

**THE FOOD WE ARE NOT:
HOW THE GENDERING OF GLOBAL FOOD
POLICY VEILED BODY MALLEABILITY
(BOGOTA 1990-2015)**

By

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I hereby declare that this dissertation contains no material accepted for any other degree in any other institution. Nor does it contain material previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of a bibliographical reference.

Abstract

Development discourse in general is highly dependent on ontological premises that reproduce the belief in human universals, and it has incorporated the promotion and mainstreaming of gender analysis as necessary to reach its vision of a ‘developed’ future. To this end this project investigates food policy as a discursive apparatus that has led to the creation of international institutions and programs that implement this ontology in specific localities. It explicitly explores the incorporation of gender perspectives inside global food policy and problematizes it through its materialization in the urban postcolonial institutional landscape of Bogota, Colombia during the past three decades. I focus on the changing inter-institutional arrangements inside the city’s government that develop as a response to the design of city-level policies and their uneasy relation to the biopolitical subjects they are aiming to constitute. I follow discursive formations at both local and global levels, tracing some brief genealogies and contrasting them to elucidate how their ‘friction’ actualizes the global. Following the proposition of Michele Murphy to trace distributed ontologies of reproduction, I extend her thesis to analyze international food policy. Like Murphy, I find life itself tied to the macroeconomy although I suggest it should be also considered how reproduction is tied to microeconomic efficiency. By exposing how these formations utilize women and gender to subjectify life I suggest this should be viewed through the lens of the colonality of gender, since the global reproduces hegemonic relations into what I call geopolitics of sex. While the gendering of global food policy veils new malleable corporeities emerging from an increased exposure to molecular intensities, I also suggest that counter-discursive formations have been challenging these hegemonic relations and opening paths toward liberatory futurities.

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Table of contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of contents	v
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	x
List of Abbreviations	xi
Introduction: Chicken, hormones, and homos	16
1. A neoliberal positionality	19
2. Notes on the geopolitics of sex	24
3. De/colonial chemical relations	34
4. Bogota as a post-colonial space	38
Chapter 1 - Food policy in Bogota: the gender perspective	61
1. Introduction: Charity in bundles and pouches	61
2. Tropical neoliberal episteme (The 1990-2015 context)	67
3. Decentralization as securitization	70
4. Inception: Dispersed actions towards a coherent policy	77
4.1. Markets	77
4.2. Extended motherhood: infrastructures of care	83
4.3. Breastfeeding vigil	86

5. Differential biologies	91
Chapter 2 – Food policy in Bogota: emerging systematicity	97
1. Introduction: gripping rurality	97
2. Bogota’s emerging food system (1998-2003).....	99
3. Towards Freedom from Hunger (2004-2007).....	118
3.1. Conception	122
3.2. Implementation	124
3.3. The Policy <i>PPSAN 2007-2015</i>	132
Chapter 3 – Cisheteronormativity is the backdrop for Food policy otherwise	142
1. The 2008-2015 PPSAN’s apparatus	142
2. 2008–2012 Living Better: Bogotá Positiva.....	146
3. 2012–2015 Buen Vivir’s Humanity	148
4. sumak kawsay	153
5. The prevalence of cisheteronormativity in the transition toward a local food policy	156
6. Possibilities reconsidered	160
Chapter 4 –Modernity and the emergence of rural women	163
1. Development without women	166
2. Bucharest 1974.....	171
3. Women had been there always already	174
4. Women in Development	179
5. Investment: women Vs. technology	184

Chapter 5 – Global genealogies: the emergence of gender in food policy discourse	186
1. Rural women in the new world food order	186
2. In/visible women.....	189
3. Women for food security	192
4. Translating Sexual difference	197
5. Neoclassical Women.....	199
6. Women: Key to Food security	204
7. Ossified food security: reified globality	206
Chapter 6 – The colonality of Feminism at FAO: Women, Gender and Development in food policy.....	214
1. Introduction.....	214
2. Economics and the government of Women	219
3. Women/gender in Development	226
4. The shifting place of women at FAO.....	228
5. Mainstreaming: ebbs and flows	235
6. Conclusion: Pachakuti	240
Chapter 7 – Molecular corporeity	243
1. Nourishment Disembodied	243
2. Nutritionism: 1992 International Conference on Nutrition	246
3. Producing a conference before gendering nutrition.....	256
4. Molecular Gender Perspectives	262
Conclusion - Friction	267

1. The national pattern as mediator	267
2. Nutritionism revisited	274
3. Productive friction	276
4. Engaged universals	278
References	284
Glossary – Spanish to English Legal Rosetta	327
Appendices.....	328
Appendix A. Bogota's government plans 1990-2015	329
Appendix B. FAO's Flagship Report signals changes in feminist perspectives in international development.....	330
Appendix C. Pivot Tables Format	331
Appendix D. Comparison between international and local FNS frameworks	332
Appendix E. Gender in WFC74.....	333
Appendix F. Gender in ICN92, Plan of Action for Nutrition	336
Appendix G. Textual emergence of Rural Woman.	342
Appendix H. The FAO Council – Gender analysis	344

List of Figures

Figure 1. Gendered chicken in a SRH ad from c.1993.	23
Figure 2. Food Insecurity and Climate Change Vulnerability Index	47
Figure 3. Ngram of 'food system' and 'sistema alimentario'	101
Figure 4. FtF Expenditure by Department	114
Figure 5. Representation of FS from a PowerPoint presentation c.2000.	205
Figure 6. SDGs on food and gender after 2015.	212
Figure 7. Visualization of sex difference in rurality.	233
Figure 8. Childcare is associate with death and development.	271
Figure 9. Publishing history of "Women in agriculture"	342
Figure 10. Publishing history of “Women in rural development”	343
Figure 11. Publishing history of "Rural development"	343

List of Tables

Table 1. Bogota's government mandates 1988-2015	42
Table 2. PMASAB's normative lineage	108
Table 3. Conceptual diversity in Food Security norms 2004-07	134
Table 4. Development of Food Security in PPSAN 2007-2015	135
Table 5. Evolution of Bogota's City Administrative Structure 1965-2015	141
Table 6. Changing definitions of "The Food Problem"	187
Table 7. Summary of recommendations from Resolution V	192

List of Abbreviations

Acronym	English	Spanish	Governance scale
ACC/SCN	United Nation's Administrative Committee on Coordination, Subcommittee on Nutrition		Global
BFHI	Baby Friendly Hospital Initiative	Hospital Amigo de los Niños (see IAMI)	Global
BSH	Hunger-Free Bogota	Bogotá Sin Hambre	Bogota
CCB	Bogota's Chamber of Commerce	Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá	Bogota
CDA	Critical discourse analysis		
CDIAN	Bogota's Inter-sector Food and Nutrition Committee	Comité Distrital Intersectorial de Alimentación y Nutrición	Bogota
CEDAW	Convention/Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women		Global
CFS	Committee on World Food Security		Global
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research	Grupo Consultivo para la Investigación Agrícola Internacional	Global
CIAT	International Center for Tropical Agriculture	Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical	Global
CLSAN	District (local) Committees of Food and Nutrition Security	Comités Locales de Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutricional	Bogota
CNMH	National Center for Historic Memory	Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica	Colombia
COP	Colombian Peso (currency)		
COP##	Conference of the Parties (UN climate change yearly conference); COP15 was the 15th iteration in 2009		Global
CSW	Committee on the Status of Women		Global
CSWEP	Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession		USA
DABS	Bogota's Department of Social Welfare	Departamento Administrativo de Bienestar Social	Bogota
DAMA	Bogota's Department for the Environment	Departamento Administrativo del Medio Ambiente	Bogota
DANE	Colombian Department of Statistics	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística	Colombia
DAPD	Colombian Planning Department	Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital	Bogota
DC	Capital District of Bogota	Distrito Capital	Bogota
DG	Director General		
EAAB	Bogota's Water Utility Company	Empresa de Acueducto, Alcantarillado de Bogotá E.S.P.	Bogota

Acronym	English	Spanish	Governance scale
ECLAC/CEPAL	UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL)	Global
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council	Consejo Económico y Social de las Naciones Unidas	
EDIS	Bogota's Public Utility Company	Empresa Distrital de Servicios Público	Bogota
ENSO	El Niño-Southern Oscillation		
EPS	[Charter Public] Health Promotion Business	Empresa Promotora de Salud	
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment to the US Constitution		USA
ESHW	Women in Agricultural Production and Rural Development Service		FAO
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations	Organización de Naciones Unidas para la Alimentación y la Agricultura	Global
FAOC	Council of FAO		
FAOSTAT	FAO database on food and agriculture		
FCDA	Feminist critical discourse analysis		
FFDS	Bogota's Health Fund	Fondo Financiero Distrital de Salud	Bogota
FNP	Food and Nutrition Plan	Plan de Alimentación y Nutrición	Colombia
FNPP	Food and Nutrition Policy and Planning	Planeación y Política de Alimentación y Nutrición	Colombia
FNS	Food and Nutrition Security	Seguridad alimentaria y nutricional (SAN)	Colombia
FS	Food Security	Seguridad alimentaria	
FVP	Bogota's People's Vending Fund	Fondo de Ventas Populares	Bogota
GAD	Gender and Development		
GAD	Gender and Development	Mujer y Desarrollo	
GDP	Gross Domestic Product		
GEP	Policy on Gender Equality		
hfs	Household Food Security		
HomeEc	Home Economics		
IAMI	Mother and Baby Friendly Institution	Instituciones Amigas de la Mujer y la Infancia	Colombia
ICBF	Colombian Social Welfare Department	Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar	Colombia
ICN14	International Conference on Nutrition (2014)	Conferencia Internacional sobre Nutrición (2014)	Global
ICN92	International Conference on Nutrition (1992)	Conferencia Internacional sobre Nutrición (1992)	Global
ICRISAT	The International Crops Research Institute of Semi-Arid Tropics		

Acronym	English	Spanish	Governance scale
IDIPRON	Bogota's Institute for Children and Youth	Instituto Distrital para la Protección de la Niñez y la Juventud	Bogota
IDRD	Bogota's Sports and Recreation Institute	Instituto de Recreación y Deporte	Bogota
IDU	Bogota's Urban Development Institute	Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano	Bogota
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	El Fondo Internacional de Desarrollo Agrícola (FIDA)	Global
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute	Instituto Internacional de Investigación sobre Políticas Alimentarias	Global
IMF	International Monetary Fund	Fondo Monetario Internacional	Global
IUWFS	The International Undertaking on World Food Security		Global
JAL	Local Management Board	Junta Administradora Local.	Bogota
JBB	Bogota's Botanical Garden	Jardín Botánico de Bogotá	Bogota
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean	Latinoamérica y el Caribe	
MADS	Colombian Ministry of the Environment	Ministerio de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sostenible	Colombia
MAQL	Quintin Lame Armed Movement	Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame	Colombia
MAVDT	Colombian Ministry of the Environment and Housing	Ministerio de Ambiente, Vivienda y Desarrollo Territorial	Colombia
MDG	Millennium Development Goals	Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible	Global
Mebog	Bogota's Metropolitan Police	Policía Metropolitana de Bogotá.	Bogota
MENA	Middle East and North Africa (UN Region)		
MUFPP	Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (2015)		Global
MUFPP	Milan Urban Food Policy Pact		Global
NAS	National Account Systems		Global
NFLS	Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies		Global
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization	Organización No Gubernamental (ONG)	
NPM	New Public Management		Global
PAHO/OPS	Pan American Health Organization	Organización Panamericana de la Salud	LAC
PIR	FAO Programme Implementation Report		FAO
PMASAB	City Food Provisioning Master Plan	Plan Maestro de Abastecimiento de Alimentos y Seguridad Alimentaria	Bogota
PNAN	National Health and Nutrition Plan 1996-2005	Plan Nacional de Alimentación y Nutrición 1996-2005	Colombia
PoA	Plans of Action		

Acronym	English	Spanish	Governance scale
POT	Territorial Ordering Plan	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial	Colombia
PPP	Public Private Partnership		
PWB	FAO Annual Programme of Work and Budget		FAO
RtF	Right to Food		
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs (WB and IMF)		
SDAB	Bogota's Environmental Department	Secretaría Distrital de Ambiente	Bogota
SDDE	Bogota's Department of Economic Development	Secretaría Distrital de Desarrollo Económico	Bogota
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals	Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible	Global
SDIS	Bogota's Department of Social Inclusion	Secretaría Distrital de Integración Social	Bogota
SDP	Bogota's Planning Department	Secretaría Distrital de Planeación	Bogota
SDS	Bogota's Department of Health	Secretaría Distrital de Salud de Bogotá	Bogota
SED	Bogota's Department of Education	Secretaría de Educación del Distrito	Bogota
SHD	Bogota's Treasury	Secretaría Distrital de Hacienda	Bogota
SISADI	City Agriculture System	Sistema Agropecuario Distrital	Bogota
SO-K	Strategic Objective K (FAO's Strategic Framework 2010-19)		FAO
SOFA	FAO State of Food and Agriculture Report		FAO
SOFI	FAO State of Food Insecurity in the World Report		FAO
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health		
UESP	Bogota's Unit of Public Service Provision	Unidad (Administrativa) Especial de Servicios Públicos	Bogota
UN	United Nations	Naciones Unidas	Global
UNDP	United Nations Development Program	Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD)	Global
UNGA	UN General Assembly	Asamblea General de Naciones Unidas	Global
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund	Fondo de Naciones Unidas para la Infancia	Global
UTA	Technical Support Units (UTA)	Unidades Técnicas de Apoyo UTA	Bogota
WAD	Women and Development	Mujer y Desarrollo	
WB	World Bank	Banco Mundial	Global
WCW	World Conference on Women (Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985 and Beijing in 1995)	Conferencia Mundial sobre la Mujer	Global
WFC	World Food Council		Global

Acronym	English	Spanish	Governance scale
WFC74	World Food Conference (1974)	Conferencia Mundial de la Alimentación (1974)	Global
WFP	World Food Program	Programa Mundial de Alimentos (PMA)	Global
wfs	World Food Security	Seguridad alimentaria mundial	
WFS96	World Food Summit (1996)	Cumbre Mundial sobre la Alimentación (1996)	Global
WHO	World Health Organization of the United Nations	Organización Mundial de la Salud (OMS)	Global
WID	Women in Development	Mujer en el Desarrollo	
WTO	World Trade Organization	Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC)	Global

Introduction: Chicken, hormones, and homos

“7- to 10-year-old girls are developing prematurely because they are eating chicken with those feminine hormones that speedup the body; that is why boys that eat chicken, since they are injecting them with hormones, they are becoming homosexuals”¹

Colombian celebrity Natalia París made the above remark in 2013 publicly, giving way to local strife beyond the tabloids. Suchlike statements were not new. Three years prior, Aymara Bolivian president, Evo Morales, made similar remarks causing international uproar at the *First Peoples World Conference on Climate Change and the Defence of Mother Earth*, an event hosted by the Bolivian government and the largest international peasant organization, ViaCampesina. This conference was organized in reaction to another, the United Nations climate change conference (COP), which they criticized for the prominence of financialization strategies and technology-intensive solutions to an impending climate catastrophe. Morales, unlike París, emphasized that this transmigration between edibles and bodies was a Western/European import and related it directly to intensive animal farming. Against the previous year’s meeting (COP15 Copenhagen, 2009) and in favor of food sovereignty, Morales defended an indigenous agriculture that he depicted as harmonious with Pachamama/MotherEarth and in opposition to a colonial/industrial agriculture and its use of nature-altering technologies. París coincided, although less intricately, stating “[we] should become aware of everything we eat.” Celebrity and president would subsequently qualify their statements after LGBTQ+ and agricultural voices and organizations anathematized them. Both stated support for sexual diversity, with the distrust toward industrialized husbandry unmoved. In the case of Morales, the broader anti-capitalist context in

¹ París’ original statement was in Spanish (“Por los pollos...” 2013). All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

which these words were pronounced was largely ignored by mainstream news outlets. In response to París, slack was given by poultry conglomerates; for example, the president of FENAVI, the Colombian Poultry Industry Association, deemed París' statements "an urban legend" and added "there are no genetic chickens that cause homosexuality." Disregarding the moral or scientific validity of their claims, Paris and Morales spoke of a biochemical subjectivity, a way of thinking a chemical relationality as a substrate of life, one that conceives a transient materiality of the corporeal, a malleable corporeality. Moreover, both point to an imagination of molecular/chemical alteration-through-ingestion that plays out along one of the ordering axes of modernity: sex-gender. Theirs was a demand to secure sex by securing food.²

This dissertation approaches this political demand as part of a political ecology of contemporary biochemical subjectivities, where the biochemical layering of bodily materiality is held by global governance and geopolitical strategizing. The technoscientific apparatus that still holds corporeal integrity is overtly political and securitizing. By apparatus I refer to a discursive formation through which power circulates and is distributed through the body politic institutionalizing order. The promulgation of policies that sustain and/or enable these subjectivities are part of it. Building on critical food studies that focus on policymaking, this research brings attention to the consolidation of a global food securitization strategy in relation to the development of its 'gender perspective', what it includes and what it leaves out. The securitization of food has been made formally global since at least 1974 when, at the bequest of the United Nations, its Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) created a system to provide 'world food security.' The strategy and its globality would be restated later, in 1996, when it cemented a definition of 'food security' agreed

² Morales' statement on chickens can be found in "Evo Morales asegura..." (2010, April 21). His speech at the Conference in "Cambio Climático, Inauguración..." FENAVI's statement on París' comments: "No hay pollos..." (2013)

upon by 185 countries to be implemented through national Plans of Action. Parallel to this, women's movements had pushed for the recognition of gender difference in international development, which brought about the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) igniting a series of reforms in the development sector, including advancing gender analysis in all its spheres including food governance. It could be said, then, that a gender perspective on food security came about due to gender mainstreaming at the UN and it corresponds to those texts that claim to be it. Yet, Paris' and Morales' statements from the early 2010s question the limits and implications of what introducing a gendered perspective to the securitization of food has done to world food order.

My inquiry addresses an imagination of the global, foremost global food security and human gender. My interest lies in asking for the *place* from which food security (FS) has been locally read, translated, and enunciated. Starting with the ontological premise that the global is inevitably always already in the local, this project examines how Plans of Action and other international policy instruments delineate a route for global commitments to reach populations in their constituents' everyday-life, simultaneously contributing to a perceived preeminence of the global over the local. This project troubles the premise of a diffusionist route where abstracted globality, under the guise of development, changes the places it reaches. Instruments of multilateral governance often operate at the nation-state level, made responsible for trickling-down policy within its own borders. I particularize my quest during the rise of Bogota, Colombia's capital, as a "global city," a term used by Sassen to characterize the urban hubs of intensified information-collection, -processing, and -administration associated with increased capital mobility associated with the global feminization of labor and poverty (2000; 2005). Global cities, emerging as a new global political actor, open new possibilities to address global issues in coordination, independently, or against the national.

Indeed, Bogota's relation with globality changed by the turn of the twenty-first century, diversifying its recognition away from its nodal role in international circuits of illegal commodities. Bogota offers an exceptional case to examine the emergence of a post-colonial space during this period that roughly coincides with what the United Nations called the Millenium Development Agenda, set in 2000 but accounting for the twenty-five years between 1990 and 2015. This dissertation examines part of the political process that negotiated world-scale change of bodies and landscapes that both endangered and secured food and sex in Bogota. It traces the transformation of policy discourses that gave way to the emergence of a gender perspective in food securitization policy that rendered Paris' version of body malleability imaginable. That is, given that all translation means dislocation, relocation, displacement, my research questions food security's emplacement in Bogota during a quarter of a century and how policy made sense of gender within it. This is also an exercise in reflecting and recounting my lived experience as well as a matrilineal intergenerational memory.

1. A neoliberal positionality

I spent my childhood in the outskirts of Bogota, in a new apartment block built on a plot sold by the owners of a hacienda who were slowly repurposing the land and restructuring their income flow; I got to live where the city sprawled over a rural landscape. I got to drink freshly squeezed cowmilk and beat recently laid eggs, know that birds start singing around 04.30 in the morning, listen to neighing and mooing and smelling equine and bovine feces mixed with Australian eucalyptus and elderflower, and acknowledging their somewhat faraway origins derived from and posterior to the Columbian Exchange. I picked up flowers on my way from kindergarten to gift my great-grandmother who had been raised in a hacienda before migrating on her own to the city in the 1920s. It is no wonder that some longing for the bucolic was molded into concerns about

urban-rural interactions. Growing up at the margins of urbanization and imbued in a family history of woman-led and sustained rural-to-urban migration, I became intrigued about how development discourses had shaped the intimate intergenerational embodiments and encounters that raised me.

The connection to my great-grandmother's knowledge appeared seeded into the partially but progressively urbanized bodies of my grandmother and mother. With this desire for urban modernity came contradictory anti-developmental stories, of bodies gaining mass differently, gaining height differently, wrinkling differently, including other uneasy markers of health, age, and knowledge, of markets turning super and packaging increasingly plasticized, while praising-and-pricing remedies increasingly inaccessible, all wrapped in constant pressures to erase the countryside and the feminine in me and become some expectation of UrbanMan. Proximity to my great-grandmother was mediated by plants. Among the handpicked wildflowers on the path home, elderflowers and elderberries were predilected, all parts of the 'sauco' tree, an aromatic decoration or an ingredient for jam, never ingredients for the drink I would discover years later, having settled in Budapest by 2015. The choice wasn't casual. My asthmatic lungs and allergenic dermis were said to benefit from this plant. My very local *sauco* became a transatlantic elderflower tree, cementing genealogical memories that made my personal displacement of thought and sentiment a little more *familiar*. Since my great-grandmother's physical dependency increased and as I was further socialized away from home and into school, towards a modern, classier adulthood, my visits to the peasant market decreased; buying-peeling-threshing-grinding corn became infantile memories, not an adult present. But my developmental track was never one of unyielding steps, always given with dubitation, glaring into something hollow, the hole of 'the ozone layer,' impending climate change-into-catastrophe, car bombs exploding at shopping malls, the end of futurity, Bogota in the 1990s.

There was a widening knowledge gap between me and my great-grandmother. Trees were felled and taller buildings replaced them until the bucolic remained only in memories. Only years after her death I began exploring other ways to access something similar, in neighborhoods deemed too unsafe for my childhood. The epistemic distance of the sick to the medicinal garden, for example, remains shorter than to a corporation-synthesized molecule, and yet lack of molecular expertise breeds distrust. Value has been given to the elongation of knowledge chains, a degree in medicine, chemistry, biology, their specializations, and so on. Inaccessibility became not only time and price-driven, an investment, but cofounded with knowledge-cum-technologies of seeing, a microscopy, molecular science. My 1990s Bogota elderflower became sambucus, a potential source of anthocyanins, an ingredient for a “functional food,” an “anti-flu” candy sold at 2010s Budapest pharmacies.³

My experience of asthma changed during the 1990s when I became affiliated to a Spanish-founded health service provider. Many of my breathing crises were treated at one of their hospitals bearing the name of their queen. It was a consequence and part of a complicated, evolving public-private-partnership regime (PPP) through which public health was expanding. I remained largely unaware of the neo-colonial hints. The promoter of this PPP, Juan Luis Londoño, Minister of Health (1992-1994 and 2002-2003) was key in the promotion of human capital approaches that accounted for life as an economic asset. The framework under his first administration for provisioning ‘social protection,’ i.e., mostly healthcare and pensions, evolved during his second into ‘social risk management.’ This approach had been popularized by Hollzman and Jørgensen at the World Bank (2001) and became mandatory reading in Economics and Public Management curricula. The state

³ Młynarczyk et al. 2018.

needed to invest in its population to guarantee returns measured in productivity per capita, minimizing risk of illness and other factors diminishing yield.

Londoño was popularly called ‘Condoño,’ a condom-related moniker stemming from his promotion of sexual and reproductive health (SRH). A series of ads in the early 1990s showcasing humanized puppet-chickens promoted condom use and responsible sex, particularly in teenagers, also subverting “the taboo of speaking about sex,” and the feminized stereotype of “chickening-out” (“no sea gallina”), often directed at men to discourage aversion to action. These chickens were the design of a plastic condom-carrying case that also functioned as keyring, handed to me by Health Ministry officials. This occurred in tandem with a wave of women’s reproductive health and rights promotion in the 1990s, the acknowledgment of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and Pope John Paul II’s steadfast “pro-family” anti-condom crusade. Theories of human capital were also expanding the idea of ‘contraception as development,’ reminiscent of Malthusian theories. At the heart of biopolitics was the Malthusian problem, that population would out-demand food supply. Curbing the population was one solution, accessing more food the other.⁴

⁴ One promotional condom video is “Los pollitos...” (1994). Key global SRH forums were the Vienna Human Conference on Human Rights (1993), International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994), and the Beijing Plan of Action (1995). WHO created The Global Program on AIDS in 1987. Contraception-as-development is Miller’s phrasing for the goals of family planning programs to curb fertility and promote schooling in girls (2010).



Figure 1. Gendered chicken in a SRH ad from c.1993. This ad promoted love and respect as means to prevent STDs. Still from Minsalud (n.d.) “Sin amor, ni pío.”

