:200) who add that "...This is particularly true for issues with high value content and transcultural resonance". In addition, civil society networks raise awareness on the question of how to engage the people affected by policy measures in the definition of the problem and of the policy alternatives.

The popular forum has not yet created for agriculture the resonant images or messages or the new cognitive frames for which they had been praised in the Cardoso's report. Civil society organisations borrow the concept of global public goods which they use as a rhetorical device. The UN, FAO and other agencies send out positive messages to

civil society organisations, presented to themselves and to governments as a positive addition to intergovernmental fora, write extensively about them and give them a place in international fora. The technical work of these organisations and networks is acknowledged in an intergovernmental forum like the biennial FAO Conference and their role in reinstating food issues in a central position in the development debates is praised (FAO, 2003l). More generally, it can be seen that civil society organisations and international organisations reinforce each other's sense of issues, values and their very existence.

It is the environment[79], understood as natural resources and not SARD, that is at the core , however, of the corporate social responsibility trends. SARD has not succeeded as yet in being turned into a causal story with moral appeal related to agriculture. Corporate social responsibility trends are viewed as "a burgeoning new industry" with the characteristics of a "moral crusade" (Zammit, 2004:109) spearheaded by what Ottaway (2001) refers to as "ethical missionaries", that is standard setters, evaluators, monitoring experts, code setters, standard setters, monitors, monitors of the monitors, evaluators... etc. Yet, from an economist's perspective such ethical missionaries are useful in revealing the demand for public goods"[80].

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[79] The environment-related awards appear much more numerous than those based on agricultural production. E.g. the number of environmental awards by UNEP: Champions of the Earth ; UNEP Sasakawa Environment Prize; Global 500 Roll of Honour for Environmental Achievement ; Ozone Awards ; Royal Award for Responsible Investment ; Global Business Award ; Volvo Environment Prize ; Zayed International Prize for the Environment ; The Seed Awards ; IH&RA Environmental Award ; The LivCom Awards: International Awards for Liveable Communities

[80] Personal communication by Carlo Cappi, economist.

CHAPTER 10

FINAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The research has shown that there are a multitude of actors who are involved, interested and networked in agriculture who create discourses that contribute to the construction of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation. The initial overview identified two sets of discourses: those negotiated in intergovernmental and governmental settings related to multifunctionality, multiple roles of agriculture and SARD and another set of discourses by academia and epistemic communities on food and on the structural changes occurring in agriculture. With the empirical investigations through the case studies of organisations like WTO, FAO, the EC and transnational civil society networks, I found the additional discourses on food security and on food sovereignty. All the discourses include a definition or vision of what constitutes agriculture and a perspective on the perceived or analysed effects of trade liberalisation.

While the case studies helped to focus on the single organisations, it became soon evident during the research process that the fora and arena were sites of knowledge construction by the staff of the organisations only to a small extent, as transnational epistemic communities were de facto main contributors to many fundamental pieces of documentary evidence. From these, it was possible to unveil the theoretical resources used, how they battled for pre-eminence and for giving theoretical stability and soundness to the discourses. The web of relations and interconnectedness between the organisations and transnational epistemic communities could also be found with the transnational civil society networks which could no longer be considered as peripheral and external but rather as part of the organisations' own functioning and discourse-making. The findings and the conclusions include a comparative analysis of the findings from the case studies; they cover the content of the discourses but also their enactment through the discursive practices identified in the different fora and arena with the contributions by transnational epistemic communities and civil society networks.

10.1 Case Study Findings: a Comparative Analysis

The heuristic framework of fora and arena proved useful in organising the empirical research systematically for each of the organisations reviewed as case studies; at the same time, it enabled to make a comparative analysis and a synthesis, as reported in this section. The analysis of the discourses from the case studies point to paradigmatic shifts occurring in the conceptualisation of food and agriculture and in the construction of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation through elaborations from the technical forum but also through the communicative activities deriving from the organisational, popular and moralising fora and from the political arena. The comparative analysis served also to highlight and conclude on the theoretical importance of the organisational forum as the forum that determines the formation, existence and persistence of discourses through the discursive practices and governance modalities.

Technical Forum

The discourses on multifunctionality, food security, roles of agriculture and on SARD elaborated in the *technical forum* of all organisations reviewed, except WTO, show the repeated attempts, however, short-lived and discontinuous, to elaborate a vision of agriculture not limited to production but having many other different 'functions' or 'roles'. These discourses attempt to counteract or hone the economics-driven formulation of the policy problem implied in the three policy pillars of the Agreement on Agriculture by adding other perspectives.

The technical forum is the prevailing forum in supporting the discourses with resources prepared to that end; within the technical forum, is the economics discipline that drives the debate on its disciplinary terms or through the concept of non-trade concerns coined by the economists to allow consideration of the non-market characteristics of agriculture. The research shows that the technical forum of the economists is in a monopoly situation in WTO, it is also dominating the EC and FAO; in these latter two,

however, there are further elaborations from other disciplines as well as dissenting views. The technical forum of the economists is almost absent from the civil society organisations reviewed. The research also shows that the non-trade concerns, originally listed as limited to food security and the preservation of the environment, progressively encompass numerous aspects which make them become the bulk of alternative discourses, as against being considered a residual category.

The discourse on multifunctionality had a strong technical foundation through the many years of work by the OECD and was borrowed as such by the EC which clearly identified the policy implications for supporting agriculture in that given the interdependence of the production functions with the non-production functions, support would be required to ensure the existence of both. Multifunctionality becomes cited as a non-trade concern and a small group of countries call themselves 'Friends of Multifunctionality'; it also becomes a box containing numerous other characteristics which are also called non-trade concerns. It is with multifunctionality that the discourse of agriculture as provider of public goods is more clearly formulated. The multifunctionality debate is reported by WTO in its secretariat function, but it has no follow up in the WTO setting. As early as the year 2000, FAO at the request of some of its member countries has to abandon the work it had initiated trying to assess relevance of multifunctionality for developing countries; it has to abandon the use of the term altogether, despite its neutral use in the past in its official documents.

FAO resorts to the expression roles of agriculture to continue its work on the functions not directly related to production and to the public good properties to be attributed to agriculture. Funded by Japan, this work loses some of the direct connotations with trade that multifunctionality had evidenced and it focuses on developing countries. It does nevertheless continue to conceive agriculture as provider of public goods. WTO borrows the term roles of agriculture and uses it neutrally in its secretariat documents. At the time of writing FAO recognizes the difficulty in evaluating the effects resulting from the conjunction of such diverse roles. It is the concept of food security which FAO proposes that WTO consider as a non-trade concern, food security being defined as "...physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet [their]

dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (De Haen, 2001). The operationalisation of the concept by the technical forum into availability (production), access (through purchase) and temporal and geographical stability of supplies draws attention to systemic questions of global supply and demand and to the interdependence with international markets. It is the discourse which attempts to link with the other set of discourses on food and the structural changes occurring in agriculture.

While SARD is stated as a guiding concept by all three organisations, it is not worked on technically in relation to the multilateral trade negotiations as the discourses on multifunctionality or roles of agriculture. The concept is also too broad to be considered a non-trade concern, although non-trade concerns such as preserving the environment, sustained vitality of rural areas do fall under SARD. It is also too broad and diluted to provide concrete guidance for policies. Nevertheless, SARD in its diffuse meaning and the more elaborate discourses on multifunctionality, roles of agriculture and food security all document functions or roles of agriculture beyond production. The underlying theme is that these other functions or roles justify deviating from the trade liberalisation paradigm of the Agreement on Agriculture and therefore supporting special measures of protection; the question that is developed technically is whether such measures can be part of the Green Box or whether they are trade distorting. They only succeed in becoming shared policy discourses with temporal stability for a period of four-five years, as they are not sustained by the production of a continuous flow of technical resources nor do they become part of the negotiating process.

Even though these discourses cover a time span of public exposure in the trade negotiations of four-five years, they nevertheless germinate a by-product discourses which run through the organisations' lives in a subtle and unclamorous manner but which represent a shift from the trade liberalisation paradigm of the Agreement on Agriculture. These are the discourses on national food production and local food systems, on dismantling the comparative advantage principle and on global public goods.

There is convergence between FAO, the EC and civil society organisations on the discourse on national food production. Both FAO and the EC, the latter through its policy networks and epistemic communities, support the policy paradigm of trade liberalisation but also support national production; this latter is characterized by the EC as "agriculture based on each country's specific production conditions and potential as well as its historical and cultural background" (Press release 705/2000) and by FAO (2003c) as 'sustainable local food systems' and as"... contributing directly to increases in average caloric intake per capita" (Timmer, 2003a for FAO).

National production is implicit in the discourse on multifunctionality, in view of the interdependence between the various functions of agriculture, whereby some functions can only be generated through production. It is also part of the SARD discourse, although not as analytically developed as the multifunctionality arguments. National production is also implied in the discourse on food security, spearheaded by FAO, implying both reliance on trade and on national food production as well as in its incipient discourse on the right to food. National food production is also the core of the concept of 'food sovereignty' coined by civil society organisations, denoting production based on peasant and family farming, diversified and agro-ecologically based production systems. Food sovereignty does not succeed in becoming a discourse because of its weak technification by civil society organisations and their unsuccessful attempt in having FAO work on it technically. Food security instead becomes a commonly accepted non-trade concern and a discourse to justify a certain amount of national food production.

Of the organisations reviewed in the case studies, it is only the technical forum of FAO which backs the discourses on multifunctionality, roles of agriculture and food security with concerns of a systemic nature. The technical forum of FAO points out the globalisation of markets, it highlights the convergence in diets worldwide, the related evolution in global food demand characteristics and the ensuing pressures on the natural resource base at global level. It raises the questions, where as yet there is not enough research and consensual knowledge, of the dilemma between intensification of production to meet global demand and diversification, with a timid attempt in 2003 to

introduce an ethics perspective in the question of intensification not further pursued since then. The technical forum of FAO also raises the question of the extent to which trade liberalisation is displacing local food and farming systems and is contributing to new food systems in response to consumers of developed countries. These systemic issues are absent from the technical forum of the EC or the weak technical forum of the transnational civil society organisations reviewed in the case study.

Another element of the paradigmatic shift in support of the national production discourse is the gradual dismantling of the comparative advantage principle which is highlighted through the systemic analysis of food and agriculture production. FAO notes the changes occurring in international trade flows with the increased globalisation, the greater influence of transnational corporations and the large flows of capital movements. Its work takes stock of views expressed by the economists on the intra-trade and inter-firm characteristics of the food trade no longer understood as a multitude of arm's length transactions between countries; "Instead, trade is organised within a structure or system of international production" (UNCTAD, 2000) characterized by the presence of transnational corporations linked in a variety of sourcing, contracting and marketing arrangements. This diminishes the relevance of the comparative advantage based on the countries' resource endowments and situates much international trade somewhere between 'markets' and 'hierarchies'.

No paradigmatic shifts nor elaborations on systemic issues are with WTO whose technical forum is very limited. The little amount of studies or working papers by WTO do not single out agriculture particularly; they are inspired by economics primarily and have been characterized by a former Director General of the organisation as 'unadventurous' and lacking analysis. Hence, no special status is accorded to agriculture understood as a list of 186 products which can be traded as any others, food being just one of them, following the principle of comparative advantage (also explained in its popular forum). WTO being de facto primarily a secretariat body, it reports factually on the negotiations, including the non-trade concerns as expressed by individual countries and on multifunctionality. It raises the issue of whether these non-trade concerns can be

part of the Green Box or whether they are trade-distorting, without any further elaboration.

Thus, the technical forum reveals the paradigmatic shift occurring with the discourse on national food production by the FAO, EC and civil society organisations and the questioning of the comparative advantage principle primarily by FAO and in a less organised way by the EC. It also shows the continuation of multifunctionality as a non-trade concern encompassing other non-trade concerns primarily with the EC, multifunctionality having been at the origin of the conceptualisation of agriculture as a global public good. The technical forum demonstrates the persistence and robustness of the non-trade concern of food security spearheaded by FAO. Other non-trade concerns continue to be elaborated in a diffused manner by the epistemic communities, without arriving as yet at shared understandings to be agreed upon consensually as part of the trade negotiations process.

The Political Arenae

The *political arenae* of FAO, the EC and transnational civil society organisations support the discourses of national production and territorially grounded food production, through oral statements, forewords of publications and declarations at meetings, as proposed through the discourses of multifunctionality, SARD, food security and food sovereignty. SARD and food security benefit from two global conferences organised in their support (the World Summit on Sustainable Development and the World Food Summit: five years later, both of them in 2002. In the political arena agriculture becomes associated with a variety of characteristics that become referred to as non-trade concerns by the EC, such as "... food safety, environmental protection, rural development, food security or safeguarding the supply of food, cultural diversity, socio-economic viability, animal welfare, traditional landscapes, biodiversity, protecting the rural way of life" (WTO, 2000a).

Also the political arena, echoing the technical forum, highlights the public good characteristics of agriculture. Discourses on agriculture as provider of public goods

recur in the EC (through the multifunctionality and non-trade concerns argumentations), in FAO (through its work on multifunctionality first and then on the roles of agriculture and on SARD) and they are adopted by civil society organisations. The political arena of civil society organisations offers another potentially major paradigm shift with their discourses on agricultural policies founded on rights and linking agriculture to human rights and ethical principles. None of these discourses permeate the WTO political arena where nevertheless agriculture is declared as a 'core issue', 'one of the most sensitive areas of the negotiations', 'the single most important contribution to the multilateral trading system'. In WTO political arena, the commitment of the trade negotiations to the objective of sustainable development is affirmed in the declarations; non-trade concerns are considered as legitimate in speeches and food security is highlighted for the implied interdependence; however, none of these are followed up in the other fora nor elaborated by the technical forum.

The Popular Forum

The *popular fora* do not support the discourses created by the technical and political forum with resonant mediatic activities. The popular forum of WTO is a simplified version of its technical forum with agriculture being part of the products benefiting from trade liberalisation based on the principle of comparative advantage, explained didactically in its web pages. For FAO, its newsroom for the general public and its consumer goods do not convey a unified vision of agriculture, its role in combating hunger, often chosen as a rallying focus nor of the importance of national food production. The numerous and intensive communicative modalities of the EC demonstrate the small space given to agriculture, for which nevertheless the DG –Trade explains that "progress in trade must not damage the wide role of agriculture and legitimate consumer concerns" (EC-Trade, 2004b). For civil society organisations the popular forum repeats the messages of the political forum or the discourses generated by governmental or intergovernmental organisations; hence, we see the repetition of the concept of food sovereignty and of sustainable agriculture and rural development. Overall, civil society organisations' popular forum is a much weaker forum when compared with the communicative activities of FAO, the EC or WTO. They do not

create the discourses of global resonance for which the UN praised them; they do not convey visions or 'référentiels' about agriculture that could constitute a force in counterbalancing or in offering alternatives to the paradigm of trade liberalisation as implied in the Agreement on Agriculture

Moralising Forum

Civil society organisations are behind the paradigmatic shifts spearheaded by the *moralising forum.* Some of these organisations support agricultural policies founded on human rights and they are primary actors in pushing forward and in the technification and operationalisation of the right to food in FAO. They participate in campaigns such as the International Alliance against Hunger for which the need is to stated "...to strengthen the provision of global public goods" (FAO, 2004e), thus echoing the political forum of FAO and the EC. They are also the promoters of corporate social responsibility practices and of process standards which are within agriculture, even if to a much smaller extent than environment. Also for FAO, the moralising forum represents the potential for paradigmatic shifts through its work on the right to food and the timid introduction of ethical analysis in its technical work (e.g. on the ethics of intensification and animal welfare). The rest of FAO's moralising forum attributes positive appreciation to its shift from a study organisation to a development agency, to the code of conduct on responsible fisheries and generally to its focus on hunger, disconnected however from the systemic issues dealt with in the technical forum.

