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Introduction

In the past decade, food sovereignty gained ground as an alternative movement against the dominance of industrial agro-food system. Since it was first collectively raised during the World Food Summit in 1996, food sovereignty has gained substantial recognition in society and the State with differentiated experiences of diffusion at the national and local levels in various countries.

The various scholarly works have unpacked various dimensions of food sovereignty starting from its historicity, genealogy (McMichael, 2009), the construction of sovereignty, the role of the state, etc. This article seeks to add to the concept of multiple sovereignties (Patel, 2009) and Schiavoni's three dimensions of multiple and competing sovereignties: scale, geography, and institutions. By adding 'explicitness' (overt and outspoken versus 'quiet' food sovereignty (Visser et al. 2015) and 'motivation' – whether actors employ an intrinsically motivated food sovereignty framing or one based on more external/pragmatic motivations. In the case of the Philippines in which this study is situated, overlapping and competing positioning and motivation on food sovereignty framing reflects the ambiguities in food sovereignty translation. Actors position themselves as more outspoken in food sovereignty debates but with a rather cosmetic vision and relatively fewer gains in actual practice.

First, the paper will discuss the theoretical standpoints of "multiple" and "competing" sovereignties as distinguished by Patel (2009) and Schiavoni (2015) respectively. It will then proceed to the overview (both historical and contextual) of debates on the Philippines' agrarian and rural development. We will then proceed with an overview of food sovereignty movements in the Philippines and their competing and overlapping interpretations of food sovereignty as categorized based on their positioning and framing of food sovereignty discourse. Empirical data using discourse analysis and interviews will then be presented and analyzed to come up with a theoretically and empirically grounded conclusion.

Plurality of voices and fluidity of food sovereignty construction

Over the years, countries have varied experiences in food sovereignty experiments. McKay et. al (2014: 1175) have noted the differentiated food sovereignty legislation of the governments of Ecuador, Honduras, Venezuela and Bolivia. Countries like Mali, Senegal and Nicaragua have each followed suit (Claeys, 2015: 29). The study has looked into the role of the state and and its

means to be an instrument towards constructing an alternative food system that will introduce changes from within. However, McKay and et. al (2014) have also noted that despite the food sovereignty legislation in these countries, there is a tendency for food sovereignty to contribute instead serving the political purposes of elites instead of to societal transformation. Further, they owe it to the seemingly contradictory notions of sovereignty in food sovereignty.

In Ecuador, for example, putting a state-level legislation in food sovereignty in its constitution included a ban on transgenic seeds and natural resources extraction in protected areas in 2008. It also has provision which disincentives monoculture agriculture (Trauger 2014: 1148).

These differentiated experiences in food sovereignty experiments point to the nature of food sovereignty as being a political project which is fraught with contestations within and among different stakeholders. Political projects like food sovereignty have been mired with differences in translation and meaning-making owing to the internal dynamics of social movements and their interaction with their respective States. Shawsky (2015: 758) explored a number of questions with regards to social movements and their efforts to achieve food sovereignty in two countries like the United Kingdom and Canada. One commonality in food sovereignty efforts in these two countries is the level of activism and mobilization in the issues around their respective food systems. Both food sovereignty movements in these respective countries failed to tie the local struggles to the global frame of food sovereignty discourse.

Expounding on food sovereignty and ascription of its meanings in various contexts, Boyer (2010: 344) has put forward an interesting case of the intermingling of food sovereignty and food security tropes in the discourse in present-day Honduras. Both concepts emerged in Honduras as a result of the long-drawn struggle of peasant and agrarian issues like land security and national food self-sufficiency. However, food security gained more resonance with deeply held peasant issues like social reproduction in insecure social and natural conditions. The food sovereignty trope, on the contrary, failed to connect itself with the local issues at the grassroots level.

Theoretical Framework

"Multiple" and "competing" sovereignties in food sovereignty

Discourses and practices of food sovereignty thus vary significantly from one country or region to another. Speaking about the definition of sovereignty in general, Anderson (1991: 95) writes that "we live in a multiple, overlapping, contradictory, and contested sovereignties". Further, Roman-Alcala (2016: Ibid) unpacked the various sites of sovereignty in order to fully clarify contestations on the sovereignty of food through the multiple sites: supranational, global, national and local. Seen from a horizontal standpoint, sovereignty can also mean contested

sovereignties between and among players – state, movements, and the public. Further, Shattuck el al (2015: 425) argued that there are not only "multiple sovereignties" present at different levels of food sovereignty construction, but these sovereignties more often than not compete and contradict with each other both horizontally and vertically. Amidst the multiple sites of sovereignties and the contestations inherent between and among these sites, it is important to clarify and unpack why and how sovereignty should actually be developed. For Roman-Alcala (2016: 1389) answering these questions will help ensure the processes of governance to implement food sovereignty while trying to navigate and balance the political contestations among sites of FSMs.

Applying this in the concept of food sovereignty, Patel (2009) has articulated that inherent in food sovereignty are the various multi-layered and multi-faceted factors that continue to shape its construction. For Patel (2009: 4), the "big tent politics" of food sovereignty enlivens efforts to redress a range of structural and institutional conditions which continue to undermine peasant and smallholder food producers. Further, food sovereignty construction is a highly contested process which is open to constant interpretation and re-interpretation owing to its "big tent politics" where "diversity of opinions, positions, issues and politics" emanate in the food sovereignty discourse (See Patel 2005: 665).

Patel (2009: 667) posits that what is clear is that the "big tent politics" of food sovereignty reflect the multiple, overlapping and contested jurisdictions of sovereignties present in the construction of food sovereignty. He elucidated this further by pointing out the right questions:

> "…how is the desire for states to assert their sovereignty over domestic food systems in the face of neoliberal policies to be reconciled with the desire for communities to assert their own sovereignty over local food systems? Can both the state and units lying within it be sovereign with respect to food at the same time? Are all communities to be equally sovereign with respect to food, rural and urban alike? What does this mean when some communities have greater food production capacities than others?"
>
> -(Ibid)

Patel's questions construe a complex overlapping of 'competing sovereignties' in food sovereignty construction. Shattuck et al (2015: 424) has further problematized the 'competing sovereignties' that shape the construction of food sovereignty. They posed essential questions regarding the political construction of food sovereignty: "was it the state? was it communities? In the event that nation's sovereignties compete with each other in their respective food policies, whose sovereignty will be respected?" Schiavoni (2017: 19) has elucidated this further by saying that situating food sovereignty as a historical-relational-interactive process of "competing paradigms and approaches" in turn shape the construction of food sovereignty.

Thus, if food sovereignty is multi-layered and is a multi-faceted political project, which is fluid and elastic both in policy and in practice as McMichael (2015: 193) has argued, it merits scholarly work both as a global political project (policy) and as an alternative system (practice) against the dominance of the corporate food regime. Its evolving construction and continuous (re) interpretations are subject

to politics, cleavages or cracks in the system which more often than not affect how it undergoes translation, mutation or diffusion at the national or local level.

Kurzman (2008: 6) has defined meaning making in social movement as "collective contest over interpretation." Different factors – institutions, repertoires of action and ritual often characterize different interpretations that enable people to put them into categories and construct. Thus, the different interpretations and meanings which social movement ascribed to a concept make it a site of constant renegotiations. Political project likes food sovereignty do not only "travel" but they are also translated (Ives, 2014, Kipfer & Hart, 2012 as cited in Shattuck, et al: 2015: 428). Further, "translation necessitates a change in both the original language and the one into which it is being translated" (Ives 2004: 163 as cited by Shattuck, et al: 2015: 429).

In a multi-site ethnographic study conducted in a civil society knowledge network, Fouksman (2016) examined the production and transfer of knowledge

in development organizations. The study found out that knowledge transfer is also translated through the personal and institutional relationships formed and nurtured in organizations. Further, it is through both the informal and formal points of connection and knowledge transfer that power dynamics come into play (Ibid: 20).

Geography, scale, and institutions – multiple dimensions of FSMs in the Philippines

Schiavoni (2015) has identified three dimensions of the process of food sovereignty construction. She categorized these as such: scale, geography, and institutions. For Schiavoni, these three dimensions continues to (re)shape the political construction of food sovereignty.