In 1987 Colombia reached its peak of arable land (3.8 million hectares), and slowly declined since, coinciding with the implementation of the “apertura económica” (“opening” or trade liberalization).⁵ President Gaviria (1990-1994) made the “apertura” his flagship policy, an acceleration of trade liberalization coupled with decentralization reforms that began under the previous presidency, under which he was Minister of Finance (1986-87) and of the Interior and Justice (1987-89). It ended the preceding import-substitution strategy for economic development; it hoped to increase availability to goods (foods included) produced elsewhere more *efficiently*, or at least, cheaper. Colombia’s most profitable cashcrops, coca and marihuana, were internationally

⁵ Data taken from FAOSTAT (n.d.) It was lowest in 2012 during 1961-2016, with just 1.6 million hectares. It meant “the total of areas under temporary crops, temporary meadows and pastures, and land with temporary fallow. Arable land does not include land that is potentially cultivable but is not normally cultivated.” Comparable declines are observed in the percentage of arable land, the share of the primary sector in the GDP, from 22.3% to 6.3% during 1991-2017 (taken from DANE).

unlawful; a threat persecuted into the Andean wilderness, the forests, and jungles, along with indigenous communities for whom these crops meant not just cash. In the meantime, drug-trafficking leaders terrorized urban spaces to signal the national politicians that they were unwilling to abide to US-demands on what to grow and what to trade and how to punish. With liberalization came a reduction of government income from tariffs, which fell from 25% to 12%, leading to a rise in other forms of tax collection considered regressive, i.e., with a greater likelihood of hurting the poor the most. While agricultural protectionism continued, it favored specific sectors, often stimulating monocrops, often excluding small farmers.⁶

“Opening” meant also governmental change, a process of government decentralization, the rise of New Public Management, expansion of rights, and strengthening of participatory mechanisms leading to increasing demands on the state. Fiscal imbalances apart, a novel rights-based approach was set up to outpace a waning state income. There were factors, many of them international, pressing for Colombia’s participation in this restructuring of governance. Important ones obeyed a national logic. The 1980s saw peace treaties with guerilla movements, the end of bipartisan politics, and a stronger student movement, all leading to a Political Constitution inaugurated in 1991. Thus, the 1990-2015 period is one of intense change, in the fields, in the law, and in government: the consolidation of a neoliberal regime.

2. Notes on the geopolitics of sex

The background above, my background, introduces key elements that shape this dissertation. A series of political reforms were transforming body-landscape relationalities. An intimate history

⁶ Tariffs are one type of tax on trade and they were not applied uniformly to all goods. Estimations on average tariffs and their effects vary according to how they are accounted for (see Piedrahita 2000, Sanchez&Espinosa 2005). For a recent literature review of effects of the Apertura on agriculture see Arbelaez et al. (2018).

of rural-to-urban migration and knowledge was contrasted to an urbanizing modernity that changed greeneries for asphalt, modern contraceptives, and paths connecting food to medicine. I have highlighted some place-specific dynamics suggesting that Colombia's neoliberalization brought an epistemic change to the reproduction of both humans and edibles. I want to raise the question of the extent to which this story is local, the extent to which it partakes in the global. Confronted by the acceleration of geo-transformation,⁷ I want to address the epistemic complicity of one side of political organization, the dynamics of global-to-local policymaking, particularly those concerning the reproduction of globality. Scholars from the modernity/coloniality/decoloniality project developed the concept of *geopolitics of knowledge* to refer to an intention, the idea of one world, a *modern* world, a geosocial construct, denouncing that for it to exist other worlds must be silenced or erased through the exertion of power. Said otherwise, a modern world-system depends on a geopolitics of knowledge that sustains it. With a structuralist shadow, the concept also refers to a material, infrastructural aspect that sustains global modernity and enables practices that demean non-modern meaning-sensing. In this way, a geopolitics of knowledge accounts for the actors, places, and practices that sustain an epistemological order over other worldviews.⁸

The geopolitical nature of hunger has been taken up by critical food scholars recently, unveiling the hubris behind expressions of globality such as “ending world hunger,” including its less ambitious iterations of the Millennium Development Goals or the World Food Summit of 1996. Nally reminds of the importance to “expose the power dynamics and global structures that lie

⁷ The *Great Acceleration*, a term proposed by Steffen et al (2011) narrates the Earth as a system with a geological history that has undergone an acceleration of a series of biogeological processes in relation to human intervention; a geological disturbance that imperils Earth's capacity to foster life.

⁸ I am basing this discussion on Mignolo 2002, but acknowledging, as does himself, the contributions from Dussel (1993); Quijano 2000a; Escobar 2012[1995]).

hidden at [the base of international ‘anti-hunger’ and agricultural development institutions]” (2016:560), because powerful policy discourses are used to justify immoral consequences, particularly those whose implementers are convinced of doing good (2011;2013; 2016). The work of Davis (2002) or Sen (1982), for example, exposed the geopolitics of famines revealing how food scarcity has recurrently been the consequence of ideology and policy. In his *Geopolitics of Hunger*, de Castro (2019[1955]) already addressed the enduring specter of Malthusianism characterizing it as either naturalizing collective hunger or imposing natality surveillance. De Castro posits not only that hunger is a problem of distribution (2019:12) but that it is the origin of overpopulation (21), thus reversing the Malthusian maxim. According to these views, hunger is a problem of political will, not only because the technical-scientific tools to address hunger and food-related illness exist, but because discourses and techniques of government have been developed to sustain them.

Ferretti (2021) proposes to understand de Castro’s work as ‘border thinking’, a term referring to a place from which to advance alternatives to modernity. On a different border, from Latinx-USA crossings, Carney proposes the “biopolitics of food insecurity” to counter US-American discourses of hunger as individual failure to understand the political-power structure that sustains gender-racial inequities (2015). Similarly, Nally’s “colonial biopolitics” traces hunger and famine governance to colonial ideology and power and the variegated structures that sustained food as scarce to some. Biopolitical takes on food resort to Foucault’s idea that the enforcement of the distinction between *population* and *peoples* comes parallel to participating in the rationality of market regulation or not, respectively, where killing (or letting die) is permissible to suppress a threat to capitalist modernity, including killing through hunger (Nally 2011:15). The biopolitical

critique converges with that of the coloniality of power to frame eroding indigenous foodways and the veiling of corporeal experiences that appear nonconforming to mainstream modernity.

I want to center the discussion on policy-knowledges that bring together gender and food. The Malthusian biopolitical crucible is speciesist and colonial. Malthus lived and contributed to British colonial expansion as educator, administrator, and theoretician, with a legacy that Dean has called “genopolitics” or “a politics of the reproductive capacity of human populations and the human species” and that permeates liberal governmentality (2015:18). The legacy persists in current framings of the Anthropocene as centered on the human and fearful of ‘the limits to growth’ in favor of masculinist-militarized interventions, including restrictions on bodily autonomy and veiling the production of a politics of inequality that distributes resources and consequences unevenly (Ojeda et.al 2020). Murphy has given attention to contemporary biopolitics of reproduction giving attention to the techno-scientific practices that have reinstated the government of the reproductive body in close relation to the economy (2012; 2017).

These are two streams of critical (and to a large extent feminist) scholarship addressing neomalthusian biopolitics attentive to the geopolitical order, one concentrating on the government of food, the other on human reproduction. There is a third, non-critical stream, concerned with advancing a gender perspective for food and agricultural policies that remains unchallenged by the other two. With this background, this dissertation delineates genealogically the contours of an institutional gender perspective in food policy. It questions from a postcolonial space and across borders how such a perspective negotiates and contributes to the production of the global. Furthermore, it seeks to bring attention to meaning-making from at least two political spaces, loosely referred to here as the local and the global.

Conceptually, Mignolo's *geopolitics of knowledge* (2002) builds on Quijano's (2000a) "colonial matrix of power"⁹ to describe a structural regime of dominance that divides the world into West/Rest, beginning in 1492 with the discovery of an 'Occident' (not so much a territory as the reification of a direction) necessary for the then Northern Mediterranean cultures to affirm themselves as central. The expansion of the geographical imagination by these Mediterranean cultures required developing sensemaking tools that re-ordered their changing reality. The invention of the globe and its subsequent hemispheric division obeyed not only geometry but power. The master dominated the slave, he was on top of it, North of it, and measured it. Building from Said's Orientalism, these scholars posit that first there was Occidentalism as an ordering strategy of an emerging globality, preceding Orientalism (Coronil 1996). The emergence of an East/West order locates master Europe as an epistemic center, building a modern-world system structured around core states, ordered in relation to capital accumulation. This theory of power is considered long-lasting, and it justifies a periodicity of modernity split into a Catholic-Iberian dominance, followed by a Protestant-North European, succeeded by a post-WWII Christian US-American (Quijano 1992). This last period, as Escobar has shown, is dominated by development discourse (2013), which this dissertation focuses on. This is, development discourse is an iteration of this colonial matrix of power that sustains the geopolitics of knowledge, shaping tensions between epistemic violence and resistance.

Power for Quijano is a space and a network of social relations of joined exploitation/domination/conflict in relation to the dispute for and around five areas of the social:

⁹ The formulation in Spanish, "patrón colonial del poder," refers to a pattern, something that can be copied, rather than a matrix. To further affirm its gendering, patron also means male-boss, sire, lord, a wink to the Hegelian master-slave dialectic, and likely Quijano's commitment to developing a Latin American self-consciousness (2007). I go back to this in the conclusion.

labor and its product, nature-as-resource in subordination to labor, sex as a means for the reproduction/sustenance of the (human) species, subjectivity-as-knowledge, and authority for coercion and discipline (Quijano 2000b:345) These interrelated domains that structure the colonial matrix of power produce a global, capitalist order rely on two axes, modernity and coloniality. This duple is captured in the term “modernity/coloniality” which expresses the co-constitution of both. There is no modernity without coloniality. The “light side,” modernity, advances the myth of European’s civilizing mission on which colonial expansionism is justified. The “dark side,” coloniality, reveals the power asymmetry behind it, revealing Eurocentrism, anthropocentrism, and racism as the ideological strategies of domination on which modernity stands. Mignolo, meditating on the dash (/), calls the excision of other-life under coloniality from modernity “the colonial difference.”

“The colonial difference articulates the disjuncture between the surface of appropriation and representation and the wasting away, the erasure of Earth and worlds, the disjuncture between the now of possession, representation and desire, and the deep temporality of suffering, of mourning, of the pain of what has been violated, wasted away” (Vasquez 2020:117).

The colonial difference becomes then a place from where to make histories visible that come from the darker side of modernity. This opens a methodological project of stating epistemic diversity as a counter strategy to a monotopic place from where to dictate the intersections between food and gender.

The modernity/coloniality/decoloniality project adds to previous efforts that question universal categories. Modernity is considered a myth that serves European expansionism by justifying

civilizing cultures “outside modernity” exogenously stating their need of civilization. Europe places itself as representative of the totality of these networks of power and puts itself in charge of managing and directing it. There are some basic differentiations that sustain the globality of food policy. Human as a universal category is often biological, a species and a population, often in Darwinian competition.¹⁰ Subserviently, food-for-humans is an assortment of other biological categories, not necessarily species, strictly speaking (it can be a variety or a group of species, notably bacterial-fungal communities).¹¹ Foods are not popularly defined in terms of their reproductive success, although agricultural science and husbandry do emphasize it. The distinction is mixis: human reproduce through it,¹² while this is not required for foods. While decolonial scholarship has given much attention to the colonial construction of race and gender, the relationship between the human body and edibles also deserves this qualifier; i.e., the human body and edibility have been shaped by colonialism.

Sixteenth-century accounts of Euro-bodies encounters with the Americas suggest that the body was thought malleable, particularly through the persistence of ingestion of foreign landscapes. Earl (2012) explains, the Spanish conquest and early colonization of the New Indies offer accounts of bodies ready for transformation, of Iberian bodies degenerating into (Occidental) indigeneity driven by deprivation of wheat and other Iberian staples, added to prolonged exposure to American victuals. To sustain and secure the Iberian nature of the colonizer’s body, colonization comprised the deliberate transformation of the landscape. As Crosby (1972) shows, the labor of pigs and other Eurasian-domesticated species partook in making distant landscapes docile and adequate for the

¹⁰ Darwin admits Malthus as an inspiration for his evolutionary theory (see e.g., Herbert 1971).

¹¹ But also, food for human’s foods, i.e., *feed*. Frey-Klett et al. (2011) provide an early review of bacterial-fungal relations in food and agriculture.

¹² Queer theorists like Dean (2009) and Hird (2009) note that other inter-species relationalities are also reproduction. Mixis refers to sexual reproduction engendering offspring with combined genetic material, evidence of the persistence and success of differentiation according to Hird (2009:76).

sustenance and integrity of European bodies and imaginations. Abandoned on foreign landscapes, pigs quickly turned feral, eroded vegetation and soils and spread Euro-domesticated seeds. Of course, body mutability was not exclusively European. While vampires, witches, benandanti, and other creatures populated European agrarian relationalities (e.g., Federici 2004; Ginzburg 1983), Amerindian cosmologies were also rich in transmutations that melded the ‘human’, the animal, the vegetal, and beyond.¹³ From the existence of multiple alterations of Mesoamerican corporeity into beings of maize (Craveri 2013) to Shamans traversing dangerous frontiers in the guise of a jaguar (Castaño-Urbe 2019), there exist various lines of flight away from an immutable universal body, an idea popular only until the advent of European modernity. Contemporary corporeal malleability is particular, as noted in the epigraph, in its dependency on the chemical-molecular discourses that until recently sustained it as immutable.

Contemporary human bodily heterogeneity is coded (linguistically, juridically, etc.) into sex, which signifies predominantly from a biological sense. Most commonly, it is a dichotomic coding and difference beyond the binary deemed atypical, unnatural, deviant. Most often it is conferred near birth in relation to external genital morphology as indicative of gonad anatomy, accessed by technologies of visibility (intrauterine ultrasound, eyesight) often by an expert, and often required legally soon after (e.g., a birth certificate). Other indicators of sex developed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been similarly dichotomized: hormonal secretion (estrogen/testosterone) and chromosomes (XX/XY) require less immediate testing techniques and most people haven’t accessed them. Variations on each don’t show obvious coincidences and have put into question the validity of these classification systems. Each mainstream sex is expected to correspond to socially specific subjectivities and behaviors, often coded in anthropological terms

¹³ *Humanity* and other classifications are part of an ordering absent in pre-colonial Amerindian thought.

as the sexual division of labor. Notions of causality between sex and gender, however, have been proposed and mainstreamed, perturbing the clarity of sex/gender distinctions. Additionally, use in policy spaces use both terms indistinctively. While gender emerged as a twentieth century psycho-medical category that signaled malleability, sex was constructed with a rather fixed nature. Thus, sex (or its signifiers) has been portrayed as threat/ened, particularly reproductive sex. Reports on increased infertility, increased incidence of sexually transmitted infections, and social sex selection (usually males over females) are examples of this. Sex-related alterations are both feared and desired, often through unintended/unavoidable toxic, environmental exposure, or through intended medical-scientific intervention.¹⁴

Building from second wave and intersectionality scholarship, Lugones posited that ‘woman’ is a racist and colonial category, since it obscures sexual diversity.¹⁵ Just like Quijano’s pattern, when the state mentions ‘woman’ it truly means white-woman and forces women of color to see themselves through the experience of white women. ‘Woman’ takes the experiences of a privileged minority and makes it universal. For Lugones, only white heterosexuals have gender, and wo/man is a colonial fiction that emerged from the colonization of the Americas. Lugones concluded that the category ‘colonized woman’ is void, since any female colonized by Europeans would not qualify as woman. Extending Quijano’s argument that ‘indigenous’ was not a category predating Euro-colonization (before there were only Caribs, Muisca, Inca, and so on), Lugones posits that ‘woman’ is a colonial epistemic imposition. Gender dichotomy was not a constitutive trait of non-colonial society. Furthermore, sex/gender emerges as a dymorphic, heterosexist, and patriarchal

¹⁴ Gender scholars, particularly those inclined towards STS, have long glossed over these issues. A negligible list, Fausto-Sterling’s discussions are prominent (2005; 2019), just as Oudshoorn’s genealogy of sex-hormones (1994), Stryker’s transgender epistemology (2006), or Murphy’s biopolitics of chemical toxicity (2008; 2017a), not to mention Butler.

¹⁵ This discussion is based on Lugones (2007; 2014)

tool of colonial domination around the sixteenth century, disrupting the social organization of colonized peoples.

Perceiving limitations and possibilities in Quijano's theory, Lugones' project denounced the indifference in feminism and that of minoritized men toward the continuous violence inflicted upon racialized-feminized bodies, by showing how it is reliant on a construct she calls "the modern/colonial gender system" (2007:188-9). She corrected Quijano's model of domination to include gender alongside race as classificatory principles of the social. Breny Mendoza critiqued Lugones for failing to overcome what she denounces, considering Lugones's positionality as a lesbo-Chicana would be unable to capture Latin-American experiences of womanhood, of those unable or unwilling to migrate to the North (2014:101f). Mendoza questioned the possibility of participation in transnational identities/communities from the colonial difference. Another critique came from Segato who interrogated Lugones's sources, particularly Oyewumi's thesis on "the invention of women" in Yorubaland after European colonization. Segato (2003) critiqued Oyewumi by assessing Yoruba cosmology as experienced in Brazil as a result of the slave trade, finding that hierarchical sex-based categories did exist and in contraposition to the Western hegemonic binary. Segato suggested that indigenous and Afroamerican women's experience of patriarchy exists in a different order and pre-dating Euro-colonization calling it *of low intensity*. This patriarchy depends on a gender binary, but where one gender does not 'englobe' the other, abstracted into a universal referent (2016:93). Furthermore, she distinguishes it from the colonial, *high-intensity patriarchy*, that disciplines-through-cruelty, not only through what she calls a war against women, but an intensified capital accumulation-through-illegality that is no longer exceptional (2016:99). Segato argues that the colonality of power is insufficient to explain this shift towards a "conquestality of power."

I mention this debate to acknowledge that the physical threat to the integrity of women and minoritized lives is tied to necro-dynamics that affirm sex/gender as a lived reality that are constitutive of modernity. The ahistoricism of the coloniality of gender does not limit the possibility of imagining gender-otherwise, which I believe is one of its salient contributions. The current recognition of the bodily heteromorphy of sex and the articulations to a more-than-dual gender, while still incipient, is tied to localized material experiences. What Lugones called the light side of the modern/colonial organization of gender is fracturing due to the violence infused through the landscape, a process Murphy has called “new forms of chemical embodiments that molecularly tie us to local and transnational economies, but so too processed food, hormonally altered meat, and pesticide-dependent crops become the material sustenance of humanity's molecular recomposition” (2017a:696).

3. De/colonial chemical relations

Haraway describes a global human–chicken–technology compound, delineating semiotic pathways of species entanglements across spacetime that produce the political boundaries of the North-Atlantic chicken (2008:265ff). She calls it Chicken Little and aptly claims it “a master at tracking the routes of Globalizations, old and new,” (p.266) a partnership in worlding towards a cosmopolitical conversation (p.301). Inspired by her account, starting from a locality south of Haraway’s California, USA, I begin with a comparable exploration, with Paris’ claims from this introduction’s epigraph. While improbable overall, I encounter an effort to condense some important transformations of body and landscape that have deserved technoscientific scrutiny. Paris’ words from 2013 echo other iterations, past and future, making them global. They reveal three examples of contemporary body malleability: earlier onset of human/chicken puberty, change in chicken morphology, and the role of hormones in gender/sex/sexuality. Let us gloss over

these as examples of the potential in scientific discourses on the molecular togetherness of body-malleability, on food and sex.

Paris was probably not counting but FENAVI did: Colombian chicken consumption in kilograms-per-capita grew steadily from 12.7 in 2000 to 30.0 in 2015, a 130% increase.¹⁶ Additionally, chicken's yield increased 73% during the same period, adding on average 0.79 kg/head. During Paris' lifetime, human puberty had been onsetting earlier in Colombia's population. The age at menarche decreased in Colombian girls born between 1990 and 2010 (Jansen et al. 2015). Like other '*arches*' (ἀρχή, beginnings) of Anthropometry and developmental biology, it documented changes around the world, timing puberty: gonadarche, adrenarche, spermarche, thelarche. These indicators (implicitly human-sexual dimorphic) have been associated with a quantitative hormonal change. The variation in the timing of these developmental changes seems to be less about hormone involvement *as a cause* than about [other] *environmental conditions*, i.e., it is not clear that "girls are developing prematurely" due to hormones, despite their presence (and to the extent that hormones have become the definition of puberty change). Early developmental change, hormonally triggered or not, has been negatively associated with "adolescent alcohol abuse, smoking, drug use, early sexual debut, sexually transmitted infections, teenage pregnancy, aggressive behavior, and poor academic performance... breast and endometrial cancers, obesity, type-2 diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and all-cause mortality" (Villamor and Jansen 2016:34). Early puberty, this literature might indicate (but doesn't), has brought about moral ills.

It is not that Paris was obtrusively wrong. On one hand, hormonal therapies do exist to induce/block puberty, or at least bring about associated physical manifestations. On the other, this

¹⁶ FENAVI reports consumption data from FAO, itself collected from the Colombian Statistics Office, DANE. FENAVI aggregates original statistics of production from its members, which doubled between 2005 and 2015 (FENAVI n.d.).

“induction” has been the object of scientific examination, including how nutrition effects it. Villamor and Jansen (2016) classify documented correlations into: the intrauterine nutritional environment, breast-and-infant feeding, childhood nutrition, childhood obesity, childhood protein intake (and other macro/micronutrients), and toxicants. These epidemiological studies are methodologically divergent from those establishing hormonal and metabolic pathways that help argue for causality. So, while *some* evidence shows correlations between some diets/nutrients and early onset of puberty, there is no clear indication of precedence over other factors.

The effect of these on the prevalence of bodies classified *overweight* and *obese* is clearer. The explanations, not so much. Not specific to Colombia, biochemical and neurophysiological explanations have been proposed (Berridge 2009). Some highlight the importance of sex and hormones (Xu and López 2018; Berner et al. 2019:4.1.1).¹⁷ The gendered explanations of obesogeneity go from bodily predisposition to adiposity due to the adduced potency of pregnancy, to hormonal imbalances (but also an increase in the prevalence of gynaecomastia, aka “man-boobs”), as well as the exposure to sedentary and “high energy intake” environments (aka food and nutrition) (Lake and Townshend 2006), and differential exposure to endocrine disrupting chemicals (Gore et al. 2015; Janesick and Blumberg 2011). Clarity is still to come, as it remains unclear why mammals generally, including feral or under controlled diets, appear to be changing their behaviors in favor of over-eating (Klimentidis et al 2011). Thus, *the body malleable* framed “in excess” is dependent on gendered taxonomies.

¹⁷ “[S]ubstantial evidence from animal models suggests sex differences in HPA axis functioning, including greater GC secretion in females versus males in response to various behavioral and physiological stressors, as well as more rapid increases and prolonged duration of elevated levels. Such differences could in theory confer greater risk of problematic eating patterns in response to stress among females, perhaps contributing to the known sex differences in disordered eating among humans” (Berner et al. 2019:4.1.1).

The presence of toxicants in the environment has become a path of recent research, long due to the geological increase of synthetic chemicals during the twentieth and current centuries. Developed for industrial, scientific, medical, and agricultural purposes, their presence in human and other-than-human food chains has increased, including their ingestion:

“Organismal meetings focused on gender often seem to obscure other meetings-with our environments. For instance, more than 50 synthetic chemicals flow into our bodies daily (including tinned vegetables, cigarettes, chemical detergents, makeup, DDT) and alter our endocrine systems. Endocrine-disrupting compounds have been found to be responsible for a recently reported doubling in the incidence of hypospadias in the United States and Europe (...) Each of these exchanges with the environment may effect variations in gender and fertility without any recourse to sex or mixis” (Hird 2009:102)

It might be the chemical alterations in our bodies or the chemical alterations of the bodies we eat. Developmental acceleration is not exclusively human. Animal husbandry has used reproductive technologies and knowledges to favor some bodies or body parts to grow more and faster. Human selection and culture of life, or less anthropocentrically, human-domestication relationalities have changed the geological landscape and historicity, if only by the materiality of the cultured bodies that die on it. In kilos, human-domestic life has outweighed terrestrial wildlife (Smil 2011). Importantly, knowledge, technologies, politics, and economics distribute this materiality differentially not only along the axis of sex but also of geopolitics, reinstating power into violent colonialist circuits (Murphy 2011, 2017). Murphy notes that *latency* characterizes chemical strata, capable to animate the future in temporalities unknown (Murphy 2011). These geological repercussions of anthropic food circulation have and need decolonial responses.

Changed chickens and their breasts bring about an “affective atmosphere” partially captured by Paris’ remarks.¹⁸ Food discourses need to grasp this generational epistemic divide. The stories my great-grandmother told me about breaking chicken’s necks in the Colombian countryside contrast the massive slaughtering and anonymized chicken-body parts amassed in frozen nuggets sold in European supermarkets. Thinking-feeling chicken in relation to human bodies requires acknowledging their dynamic change and its acceleration. The morphological alterations of the present are indicative of possibilities forward, including MotherEarth futurities; including policy possibilities from below and even against apocalyptic anxiety.