The moralising forum is weak for the EC where the only signs of paradigmatic shifts can be seen from the Trade DG website where "price is considered not the only value in trade; the need to integrate citizens' values in trade policies referring to social solidarity, social safety nets, ...achievement of sustainable development" (EC-Trade, 2005a). The non-trade concerns which had been the object of lists and elaborations, in the Trade DG become considered as 'values', as such supposedly no longer in need of technification. The moralising forum is absent from WTO, except for a peace award received in 2002 by a small Japanese foundation and a reference made to WTO contributing to peace in a speech by the Director General in 2002.

The Organisational Forum

It is through the *organisational forum* that the research has found how the conceptualisations made by the technical forum or the statements of the political or popular or moralising fora become discourses and how their formation and existence are determined by the discursive practices and governance modalities.

The organisational forum of FAO defies the implicit simple and reductionist view of agriculture as put forward by the Agreement on Agriculture. FAO's UN governing modality, its organisational structure and its interlocutors in the Ministries of Agriculture of 190 countries, so variously denominated, reveal the complexity and expansion of the boundaries of agriculture with its linkages to the biophysical and social world. FAO's governing bodies, advisory organs, committees and the multistakeholder dialogues with civil society organisations show the multiple fora where knowledge is constructed and decisions are made in a continuous interplay among government representatives but also interplay between these and non-state actors, such as transnational epistemic communities and civil society organisations. That decisions concerning agriculture go beyond Ministries of Agriculture and are in the domain of global public attention was the unstated message of events like the World Food Summits in 1996 and 2002 at the level of heads of states and governments.

The supranational structure of the EC and the boundaries between the DG-Agriculture and the DG-Trade can explain the more coherent two sets of parallel discourses by the EC, one standing for trade liberalisation and the other for nationally grounded production and local food production. The Commission as a single actor in trade, thanks to its supranational structure, has enabled a stance on liberalisation which would not have been pursued by the single states; the stance on liberalisation is supported by the DG-Trade, which has proved instrumentally convenient also in the framework of the Common Agricultural Policy. Alternative discourses on the European model of

agriculture, social cohesion agriculture, agriculture in a region are then left to the DG-Agriculture and to the individual states.

The weakness of the organisational forum of WTO is at the origin of the absence of any discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation, the legal texts of the Agreement on Agriculture being the only reference text for its secretariat's work. Even though the political forum of WTO asserts that agriculture is a core issue, de facto WTO does not develop these stances nor can deal with the numerous non-trade concerns which therefore remain an area of work in many other organisations. WTO results to be a very small organisation, with a large mandate, with only 15 staff in the Agriculture and Commodities Division and without a technical role. Its patchy incrementally built structure, its functioning through various committees and its decision-making by consensus have rendered its governance both complex and unmanageable. Its staff is in the majority from developed countries and are economists. By contrast, FAO has 1450 professional staff with varied backgrounds and the EC has 1,000 staff only in agriculture.

The networking of civil society organisations, their variety and their non-hierarchical features make no one discourse prevail, except in political statements. Despite the division between 'conformers' and 'reformers', food sovereignty is the political credo of a network like the IPC while for the conformers, liberalisation of trade has to go with a given amount of national production. The interest of the organisational forum is that it shows the growth of civil society organisations in deliberative fora, advisory committees, summits and conferences through their own parallel meetings, through a capillary interspersedness into an intergovernmental organisation like FAO and through communicative activities with a supranational organisation like the EC. These networked relations have become new governance modalities about which new terms become coined such as constituencies, partnerships, multistakeholder dialogues and brokering. All of these correspond to discursive practices made of hardware consisting of legalized regulations and institutionalised modalities of interaction and of software

consisting of dialogic and discursive practices to facilitate debate and arrive at a consensus[81]. Such discursive practices influence the very notion of agriculture and sustainable food production which, for example for the Major Groups, become the result of a commitment "to structures and processes that build partnerships, capacity and accountability among stakeholder groups" (Major Groups, undated).

In conclusion, the comparative analysis shows a strong technical forum where the paradigmatic shifts of national food production and the questioning of the comparative advantage principle are formulated, particularly with the FAO and the EC. There is iteration between the technical forum and the political arena of the FAO, EC and transnational civil society organisations, particularly on agriculture becoming associated with global public good characteristics. Some iteration also occurs between the moralising forum and the technical forum of FAO, the EC and civil society organisations, where ethical instances such as the ethics of intensification of production, animal health or the right to food become the subject of technical studies. The iterations between the different fora and the political arena are enabled by the organisational forum characteristics of each organisation, WTO resulting as the weakest and least permeable of all.

10.2 Interconnectedness Between and Among Actors

The organisational forum reveals how intergovernmental organisations, supranational institutions and national governments and civil society organisations are interconnected and how they feed each other in a complex network of relations, communicative activities, overt or hidden alliances, however temporary they may be. The same interconnectedness was found among the organisations themselves and between them and transnational epistemic communities.

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[81] While writing the research, I found out about a new professional profile being established in FAO, the profile of 'professional facilitator'.

Interconnectedness with Civil Society

The interconnectedness between an intergovernmental organisation like FAO and civil society, becomes institutionalised supported by stated rationales in its major political statements. The Rome Declaration on Food Security calls for coordinated efforts and shared responsibilities by the international community, governments and civil society organisations. A number of oral statements by the Director General refer to partners in agriculture in addition to governments and foresee as already identified in 1996 "the formation of new partnerships that combine individuals and groups from diverse sectors of society..." (Diouf, 1996c) as the hope for the future and the way to remedy the 'institutional vacuum' of the decline of state involvement in the economy (Diouf, 2002). As seen in the popular forum, FAO creates information resources (online photos, fact-sheets, etc.) for whoever wants to make use of them. Through accreditation procedures, civil society organisations contribute to the advisory organs, participate as observers in its governing bodies and as participants in other meetings through multistakeholder dialogues or through inputs into the technical forum. Also the industry associations participate in the negotiations of the regulatory frameworks (e.g.Codex Alimentarius).

In the words of senior officers, had it not been for civil society organisations, there would be no right to food, or Code of Conduct on the Responsible Use of Pesticides or the Treaty on Genetic Resources. Had there not been such dialogic practices, the discourses in FAO would not have benefited from the alternative perspectives brought in by civil society organisations. These have contributed to changes in FAO's discourses, either directly or indirectly. The concept of food sovereignty coined by civil society organisations, however, has not been taken up officially by FAO, although requested by the IPC but is used in-house as a rhetorical device to stand for national production and local food systems.

The same interconnectedness with civil society organisations can be seen from the organisational forum of the EC even though with a certain ambiguity. The EC relies on the self-organisation by civil society organisations although internally there is a plea that the "dialogue between civil society organisations and the Commission should be

formally institutionalized" (EC, undated (a)), in other words that there be an accreditation system. Also for the EC, relations with civil society are given a raison d'etre and theorised as "Civil society plays an important role n giving voice to the concerns of the citizens and delivering services that meet people's needs" (EC, 2002c). In its Trade Policy Reviews, the EC makes it a point to state that its trade policies are formulated with the contribution of civil society. Many of the statements of its political forum refer to society demanding a different agriculture and demanding the existence of those characteristics of agriculture that go under the term non-trade concerns or multifunctionality. The EC and the IPC echo each other on the "...right of every democratic society to choose its own agricultural policy" (EC-Trade, 2001).

It is in WTO that civil society organisations networking and their dialogic practices have no effect because of WTO's own weak organisational forum. After Seattle WTO increased its communicative activities and its transparency, to the point that the organisation received the highest ranks by the Global Accountability Reporting in 2003. However, given its small size, WTO has no established discursive practices with civil society organisations. It does nevertheless provide information resources, such as a monthly electronic news bulletin on WTO events and outcomes, specifically addressed to Parliamentarians. WTO can only 'post' the positions, statements or technical papers of civil society organisations in a dedicated space in its website, without differentiating between people's organisations, NGOs or industry and business associations. The posted positions show nevertheless civil society dialoguing with WTO on WTO's terms even if in opposition. Civil society organisations so broadly intended can attend its Ministerial Meetings and can be invited to an annual public symposium, where a trade issue is discussed substantively. No other discursive practices are made possible given the small secretariat.

Organisations' Interconnectedness

In addition, these organisations try to exert influence on each other in the different fora and arena. For example, vis-à-vis WTO, the EC supports its planned reform, wants it to

be more inclusive, proposes an accreditation system for civil society organisations, the opening of the Trade Policy Review mechanism to the Parliamentarians of the country concerned, and holding a meeting of Parliamentarians on a yearly basis (EC-Trade, 2003). It also asserts that "...WTO must remain the principal forum for trade opening and strengthening of trade rules" (WTO, 2004a:56). FAO, as an observer, proposes that the notion of food security be considered as a non-trade concern; it also provides capacity building to developing countries to negotiate and to understand the WTO Agreements related to agriculture. Civil society organisations post their positions on reforming WTO whilst the non-conformers state that agriculture should be out of WTO, judged as an inadequate institution.

Vis-à-vis FAO, the EC funds some of its 'developmental' activities but not its more systemic and regulatory work; its member countries individually fund projects in FAO related to multifunctionality aspects (the Netherlands) or farming systems (France) or human rights approaches to food (Germany). WTO limits its interpretation of the notion of food security to interdependence, whilst in a technical glossary equates food security to food self-sufficiency. Civil society organisations push FAO to adopt the term food sovereignty and to work towards its technification, but without success; they guard FAO against 'capture' or infiltration by industry; they request to be part of the organisation's governance and ask to be given equal speaking time as governments and funds to sustain their networking. They also support the 'core funding' of FAO as opposed to individual countries funding projects in areas of their interest.

Vis-à-vis civil society organisations, FAO acknowledges their positive contribution to its normative work and to some breakthroughs like the right to food. In view of the difficulty of managing the numerous and heterogeneous organisations interested in agriculture, FAO finds it convenient to work with self-appointed network of organisations. The same principle is followed by the EC; the EC explains many of its political statements as a response to civil society demands; it recommends broader inclusion of civil society organisations in the work of WTO, including "...more frequent and structured dialogue with parliaments." (WTO, 2004a:42). For WTO

dealing with the numerous civil society organisations is a management bottleneck because of its small secretariat.

Interconnectedness with Epistemic Communities

Transnational epistemic communities participate in the fora and arena of the organisations through the multiple channels provided to them by the staff. For example, FAO with its regional offices and its biennial regional conferences calls on epistemic communities from the different regions who make available their own research and perspectives – or are commissioned applied policy research – on the food and agriculture situation in each region, which then become discussed with government delegates. FAO relied on epistemic communities for its initial work on multifunctionality, promoted by a Dutch and a French Assistant Director-Generals, with funding from The Netherlands. It relies on a vast array of epistemic communities from many different nationalities for its work on the role of agriculture, under the technical supervision of a French Division Director with funding from Japan. It worked in close collaboration with the International Institute for Environment and Development in the UK for its definition of SARD (FAO, 2002d). On trade and food security it relies on a regular basis on the contributions of trade economist professors (e.g. Alan Matthews at Dublin University and T. Josling from California). Ethics was a domain entirely covered by outside resources (e.g. L. Busch and B.P. Thompson). In addition, its staff resort to epistemic communities often from their own countries, with whom they are familiar or whose work is known, for the many expert consultations, meetings, advisory bodies, Conferences as well as for the flagship publications reviewed. It is such work which contributes to FAO's discourses which become then appropriated by governments, inasmuch as the innovativeness the discourse propose can be accepted without too much dissonance with their own. As remarked by one senior official "Governments tell us what we tell them or ask them to tell us".

Epistemic and policy networks contribute to making the EC a "public policy space", as noted by Muller (2003) and are relied upon by the EC for the discourses on

multifunctionality and on non-trade concerns and more generally, for work on multilateral trade negotiations in agriculture (e.g. the sabbatical year spent by Alan Buckwell in the mid-1990s and the Project FAIR5-CT97-3481[82] during the period 1999–2002 involving scientific teams from Germany, UK, The Netherlands and Italy) (Fouilleux, 2003). The EC not only relies on epistemic communities, but it also actively "...seeks to create such discursive communities" (Schmidt, 2002). While very rich and diversified, with recourse to many disciplines, the discourses by the EC are more culturally homogeneous. The cultural homogeneity is even more evident in WTO where the organisational forum had revealed the homogeneous provenance of the staff and their economics or law backgrounds. In its secretariat function, WTO makes little use of epistemic communities in its little technical work. Even in the World Trade Journal, which was to be interdisciplinary, the economics and law disciplines de facto dominate. It is the epistemic communities that independently contribute to reflecting on WTO itself, considered as a global public good, and that praise the Agreement on Agriculture for having raised everybody's consciousness about nations' interdependence and question its governance. It is in relation to WTO that they assert the need to adhere to principles of fairness and cosmopolitan justice.

There is interplay and communications between the epistemic communities and the organisations reviewed; the same individuals from the epistemic communities may work for all three organisations and they also influence the positions of transnational civil society organisations. These have their own 'experts' as we saw with the IPC or their work is endorsed by authoritative experts, like for example Amartya Sen, Economics Nobel prize winner, who signed the preface of Oxfam's book on trade (Oxfam, 2002) in his capacity as Honorary President of Oxfam. However, the IPC discourse on 'food sovereignty' remains not developed technically. The attempt to have FAO work on it did not succeed and, in the words of an FAO senior officer, "the IPC has not endowed itself with authoritative trade economist experts on the subject'. In conclusion, epistemic communities contribute to the discourses reviewed; they are

[82] This project, entitled Coordinated Studies In view of the Future Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiation in Agriculture and the Food Sector, was coordinated by the Economic and Social Department of the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, Rennes, France.

closely interconnected with the organisations which have several institutional practices for enabling their participation. It is such epistemic communities that create the resources and 'push' the disciplinary boundaries of the construction of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation.

Epistemic Communities and their Theoretical Resources

The contributions of the epistemic communities are particularly significant in adding to economics other disciplinary perspectives showing that the core of the contentions are also consumption issues, reflecting the demands on agriculture by a wide array of consumers. They are also significant in unpacking and elaborating the numerous non-trade concerns. After the first conceptualisation of non-trade concerns as food security and preservation of the environment mentioned in the Legal texts, many more follow thus opening the door to a multitude of characterizations of agriculture and most importantly to a variety of disciplines which are pushing economics to reformulate the original policy problem construction and more generally are contributing to more interdisciplinary research approaches.

The varieties of non-trade concerns progressively elaborated testify the need for other disciplines. It is worth recalling what countries put on the table as non-trade concerns, as summarized by WTO (2000a): food security; preserving the environment; provision of public goods (environment and sustained vitality of rural areas); agricultural landscapes; cultural heritage; agri-biological diversity; maintenance of a good plant, animal and public health; viability of rural areas; local communities; needs of a scattered population; rural development; land conservation and prevention of floods; food safety and quality; animal welfare. In addition, other characteristics become attributed to agriculture which could be considered as non-trade concerns, e.g. cultural landscape and for FAO foundation of national identity and buffer role against sudden macro-economic shocks. The EC considers non-trade concerns many of these mentioned by WTO; in addition, in its popular forum, it mentions "health, social standards and cultural diversity" as non-trade concerns (EC-Trade, 2004b). For WTO,

food security stocks, direct payment to producers, structural adjustment assistance, safety-net programmes, environmental programmes and regional assistance programmes are mentioned as non-trade concerns (WTO, 2005a).

While economics enters in the analysis of all such characteristics, and is the founding characterization in the case of provision of public goods, it is easy to understand from the topics covered how analysis by other disciplines is important on its own right and not in an ancillary position vis-à-vis economics. The non-trade concern of 'Food Security' for example calls on economics for the analysis of policy measures for domestic production in a liberalized environment, on public good economics and bio-physical sciences for the analysis of the interdependence of production at global level, on sociology for the understanding of globalisation of agriculture with the intra-firm and intra-industry trade characteristics of agricultural trade, on ethics for its access dimension, for the intensification of production and for the right to food. The adequacy of the diet and the utilization of food implied in the non-trade concern of food security call on health sciences. Unexpectedly, it is from sociology itself that the breakthrough of public goods is endorsed when it is recognized that public good characteristics are not technically determined but are the outcome of a negotiation implicitly recognizing that this also applies to the public good characteristics of agriculture

Even more disciplines are called for when considering food safety and quality. In addition to economics and its variants to analyse the price of food and the cost of food standards, sociology becomes necessary to understand how agents broker the quality of food, the consumers' demands on food and also, in its more macrostructural dimensions, how food becomes the product of international production chains. Together with political economy, sociology helps to see how food safety and quality are negotiated at international level. Food as different from any other commodity, as an identiterian good, namely as a product with cultural attributes related to a territory and as a carrier of highly symbolic values and significance is the natural domain of anthropology, food studies and ethics.