Scale can be understood as the 'spatial, temporal, quantitative, or analytical' dimensions used to measure and study any phenomenon.' (Cash et. al 2016). It can also be further analyzed by using the following lens: scale as size (large vs. small farms); scale as relational (global-national-local); and scale as level. As Iles & Montenero (2014: 316) have pointed out, "relational scale is the spatial and temporal relationship among processes at different levels, as well as the processes connecting elements between levels."

Geography can be looked into using the urban-rural divide and the political, cultural, socio-economical divisions that have been constructed around this dichotomy. (Schiavoni, 2015). According to Trauger (2014), geography in food sovereignty discussion is also concerned about how food sovereignty can recast notions of "geography" amidst the State's assertion of its sovereignty. Using the illustrations on food sovereignty experiences in the towns of Maine in the US, Trauger has emphasized that food sovereignty has the capacity to change the terrain for struggle over autonomy and self-determination in the food system by

"(re)territorializing space to engage alternative notions of ownership and decision-making" (Trauger 2014: 1145).

Lastly, institutions, in the food sovereignty processes according to Schiavoni (2015), can be seen by looking into interactions among different actors within institutions (intra) and interactions among different institutions (i.e. community-based social institutions vs. institutions of the State). It also includes different kinds of transformation (both internal and external) that shape institutional dynamics and power relations. It can also be seen to what extent it is "embedded" in the institutions of power and authority (i.e. State).

Explicitness and Motivation as additional dimensions

In discourse and translation literature, explicitness refers to the "overt encoding of information" (Baumgarten, et. al., 2008). They have defined "explicitness" as the part of the message that is encoded linguistically has a "more pronounced visibility" in the discourse while "implicitness" refers to the information which is not directly addressed upon by the material. In discourse analysis, is is the "hidden, muted or invisible" meanings of texts (Ibid: 182).

This has been espoused in a study conducted by (Visser et. al, 2015) about food sovereignty efforts which are quite "muted", "covert" and are being downplayed by the State and partly by the smallholder food producers. Situated in post-socialist Russia and building on the concept of quiet sustainability (Smith & Jehlicˇka, 2013), the study explored and contextualized "quiet food sovereignty" as muted, covert forms of sustainable practices where the peasantry exercised a substantial degree of autonomy despite the fact that they do neither form nor belong to a formal social movement given the political context of post-socialist Russia.

Motivation can be studied by looking at the persuasion behind an action as something which is intrinsic or extrinsic. Questions like "what are the motivations behind the action? "Are these actions intrinsically motivated, driven by commitment to the pillars of food sovereignty? Or these cases of positioning in a more pragmatic way, motivated externally?" are key to determining a social movement's main motivation on its articulation and translation of collective action.

Looking at the food sovereignty translation at the local level, it is highly important to examine the nodes and agents behind the persuasions, interpretations, and positioning of national and local food sovereignty movements. In the Philippines case, the overlapping, converging, and diverging ways of meaning-making and positioning on food sovereignty offer an interesting case which adds another dimension to food sovereignty literature. This dimension is subject to various inter and intra organizational dynamics by looking into the horizontal (dynamics and interaction internally and externally with other stakeholders) and vertical (global-national-local linkages) dimensions of a movement.

Philippines: state of play in agriculture and rural development

In order to situate the state-society interaction in the food sovereignty diffusion in the Philippines, we have to look first at the socio-political and economic situation of the Philippines. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in 2015 has noted 88 million Filipinos out of 103 million (PSA, 2016) live in rural areas, 80% of which are poor.

The Philippines agrarian and rural development can be differentiated and analyzed by looking at its political-economic history and distinguishing it in various periods: colonial history; post-war years period of Independence culminating to the Martial Law period; People Power which re-established democracy and the emergence of food-climate nexus brought about by the world food crisis in 2008.

During the colonial period, land has historically been concentrated into the hands of the powerful institutions which is tied to the colonial history of the Philippines. Land and resources have been tied to Spanish colonizers and priests, and local Filipino elites and collaborators. This has repercussion in the long run as Filipinos lost their formal claims of ownership and rights over these pieces of land at that time are owned by these powerful institutions and individuals. (Constantino, 1975 as cited by Borras: Ibid).

In the post-war years (1946-1965) under several administrations, import-substitution-industrialization has added to the poverty and inequality in the Philippines which has been concentrated in the rural areas. It was during this time also during the administration of President Ferdinand Marcos when Green Revolution sprung with its Marcos-adopted Masagana 99 (Bountiful 99) brought about the emergence of high-yielding varieties and modern chemical inputs to the country's granary. The Marcos authoritarian regime which promised a "New Society" and eventually declared Martial Law did not fully blossom into an era of land reform and agricultural and rural development despite the backing of international financial institutions and in projects like Green Revolution and Masagana '99. (Boyce, 1993; Belloe et. al, 1982, Feder 1983).

After the fall of Marcos in 1986, the Philippines saw the transition back to democracy through the EDSA People Power Revolution. Under Corazon Aquino's leadership, the Philippines saw the passage of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law of 1988 which mandates the State to achieve land reform by:

> *"…redistribution of lands, regardless of crops or fruits produced, to farmers and regular farmworkers who are landless, irrespective of tenurial arrangement, to include the totality of factors and support services designed to lift the economic status of the beneficiaries and all other arrangements alternative to the physical redistribution of lands, such as production or profit-sharing, labor administration, and the distribution of shares of stocks, which will allow beneficiaries to receive a just share of the fruits of the lands they work."*

Despite this, land reform continues to be downplayed as the landed elites sitting in the Philippine Legislative bodies found a way to skirt land distribution through the stock distribution option which provides options for landowners to distribute lands through stock ownership instead of rights.

In 1992, Fidel Ramos, the former head of the military of the Marcos regime, won by a hairline vote. The country experienced a significant degree of political and economic stability. It was also during Ramos' presidency when the country embraced neoliberal reforms like export-oriented agricultural and economic development paradigm, deregulation, privatization and trade liberalization perhaps navigating through the establishment of the World Trade Organization in 1995. In post-EDSA era, Bello, et. all (2004) have noted the continued penchant of Philippine government to "squeeze" agriculture of surplus factors of production for industrial development.

The crisis-hit administrations of Estrada (1998-2001) and Macapagal-Arroyo (2001-2010) continued with these neoliberal policies. The former anchored its national economic agenda to foreign direct investments, exports and remittances from overseas Filipino workers while the latter pursued deeper policies that sustained the burgeoning poverty and inequality which are mostly felt on the countryside.

In the recent years, the interlocking of food (food price spike in 2008) and climate change crises (failed Copenhagen deal in 2009) saw the need to unite and response against these food-climate crises nexus as the Philippines experienced climate-related disasters which greatly impact crops and livelihoods of smallholder food producers. It was during this time when the Republic Act 10068 or the National Organic Act of 2010 passed which envisions an "organic agriculture sector contributing to the country's over-all agricultural growth and development, in terms of sustainability, competitiveness and food security, where at least five percent (5%) of the Philippine agricultural land practice organic farming; and, where consumers both national and international increasingly support Philippine organic food products." (NOAP, 2010: 1). It was the Go Organic! Philippines coalition which was convened by then Alaminos City Mayor Hernani Braganza. Go Organic Philippines hailed the passage of the law as the cornerstone of the Aquino III administration in promoting sustainable agriculture and food self-sufficiency for the country. (Go Organic, 2010)

Following this, the Benigno Aquino III administration has outlined a Food Staples Self-Sufficiency Program (2011-2016): "Enhancing Agricultural Productivity and Global Competitiveness" which envisions a Philippines that is "food secure" and has raised incomes of small producers (DA, 2012: 4). Further, the FSSP developed by the Ministry of Agriculture during the Aquino III administration worked on an overall framework of improving productivity growth in agriculture in order to raise rural income (Ibid: 7). The FSSP sees this as the solution in achieving sustainable food security and reduction of poverty. The plan covers policies for rice and other

food staples white corn, banana, root crops like cassava and sweet potato. In its second year, the Aquino III administration has a record breaking budget allocation of Php 61 billion for agriculture. However, a quick content analysis of the said document yielded no mention of food sovereignty.