4. Bogota as a post-colonial space

Bogota is a post-colonial space. It entered History during the Spanish conquest of the Indies as an appropriated settlement of the Muisca cacicazgo/chiefdom, where a hierarchical agricultural culture flourished. The Muisca’s was a hierarchical class-dietary agriculture, centered around riverine monticules that regulated water and soil fertility. Some vestiges are still used for agriculture. Nominally, “Bogota” is the other-name of colonial “Santafe,” the Imperial Spanish polity that operated through racial hierarchies, that under colonization expanded to organize anthropological diversity. Iberians imported their blood-purity mechanics, previously applied to distinguish “true Catholics” from recent Muslim/Jew converts, pig-eaters vs non. Blood purity became an apparatus of whiteness, biologized in the eighteenth century. “Mestizaje” became the genealogical mechanism through which sex whitened or darkened societal standing. Santafe/de

¹⁸ This phrasing comes from Murphy (2012:59f)

Bogota, a sixteenth-century colonial center became that of a nineteenth-century republic, co-constitutive of the international geopolitical order.¹⁹

Bogotá is the alliteration of the pre-colonial *Bacatá*, the Muisca territory where nineteenth-century creole independence fighters and leaders reappropriated the colonial infrastructure, seeking to root a liberation struggle. “Bogotá” roots creole rule, the end of “Santafé” and Spanish government. Bogota, a place that keeps entering modernity, is also an operations center from where local and global actualize each other and co-evolve, through the hosting of embassies, international organizations, multinational headquarters, financial operations, and national government structures.

Bogota is a rural-to-urban landscape. While the city urbanizes through homogenizing logics (road building, water/sewage management, centralized utility provisioning, regulating/stipulating movements of goods, peoples, services) it also fails to narrate itself as sufficiently controlling its order. Violent political histories, often framed as agrarian conflicts closely tied to bipartisan politics, originated migration processes. Armed forced displacement dominates this transformation of the landscape into family histories of progress/modernization/urbanization (often with an anti-rural sentiment) also led to woman’s entry into public life. Gendered risk-taking/courage- values appear related to excess young-adult male mortality and mobility; gendered caretaking/love-values made women less mobile and resilient. Additionally, an increase in the demand for labor in the industrializing capital contributed to this change.²⁰ Despite this violent history, processes of

¹⁹ Authoritative contributors to Muisca archeology-anthropology appear in Gómez-Londoño (2005). Rodríguez-Gallo (2019) dissertation specializes on Muisca agri-foodscapes. Castro-Gomez (2010) work on the Foucauldian “microphysics” of race in early colonial Bogota challenged decoloniality’s ahistoricism, mentioned above. Zambrano-Escovar’s work details the gender dimension of colonial mestizaje (2008;2011).

²⁰ Gendered differences in mortality rates can be found in Moreno and Cendales (2011). Homicide rates proliferated in 1985-2000 (Sánchez et al 2003:33). Meertens’ work is key to understanding gender and displacement in Colombia and

mestizaje, palimpsest, syncretism allowed for the persistence of other knowledges, non-dominant engagements with the world, often dismissed by language and value, non-knowledges, feeling-thinking practices, or, to put it in Escobar's terms, seedlings for the pluriverse (2015). Because this other-knowingness is impure, non-fixed and forced into latency it can be (it has been) held akin to weeds, non-profitable or devaluing existences meant to be extirpated in favor of hegemonic crops.

Violence has also meant securitization. The individual bodies that constitute Bogota's population have been subjected to policies of security that frame them both insecure and violent, in need of protection and a threat. Bogota's security is also related to its status of country capital, collecting all centralized institutions of government administration, concentrating around a fourth of the country's production, and being the biggest city in terms of population and area.²¹ Due to national decentralization reforms, in 1988 Bogota's seat of government, the City Mayor, became subject to popular election. Initially elected for two-year periods, the mandate was expanded to three in 1999 and later to four years (see Table 1). Mayors could be reelected in non-consecutive turns, which was the case of one during the period here considered.²² Amidst great political turmoil, the liberal-conservative bipartisanship prevailed over new political parties closer to the ideological left.²³

A series of peace treaties signed towards the end of the 1980s and women and student movements led to calls for constitutional reform, renovating the legal foundation of the country dating from

Bogota; one early publication in English is Meertens (2001). Silva-Arias and Sarmiento-Espinel (2013) characterize gender differences for displaced individuals in the labor market.

²¹ See population and GDP series in DANE (n.d.). The City (SDDE) also consolidates statistics and conducts economic research.

²² Peñalosa governed for a second term beginning in 2016.

²³ This often meant in ideological opposition to the national government. For the 2002 presidency, the winning candidate run initially as an independent, later with a coalition of conservative parties led by the Conservative party, although remaining personalist. During his presidency he changed the law to allow his reelection. As leader, he was decisive while supporting the election of his successor, although campaigning against him for a second term. During 2002-2018 a series of leftist parties coalesced unsuccessfully against them. A review of Colombian political "duopoly" can be found in Galindo-Silva (2015).

1886. A Constitutional Assembly was called for and elected in 1990, resulting in a new legal architecture announced in 1991. Bipartisanship formally died; diverse political parties arose, including two indigenous representatives in this assembly and later in Congress (Londoño-Toro 2010). Importantly, the new constitution gave Bogota a special political status, gaining financial and political autonomy from the central government and the City Council. Before elections were installed, the mayor was a presidential appointee; before the 1991 Constitution, the City government couldn't decide on its internal structure without Council approval. After these reforms, Bogota elected candidates from new parties while the national opted for more traditional options. The liberal left in the national government during the early 1990s opened trade alongside an increase in government social spending, but by 1998 there was a shift to the right favoring military spending. Most times ideological and political divergence between both levels of government prevailed.²⁴

²⁴ Public spending increased from 8.5% to 18.9% of GDP between 1989 and 2016, military spending 3.0% to 4.1% (DANE). SIPRI registers similar increases, although less pronounced, albeit always above 3% between 2000 and 2015.

Table 1. Bogota's government mandates 1988-2015

Mayor	Including Interim Mayors	Name of Development Plan	Period	Elected*	Inauguration	End
Andrés Pastrana Arango	Andrés Pastrana Arango	(not included)	1988-1990	13.Mar.88	01.Jun.88	31.May.90
Juan Martín Caicedo Ferrer	Juan Martín Caicedo Ferrer	[no title]	1991-1992	11.Mar.90	01.Jun.90	30.Mar.92
	Sonia Durán de Infante	[no title]		*	31.Mar.92	31.May.92
Jaime Castro Castro		Prioridad Social (<i>Social Priority</i>)	1993-1995	08.Mar.92	01.Jun.92	31.Dec.94
Antanas Mockus Sivickas	Antanas Mockus Sivickas	Formar Ciudad (<i>Shaping City</i>)	1995-1998	30.Oct.94	01.Jan.95	10.Apr.97
	Paul Bromberg Zilberstein			*	11.Apr.97	31.Dec.97
Enrique Peñalosa Londoño		Por la Bogotá que queremos (<i>For the Bogota we Love</i>)	1998-2001		01.Jan.98	31.Dec.00
Antanas Mockus Sivickas		BOGOTA para VIVIR todos del mismo lado (<i>Bogota for all to live on the same side</i>)	2001-2004	29.Oct.00	01.Jan.01	31.Dec.03
Luis Eduardo Garzón		"Lucho por Bogotá Humana y Moderna" (<i>Lucho for a Human and Modern Bogota</i>)	2004-2007	26.Oct.03	01.Jan.04	31.Dec.07
Samuel Moreno Rojas	Samuel Moreno Rojas	Bogotá Positiva: Por el Derecho a la Ciudad y a Vivir Mejor (<i>Positive Bogota: for the Right to the City and to Live Better</i>)	2008-2012	28.Oct.07	01.Jan.08	03.May.11
	María Fernanda Campo			*	03.May.11	07.Jun.11
	Clara Eugenia López Obregón			*	08.Jun.11	31.Dec.11
Gustavo Petro Urrego	Gustavo Petro Urrego	Bogotá Humana (<i>Human Bogota</i>)	2012-2016	30.Oct.11	01.Jan.12	20.Mar.14
	Rafael Pardo Rueda			*	20.Mar.14	21.Apr.14
	María Mercedes Maldonado			*	21.Apr.14	23.Apr.14
	Gustavo Petro Urrego			reinstated	23.Apr.14	31.Dec.15

(*) A star indicates the elected mayor was not in office and was replaced

With the new legal and administrative structure, Bogota also initiated a decentralization process, dividing itself into 20 districts, each assigned a budget and with an indirect election mechanism to elect district representatives. Not only were there more participatory mechanisms but actual citizen participation (Hernández 2010). At the same time, the decentralization meant municipal responsibility of social program provision. Harmonized with the national, the city became in charge of expanding health and education coverage. Social protection was gearing up with the language of neoclassical Economics: Amartya Sen's "human capital" and "capabilities" theories of freedom-through-development had been translated and applied to the (semi)-privatization of public services (Cuevas 1996), and more specifically to education and health (Psacharopoulos & Vélez 1990; Vergara et al. 1997; Agudelo-Calderón 1999). Investment supported by "human capital" economic models directed public spending, driving economic growth to be "pro-poor." Theories of "social risk" defined "vulnerable subjects" to "external shocks" that hindered aggregate competitiveness "in the global market." This terminology has been the subject of critiques of neoliberal governmentality (Dean 1999, Rose 1989, Gordon 1991) and with attention to Latin-American policies after the 1990s (Macdonald & Ruckert 2009).

The century ended with a recession in 1999. Afterward, conditional cash-transfers became the most important social assistance intervention and an important technology of subjectification, as Luccisano has shown for Mexico, promoting self-responsible citizenship (2004). Colombia's conditional cash-transfer program, *Familias en Acción*, was created in 2001, subsidizing families with under 7-year-olds if they regularly partook in health programs, including nutrition checkups and promotion; and 7-to-18-year-olds dependent on enrollment-attendance. In both cases, mothers were targeted since they were considered positioned to secure better outcomes. Luccisano and Wall (2009), speaking of similar Canadian and Mexican programs, concluded that the targeting of

vulnerable populations to secure “equality of opportunity” through gendered care, incentivized “proper motherhoods” akin to “intensive” “middle-classed” care. Overall, these strategies of governmentality “contribute to the creation of self-disciplining, self-sufficient, and self-improving citizens in both the present (mothers) and the future (children)” (2009:213). Bogota’s strategy differed, with only a minority of the population being beneficiaries of the national program (Nupia 2011); assistance was targeted at poor or vulnerable individuals, but it had another trajectory, while still taking part in the national neoliberal project, as will be shown.

The world underwent severe drought in 1997-98 due to the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO), an atmospheric phenomenon with important effects on agriculture, and the reason behind crop failures in the late 19th century, leading to famine-inducing policies, as recounted in Davis (2002). Heavy rains of the subsequent La Niña were compounded by 1999’s economic recession, impacting people’s access to safe and nutritious food. These events might have influenced the emergence of political movements/programs around the right to food, and eventually the City’s food policy apparatus. While exploring the local impacts of the agro-political consequences of these events falls beyond the scope of this inquiry, I want to note their precedence of a shift in national politics towards an increase in military spending, aided by the US anti-narcotics policy that mainly targeted the vegetal inputs of this production chain (coca and poppy plants). Intensified aerial aspersion with Monsanto-patented glyphosate didn’t produce the desired effects. Not only did production continue, but rural violence increased, nearby or complementary crops failed, water sources were contaminated, as well as miscarriages and other reproductive issues associated with toxic chemical exposure (Lyons 2018). Economic liberalization was making financial, biological, data, and policy more transmissible, a phenomena exposed by Wallace et al. (2020) that highlights the vulnerability of the global as derivative from system interdependency.

1. The securitization of food

The focalization of poverty brings up the relationship between poverty, food, and development. Post-WWII development has often meant leaving poverty behind, as the World Bank's (WB) foundational goal implies. As an overdetermined and varied-meaning phenomenon, poverty has been difficult to grasp but it has been conceptually and methodologically related to having a "bare minimum" or, as FD Roosevelt famously put it at the foundation of the United Nations, "freedom from want." Eradicating hunger has been key to postwar development efforts, although it is not necessarily evident that it lies at the heart of international securitization strategies. However, as Ravaillon reviewed while at the WB, "the most common approach in defining an absolute poverty line is to estimate the cost of a bundle of goods deemed to assure that basic consumption needs are met... For developing countries, the most important component of a basic needs poverty line is generally the food expenditure necessary to attain some recommended food energy intake" (1992:38).²⁵ The WB as an example highlights how one of the world's most recognizable promoters of international development centers its concerns on [world] hunger.

The creation of the FAO as the first agency of the UN architecture is central to understanding how the post-WWII world order thought of the centrality of food for the institution of peace. Food has since played an important role in defining national and international threats, from food riots (e.g., the 2007-2012 Arab Spring) to famines (e.g., in Sudan 1998 and 2003, the Sahel and East Africa 2011/2012). Concerns about hunger and international "order" had been raised by the League of Nations with the foundation of the International Institute of Agriculture (Phillips 1981:7), and previously by the British Empire (Davis 2000; Nally 2008). FAO was part of technological

²⁵ Ravaillon traces this tradition to Seebohm Rowntree's 1901 work on urban NYC poverty. Another instance of how global standards erase local histories.

innovations in global governance after the mid-twentieth century that converged with discourses around technologically mediated life. The rise of molecular knowledge by the turn of the twentieth century, as Rose (2007) argues, came with a redefinition of life at the molecular level, allowing for its engineering, turning biopolitics into molecular politics. FAO's agricultural policy would be complemented with nutritional policy, both importantly affected by molecular technologies.

The role of FAO is focused on bridging agriculture and nutrition to minimize the threats of food insecurity. Its work is extensive and has been broadly divided between Agriculture, Fisheries, and Forestry, producing a yearly report on *The State of Food and Agriculture* (SOFA) since 1947. Its reports have multiplied since the mid-1990s, with diagnoses on *The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture* (since 1994), *of the World's Forest* (since 1995), *of Food Insecurity* (1999, rebranded since 2017 *of Food Security and Nutrition*), and *of Agricultural Commodity Markets* (2004). The reports show a proliferation of discourses around food, but also of information collection and analysis, including visual design. The World Food Program (WFP) for example, visually reported on “food insecurity” since the creation of The Hunger Map in 2001, denoting a political geography of hunger that reifies the developed/underdeveloped division of the world based on the nation-state. In it, countries are characterized by colors of “emergency,” each with locally adjustable policy programs and recommendations (see Figure 2).²⁶ With the creation of a standard reporting form, a series of specialized themes began supplementing them. Significantly, SOFA addressed gendered issues in its 1974, 1983, 1997, and 2010/11 editions, publishing their development of a gendered perspective to food securitization, coinciding with feminist perspectives on development (see Appendix B).

²⁶ The Hunger Map was reported in WFP's annual report until 2013. A website was created which included intra-country political borders (WFP 2020).

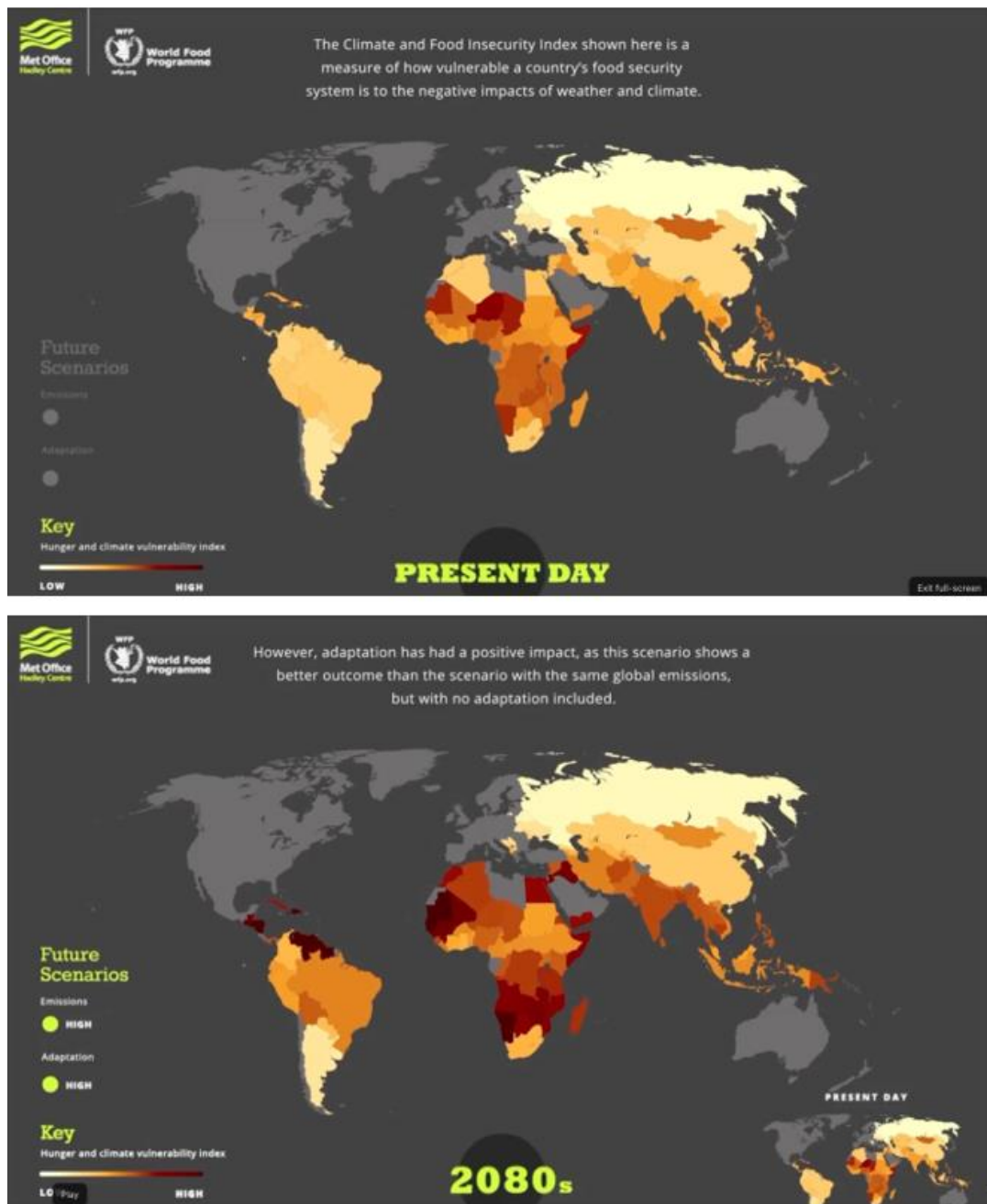


Figure 2. Food Insecurity and Climate Change Vulnerability Index, WFP (2015). World Food Programme, Met Office

In 2015 WFP produced a series of maps showing the evolution of “food security systems” in relation to climate change. “Industrialized countries” were excluded from the sample, along with territories too small or without data, effectively leaving most historically significant polluters out of the analysis. Projections of food vulnerability to global problems, in this case climate change, is designed to be an intra-country level issue.

FAO developed and promoted the concept of *food security*, with shifting definitions and intentions. This dissertation builds on the work of Jarosz (2011) who traced the emergence of *world food security* around 1974 and its difference from the *individual* and *household food security* of the early 1990s, focusing on its gendered implications. FAO's gender perspective on food security is akin to a neoliberal ideology. Following recommendations by the 1979 CEDAW, FAO began working on discrimination against "rural women." This was additional to another approach, a nutritional approach, that framed women not only as corporeally different and inferior to men (e.g., needing fewer calories) but also as particularly vulnerable in relation to their reproductive potential (e.g., pregnant and breastfeeding women). Women were inscribed into food securitization as caregivers and farmers, a possibility of contribution, while still posing a threat igniting "the population bomb." In the timeframe of this dissertation, neoliberalization built an individualized connection to global markets, where individual productivity ties life to the economy, with consequences for food policy. In the words of Jarosz, food security connects "the individual to the global food system and international markets deepening[ing] the commodification of food and conditions food access to revenue, capital and individual income and wages" and "devolv[ing] responsibility for addressing hunger increasingly upon rural women" (2011:121).

By 1996 a plethora of definitions for food security engulfed development policy, as documented by Maxwell (1996). Food security had become a keyword in the formulation of food policy. The UN Secretary-General called for the preparation of a World Food Summit in 1996 (hereon WFS96), whose most salient resolution was to half the number of hungry people in the world by 2015. The parties agreed on the definition that "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” (WFS96). This would crosscut food policy in Colombia and Bogota.

This ossification of food security generated important counterproposals, in relation to parties that struggled with the implementation of this global design or that saw harm in its realization. Poised with participatory strategies, post-1990 food security policies permeated everyday agricultural language that might have perverted its original intentions. This dissertation traces iterations of this process of perversion, following Bogota’s food policy. For this, *food sovereignty* became key to reformulating a localized version of global food security. Founded in 1993, La ViaCampesina organized a counter-summit to WFS96, proposing food sovereignty as a counter-concept.

“Food sovereignty is the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods respecting cultural and productive diversity. We have the right to produce our own food in our own territory. Food sovereignty is a precondition to genuine food security,” read the Food Sovereignty Declaration (ViaCampesina 1996).

Both concepts, food sovereignty and security, were interpretations of the Right to Food (RtF). Even though both would not remain static they were often stated in opposition. Notwithstanding, movements, governments, and FAO would come to develop policy frameworks that incorporated versions of both.

This policy-political convergence comes with the consolidation of a global peasant movement, new technologies of collecting, processing, and presenting information, and a transformation of political participation that to an extent can be summed in the Millennium Development Agenda and two of its goals: MDG1 *eradicating extreme poverty and hunger* and MDG3 *promoting gender equality and women empowerment* (UN 2015). Their intersection presents the light side of global

food securitization, to phrase it in decolonial speak; but ignores a darker side, one of omissions, violence, and corporeal alteration that I believe can be best explored from the perspective of the postcolony. Translocation of food foremost into a commodity necessitates chemical-cum-molecular interventions that, as Landecker has argued, has altered metabolism itself, “biochemical transformation[s] of everyday life” (2019:539). This dismissal from policy seems at the heart of the epigraph that begins this introduction. It is this negative side of policy that this dissertation investigates.

2. *Methods*

Following Hansen (2006) policy discourses are analytical constructions built from a multitude of texts wallowing around an emerging corpus that in this case, constitutes *a gender perspective of food policy*. This research adds to the literature of interpretive policy analysis that aims to untangle the meaning of policy, and the discursive communities for whom that meaning is possible and/or useful. As I will show, the overdetermined character of *food policy* leads to intersecting discourses beyond agriculture and health institutions from where it is usually uttered, confounding the transversal character of *a gender perspective*. A member of the Copenhagen School of International Relations, Hansen defines “securitization” as a process through which something is presented as an existential threat, speaking of it in terms of security and in defense against insecurity (2000:287). Indeed, the definition of food insecurity is tied to the promulgation of food security-as-policy and requires to be researched in its geopolitical context of global-cum-local circulation.

I am interested in the role of geo-government scale since local food/gender policy invokes international terms that appear foreign. Jarosz’s inquiry into international food policy discourse

proposes the analysis of international policy texts to uncover how ‘scale’ is produced and to highlight the limits to food security-as-global discourse including its gendered consequences (2011). By selecting two international organizations (FAO and WB) and key international food policy texts that they published, Jarosz traces a biopolitical genealogy of thirty years of global food governance (1980-2010). A related project, Nally’s compares different discourses of colonial governance, uncovering the emergence of “colonial biopolitics,” the result of policy choices that produce some lives as more expendable than others. I interpreted this as part of the emergence of a European episteme where “Food crisis and disease [are to be perceived as] “public health” issues requiring new regimes of calculation, intervention, and direction” (Nally 2008:717). Food policy thus has a health dimension negotiated at different scales of government with gendered dynamics that can be studied discursively.

Arturo Escobar’s classic *Encountering Development* does just this, showing how “tales of food and hunger” are key to understanding the discursive production of underdevelopment as a subjectivity of modernity ([1995]2012:102). The colonality of underdeveloped citizen-landscape subjectivity that sustains unequal geopolitics is revealed by an ethnography of discourse, a careful examination of texts and conversations with policymakers. Nussio&Pernet (2013) add to Escobar’s project showing that its methods are harmonic with Hansen’s, explicitly framing Colombia’s configuration of food and hunger as a securitization problem but not expanding insights into gender dynamics.

Hansen’s intersectional critique of securitization studies warns that “gendered security problems often involve an intimate inter-linkage between the subject’s gendered identity and other aspects of the subject’s identity” that subsume them, and suggests an agenda for the unveiling of “insecurity [that] cannot be voiced” (Hansen 2000:287). Correspondingly, Curiel’s afro-lesbian

anthropology of state law reveals that central to the foundation of the “new” Colombian state, the 1991 Constitution institutes a (cis)heterosexual regime of domination by means of analyzing its text and the process that birth it. Curiel’s method proceeds in 3 steps (2013:38): a historical reconstruction and analysis of political-ideological apparatuses that bound the politics in which discourse is inscribed; similarly, she approaches the political juncture that determines discourse and simultaneously inscribes itself in it; and finally, a formal critical discourse analysis.