The arguments for the non-trade concern preserving the environment which could be found in all the discourses reviewed used economics for the normative position that prices should reflect environmental values, global public goods economics for characterizing the environment as an undersupplied public good at the regional level and ethics for the dimension of the rights of nature and for considering agriculture as part of globalised nature. The global public good argumentations lead to governance questions under disciplines like political economy and political ecology. Ethics is the fundamental discipline for the non-trade concern of animal welfare, in addition to bio-physical sciences on the effects of growth of animal production on the earth. Finally, geography, sociology, economics, geophilosophy, anthropology are the main disciplines for the non-trade concerns going under the names of 'Viability of rural areas' and 'Local communities'.

In conclusion, the non-trade concerns open the door to the inflow of other disciplines which concur to dismantling the totalising and hegemonic tendencies of economics, thereby also contributing to dismantling what Bourdieu (1998, referenced in Slater, 2000) had identified as the "strong discourse" of neoliberalism. This has "the means of making itself true and empirically viable" because it orients "the economic choices of those who dominate economic relationships and hence constitutes a "scientific programme, converted into a plan of political action". The presence of epistemic communities strengthens the case of the various non-trade concerns which, however, remain fragmented and not backed as yet by cohesive institutionalised discursive practices in intergovernmental fora.

10.3 Towards a Paradigm Shift?

The discourses on the variety of functions and attributes of agriculture testify that agriculture has become a complex and multifaceted sector, part of a chain linking the physical environment and production to consumption and health on a global scale. As such it is in the sphere of interest, life experience and interpretation of numerous different actors, many of whom without any particular affiliation or allegiance to

agricultural activities and the rural areas. The discourses captured through the case studies show the variety of conceptualisations on agriculture deriving from its many functions in addition to production. Furthermore, they also present a shift from the policy paradigm of the Agreement on Agriculture, as elaborated by the technical and political forum of FAO, the EC and transnational civil society organisations by quietly supporting the discourse on national production, with the associated local food systems, without equating it however to food self-sufficiency. The assertion of national production represents a shift in that it runs counter the notion of trade liberalisation, based on the principle of comparative advantage, that would encourage specialisation in production resulting however in dislocation of production and in smaller rural communities.

The discourse on food security is the only one that makes an explicit link with the more systemic issues of interdependence between national and local food production with global food demand at present and in the future. It is the discourse that links with those by academia and epistemic communities related to structural changes and to food consumption. Yet, the dilemma between intensification to meet the rising global food demand and diversification remains unanswered. Peter Timmer (2003b) advances the option of in-country regional specialization as a way to maintain a balance between the higher productivity and efficiency implied in intensification and the food security and other requirements placed by governments and consumers on the food system, including health and biosecurity issues. The discourses reviewed also are revealing of the gap in knowledge on the extent to which trade liberalisation is causing the disappearance of existing food and farming systems and the effects of the creation of the new ones geared to middle-class consumers of developed countries. The same uncertainties are in the area of biotechnologies and the threat they represent for the exclusiveness of farming systems as well as on the effects of agro-food industry concentration.

At the beginning of the dissertation, I specified how I used the term 'paradigm', underlining that it implies new research perspectives with associated theoretical approaches and also new sets of research methods and new interpretation of empirical data. The conclusion that a paradigmatic shift is underway is substantiated by the

finding of the notion of public good applied to agriculture, for its theoretical potential in fostering interdisciplinary approaches and methods, for its potential to reconnect production with consumption issues and the local with global dimensions. The concept of public goods, and in particular global public goods, associated with agriculture have the potential to constitute a fundamental divergence from the trade liberalisation paradigm of the Agreement on Agriculture on several grounds.

First of all they imply a shift from the notion of agriculture and its products as undifferentiated commodities by acknowledging the existence of other non-market characteristics of agriculture as attributed by consumers and society at large. The concepts of global public goods enables linking with governance questions. Given, as noted by Nieddu (2002) that rarely products from agriculture have a strict national boundary, agriculture contributes to global public goods which are deterritorialised, no longer in the purview only of individual nations or local communities. This implies the transnational governance of agriculture, its link with 'globalised' nature and the acknowledgment of the inextricable link between the global and local dimensions of production and consumption. The strength of the theoretical perspective offered by notion of public goods in guiding the paradigm shift is given above all by the acknowledgement by economists that public good properties are not the result of fixed technical relations but, rather, they are the result of intersubjective negotiations and agreements, thus opening the door to interpretive and interdisciplinary approaches.

The paradigm shift is also occurring through the elaboration of new research methods and novel interpretations of empirical data which the dissertation has investigated and arrived at. The organisational forum has allowed to discover the institutional dimensions of the discourses, namely the institutionalisation of new discursive practices and governance modalities linking intergovernmental organisations, governments and non-state actors, be they transnational civil society or epistemic communities. Thus, unanticipated in the beginning, the research results point to the conclusion that discourse formation cannot be analysed without investigating the discursive practices and the governance arrangements in which the actors making the discourses are involved.

The research has documented the large and complex institutional landscape dealing with food and agriculture issues and has shown how such governance arrangements and institutionalised discursive practices affect the formation of discourses and how they have become a constituent part of policy-making and construction of international regulatory frameworks. Thus the research, through the organisational forum, has led to integrate discourse analysis with governance questions; this opened the door to a vast body of knowledge which could be surveyed broadly and not in-depth.

The way the discourses were formed through circulation of documents, conferences, consultations, meetings and the web seem to corroborate Hajer's notion of a polity which is "...no longer structured by enduring institutions, but is discursively created through processes of deliberation" (Hajer, 2003). As also implied in the notion of global public goods, this evidences a situation where the states and their boundaries have become less significant with an increasing role being played by a multitude of intergovernmental organisations and by a flux of changing and ephemeral networks of transnational civil society organisations. The cleavage in the vast literature on these governance aspects can be found between the positive and negative assessment of the diminishing role of the state, with the associated theoretical foundations[83]. Some authors highlight the 'institutional void' of this situation (Hajer, 2003) or also the "democratic deficit relative to elected and appointed governmental bodies" of the new forms of governance through partnerships and multistakeholder dialogues (Mathur et al, 2003). Other authors see these new governance modalities as new forms of "cognitive practices" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991 referenced in Hajer, 2003a:102). These have the potential to expand the boundaries of the moral community or 'community of fate' – including the excluded and subaltern groups – and even to expand to reach "...the broader biotic community in which human communities are embedded" (Eckersley, 2004:9). Even for the economists, these are valuable processes in that they help reveal the demand for public goods.

[83] A recent critical review of the theories of the state can be found in Eckersley (2004).

Multilateral organisations and civil society organisations feed each other's discourses, reinforcing each other. They are both considered as unaccountable and beyond citizens' control by some authors like Ottaway (2001) and as restricting national decision-making (Held, 2001) while by others multilateral organisations are viewed as expanding "the menu of choices available to states" (Eckersley, 2004:49) and also as a supplementary governance structure enabling the application of the principle of 'affectedness'. As Yanow (2003) had reminded, in any policy situations there are at least "three communities of meaning", namely the policy makers, the implementers and the affected citizens or clients. Affectedness implies that "....persons should not be bound by norms that potentially affect them if they have not given them their free and informed consent" (Eckersley, 2004:173). While the literature and debate are very rich and can hardly be reflected in this text, the research findings on the interconnectedness between intergovernmental organisations and transnational civil society organisations show that these are no longer in opposition to the existing governance system but they are a constitutive element of it. The same can be said of the transnational epistemic communities who, through multilateral intergovernmental institutions, advance the state of knowledge with governments different from those to whom they belong.

The new research method and interpretation of data which constitute a paradigm shift can be found in the descriptive constructs of fora and arena. Not only have these enabled an understanding of the institutional and governance dimensions constituting the discourses but have also allowed capturing new forms of knowledge construction. These go beyond the codified research practices of the technical forum and include non-academic genres of work and the associated mediatisation through the web, global summits and conferences. In addition to demonstrating that the technical forum is not the only legitimate forum, the research has shown the gradual displacement or 'deinstitutionalisation' of economics (Wilkinson, 1997) and academia, as the sole authoritative sources of analysis and as sole 'problem owners'. The efficiency of discourses, therefore, comes from multiple sources of knowledge which battle for pre-eminence, thus casting doubts that only those organisations with better endowed and managed intellectual resources are capable of producing discourses which are more influential in the political exchange (Fouilleux, 2003). Thus, the fora and arena have

allowed capturing the elaboration of different kinds of knowledge understood as "knowledge is knowledge to anyone who takes it as a basis for some commitment to action" (Dunn, 1993).

The redefinition of the theoretical perspectives, with the associated new methods and data interpretation, as called for by a paradigmatic shift, could be further elaborated through rural studies. These enable, on the one hand the suggested new way of doing science, as co-construction between social actors and experts, including 'non-academic' genres of work (Fish, 2005). On the other, they enable an interdisciplinary approach. As highlighted by Marsden (2006:10) their not having a one single institutional home, accounts for their vibrancy and their enabling "...a more interdisciplinary critical rural social science and to link this directly to broader societal and restructuring trends...". By embracing macro-structural problems, rural studies can enable the reconnection between production and consumption questions and by taking into account alternative perspectives they can remedy the dissonance between the economic prescriptions and alternative perceptions and analyses. It is through rural studies that the new interpretative frameworks being built through different theoretical perspectives can be understood, as signs of third-order policy changes.

Interpretive Activities Are Continuing

The interpretive activities of the fora and arena continue as they have not yet enabled the "...reduction of the discursive complexity" of the policy problem and therefore the possibility of what Hajer referred to as the "discursive closure" of the policy problem (Hajer, 1995:22). It is somewhat ironic, however, that it is to WTO that the greatest regulatory power is being accorded in international trade; as documented in this research, it is WTO which is the organisation least endowed with institutionalised discursive practices enabling the elaboration of the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalisation. This is a reflection of the basic cleavage between WTO and the other organisations reviewed in this research, like FAO, the EC and the transnational

civil society organisations of the case studies. WTO's basic philosophy is to rely on market mechanisms to capture the demand and supply of the products and services provided by agriculture. For the other organisations, it is desirable that humans be in a stewarding position and hence the need for institutions and discursive practices enabling discussions, debates, the creation of consensual knowledge and the establishment of agreements.

These paradigm shifts that are occurring are not yet being supported by the popular forum where the organisations and, in particular, civil society organisations have failed to create images or events of great global resonance. The same could be said, although to a less extent, for the moralising forum. This forum is generating discourses on policies founded on human rights but nevertheless has not yet generated for agriculture "a natural morality akin to the one created by the environment movements" (Lowe and Ward, 1997). Borrowing from Hajer (1995:64) it could be said that no convincing story line has made it as yet to become defined, accepted and enabling coalescing of a large number of actors.

The research thus confirms that the quest for a systemic approach to world food issues, first explicitly propounded by Lord Boyd Orr in 1946 remains; it becomes reasserted as the need to reconnect production and consumption and food/green questions, that is the need to connect sustainable production with sustainable consumption issues. It remains to be seen whether the tension between policy dominated by experts, technocratic arrangements, reliance on market mechanisms and policy discourses reflecting "institutional reflexive arrangements" can be solved through more democratic institutional reflexive arrangements at global level.

10.4 Contribution, Limitations and Future Directions of the Research

The research has not relied on a "guiding theory" nor has attempted to arrive at a new theory. The result is not so much a synthesis but rather a hybridisation of theoretical approaches which are mutually compatible and have an overall coherence, even if

eclectically assembled. The contribution of this research is in the areas of governance of agriculture and of the hybridisation of research approaches that appear to be called for by the interdisciplinary nature of the policy problem of trade liberalisation in agriculture. The research has documented the discourses on agriculture and trade liberalisation of organisations like FAO, WTO, the European Commission and transnational civil society organisations. It has shown how a theme as agriculture and trade liberalisation becomes defined as policy problem in the first place and how civil society organisations are not outsiders but are a constituent part of discourse making of supranational and intergovernmental organisations, except for WTO.

More particularly, the contribution can be seen in the development of the heuristic framework of fora and arena for the collection and organisation of the data. I elaborated on the work of other authors (Callon, 1995 and Jones 1995) and to the political arena, to the technical and popular fora, I added the organisational and moralising fora. Through the organisational forum the research was able to document how the discourses on multifunctionality, roles of agriculture, SARD, food security and food sovereignty are determined by the institutionalised discursive practices and governance arrangements. This supported the conclusion that discourses cannot be analysed without also considering the institutional environment in which they are embedded, an area usually neglected in discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995). The moralising forum is there to highlight how discourses – like all other interactions – take place in a moral framework be it tacitly assumed or made explicit to strengthen the persuasive efficiency of the discourse.

The fora and arena have enabled a systematic collection of data which attest to the internal validity of the research; they have also enabled to compare the data for each organisation. The fora and arena have required to consider a heterogeneous corpus of materials to which the research has given equal ontological status, consisting of official declarations but also of more ephemeral web communications and brochures. The latter were not considered minor or less important; rather as an integral part of the entire web of meanings created by the discourses and therefore as contributors to the generalizations. The fora and arena have also been useful in encouraging integration

across disciplines through the variety of materials gathered and the differing theoretical resources supporting the discourses behind such materials.

All the fora and arena testify the increased self-reflexivity of the organisations reviewed, namely their defining and redefining their positions and perspectives. At the same time, the research has also documented the fragility and ephemeral nature of discourses, if they are not accompanied by technical resources and robust institutionalised discursive practices, i.e. if they do not become part of institutional arrangements recognized as legitimate by the three communities of meaning in any policy situation, namely the policy makers, those who implement the policies and those who are affected by policies. Discourses are determined by the discursive practices which through their institutionalisation and outcomes have a bearing on the very existence of the discourses and their scope.

Another contribution of the research has been the finding of the theoretical resources on agriculture and trade liberalisation built by the transnational epistemic communities for the organisations. Theoretical resources became used as a tool in the battling of discourses, primarily in counteracting the economics-driven formulation of the trade liberalisation paradigm and, above all, as a tool to elaborate on the non-trade concerns. While originally in the Agreement on Agriculture, these were restricted to food security and preservation of the environment, progressively they became more numerous encompassing the numerous non-market characteristics of agriculture.

Limitations

While carrying out the research, I became progressively aware of some problematic aspects and biases. While recognizing the equal importance of the different fora and arena in constructing the knowledge behind the discourses, in my own analysis I privileged the technical forum, as this corresponded best to my analytical abilities and to my personal interest. I did not cover with equal attention, the semiotic aspects of the documents and other materials I used as evidence of the discourses. Nor did I did cover

the electronic communications which – for actors like transnational civil society organisations – are constitutive of their networking and of their creating social spaces through Internet. The thematic reading of texts was particularly suited to privileging the technical forum; this may explain, however, why the popular and moralising fora have resulted in much weaker fora than the others. It is these fora that build what Urry calls "...the global economy of signs [which] is transforming the public sphere into an increasingly visual and emotional public stage (Urry, 2000:211). The popular and moralising fora used communicative means and activities (e.g. medals, awards, concerts, etc.) which, in addition to thematic reading, would have required other interpretive methods.

As mentioned in the second chapter, I chose to analyse materials only in English, despite the presence of the same and also additional materials in other languages. For example, in the case of the EC, I found some speeches which were in French only, not translated into English. Such a level of inter-language analysis has not been made for pragmatic reasons, but also as an acknowledgement of the supremacy of English in the literature on agriculture and trade negotiations where WTO is involved.