With its assumption to power in mid-2016, the eight-month Duterte administration has promised to prioritize agriculture along with education in the national budget. It has promised to modernize farms and assured that the Philippines need not import agricultural products especially rice.

Methodology

Using discourse analysis, this paper examines how the various groups pushing for food sovereignty are framing key issues that espouses food sovereignty. Using "framing" and content analysis as tools to see what is included and what is excluded and the relationships between or among conflicting frames, we will examine the various group's key positions on the key issues related to food sovereignty. This will serve as lens on how these multiple frames converged and diverged. We will also show the FSMs position themselves in the food sovereignty discourse through their policy positions and issuances on food sovereignty.

Using Scriven's Argumentation Analysis Table as proposed by Gasper (2003, we devised five columns with the following headings: Actual Text, Comments on Language (metaphors used), Comments on Meanings, Main Conclusions and Assumptions (both stated and unstated) and Counter Arguments. (See Appendix A). This was done to "clarify and test positions and to think creatively about improving them or finding alternatives, through checking assumptions and counter-arguments" (Gasper, 2003: 18).

When trying to analyze how a policy has been framed, it is important to use methods that will bring about the key persuasions and elements that shape the course of a certain policy. Goodwin (2011) proposed that policies must be viewed as discourse. In doing so, "it captures the ways in which policy shapes the world, how these are framed as societal problems with proposed government solutions" (Goodwin 2011: 168).

Furthermore, analyzing policy as discourse means thinking about alternative ways of developing policy and practice. Thus, Goodwin (2011: 170), proposes that rather than understanding policy as the response to pre-set policy problems, focus must be shifted on how policy problematizes certain issues, effectively constructing them as a 'problem'.

Aside from examining key texts and frames of contentions in the food sovereignty discourse, interviews with key players in the food sovereignty movements were conducted both face-to-face and through Skype in June and August of 2016. Additional interviews were also conducted by the authors in January and February 2017.

The Configuration of Food Sovereignty moments in the Philippines

With the expansion of the Food Sovereignty movement both in terms of actors and geographically, there is a growing need for typologies to grasp the variety of organisations within the movement. Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (Ibid: 115) have offered a critical overview of trends within and outside of the corporate food regime (described as respectively neoliberal, reformist, progressive and radical). They classify the social movements on food issues as progressive (those which develop local initiatives such as agro-ecology or organic farming within the dominant system) or radical (those which aim for fundamental changes of the system such as land redistribution), with food sovereignty movements belonging to the latter category. Especially in the countries where Food Sovereignty emerged early on, food sovereignty movements are generally of the radical type. However, with differentiated socio-political contexts, social movement dynamics and historical contexts of countries some food sovereignty movements might belong to the progressive category, or the situation might even be more complex.

Based on the case of the Philippines we identify four different types of FS movements. Looking at the Philippines' food sovereignty movements, a nuanced understanding of the historical context of the Philippines is crucial especially regarding the Philippine Left's history. It offers an interesting case in food sovereignty diffusion. Various groups within the Philippine Left have long been working on food sovereignty since its emergence in mid-90s. While scholars should be wary of how these groups deployed this concept, it is also interesting to find out the way they make meaning through discourse and action and translate food sovereignty at the national and at the local level.

Given the current context of the Philippines' social movements and the way their practices espouse food sovereignty, we have grouped them into the following categories: a) movements which use food sovereignty and convert the FS frame around their respective main advocacies like land, sustainable agriculture, trade, rural women's issues, etc. we will call them the "**converters**". b) movements who use food sovereignty because they do not have any issues to champion for to begin with. Thus, they amplify and legitimize their movement under the overarching frame of food sovereignty. We will call them as "**claimants**". c) There are movements who use food sovereignty to push for their own interests, which are quite mainstream and hardly show any commitment to FS in their daily practices. As such, their activities potentially undermine the main propositions of FS. We will call them "**coopters".** d) Lastly, there are movements who are not that active in the food sovereignty discourse and hardly participate in the debates but are practicing "quiet" food sovereignty principles. We will call them **"quiet"** ones.

1. Converters

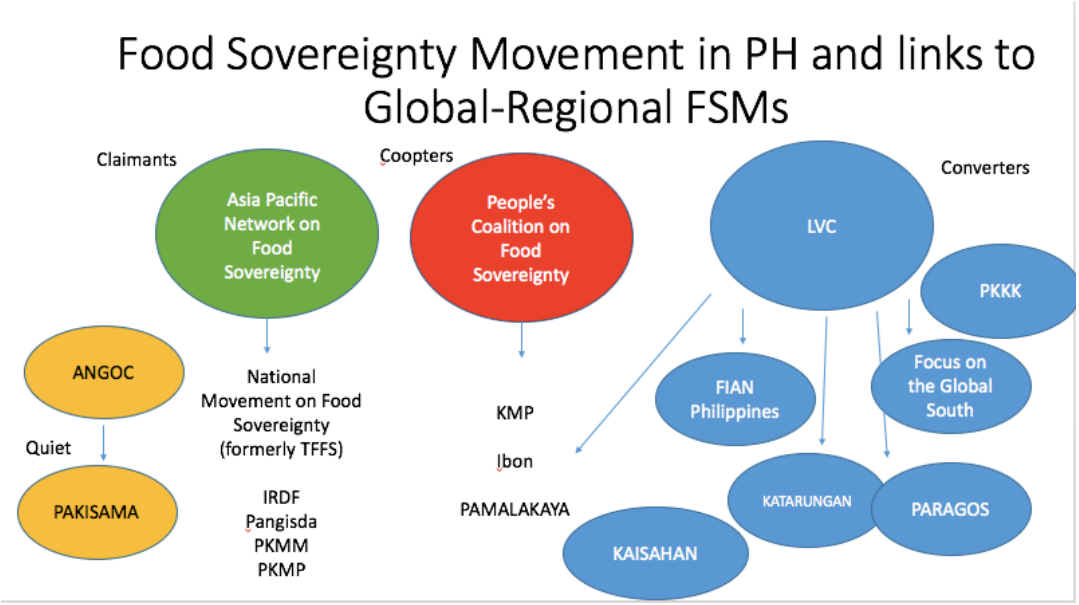
The first category can be called the converters. We use this word to emphasize how they convert the main proposition of food sovereignty towards their own advocacy and streams of work. These groups are not unitarily aligned or working under one coalition but most of them worked together informally under the legal/above ground movement of the Community Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front. However, some of these groups are tied to La Via Campesina at the global level. Thus, food sovereignty is not their main advocacy frame but they use the concept in order to push for their respective issues such as land rights, anti-globalization, trade, rural women, and

right to food.

The converters are composed of the following movements: FIAN Philippines, Focus on the Global South, KATARUNGAN, PARAGOS, PKKK, and KAISAHAN. (See Figure 1).

FIAN is a human rights NGO network which is headquartered in Germany. Similar to other (I)NGOs, it is structured into different country programme teams mostly in the Global South. It was in 1999 when FIAN has a joint campaigning with La Via Campesina on land reform at the global level – the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform (Borras and Franco 2009: 13) In the Philippines, FIAN works on food sovereignty by anchoring it on their global right to food framework. They are the lead proponent in the Right to Adequate Food Framework Act or the Zero Hunger Bill filed in the Philippine Congress. In 2012, FIAN Philippines convened the National Food Coalition which aims to "challenge the government to integrate various Philippine policies on a right to adequate food framework." (NFC, 2012: 1)

Figure 1: Typology and Mapping of FSMs configuration in the Philippines



Source: Composed by the authors based on interviews and review of related literature

The Pambansang Koalisyon ng Kababaihan sa Kanayunan or PKKK (National Coalition of Rural Women) is composed of loose groups from women fisherfolk and farmers' organizations in the countryside which works on various issues confronting peasant women in the countryside such as their property rights, access and control. It is considered as the forefront organization of rural women in the Philippines coming from different spectrums including indigenous women's groups, etc.