These formalized methods, however, miss a poetic, metaphoric feature that made this research grow rhizomatically. I also want to acknowledge Maria Buenaventura’s genealogical interpretation of *sancocho*, a Colombian soup that includes what is available and excludes what isn’t, capable of mediating geological strata, root vegetables from the underground, fish or poultry at surface level, and seeds of achiote and quinoa dispersed by migratory birds from the sky. Buenaventura is also inheritor of a guerrilla movement-turned-political party, the April 19-Movement (M19) whose leader, Jaime Bateman, suggested concocting a “national sancocho.” This was a metaphor-method for a dialogue between the government and another motley host of stakeholders, capable of recognizing difference as constitutive of the Colombian nation’s fractured governance. This method was key to the constitution of this 1991 Constitutional Process. It is a method of contrasts, a resistance tactic, as there are hundreds of recipes and it’s usually made cheap and in big quantities to be shared, key for long-haul protests.²⁷ I appreciate Medellín-Pérez (2018) formulation of M19 members as the “National Sancocho People,” giving this soup-as-method as (partially) identitarian, body-making, emphasizing how food-to-body subjectivities are key to my understanding of

²⁷ I encountered Buenaventura’s work while visiting the gallery *Espacio Odeón* in 2017. She impaled Bogotá’s and Colombia’s 2000s food policies, printed in A4 stacks, with long thin needles that sustained endemic seeds for needle-caps, reminiscent of Doris Salcedo’s early sculptures about Colombia’s excess of violent deaths. Civil unrest in 2020-2021 saw the sprouting of community pots, often with sancocho, to feed protestors’ camps, a way to claim ground, e.g., documented by Atehortúa (2021).

biopolitical plurality. Making sancocho implies the collection, concoction, and communal enjoyment of food.

The question of how discourse on gender solidified inside global frameworks of *food security*, that is, how food security-as-discourse was produced as carrier of a gender perspective, how it has been used, and how both the discourse and its uses have changed, take Bogota as a local vantage point. I focus mostly on textual discourse, that gets written down and presented in one unified policy document, understood as the result of competing discourses, discussions sometimes converging but not always so. Competing and contradicting discourses can be (and in fact are) written down under the veil of a coherent unison, common in policy documents, where multiple actors, interests, strategies, and individuals intervene inside a narrow timeframe. Policy documents are produced for specific moments in time, a legislature, a political cycle, and so on, all of which come with due dates. This collusion of interests is necessarily tied to questions of power.

Recognizing that the inclusion of ‘woman’ is the most frequent entryway in food security policy toward a gender perspective, this research questions the extent of the introduction of woman-as-category to not only recognize but destabilize and transform gender relations of power. In line with the decolonial stance stated above, it will further question the extent to which it is important in policy contexts to name women to make gendered power inequities visible, and to which it reifies gender to the politics of sex assignment.

It is important to highlight and critique contradictions and tensions in the gender discourse of food security. The specific framings of gender inside development institutions highlight successful career paths of gender-aware employees, many of them women, who from their positions of power-over prioritized (willingly or not) some discussions on how women and gender should be

incorporated into the knowledges and practices of multilateral institutions. It is thus important to ask to what extent the experiences of these individuals are embedded within this discourse.

While the material collected for this research includes recounting personal conversations with policymakers, women and not, they were used here mostly to fill in some gaps that escaped documentation. Intertextuality, as Fairclough and Wodak posit, recognizes that “Discourses are always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically and subsequently” (1997:276). This is to say that when considering a text by FAO’s Director General his office will be dismissed as singular, but rather recognizing its inherent polyphony, the different instances inside and outside his office that contributed to the making of his words.²⁸ As Bakhtin theorized, when recognizing that a voice exists only in dialogue with others, then multiple voices can be looked for and recognized that inform a text. This is particularly evident in policy texts; in my DG example, recognizing that the preparation of official statements are the joint efforts of many. Importantly, texts produced after the 1990s embraced the praxis of “public consultation” and “participation.” While recognizing Bonneuil’s caveat that subjects that partake in such policy processes are [mostly] already docile (2000:279f), the breath of voices informing policy processes grew by orders of magnitude with the introduction of participatory practices, as well as the capacity of policy to make sense of such polyphony.

Polyphony in relation to the policy texts selected, it is interesting to see how particular international policy documents, such as the guidelines given by FAO/WHO in the ICN of 1992 or the WFS of 1996, can be found in national and city policies translated and transformed. Despite self-claims of a common language, here texts are thought as diverse and simultaneous, each independent

²⁸ In its 75 years there is yet to be a FAO DG that does not identify as a man or openly contests this identity.

advancing its own concerns. This research concerns precisely such translations, transmigration, transmutations. Much of the archival material used for this dissertation can now be found online, including both FAO's and Bogota's, signs of recent digitalization efforts that have eased access to what was until recently more restrictive. However, important documentation was gathered at the FAO archives in Rome and at governmental offices in Bogota.

SELECTION OF TEXTS

In line with a feminist poststructural commitment, my interest begins with a locally scaled, context-bound text, the food and nutrition security policy of Bogota 2007-2015 (PPSAN) and its conscription of gender by women policymakers. It was the result of a four-year government that began in January 2004, accompanied by a structural change in Bogota's city government institutions. Policy texts are explicitly intertextual, in juridical citation practice, revealing its precedents, local and foreign. Intertextuality and hyperlinks form an apparatus, a discursive corpus and structure that produce and sustain meanings despite the differences in its iterations. Tracing the precedents of PPSAN point towards a genealogy of intersection of levels of governance, city, nation, and global. Global discourses of "food security" and "food sovereignty" are stated as stemming from the UN's WFS96 and the 2001 World Forum on Food Sovereignty, for example, while locally it leads to the first food plan formulated from within the City's Health Department (SDS) in 1999 by a group of socially engaged nutritionists. Texts were selected in relation to local intertextuality, leading to institutional changes in relation to government plans proposed by each democratically elected government.²⁹ Government plans attest to the political prioritization of certain themes and the relevance of food and gender as public policy concerns is evident

²⁹ The 1988-1990 government plan wasn't formally presented or approved by the Council. These were instituted from 1991 onward; titling began after 1993 (See Table 1).

throughout the period. Texts also referred to national and international sources; for example, most local documents refer to international precedents as opening a Considerandum or legal history.

The duration of governments was redefined during this timeframe, beginning with two-year periods, and ending with four. Appendix A details the duration of each administration. Throughout the text I refer to Bogota's government as the City, with a capitalized 'C', distinct from the non-institutionalized dynamics that circulate and from which the city emerges. The City will most often refer to the executive branch. Acknowledging that each administration makes efforts to sediment a vision, I often refer to the changes characteristic of a particular government referring to the mayor's last name and the year of its administration. For example, during Garzón's administration, from 2004 to 2007, anti-hunger actions became a flagship policy, instituting discourses that cohere into an apparatus I name 'Garzon04'. However, an important point is making visible the efforts of public officials that transcended the political cycle. In this way, Garzon04 owes to Peñalosa98 thanks to efforts, discussions, and confrontations between longstanding civil servants committed to designing food policy locally and their subscription to moral, scientific and policy innovations.

This refers to a Politics of Translation in which I also participate. My epistemological standing allows me to be outside the nation-city while simultaneously in it, excluded for long periods from the everyday and situated far from governmental and public policy processes that were once familiar to me. I am also writing in English about many policies written (principally) in Spanish, acknowledging the linguistic diversity of Bogota's inhabitants, permanent and temporary.³⁰

³⁰ The dual situatedness has been dealt by Curiel (2013:32) acknowledging classics like Gloria Anzaldúa. The politics of translation has been addressed by Mol and Law (2020) edited issue from where Cadena & Martínez-Medina (2020) suggest translation as a place of fruitful analytical inquiry, based on ethnographic research on the cows of Bogota's savannah. Dány (2020), in the same volume, ponders on the affective dimension of inhabiting a temporal displacement, "búskomor politics," a melancholic political engagement from a politico-ideological project now in ruins. I write while improperly inhabiting both spaces.

English terms are often made epistemologically superior in local policymaking for at least two reasons: their international mobility as a hegemonic, diplomatic language, including drafting at the UN; and because the skill of mastering a second language is valued positively in policy-oriented labor markets, including access to international conferences. Most international policies inhabit an international and diplomatic space with specialized professionals in charge of sedimenting Babel into a concerted and cohesive text. They are then (sometimes) translated into other languages including Spanish, another official UN language that also engages with a less global internationalism coalescing on a shared post/colonial history, be it Ibero-America, Latin-America and/or the Caribbean, and its sub/regional institutions. While the task of navigating these levels of governance is a task larger than what this dissertation attempts, some glimpses are featured.

I complemented the printed material with some scarce semi-formal conversations with some relevant actors in Bogota and in Spanish. Not properly interviews, I prompted individuals to retell their stories in relation to a specific story or period. I also visited urban gardeners, Bogota's Botanical Garden, and quartered Bogota's rurality and the Viracocha River Basin (Bogota River) trying to reimagine colonial and pre-Columbian pathways. Those explorations were part of a more ambitious project that I needed to let go of or postpone. My two visits to Rome were brief, but a feel of day-to-day life at FAO was possible thanks to a pandemic and the generosity of a high-ranking official who offered to share his home-office space with me. Mostly unexplored and unable to properly formalize as a method, these paths offered, at minimum, inspiration.

Archival research was conducted at FAO's and Bogota's Archives, online and physically. Visits to the archives included a planning stage of bibliographical and documentary revision of available information online. During the past decade efforts in digitalization were made at both institutions, and at a time when most documentary production shifted to digital. Bogota's legal archive was

complemented with documentation provided by government officials at city and national levels. Bogota's government plans became legal documents and were subject to evaluation from the leaving administration as well as regulatory agencies. Policy archeology reviewed referenced texts and the context in which they came to be, sketching conceptual lineages and networks of actors. City efforts to historicize its dependencies were especially encouraged (and budgeted) after 2004. Non-official thematic histories of the city also started blooming partly because of easier access to archives and new graduate programs promoting their use.³¹ To grasp the mayors' prioritization of food and gender, as well as their interactions in government plans of elected mayors between 1990 and 2015, I identified "pivot terms" or keywords (see Appendix C; Giménez 1981 in Curiel 2013). Six groups of terms guided the effort: food, nutrition, gender, reproduction, care, and agriculture. These correspond to roots in Spanish. For example, *fert** (in Spanish) includes close translations of fertile, fertility, fertility, and so on.

FAO's publications in the *Corporate Document Repository* related to 'gender' increased from 5 in 1990 to 664 in 2015, due to increased publishing overall, but also women and gender in agriculture demanded more attention. As mentioned earlier, its flagship publication, SOFA, featured women and gender issues on four occasions during the same period. Various collections helped understand the inclusion of women and gender at FAO:

FAO publishes a wealth of documents, including those related to women and gender. My strategy organized these in three categories: a) Plans of Action and other programmatic documents explicitly setting organizational guidelines for action and reform; b) Programme of Work and Budget, usually delineating resources and structure changes, and Programme Implementation

³¹ Annex C gives a list of City publications; many universities opened MAs encouraging city-oriented research after 2000.

Reports, showing actual expenditures; c) Technical documents presenting information for a wider (although specialized) public. Most of documents type a) and b) have versions prepared for and by the Council and Conference, the two most important government bodies of FAO. Technical documents usually inform and feed from the other two. For this I consulted digital archives, although FAO's specialized websites are sometimes incomplete. This was complemented with work at FAO's physical archives and library in Rome. While the dissertation's timeframe concerns the MDGs', i.e., 1990-2015, it was necessary to explore policy genealogies into previous periods. Most women/gender discourse at FAO (as elsewhere in international governance) mushroomed in the 1970s, coinciding with a major FAO structural reform (ignited by a major food crisis as seen in chapter 4). Some material, however, goes back to the organization's founding. While the wealth of documentation has enormous potential, I focused on the above-mentioned timeframe and women/gender-related policy. The Women in Development digitized collection at the University of Florida held a wealth of FAO documentation, and to a lesser extent documents on Colombian WID policies. Critical histories of FAO are yet to abound, although even less attention is given for events after 1975. This dissertation pays attention to two main conferences: ICN92 and WFC74, particularly in relation to Women's Conferences.

These sources go into my own personal soup, my attempt at preparing a scholarly meal, mixing variegated elements towards a hearty dish that might appear excessive, hopefully tasty and digestible. I want to lastly pause on two scriptural caveats that impact this script. I noticed wordcount restriction tends to work against collaborative writing and "Iberian surnaming" (one Surname is shorter than two). I applied Anglo-Saxon contraction counter-practice beyond the surname (DeCastro, Latin-American, North-Atlantic). I was less successful overcoming my

interest in multiword governmental naming practices and bureaucratic re/structuring. I hope ACRONYM-lightheadedness won't overburden readers.

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Following this introduction, the next three chapters review the production of Bogota's local food policy between 1990 and 2015. The periodization, always already arbitrary, revolves around the emergence of a food system as an object of policy that could be governed, and its intersections with gender policy. The first chapter will characterize Bogota's food policy apparatus as dispersed. The second posits the emergence of systematicity amidst competing discourses, while the third shows some limits and opportunities of a consolidated apparatus. Chapters 4 to 6 concern the global as a discursive site and the changes of women and gender optics inside international food policy and its division between body and land, nutrition and agriculture. Chapter 4 reviews how women entered development/agricultural discourse at a Malthusian Cold War crossroad and it quickly morphed into a Women in Development approach. During 1974, the decolonization process resulted in an attempt, somewhat failed, to change 'the world economic order' into fairer terms for 'non-aligned nations'. Chapter 5 follows the process of this transformation as it enters the 1990s and shifts the emphasis in the scales of governance. These events had concerned mostly 'rural women' as a policy-object. Chapter 6 traces two genealogies of gender discourse at FAO conducive to the solidification of an institutional gender policy. Chapter 7 examines gender in nutritional policy, the other dimension of global food policy. A final chapter concludes by showing the friction of global connections positioning the national as additional negotiator between scales that reconciles both spheres of gender-in-food governance.

Chapter 1 - Food policy in Bogota: the gender perspective

1. Introduction: Charity in bundles and pouches

In September 2004, Lucía Celeita began selling a set of *Nutricombos* at her grocery stand *Luchita Verduras*. Set in the Quirigua market, in western Bogota, Celeita sold the nutritive combos for around 1 USD, an affordable price for a city with more than a quarter of its population living in poverty.³² Nutricombos were an initiative set forth by the City to secure access to healthy, affordable, and nutritious meals, in a population exhibiting high levels of food insecurity. Celeita's Nutricombos were only a node in the network of markets, corner-shops, and supermarkets being mapped and repurposed by *Bogotá Sin Hambre* (BSH), the City's new food security program. BSH translates to *Hungerless Bogota*; in 2004 it became a central instrument for the incoming government to address "poverty and exclusion." Román Vega, Jorge Alberto Torres, and Eduardo Díaz were the names of the three men leading this food securitization program, respectively the Health Secretary, the Public Utility Manager, and the BSH Manager. It would seem men designed a program for the poor, poor women executed it. Notwithstanding, Nutricombos' origin was less top-down, as recounted by Luz Mery Vargas, a public officer who coordinated BSH inside the City's Department of Health.³³ The idea grew out of a brainstorming session of pregnant women during a focus group run by the City's nutritionists workshopping "nutritional education" during the previous administration. The participants suggested a way of promoting better nutritional

³² The WorldBank set the *extreme poverty* and *poverty* lines at daily incomes under 1 or 2 USD, respectively. That September, the USD-COP Exchange rate averaged \$2553 (Banco de la República 2020). Nutricombo prices should not exceed COP3500 ("Nutricombos..." 2004). Monetary poverty in Bogota was estimated at 28,8% for that year and 'extreme' at 6% (DANE n.d.). See the *p.46* for a discussion about the relation between poverty and food. For a review of poverty estimates with a focus on Colombia and Bogota, as well the measuring infrastructure of poverty, see Muñoz-Ayala (2009).

³³ Personal interview.

choices: to mimic marketing strategies from *La Tienda Ganadora* (the Winning Store), a commercial strategy of the media network RCN to encourage competition between corner shops seeking to boost sales, including the bundling of corporate products. By reshaping the bundle-tactic for nutritional purposes, its spirit morphed from competition into care, coupled with expert advice in favor of nutrition and affordability, effectively repurposing a sign of market liberalization. Although predating it, the idea would find BSH as its promoter and would incorporate it into its food securitization strategy. This encounter between nutritionists and expecting women was no coincidence. Its emergence depended on a material epistemic infrastructure. Dietary advice had a long history of instructing populations deemed vulnerable because of their reproductive labor, and Nutrition has been gendered feminine, strongly associated with *charitas*, the feminine Christian virtue. The vast network of small shop owners comprised women disproportionately, built over gendered migration waves into Bogota and gendered labor.

Its emergence also depended on a commitment to participatory methodologies and a local expertise/sensing-thinking to mediate local knowledge and policymaking traversed with Western-centric science. The focus group was led by nutritionist (Ana) Zulema Jiménez-Soto, who was not new to this kind of innovation: her partner, pediatrician Héctor Martínez-Gómez, had joined Edgar Rey-Sanabria in 1979 at the *Instituto Materno Infantil*, one of Bogota's public hospitals. Through clinical observation, together they developed *Kangaroo Care*, also called *skin-to-skin contact*.³⁴ A marsupial simile, this technique would prove highly beneficial for preterm babies' survival, becoming an international success, featured in UNICEF and WHO's 1991 Baby-friendly Hospital Initiative, itself adopted by Bogota in 1993. This brief story of Nutricombos hints toward the

³⁴ The story has been passed to me orally in a couple of occasions. However, a written one can be found in WFP & MinSalud (2010:14f).

generative and gendered friction between governance scales that occurs when negotiating policy, a food securitization policy, and the collective labor behind the edifice of its textual inscription. It also exemplifies how policymaking can be a gendered and a dispersed epistemic process.

This chapter introduces the City of Bogota and its food policy between 1990 and 2015 as a discursive apparatus in its national and international contexts. The study of this “discursive and political constellation” provides pathways through which food securitization discourse emerges between the enunciation of food insecurity and its ‘securitizing’ actors (Buzan et al 1998:256). Food security (FS) didn’t seem to be a *territorial* security concern of the City by 1990; although threatening to a very real extent the survival of at least part of its population, it was a matter of *social* security, food assistance, charity-driven. Operating at different levels of governance, the securitization of food gained ground at the crossroad of City, nation, international, and sub-local organizations. By tracing the production of food and gender discourses in the governance plans of different elected governments up until their amalgamation into a *gender perspective for Bogota’s food security policy*, I posit that food and gender intersect at a *local* policy space spanned by a discursive vector of reproduction; that is, a specific conception about the reproduction of human and other-than-human life was being negotiated locally. This generative encounter between geographic scales of discourse will delineate some emergent forms of policy that misalign between interested parties and the contexts they span from.

I emphasize a capitalized City to refer to its government, the rule-making rule-enforcing institutions that became administratively independent from the national government around the 1990s. The City’s structure is complex, but I will mostly refer to its cabinet as organized into Departments while the national government is into Ministries. The City Council is a simile of Congress, but the mayor doesn’t need its approval to govern, explicitly since 1993. The City will

be said to act as a securitizing agent against food insecurity in relation to its population (its electorate) and in reference to an active, healthy life. As mentioned in the introduction, 1990 is internationally framed as the measurable beginning of a new development period with goals for 2015. The Hegelian ‘end of history’ proclaimed after the Cold War signaled the consolidation and rabid promotion of (at least) three development strategies: administrative decentralization, public-private partnerships, and trade liberalization. These directly impacted local governance infrastructure and had repercussions in the build-up of a food policy and its attention to gender difference. The effects of what can be called a *neoliberal episteme* affected the provisioning of public utilities, socio-economic welfare, and health, as this chapter details. While the Colombian constitutional reform of 1991 is often seen as inaugurating these trends at a national level, they were already underway at its inauguration. However, the new constitution brought important institutional reforms that cemented emergent participatory and rights-based mechanisms, often at odds with (but also intrinsic to) neoliberalisation. The articulation of City policy within national and global institutional and legal constraints would make explicit its overdetermined and gendered character: overdetermined because issues and people are defined through both City and national institutions as subjects/citizens in multiple ways, through multiple actions, codes, and so on; and gendered to the extent that gender became a mandatory category to describe how the City is, what it does, and what it is supposed to do, a way to understand itself from within. Importantly, the constitutional reform brought the administrative autonomy of Bogota and its ability to partake into globality, thus building up an infrastructure that Sassen called the *global city*, i.e., “the ascendance of information technologies and the associated increase in the mobility and liquidity of [global] capital” at the end of the twentieth century with growing independence of the inter-state system

(2005:27). As such, the City reproduces gender difference to know and govern its population through a policy that harnesses and sustains life: a food policy.

These next three chapters are based on a revision of eight government plans (1991-2015), formally known as Development Plans. Their names varied, but all qualified “Development” as “economic, social, and of public works.” The last two plans added “environmental development.” The City’s name changed itself four times in these, mirroring ontological debates: it claimed uniqueness from other municipalities literally claiming it “Special,” later “Capital District” or “D.C.” (See Appendix A). When Simon Bolivar founded the Republic in early nineteenth century it symbolically asserted a creole independence by changing the colonial name of “Santafé” to the transliterated Chibcha “Bogotá.” In 1991 the Spanish legacy was restituted into “Santafé de Bogotá,” updating its spelling in 1995 to “Santa Fe,” and deleting it again in 2001 to “Bogota, D.C.” Although planning guidelines existed since 1972 (Council Agreement 18/1972), it was until the 1991 Constitution that plans were made mandatory for all elected leaders (art. 342-344, expanded by Law 152/1994 and Council Agreement 12/1994). This gave Plans a certain structure since 1995, explicitly incorporating tools from business project management and demanding interinstitutional coordination to achieve *efficiency*. The new structure required two parts, a programmatic and an investment plan. The Plans were to be negotiated firstly with the City Council, which would result in an Agreement, or governing through a Decree.³⁵ The extension of each Plan varied, from 42 to 130 articles, from 2.021 to 36.081 words, and from 30 to 145 programs, although it grew in complexity/detail, partly due to the progression of project management structures (through the hierarchy of goals, principles, strategies, programs, measurable targets, indicators, periodicity of measurement, and so on), and to the expansion of

³⁵ Only Mayor Mockus on both his governments wouldn’t reach an agreement with the Council.

organizational bureaucracy. These changes in Development Plans show how the elected mayors prioritized and framed policy, of which food related issues will be highlighted.

In what follows I will provide the context to some relevant processes with the intention of showing how a coherent food policy emerged alongside the securitization of food, paying attention to the ways in which gender was enacted by the City as a discursive apparatus. I will show how shifting priorities and frames of food first cohere into a *system* in 2001, further consolidated in 2004, navigating onto-epistemic tensions between local and global, aptly termed ‘the friction of global connections’ by Tsing (2005). By system, I refer to the purposeful enunciation of relations between different actors, places, and processes towards a common goal, eventually dubbed “food security.” Reading their materiality as a system does not imply that policies build it, despite policy’s efforts to at least reshape it.

Building on Murphy (2011; 2017b), I trace the evolution of some infrastructures of accounting through the implementation of neoliberal reforms to show how policies tried subjecting the social to the macroeconomy. I also show how an ideology of efficiency operated somewhat independently in this adoption of a way of knowing and envisioning the population, this time tying the social to the microeconomy.³⁶ “Free-trade” and “decentralization” were goals of policies intending to make public administration more efficient at a time when resources seemed pressingly scarcer, i.e., the 1980s Debt Crisis. Simultaneously, new subjectivities were demanded, that tied individual action to both efficient and productive choice. While trade assumed that enabling *global* economic transactions would make the population better off, by lowering prices and increasing

³⁶ The division between micro and macro phenomena has led to intense debate in Economics since their mainstream schools consolidated around their mid-twentieth century form. Similarly, debates over efficiency have elicited different answers from both macro/micro sides of the consensus (see Ch.6)

quality, decentralization would make governance more accessible and accountable to “the constituents” while valuing them differentially, alongside quasi-identarian axis (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.). I trace how this epistemology of governance operated in Bogota and had effects on the way food was enunciated from the fields to the bodies of its inhabitants. Government provision of food was largely distributed through (disciplinary) institutions of care (e.g., schools, nursing homes, prisons) while the City saw itself only marginally rural and predominantly urban. I trace the changes in which food, nutrition, reproduction, gender, and agriculture are enunciated in the City’s government plans, their food, nutrition, and agrarian policies. I propose that three principal components emerge from the analysis: infrastructures of care, of food supply, and breastfeeding. I posit that although institutionally and discursively dispersed, breastfeeding policy becomes a first iteration of a gender perspective in Bogota’s food policy. The remainder of this chapter will provide elements to delineate the discursive emergence of a food system. The following chapter delves into a period proposing new epistemological avenues.