Another limitation of the research is related to the interests behind the negotiations; although acknowledging that interests do matter, I did not investigate the individuals and the interests behind the discourses. The failure in the negotiations in 2005 demonstrated that negotiators were dealing with the 'hard' issues of subsidies and interest-based negotiations as opposed to the ideas-based negotiations which have informed my work. This aspect was not covered by the research, although a point of relevance in determining the amount of discourses or theoretical resources built towards some discourses.

It also became obvious while tracing some of the discourses that developing countries were participating actively in the negotiations, individually and through groupings, thereby influencing the discourses, either directly, as in the case of FAO, or indirectly as an interlocutor to be considered, as in the case of the EC and transnational civil society organisations. While in the early period of the 'world food movement' developing

countries were an atomised and passive interlocutor, they have become significant actors in the years covered by the research, 2000–2005, supporting by way of example, the discourse on food security.

As mentioned in the contribution section, the research has shown that discourses cannot be analysed without considering the governance arrangements in which they are embedded and which they themselves help to constitute. This consideration opened the door to the governance literature which could only be covered partially. The cases of FAO and WTO presented an intergovernmental context, which in the case of FAO, had governance structures enabling the variety of its 190 member countries to channel their views. The incrementally built and patchy structure of WTO hindered the formation and development of discourses. The case of the EC, a supranational institution, was much more complex, presenting a unique case of combination of intergovernmental and supranational management of trade policy presenting, as noted by Mercado (1997:86) the conceptual challenge of "the permeability of the international-domestic and state-society boundaries with which we are generally familiar". In other words, the significance of the intergovernmental and supranational structures was noted but could have benefited from further analysis. The same could be said about the transnational civil society organisations. Soon I realized that I was touching the surface of the relatively new and complex domain of transnational civil society networks and social movements and their different communicative activities, including their use of Internet.

Future Research Directions

The points described in the limitations can be considered as points for future directions. In particular, I wish to highlight the linking of the discourses with the actors and their interests as one area of further research. Do discourses support specific interests and of whom? To what extent are the discourses determined by interests? Or, as pointed out by Schmidt and Radaelli (2004) do they serve to reconceptualise interests? The exploration of these questions would enable to overcome the dichotomy between interpretivism and positivism: it would use an interpretivist understanding of the discourses with a

positivist understanding, that is "theoretical propositions according to rules of formal logic" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:4), of the interests.

The challenge remains in my view on how different layers of research can add perspectives without contradicting the others, how the different disciplines can talk to each other, generate a shared language and ultimately, how hybridisation of theoretical approaches can be fostered. Such hybridisation of theoretical approaches could also contribute to social constructivist approaches enabling not only to open 'black boxes' and to unveil the processes of knowledge construction, but also to see how reflexive discursive practices can be developed in institutional arrangements, so as to overcome the present limited capacity to deal with multiple constituencies and multiple perspectives as well as hybrid forms of governance.

EPILOGUE

In the foreword I stated that this research had been motivated by a personal quest to understand the why and how of perspectives on agriculture and trade liberalisation spurred by the protests at the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle in 1999. I felt the need to resolve the dissonance created by such discourses with those I was familiar with, driven by economics. The research has allowed me to investigate this dissonance; unexpectedly, it has not only made me acquire new theoretical perspectives and research methods but it has affected my subjectivity.

On the one hand, the research has allowed me to become like an external observer of FAO, an organisation where I had been working for many years and which had become an integral part of my social being. I was finally able to create distance, understand my own emotional and intellectual involvement with the organisation. I was able to set it in the context of the numerous organisations dealing with agriculture. On the other hand, more importantly, the research has enabled an intellectual understanding on the intersubjective creation of reality and on knowledge which I had become familiar with through the works of Robert Musil, my preferred author, which I had kept for my personal and private sphere.

Musil in his works gave fine-grained reflections on individuals being not autonomous, transcendent selves but rather as changing and evolving according to contexts. He also saw knowledge as a combination of logic, ethics, aesthetics and of a multiplicity of perspectives, thus rejecting the predominance of the rational dimensions of apprehending, viewed by him as also induced by emotions. Bringing order in knowledge for him meant "...a vision of the reasons, of the connections, the limitations, the fluid meaning of motivations of human action: ultimately, an interpretation of life" [84]. He believed – and he applied it in his own work – that "the intellect has to distinguish and grasp with greater accuracy what is fluid". He thus always held an

[84] Musil, R. (1995). Saggi e Lettere (Prosa und Stucke. Kleine Prosa. Aphorismen. Autobiographische Essays und Reden. Kritick. Briefe (1910-1942), Torino, Einaudi (p.xxv).

analytical attitude vis-à-vis multiple ways of knowing, including intuition and emotions and through the same analytical attitude, he refuted the reification and solidification of knowledge.

I found these same principles while carrying out the research with discourse analysis; this helped me theorise the literary thoughts of Musil and gave me a method for challenging taken-for-granted meanings and understandings. I could now reconcile what I had found suggestive and attractive in Musil – which I had kept for my personal and private sphere – with the theorisation I progressively acquired through the research. I realised that I did not need 'resolve' the dissonance but rather acknowledge it, know it and appropriate it. What I had considered as literary and suggestive thinking could now become part of my analytics repertory, for research purposes and more generally in my life, including my work life imbued with a culture of professionalism, intended as personal neutrality and distance; namely, have an analytical attitude towards both the cognitive aspects of knowledge based on the rational sphere and those resulting from emotions and intuitions, as applied to what appears as both stable and ephemeral reality.

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Annex 1 Documentary Evidence

	FAO	WTO	EC	Civil Society Organisations
0rganisation forum	▪ The constitution ▪ Documents on governing bodies and functioning ▪ Organigram ▪ Quantitative and qualitative information on staff ▪ The building and its physical space ▪ Webpages on Priority Areas for Interdisciplinary Action (PAIA) ▪ Logo	▪ The legal texts ▪ Documents on governing bodies and functioning ▪ Organigram ▪ Annual Report with information on staff number and nationalities ▪ The building ▪ The logo	▪ Documents on governing bodies ▪ Documents on structure and functioning ▪ Information on staff of DG-agr. ▪ Documents on relations with CSO, with FAO and WTO ▪ 1 White Paper on 'Reforming the Commission'	▪ UN documents/web ▪ FAO, UNDP, UNEP, World Bank, IFAD, WTO, EC relations offices with CSO. ▪ UNGLS webpages and documents ▪ FAO document (FAO, 2005a) ▪ Major Groups (webpages) ▪ IPC (webpages, documents) ▪ UNDESA Partnerships office and database ▪ Civil society observatories: CONGO;FIM;
Political arena	▪ Reports of four FAO Conferences ('1999, 2001, 2003 and 2005) ▪ Reports of the four Regional Conferences in 2002 (Africa, Near East, Latin American and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific) ▪ Declarations and	▪ Preamble of the legal texts ▪ Forewords of the annual World Trade Reports ▪ Speeches by Director-Generals	▪ The Treaty ▪ 496 speeches and press releases ▪ press releases	▪ Political statement by IPC and Major Groups ▪ More and Better Campaign ▪ Statements by NGOs on WTO website

	FAO	WTO	EC	Civil Society Organisations
	statements at major international events; Quebec, 1996; WFS, 1996; WTO, 2001; WSSD, 2002; WFS;fyl 2002. ▪ Forewords of two of its six flagship publications, dealing with global world agriculture issues (as against the sectoral emphases of the remaining four flagship publications) ▪ 70 Speeches of the DG			
Technical forum	▪ FAO Conferences reports (1999, 2001, 2003, 2005) ▪ MFCAL Conference, 1999 ▪ Strategy document (FAO, 1999c) ▪ Two flagship publications (SOFA, AT 2030) ▪ Documents for technical bodies COAG and Programme Committee ▪ Project documentation on ROA ▪ Technical documents prepared for the 1996 WFS ▪ Ethics series technical papers ▪ Evaluation Reports ▪ FAO Terminology	▪ WTO Legal Texts ▪ Annual Report ▪ World Trade Report (yearly) ▪ 7 Special studies ▪ 9 Discussion papers ▪ 48 Working Papers ▪ Secretariat's documents ▪ World Trade Review journal ▪ NGO position papers ▪ Epistemic communities writing on WTO as an organisation ▪ Trade policy reviews of the EC (2000–02–04) ▪ Glossary ▪ 381 NGO Position Papers	▪ The Treaty ▪ Trade Policy Reviews (biennial reports by governments to WTO, 2000–02–04) ▪ Monitoring Agri-Trade Policy Newsletter ▪ Monitoring Agri-Trade Policy Briefs ▪ DG-Trade webpage with PPT and anonymous documents ▪ Guidelines on rural development ▪ 35 Green Papers; 1 White Paper ▪ 23 UACES on-line reflections papers	▪ 381 Position Papers posted in WTO; ▪ IPC text on food sovereignty ▪ Major Groups note ▪ FIAN webpages and interview ▪ UNDESA 180 partnerships database ▪ SARD initiative ▪ Industry's documents (ANIA, IFA, Carrefour) ▪ Think tanks webpages and documents: IATP, ODI, ETC,WRI. ▪ Trade, Human Rights and the Economy by IATP

	FAO	WTO	EC	Civil Society Organisations
Popular	▪ Webpages ▪ 2 brochures (FAO, 2002a;FAO, 2003f) ▪ Events (World Food Day, Rural Women's Day, World Food Summit: fyl) ▪ Initiatives that include the general public (Telefood) ▪ Consumer goods ▪ FAO Terminology	▪ Webpages; ▪ speeches by Director-Generals addressed to the general public ▪ 208 press releases ▪ Publication 'Understanding WTO' ▪ Guide on WTO policy issues for parliamentarians ▪ Documents on annual public symposia 2000–2005 ▪ Glossary	▪ Europa: Easyreading corner website ▪ DG-Trade webpage ▪ CAP Brochure ▪ DG-Trade glossary ▪ DG-Agriculture glossary ▪ Interactive Policy-Making in the Europa Gateway to the EU webpages ▪ Europe-direct information network ▪ E-consultations ▪ EU competitiveness information campaigns ▪ Trade e-mail digest ▪ Surveys and opinion polls	▪ IPC webpage ▪ E-Forum in preparation of WSSD ▪ NGO/CSO Forum proceedings (parallel to 2002 WFS:fyl) ▪ Industry's documents: Int'l Agri-Food Network; Croplife Int'l; SAI; ANIA;IFA. ▪ US National FAO Committee study/action packet. ▪ UNDESA "Partnerships" leaflet
Moralising Forum	▪ 2 Campaigns ▪ 3 Awards ▪ 2 Medal Programmes ▪ Ambassador's programme ▪ Ethics committee ▪ FAO building (paintings and symbols)	▪ Documents on Goi Peace award ▪ Speeches by the DG with peace motive ▪ WTO building symbols ▪ Documents by academics on applying social justice and principle of fairness to the negotiations	▪ Celebratory events (Europe Day and European Consumer Day) ▪ Sustainable Trade Day ▪ DG-Trade webpages	Documents/leaflets/webpages on: ▪ More and Better Campaign by Bread for the World, Action contre la Faim ▪ WAGGGS-FAO Nutrition Award ▪ Industry associations awards: IFA; World Food Prize ▪ Corporate social responsibility practices by ISEAL

	FAO	WTO	EC	Civil Society Organisations
				▪ Trade, Human Rights and the Economy by IATP ▪ Partnerships awards (SEED)

Annex 2 List of Persons Interviewed

Dates	*Name*	*Position*
FAO		
15/02/2005	Eva Clayton	Assistant Director General, Follow up to the World Food Summit, FAO, Rome, Italy
16/11/2004	Marie Cécile Thirion	Bureau des Politiques Agricoles et de la Sécurité Alimentaire, Ministère des Affaires Ètrangères, Paris, France
EC		
	Salvatore Petroli	Director-General, agro-food market transformation (Direttore Generale della Trasformazione Agroalimentari dei Mercati) Ministero delle Politiche Agricole e Forestali, Rome, Italy
WTO		
	Hans Peter Werner	Counsellor, Development Division, WTO, Geneva
Transnational civil society organisations		
30/11/2004	Antonio Onorati	Coordinator, International Planning Committee, Rome, Italy.
25/01/05	Linda Elswick and Escudero	IPSA
	Zehra Aydin, Deputy Coordinator and Chief,	UNGLS, New York
Others		
	Zvelolyub Bamsajiev	Sustainable Development Officer, Programme Corodiantion, Major Groups and Partnerhsips Branch, Division of Sustainable Development, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, U.N. New York
	Reynolds	Senior Communications Officer, Global Civil Society Team, External Affairs Department, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., USA
	Ida Magli,	Anthropologist and opinion maker, Rome, Italy

Annex 3 Summary Overview on Main Actors, Policies and Institutions in Food and Agriculture

Domain/Policies and Institutions	Organisation(s)			
	Global	**Regional**	**National**	**Subnational**
Macroeconomic and financial stability (Monetary and fiscal policies)	IMF, G8, G20		Governments	-
Financial stability and economic development, incl. Agriculture (Monetary, fiscal, investment policies [sectoral and programme lending]; sectoral and subsectoral policies); price policies; income support programmes; futures markets	World Bank	Regional Development Banks (ADB, AsDB) EC	Governments Private sector	Local govt
Food aid (Distribution of food supplies through food-for-work and other programmes)	WFP CSO	CSO	Governments CSO	Local governments CSO
Research and policy studies: on the state of food, nutrition and agriculture (including projections, agriculture as a public good, agriculture as locus of natural resources, dimensions of hunger, economic policy studies)	FAO, IFPRI, UNDP UNEP World Bank	CGIAR centres OECD IICA	CSO Foundations Universities	CSO Foundations Universities
- on agriculture and rural poverty	UNDP FAO IFAD World Bank		Governments NGOs Foundations Universities	Local govts NGOs Foundations Universities

Domain/Policies and Institutions	Organisation(s)			
	Global	**Regional**	**National**	**Subnational**
	Foundations			
- on agro-industry	UNIDO UNCTAD NTC	TNC	Private companies TNC	Private companies TNC
- on farming systems	FAO World Bank UNESCO	CGIAR centres	Govts Universities	Local govts Universities
- on sustainability	FAO UNDP UNESCO UNEP	CGIAR centres	Govts Universities	Local govts Universities
-on trade	UNCTAD OECD FAO	NGOs	Govts Universities NGOs CSO	
Investments (Sectoral and subsectoral lending; programme and project lending, FDI)	World Bank Other banks TNC	Regional Banks Other banks TNC	Private investors Governments TNC	Private investors Local govern-ments, TNC
Regulation and voluntary codes				
UR discipline and reforms: Agreement on Agriculture for: market access restrictions (:a) tariffs, b) variable levies, c) import quotas; and d) other non-tariff barriers;) domestic support; export subsidies.	WTO UNCTAD	EU Regional Economic Organisations	Governments	
SPS and TBT (sanitary and phytosanitary standards and non-technical barriers to trade)	UN		Governments	
TRIPS for genetic resources in agriculture				
UN Millennium Development Goals				
Intellectual Property Rights	WTO, WIPO			
Standards, classifications and appellations	WTO, WCO, TNC	EU TNC	Governments TNC	Local governments

Domain/Policies and Institutions	Organisation(s)			
	Global	**Regional**	**National**	**Subnational**
-Food safety and quality (Codex) -Plants (IPPC) -Animal Health	FAO/WHO FAO/IPPC OIE ISEAL	NGOs	NGOs	TNC
Codes of Conduct on Responsible Fisheries; Int'l Code of Conduct for the Distribution and Use of Pesticides -Model Code of Forest Harvesting Practices; Int'l Code of Conduct for Plant Germplasm Collection and Transfer Draft Conduct on biotechnology Good Agricultural Practices, etc.	FAO			
Labour conditions, safety, health and child labour in agriculture -Right to Food	ILO-FAO UN-interagency group		Governments	Local govts
Technical assistance to agriculture	FAO, WTO, UNCTAD, UNEP, UNDP, CGIAR, WHO, UNIDO, Foundations, NGOs,TNC	CGIAR centres IICA EC Regional economic organisations Foundations, NGOs,TNC	Govts, private sector, Foundations, NGOs, TNC	Local govts, private sector, Foundations, NGOs, TNC

Annex 4 Country Groupings in the Trade Negotiations as of October 2005

G-10 (the most protectionist): Bulgaria, Iceland, Japan, South Corea, Liechtenstein, Mauritius, Norway, Switzerland, Taipei

G-20 (newly created – they are actually 19): Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Cuba, Egypt, Philippines, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, South Africa, Tanzania, Thailand, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

G-20plus, (G-20 but not always in agreement on everything, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Perù)

Cairns group, historical group, established with the Uruguay Round, now weakened by the adhesion of half of its members to the G-20 (underlined): Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costarica, Philippines, Guatemala, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Paraguay, Thailand, Uruguay

Poorest countries:

- ***Cotton Group***: Benin, Burkina Faso, Tchad, Mali
- ***G-90:*** 64 countries from Africa, ACP and Least Developed Countries;
- ***G-33:*** more than 40 developing countries, concerned with the effects of liberalisation on family farming[85];

Single 'strong' actors: USA, EU, Canada, Japan, Australia, and now also Brazil, India, China...