Focus on the Global South (FGS), a think-tank, advocacy and campaigning organization founded by activist and thinker Walden Bello in 1995 has an aim which is to "challenge neoliberalism, militarism and corporate-drive globalization". FGS has been active in international issues like trade such as its role in "STOP WTO Doha Rounds! Campaign", World Social Forum, etc.

Kaisahan tungo sa Kaunlaran ng Kanayunan at Repormang Pansakahan or Solidarity Towards Countryside Development and Agrarian Reform (KAISAHAN) was founded in 1990 by social democrat leaders who believe that even if the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law in the Philippines has "its flaws, certain provisions can still be maximized for the benefit of small holder famers and farm workers." (KAISAHAN 2012: 1) As an organization aiming for the

emancipation of peasants and enjoining them to claim their land rights, KAISAHAN frames food sovereignty as a land rights issue and as a food-self sufficiency program (FSSP). KAISAHAN is also the lead convener of the Comprehensive Land Use Program NOW (CLUP NOW!) which is pushing for the National Land Use Act which they have been advocating since the early 90s.

PARAGOS Pilipinas (Pagkakaisa para sa Tunay na Repormang Agraryo at Kaunlarang Pangkanayunan), the former Demokratikong Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (DKMP) or Democratic KMP is a breakaway group from KMP which after the split seems to have veered towards a more peasants' agenda. (Borras, 2007: 232). DKMP broke away from KMP (to be discussed in the next subsection) in early 90's due to ideological differences. However, due to dwindling of aid, only a handful of members remained. Jimmy Tadeo, a known peasant leader in the Philippine social movement continues to lead DKMP which is now known as PARAGOS Pilipinas. Currently, it frames food sovereignty into sustainable agriculture like shunning the use of chemicals. Further, it has strong ties to LVC and is greatly influence by radical agrarian populist positions. It has been an implementing partner of FGS in their projects.

Katarungan (Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services, Inc. or KATARUNGAN) is a network of rights-based organization at the grassroots level which have agrarian reform as its main advocacy. It aims to ensure that "people have secure and equitable access to productive resources" (KATARUNGAN, 2012: 1) like land by building a mass movement of rural poor and supporting their struggle from claiming their land rights to ensuring productivity after they have gained tenurial rights.

KATARUNGAN, Focus on the Global South, PARAGOS Pilipinas, and FIAN Philippines are led by former members and organizers of the legal/above ground/unarmed organizations of the national democractic movement of the Philippines before the split in early 90s due to differences in ideological and organizational tactics and strategies. The National Democractic movement which grew rapidly during the height of Marcos' dictatorship believes in revolution from the countryside. This can explain the partnership, informal coalition, and linkages between and among these organizations.

2. Claimants

We define claimants as those who "claimed" to have first mobilized around the issue food sovereignty propagation in the Philippines or who anchor their campaigns in this concept because they do not have their own frame of contention to begin with. Whether explicitly or implicitly, they jumped on the bandwagon and tried to claim food sovereignty as their own. These groups are headed by the Integrated Rural Development Foundation (IRDF) which members used to be part of the KMP. Due to differences in alliances and tactics, the IRDF broke away from the KMP. Subsequently, other KMP and Pamalakaya members would also form different groups: Pambansang Katipunan ng Makabayang Magbubukid or PKMM (National Movement of Patriotic Peasants) and PANGISDA (FISHERIES), also a breakaway fisherfolk group of Pamalakaya). These groups also belong to the Asia Pacific Network for Food Sovereignty and continue to have some affinity with Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The IRDF is the convener of the National Movement for Food Sovereignty (NMFS) in the Philippines which counts its allied organizations Pambansang Katipunan ng Makabayang Magbubukid (PKMM), Pambansang Kaisahan ng Magsasaka sa Pilipinas (PKMP) and Progresibong Mangingisda sa Pilipinas (PANGISDA) as its members.

IRDF started as an economic support services of the KMP much more familiar with the land occupations in the 80's staged by peasant groups under the said organization. IRDF's goal at that time was to make "productive land occupied farms and provide financial support through lending programs." (IRDF, 2008: 1)

If in 1993, the Philippines Left was fragmented because of ideological and historical atrocities popularized by purging in the late 80s to early 90s, the 1998 break was more subdued in the sense that the divide is more issue-based and tactical. "The debate among peasant groups within the National Democratic faction is on how to approach the issue of globalization like

WTO in agriculture, impacts of GATT and tariff reduction on basic food items, etc. Glipo said,"We stood our ground that we should refocus our efforts to the global discourse on food sovereignty and issues that affect the state of our agriculture directly." (Interview 24 June 2016)

It was in 2001 when IRDF formally started its campaign to protect rice farmers from the onslaught of wide importation of rice. In the House of Representatives, legislators have tried to legislate the privatization of the National Food Authority (NFA) which will enable lifting of quantitative control on rice importations. This was when the IRDF started to make noise in their attempt to block the passage of this bill. "We engaged them in debates, through analysis and issuances of policy papers," recalls Glipo. (Interview 24 June 2016)

This was also when the Task Force on Food Security (TFFS) came to be. It started as an initiative against the issue of National Food Authority privatization and it eventually took a strong stance against World Trade Organization (WTO) and agriculture encroachment. As a result of this, TFFS eventually strengthened its ties to regional and global platforms and created possible alliances with other movements in Asia. Conveners of TFFS who were interviewed believe that the critique on neo-liberalism was sharpened such that there was a push that time to transform a taskforce on food security to a national movement on food sovereignty which aimed to be a cross sectoral movement not only by farmers but also other sectors influential to the food discourse. "The shift from food security to food sovereignty came as a result of the realization that market forces can ensure food security but the livelihoods of food producers are undermined since a market-led food system will rely on importation which kills livelihoods of smallholder food producers," Myrna Dominguez, policy research officer of IRDF said. (Interview 22 June 2016)

The "claimants" appear to have sporadic yet tactical and programmatic forms of propagation of movement building and initiatives perhaps owing to their roots to the National Democratic movement in the Philippines. They conduct education discussions and national situationer talks to their members in order to propagate their ideologies. They claim to be leading movement in food sovereignty in the Philippines for the TFFS is considered as the national coalition on food sovereignty in the Philippines. However, based on interviews with key members of the TFFS, they do not have direct working relationships on food sovereignty with other groups like the converters and claimants - FSMs who are strongly aligned with the Philippine Left.

3. Coopters

We define coopters as those organizations who contribute to unintentionally undermining the main propositions of food sovereignty, coopt the term by supplanting it with their own sets of advocacies which often run counter to the tenets of food sovereignty (See Figure 2). Along this lines are legal organizations of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), a legal peasant organization espousing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position espousing a more orthodox Marxist position by providing emphasis on workers' rights and and campaigning for nationalization of land, establishing of state farms as an intermediate phase in a transition to individual ownership (Putzel, 1995; Lara and Morales 1990 as cited by Borras and Franco, 2004: 24)

Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP, Peasant Movement of the Philippines) is a Maoist-inspired legal peasant organization which traces its ideological leanings on land reform "by following a more orthodox Leninist-cum-Maoist position". It puts value to providing premium to works and the nationalization of natural resources like land and water, campaigning for establishment of state farms instead of family farms which they envision to enable a transition to individual peasant ownership overtime. (Borras and Franco, 2004: 22)

KMP and its allied organization the think-tank Ibon Foundation and Pamalakaya (National Fisheries Movement) are aligned to the same leaning. These groups are current members of the People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS), a "growing network of various grassroots groups of small food producers particularly of peasant-farmer organizations and their support NGOs." (PCFS, 2014: 1). Other prominent members include Pesticide Action Network

(Colombia), Alliance of People's Movement (India), Alliance of Agrarian Reform Movement (Agra), Pesticides Action Network Asia and Pacific (Malaysia), etc.