2. Tropical neoliberal episteme (The 1990-2015 context)³⁷

Bogota participated in a neoliberal episteme that structured policy reforms at the turn of the twenty-first century. The city was not faring financially well as it dealt with levels of debt considered high at the time, in the middle of what became known as the Latin-American Debt Crisis. The development of Colombia and Bogota was tied to international loans that financed big

³⁷ This section is based on a review of a motley literature. Still debated between economists, discussions about the ability of “developing countries” to pay for their “development” were prevalent during the 1980s and 1990s. Williamson (1990) edited volume became the embodiment of “the Washington Consensus,” a set of policy-recommendations whose ideology became known as neoliberalism, often instituted through loans by multilateral banking. Ocampo (1987; 2014) provides authoritative accounts of the debt crisis for Colombia and Latin America. Colombia’s debt was comparatively low and ‘better managed.’ Gilber (1990) shows the negative impact of the crisis on Bogota’s provision of public services. Other effects on Bogota has been asserted on land titling and security (Aristizabal&Ortíz-Gómez 2004), changes in land use around and the feminization of the work force (Montañez et al. 1990), changes in family/productive structure due to that feminization (Jones&Fergusson 2006). Sánchez, Diaz, Formisano (2003) document the increase on the main indicators of violence and crime available during the 1990s.

infrastructural, landscape-altering projects, most notably dams. Colombia, geographically burdened by the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) and its droughts, joined the trend of erecting hydroelectric energy infrastructures, taking advantage of its wealth of mountain rivers. By 1992 Colombia had 70 hydroelectric stations, 7 of which were primarily to supply drinking water (FAO 1993), and Bogota had consolidated a water management system totaling 7 dams. The decentralization of government amidst “the debt crisis” allowed the implementation of reforms toward “financial stability,” the issuing of bonds, and the subsequent evaluation of the City as an entity internationally profiled through financial risk ratings, leading to the emergence of the City as a “credit subject.” The City refashioned as an autonomous entity in global and local financial markets. Importantly, it restructured public utilities and social services by increasing partnerships with the private sector and external debt. These developments came with a steep change in water and land use that displaced neighboring agriculture in favor of more profitable, industrial, enterprises (Montañez et al. 1990).

Colombian agricultural policy had been tainted by agro-commodity booms, including illicit drug exports. Colombia experienced a “marihuana boom” in the 1970s driven by US demand, to which the government responded via aerial aspersion of Monsanto’s glyphosate in 1984, halted in 1990, but renewed after January 1992 due to increases of coca and poppy crops (Tokatian 1992). Glyphosate was a chemical developed (in 1970), marketed (since 1974), and patented (until 2000) by Monsanto (Duke 2018).³⁸ After patent expiration, Colombia’s anti-narcotic policy imported glyphosate from China until 2015, when it was banned by the Colombian government in concert with related health concerns issued by WHO earlier that year (Moreno 2015, IARC 2015). On the

³⁸ Monsanto’s presence in Colombia would increase in the late 1990s through the GMO seed market, of which Colombia would become a mayor buyer in Latin America.

other hand, coffee had been Colombia's prime legal export and its price had plummeted in international markets as it entered the 1990s. The promise of preferential tariffs to the US market was often perceived as the sole way for some businesses to avoid bankruptcy or profit. Whether accurate or not, questions of what and how much to produce and to whom were *not* a matter of calories or nutrients, or of keeping the population food or nutritionally secure. Bogota's extended landscape³⁹ quickly changed to favor flower export businesses, employing mostly cheap female labor (often with a recent peasant past), and away from the production of foods (Montañez et al. 1990). Generally, Bogota's urbanization depended on a growing feminine workforce, driven by war-driven male excess mortality (Jones&Fergusson 2006). Simultaneously, violent actions related to the profitable export of illegal narcotics added actions to the City's development pathways through financial and water securitization. Traditionally, securitization was concerned with preserving and promoting the physical integrity of individuals (within its boundaries) and homicide rates were its leading indicator.

To summarize, these body-landscape transformations were also discursive, where land, water, energy, and people needed to be securitized in the teleology of development. Security was mediated not just through money, but through the promise of future profit and this urged expanding the City's security apparatus beyond the immediate threat to life, into human capital investment. The US securitized its people from drugs by militarizing the lands where their precursors were cultivated. Banks secured the repayment of interests by demanding changes in policy that would indicate financial futurity (especially multilateral banking). Colombia's and Bogota's governments were to prove that their population-cum-landscape would be able to repay indebtedness-for-development. Bodies and landscapes were to develop from a violent agricultural/rural stage to a

³⁹ Bogota's "Savanna" comprises 26 neighboring municipalities (Mora-Pacheco 2016).

peaceful industrial/urban modernity. This expansion of security describes the institutionalization of a neoliberal ‘modernizing’ governmentality, through decentralization, ‘free trade’, a redefinition of public-private entanglements, and a ‘rights-based approach.’ By following decentralization reforms in the City, the next section traces how this neoliberal episteme framed and effected the production of policy and its subjects, subjected it to the macroeconomy, and extended its *infrastructures of accounting* to the city.

3. Decentralization as securitization

Decentralization of governance, a major development strategy, was embraced and promoted by many development institutions, Bogota’s government and the World Bank alike. “All around the world in matters of governance, decentralization is the rage,” noted development economist Pranab Bardhan (2002:185); this was both the banner of free-marketers and “anarcho-communitarians” (186). Better management could be achieved lowering political and economic transaction costs, among other benefits, claimed market-liberalizationists; meanwhile agrarian-reformists emphasized the need for locally led development (e.g., some Marxist-oriented guerrillas). The first took the shape of New Public Management (NPM) claiming administration methods of private businesses could overcome the inefficiencies of state-run services. Decentralization meant political, administrative, and financial independence from centralized national decision-making, in favor of more local processes that would allow greater citizen participation and accountability. During the 1980s Bogota’s fiscal autonomy increased and public participation consolidated in 1988, when the seat of city mayor became open to popular election. These changes also helped the City adapt to the internationalization of market competition. Reforms “set free” the provision of municipal services from the central state, including those provisioning social welfare (e.g., health and food), and regulated how they could compete. For example, in 1988 the City’s public utility

companies showed two vehicles of privatization: the partial acquisition of the waste collection business by an international consortium, while the electric company began listing in the stock market.

Bogota's decentralization was invigorated in 1991 when political, fiscal, and management autonomy was written into its politico-legal existence. The 1991 Constitutional Reform guaranteed the capital's independence from the national government, a structure usually attributed to the efforts of Jaime Castro-Castro, a professor of law who under the decentralization-as-development bandwagon was elected to the Constitutional Assembly (1991) and as Bogota's mayor (1992-1995). Castro furthered Bogota's autonomy decoupling the mayor's rule from City Council support, further privatized services "in favor of efficiency," and increased citizens' participation and representation in the Council and Districts (Colombian Constitution art.322-327; Presidential Decree 1421/1993). In Castro's words, decentralization equated to "the city com[ing] of age, enter[ing] modernity" (2009:3). This process contributed to the expansion and financialization of (digitized, information-intense, international) markets and the coding of citizen participation into public governance.

The City's reconfiguration fitted the rise of cities' relevance in international governance and a new security framework described by Sassen (2005). However, Bogota remained a disputed territory despite its decentralization, remaining Colombia's capital and headquartering all branches of the national government. Guerrilla, paramilitary, drug-trafficking, and other power-seeking networks enlaced battle fronts of a war increasingly urban, threatening citizens' lives. This translated into reactive, repressive, and surveilling responses of government armed and police forces.⁴⁰ Although

⁴⁰ State and non-state forces were not, in practice, always distinct (CNMH 2020b).

inheriting the previous centralized structure, the city would design its own security policy. There were different programmatic and conceptual developments around security: *citizen security*, *human security*, *democratic security*, often interchangeable terms through which the City enunciated its response to declarations of insecurity from 1990 onwards.⁴¹ The defense of the population was initially against death-crime, but increasingly framed through its negative, as a defense of life-citizen (human) rights. There is a broad City-government conceptual thread, from Majors Mockus-Peñalosa's *citizen security*, Garzón-Moreno-Petro's *human security*, to presidents Uribe-Santos' *democratic security*. Policy increased the emphasis on security's participatory nature. Defense was no longer claimed to be exclusive to the state, but became a social responsibility, a shift parallel to the discourse of restitution of *public order*, *public security*, *civil defense*, not an abandonment. In short, decentralization came along with an expansive definition of security and citizens' participation.

This expansive security regime is directly tied to the privatization of public utilities. Pastrana-Arango, the first elected major, declared a "sanitary emergency" in 1988, soon after taking office, to "defend users" of waste collection services against "inefficiency." This allowed him to privatize 40% of the City's waste management business (EDIS) through an expedited process that "competed" with the remaining public company. Pastrana-Arango declared the trash collection crisis as an imminent threat made credible through the materiality of trash amassing in homes and streets. Similar trash crises would take place during the 1990-2015 period, generating debate about greater to lower levels of privatization of the utility. Whether efficiencies were gained or not through this move, privatization became part of the City's means of defense in a time of increased

⁴¹ For a broader Latin-American framework on securitization see IACHR (2008).

“conventional” security threats: homicide, car bombs, kidnapping, and enforced disappearance had become city staples (Bogota 1990:94).

I am interested in examining the ways in which this move towards HHRR was gendered, eventually leading to the securitization of food policy. To set the stage, Pastrana’s Management Report (Bogota 1990) exemplifies how food provisioning services were gendered by 1990. The beginning of Bogota’s political change in 1988 brought the mayoral first lady to the spotlight, not intrinsically, but because the elected major’s wife, Nohora Puyana, wanted it. She vigorously campaigned for her husband and took the lead in the provisioning of care services, of which she directed two programs directly related to food: “My glass of milk” (Mi Vaso de Leche) which advertised providing some schooled children with just that,⁴² and “Neighborly houses” (Casas Vecinales) which “for the first time” compensated “community mothers” (madres comunitarias) with a salary for care services; caring for their neighborhood’s children while their guardians were absent (p.92).

Closer examination shows the first program further favored “children under 13 years old, breastfeeding mothers, pregnant women, the elderly, and people under short-term emergency” including a “nutritional supplement” to the milk (p.228). It was also one of two flagship programs of the National Social Welfare Department (ICBF), the other one being “community kitchens,” which provided food subsidies for “big families with less than a minimum wage” and “women-headed households.” Puyana’s office is mentioned scantily in the report (p.5, 85). ‘Social Sector’ programs are left for almost last (chapter 7/10) and relevantly, the deserving subjects of food-cum-care programs are clearly gendered, signaling women in relation to their reproductive, caring labor.

⁴² Most times milk came with an edible. Food provisioning at school canteens were a City service existing since at least Agreement 21/1936.

Reflecting on her work as Bogota's First Lady, Puyana stated, "That's what I like, to work with children and the family" (Puyana 1994:14:00).

Unlike those spearheaded by the first lady, other food-related policies weren't prominent in Pastrana-Arango's end-of-term report. The management of (wholesale) markets was the responsibility of EDIS while public vending was of the People's Sale Fund (FVP). Both institutions were securitizing agents. Aside from EDIS' partial privatization already discussed, its public-owned fraction built two market halls (Bogota 1990:102,109). FVP was framed as having a problem of 'territory loss' (p.17) taken away by street vendors from whom 'public space must be recovered' (p.60). Wholesale markets were not framed as a provisioning matter but as problems of efficiency and public space, to be solved through a census of sellers and updating their dues. An accounting issue, markets-as-infrastructure appear as problems of efficiency-efficacy, an aside from proper security matters, and not approachable through an episteme of care.

Common between the City's markets and welfare programs was the need for accounting. As the National Department of Statistics (DANE) put it, decentralization meant "building a local statistics information system that increases understanding of social and economic trends at the departmental and municipal level, to enhance economic decision-making and regional planning" (DANE 1989:266). Running a deficit, the first elected City administrators occupied themselves renegotiating their financial obligations, restructuring their bureaucracy, and refining the methods to count the people they serviced and how much was serviced, as well as methods to collect fees or penalize when not. Population expansion was accelerating due to external pressures, like increased rural violence and displacement, and endogenous ones, like the economic opportunities concentrating in Bogota. The provision of utilities through public companies (water, electricity, communications, gas, waste) needed to expand in response. Provisioning public services became

a matter of distinguishing ‘contributors’ from ‘subsidized’ populations, dividing the population according to income/wealth.⁴³ The system of information collection and data crunching was expanding along with an acceleration of computational capacity. This allowed the endowment of the City with the halo of the macroeconomy: DANE published guidelines to establish local GDP estimates for 1985 (1989:265f). Furthermore, the second elected mayor commissioned the study of an independent GDP time-series (1970-1987) to a private think-tank, itself basing its exercise on a private consultancy studying energy demand (Fedesarrollo 1990:11).⁴⁴ This suggests that economic knowledge was expanding as a major governing tool towards local governance, but also a convergence between economics and engineering for infrastructure building, between the private and public sectors, by the request and production of information services. This “economization of life” became “a historically specific regime of valuation hinged to the macrological figure of,” not only the nation as Murphy put it, but the City (2017:06). Economics encapsulated city governance, “value could be generated by optimizing aggregate life chances—including the reduction of future life quantity—relative to the horizon of the economy” (ibid).

Amidst the privatization of public services and a wave of crime, citizen participation and market liberalization, the city was undergoing pressures from national and international market-cum-HHRR politics that affected its institutional environment. The beginning of national constitutional reform cemented a change in the city’s political ecology of food. It was mentioned previously that the city’s security problem was permeated by the international illegal routes of cocaine and

⁴³ Regarding utilities, Bogota’s tariff system predated the national (Decree 1140/1983) although eventually harmonized with it (Law 142/1994). Access to healthcare was divided differently (Law 10/1990 and 100/1993).

⁴⁴ The firm was Consultores Regionales Asociados CRA” S.A.S., founded in 1976, acquired in 2012 by GENIVAR, acquired in 2014 by WSP. CRA hired economists Hector Maldonado and Miguel Ramírez Gómez, university lecturers in Economics. The GDP analysis was commissioned to Fedesarrollo, a private think tank. Agriculture’s participation was assumed constant at 0.11%, the observed value in 1985 [although DANE’s published value is 0.16% (1989:298)]. For those 17 years the evolution of the agricultural sector would thus be accounted for as minimal and unchanging.

opioids. While national consumption of illegal substances was low, sanctioned agriculture was in competition with coca and poppy crops, and internationally disadvantaged against the heavily subsidized cultures of the North-Atlantic. Internationally, illegal crops were being sprayed with glyphosate, a practice known now to harm peasants and non-targeted crops, waterways, soil, and other intoxications. This translated into the decline of coffee and the rise of fossil fuels as Colombia's primary export, the inundation of cheap imported food, from minimally to ultra-processed, and the distribution of its consequences along the axis of gender. The national landscape was changing, and it impacted Bogota's. The 1990s saw a transformation of the city's landscape and policies, implementing security against urbanized crime while the legal national economy moved away from coffee to oil, and combated illegal economies through increasing military expenditures and international aid, mostly from the US. The fluctuations of the international illegal drug trade resulted in a decreased prominence of the Colombian cartels (it is hard to assert if this was due to legal military actions, or to inter-cartel competition) but illegal revenues began shifting towards supplying mineral extraction, at a time when the international price of cocaine had fallen, and minerals were appreciating. Whether narcotics or minerals, both expanded the agricultural frontier and violent crime at the expense of diverse life (logging, pollution, monocrops, displacement, local knowledges, maiming, killing).

Decentralization meant increased citizen participation, but inside a government program with terms not misaligned to the neoliberal episteme. The following section shows how food policy 1) sits at the crux of a restitutive and biopolitical instrument (i.e., disciplinary and regulatory measures), 2) exerts control over health/body, 3) control over sexuality, and 4) reproduces population differentials in the friction between the goals of international productivity and local relief. To understand the workings of the City's discursive apparatus, it is important to understand

its subdivision into three fields that dominated its food policy: markets, care, and health. From the City's architecture the Departments of Health, Economic Development, and Social Welfare were actively involved in thinking and producing food policy.⁴⁵ By delineating the policy spaces where it was enacted I build a germinal map for what would become a 'food systems approach' and how it was intrinsically gendered.

4. Inception: Dispersed actions towards a coherent policy

4.1. Markets

On May 12, 1990, Bogota prepared for the next day's celebration of Mother's Day. That Saturday afternoon's shopping spree was interrupted by the detonation of two bombs, killing 17 people and wounding many more (Herrera-Durán 2015). One exploded in the Quirigua market, the same mentioned in this chapter's introduction. This way drug cartels expressed their opposition to the supply-side "War on Drugs" that framed US-Colombian relations, chastising coca production and producers in the Andes. US President Bush would militarize aid by targeting the cultivation of coca, mainly through aerial aspersions of glyphosate: "We need to wipe out [coca] crops wherever they are grown," he would say in May 1988 (quoted in Andreas et.al. 1991:108). This counternarcotics strategy would fuel armed confrontations in the Colombian countryside and the subsequent displacement that would characterize Bogota's population growth. Cartel leaders were not particularly concerned with the ecological, economic, or health consequences of herbicides on peasants. An extradition treaty threatened to judge them for drug-trafficking and endure harsher sentences than those in Colombia. Bombing and kidnapping became tactics to broaden a mostly

⁴⁵ In Spanish, "Secretarías de Salud," "Desarrollo Económico," "Integración Social." Their structures and names changed throughout the period. 'Women' as a City policy-field was only inaugurated until 2012 and food policy was far from its main concern (See Table 4).

rural war into the urban, closer to the government elites, and, prominently, bend (foreign) policy in their favor. The US president was offering free trade agreements in compensation for this war on drugs. International trade favored a specific political landscape, a violent landscape driven by a price differential of pricier harvested-coca-leaves over cheapened coffee beans-or-maize-or-potato, of soils and waters tarnished with glyphosate, of excess foreign currency and destroyed/diverted agro-labor, of groceries sold, wasted, and exploded at city markets. Bogota's mayor visited the Quirigua market after the explosion providing some building material, and soon after a presidential hopeful, just before being voted into office, would promise aid that, according to a victim's father 25 years later, was never provided. Instead, reconstruction was funded through small private donations and the locals' communal organization (Herrera-Durán 2015). This snippet outlines how the militarization of the Colombian countryside created a policy space for the securitization of Bogota. The securitization of its markets was part of a web connecting policy foreign and domestic, a complex web of defense, agricultural, and health interests.

Locally, public wholesale markets were places acknowledged by the City where peasant farmers could meet consumers. In 1990 they were managed by EDIS, the City's public utility company, notorious mostly for trash collection (see above, this chapter) but the new strategy, decentralization-cum-participation put sub-local authorities in charge, licensing to small merchant cooperatives or other private entities, according to the 1992 City Government Plan (Bogota 1992: art.63). On a contrary direction, regulation and standards were to be centralized (art.10): food safety monitoring of food processing and distribution practices would depend on hygienic and zoonotic surveillance. For example, while sampling was left to sub-local officials, testing was done in the "Central Laboratory." Markets were increasingly dominated by distributors, often increasing the distance and price between producers (mostly outside Bogota) and consumers without

necessarily adding (much) value.⁴⁶ This came along with the increasing presence of supermarkets that provided physical proximity between the consumer and certain types of goods, usually transformed into molecularly-altered, less-perishable forms (Landecker 2019).

Agricultural production was being restructured along international markets driven by pricing policies, although there was a growing infrastructure of accounting capable of building periodic “food balance sheets” that discursively transformed food into molecules and energy, namely nutrients and calories. FAO had been promoting the construction and report of *Food Balance Sheets* every three years, providing a rough estimate of the population’s food and nutritional availability by abstracting from the idealized nutritional composition of both people and foods (FAO 2001:2).⁴⁷ This molecularization wasn’t necessarily obvious in public discourse. Carlos Bastanchuri, FAO representative for Colombia (1988-1992), emphasized in 1992 the interest in adopting new agricultural technologies (not detailed) amidst “a transition to a new economic model” (i.e., lifting protectionist agricultural trade instruments), that promised a “great” agri-food future “whenever peace reaches the fields” (“La FAO es optimista...” 1992).⁴⁸ Agri-food futurity was thus dependent on “peace,” itself dependent on the end of “the war against drugs.” The presence of toxic molecules entered the policy and material landscape of Colombia’s agriculture although not food balance sheets; a war between molecules, legal (glyphosate) against illegal ones (cocaine and opiate precursors).

The consumption of edibles was not equivalently molecularized. Fields were beginning to be aspersed without distinction of human sex, but the accumulation of toxicants in human bodies and

⁴⁶ This according to private studies detailed in Chapter 3. These were based on commodity chain analysis that found the same trend in other [North-Atlantic] cities.

⁴⁷ Chapter XXX will explore in more detail these models.

⁴⁸ The optimism was exaggerated, since data from FAO’s 1991 and 1992 reports show that per capita food production was not increasing at the same rate as overall production (1992a: 208, 211; 1992b: 174, 177).

the environment would produce differential effects on the axes of gender and reproduction, human and not (Ingaramo et.al 2020; Corte Constitucional 2017). Food-molecular accounting wasn't particularly gendered. However, Bastanchuri mentioned that *rural women* were being trained and organized through cooperation between FAO and the national government. Indeed, FAO had been promoting attention to discrimination against women in agriculture since its participation in the development of women's rights at the UN (see Ch.4 - 6). While exposure to armed conflict resulted in increased male mortality and displacement from the countryside to the city, it also meant the inability to work in either landscape: unemployment rates, urban and rural were high. The early 1990s' free trade reforms increased foreign currency income from internationally tradable licit goods that competed with abundant cash derived from illicit ones. The country's agriculture potential was changing through international trade flows which included the degradation of land, water, and bodies, notably related to disorders during pregnancy and cellular reproduction more generally.

In this context, the City's securitization strategy would initially develop in two ways akin to food supply. Between 1990 to 2001 firstly, rurality was framed as a matter of a) environmental security, including energy-water security, b) curbed and orderly urban sprawl, c) provision of public utilities, and d) modernization through technology transfer, i.e., from an infrastructural, genderless perspective, that prioritized the urban. Secondly, urban food supply lacked a systems approach as well as a gendered one. This favored individualized urban interventions (i.e., through nutrition and food subsidies at education and health spaces) and nonintervention on what markets could offer.

Before the 1990s and building from the City Development Plans, the City had formalized a network of restaurants at first, later broadened to shops beyond preparing or serving food. The sale of food (and other goods) was first regulated in 1932, registering and classifying vendors through

turn-of-the-century hygienic considerations, and eventually, constituting a “popular restaurant fund” (later Public Vending Fund, FVP) meant to finance the construction and maintenance of registered stands administered by the City. This effort was part of the will to order and control commercial expansion. Simanca-Castillo (2008) described this institutional infrastructure as it entered the 1990s as a Sisyphean enterprise to legalize the enlargement of sales around officially registered ones. By 1985 it was estimated that the city had 15,084 salespersons, commercializing all sorts of items, among them sweets, ice cream, edibles, and fruits (Simanca-Castillo 2008:34). City administrations between 1993 and 2003 would shift focus from the formalization of stands towards a debate between individual vs. collective rights, in terms of who should have access to public space. “Public space must be defended,”⁴⁹ was a slogan of mayors (1995-2004), against its “invasion” by street vendors and stationed cars, simultaneous to a landscaping strategy that changed park lawns for bricks, reduced tree-density in favor of visibility, widened sidewalks and bike lanes, and reducing gardening costs. After Castro’s 1992 Plan to decentralize the management of wholesale (food) markets, the following governments gave priority to programs that would seek to edify a new moral subject that could be governed into collective and self-surveillance. In terms of the 1995 Plan, “citizen security” intended to securitize or “achieve a secure urban space” where the City would “coordinate efforts in citizen self-regulation” which included the “appropriate use of public space” (art.38). The 1998 Plan strengthened this scheme. Curiously, both plans used “fertility” as a metaphor to state their planned security interventions. The 1995 Plan spoke of “individual improvement and growth of collective wealth should have a fertile and viable coexistence” (art. 25) to “increase the city’s economic fertility” (art 15). In contrast, the 1998 Plan

⁴⁹ Plan1992 prescribed an ordering program that established the uses of public space through “zoning” and “projected” the city into the future (art.175). Plan1995 spoke of “appropriate use of public space” against natural or human threats. Plan1998 explicitly mentioned the “defensa del espacio público” (art.13; 14.c). While Plan2001 still framed public space as a site of “social control” it also unveiled as one of “citizen participation” (art.38).

saw the urbanscape as “disordered” creating “fertile environments for major crimes” and both disordered landscapes and behaviors were to be “acted upon” (art.24). During the 1998-2000 government, the use of police and military force to “free” or “order” space through the “relocation” of (chiefly impoverished) populations “invading it” became commonplace.⁵⁰ In sum, the securitization of the urbanscape targeted informal, often street vending as a threat against an aesthetics of order directly tied to the edification of an urbanized subject capable of following rules for the collective good. The urban body allowed for good and bad fertility that could and should be the object of intervention.