Smaller groups:

- ***Quad*** (quadrilateral): USA, EU, Canada, Japan

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[85] Note by the author: the self-stated strategic objective is "to ensure that the issue of food security, rural livelihood and rural development becomes an integral part of the agricultural negotiations, the "engine" and central issue of the WTO Development Agenda" (G33 Press Statement, Geneva, October 11, 2000).

- ***New Quad**:* USA, EU, Brazil, India
- ***Fip*** (*Five Interested Parties*): USA, EU, Australia, Brazil, India
- ***Fip-plus*:** USA, EU, Australia, Brazil, India, Argentina, Benin, Canada, China, South Corea, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Switzerland

Source: F. De Filippis, 2005. The Doha Round, presentation at symposium on WTO, at Luiss Guido Carli, 14 October 2005.

Annex 5 Summary of Perspectives on Agriculture

Period 1948-70s

Agriculture:
- provides labour, capital, foreign exchange and food to the industrial sector;
- agriculture production as the result of deterritorialised supply and demand;
- is considered for its 'performance' in economic terms (contribution to GDP, to employment, exports, share of value added accruing to farmers)
-is not to be regarded as a reserve of finance and manpower but as a key sector in its own right
-concept of comparative advantage applies to agriculture trade among nations;
-as part of the global biological system, its "*function*" is to divert the flow of energy and nutrients through a network of interlocking cycles to the benefit of the human species (Scientif.Am., 1976), hence the need of human intervention and the 'end of the benign neglect of agriculture as one of the lesser pursuit of man'
-requires 'concerted international action on a world agricultural development plan' (Scientf. Am. 1976)

Farmers and farming:
- are producers of food for the nation
- peasants practice agriculture as a livelihood and a way of life, not business or profit
-farmers' incomes should be equalised with those from other economic sectors
-large-scale, monocultural, capital-intensive farming is privileged

Food:
-is the natural outcome of an agricultural product
-is considered as 'fuel' but the importance of the 'so-called vitamins' and new qualitative factors
-the '*food system* is highly dependent on the smooth functioning of the larger society' (Scientif.Am. 1976).

Consumers
- are not significant or vocal in contributing to the discourses

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Period 1970s-80s

Agriculture
- agricultural production as the result of deterritorialised supply and demand
- as a competitive sector
- as producer of environmental externalities (both positive and negative)
- as contributor to rural livelihoods
- as major contributor to poverty reduction and food security in developing countries
- as SARD implying a more sustainable *food production system* that seeks to make the best use of nature's goods and services whilst not damaging the environment.

Farmers:
- are entrepreneurs in a global economy (only the efficient and large ones should survive)
- as growers contracted by TNC (with no management decisions)

Food:
-increasingly consumed as processed (retaining initial ingredients) and manufactured (with chemical and other industrially determined additives (natural characteristics having been modified through chemical processes)

Consumers:
-passive with their tastes being moulded by agribusiness companies

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Period 1990s to present

Agriculture:

-is both commercial (expected to compete at global level) and social cohesion agriculture, usually constructed as agriculture-in-a-region, this latter contributing to regional development and characterised by small farmers and ecologically sensitive and food quality respecting practices (EU);
- is both 'agribusiness' (a set of industrial processes) and 'alternative' (organic, fair trade, slow food, community-supported – usually understood as small-scale, family based multicropping enterprise)
-is multifunctional (Its functions are environmental (land conservation, management of renewable natural resources, preservation of biodiversity), economic, social and cultural (food security, viability of rural areas and rural ways of life, eco-tourism, historical architectural or archaelogical remains) and aestethic (farmed landscape);
- has multiple roles (environmental, food safety and rural amenities for industrialised countries; social stability, poverty alleviation, buffer against sudden macroeconomic shocks or financial crises, access to food and environment for developing countries);
-is to produce 'quality products' (EU)
-outsourced to subcontractors through global supply driven commodity chains;
-is 'precision farming' whereby requirements are given to farmers on product specification, grading and quality
-is 'conservation agriculture' based on the principle of enhancing biological processes.
-is a component of the rural space (EU and Latin America)
-is the primary link between human beings and the environment (IFPRI)
- is part of the rural amenities created by the interaction between man and nature (OECD)
-is a way of life
-is working with nature rather than on it
-is part of nature to which ethical concerns are addressed
-is in opposition to nature, as practiced in the US
-is the result of co-evolution of nature and man's activities which has created agricultural systems through 'critical institutional capital' for the EU
- contributes to global public goods (UN)
-is the basis for broad-based rural growth in developing countries and hence critical for its potential for growth characterised by more equality (UN)
-products are traded, not or not only on basis of comparative advantage, but based on social capital and networks (ties with other countries based on common history, language or geography) and increasingly through deterritorialised TNC.
-is underfunded (Monterrey Conference)
- generates 'identiterian goods' (INRA)

and is also

-a business and market driven activity (World Bank, IFPRI);
-a sector to exit from (World Bank)
-one of the most hazardous occupations worldwide (ILO)
-driven by consumers' concerns (US, EU)
-determined by interests outside agriculture
-major factor of pollution, as practised by developed countries, and of global warming through methane and dioxide emissions from livestock operations and rice production (OECD)

Farmers are:
-ecologically sensitive growers of local quality foods
-curators, protectors, guardians and producers of rural landscapes and the countryside
-land and natural resource managers
-engaged in multiple activities
-smallness and diversified family farming are an advantage to be preserved
-part of family businesses to be preserved
-repositories of traditional knowledge
-contributors to the maintenance of the social and economic fabric of an area

-price responsive (specialise in given crops -with decreasing diversification - according to their resource endowments)
-providers and conservers of genetic resources
-producers of unrewarded public goods

and are also

-contracted to produce by TNC without any decision-making prerogative
-growers of what distant others decide
-'despoilers of the countryside'
- losing technical expertise in producing food
-precision farmers
-paid workers (women in the majority)

Food:
-no longer a natural extension of an agricultural product, but a complex product
-as the result of homogenized agricultural production practices and convergence of diets worldwide ('global foods')
-is 'commodified' but also 'decommodified'
-identity of food is determined by a specific industrial process and the proprietary brand of the agribusiness
-an important factor in the construction of one's own individual and social identity
-the result of farming systems with traceable production practices
- the result of increasing demand for
  - 'local' food (from the area),
  - 'locality' (the geographic origin can be traced) foods;
  - 'novel' foods (foods with difference appearance and composition);
  - 'designer' foods, such as calcium-enriched low fat milks;
  - 'substitute' foods like noncalorie sweeteners;
  - 'functional' foods (differentiated by medicinal or nutritional content)
-a very large part of consumed food is processed (including street foods in developing countries)
-'"fordist food gets sloanised
-prices do not reflect negative externalities associated with the extra food kilometres implied by great distances covered
-local food systems are favoured or threatened by TNC
- role of the countryside "to produce food is increasingly regarded as residual or irrelevant".
- as a reassertion of territory, through standards and appellations
- has the potential to induce rural development (food-inspired rural development)
-is increasingly produced with 'durability' built in it

Consumers
are no longer passive but exercise agency by
- being increasingly aware of need of sustainable consumption
- demanding diversified, less homogenised, more locally embedded and more natural foods
-demanding all-year availability of fresh fruit and vegetables
-demanding greater diversity in diets as affluence permits (Bennett's law)
-demanding to reconnect to producers (through Community Supported Agriculture, integrated rural tourism, agro- and culinary tourism, fair trade)
-demanding 'rurality'
-demanding foods that reflect safe and ethical ways of producing and transacting, both in the US and EU

Annex 6 Denominations of Ministries of Agriculture in the World

List of Ministries of Agriculture and other Ministries attending the 23rd FAO Conference, in 2003[86].

Ministry of Agriculture

Armenia; Bangladesh, Bhutan; Botswana; Cameroon; Chile; China; Democratic Republic of Congo; Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Greece, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Lithuania, Malaysia, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, Switzerland (Office Federal de l'Agriculture), USA (Department of Agriculture)

Ministry of Agriculture and

Agrarian Reform	Syria
Agri-food	Canada
Animal husbandry	Afghanistan
Animal Husbandry and Fisheries	Suriname
Animal Industry and Fisheries	Uganda
Consumer Protection, Food and Agriculture	Germany
Cooperatives	Nepal, Swaziland, Thailand
Environment and resources hydrauliques	Tunisia
Environment, Lands and Agricultural Development	Kiribati
Fisheries	Oman, United Arab Emirates
Fisheries and Forestry	Australia, Timor-Leste
Fisheries and Local Government	Bahamas
Food	Albania, Georgia, Ghana
Food and Fisheries	Sweden, Zambia
Food Technology and Natural Resources	Mauritius
Food, Agriculture and Fisheries	Denmark
Food and Rural Development	Ireland
Food, Fisheries and Rural Affairs	France
Food Security	Lesotho, Tanzania
Forestry	Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Korea, Laos, New Zealand, Sudan
Forestry and Fisheries	Japan

[86] The following countries were not included in the list: Azerbaijan, Belize, Bolivia, Tchad, Central African Republic, Comoros, Cook Islands, Fiji, Gambia; Grenada; Honduras; Iceland; Iraq; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Latvia; Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Togo, Turkmenistan, UK, Uruguay.

Forestry and Food	Slovenia
Forestry, Fisheries and Food	Tonga
Forestry and Food Security	Sierra Leone
Forestry, Environment and Water Management	Austria
Forests, Fisheries and Meteorology	Samoa
Forestry, Water and Environment	Roumania
Irrigation	Myanmar, Yemen
Irrigation and Food Security	Malawi
hydraulique et des ressources halieutiques	Burkina Faso
Hydraulique	Senegal
Lands	Venezuela
Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement	Zimbabwe
Land Affairs	South Africa
Land and Marine Resources	Trinidad and Tobago
Livestock	Guinee, Rwanda, Sri Lanka
Livestock and Fisheries	Benin, Mali
Livestock, fisheries and promotion of women	Reppublic of Congo
Livestock and the sea (elevage et de la mer)	Djbouti
Livestock, fish and food	Argentina,
Livestock and Rural Development	Equatorial Guinea
Livestock, Rural Development and Human Rights	Gabon
Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food	Mexico
Livestock, Water, Forestry and Hunting (elevage, eaux, forests et chasse)	Guinea Bissau
Natural Resources and Environment	Cyprus
Natural Resources, Environment and Cooperatives	Tanzania
Natural Resources and Rural Development	Haiti
Nature and Food Quality	Netherlands
Quarantine, Forestry and Fisheries	Vanuatu
Rural Affairs	Turkey
Rural development	Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Cambodia, Hungary, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, Poland, Vietnam
Rural Development and Fisheries	European Community, Portugal
Water	Uzbekistan
Water and Rural Development	Namibia

Ministries not starting with, or not including, agriculture

General People's Committee for Agricultural Research	Libya
Ministry of Agricultural Policy	Ukraine
Ministry of Environment, Agriculture and Fisheries	Cape Verde
Ministry of Middle Classes and Agriculture (Ministère des classes moyennes et de l'agriculture)	Belgium
Ministry of Municipalities Affairs and Agriculture	Bahrain, Qatar
Ministry for Natural Resources	Tuvalu
Ministry of Resources and Development	Marshall Islands
Ministry of Fisheries, Agriculture and Marine Resources	Maldives
Ministry of Rural Development and Environment	Mauritania
Ministry of Industry and Trade	Israel
Ministry of Agricultural and Forestry Policies	Italy
Public Authority for Agriculture Affairs and Fish Resources	Kuwait
Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	Pakistan

Additional ministries from the same countries which participate in FAO Conferences

Extraordinary Ministry for Food Security and Fight Against Hunger	Brazil
Federal Ministry of Finance and National Economy	Sudan
Federal Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries	Sudan
Fisheries Agency of Japan	Japan
Ministère de la condition femenine	Cameroon
Ministère de la production animale	
Ministère de la production animale et des ressources halieutiques	Cote d'Ivoire
Ministère de l'economie et des finances	
Ministère de l'environnement et du cadre de vie	Burkina Faso
Ministère de l'elevage, des peches et des industries	Cameroon

animales	
Ministère des peches et des resources halieutiques	Algeria
Ministère des ressources animales	Burkina Faso
Department of Primary Industries, Water and Environment	Australia
Ministry of Home Affairs	India
Ministry of Livestock and fisheries Development	Kenya
Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries	Republic of Korea
Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	Tanzania
Ministry of Water and Irrigation	Jordan
Ministry of Water and Livestock	Tanzania
National Oceanic Resources management Authority	Micronesia
Social Development Secretariat	Mexico