These groups "coopt" food sovereignty by jumping on the bandwagon but actually pushing for the CPP-NPA-NDF's interests since they are the legal/aboveground/unarmed organizations aligned to this ideology. Thus, confusing as it seems even if they are active members of the PCNFS, they have differing views in land reform. Agrarian populists pushing for food sovereignty will put emphasis on small family farms. However, these "coopters" have always been pushing for nationalization of natural resources including land and water.

4. Quiet movements

The fourth category can be likened to those groups who prefer to employ "silent" practices in food sovereignty practices. They are fragments from the social democratic wing of the Philippine Left. It was in mid-1980s when the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP) built a moderate farmers' association whose leaders and ideology came from the broad social- and Christian-democratic tradition (Borras and Franco, 2009: 20) called PAKISAMA (National Council of Farmer's Associations). The organization was founded with the predisposition that there is a need to engage the government on the land reform issue employing moderate forms of action. Today, PAKISAMA focuses on the following issues: fisheries reform, rural development and far-reaching agrarian reform. At the regional level, PAKISAMA is aligned with Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC), the main social-democratic alliance of rural NGOs in the Philippines. Currently, ANGOC is also headquartered in the Philippines (Ibid: 21).

Currently, these groups under the four categories stated above are all in one way or another active in the food sovereignty movement in their respective ways. Further, their embeddedness in the rich history and political fragmentation of the Philippine Left greatly affect alliance building and engagement with the government in more ways than one. For example, if in the previous administration of President Benigno Aquino III, some of key allies of the claimants have been given key positions in the government, the claimants now hold Cabinet minister positions after being appointed in President Duterte's administration.

However, this is not to say that these different sets of actors are working in silos. There can be overlapping, multiple or parallel, competing frames of contention and forms of action within the food sovereignty discourse which they utilize and deploy in order to realize its diffusion in the Philippines. It is important to unpack and examine their political dynamics, because they are more often than not subject to political dynamics at varying scales. Each have its own political dynamics, ideologies, interests, institutional challenges, sectoral focus, tactics and interaction with the state which merit research, understanding and interpretation. It is the nature of food sovereignty as a political, ideological and institutionally influenced movement that we are examining in this paper.

Food Sovereignty: examining the six pillars of Nyeleni Declaration

In order to situate the various groups working on food sovereignty in the Philippines and how they position themselves in the discourse of food sovereignty, we will first unpack how proponents of food sovereignty envisioned it to be. Using the Nyeleni Declaration in 2007, we will examine the propositions, the historical context, as well as the silences of how food sovereignty envisions a world free from the dominance of "large-scale, capitalist and export-based agriculture" (Wittman, 2009: 342)

Using the argumentative analysis table developed by Scriven and Gasper (2013) as explained above, we have unpacked food sovereignty and its propositions. (See Annex A and B for complete table).

Looking at the Nyeleni declaration and examining the six pillars of food sovereignty, food sovereignty envisions a system and thinking where the rights and self-determination of women and men farmers are being uphold with regards to their own food production and consumption. It is a movement which seeks to put premium to the food producers and their decision-making. It advocates a world where social, cultural, and ecological relations and concerns on food are "respected, protected and fulfilled". (Nyeleni, 2007: 1).

Food sovereignty presupposes that there are failures in the current global food system and that other probable solutions or tropes like food security, food justice and other paradigms have failed. It presented itself to be the radical alternative path which is key to resolving the failures of the corporate food regime.

This representation of the problem came at a time when structural adjustments programs became more prevalent coupled with the dwindling support for agriculture and dumping of US food surplus in Central America in the mid-1980's (Edelman, 2014: 959). Writing on the historicity of food sovereignty, McMichael (2014: 342) has posited that food sovereignty targeted the failures of the global trade system and WTO. In the course of its development and it being a process, it expanded to include agrarian reform and access to land, access to resources, issues on seeds, local and culture knowledge and identity (Nyeleni Food Sovereignty Forum, 2007: 1).

Over the years, the growing appreciation on food sovereignty both as a policy and practice from the academia to movements to the public has brought about its nature as a site of contestation. It has been interpreted and re-interpreted by different groups and individuals with varying agendas due to the broadness, multi-faceted and multi-layered nature of it as a concept. Borrras et. al (2015: 433) have mapped out the different strands of food sovereignty which shows its dynamism: "food politics, agro-ecology, land reform, pastoralism, fisheries, biofuels, genetically modified organisms (GMOs), urban gardening, the patenting of life forms, labour migration, the feeding of volatile cities, community initiatives and state policies, public health, climate change, ecological sustainability, and subsistence rights" (Borrras et al, 2015: Ibid).

In aligning the multi-pronged issues of food sovereignty discourse which it aims to solve, we put it under the prism of the three dimensions of food sovereignty. The first two pillars namely: 1) focuses on food for people and 2) values food providers as well as the fifth pillar: 5) build knowledge and skills encompass the frames of right to food; peasant rights, rural women and fisher folk.

We put pillars 3) "localizes the food system" and 4) "puts control locally" for specific sectoral issues like land rights, trade and sovereignty; while the last pillar 6) "works with nature" encompasses sustainable agriculture and climate justice.

In the following table, we map out the various propositions of the different groups according to scale, geography and institutions as well as the other dimensions we are adding: motivation and explicitness.

Multiple, competing, overlapping frames of meaning-making of FSMs in the Philippines

To contextualize and situate the various voices and propositions of social movements in the Philippines in relation to food sovereignty, we have looked into two groups at the regional and global level which FSMs in the Philippines belong to: the Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty (claimants) and the People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (coopters). Being one of the proponents of food sovereignty, we leave out La Via Campesina which is loosely tied to some of the groups under the so-called converters. It is assumed that being one of the proponents of food sovereignty, LVC is loyal to the tenets of food sovereignty as espoused by the Nyeleni Declaration.

Looking at the food sovereignty declarations of these two coalitions, policy pronouncements and historical context on its rationale when it was founded, the two coalitions diverge in more ways than one. Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty (APNFS) was founded during the 2001 WTO Doha round when agriculture was being debated to be included in the round talks. Its overarching goal is to fight against globalization and trade policies that are not beneficial to smallholder farmers (APNFS: 2009: 1). Thus, a strong emphasis is put against unfair trade policies on agriculture can be shown on their texts which put emphasis on words like democratization, trade liberalization, neo-liberal agriculture and export- oriented (APNFS: 2009: 1). The APNFS was established by the Integrated Rural Development Foundation (IRDF) (one of the active groups under the claimants category), as one of the conveners of the national-level Task Force on Food Sovereignty (TFFS). Currently, the APNFS' secretariat is based in the office of the IRDF in the Philippines with IRDF's Glipo acting as Regional Director. The APNFS counts various "smallholder farmers, artisanal fishers, indigenous and forest people, and rural women, consumer groups" (Ibid) coming from different countries in Asia Pacific region as its members.

On the other hand, the People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty was launched during the Bali round in 2004 to popularize the People's Convention on Food Sovereignty. The PCNFS is a network of various grassroots groups of small food producers particularly of peasant-farmer organizations and their support NGOs, working towards a People's Convention on Food Sovereignty. During the People's Convention in Dhaka, the name "People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty" was adopted due to the growing number of organisations beyond Asia who have been involved in the Food Sovereignty platform. The PCFS emphasizes the need to create an alternative platform against neoliberalism on food and agriculture policies (PCFS, 2007:1). Currently, it focuses on four main issues: climate, resource grabbing, seeds, and fisheries. It has regional offices in Latin America, Africa and Asia Pacific. The PCFS' Asia Pacific Secretariat is currently housed in the office of the IBON Foundation, one of the groups under the coopters category.

PCFS also advocates the promotion of a globally binding International Convention on Food Sovereignty at the national and international level. In PCFS' Primer on Food Sovereignty the coalition defines itself as a movement which uses a rights-based approach to achieving food security and safety and is aimed at tackling the problem of hunger and nutrition. (PCFS, 2004: 2). While it uses the LVC definition of food sovereignty, it puts emphasis on words often times deployed by Orthodox Marxists: exploitation, class, landlords, semi-feudal, semi-colonial, industrialization, and imperialism. These are words not being used by LVC especially in terms of the six pillars of the Food Sovereignty.