This “recovery of public space” away from a misbehavior-inducing landscape, securitized not food but its disordered storage and sale. While commerce was left to compete “freely” *if* it didn’t obstruct public space/order, the strategy of epidemiological securitization was one of an individualistic, preventive health logic. At most, decentralization allowed forms of small-vendor administration to guarantee some bargaining power and rights to the collectivity. Rural areas were at the margins of “citizen securitization” and markets were addressed in relation to *food safety*, i.e., preventing foodborne illnesses at the *point of processing* or *sale* based on expert inspection and dependent on molecular technologies.⁵¹ However, it would only adopt a systems approach in 2001 with the inauguration of the City’s *Food and Nutrition Epidemiological Surveillance System* (SISVAN), which will be addressed in the next chapter. By 2004, this securitization strategy that framed disordered public space as a threat would change with the creation of the Institute of Social Economics (IPES), taking up many of the duties of then defunct EDIS. This meant that most food

⁵⁰ Not only vendors but other populations, such as the homeless and drug users. The securitization strategy, the mayor publicly stated, target specially threats around the seats of government offices (Morris 2011).

⁵¹ Food safety concerns the policies and practices related to reducing and preventing problems affecting human health, particularly in relation to zoonosis, veterinary drugs, pesticides, food additives, and contaminants. Due to international trade, FAO and WHO joined efforts in 1963 to create the Codex Alimentarius and its Committee to create international food trade standards (see Chapter 7). These standards include inspection through microscopic technologies.

policy until 2001 was stated and enacted by the Health Department under the guise of *prevention and nutrition*.

Health and nutrition dominated food policy and were part of a distributed reproduction⁵² that rendered its population's future visible through gendered systems of accounting. Information on public vending was not part of it. While it might be clear that the displacement/relocation of disorderly populations in favor of those who conformed with an ordered public space, it is still unclear how nutritional securitization segmented the population and its consequences. To better understand this, I will describe a second vector of inception of a gendered food policy.

4.2. Extended motherhood: infrastructures of care

Care provisioning was an enterprise of coordination between the central and city governments, aiming to target services to populations perceived *in need* or *at risk*, namely children, pregnant women, and lactating mothers. Care infrastructures depended heavily on women, something recognized in at least two ways: the under/appreciation of care work as (often unpaid) labor that women often do best, and as a weakness intrinsic to (poor) women's femininity, often associated with inefficiency. This is not a particularity of Bogota. However, in texts from Bogota's colonial period, according to Jimenez-Hernandez (2000:175), indigenous women retained values related to shared motherhood and the practice of solidarity between local oppressed/servile populations. It was not uncommon for indigenous women to take care of their neighbors' children and it is likely that the practice endured and evolved through dynamics of mestizaje. While it is unclear if or how this practice transcended into the twentieth century, Del-Castillo (2009:105ff) recounts how in the

⁵² The term is by Murphy (2011) who seeks to broaden the understanding of reproduction to include infrastructures that sustain its contemporary technologies beyond the body.

1970s the central government began turning its attention to local experiences of community care of children under 7 years old around Colombia, including Bogota.⁵³ These different configurations of sorority had become institutionalized, at least partially. The national government recognized it was a service mostly led by women, subsequently incorporating women's care labor in its institutional strategy, coding it into the figure of "community mothers" [*madres comunitarias*] as *the* para-state care supplier. Community motherhood became visible and thus, in need of regulation. The Institute of Family Wellbeing (ICBF) was the institution in charge, at the national level, of providing non-schooled care for children since 1968 (Law 75/1968). Proper guidelines were designed, and the central state would instruct and surveil community mothers to guarantee "adequate" care for children. Similarly to motherhood broadly, community mothers instantly became "inadequate" as they often could not (or would not) meet the state-mandated "minimum standards." In the words of 1982 ICBF director, Uribe de Villegas, it was a "mistake" to hire so many women because it "promotes gossiping" (Duque-Salazar 1982). Since children were "taken care of" when entering the formal education system at age 7 (i.e., no public pre-K), this form of extended motherhood would resolve "temporal abandonment" of children (i.e., women's public labor-cum-home tradeoffs). ICBF was headquartered in Bogota and this national effort towards standardization of care would create guidelines that were not often met (DelCastillo 2009:154).⁵⁴

In its buildup into the 1990s, I want to emphasize that *care provisioning* included *food provisioning*, and that standardization meant recoding food (homemade or otherwise) into

⁵³ Preschool is coded into the Colombian education system in 1909, influenced by German, French and English examples. It is only until 1975 when, then Education Minister, Hernando Durán-Dussan, includes it as government-provided schooling. He was Bogota's mayor (1978-1982) before running for president in 1990. His daughter was Bogota's Government Secretary in 1991, meaning she became (the first woman) mayor replacing Caicedo-Ferrer, who had been removed from office.

⁵⁴ While "community homes" were part of the 1986-1990 national government plan, and were instituted as state policy through Law 89/1988, del Castillo (2009) traces its genealogy to the earlier forms referenced here.

nutritional standards in line with physiological development with a budget constraint. “Speaking nutrients” or *nutritionism* (see Chapter 7), thus, became a rhetorical tool to surveil care, including the surveillance of this institutional form of extended motherhood. The making of *nutritional guidelines* was a commitment by Colombia’s government set up by FAO in 1992, first published in 2000. The purpose was to instruct the population widely and provide guidelines for policymaking. They divided the population into three types: all people above 2 years old, those under it, and pregnant women. While women were implicated in their implementation, the guidelines didn’t necessarily include a feminist lens.

Guidelines indeed contributed to changing the provisioning of food. School meals represented an important part of the City’s budget, for example, and its provision would change the “milk charm” of Puyana’s 1988 food supplementation program to one of *adequate nutrition*, i.e., increased focus on nutritional composition and balance. It was a matter not of providing one or two products but implement ideas of nutritional efficiency. A member of the Conservative Party, Puyana’s school snack program was not very different from the one proposed from the opposite ideology. Clara Lopez-Obregon, one of the two women candidates for that first popular election, consisted of “one glass of milk and either arepa, egg, or bread”; Lopez-Obregon, however, proposed community kitchens able to provide one daily warm meal to the 250.000 people estimated to go hungry (about 5% of the population), an idea taken up again in 2004 (“Olla colectiva...” 1988). Mayor Caicedo-Ferrer created “youth kitchens” (Decree 630/1991) which provided poor neighborhood-led initiatives with support towards the institution of nutrition, hygiene, food preparation, and community management to population between 7 and 14 years old. Public schools were just one of various institutions that provided food in the 1990s, but aside from this minimal recognition of women’s labor and nutritional difference according to age and reproductive status, no

transformative gender program was in place. The infrastructure of care was not thought as articulated to food markets. They were dispersed, unarticulated actions, seeking to provide care ad hoc food supplements to populations named in need of them.

4.3. Breastfeeding vigil

Bogota's 1993 *Policy in Support of Breastfeeding* is an early example of a gendered food policy that articulates the demand and supply sides of the markets. The City's Health Department set a committee in charge of it, presided by the city's First Lady, and in response to an earlier call from the National Health Ministry to replicate the national architecture of Decrees 1396/92 and 1397/92. The scope of the city's food-policy interests went beyond lactation: from the supply side, markets, advertising, and commerce were framed as an infrastructural matter, while consumption was nutritional. A hunch might gender infrastructure-as-male and nutrition-as-female, but more nuance is needed to appraise the gendered dimensions of this endeavor and its consequences for food policy. Bogota's breastfeeding policy focused on women.⁵⁵ This apparent platitude needs unpacking, since the child was the principal concern, superseding women's or a gendered approach to (health)care.

In August 1992, the Colombian government created a Council to support Breastfeeding,⁵⁶ instructing lower-tier instances to follow suit, although with independence. Bogota did in 1993.⁵⁷ The City's decree followed the nation's verbatim, with some exceptions I draw attention to. This policy was gendered, to begin with, as both decision bodies were presided by the First *Lady* (of

⁵⁵ Trans incursions were largely absent from the debate.

⁵⁶ Ministerio de Salud (Colombia) Decreto 1396 de 1992.

⁵⁷ Alcaldía Mayor de Bogota, Decreto 269 de 1993.

the president or mayor), a post that had no legal authority and little teeth.⁵⁸ The members were chiefly women and participation was limited to the fields of health, nutrition, and care. This was the result of the commitment by the Colombian government to adopt the WHO's International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes (ICMBS) with the purpose of protecting and promoting breastfeeding against the aggressive marketing of industries of infant formula, feeding bottles, and teats.⁵⁹ The infant formula industry, then as now, was dominated by a few pharmaceuticals and food multinationals with country-representation in Bogota. Interestingly, industry representatives were invited to take part in the National Council but had no place at the City's Committee. This difference is important, as that one-year gap meant an awakening of pro-breastfeeding activism, *lactivism*, where global-to-local initiatives met some resistance. The international feminist lactivism behind the creation of the ICMBS doesn't precede the history of industry malpractice, but global NGOs emerged from these international negotiations.⁶⁰ Both included representatives of UNICEF and La Leche League (LLL), recognizing the existence of local lactivism and their international linkages.⁶¹

Bogota's decree did not inaugurate the City's breastfeeding policy. Jaime Castro, then Bogota's mayor (1992-1994), had included it in his government plan as part of its "social and human development area" (Acuerdo 31/92:Art.11.6) delegating its execution to the Health Department. The Colombian First Lady had been very enthusiastic about promoting the Declaration of the

⁵⁸ Constitutional Court Sentences C-089A/94 and C-368/99 would clarify that the First Lady's was not a public office and thus could serve in government only where not directly appointed by the president.

⁵⁹ Resolution WHA34.22(1981). National Decree 1220/1980 adopted the ICMBS and IBFAN (PAHO & MinSalud 2013)

⁶⁰ Lactivism did precede the current global pharmaceutical character and informed the inscription of humans-as-species into the natural order since 1758, particularly the activism of Carl Linnaeus that gave *Mammalia* its name (see Schiebinger 1993, Thorvaldsen 1998). IBFAN and WABA were two iNGOs, "network of networks" ad hoc to international breastfeeding policymaking, in relation to the ICMBS and the 1990 Innocenti Declaration respectively. Sara delC astillo and Gloria Ochoa-Parra. Del Castillo was the "Coordinadora Distrital de Nutrición" Jan 1995 - Jul 1998.

⁶¹ The Colombian LLL was founded by Carolina Evans de Villa in Medellin in 1978, alongside María Isabel Estrada and Dora Luz Echeverría, building from her previous membership at the branch in Chicago, USA. Bogota's chapter would be founded a decade later.

Rights of the Child (of which promoting breastfeeding was a key component) and a national decree was being drafted synchronously with Castro's development plan. Bogota's plan recognized the national level and already breastfeeding promotion practices in tertiary-level hospitals that aligned with the national mandate, but it instructed its expansion across the City's health sector, alongside "infant nutrition." Breastfeeding appears in Castro's plan as a health and a well-being intervention in connection to nutrition and mostly *the child*. It targets special populations "in need of assistance," without directions towards overcoming "neediness" (as children or mothers) and segmenting mother-child couples into un/deserving populations. Thus, the program didn't address ICMBS's point of countering the marketing industry widespread malpractice, although attempting to expand breastfeeding support across the public hospital network. Castro's wife, Clara Forero, a prominent lawyer, part of the State Council since 1982,⁶² would have presided the Committee. However, first ladies were absent from the meetings (including their representatives) so other committee members had leeway in policy design and strategizing. In absentia, the direction was taken by the Health Department, directed by Gustavo Malagón-Londoño, and thus its representatives ("Castro tendrá un gran consejo...", 1992 June 1). Tactical or not, breastfeeding advocates were at the forefront. Although their advocacy emerged and changed, it is relevant to study the institutional practices from where they would influence policymaking from within.

Malagón-Londoño was important in bringing NPM to Bogota's Health Department.⁶³ One month before taking this position, in May 1992, he launched the edited volume (Comprehensive

⁶² Fiscales para Consejo de Estado. El Tiempo. Miércoles 3 de noviembre de 1982. 9B.

⁶³ A member of the Conservative Party and longstanding member of the Colombian Academy of Medicine, he specialized in hospital management, adapting the teachings on quality control of Kaoru Ishikawa, an organizational theorist, famous in industrial process analysis. Malagón also recognizes the influence of Juran and Deming's contributions: the trilogy of quality processes is "planning, control, betterment." Interestingly, he expands this trilogy adding two [categories]: "planning, [aseguramiento/assurance,] control, betterment, [evaluation]" that have to be constantly surveilled through

Medical Emergencies Management) where he promoted *optimal quality in healthcare* by “increasing participation:” a) popularizing first aid instruction, b) recognizing the role of all members of an ER as limiting/enabling access to care, and c) instruction to the family and the community (Malagón-Londoño 1992). “A healthcare facility’s quality,” he would later say, “as well as each of its members from the lowest rank on, is measured by its efficacy and competence in responding to an emergency” (1999:18). The publisher stated that the City’s Health Department had acquired a thousand copies (Camacho-Pinto 1992). Indeed, the City Health system was undergoing reforms to “manage service provision better,” in line with national guidelines on decentralization of the health sector (Law 10/1990; Agreement 20/1990). Just like breastfeeding practices, the existing hospital network of the City was being formalized and strengthened. This is to say, while hospitals were aware and counted with the existence of other hospitals and their particularities, new management practices not only promised reform but instituted it by stating it. The discursive coding of existing practices rendered them legible and replicable. The creation of standards, furthermore, also uncovered them morally, classifying practices into good/bad and better/worse. Malagón-Londoño’s expertise in hospital management did not innovate this specifically, but by rebranding them through efficiency-seeking business management practices it made surveillance practices routine, i.e., auditing. Health was only the first of seven components of “Social and Human Development,” according to Mayor Castro’s development plan (Bogota 1992, Art.3). On that respect Castro was being counseled by Eduardo Díaz-Uribe, an economist who had been Health Minister in 1988-90, from where he helped implement President Barco’s health decentralization reform (Law 10/1990). Díaz-Uribe would assume the sector’s leadership

“health auditing” (Malagón-Londoño 2006:14). He considers that the goal of the system is “user satisfaction” and auditors are key. He would become central to these teachings in Bogota.

after Malagón-Londoño's resignation in 1993 (an involvement with the City that led him to eventually structure and coordinate the City's 2004-2007 Food System). The Health Department would begin formalizing its architecture through *permanent* centralized monitoring and control requiring a reliable *health information system* with the aims not just of providing services to those in need but also to *manage and minimize risk*.

Breastfeeding was in parallel and in consequence being coded into measurable indicators for the management of populations. Breastfeeding had been internationally coded as the optimal type of infant feeding; it was categorized into "exclusive" or "predominant" and in relation to "bottle-feeding" (WHO 1991). Indicators such as *initiation of breastfeeding* and *duration of breastfeeding* only came to exist in Colombia on a population level by monitoring sexual and reproductive practices, an enterprise significantly promoted and funded by US-organizations, the NGO "DHS" and USAID (CCRP et al. 1988:30f). Starting in 1986 a "statistically representative" selection of "women in reproductive age" (i.e., between 15 and 49 years old), were interviewed every five years for the *Demographic and Health Survey*. In the survey, breastfeeding is of interest in relation to fertility, given breastfeeding's "natural" contraceptive potential and US interests in promoting "modern" methods internationally (e.g., the pill). The 1986 and 1990 surveys were statistically representative at national and regional levels, but also for Bogota, allowing the City to easily incorporate it into its policy toolkit. Breastfeeding policy had already been multilaterally framed to address mortality, malnutrition, and infectious diseases, and to strengthen primary healthcare (WHO 1978). I want to highlight that breastfeeding-as-indicator depended on an infrastructure of *contraception*, this indicator of gendered and biologized in/fertility could be repurposed into one of nutrition and development. Furthermore, Colombia began a State of Nutrition Survey (ENSIN)

in 2005 as an extension (i.e., a subsample) of the DHS. The City's decentralized nutrition governance depended on its participation in national and international architectures of information.

It is important to emphasize that feminist discourses were also present. They highlighted women's well-being in tandem or before that of the child. Breastfeeding had been a contentious issue in urban feminist circles since some considered it an obstacle to achieving women's independence and integration into the paid workforce, and reinforced conservative stereotypes of womanhood.⁶⁴ Monitoring this reproductive practice was prominently used for the promotion of children's wellbeing, but it would soon become part of institutional discourses on women's healthcare (Plata et al. 1995). Bogota's urban modernity was aligning with locally tailored international management technologies dependent on increased collection and processing of information about individuals and their changes. In public health this would be known as systems of epidemiological surveillance. Mayor Castro's 1992 local government plan proposed breastfeeding as an important component among its few nutrition and wellbeing strategies; its inclusion was indicative of a broader epistemic shift through which Bogota could know itself and its international futurity.

5. Differential biologies

Breastfeeding policy was part of a dual infrastructure of early childcare and healthcare. Unlike other policy vectors, breastfeeding was incorporating a systemic view to respond to increasing marketing practices by increasingly global food-cum-pharmaceutical organizations (famously Nestle). Powered by nutritionism, breastfeeding's advocacy was to be re-articulated into food

⁶⁴ For example, Florence Thomas, a prominent Colombian feminist migrated from Paris to Colombia in the 1960s and held this position (personal communication).

security and gave way to the emergence of the City's food securitization, at the crossroads of local, national, and global policy discourses. While the dissertation will show how some policymakers would traverse the 1990-2015 period interacting and actualizing these levels of governance, I want to provide in what follows a story to understand the emergence of the securitization of food within the securitization of Bogota, transitioning from disarticulated instances of intervention, markets, women, (child)care, into a systemic strategy that both extends and counters food securitization.

Other forms of food assistance existed targeting specific populations, who began being nutritionally profiled. Public primary schools, community kitchens, and nursing homes, just like the ones mentioned before, depended on budgets but increasingly on nutritional care. To access these spaces, it is important to understand how people were granted access.⁶⁵

By the end of the 1980s, public health services were in crisis, both nationwide and in the city. There was an overlap of functions, directives, and programs between and within territorial-level institutions, something not strikingly uncommon. The crisis was, however, defined primarily as a financial one. Coverage and access, quality and continuity of care, were theoretically constrained to financial efficiency. Applying neoliberal orthodoxy, neoclassical economics was used to design a universal coverage attainable through market competition. In 1990 a new law was passed regulating public healthcare as a decentralized system, seeking to underscore the social and community-based character of health provision, and incorporating risk calculus into the prevention of illness (Law 10/1990),⁶⁶ further developed in 1993 establishing a Health Social Security System

⁶⁵ At least ideally. Corruption on food assistance plagued Bogota's history of food provisioning.

⁶⁶ Incidentally, Law 10/1990 was signed by then Minister of Health Eduardo Díaz, who would become key in Bogota's food securitization policy, as mentioned above.

(SGSSS) (Law 100/1993). The idea was to achieve universal healthcare by allowing regulated competition between service providers. It was divided into two insurance schemes depending on whether an individual was employed in the formal sector (i.e., paying taxes including contributions to social security) or not. Those under the subsidized scheme or unemployed were covered by a local and state funds. Parallel to this, a national targeting mechanism was set in place to identify beneficiaries of social programs, including those allowed to benefit from the subsidized insurance scheme of SGSSS (Conpes 20/1994). Beneficiaries were “poor or vulnerable households,” meaning they were either poor or at risk of becoming poor (p.7). Vulnerable groups were defined as “unemployed or abandoned women heads of household, under 7-year-old children with unemployed parents, homeless elders or in extreme poverty, or unemployed disabled people or earning less than one minimum salary” (p.7). To identify this segment of the population this targeted scheme depended on two sources: geographic zoning called “estrato” and a “ranking sheet” (p.9). The second one could be obtained by completing a survey that would qualify a person’s needs, a method to evaluate the quality of dwelling, or through a previous epidemiological assessment. This last assessment included nutritional status, although the relationship between nutrition and estrato would be shown to be not only positive but stronger (Uribe-Mallarino 2008).

This restructuring of the health system in the middle of a market and legal transition resembled, to an extent, the democratization-through-markets of early 1990s Ukraine described by Petryna (2013). Colombia’s new order legally inaugurated through the constitutional reform of 1991 was devising new categories of citizenship through the expansion of information systems ranked according to biological/epidemiological knowledge. Colombia’s social protection system was still dispersed and collected from at least four information systems, striving towards a consolidated

one. Petryna's concept of "biological citizenship," where people recognize themselves through the possibility to claim illness or injury in relation to legal-political instruments that evaluate the claim and judge their validity and worth, was not at work here, since Colombians experienced another type of biologization of citizenship where harmful chemical exposure was yet to be recognized.⁶⁷ While the power of medico-scientific categories of malnourishment could provide a means toward state benefits, race-class dynamics dominated, having been legally coded to the land.

Following Quijano (1993), racial-ethnic categories became constitutive of the labor hierarchies in Latin-America and intrinsic to its emergence as a geo-social space in the European making of a world-system. Differences based on geographical origin (i.e., Spanish or Portuguese, later European, Indian, and African) were biologized into relations of domination. According to Castro-Gomez (2010), a religious blood-purity, disciplinary apparatus produced racial subjectivities in New Granada (with Bogota as its colonial capital) that discerned access to property and other entitlements sanctioned by law. This classification was further advanced towards the beginning of the twentieth century through body-as-machine metaphors that saw food-as-fuel and nutrition as a qualifier towards eugenic betterment. According to Pohl-Valero,

"With a similar, if ambiguous, language of race and nutritional conditions, Colombia's intellectual elite, during the late nineteenth century and into the first four decades of the twentieth, sought to restore the strength of an impoverished—indigenous and mestizo—

⁶⁷ Notwithstanding, exposure to glyphosate and other toxicants after 2015 has become recognized as a legal avenue for the recognition of harm and entitlement.

population that was consistently thought to be weak and racially inferior but capable of physiological and hereditary improvement” (2014:456).

It was not debilitating chemical exposure mediating relationships between the individual and the state but an inherited biology.

Access to state services at the end of the twentieth century inherited this tradition, where populations had been segregated through a hierarchy of citizenship that co-produced differentiated biologies. More concretely, and in the terms of public management in the 1990s, differences in *nutritional status* were correlated to *socioeconomic status*. Poor, woman headed households were more likely to suffer from undernutrition, stunting, etc., resulting in poor educational outputs, lower wages, greater health complications, and so on. Poor, woman headed households were consolidating as one object of intervention, as part of a greater impulse to focalize public expenditure. Sex, gender, race/ethnicity, disability, age, were differentiating not just the population, but public expenditure as a matter of efficiency. This *differential approach* to public management was articulated through “estrato,” the socioeconomic stratification that was initially meant to classify property in relation to the provision of public utilities and place its occupiers inside a 6-tiered-level of subsidy/contribution. However, estrato became a fixed identifier that classified the population into those deserving subsidies and those that didn’t. It quickly extended to non-utility issues including access to health and education: to qualify as recipient of a subsidy, an applicant should provide a public utility bill, thus certifying their poverty status (Uribe-Mallarino 2008).

This chapter has shown an epistemological shift in how policy inscribes its subjects during the closing decade of the twentieth century. The dynamics of neoliberalism tied the City to the macroeconomy, a globally articulated financial entity. Its rise included efforts at political decentralization and citizen participation seeking greater legibility between the government and its constituency, both a consequence and an antidote to the perils of trade-liberalization. This brought about a need for the erection of information centers, constitutive of business-like management practices, seeking increased efficiency in the differential distribution of state benefits. City policies relating to food were dispersed, they often accounted for gender difference only through a partial recognition of urban women's role in reproduction and care. The creation of measurable standards altered the discourses through which food, nutrition, and who needs it were actualized. While standards were related to national and international imperatives, this chapter showed how they emerged locally, with local logics and protagonists. Until now, it has been children-first and mothers-second whose lives need to be secured through stricter enunciations of nutrition. Breastfeeding has been at the inception of the securitization strategy, a site-process capable of systemically linking markets and bodies. The strengthening of these discourses of surveillance as Bogota enters the twenty-first century will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 2 – Food policy in Bogota: emerging systematicity

1. Introduction: gripping rurality

This chapter continues the revision of government plans, sketching the City of Bogota as a discursive apparatus in relation to food policy. A review of government programs showed the fluctuating position of food as an object of policy, and how breastfeeding policy inaugurates a systems framework that connects markets and bodies amidst the strengthening of a neoliberal regime that fostered trade liberalization and human rights. The function of gender behind breastfeeding made reproduction and care pivotal to the emergence of food securitization. This chapter focuses on changing priorities and the framing of food showing a first attempt at systematicity in 2000, that consolidated in 2004. The framing and positioning of food policy changed throughout the period, from non-transformational charity to becoming key to the city's securitization, underlining its systemic qualities and the need for inter-institutional coordination and civic involvement. What emerged as a *food system*, it will be shown, is a discursive shift that rearranged existing infrastructures of food provisioning and surveillance. A *tropical neoliberal governmentality* amalgamated opposing discourses, 'food security' and 'food sovereignty,' refashioning local subjectivities of self-care and community action. The neoliberal strategy of shrinking government expanded its enfolded presence, changing bodily subjectivities about what to eat and how but emphasizing community organization over individual responsibility.