Annex 7 The FAO Building





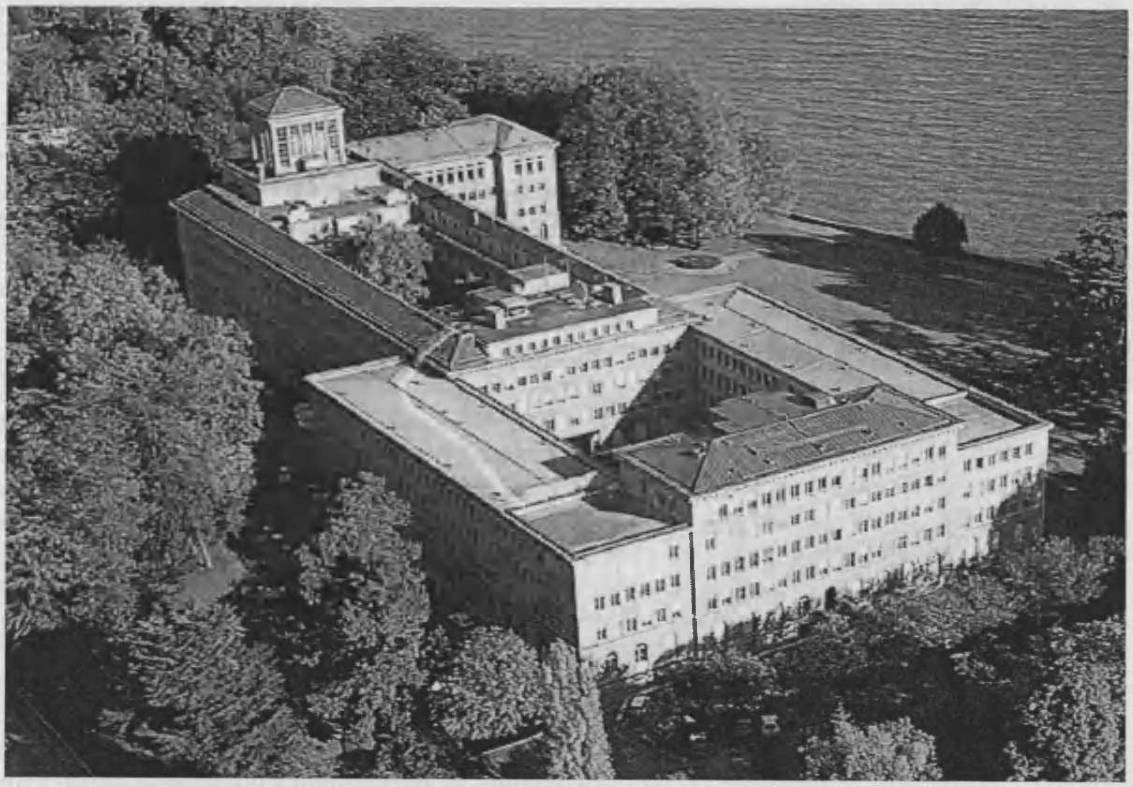
Annex 8 Summary of Findings on FAO

Fora & arenas	*Texts and media reviewed*	*Findings*
Organis-ational forum	- Official texts	- Staff: approx. 3500 (1450 professionals); DG with agronomist background in the last 32 years; -Governing bodies: 7 Committees: Programme, Finance, Commodity Problems, Fisheries, Forestry, Agriculture, World Food Security; 73 statutory bodies; Council; Regional Conferences; biennial Conference. Informal ethics committee. -Denominations of Ministries of Agriculture world-wide -Events at the level of heads of state; - Civil society participates in meetings of governing bodies
	- official documents	- Priority Areas for Interdisciplinary Action (PAIAs) to encourage cross-departmental/disciplinary communication and collaboration, also including Trade; no policy think tank; FAO leading, or participating and/or promoting global agriculture-related networks
	- the Building	- The building: rationalist architecture, increased importance of meeting rooms ; symbols of the meeting rooms; consumer goods in main hall occupy more space than publications
Political arena	a) Four Conference reports	a) very diverse priorities (results of debates, technical work of FAO and lobbying [the lay arena]). However, trade is a motive throughout the Conferences (e.g. 1999: Codex, IPPC, multilateral trade negotiations: 2001: low commodity prices; flexibility in the next Doha round for food security; diversification of the export base; 2003: reform of the international trading system):
	b) Declarations	WFS 2002:five years later following WFS 1996: trade a key element for world food security; importance of national production and distribution of food, sustainable agriculture and rural development...to food security; WTO Doha 2001: requests the Ministerial Conference to consider FAO's definition of food security as a non-trade concern to elaborate on; rules of the multilateral trading system are essential instruments to promote food security and rural development; WSSD 2002: SARD contributes to a range of public goods... it delivers many non-food functions... SARD is multipurpose
	c) Forewords of flagship publications	SOFA 2002 – agriculture as part of public goods – local, regional and global ; Agriculture Towards 2015-2030: sustainable local food production and of rural development; trade has a role for securing food needs and for foreign exchange;

	c) DG speeches on FAO's priority areas of work at Conferences	-improving food consumption in the context of globalization of trade ; consumers and food quality and safety (2003)
	c) DG speeches at other public events	2001 Doha: introduces the concept of food security; trade is essential for promoting food security and rural development. 2002 WSSD: SARD is multipurpose, having many positive externalities, whilst reducing negative externalities to a minimum (FAO, 2002d).
Technical forum	Technical studies, reports of evaluations and expert consultations; technical documents aimed at guiding work of the staff;	- various definitions of what goes under the term agriculture; -coining of new terms, such as food security (1996) implying self reliance through trade and biosecurity (2003) managing biological risks associated with increased trade; 1999: as the concept of multifunctionality and the role of FAO with respect to work on it are not clear and hence FAO should concentrate on sustainable agricultural and rural development; 2001-2004: major project on roles of agriculture, which includes cultural perceptions of the role of agriculture and contribution to national identity. 2003: Agriculture depends on viable communities and local food systems (FAO, 2003e) 2003: intensification of agricultural production is dealt with from an ethics perspective, totally novel in the organisation.
	Flagship documents	*SOFA 2002*: agriculture in the global public goods discourse; *Agriculture towards 2030*: intra-trade dimension means that trade policy for food and agriculture is no longer focussed on primary farming but is encompassing more and more issues and interests of the whole food chain, including food processing, marketing and distribution; Sustainable agriculture is not a concretely defined set of technologies, or a simple model or package that can be widely applied or fixed over time (2003b).
	Agenda of regional conferences	Differences reflect regional priorities and role of agriculture and also influence of epistemic communities in each region.
Popular forum	Newsroom webpage	Fragmented tidbits of information not reducible to one or few major themes; trade and agriculture only in one issue of Focus;

	events	World Food Day; Food for all Campaign; Rural women's day; Telefood; International Alliance against Hunger. Hunger is the thread of these initiatives, without a causal explanation linked to systemic issues; no linkages with trade liberalisation.
	Consumer goods	Shirts, wallets, bags, ash-trays, pins, diaries and other stationary: often without the FAO logo and no evoking agriculture- or hunger-related images. As identified in the organisational forum, consumer goods occupy more hall space than the display of technical documents.
Moralising forum	Awards for FAO staff and for external people (journalists and press) and organisations	Sen Award: to transform FAO from a study organisation to a development agency, given to outstanding contribution to the advancement of the country; Saouma award: efficiency in implementation of technical cooperation projects; Boerma award: journalists who helped focus public attention on world food problem, particularly on agricultural and rural development in developing countries; Lizarraga medal:application of the code of conduct for responsible fisheries of FAO. CERES medal for women who have made an outstanding contribution to agriculture and food security
	The inter-agency group on the right-to-food	Food as part of human rights; initial attempt through the Voluntary Guidelines to put in practice the right to food.
	International alliance against Hunger	"as a leading global, political and moral force to end hunger"
	Ethics Committee	An internal committee which looks at ethical issues in agriculture
	Ambassador Programme "to attract public and media attention to the unacceptable situation" of hunger	Hunger is the focus, no causal link is provided; the ambassadors are singers, actors, soccer team players.

Annex 9 The WTO Building



Annex 10 Summary of Findings on WTO

Fora and Arenas	*Texts and other media reviewed*	*Findings*
Organisat-ional Structure Forum	Web, press releases, texts, brochures	Functions: facilitate implementation of the Agreements; be a forum for negotiations; administer dispute settlement and trade policy review mechanisms; ensure greater coherence in economic policy making; The Ministerial Conference as formal decision-making body; Organisational structure includes Agriculture Division among its 17 Divisions; 630 staff, mostly economists and lawyers, half of whom are Europeans; Functioning through various Committees (including A Committee on Agriculture and a Committee on Trade and Environment), informal mechanisms for decision-making and based on consensus; The Consultative Board on the future of the multilateral trading system and the reform of WTO. WTO is in the Centre William Rappard, first occupied by ILO, with a Florentine classical villa architecture; the increased meeting rooms have been correlated with increased number of meetings since the move to a new part of the building.
Political Arena	a) The preambles of the WTO Legal Texts and of the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) ; b) Speeches and statements to the press by the Director and Deputy-Director-Generals; c) Declarations of Ministerial Meetings d) Forewords of Annual Reports and annual Trade	a) goals pursued by the negotiations: "...raising standards of living..expanding the production of and trade in goods and services...in accordance with the objective of sustainable development"; the AoA: "...to establish a fair and market oriented agricultural trade system... having regard to non-trade concerns, including food security and the need to protect the environment". b) Agriculture as a 'core issue', "one of the most sensitive area of the negotiations", "the single most important contribution to the multilateral trading system". Trade liberalisation is positive for agriculture and for food security; non-trade concerns are legitimate; agriculture negotiations are positive contributions to sustainable development ; OECD support to agriculture hinders developing countries' export possibilities; c) Doha Declaration reaffirms the commitment to the objective of sustainable development d) Governments should show and renew their

	Report.	political commitment;
Scientific /technical Forum	a) WTO Agreements, in particular the Agreement on Agriculture;	a) no definition of agriculture but a list of 186 products; consideration of non-trade concerns, including food security and the need to protect the environment; fair and market oriented trading systems policy measures: market access; domestic support; export subsidies.
	b) annual WTO Report	b) agriculture is part of the factual account of progress in the negotiations
	c) WTO World Trade Report;	c) Agriculture part of the themes, without any particular prominence and without any coverage of alternative discourses.
	d) Special studies; discussion and working papers;	d) agriculture is part of the studies, never singled out except in a discussion paper on the role of export taxes in the field of primary commodities and a discussion paper on the "immiserizing growth"; this is presented as views of the authors but is then reproposed in its Annual Report.; inspired by economics; none on non-trade concerns.
	e) Secretariat's documents and glossary	c) work of compilation, information through selected bibliographies, reporting on notifications on Green Box measures and non-trade concerns by various countries, including dissenting views.
	f) World Trade Review	f) inspired by economics, international relation, law, political science and international economic studies. Only 5 articles dealing with agriculture in their titles; no coverage of non-trade concerns or SARD.
	h) epistemic communities on WTO as an organisation	f) role of economics in defining the trade policy agenda, in providing a paradigm and quantitative analyses on extent, cost and economic effects of protection; WTO as a global public good enabling a market for exchange of market access commitments among governments; the establishment and mainenance of WTO are international public goods, not the end use of WTO which results in private goods; international agreements among national governments enable free international trade, considered a global public good.
Popular Forum	a) Speeches of the Director-Generals addressed to non-specialist audiences	a) WTO will not force Europe to dismantle its social market economy; non-trade concerns can be accommodated through the domestic support measures; WTO is often misunderstood; trade liberalisation in agriculture the most important achievement
	b) webpages	b) very informative website; it allows electronic

	c)monthly electronic news bulletin d) electronic community forum e) the publications "Understanding WTO" for the general public and the Guide for Parliamentarians; f) events g) press releases	enlisting and automatic information; it includes technical materials and communications to the public on all aspects of WTO's work, including the economics behind trade liberalisation and its benefits. c) for information to NGOs on WTO events and outcomes of its work., d) open to anybody for discussions and views on WTO issues as raised by WTO or by the public. e) both publications meant to familiarize the public and to 'educate' the parliamentarians on WTO services. f) annual public symposia on broad negotiation topics; increased participation of NGOs in WTO Ministerial Conferences. g) Out of 208 press releases since 200. 1 only 3 address agriculture explicitly in their titles.
Moralising Forum	a) Web b) speeches c) epistemic communities' texts d) symbols of the WTO building;	a) Goi Peace award to WTO in 2002; b) WTO contributes to Peace (Supachai). c) Principles of fairness and cosmopolitan social justice introduced in global public economics; d) Peace, Justice and Labour.

Annex 11 Summary of Themes in EC Speeches and Press Releases

Themes	To whom	Speech[87]	Press releases
Non-trade concerns Objectives like food safety and environmental protection cannot be achieved by market forces alone	Comment on Ullensvang Conference	Fischler /705[88] 2000	
...specific and multifunctional characteristics of agriculture... agriculture contribution to rural development, food security, environment and cultural diversity and the need for flexibility in national policy design (Document tabled in WTO Special session on agriculture, 28/9/2000)	Comment on tabling six papers in Geneva on NTC		Fischler/1068, 2000
Our demands to include the environment, rural development or food safety in the WTO negotiations		(1160, 2000)[89]	
Fischler welcomes adoption of WTO farm negotiation proposal...to take account of non-trade concerns	EC Brussels		/1331, 2000
...the other key feature of the deal is the clear reference to NTCs... ensuring that our farmers can continue to meet the wider needs of our society by providing for the guardianship of the countryside, the protection of the environment in rural areas and vitality of the countryside... food safety	Launch of the WTO trade round in Doha, Qatar	Fischler 01/1584 2001	
Further commitments in the WTO need to address non-trade concerns...strengthening socio-economic viability and development of rural areas, food security and environmental protection. These ...cannot be achieved by market forces alone	Meeting organized by EC-AG, Japan, Korea, Mauritius, Norway and Switzerland in Rome	02/867 2002	
...nor do we see an awareness of the need to address legitimate non-trade concerns	Examining the US negotiating proposals	092/1167 2002	
The proposal also reemphasizes the importance of non-trade concerns such as the environment, rural development and	Presenting the proposal for WTO		0/1892 2002

[87] Includes speeches reported in the press releases
[88] Unless otherwise indicated, all numbers starting are preceded by IP.
[89] Brackets mean that the speech has been cited in the main text.

animal welfare...traditional landscapes and biodiversity	negotiations		
Consideration of non-trade issues such as food safety and the environment...He criticised the notable absence of non-trade concerns (enviroment, food safety, safeguarding the supply of food and protecting the rural way of life "	Journalists in London	Fischler 03/457 2003	
Finally, the paper notes a number of elements not agreed, including NTCs and Geographic Indications	Brussels on EU and US joint framework	Fischler 03/1160 2003	
I hear your message on agriculture: I agree that agriculture is not just like any other sector; that non-trade concerns should be taken into account.	Commissioner Manderson: Opening of the Parliamentary Conference, H.Kong, 12 Dec. 2005		
Trade liberalisation and agriculture			
WTO agriculture talk must reflect public demands on environment and rural development	Comment on tabling six papers in Geneva on NTC	Fischler (/1068, 2000)	
An exclusive focus on trade liberalisation in the WTO talks would fail to take on board the legitimate demands of civil society...quality of the environment and viability of rural areas...animal welfare...environmental and rural concerns	Comment on tabling six papers in Geneva on NTC	Fischler (/1068, 2000)	
:We say "yes" [to more liberalisation...to further cuts in domestic support]... provided we can keep our aids to foster our reform process and to enable our agriculture to serve the wider demands of society and not just the production of food	Cairns Group Min. Meeting	Fischler /1153, 2000	
...Agriculture is different [from industry]. European agriculture provides public goods such as preservation of environment and biodiversity.	Cairns Group Min. Meeting	Fischler (/1153, 2000)	
...the sustainability of our methods of food production are being questioned. The globalisation of markets and pressures on prices are also seen as root causes	Live internet chat		01/771 2001
WTO and agriculture: "No disguised protectionism via precautionary principle"	Special session of WTO Cttee on Ag.		01/1060 2001
...countries have the right to choose to preserve or develop the economic and social environment necessary to maintain	Special session of WTO Committee on		01/1313 2001

their rural populations... however Green Box measures should... not distort trade	Agriculture		
	Visit to Mercosur		Fischler 01/1352
EU ready to walk the farm liberalisation walk... all evidence shows the opposite [that agriculture should be treated like any other industry... the CAP was not driven by WTO negotiations	CEA Conference on European Agriculture, Belfast	Fischler01/1315 2001	
EU Farm Commissioner Franz Fischler visits Mercosur "to build up momentum for successful WTO farm negotiations"... every democratic society has the right to choose its own agricultural policy			Fischler 01/1352 2001
Both US agriculture secretary Ann Veneman and I want to go for a competitive farm policy, which takes environmental concerns duly into account and which recognizes the importance of our rural areas... we agree that counter-cyclical and hence trade-distorting farm aid runs counter sustainable farming... we do not disagree that we should support agriculture	North American/EU Agricultural Conference, Salzburg, Austria	Fischler 01/1457 2001	
The EU alone imports more agricultural goods from the developing countries than the US, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand taken together	North American/EU Agricultural Conference, Salzburg, Austria	(01/1457 2001)	
We already import more from them [developing countries] than the US, Japan, Australia and New Zealand together	(Fischler in Washington	(03/183 2003	
Nine out of ten respondents indicated that the EU's agricultural policy should ensure that agricultural products are healthy and safe... respectively 89% and 82% of the general public considered the promotion of environmental considerations and the protection of small and medium-sized farms as major aims of EU agricultural strategy.	Opinion poll		01/1636 2001
The direction of the EU is clear: reductions in production-distorting support and an increased focus on food safety and quality, rural development, and environmental services for society at large. That is what the European public	Reacting to the US Farm Bill Brussels	02/647 2002	

demand and is in the best interests of European farmers.			
The EU is fully committed to the WTO process for reducing trade-distorting farm subsidies	At WWSD in Johannesburg by Commissioner for Devt and Humanitarian aid	Poul Nielson[90] 02/1247 2002	
The new farm income payment would not distort trade and could therefore not be criticised in the WTO.	AGRAEurope Conference in Brussels	02/1565 2002	
...widespread criticism that the EU is some sort of agricultural fortress blocking imports from developing world	2nd International conference on globalisation, Leuwen	Fischler 02/1741	
Improving the competitiveness of EU quality products on markets outside the EU is a major challenge. By investing over Euro 14 million in promotion and information campaigns.	Brussels		Fischler 03/60 2003
Our policy will then no longer be trade-distorting and thus no longer open to attack in the WTO.	Green week Berlin	Fischler 03/65 2003	
...strong commitment of the Union to further reform of the agricultural trading system... ensuring that concerns such as the environment, rural development and animal welfare are taken into account	Brussels, referring to approval by General Affairs Council of the proposal for WTO		03/126 2003
Europe has taken the lead [for trade liberalisation]... Trade is important to the EU but it does not take precedence over all other interests...	Washington	Fischler 03/183 2003	
WTO farm talks: "we will plough on"	Journalists London	Fischler 03/457 2003	
Our new policy is trade friendly..reinforcing environmental , food safety, animal health and welfare standards	Fischler in Washington		04/247
	Brussels	Fischler 03/898 2003	
Study shows openness of EU market to imports of farm products	Referring to INRA study		Fischler 03/1113 2003
...It also sets out ideas for limited reforms of the WTO, especially in	Brussels		Lamy TC[91] 03/1600