Figure 2: Overlapping and multiple frames of FSMs in the Philippines on food sovereignty

	Food for people	**Values**	**Food**	**Providers**	**Localizes food system**	**Builds Knowledge**	**Works with**	**nature**	**Institutions**
	Right to food	Peasants	Rural women	Fisherfolk	Land rights	Food/trade sovereignty (Anti-Neo liberalism slant)	Sustainable agriculture	Climate Justice	Alignment with the State (govt)
Differentiation	Urban consumers	Rural	Producer		Scale (level) (size) Large-scale Small-scale				
Converters PARAGOS FGS					Small Mix of large and small (CARP)	Main frame Main frame	Sus Ag – main frame Funding sus ag projects through PARAGOS	Climate justice as main frame/	Aquinoo III Aquino III
FIAN KATARUNGAN PKKK KAISAHAN	Main frame		Main frame		Large Large/ small (main frame – CARP) large large/small (main frame-CARP)				Aquino III Aquino III Aquino III
Claimants IRDF PKMP PANGISDA		Also uses this frame Main frame		Main frame	Mix of Small and family farms Also uses this frame	Main frame Also uses this frame Also uses this frame	Also uses this frame Also uses this frame	Main frame	- - -

Coopters -KMP -Ibon (as a think-tank supports stand of coopters) PAMALAKAYA		Main frame		Main frame	Large scale farms (GARB)	Also uses this frame (imperialism)			Duterte Duterte Duterte
Quiet -PAKISAMA		Also uses this frame			Main frame (Mix of small and large)				Aquino III

Source: Composed by the authors based on interviews and review of policy documents

Figure 3. Explicitness of food sovereignty movements in the Philippines: discourse, main-themes and sub-themes of FS, activities and connection with FS networks

	Explicitness of FS discourse	**Explicitness about sub-themes of FS**	**Activities in line with FS**	**Connection with FS networks**
Converters	- +	+ +	+	+ +
Claimants	+	+ - (focusing on Anti-Neolib, trade, anti-WTO and climate justice only)	+	Not connected to LVC but created a regional (Asia-Pacific wide platform on FS, APNFS)
Coopters	+ +	+ (explicit but some stance are quite the opposite to FS pillars)	- -	+ + (gatekeeping tendencies for LVC at the national level, alienating other national and grassroots movements not aligned with them)
Quiet	- -	- + (focusing on land rights and peasant issues)	+ +	-

Source: Based on interviews conducted by the authors

- number of + or – sign connotes level of explicitness and implicitness

1. Converters

Foodfirst Information and Action Network (FIAN) International positions food sovereignty as an issue of right to food since they have been doing work on the right to food after conducting a thorough analysis of the agrarian issues in the Philippines according to Reyes (Interview, 20 June 2016). As a global network, FIAN Philippines also adopts this framework in its policy propositions, campaigns, and issuances. The issues that the organization has been working for like land reform, zero hunger bill, land rights, nutrition, which are framed as a right to food issue. In its key documents uploaded in its website, though food sovereignty was not explicitly stated, the overarching frame of contention it utilizes is the right to adequate food.

Focus on the Global South has been working actively on food sovereignty owing to its influence of one of its founder Walden Bello who is an anti-globalisation and liberalisation activist which are both the forces which food sovereignty was shaped upon and greatly go against with. FGS has explored food sovereignty along the lines of climate justice, deglobalization and trade. This was evident in their

policy positions on food sovereignty which they have articulated, published, and launched in various fora and have been uploaded in their website.

The framing of food sovereignty linked to climate justice issue can be inferred as an answer of FGS to the growing call for movements to create synergies between issues due to dwindling of aid and pressure to align issues to what has been touted to be the buzzword in the development circle. In 2009, for example, international government organizations have been trying to link food and agricultural issues to climate change especially in a key moment like the failed Copenhagen climate deal.

Other organizations within the category of "converters" have various frames of contention which they have actively been working on for years even before they jumped onto the food sovereignty framing. For example, Paragos Pilipinas, an organization which sprung from the breakaway group Demokratikong Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (DKMP) has been active in sustainable agriculture and organic way of farming. A closer examination of its pronouncements on food sovereignty reveals a focus on sustainable agriculture using "organic farming" and avoiding the use of chemicals in farming inputs – principles which the Nyeleni declaration on food sovereignty has been upholding. This has also been validated by Jimmy Tadeo, one of its leaders, in an interview:

"We have been using chemicals in agriculture and farming since the multinationals and the IRRI (International Rice Research Institute) introduced it. This has resulted to us having 91% of our rice fields unproductive. This is the reason why PARAGOS is against the use of pesticides in farming." (Interview, 23 August 2016).

Similarly, other groups like PKKK, KAISAHAN, and KATARUNGAN are not explicitly using "food sovereignty" in their discursive struggles. However, they are still working with the more visible food sovereignty movements in the Philippines in this advocacy. Loose as it seems, their affiliation with the food sovereignty discourse is not that apparent due to their stronger attention towards their main advocacy issues like rural women for PKKK, land rights and agrarian reform for both KATARUNGAN and KAISAHAN. The invisibility of food sovereignty in their websites, policy pronouncements, etc. are more pronounced than with other groups under this category or to groups belonging to other categories, too.

2. Claimants

On the other hand, IRDF has positioned itself as a grassroots-led movement for food sovereignty treating FS as one of its pillars. A closer scrutiny of its issuances on FS published in its website shows the words: trade, WTO, globalization, liberalization, market-driven, corporate-friendly agriculture– words and phrases that speak about the time when IRDF began to actively fight against WTO agricultural policies in 2001. Last year, NMFS released a statement which called for a united front that is "pushing for food sovereignty and climate justice; fighting neoliberal policies on agriculture and fisheries sector; and dismantle the dominance of corporate agribusiness in the global food sytem" (NMFS, 2015: 1). The document clearly denounces trade agreements which further plunge smallholder farmers and fishers into poverty while pushing for small family farms and organic farming. At present, according to persons interviewed from IRDF, they have efforts in organic farming in Sorsogon, one of the poorest provinces located in Eastern Philippines.

For Arce Glipo, she sees food sovereignty movement for IRDF and allied groups under the claimants category to transition towards the movement towards a cross sectoral alliance open not only to farmers but also to other food producing sectors in order to influence the general public as well.

3. Coopters

In its policy document on food sovereignty, think-tank Ibon Foundation has framed food sovereignty as a right to food issue. In its document titled "Ibon Primer on Food Crisis and Food Sovereingty", it laid down its position on food sovereignty. It is framing food sovereignty similar to how FIAN frames it to be. However, with Ibon's role as the think-tank among the coopters, the use of terms like genuine, pro-people, collectivization are used. Although it uses the right to food approach as its main frame of contention in food sovereignty, Ibon Foundation was not part of the Zero Hunger Bill which was spearheaded by FIAN Philippines.

As the national democratic movement which unites fisherfolk movements in the Philippines, PAMALAKAYA has taken positions along with other allies like IBON Foundation. While it has not produced clear policy propositions on food sovereignty unlike IBON, in the press releases that were examined, PAMALAKAYA and KMP have always been reiterating their message on words like genuine agrarian reform, pro-people, nationalization of natural resources, national industrialization, etc. Further, conspicuously absent in any documents or text in KMP's official website is food sovereignty.

In a joint statement issued a few years ago on World Food Day, the coopters along with other allies under PCFS issued a call on food sovereignty. However, it only uses food sovereignty in the title ("The need for accountability mechanisms against landgrabbing and all other threats to Food Sovereignty).

There is neither reference to food sovereignty nor its definition in the body of the text.

In looking at these multiple, competing, overlapping, parallel, converging and diverging frames of contention, it strengthens the argument that food sovereignty is dynamic, expanding, and not static. As Edelman et. al (2014: 264) has posited the future of food sovereignty relies on specific actors' involvement, however, its definition is constantly evolving much like its future.