I showed that a global neoliberal episteme at work in the reconfiguration of the City as a global financial entity set the basis for the formulation of a food policy that, up until 1999 had been mostly disarticulated. I have also qualified such episteme as *tropical* hoping to convey that it existed in a local form that responded to both the local city-national context and the individuals held to practice it, emplaced in a geostrategic region of biodiverse cultivars. I have also offered a gender lens to read the City's food provisioning infrastructure as part of an infrastructure of care. This period also marked the beginning of negotiations of a Free Trade Agreement with the USA, Colombia's most important trade partner at the time. Talks began in 2003 and the treaty was ratified by the Colombian Congress in 2008 (Law 1143/2008) affecting grains and meat production (beef, pork, chicken, wheat, corn, soybeans, and cotton). Illegal crops dominated security and agrarian discourses in Colombian policy. The country's landscape, vast and rugged, challenged the centralized political structure by the sheer problem of connectivity. It was difficult for the state to be where the population that it claimed for itself lived. Contrapositive: not all citizens had strong relationships with the state. The absence of institutions that represented the state in rural and peri-urban areas, particularly those that granted access to institution/restitution of citizen rights, as well as its presence, in many instances militarized and punitive, led to the emergence of para-state actors that provided services and goods, as well as illegal and para-legal economies that integrated impoverished populations into international commodity circuits.

Bogota was not exempt from these dynamics. Sumapaz, the rural, southernmost district of Bogota had been historically involved in agrarian struggles, witnessing a strong guerrilla presence during

the 1990s which intensified at the turn of the century.⁶⁸ Strategically positioned, close to the capital, it allowed for the circulation of soldiers, weapons, money, kidnappees, and food provisioning in the *paramo*, a landscape of water formation and retention. The FARC guerrilla was the likely steward of order. Armed confrontation with military and paramilitary forces escalated affecting the peasant population negatively. Before 2004, all City governments worked in concert with the national in pacification efforts through military means. In 2004 the mayor began to strengthen the much-debilitated city institutions, identifying 160 families with severe nutrition deficiencies and providing them with food: a “nutritional peasant-basket” (Corredor-Martínez 2006:147). This way, the 2004-2007 government addressed most of the peasant population and territory, shifting attention away from an urban-centric logic and to further recognize regional dynamics between neighboring municipalities. This chapter recounts how the material and legal infrastructure, existing and in development, became coded as a ‘system’ that tried to give sense to the interconnections between the City’s dispersed food provisioning discourse described in the preceding chapter.

2. Bogota’s emerging food system (1998-2003)

From an institutional standpoint, the 1990s resulted in the consolidation and expansion of a system’s approach from the City throughout its administrative entities, promoting interinstitutional cooperation. New demands for security and care led to government actions from below and from above, from community resistance to international commitments. Its provisioning of food

⁶⁸ Bogota’s Sumapaz district is only part of a wider bio-historical region, a portion declared natural reserve in 1974. A military operation in 1991 against the FARC after failed negotiations between the national government and the guerrilla group, is considered the beginning of the militarization of the area. This paragraph builds from MNVCE (2010:27ff) and Vicepresidencia (2002).

subsidies was vast and expanding due to population pressures and the development of a rights-based legal framework. Similarly, reduced trade barriers at the national level were changing the agricultural landscape, favoring imports over national, more expensive edibles at points of sale. This description can be synthesized by McMichael's concept of the corporate food regime, "a neoliberal project of agricultural liberalization... encouraging universal agro-exporting and requiring states in the global South to open their economies to the Northern-dominated international food trade" (2012:682). Notwithstanding, food regime analysis doesn't account for the emerging local governance that mediates between that global restructuring and local practices that are disarticulated or dissident. I will show how the City adapted and amalgamated competing discourses into its policy architecture. To do this, I will first trace how "the food system" emerged, and how "women" became inscribed into this configuration.

Bogota's food provisioning infrastructure, as seen in the previous chapter, comprised markets and street vendors, food rations (mostly aid to deserving populations, prominently schooled children), and health-nutritional interventions, distributed through classification systems of deservingness based on class, age, and reproductive status. On the margins of this mostly urban population, Bogota's rurality was not considered as a source of food provisioning, and marginalization often meant being excluded altogether. Food sales regulation affected street vending, wholesale markets, and the City Slaughterhouse. The existing infrastructure of food aid was in constant expansion, prominently of school meals in the public education system⁶⁹ (also, community kitchens, youth kitchens, food vouchers, among others). The collection of information from all these programs and actions sketched a network that was yet to be framed as a *food system* that could be subjected to

⁶⁹ Colombia has one of the world's oldest school meal programs (WFP 2017:35).

policy intervention as a whole. Two molecular discourses would provide pathways towards its consolidation: food safety and nutrition security.

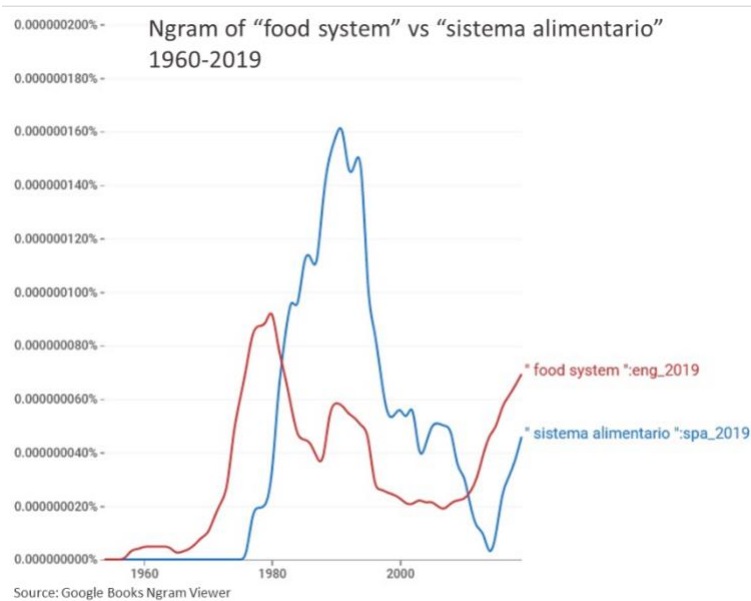


Figure 3. Ngram of 'food system' and 'sistema alimentario'

The two molecular discourses related to early efforts to join nutrition and agriculture, were present in the early foundations of international food governance. “The marriage of nutrition and agriculture” was the adage of F.L. McDougall (O’Brien 2000:167), one of the architects of the IIA and later FAO, and would determine collaboration between the health and agriculture governing institutions. Making the connections between the bodies of edibles and the human bodies that consume them would give rise to competing analytical frameworks, of which “food systems” are one, aiming to conceptualize the connections between the increasing physical and technical distances between food processes “from farm to table,” akin to commodity/value chain analysis. The notion of food system had a long trajectory in policy and science, although conjecturing from Google’s Ngram Viewer the term’s boost could be related to changes in international food governance in 1974 (see Figure 3). By 1990, the Spanish version peaks, so it is not surprising that it entered Bogota’s policy formulae shortly after, as this chapter details. As it will be shown in

Chapter 4, a novel international architecture for food governance, set up in 1974, launched, among other interventions, an initiative to build an infrastructure of a “global nutrition surveillance system” (WFC74 Resolution 5.13) which by 1992 showed “slow progress” (ICN92: par. 7). Similarly, it promoted the use of nutritional guidelines (at the country level) which, as briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, were only adapted for Bogota until 2002. This surveillance system added to the joint efforts of FAO and WHO to set up a commission in the 1960s, the Codex Alimentarius Commission (FAO 1961), to regulate the trade of edibles through “food standards,” also contributing to “human health.” Zoonotic diseases were the major concern and veterinary sciences played a major role defining animal-human relations that ended up favoring domesticated/disciplined fauna over wildlife in international trade (pesticides and milk products came later under the commission’s scrutiny). Efforts to strengthen local epidemiological surveillance into an international information system had been at work since at least the 1980s. The Alma-Ata Declaration on Primary Health Care (WHO 1978) highlights the role of “agriculture, animal husbandry, food, industry,” as concomitant to the health sector (Art.7.4) and includes “promotion of food supply and proper nutrition” as necessary components of primary healthcare (Art.7.3). In the 1980s the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) took further steps to consolidate a regional information system on foodborne diseases (e.g., PAHO 1985 Resolution XII, where Hernando Mejía as Colombian Minister of Agriculture, was an active participant). Colombian directives followed: Bogota Agreement 20/1990 created the City Health System as part of the decentralization effort, coordinating different City government units in relation to “risk factors” (art.2). Through Bogota Agreement 16/1991 Bogota formalized and restructured its (Medical) Emergency System (Sistema Distrital de Urgencias) requiring a “subsystem” of “epidemiological information and surveillance” (art.7d), and Mayor Castro-Castro

included it in his decentralization plan (see Chapter 2.3.3). Importantly, the national government in 1996 reiterated its commitment to implementing a “food and nutrition surveillance system” (SISVAN) and instructed municipalities to strengthen their local sections with which to formulate (and later apply and reform) municipal “Food and Nutrition Plans” in line with national guidelines (CONPES 2847/1996).⁷⁰ Accordingly, in 1997 the City strengthened its SISVAN (SDS 2001:3) and in 1999 the *City Health Department* (SDS) summoned different organizations from the national and City’s governments, universities, NGOs, and the private sector to design a *City Food and Nutrition Plan 2000-2003*. (I want to highlight the participation of breastfeeding advocates from IBFAN and the Presidency’s Office for Women and the Family in the design of the Plan) The resulting document became the basis for the next city government’s food policy (Bogota 2003: VII-110) and what was called *Bogota’s Nutrition System*⁷¹ (Agreement 86/2003).

This brief and partial genealogy of Bogota’s food-normative architecture as it entered the 1990s helps to understand how the agriculture and health sectors cooperated in planning a global information system fed by local information. Yet at the local level, the health sector played the leading role, with an emphasis on nutrition, as will be shown. It is important to stress that SISVAN, as noted above, was a subsystem of the national and City health system, in place before the inauguration of the 1998 government. Its systematicity and success consisted in its presence throughout the health sector, collecting data in every health facility that dealt with under 7-year-

⁷⁰ It must be stressed that Bogota Decree 486/1996 created the City Agriculture System (SISADI), under the Environmental Department (DAMA), to manage technical-cum-technological transfer to small farmers. It was in line with a national directive premised around infusing technology to guarantee international market competitiveness. For example, without certain road infrastructure production of perishables in remote areas remain hard to export. This and the public environmental system more generally would remain formally disconnected from the emerging food system until 2006 (see below).

⁷¹ Sistema Distrital de Nutrición in Spanish. *Nutrition system* is used interchangeably with *food and nutrition inter-sector system* throughout Agreement 86/2003.

olds, including newborns, capturing sex, height, and weight. It was eventually extended to public schools in 1997, and to “pregnant women” in 2001 (SDS 2001:3). On the other hand, the food safety infrastructure that continued to surveil food handling practices, but more importantly, microbial testing, was also managed in the health system. There was no similar deployment that monitored and interacted with people with such consistency in the agricultural sector. Examining the 1998-2000 government plan, “systems” rhetoric in relation to food was employed in three instances: i) *the children’s care system* (sistema de atención a la población infantil, no capitalization), ii) the *City Family Welfare System* (Sistema Distrital de Bienestar Familiar), both relying on iii) SISVAN to build an information platform on malnutrition to guide public expenditure (Agreement 6/1998: art.10.b). Children and family were part of systems of intervention that relied and reinforced a particular idea of motherhood. SISVAN biopolitical instrumentality becomes more obvious when examining how a person’s *nutritional status* is conceived as a physiological state “strongly influenced by weight at birth, duration of breastfeeding, and complementary feeding practices (i.e., before/during weaning), educational attainment of mothers and caretakers, and environmental sanitation” (SDS 2001:2). Combined with “focalization,” nutritional vigilance centered on the child’s body as a site of intervention in order to produce a vision of the future, and required a logic of care dispensed principally through motherhood.⁷² Put differently, through the medicalization of nutrition surveillance, a new *surveilling motherhood* consolidates, vigilant of the molecular discourse of nutrients. The 1998 government plan, oriented by theories of human capital investment, integrated gendered care into a politics of the future, one with “productive and happ[y] citizens” (Agreement 6/1998: art.9). This

⁷² Focalization in school meals is exceptional in Latin America, where aside from Chile, all aim towards universal provision (WFP 2017:37). This also meant a selection mechanism of children, chiefly poor ones (see below).

vision shifted during the next governments.⁷³ More to the point, these instances of ‘system’ rhetoric alluded to a network of managers-cum-providers of public services, not to the relations between different actors that conform networks beyond a specific design.

To understand the differences, I want to inspect some distinctions between the 1998-2000 and 2001-2003 apparatuses, which I will call Peñalosa98 and Mockus01 respectively. While Peñalosa98 initiated this policy trajectory (absent in its government plan), only Mockus01 included an explicit food policy vector in its government plan (Decree 440/2001: art. X). I find this last to be the first instance of a fully fleshed-out notion of a “system” that formally organizes and coordinates inter-institutional functions to address “food and nutrition security” and would become the basis for designing food policy in the following city governments. A food systems approach should be concerned with the webs and steps that connect the spaces of production with those of consumption. Again, this development took place during a shift towards a corporate food regime (McMichael 2009). It is important to emphasize that the language of neoclassical Economics had been deployed to frame “investment in children,” seen as “human capital” and in relation to “social risk,” “vulnerability to shocks on the poor,” and “systems of social protection” against market failures. All this was happening during economic liberalization, including trade, a change to a free-floating exchange rate, and of foreign capital flows, which led to higher exposure to the international financial cycle, as well as changes in the agricultural landscape driven by the appreciation of non-tradable agri-goods in relation to tradable ones (See above). By the end of the

⁷³ Recalling from the Introduction, there was an economic recession in 1999 impacting people’s access to safe and nutritious food and this influenced the emergence of political movements/programs around the right to food, and eventually the City’s food policy apparatus. This was right after the injurious ENSO of 1997-98. I don’t explore this.

decade, a series of world environmental and financial problems led Colombia to the 1999 economic recession.

The three systems in Peñalosa⁹⁸ (nutritional surveillance, children's care, and family welfare) were part of what was called "social sector infrastructure" (Agreement 6/1998:rt.6.b) and they had two commonalities: prioritizing of children and promoting the work of "community mothers" (art.7.d)⁷⁴ that would surveil basic anthropometric indicators (e.g., height, weight) and would provide, among other services, "nutrition" (art.6.b). They were, nonetheless, disconnected from "rural ordering initiatives" (art.14.b) that saw agriculture as lacking in technology and knowledge (art.14.d) or strategic location for water security. This is to say, these systems of care and surveillance were not concerned with the processes leading to food consumption and relied on feminized, motherly care-labor. Food provisioning was part of this array of social service provision aiming to *aid* "those most in need, the disabled, and specially children and youth so they can become productive and happier citizens" (art.9) but not framed as a basic right, regardless of happiness or productivity. Thus, Peñalosa⁹⁸ enables a discursive apparatus that suggests isomorphisms between physical and human capital, that can be invested upon and whose returns, due to their long timeframe to return on profits, cannot be harvested if left to individualistic incentives and therefore must be prioritized by the City/state.

⁷⁴ It should be noted that proposals to increase school enrollment and quality was parallel to creating a "fertility control" center (art.6.b, art.7.b), unveiling a soft eugenic rhetoric with a long history (see Stepan 1991, Pohl-Valero, and Vargas-Domínguez 2021). Peñalosa-Londoño made little mention overall of food not just in his government plans and public speeches, compiled in Bogota (2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d). In relation to poverty, he mentioned that was his utmost priority, for which he designed programs to make the citizens "kinder, productive, and happy," although food was never explicitly referenced. Loosely related, "school infrastructure" and "preschool" implied food subsidies, but this was not put unequivocally. Indeed, the expansion of schooling meant, importantly, building physical infrastructure, but also places in public schools regardless of new buildings. Access to education meant nutrition balancing and monitoring of under 6-year-olds (Bogota 2001:10).

While this picture appears proscriptive of neoliberal governmentality, I want to invite to an analysis of the microphysics of power that complicates this all-encompassing explanation. If Peñalosa's plan food policy would mostly become part of the investment in human capital, helping to prevent disease and increase per capita productivity, national guidelines to change land use opened the possibility for food provisioning to become a matter of urban infrastructure. This was organized through the *City Food Provisioning Master Plan (PMASAB)*.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Bogota Decree 619/2000 came out on July 28, five months before the end of the government term.

Table 2. PMASAB's normative lineage

Scale	Norm	Description	Comment
National	Law 9/1989	On municipal development plans	Political decentralization: municipal government is opened to popular vote. Defines the terms for municipal governance.
	Law 2/1991	On intermunicipal coordination for the prevalence of metropolitan plans	Bogota is given a special status, constitutionally recognized, acknowledging its metropolitan character.
	Law 388/1997	Stipulates guidelines for Territorial Order Plans, POT	POTs define rural and urban land, their uses, and give guidelines for managing the urban sprawl.
	Economic Development Ministry Decree 879/1998	POTs are stipulated mandatory. They include "Master Plans" to regulate the provision of public services, and stipulate the existence of rural and urban	
Municipal	Bogota Decree 619/2000	Bogota's POT (Peñalosa98)	Art.217. First PMASAB
	Bogota Decree 469/2003	Bogota's POT (Mockus01)	Art. 230. Second PMASAB
	Bogota Decree 315/2006	Adopts and develops PMASAB	PMASAB adopts food security
	Council Agreement 257/2006	Norms on structure, organization, and functions of the city's government bodies. It divides government in 'sectors' and places ' food security' in the Department of Economic Development (SDDE).	Art.78.g. [Among the functions of SDDE]: Coordinate drafting, implementation, and evaluation of policies, plans, programs, and strategies concerning food provisioning and food security, and promotes participation of peasant and vendor organizations .
	Bogota Decree 512/2006	Extension for a final draft for a new PMASAB	Gives DABS greater prominence in defining PMASAB
	Bogotá Decree 40/2008	New PMASAB updated to the new government structure	Shifts responsibilities from UESP to SDDE
	SDDE Resolution 78/2008	Gives guidelines for peasant representation in relation to PMASAB	Defines election rules for a representative of peasant organizations and their obligations. Defines an Economic Peasant Assembly
	SDDE Resolution 212/2008	Code for Local Consultative Boards for stakeholder participation	Defines new participation mechanisms and rules for local stakeholders in food provision
	Council Agreement 605/2015	Guidelines for the promotion of urban agriculture and periurban agroecology	The program is run by the City Botanical Garden in coordination with SDDE.

“Master Plans” were tools for the implementation of the new, national mandated, Territorial Ordering Plans (POT),⁷⁶ city planning instruments seeking to provide multi-sector investment and coordination beyond the scope of one government and over many government branches. PMASAB was part of an interest to regulate land use, responding to increasing demand for urban land, whether legal or not, driven by population growth specially in the city’s periphery, leading to unregulated housing and service markets, many times deadly, in the context of drug trade-structured crime.⁷⁷ Food provisioning was defined as part of the “Infrastructure System” (sistema de equipamiento) and thus PMASAB was headed by the Public Utility Company (UESP). The infrastructure system thus was mostly concerned with defining land use and meant “the set of places and buildings meant to provide social services for [Bogota’s citizens], made available equitably with the rest of the district’s territory;” specifically, it limited its concerns to food markets, wholesale markets, slaughterhouses and cold storage⁷⁸ (Bogota Decree 619/2000: art.217). Although Peñalosa98 developed the normative framework of the Food Provisioning *and Consumption* Plan (art.220), it was Mockus01 that fleshed out the Food Provisioning *and Food Security* Plan (Bogota Decree 469/2003: art.174). The differences of PMASAB between Peñalosa98 and Mockus01 were not “textually” considerable. Rather, it is how they stand in relation to each government’s food policy and in the context of the POT, a matter of emphasis.

⁷⁶ To guide municipal planning under the new institutional structure of popular elected mayors, Law 9/1989 (“on municipal development plans”) began a legal genealogy, followed by Law 2/1991 (on intermunicipal coordination for the prevalence of metropolitan plans), the 1991 Constitution (Title XI, Chap.3-4), Law 388/1997 (stipulating guidelines for “Territorial Ordering Plans,” POT), Economic Development Ministry Decree 879/1998 (POTs are made mandatory, Master Plans are created for the provision of public services, and stipulate the existence of rural and urban components to municipal order). As Rincón-Avellaneda mentions, the need of urban planning tools came due to population pressures over limited urban land (2011:57).

⁷⁷ Morbidity-mortality in the urban periphery was driven by ‘natural disasters’ such as floods and landslides in unstable terrain, but also violent death like homicide. For example, homicide rate in 1990 was 48.7/100.000 inhabitants, increasing yearly until it peaked in 1993 at 80, then decreasing to 18 in 2015, overrepresented by poor men (SDS/ [Oficina de Análisis de Información y Estudios Estratégicos database](#)). On the links between criminality and drug-trafficking see (Sanchez,Espinosa,Rivas 2003)

⁷⁸ Classified by area: under<=2.000m2-between-10.000m2<=above. Other plans concerned food related commerce and services.

This is not to deny the relevance of physical infrastructure to address food provisioning and secure food security (and food sovereignty). Increased participation in global markets, as promoted by 1991's agro-trade liberalization at the national level, resulted in imported foods outcompeting local ones that were more costly to transport and market. Poor access to roads and a political economy of marketing favored the consumption of e.g., US ultra-processed breakfast cereals over the more laborious "changua."⁷⁹ While food security secures people that are well connected to global food flows, thus seeing faraway peasants as insecure, food sovereignty considers the relationship of local producers to local consumers. PMASAB mediated these competing frameworks, a reconciliation however imperfect.

Under Mockus01, PMASAB framed food provisioning in relation to *food security*. (FS isn't mentioned in Decree 619/2000) A "strategy of city-region competitiveness" begins that was reflected in the suppression of "metropolitan center" and "orbit markets" for simple "center" and "market" in PMASAB (Bogota Decree 469/2003); this meant the emergence of a treatise between the City and the surrounding territories, promoting cooperation and research that acknowledged the important material flows between municipalities (Rincón-Avellaneda 2011:63). Food security was part of conceiving the city as "an open system" evolving within a timeframe beyond the scope of one municipal government (then of three years), a "system of regional planning" (Decree 469/2003: art. 2,3). These were related to conceptual and managerial developments inspired by urban metabolism studies or systems ecology that traced material flows, and which involved

⁷⁹ *Changua* is Chibcha for "water and salt," a popular breakfast soup originally based on potato and herbs that evolved to make milk and eggs quintessential. Often after served, the eater incorporates *jun* i.e., various types of cornbread, now common *almojabana* (Rojas-De-Perdomo 2012:253). Its preparation is estimated to 10 minutes, but boxed cereal is quicker. Note that the ideologies from which both meals stem differ, as do their relation to landscape and labor.

political instances beyond the scope of a single municipality.⁸⁰ The change to food security acknowledged a framework broader than food consumption that coincided with the resolve to address complexities that viewed the city as nodal to a greater network. Still, a food security framework wasn't fully developed until the following government. Either way, a changing food provisioning context required investments in physical infrastructure, aware of urban-rural and city-region dynamics, that would become crucial to the incoming flows of imported/exported goods and to local ones staying relevant.

For Peñalosa98, the *Food and Nutrition Plan 2000-2003* (FNP2000-2003) and the PMASAB were two disconnected processes related to two disconnected normative developments towards decentralization from the national level: the health sector and urban planning, both happening towards the end of this political cycle. For Mockus01, both had to be incorporated into the mayor's project after the inauguration of government, both because they derived from a national mandate and because they contained commitments encompassing the entirety of the term. More importantly, FNP2000-2003 was not a top-down initiative, but the result of interested parties within the Department of Health (SDS) that seized the opportunities opened by the national

⁸⁰ This framework of analysis was promoted by the UNEP in relation to environmental policy, of which DAMA was in charge at the City level. For its 30th anniversary UNEP planned the "Global Environment Outlook 3, GEO-3," also celebrating the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, which resulted in the aggregation and evaluation of Bogota as part of a larger Latin American, and world ecosystem. Among the many variables analyzed, food-cum-agriculture appears in relation to land use, biological diversity, and erosion (UNEP 2002:72,86,121,129). Bogota's report had an advisory goal towards the drafting of the POT and was explicit in evaluating agriculture-cum-food in terms of agricultural development (DAMA 2003:71ff). Aspects of food production, consumption, and transport are mentioned although not addressed systematically, albeit part of an overlapping 'environmental system' that needs to better articulate rural-urban processes (167). Furthermore, under the 2001-2003 government, a Consortium (CPT-CIPEC) was hired to study food provisioning in Bogota. Baquero-Ruiz (2010) in representation of the contractor CLI cites MIT's *Supply Chain 2020 Project* (Lapide 2006), a framework based on dynamic system analysis for enhancing private business logistics, "tested" for multinationals (e.g., Dell, IBM, Amazon, Wal-Mart). CPT-CIPEC acknowledged lack of quantitative data for a robust study but "qualitatively" suggests improvements by creating logistic platforms administered by the City to reduce intermediation costs derived by information asymmetries and loss (due to improvement in transport and distribution). This corporate efficiency analysis was promoted in public management but relying more on fad than substance.