[90] Copmmissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid

relation to the management of future WTO Ministerial meetings and to the ability of smaller WTO members to take part effectively in the negotiations			2003
Europe will plough on with its farm reforms	Washington	04/247 2004	
Decoupled payments will mean that a major share of our support to agriculture is moved from the trade distorting classification under WTO rules (amber box) towards the minimal or non-trade distorting category (Green Box).	Brussels		04/446
Facilitating food and agriculture trade: EU biggest global food importer... EU is not a fortress	Killarney EU Agriculture Ministers meeting		Byrne 04/627
So far there has been too much focus on agriculture. Now it's time for others to get serious on other issues	Mandelson and Fischer Boel at the Family Farmers' Conference on Int'l Trade, Hong Kong, 12 Dec. 2005		
...trade is not just about the dismal science of economics	Conference on Fair Trade Brussels	Mandelson 05/376	
...I believe economics is the core issue in reviving the European project	London	Mandelson 05/456	
...developing countries should realize the opportunities offered by their own comparative advantages. That is the basis of free, and fair, trade	Informal Meeting of EU Development Ministers, Leeds, UK	Mandelson 05/639	
Concept and vision of agriculture			
...in the WTO negotiations on trade in agriculture there is the clear need to acknowledge and secure the continued existence of various types of agriculture based on each country's specific production conditions and potential as well as its historical and cultural background			(/705, 2000)
Laying out the case for the EU model of agriculture	Cairns Group		Fischler /1137 2000
European agriculture provides public	Cairns Group		Fischler

[91] TC = Trade Commissioner

goods such as preservation of environment and biodiversity			00/1153
...European agriculture is different, different from the production of socks. It is more than food production. It responds to demands from our society.	Commenting on Cairns Group Min. Meeting	Fischler /1160, 2000	
"Doors open to more sustainable agriculture"	International Green Week, Berlin	Fischler /74 2001	
Responsible agriculture must be viable yet sustainable – economically, environmentally and socially. We must work more and more with nature and not against it. It is my intention to listen to society.	Round table in EC with Health and Consumer Protect-ion Commissioners	Fischler & Byrne[92] 01/301 2001	
Society should be setting the farming agenda	Verona agricultural trade fair	Fischler 01/331 2001	
...the debate about what we eat and drink and about the future of farming cannot be the preserve of politicians and experts alone	Comments on results of poll	Fischler & Byrne 01/671 2001	
Commission launches broad debate on agriculture and food	Round table in Stockholm		01/751 2001
EC wants to take better account of the public's ethical and ecological concerns	Round table in Brussels with Health and Consumer Protection Commissioner		Fischler 01/1113 2001
Consumers want a sustainable agriculture that provides them with a choice of safe and nutrition food at reasonable prices... that respects the environment and makes an effective contribution to rural development	Consumers' committee in Brussels		Fischler 01/1300
Consumers want higher quality food... animal welfare, environmental and hygiene standards in food production	Round table on food and agriculture, Madrid	Byrne 01/1534 2001	
...we want our agriculture to be sustainable, in an ecological, economic and social sense	Conference on Agriculture, Belfast		Fischler 01/1315
Public expenditure for the farm sector... must yield more in return regarding food quality, the preservation of the environment and animal welfare, landscapes, cultural heritage or enhancing	EC Brussels	02.1026 2002	

[92] Health and Consumer Protection Commissioner.

social balance and equity.... The Commission rejects the notion that EU agriculture can promote the objectives expected from our citizens with the abolition of support or with its re-nationalisation...			
We want to give farmers back their entrepreneurial function so that they produce for their customers and not for the intervention stores....Farmers must produce the public goods demanded by society, such as preservation of the countryside and the environment...	Paris	Fischler 02/1062 2002	
Paying farmers for what society wants	Fischler presenting CAP review in the UK	Fischler 02/1074 2002	
Agri-environment should become a central plank of the CAP rather than an accompanying measure	Referring to an independent study on 'Environment integration and the CAP	02/1518 2002	
The focus of assistance will in future be farmers themselves, not how many cattle they keep or how many tonnes of what they produce...help to make the public goods they supply more marketable	Green week Berlin	03/65 2003	
These adjustments are necessary to ensure that the EU is able to provide a sustainable and predictable policy framework for the European Model of Agriculture... society is ready to support farming provided farmers give people what they want: safe food, animal welfare and a healthy environment	Brussels	Fischler 03/99 2003	
The commission wanted to spend more money on programs to boost the environment, food quality and safety, organic farming or animal welfare. This is what we call 'rural development'	(Fischler in Washington)	fischler (03/183 2003)	
The proposal should therefore in no way be misunderstood as a "re-nationalisation" of aid to farmers.	Brussels on CAP reform		03/246 2003
Safe, healthy food and support for improving rural life got top priority from citizens in future member states when asked about the way the EU should use its agricultural policy	Poll (with very leading questions!!!)		03/333 2003
CAP reform: proposals boost less intensive farming and secure income rises for farmers	Referring to two new impact analysis studies		

...ensure that in return for aid farmers produce the public goods our society nowadays expects from them	Brussels		Fischler 03/814 2003
Commissioner for Development Cooperation and FAO sign agreement to strengthen partnership	Brussels		03/1041
Salzburg rural development conference: "Less Brussels and more Salzburg, Savoy and southern Slovenia"... rural development can no longer be geared solely to agriculture	Conference on the future of rural development policy, Salzburg		Fischler 03/1542 2003
European Hearing on Organic Food and Farming	Hearing		04/30 2004
More Europe for less money is not possible (with reference to CAP spending)	International Green Week, Berlin	04/56	
Europe is tasty! this is the message I will carry to China... European food - a great history of quality	Brussels/Beijing	Fischler 04/362	
Governemnts and citizens in Europe need to believe that structural change an dpossible job losses n agriculture will be balanced by creation of new jobs and opportunities in other sectors. And I will of course vigorously pursue our own interests, including agreement on and extension of a register of geographical indications.	Remarks to the European Parliament Plenary Mini-Session- Doha and Development, Brussels, 30 Nov. 2005	Mandelson 05/747	
European agriculture has a very different structure to, for example, US farming. Our average farm size is 18 ha. Compared to 180 in the US. We attach great importance to environmental protection and animal welfare.	Mandelson and Fischer Boel at the Family Farmers' Conference on Int'l Trade, Hong Kong, 12 Dec. 2005		
References to civil society			
An exclusive focus on trade liberalisation in the WTO talks would fail to take on board the legitimate demands of civil society... quality of the environment and viability of rural areas... animal welfare... environmental and rural concerns	Comment on tabling six papers in Geneva on NTC	/1068, 2000)	
EU welcomes Oxfam campaign to make trade fair.... I fully share the basic philosophy underlying the report: trade has the potential to lift millions out of poverty	Commenting on Oxfam trade report	02/599 2002	
Let us consider whether eliminating our price and income support, and	International Conference on	02/1741 2002	

eliminating all tariff barriers for agricultural products (a policy espoused by the most radical NGOs) would benefit the developing countries	Globalisation in Leuwen		
People across the EU clearly believe that the primary role of the CAP should be to ensure that agricultural products are healthy and safe	Eurobarometer survey 'EU citizens and agriculture from 1995 to 2003"		04/1281 2004

Annex 12 Summary Findings on the EC

Fora and Arenas	Texts and other media reviewed	Summary of findings
Organisat-ional Structure Forum	Web, texts (The Treaty), press releases	- Functions of the DG Agriculture and Rural Development include the CAP and 'safeguarding the European Model of Agriculture' - D-G Agriculture has about 1,000 staff - Functions of the DG Trade include negotiations of agreements and ensuring consistency between the commercial policy and the EU external relations and contribution to global governance. - Reform of the EC to clarify decision-making and competencies - De facto blurred boundaries between internal CAP policy and external trade policy - As can be seen from the popular forum the EC uses various ways to communicate with the public, including an interactive Policy Making Forum. - It has a Contact Group with self-selected representatives of civil society organisations; - The EC supports reform of WTO - Supports FAO, food production in majority - Individual EC member states fund FAO to work on multifunctionality (Netherlands), on the right to food (Germany) on sustainable farming systems (France)
Political Arena	496 Press releases and Speeches by the Commissioners for Agriculture and the Commissioner of Trade.	- The expression non-trade concern (NTC) is used quite frequently from 2000-2003 and no longer used in 2004-2005. NTC become ' values' in 2005. They cover a varying bundle made of: food safety, environmental protection; rural development; food security or safeguarding the supply of food; cultural diversity; socio-economic viability; animal welfare; traditional landscapes; biodiversity; protecting the rural way of life. - farmers are to produce public goods and to regain the entrepreneurial functions - European agriculture produces public goods; it is referred to as 'sustainable' and also as 'responsible' agriculture; decisions on agriculture cannot be left to experts; consumers and civil society are to be listened to. - Yes to trade liberalisation and to non distorting Green Box measures but also a) food safety and environmental protection cannot be achieved by market forces alone; b) an exclusive focus on liberalisation would fail to consider civil society demands; c) trade does no take precedence over all other interests; d)

		every democratic society has the right to choose its own agricultural policies;
	The Treaty (EC, 2002a)	- decisions are by the council which 'shall act by a qualified majority' (Art. 133).
Ttechnical Forum	a) The Treaty (EC, 2002a)	a) explicit reference to "abolition of restrictions on international trade'; 'agriculture constitutes a sector closely linked with the economy as a whole.
	b) Trade policy reviews	b) reiterated commitment to multilateralism and to policy dialogue with civil society; in addition: in 2000: EU trade policy to be viewed in the context of its general approach to sustainable development, as called for by the Treaty Article 6. in 2002: need to balance trade with non-trade concerns; need to consider multifunctionality of agriculture; in 2004: need for integrating sustainable development
	c) Monitoring Agri-Trade Policy Newsletter (MAP) and Briefs	c) reports on trade trends and considerations, not representing official views of the Commission
	d) Trade Directorate webpage, texts and PPT	d) - In 2000 multifunctionality mentioned as the EC approach to trade policy, as part of non-trade concerns encompassing food safety and quality...environment protection and animal welfare. In 2005 trade policy objectives are promoting market access...and promotion of EU values, namely environmental concerns, food safety, cultural diversity and protection of core labour standards. - In 2004 DG Trade started a series of seminars for journalists and editors
	e) Guidelines on rural development	e) Contain an annex on European Model of Agriculture. This includes 'agrifood economy' and the axes of competitiveness, land management, quality of life/diversification and innovative governance.
	f) Green and White Papers	f) Out of 35 Green papers produced over 2000-2005 only two deal with trade (rules of origin and fisheries policy). A White paper on food safety was produced in 2000.
	g) Online Reflection Papers	g) Focused on the theme of 'the future of Europe' debate launched in 2001; nothing specific to agriculture
	h) unidentified documents on the trade web	h) A paper questioning the paradigm of trade liberalisation conceived prior to globalization; recommends strengthening authority of the Commission in trade policy. ii. A paper on the importance of agricultural trade, the UR pressure for reform and the 'European farm model' also called multifunctionality, consisting of food safety, environment care, animal welfare and rural development.
Popular Forum	a) General Europa webpages	i. Easy Reading Corner: no reference to agriculture not even in the booklet on Making Globalisation Work for

		Everyone. The EU and World Trade'. ii. The glossary does not report on non-trade concerns or multifunctionality; however, it reports on food sfety, animal welfare and rural development. iii. Gateway to Europe provides a link with 'Interactive Policy making'
	b) Trade website with glossary	b) Explanation of how markets function; but also 'price is not the only value in trade'; 'progress in trade must not damage the wide role of agriculture...environment, health, social standards and cultural diversity are labeled as non-trade concerns. 'European trade policy is geared towards social solidarity'.
	c) Europedirect	c) A network for interface between the Commission and the local level. General and not specific to agriculture.
	d) Internet consultations	d) In 2003 on the future of organic farming.
	e) surveys and opinion polls	e) several referring to the CAP
	f) e-mail digest	f) trade e-mail digest
	g) information campaigns	g) to improve the competitiveness of EU quality products
Moralising Forum	a) web	i. European consumer day on 15 March In 2001 it was devoted to food safety ii. Europe Day on 9 May nothing on agriculture iii. Sustainable Trade Day; Initiative by the EU in Cancun not repeated thereafter
	b) PPT on web	b) EU trade policy promotes EU values: environment, food safety, cultural diversity, core labour standards;
	c) Trade webpage	c) EU believes price is not the only value in trade... ; integrates citizens values in trade policy...social solidarity, social safety nets, reduction of environmental impact of trade, developing environmentally friendly technologies...achievement of sustainable development both for Europe and the rest of the world.
	d) Agriculture webpage	d) Agriculture – the heartbeat of rural areas...Rural development policy epitomizes the 'partnership' element of the Lisbon Strategy.