4. Quiet movements

In the official pronouncements in the websites of PAKISAMA, the word "food sovereignty" is absent. In the website of its regional umbrella group - Asian NGO Coalition (ANGOC), food sovereignty has always been muted, mentioned rarely, if not occasionally in headlines of statements and in press releases. In fact, the terms food sovereignty is conspicuously absent in its policy pronouncements. The majority of the messaging has always been about other issues like rural development, land reform and land rights. Similar to some groups under the "claimants" category, the quiet ones have activities which highlight their main advocacy (land rights) and how this is linked to the issue of food sovereignty. Last year, together with other allied groups under the ANGOC coalition, PAKISAMA led an event called "Shaping Land Agenda and defining land rights to achieve food

sovereignty". Various allied groups from different countries like Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand participated in the said activity. A landmark document (Quezon City Declaration on Food Sovereignty) was released on the same day which has only mentioned food sovereignty twice (in the title and in the call to action part).

The text ends with a call to action that says, "in order to achieve food sovereignty, particularly at the household level in the Asian context, a paradigm shift is in order where:

- stewardship through community-based natural resource management;
- ecological and food security through the promotion of sustainable agriculture;
- equity through the promotion of community social enterprises;
- spirituality as the basis of the Asian community; and
- decentralization and democratization as the guiding principles towards redefining political accountability and security."

(ANGOC, 2016: 1)

ANGOC is much more involved with the International Land Coalition (ILC) than with food sovereignty movements like La Visa Campesina. Thus, it explains why its activities and pronouncements are much more inclined towards land issues or linking land issues to food sovereignty as well similar to the strategy employed by the converters, who mainly uses the main arc of food sovereignty to push for their main advocacies like in ANGOC's case, land issues.

At the grassroots level, PAKISAMA (which is more mass-based and grassroots) has efforts on food sovereignty practices like nurturing and cultivating small farms, agroecological practices and bridging the distance between producers and consumers.

As Jon Sarmiento of PAKISAMA said, "we refrain from being "noisy" in the public arena and instead work in our own ways in practicing food sovereignty. There is so much political heat in the food sovereignty discourse at the national or even global level." (Interview, 6 February 2017).

The question on land on food sovereignty

In this section we zoom in to an important pillar in food sovereignty diffusion, namely the question of land rights which food sovereignty movements in the Philippines have identified as one of the key issues on how to achieve food sovereignty in the country.

The Nyeleni Declaration is explicit about land reform as it states:

"...there is genuine and integral agrarian reform that guarantees peasants full rights to land, defends and recovers the territories of indigenous peoples, ensures

fishing communities' access and control over their fishing areas and eco-systems, honours access and control by pastoral communities over pastoral lands and migratory routes..."

-Nyeleni Declaration (2007:1)

McMichael (2009) first articulated the land question on food sovereignty when he said that in the era of land grabbing, it is crucial not only to accommodate the question on how the state determine its own food policy. However, it must also not neglect the rights of small-scale producers to their models of production and reproduction. Increasingly, land grabs bring about the question of how land rights is actually being ensured by food sovereignty. In this emerging complexity, McMichael (Ibid: 437) suggested a possible recalibration of frames movements utilize – one which will address the land question on food sovereignty while ensuring and protecting small-scale producer systems like pastoralists, fishers, and forest-dwellers.

Borras et. al (2015) proposed to call it "land sovereignty", which according to them, "captures the essence of democratizing land control in the context of democratizing the food system" (Borras, 2015: 611). Persons interviewed for this study believed that in the Philippines, the arenas of land reform and comprehensive land use policy are crucial in achieving food sovereignty. However, the issue of land is discursively contested by the four categories we have outlined (See discussion above). This has been prominent during the land reform debate that ensured a few years ago during the land reform extension in the Philippines. Due to differences in ideologies and historical fissures, and the politics of mobilization, the coopters, claimants, converters and the quiet ones have different stands and were not united in the land reform debate. Converters and the quiet ones called for the extension of the law through the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) with Reforms and Extensions (CARPER). On the other hand, the coopters called for a passage instead of a Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill (GARB) which seeks to have "free land distribution for the peasants and nationalization of agricultural lands." (Interaksyon, 2015: 1). This position is a stark contrast to what is supposed to be stands of food sovereignty advocates: establishment of family farms. For the groups under the converters, the CARP has some provisions which can be worked on.

Task Force Mapalad which is one of the peasant groups supported by the converters believed that although CARP had its flaws, many peasants in sugar plantations in Western Visayas, for example, were able to break free from bondage of slavery (Interaksyon, 2015: 1). Danny Caranza of KATARUNGAN echoed this as his organization and groups under the converters supported the CARPER during the land reform law extension issue. "Although CARPER has its flaws, there are ways to work within the law and maneuver the system" (Interview 20 June 2016).

Groups led by the claimants like the IRDF have taken a more critical view on the CARPER according to them. While the organizations under NMFS which IRDF convenes have criticisms against CARPER, they are not solely for GARB and offers a more nuanced view of land distribution. IRDF has convened Kilusan para sa Tunay na Repormang Agraryo (Movement for Genuine Agrarian Reform) which drafted and filed separate bill aside from GARB and CARPER. Glipo remarked, "Our

framework was how to break the monopoly of landowners? How do we transfer power from landlord to peasantry?" (Interview 24 June 2016)

To further illustrate the complexity of the dynamics, "converters" led the Agrarian Reform NOW (AR NOW!) and Sulong CARPER (Forward CARPER), coalitions formed during the enactment of the land reform extension in the Philippines. On the other hand, "coopters" refused to be part of these coalitions. It took an institution like the Philippine Catholic Church to come up with a united front for groups pushing for land reform through AR NOW! and Sulong CARPER observers and interviewees in this study have commented. Tarrow and Tilly (2015: 152) have noted this phenomenon as social appropriation, a crucial factor in contentious politics – "solidarity built on the country's most legitimate and most powerful institution" Tarrow and Tilly (2015: Ibid). In the case of the Philippines, the Catholic Church has presented itself as one of, if not, the most legitimate and most powerful institution such that it was able to bring warring factions of the Philippine Left into one umbrella coalition for land reform.

Thus, for them, there is a need to come up with a united front against elite landowners and lobbying of real estate magnates who dominate and pervade the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Philippines. As what Glipo remarked:

"Land is directly related to food and all the economic and political questions on food production. The question of whether you will produce food for production or family consumption will come into play when you discuss the issue of land. Are you going to with the global production or alternative models like ecosystem?" (Interview 24 June 2016)

As what Jimmy Tadeo of PARAGOS Pilipinas has articulated in the interview:

"We must organize and provide political power and spaces to farmers – from the rural villages to towns to provinces to region and to national. This will dictate the tempo of food sovereignty." (Interview 23 August 2016)

Reyes has noted that for FIAN, land rights is heavily linked to attainment of food sovereignty. Thus, it is urgent to preserve the gains which the Philippine agrarian justice have achieved for the past five years. This has also been echoed by Anthony Marzan, Executive Director of KAISAHAN:

"Central to the issue of food sovereignty is land struggle. When you ensure land rights, you ensure food security. Even then, land rights advocates have been fighting against land conversions prominent of these are land conversions to skirt around land distributions," (Interview 13 June 2016).

Politics of aid: global-national-local links and FSM-donor and FSM-state relations

Movements and Donors/NGOs

With the shifting development priorities at the global level, Transnational Agrarian Movements (TAMS) and also traditional movements have also been subjected to the "politics of aid." Edwards (2007: 40) has noted the effect of aid chain in social movement mobilisation and resources. Borras and Edelman (2015: 106) have

traced the various nodes of relationships of (I)NGOs-TAMS that are key to unlocking the vertical dynamics between these sets of distinct bodies. Simply put, to categorize a funder-receiver relationship to the NGO- TAMs dynamics is too simplistic. There are tensions in their relationships such as: 1) NGOs' representation of peasants; 2) NGOs' tendency to influence the organization and ideological make-up of an organization and; 3) NGOs' tendency to stay on the background after funding transnational agrarian movements (TAMs) which somehow encroach the actions of the movement as a recipient of funds (Borras and Edelman, Ibid: 114).