Annex 13 Composition of the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC)

Types of members	Member Organisations	Headquarters' location
International Focal Points	Crocevia	Italy
Asia	ANGOC	Philippines
	PAN Asia 2. Pesticide Action Network	Malaysia
	Institute for Motivating Self-Employment	India
Africa	ROPPA/FONGS (Fédération des ONG sénégalaises)	Senegal
	FONGS	Senegal
	Concertation Nationale des Organisations Paysannes (CNOP-CAM)	Cameroun
	Kenya National Federation of Agricultural Producers	Kenya
	Coalition for Popular Development Initiatives in Nigeria	Nigeria
North Africa	Association for the Protection of Nature and Environment	Tunisia
Central Asia	NGO Nurzum	Kazakhstan
Near East	Cenesta	Iran
	Green Line Association	Lebanon
	Arab Group for the Protection of Nature	Jordan
Latin America		
- Agricultural Workers	CONTAG	Brazil
- Artisanal fisheries	CONAPACH (Confederación Nacional de Pescadores Artsanales)	Chile
- NGO	Movimiento Agroecológico de América Latina y Caribe (MAELA)	Chile
-Family agriculture and peasants	ANAMURI (Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Rurales e Indígenas)	Chile
- Indigeneous peoples	Movimiento de ja Juventud Kuna	not available
- Rural women	CONAMUCA	Brazil
- Youth	Movimiento internacional de la Juventud Agrícola y Rural	Brazil
North America	Toronto Food Policy Council	Canada
	Conseil Canadien de Pêcheurs Professionnels	Canada

Europe	Collectif de Stratégies Alimentaires	Belgium
	Institute for Sustainable Development	Slovenia
Constituencies Focal Point		
- Farmers	Via Campesina Assistant International Operative Secretariat	Belgium
	IFAP (International Federation of Agricultural Producers))	Paris
- Indigenous people	International Indian Treaty Council Program	New York office
- Youth	MIJARC	Germany
- Trade Unions	IUF	Switzerland
- Fisherfolk	International collective in support of fishworkers	India and Brussels
Experts	Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG)	UK
	ETC	Canada
	FIAN International	Germany
	GRAIN	Spain
	AS-PTA Asesoria e Servicos a Projetos em Agricultura Alternative	Brazil
	Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP)	USA
	Food First	USA

Annex 14 NGO Position Papers on Agriculture (2000-2005, July)

Year	*Statement on Agriculture*	*Originator*	*Country*	*Language*
	-Linkages between the Three Pillars at the WTO	Canadian, Egg, Dairy and Poultry Farmers'	Canada	English
2005	Market Access Package; Special Agricultural Safeguard (SSG); Tariff Rate Quote (TRQ) Administration; Selection and Treatment of Sensitive Products; Domestic Support			
	Dumping Food Aid: Trade or Aid? (subsidized) Food Aid in kind: what is in it for the WTO	Wemos Foundation	Netherlands	English
	Agricultural Trade Policy Made Easy — Making sense of trade policy for farmers, policymakers and the public	CIE	Australia	English
	From Boom to Dust? Agricultural trade liberalisation, poverty, and desertification in rural drylands; the Role of UNCCD	National Foreign Trade Council	USA	English
	From Boom to Dust? Agricultural trade liberalisation, poverty, and desertification in rural drylands; the Role of UNCCD	UNISFÉRA	Canada	English
2004	Resolution of Korean Fisheries Industries in Correspondence to the WTO-DDA Negotiation on the Fisheries Products Sector	Korea Fisheries Association	Korea	English
	Options for Sugar Reform	American Chamber of commerce to the European Union	USA	English
	Limiting Agricultural Market Access to 5% of Domestic Consumption will not create substantial improvements in Market Access	Canadian Agri-Food Trade Alliance	Canada	English
	Twenty-Five Ways to Improve the Derbez Draft on Agriculture	International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy Council	USA	English
	Call for Renewed Negotiations at the WTO	International Agricultural and Food Sectors	World-wide	English
	Agriculture — A Litmus Test for Development & Right to Food	APRODEV	Germany	English
	WTO Negotiations in Agriculture — Balancing public policy and trade liberalisation — a Canadian Perspective	Canadian dairy, poultry and egg producers	Canada	English & French
	The right to food has priority over patent protection — no patent on life	International Kolping Society (IKS) — Germany	Germany	English & Spanish

	Dumping on the world — How EU sugar policies hurt poor countries	Oxfam International	Switzerland	English
	Joint Statement among Farm Leaders in the G10 Countries	Ja Zenchu	Japan	English
	Fisheries Subsidies and Non Agricultural Market	Tambuyog Develop-ment Center	The Philippines	English
	Healthy Fisheries, Sustainable Trade: Crafting New Rules on Fishing Subsidies in the World Trade Organisation	WWF International	Switzerland	English
2003	Recommendations for the Doha Agricultural Trade Negotiations	International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy Council	n.a.	English
	13 Doha Briefings; Agriculture :	Int. Institute for Sustainable Develop-ment (IISD) and Int. Centre for Trade and Sustainable Develop-ment (ICTSD)		English
	L'agriculture a le droit d'être protégée	Communauté de travail (Suisse)	Switzerland	French
	Benefits of U.S. Organic Agriculture; Early Indication of Market Impacts from the Marine Stewardship Council's Ecolabeling of Seafood; Beneficial Impacts of Ecolabeled Mexican Coffee: Organic, Fair Trade, Rainforest Alliance, Bird Friendly; The Environmental Significance of Coffee Certification Programs in Mexico; (Organic, Fair Trade, ECO-O.K., and Bird Friendly); Virtudes económicas, sociales y ambientales del café certificado — Al caso de la Coordinadora Estatal de Productores de Café de Oaxaca.	Consumer's Choice Council	USA	English & Spanish
	Multilateral System of Notification & Registr-ation of Geographical Indications for Wines and Spirits pursuant to TRIPS Article 23 (4)	International Trademark Association	USA	English
	Say the Truth, and Exclude the Agriculture from WTO!	Korean Advanced Farmers Federation	Korea	English
	Declaration of Dakar	List of representatives of farmers organisations and agricultural producers — world-wide		English, French, Spanish

	WTO Agricultural Negotiations	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE)	Belgium	English
	Evian Group Eleventh Hour Appeal for Cancún	Evian Group	Switzerland	English
	Establishment of a Multilateral System of Notification and the Registration of Geographical Indications for Wines and Spirits pursuant to TRIPS Article 23 (4)	MARQUES (Association of European Trade Mark Owners) —	UK	English
	Gafta Position on the WTO Doha Round Negotiations	The Grain and Feed Trade Association (Gafta)	UK	English
	Briefing Series on the following subjects: Agriculture; Fishing Subsidies	WWF International	Switzerland	English
	Letter addressed to the Chairpersons, Committee on Agriculture and Trade Negotiations Committee	Action Aid —	Bangladesh (and others)	English
	WTO Agriculture Negotiations: A Proposal for Progress	Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC)	Singapore	English
	Beyond Special and Differential Treatment	International Food and Agricultural Trade Policy Council	USA	English
2002	Setting Aside the CAP — the future for food production	Consumers' Association	n.a.	English
	Statement on the 2002 World Food Summit and APEC Food System	Pacific Basin Economic Council	n.a.	English
	Declaration for a Fair and Equitable Agricultural Trade Rules at the WTO	Canadian Federation of Agriculture COPA / COGECA — European Union Icelandic Farmers Union JA Zenchu — Japan National Agricultural Cooperative of Korea Norwegian Farmers Union Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs agricoles de l'Afrique de l'ouest ROPPA — Bénin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Sénégal, Togo Sri Lanka Cooperative Marketing Federation Swiss Farmers Union		English & French

	Agricultural Trade and the WTO Negotiations: Concerns and Consensus amongst Farmers' Organisations (Consolidated Statement)	International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP)	n.a.	English & French
	Liberalizing Agricultural Trade and Developing Countries	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	n.a.	English
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	Trade imbalances and development needs in the Agriculture Sector	OXFAMAMERICA	n.a.	English
2001	Priorities for WTO Agriculture Negotiations	Food and Drink Federation (FDF)	n.a.	English
	Paper on the proposed Regulation laying down the General Principles and Requirements of Food Law, establishing the European Food Authority and laying down procedures in matters of Food Safety	EU Committee of the American Chamber of Commerce in	Belgium	English
	World Trade Organisation (WTO) Negotiations on agriculture	European Union of Alcohol Producers (UEPA)	n.a.	English
	Paper on the proposed Regulation laying down the General Principles and Requirements of Food Law, establishing the European Food Authority and laying down procedures in matters of Food Safety	EU Committee of the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium		English
	Priorities of CELCAA for the Multilateral Agricultural Negotiations	Comité Européen de Liaison des Commer-ces Agro-Alimen-taires (CELCAA)	n.a.	English
	CIAA priorities for the WTO Agricultural Negotiations	Confédération des industries agro-alimentaires de l'UE (CIAA)	n.a.	English
	Statement on Food Safety	Pacific Basin Economic Council (PBEC)	n.a.	English
	Negotiations on Agriculture in WTO	Norwegian Small Farmers Association	Norway	English
2000	The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety: An analysis of results	Int. Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD)	UK	English & Spanish
	The Food Chain: Managing Adventitious Presence in the EU	EU Committee of the American Chamber of Commerce in	EU	English

Belgium

World Trade, Food Production and Multifunctionality	Transatlantic Environmental Dialogue (TAED)	n.a.	English

Annex 15 NGO Position Papers on Environment and Sustainable Development (2000-2005, July)

Year	*Statement on Environment and sustainable development*	*Originator*	*Country*	*Language*
2005	"Enlightened" Environmentalism or Disguised Protectionism? Assessing the Impact of EU Precaution-Based Standards on Developing Countries	National Foreign Trade Council	USA	English
	From Boom to Dust? Agricultural trade liberalisation, poverty, and desertification in rural drylands: the Role of UNCCD	National Foreign Trade Council	USA	English
	From Boom to Dust? Agricultural trade liberalisation, poverty, and desertification in rural drylands: the Role of UNCCD	UNISFÉRA Canada	— Canada	English
	2005 Geneva Declaration on Trade and Environment	EcoLomics International	Switzerland	English
2004	ICTSD have published a series of documents on WTO related-activities both individually and jointly with UNCTAD / IISD and IIED.	Int. Centre for Trade & Sustain-able Development (ICTSD)	Switzerland	English
2003	Preliminary Position on the Reduction and/or Elimination of Tariffs and Non-Tariff Barriers to Environmental Goods	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederation (UNIC)	n.a.	English
	13 Doha Briefings: Trade and Environment	Int. Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) & Int. Centre for Trade & Sustainable Devt (ICTSD)	UK	English
2003	Beneficial Impacts of Ecolabeled Mexican Coffee: Organic, Fair Trade, Rainforest Alliance, Bird Friendly; The Environmental Significance of Coffee Certification Programs in Mexico: (Organic, Fair Trade, ECO-O.K., and Bird Friendly); Virtudes económicas, sociales y ambientales del café certificado — el caso del caf'e ordinadora Estatal de Productores de Café de Oaxaca; Forest Certification in Brazil: Trade and Environmental Enhancement.	Consumer's Choice Council —	USA	English and Spanish and last one also in Portugues e
2003	From Doha to Sustainable Development —	Danish '92 Group	Denmark	Spanish

	Achieving Free and Fair Trade in Forests and Paper Products	Associations representing leading forests and paper industries — World-wide		English
	Labelling Scheme for Environmental Purposes)	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE)	Belgium	English
	The Economic and Environmental Impacts of Agricultural Subsidies: An Assessment of the 2002 US Farm Bill & Doha Round	Unisféra	Canada	English
	Position on the 5th WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancún	French International Solidarity & Environmental Protection Organisations	France	English & French
	Cancún Agenda: Environmental Requirements and Developing Countries' Exports: Lessons for National, International and Regional Action	Research and the Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries (RIS)	India	English
	Briefing Series on the following subjects: Environmental Goods and Services; Environmental Governance; Green Protectionism ; Stick to the Rules for Sustainable Trade	WWF International —	Switzerland	English
2002	Poles Apart — Global Environmental Negotiations	Centre for Science and Environment (CSE)	India	English
2002	Services Assessment and the Market Access Phase of the WTO Services Negotiations	Center for International Environ-mental Law (CIEL) and WWF International	n.a.	English
	The Greenpeace Inernational Seminars on Safe Trade	Greenpeace	n.a.	English
2001	Letter addressed to all WTO Member countries expressing concern for the cruel international animal transports	Friends of the Animals International	n.a.	English

	Statement on Environmental Issues	Pacific Basin Economic Council (PBEC)	n.a.	English
	Sustainable Development: the Spiritual Dimension	Bahá'í International Community		English
	Le commerce international, la protection de l'environnement et le principe de précaution: la nécessaire conciliation	Réseau pour l'Environnement et le Développement Durable en Afrique REDDA)		French
	WTO After Seattle: Put Sustainable Development on the Agenda	The '92 Group and the Danish North/ South Coalition		English
	What's it all for? Setting clear goals for the World Trade Organisation (WTO)	Int. Institute for Sustainable Dev-elopment (IISD)		English
2000	Statement on Trade and Sustainable Development	Int.Institute for Sustainable Dev-elopment (IISD)		English, French, Spanish

Annex 16 Summary of Discourses and Interactive Processes of Transnational Civil Society Organisations

Fora and Arenas	*Discourse highlights and supporting evidence (texts and other media)*	*Interactive Processes*
Organisat-ional Structure Forum	In addition to discrete organisations, there is the formation of self- organisation of civil society into: -CSO-initiated networks: People's Food Sovereignty Network, IPC, industry associations networks and knowledge networks (IISD and Trade Knowledge Network); -Think-tanks: ODI, WRI, ETC. - Global Policy Networks: GRI, World Commission on Dams (WCD); -Partnerships: 266 sustainable development partnerships; -New and hybrid organisations (IUCN, UNAIDS, ILO and GRI, WCD) -CONGO to facilitate relations with the UN UN -induces civil society organisations to join Un-initiated networks (Major Groups, Global Compact; UN Network on Rural Development and Food Security) -liases with civil society (UNGLS and agencies' units dealing with civil society) -adopts and disseminates new terms (constituencies, stakeholders, partnerships) to signify new modalities of interaction and decision-making between the UN and CSO -promotes partnerships and partnership fairs - suggests to reinterpret multilateralism as 'multiconstituencies' Less participation of NGOs in the World Food Summit than other global conference and summits.	Interaction through networks and not through discrete organisations
Political Arena	People's Food Sovereignty Network and IPC: the concept of food sovereignty; right to food; food production through small-scale family farming; remove agriculture from WTO; offers a space to FAO. People's right to define their own policies (Political statement of the NGO/CSO Forum for Food sovereignty) Major Groups: No joint political statement 381 NGO position papers. Very different spectrum of themes covered and of types of organisations; out of 381 papers over the period 2005-2000, 57 cover explicitly agriculture in their title, 23 sustainable development; only one covers	-Multi-stakeholder processes; - open dialogue special events -incorporation of CSO role in political statements of international organisations Parallel NGO Forum NGO position papers posted on WTO website

	multifunctionality; majority of papers are in English only and from developed countries NGOs	
Scientific /technical Forum	General point: NGOs endow themselves with technical experts IPC: generally poor technical resources on food sovereignty concept; Trade: rejection of trade liberalisation but unclear alternative; Agro-ecology: no clear technical formulation; Right-to-food: specialized NGOs advance work in this area in FAO. ETO is considered an inadequate institution to deal with agriculture Major Groups: sustainable food production as a result of commitment "to structures and processes that build partnerships, capacity and accountability among stakeholder groups". Partnerships data base for exchange of sustainable development practices; The Scientific community of the Major Groups planned work for the SARD-Initiative on 'Farming Systems'. CGIAR: focus on productivity and warning about jumping on the 'SARD bandwagon'; focus on global and international public goods; Think-tanks: the concept of food system where agriculture has disappeared (ODI) specialised knowledge-cum-advocacy work on genetic (ETC) and natural resources (WRI) Industry: - no discourses but provision of data determining outcome of technical forum meetings.	-CSO own technical meetings; -CSO interaction with academic/ scientific community; - CSO inputs in technical work of international organisations facilitated through a) subcontracting b) participation in technical meetings, consultations, advis-ory committees, etc. c) multistakeholder, open-dialogue processes; d) special events.
Popular Forum	- IPC: webpage repeats the not fully articulated discourses of technical forum above: - Major groups: embrace the broad scope of sustainable development concept; in an e-Forum on SARD "sustaining agriculture means sustaining civilization"; - USNC: Regenerative food system..also called 'multifunctional' or 'agroecological' - Industry networks: sustainable agriculture "a productive, competitive and efficient way to produce...while at the same time protecting and improving the natural environment and social economic conditions of local communities (SAI); "Agriculture raisonnée" of ANIA; "Efficient and responsible production...to maintain and increase agricultural production worldwide in a sustainable manner (IFA); sustainable agriculture as a system that over the long term will satisfy human food and fibre needs; enhance environmental quality	e-forum webpages and leaflets; action packets

	and the natural resource base enhance the quality of life for farmers and society as a whole (CropLife International).	
Moralising Forum	*Campaigns:* -International Alliance against Hunger..."to strengthen the provision of global public goods related to hunger eradication"; (brochure and web) -More and better campaign: to increase the level and quality of development assistance directed towards food, agriculture and rural development to eradicate hunger and poverty (brochure and web). -One campaign (Bread for the World): hunger and agriculture (brochure and web) *Awards and prizes:* -WAGGS Nutrition award and thinking day (web) - World Food Prize (enhanced productivity) - Seed award for the "most promising innovative or entrepreneurial ideas for action through partnership" (brochure) -NGOs as recipients of FAO's awards (e.g. Margarita Lizarraga Award for code of conduct on responsible fisheries); - IFA International Award: for efficiency in fertiliser use, renamed in 2004 as IFA International Crop Nutrition Award for advanced in crop nutrition. **Corporate social responsibility** - social and sustainable practices; **Ethics** -inclusion of ethical norms in policy making decisions. The right-to-food. Ethics Committee in FAO composed of representatives of civil society organisations. *Partnership:* seed award and partnership fairs IATP: Trade, Human Rights and the Economy	Ceremonies, official diplomatic meetings

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