Thus, these factors and the scrambling for funds and resources force movements to either reshape their campaigns and advocacies into what's conceivable (Brent et. al., 2014) or to form coalition and alliances which affects inter-TAMs dynamics, tensions, and relationships. More recently, the framing of food sovereignty issues as a climate change issue reflects this trend. Interviewees have noted that when climate change became a buzzword in the late 90's onwards, they began calibrating their calls and campaigns on food as a climate justice issue. Social movements' calibration from their main frames of contentions to the buzzwords in the development sector has been studied by various scholars. Brent et al (2015) and Tramel (2016) have studied how movements become depoliticized because of the "flow of capital from foundations into food movements" (Guthman 2008: 1171 as cited by Brent et al, 2015: 625) Further, neoliberalism limits the conceivable forms of action because "it limits the arguable, the fundable, the organisable." (Ibid). It can explain why movements tend to shape their actions on what issues funders are working on.

Alliance-building is a crucial factor in order to make use of the available resources from multilateral and donor agencies interviewees have noted. However, the historical fragmentation and political dynamics of the Philippine Left movement continue to shape alliance-building and joint mobilization of FSMs in the Philippines. As one interviewee has noted, some NGOs are notorious in "credit grabbing" such that even if a joint campaigning was agreed, these certain NGOs will try to get more publicity and mileage against their partners under a coalition's joint activities. However, there is also a tendency for these groups to work in silos and compete with one another for funds and resources.

Movements and the State

Because of scrambling for funds, social movements also have variegated levels of engagements with the State. They have competing claims on how they perceive the State as a pivotal role on pushing for food sovereignty. FIAN Philippines, for example, sees political engagement as a means to achieve social change and as a building bloc of radical reforms.

On the other hand, coopters have been deploying various terms of engagement with the state namely political propaganda, community organizing, and political education especially for peasants in the countryside. However, these activities are not tactical and strategic because of the absence of a clear and definitive or shifting strategies with the State. It was only until recently when Leftist leaders nominated by the CPP-NPA-NDF were appointed by the Duterte administration. They have started participating in mainstream politics through the party-list

system in 2001 and had a history of shifting yet unprincipled alliances to winnable presidential candidates in the previous national elections.

The presence or absence of direct or indirect relationships with the state greatly influences food sovereignty diffusion at the national level. Their terms and levels of engagement with the government reshape the dynamics and relationships of social movements who come from different poles of the Philippine Left.

For the so-called converters, the coopters are engaging the government for tactical and political opportunity purposes especially in espousing their ideology. For example, most of the groups under the converters have all refrained from getting funds from the government as co- implementers of projects. This self-restraining policy for them is their preemptive move to veer away from being coopted by the State in terms of being instruments of legitimizing policies that may run counter to food sovereignty principles. Mary Ann Manahan of Focus on the Global South has noted that it is important for movements to open the space of engagement with the government and be a bridge among groups working on food sovereignty.

“In a country where issues are somehow blurred or are not exclusive to certain movements, it is important for movements to frame and reframe contentions and use this for political opportunity that will help espouse the food sovereignty movement.” (Interview 6 August 2016)

Politics of mobilization (Borras and Franco 2009: 27) among social movements in the Philippines is imminent not only because of historical split and the scramble for resources and aid. How each of them see themselves within the vast constellation of food sovereignty players is crucial in digging deeper to the “material struggle” of food sovereignty diffusion.

Movements as mediators: between global and local

Most of the interviewers agree that for food sovereignty to be able to flourish in a country like the Philippines, the role of movements as “mediators” are pivotal since they serve as the link between the global and the local.

“In the Philippines, the concept of food sovereignty became popular in early 2000s because of the emerging threat of the WTO in agriculture of developing countries. Farmers and peasants have realized that our fight here is for the sovereignty of food against neoliberal global forces like agribusiness corporations, institutions like WTO, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Thus, solidarity is key in order to fight neoliberal policies that trample the rights of food producers,”

-Walden Bello of the Focus of Global South (Interview, 29 June 2016)

For Ric Reyes of FIAN International, food sovereignty is the “solidarity of sectors in an alternative movement towards building a new world.” He then cited the case when IRDF started Task Force Food Sovereignty in mid-2000s which eventually scaled up at the regional level via the Asia Pacific Network on Food Sovereignty, other FS movements or organizations working on FS issues were not included (i.e. FIAN Philippines, Katarungan). Likewise, Reyes has pointed out that TFFS and the APNFS member organizations do not include rural and farmer organizations.

Aside from inter-transnational agrarian movements’ relationship and how they position themselves vis-à-vis other movements (external), there is also a need to

fully and seamlessly fuse the link between the national and to the local level or to the grassroots movement in the ground. Working in solidarity with peasant organizations who are more exposed to the issues surrounding food seemed to be the crucial factor. The question of who gets to represent who and how or the politics of representation come into play (See Borras and Franco 2009 discussion). Politics of intermediation or simply put gatekeeping of national movements to local partner organizations also plays a major factor.

Conclusion

As we have seen in the case of the Philippines, the historical and socio-economic contexts of a country, the intra and interpersonal dynamics of movements and their relationship vertically (global-national-local) and horizontally (state, public and other stakeholders) play significant roles in their politics of positioning, meaning-making and diffusion of food sovereignty. However, historical and interactive analysis is somehow limited. Applying a relational perspective by looking at each of their positions both discursively and materially vis-à-vis the six food sovereignty pillars framed under the lens of scale, geography and institutions are crucial in looking at the bigger picture on the politics of positioning and meaning-making of FSMs in the Philippines.

These various positions and meaning-making strategies have been developed by food sovereignty movements in the Philippines which we categorized into converters, claimants, coopters, and quiet movements. Each has its own motivations (intrinsic and extrinsic) and means of participating (quiet or outspoken) in the discourse and way of amplifying food sovereignty's calls on their ascriptions to the food sovereignty discourse. As we have shown in this paper, outspokenness does not necessarily result in having tangible and concrete practices of food sovereignty. On the other hand, being muted or quiet in the discourse can actually be a good strategy for those movements like PAKISAMA, which has been more active in food sovereignty practices at the grassroots level.

There can also be cases of overlapping of strategies between and among these categories such as the claimants' outspokenness in the debates in the regional arena of food sovereignty and its establishments of organic farms in small communities in Sorsogon which can also be likened to the ANGOC (outspoken)-PAKISAMA (quiet) strategy. While a "quiet" one like PAKISAMA does its FS work on the ground, its food sovereignty discursive efforts is "quiet" and "muted" despite its allied organization ANGOC's strategy of jumping on food sovereignty discourse while linking it to their main line of advocacy which is land rights (a similar strategy employed by some groups under the converters).

If the case of the Philippines is to be further examined, a paradox is in that two transnational networks on food sovereignty, one regional (APNFS) one even global (PCNFS) are based in the Philippines. However, this physical presence does not necessarily mean actual, tangible food sovereignty practices on the ground.

Further, these discursive struggles, which may or may not translate into actual practices of food sovereignty (e.g. small family farms, agroecology, localized markets) are greatly shaped by the politics of aid which largely affect the trajectory of global political projects like food sovereignty in a country context.

The shifting of global developmental issues and priorities forces movements to calibrate their campaigns and advocacies to where aid is like land rights advocacies, climate justice campaigns, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS), etc.

While a more thorough analysis on food sovereignty positioning and translation is proposed, the study adds to the understanding and analysis of ascription of meanings and positioning of food sovereignty especially regarding movements which are tasked to conduct translation and diffusion of global political projects such as food sovereignty. This study is crucial since other scholarly works have yielded differentiated experiences on food sovereignty legislation and experiments. The more food sovereignty gets transmitted geographically and in various political arenas, the more likely it to encounter movements will have a more outspoken yet cosmetic stance on food sovereignty, a case of pragmatism due to various factors that shape movements' positioning.

As Trauger (2014: 1149) has said, unless food sovereignty is enacted at multiple territorial scales, it ceases to be effective. Otherwise, it will remain an "illicit, temporary and threatened, albeit powerful, form of civil disobedience." This study suggests that there can be substantial discrepancies between the discourses and actions of food sovereignty movements on the local, national and transnational level.

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