FNP1996-2005 (CONPES 2847/1996), an FNP in which they had themselves taken part of. A group of healthcare professionals (many of them nutritionists) inside SDS pushed to design a local FNP and opened dialogue with civil organizations working on food and nutrition in Bogota to find common ground toward a policy. As mentioned, the health sector had SISVAN as an important tool to diagnose and conceptualize food and nutrition problems, often responsible for the treatment of complications derived from malnutrition. Most complications were suffered by infants and people pregnant or breastfeeding, and breastfeeding policy had emerged as an encompassing strategy able to address most of these (PAHO & MinSalud 2013). Thus, advocates for maternal and neonatal health were prominent. SDS was also aware that healthcare should endorse a preventive strategy, meaning other food/nutrient provisioning sectors not only had to be part of formulating a FNP, but they had to systematize their actions to guarantee a better reach of public resources. This said, after its formulation during the remainder of Peñalosa98, implementation was “timid” (Hoyos 2003:111).

Policy under Mockus01 is interesting since it was designed with a *gender lens* (Decree 440/2001: art.4.6),⁸¹ as part of the wider effort of government planning that involved women and feminist movements. This included cross-cutting use of gender-inclusive language, sex/gender/sexual/family diversity, promotion of gender equality including shared care responsibilities, positive discrimination for women, gender mainstreaming in government planning, and women’s participation in government increased to a majority (Fuentes-Vásquez&

⁸¹ See also Fuentes-Vásquez (2006, 2009) and López-Hernández (2018) for a thorough revision of how women and feminists influenced this government’s agenda. Importantly, three overt feminists, Angela María Robledo, Carmenza Saldías e Isabel Londoño were involved in the design and implementation of Mockus01, leading to the incorporation of feminist agendas and their implementation (2018:43,45ff). Relevantly, Robledo would direct the DABS (Jan. 2001-Dec. 2003), one of the leading Departments in food policy.

Peña-Frade 2009:30). Thus, Mockus01 early formulation was adapted to include both PMASAB and FNP2000-2003, partially because of the incoming government's intention for continuity and to listen to public servants. Mockus01 overall advanced a *systems strategy* to “update and strengthen the identification of the most vulnerable populations and develop networks as mechanisms of coordination and intervention of organizations, institutions, and resources” (Decree 440/2001: art.19.1). Mockus01 proposed a framework of government that “protects life” and “promotes social inclusion” (e.g., Bogota 2003: Vol1-101). The government plan was structured into seven goals, five of which concerned food policy,⁸² although it is the “Social Justice” goal that included the program *Feed the Future* (FtF, *Nutrir para el Futuro*) which inaugurated food policy as a planning priority in Bogota (art. 20.c). FtF was mostly the name given to FNP2000-2003, effectively recognizing the important work already done. This also meant an alignment with the new government plan that favored citizen participation of the type this FNP came from. Here the focus was not only on children; it acknowledged “the care and food needs of boys, girls, pregnant women, elder men and women, homeless men and women.” Additionally, the goal of “*bettering vulnerable people's lives [requires] food provisioning that provides a percentage of nutrients as referenced by nutritional guidelines by population group, as part of a pedagogical process that guides families and educators to improve eating habits*” (art. 20.c.a) was given “priority,” which meant securing fiscal and administrative resources before others. Although FtF accounted for 1.4% of the 2001-2003 budget,⁸³ most of the expenditure translated into food aid.

⁸² In Mockus01's closing budget report the planning hierarchy was Goals>Programs>Project>Target: the first two could be inter-institutional while *Projects* correspond to institution-specific budgeting; *Targets* are quantifiable outputs, not necessarily monetary and I didn't find sufficient information to attempt an accounting exercise at this level (Bogota 2004a. Informe de seguimiento). I identified five programs involving eight institutions (DABS, DAMA, FVP, IDIPRON, SED, SDS, UESP, SHD), and ten projects (7081, 153, 7194, 7314,7361,7382,7414,7429, 7431,7317). For example, Productivity>Common prosperity>Promotion of SMEs>“Credit for 1540 agroindustry companies.”

⁸³ Final expenditure was similar although reaching only 78% of planned execution.

FtF 2001-2003 budget involved 4 dependencies, Department of Education (SED) (55%), Social Welfare (DABS) (30%), Children Protection (IDIPRON) (11%), and Health (SDS) (4%).

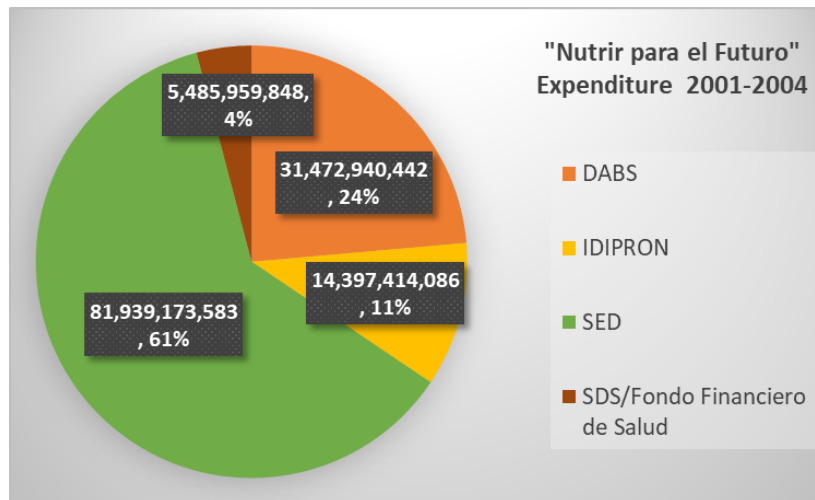


Figure 4. FtF Expenditure by Department

SED's budget was destined to school meals that represented 62% of FtF expenditure and had the highest efficacy (88% of the goal). Similarly, IDIPRON's was channeled to food subsidies. DABS', aside from aid, directed action to new breastfeeding policies, building breastfeeding stations and conducting a survey of breastfeeding knowledges/practices and attitudes towards it. SDS' small share concerned important management functions (the management structure of the "City Food and Nutrition System"⁸⁴), promotion (of breastfeeding and other "healthy lifestyles"), micronutrient fortification, food safety monitoring, food research and organization of expert fora (Bogota 2003: III-98ff). While these actions attest to the existence of a "food system" on which

⁸⁴ Note the addition of "food" in the target's name (Bogota 2003:125).

government is exerted, actions beyond FtF show how other sectors were involved: food street vending was further regulated to conform to food safety standards, promotion of small agrobusinesses and environmental management, promote wholesale markets (i.e., infrastructure, competitiveness, and efficiency), and "draft and implement a City Food Provisioning Master Plan (PMASAB)." As government goal, "Productivity" (Decree 440/2001: Art. 6.2) included the PMASAB but this was coupled with reducing intermediation between primary producers of perishables (often peasants) and salespeople at public markets, as well as provide support (credit and monitoring) to small businesses (Bogota 2003: III-59).

FtF became the flagship of Mockus' 2001-2003 food policy and led to the proclamation of *Bogota's Nutrition System*, despite food policy not playing a leading role in the government's plan. The System constituted "an array of instances and processes of institutional development, planning, execution and evaluation articulated among themselves, to enable nutritional well-being and food security" steered by an ad hoc committee (Inter-sector Food and Nutrition Committee, CDIANT) presided by the Secretary of Health (Agreement 86/2003). Its objective: to contribute to the betterment of Bogota's food and nutritional situation, accenting vulnerable populations, and integrating actions from the health, wellbeing, education, agriculture, and sports and recreation. As prescribed by national guidelines, one of its functions was to update "the food and nutrition plan," building on the previous government's effort formulating the *2000-2003 Plan*. FtF's systematicity involved the creation of district-level development of local food and nutrition plans that involved the communities and the local government infrastructure to guarantee citizen participation and appropriation of the city-level plan. With SDS' budget for FtF, actions that sustained, expanded, and strengthened nutrition surveillance (investing in SISVAN, the baby friendly hospital initiative, and micronutrient supplementation) grew with the promotion of

“healthy eating habits,” and the management of the nascent system.⁸⁵ Recalling section 2.1, nutritionist teams extended their participatory methods to design with citizens affordable nutritional combos to promote affordable healthy eating available at the market.

Parallely, as part of the PMASAB, the City System of Wholesale Markets was created to enhance Bogota’s nutritional situation by means of improving the quality of traded products, reduce intermediation, reduce prices for the final user, and strengthen the productive chain of traders and sellers (Agreement 96/2003). While both systems were shaped with the city’s nutritional situation at heart, they remained strictly disarticulated, reproducing the epistemological severance between consumption, resolved at the individual body prone to medicalization, and the market, subjected to the realm of Economics.

Both governments, between mid-2000 and 2003, took up the task of adapting international and national commitments to local realities and building on what was already there, in particular the SISVAN. Through the PMASAB they additionally organized a “physical” infrastructure under the concept of “food provision,” previously absent from the city’s discourse. Concerns about the future translated in an emphasis on preventive approaches to hunger and malnutrition. While Peñalosa98’s care system promoted some development of food assistance, it depended on stereotypes of idealized motherhood and promoted the inclusion of women into formal labor markets through a discriminatory sexual division of care labor. While seeking to improve life quality overall, it did so under the logic of “human capital investment.” Under Mockus01 care was framed as provisioned by the family and by educators (not mothers), and while food provisioning continued to be funneled through infrastructures of care and food assistance, it became a policy

⁸⁵ Zulema Jimenez-Soto, involved in the design of *Nutricombos* (see section 2.1) published by the end of Mockus01, “Guidelines for Healthy Eating. Manual for Professionals” (Jiménez-Soto & Mantilla 2003).

issue on its own, guided by the principle of “social justice,” itself an end. The institution of a Nutrition System, while relying on and continuing the position of nutrition in the health sector, it acknowledged that it also concerned food beyond molecules, whether nutritious or toxic. The goals of “Social Justice” and “Productivity” revealed concerns for the people involved at different stages of the emergent food system. There is a shift from “investment in childhood/motherhood” to emphasizing other vulnerable populations like “the poor and the elderly”⁸⁶ in need of support, regardless of their future productivity.

Often, Bogota’s food policy narratives emphasize the precedence of the international normative framework as preceding the local one. I want to suggest that the possibility for a food system framework to emerge owes to the work of feminists and lactivists involved in the formulation of local food policies, who struggled with and against familialist visions of the state promoted by other policymakers and a market liberalization environment. The account offered here showcases a more nuanced local political landscape, while making use of multinational and national structures to advance their own positions. The importance of breastfeeding components was integrated into a broader feeding practice, although stemming from the health sector, in a public policy environment biased in favor of a principally urban electorate. Multisector coordination became important to develop preventive strategies that cared both for the present and the future through amplifying the reach of surveillance systems, from the health sector into schools and other institutions for public assistance that needed to better select deserving populations. With this, systematicity rose alongside the ever-growing need for more data and computing power/literacy. While the election of governments during the 1990s allowed and promoted women and feminist

⁸⁶ These expressions are criticized for mistaking a situation for an identity, but it was common practice at the time.

voices inside the City, this did not mean a rupture with developmental and cisheteronormative visions of the state prevalent throughout the formulation and implementation of food policy.

3. Towards Freedom from Hunger (2004-2007)

On January 2, 2004, the newly elected mayor made his first public act, one day after taking office; Mayor ‘Lucho’ Garzón, a former unionist, was launching his flagship program, *Hunger-Free Bogota (BSH)*, with a luncheon inaugurating 13 community kitchens⁸⁷ serving 500 children between 3 and 5-years-old and their parents (from mostly women-headed households). Together with the new director of DABS (Social Welfare), Consuelo Corredor-Martinez, the mayor declared a social emergency in six districts due to high levels of undernutrition. Corredor-Martinez defended food aid from critiques of paternalism, stating the *right to food* had to be guaranteed by the City. The City would no longer be *indifferent* to hunger. The new government plan stated that “indifference” should end; its motto, *Bogotá Sin Indiferencia*, encapsulated that aspiration. Death from malnutrition, would be a lead indicator to monitoring the plan’s success and by 2004 the SISVAN reported it at zero. Corredor-Martinez emphasized those suffering from hunger couldn’t wait until other “non-assistance” leaning policies worked. Hunger required immediate intervention to eradicate it.

Just a year earlier, the Brazilian government headed by Lula da Silva had launched *Fome Zero*, setting the eradication of hunger as key in the government’s agenda, a proposal already advanced by Cuba’s president during WFS96. The international commitment to “halving hunger” set in WFS96 was a big achievement for most participating parties including representatives of Brazil

⁸⁷ They used the City’s centers for welfare services, created through Bogota Decree 214/1994 as centers for the provision of DABS’ “social welfare” services.

and Colombia, but Fidel Castro set the tone for an opposing leftist program that returned to WFC74's "No Hunger Target" (see Ch4-5). Castro's speech set this old goal in relation to the 1980s Debt Crisis and the Conditional Loans that international financial institutions had provided as solutions, "It is capitalism, neo-liberalism, the laws of a wild market, the external debts, underdevelopment and the unequal terms of reference that are killing so many people in the world" (Moseley 1996). Brazil's *Fome Zero* replaced *Programa Comunidade Solidária*. The first was a program headed by a unionist-turned-president building on the second, created in 1995 by Fernando Cardoso, a dependency theorist later criticized for implementing neoliberal policies, to combat hunger and poverty managed directly by Brazil's First Lady.⁸⁸ Fome Zero was part of the da Silva's 2001 campaign proposals and would become "the main governmental strategy guiding economic and social policies in Brazil" (da Silva 2011:10). This convergence of the "Latin-American Left" was more than coincidental.⁸⁹ Garzon was nicknamed the "Lula Colombiano" and recognized how BSH was inspired by Fome Zero. Bogota's Garzón briefly met da Silva 22 days after launching BSH and establishing cooperation and trade ties with Sao Paulo's mayor⁹⁰ ("*Encuentro Lula—Lucho...*" 2004) and in December 2005 where da Silva was given the keys to Bogota, further renovating their commitment to cooperate in anti-hunger/anti-poverty initiatives.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Brazil's information comes from da Silva et al. (2011). Brazil's anti-hunger genealogy can be traced further to, prominently, Josué de Castro's anti-Malthusian stance that influenced early food policy discussions at FAO (1984[1946], 2019[1951]). Ferretti (2019) analyzes the politics of translation and de Castro's influence in international food governance circles. An account of the Brazilian genealogy of Fome Zero by its first director, "Frei Betto," also an important liberation theologian (2003).

⁸⁹ These "waves" are known by political scientists as the *pink tide*. It includes the creation of fora where ideas are debated, and commitments undertaken. In 2003 the idea of a *First Social Forum of the Americas*, a chapter of the *World Social Forum*, materialized in Quito, mid-2004. Part of the inaugural speakers, Frei Betto presented Fome Zero as a "social inclusion program." The Forum also hosted the First Latin American Meeting of Urban Movements, that would influence Garzon04 (Corredor-Martínez 2009:41).

⁹⁰ While Bogota's policy had a stronghold in the health sector, Brazil's was in agriculture. The new mayor named Juan Manuel Ospina his Secretary of Government, who accompanied him to Sao Paulo. Ospina had been president of Colombian Association of Farmers, as well as other agriculture-related positions in government and private organizations, indicating other convergences.

⁹¹ On BSH, "Arrancó la Bogotá..." (2004), Corredor-Martínez (2009). On Castro, Moseley (1996). On the Garzon-Lula connection "Lula colombiano..." (2003), "La izquierda cada día..." (2005), "Encuentro Lula-Lucho" (2004).

Fome Zero would become internationally renowned and led to its leading figure, Jose Graziano da Silva, to become the first Latin-American Director-General of FAO. Many researchers would become interested in studying BSH, the national government would adapt it and, on a different scale than da Silva, Corredor-Martínez would become a consultant for UNDP Colombia disseminating lessons learned to other Colombian cities.

This recount highlights a) South-South cooperation between the national and municipal governance levels of Brazil and Bogota, often missing from accounts biased towards inter-country dynamics (e.g., FAO & daSilva 2019); b) Bogota's linkages to an international movement ideologically to the left that chose to prioritize hunger as a "meta-right," a right of rights, central to their design of multi-sector social policies;⁹² but c) leaves out the continuities with previous efforts of the City's preceding governments. This section reviews the transition from the FNP and the PMASAB before 2004 and then BSH after that and beyond its original timeframe of 2007. Importantly, it examines how they furthered the existing gendered perspective towards a more inclusive framework. It posits the City's discursive apparatus made *hunger* a flagrant violation of a right that required immediate political action in relation to local developments in the gendered framework of care, an emphasis absent from the previous apparatus.

What was BSH about? The goal of a "free from hunger Bogota" began as a political platform campaign conceived in 2001 that turned into a program after the government's inauguration in 2004, finally ossified in 2007 into a policy for the period 2007-2015. BSH was part of a wider plan to prioritize social investment based on rights aiming at restitution, protection, and progression towards better living standards. For food, this meant providing food to the hungry and other

⁹² See Corredor-Martinez (2009:83ff).

immediate assistance, and progression toward “adequate nutrition.” An examination of the Government Plan (Agreement 119/2004) shows that two of 14 guidelines that traversed it are of relevance here: *women and gender* and *food security*. Its “women and gender perspective will seek to create conditions for equality of opportunity, effective exercise of rights, regard for the right to personal identity, and sexual diversity” (art. 4.5). Food security was defined as “assuring adequate sustainable access and provision of food and nutrients and as a place of assembly for civic education, in complementarity with other public social services; networks of producers and consumers, and the potential of urban ecological agriculture as environmental alternatives will be promoted; the policy seeks to strengthen job and income creation as part of the regional integration framework, promoting social capital and co-responsibility between parties” (art. 4.10). There were three structuring axes, of which the “Social Axis” included three food policy iterations. First, a *policy* built around “food as a basic right” that prioritizes the most vulnerable and progressively articulates citizens into “economic, social, and cultural networks” (art. 7.2). Second, a *strategy* that “assures the right to food individually and collectively” and warrants that emergency actions become sustainable (i.e., in the long run), accounting for provisioning chains and the alliances between the city and region, articulated with the rural sector and associated civil organizations (art. 8.2). Thirdly, there was a *program*, BSH, defined as the set of actions that “structure and coordinate” the strategy and plan (art. 9.1) and specifies an infrastructure of dining halls for children and community kitchens, links the program to the PMASAB, and strengthens food chains and food networks with a preference for collective associations. It included two priority projects: to create and/or promote networks of a) public community kitchens and b) food banks.

Some conclusions can be drawn from this complex and reiterative formulation. First, gender co-constructs food policy to the extent that it helps define equity in access in two instances: a) it guides

focalization through an intersectional lens that manifests the entanglements of gender, sexuality, age, ability, ethnicity-race, etc. to produce the vulnerable subject; b) it helps enunciate individual and collective subjects with rights simultaneously. While women continue to be (positively) discriminated in relation to reproduction (e.g., monitoring maternal mortality and teenage pregnancy indicators) emphasis goes to promoting their participation in decision making bodies and organized assemblies, cementing processes of appropriation of the public sphere at the levels of community, (production) sector, and population. This leads to the importance of networks and participation, through which BSH decenters the government away from a place of imposition and into stakeholder design and ownership. These networks, furthermore, can appear at all steps of the production chain, “from farm to table,” further expounding the food system concept incipient in the two previous governments. Furthermore, describing the system makes explicit the linkages between the FNP and PMASAB. Finally, BSH unchained a political process that transformed its nature from Program to Policy. I will now examine this transition.

3.1. Conception

An important architect of Garzón’s government plan (hereafter Garzon04), Consuelo Corredor-Martínez was an economist specialized in poverty studies,⁹³ who had held various senior management positions at the National University of Colombia before being invited to Garzón’s team to build a government program. She had been a professor and researcher there, as well as associated to the think-tank CINEP,⁹⁴ developing ideas about poverty in relation to a capabilities approach and HHRR framework, key to Garzon04. One of the many scholars that were called to

⁹³ She set up the research group on “poverty as social exclusion,” resulting in the edited volume Corredor-Martínez (1999).

⁹⁴ An organization influenced by liberation theology and the study of Colombia’s conflicts. Gonzáles (2004:30ff) reviews CINEP’s intellectual history and places Corredor-Martínez in it. Notice this convergence with Frei Betto, first director of Fome Zero mentioned above.

design and implement it, she was vital to the development of the idea of the state as provider of “merit goods,” i.e., goods and services that every citizen must have just because they are citizens, that express a social preference rather than individual preferences. Importantly, Corredor-Martínez’s vision was to address poverty as an overdetermined problem by diverse sectors, that guaranteed the rights to food-and-nutrition, education, health, and work (2009:82), requiring an “integral approach” to combat structural and inter-generational poverty, that required an epistemological change: from people as “subjects of rights” to “subjects of needs,” the first leading to individualism, the second to citizenship (2009:62).⁹⁵ This would require a new infrastructure of measurement. Corredor-Martínez would head the City’s social policy as the director of DABS, of which BSH was the principal program, the restitution of rights of impoverished populations and towards their progressive universal enjoyment, or the freedom of being and doing (68), developing three population axes to focalization: life cycle, gender-ethnicity, and poverty (114).

Corredor-Martínez’s vision of ‘freedom of hunger’ as a meta-right, encapsulates conceptualizations from the WFS96 and MDGs connecting hunger-cum-malnutrition to poverty, human development, and income inequality.⁹⁶ At its core, there was an ontological contradiction that hadn’t been addressed by policy: Bogota had about 15% of its population facing hunger and malnutrition, while being in a privileged geographical position, close to the equator, in a richly biodiverse area, close to different climate-biomes, able to provide about 80% of food staples from within a 300 km radius (Diaz-Urbe 2006, Decree315/2006). Importantly, it includes conceptualizations of women, femineity, and care already present in previous administrations

⁹⁵ I cannot address Corredor-Martínez’s theorizations, summed in her book (2009). While she recognizes the influence of Amartya Sen and John Rawls, whose ideas achieved notoriety, there are important mentions of Latin American influences distributed through ECLAC/CEPAL and UNDP/PNUD, particularly economists Jose Antonio Ocampo (who prefaces her book, director of ECLAC 1998-2003) and Guillermo Perry (World Bank’s Chief Economist for LAC 1996-2007), Alfredo Sarmiento-Gómez (Director of PNUD Colombia 2001-2009), and César Vallejo Mejía.

⁹⁶ On the conceptual parallels between the MDGs and Garzon04 see (Corredor-Martínez 2009:122-125).

(focalization of vulnerable populations: children, pregnant and breastfeeding women, elders, and people with disability). Following the discussion where she references Colombian-specific studies (83-85), a) education is a means to reduce hunger and poverty, given that women's access to education has been shown to have positive effects on their children's nutrition, and over their families' health overall (conversely, the effects of hunger on educational outcomes are not quoted as gendered); b) hunger and malnutrition have effects on health, especially child and maternal mortality, and intergenerational poverty; and c) hunger and poverty reduce capabilities and opportunities, including low weight at birth. There is a novelty, the macroeconomic relationship between nutritional status and GDP growth and structure: a family's access to food is related to changes in agricultural production, conflict, and fossil fuel extraction. Furthermore, Corredor-Martínez criticizes "the absence of an agricultural policy directed toward food security, landownership inequality, non-productive use of land, and lack of rural infrastructure" (84). This extension related food insecurity directly to free trade policies that had not been addressed from inside the City previously. This new integrative vision of poverty and hunger as a socially intolerable situation would prove cumbersome (121). To set forth the government plan's discursive shift, BSH was to become independent from DABS in February 2004, just a month after its inauguration.

3.2. Implementation

BSH the Program emerged as a "para-institutional liaison" to coordinate a multisector response to hunger, according to its only director, Eduardo Diaz-Uribe.⁹⁷ Hired directly by the United Nations Development Program, UNDP, with funds allocated by the City, the buildup of a team was taken

⁹⁷ Conversation with Diaz (2017 November 21).

away from DABS, headed by Corredor-Martínez. The team at UNDP was overly perceived as part of the City, not as a sub-contractor mediated through a multilateral agency. Initially hosted at available space inside the City's headquarters (Palacio Liévano), it was dispersed throughout the City's available space, with staff never exceeding 30 people. Díaz believed he was hired for his previous experiences as a public manager of social services, acknowledging having no specific expertise in food security. His conceptualization complemented the one advanced by Corredor-Martínez.⁹⁸ Díaz-Urbe saw his role as an implementer: Referencing nineteenth-century transportation around uphill Bogotá, he described his method as “adjusting the mule’s load along the way,” in contrast to what he perceived was Garzon’s cabinet dominant environment of “planning-first.”

Inheriting the legacy of Peñalosa⁹⁸-Mockus⁰¹, BSH opened a possibility space that attracted five institutions, each with its own internal dynamics: 1) DABS proposed opening four big community kitchens to provide warm meals as in the inauguration of BSH, additional to those handed out in its kindergartens; 2) IDIPRON wished to expand its service; 3) SED planned to change the provision of snacks at schools for warm meals in soon-to-be-built school canteens; 4) UESP, in charge of the PMASAB, was estimating ideal locations to place wholesale markets; and finally, 5) the Botanical Garden began exploring the possibility of promoting urban gardens and agroecology in cooperation with FAO and Cuba’s expertise. The excitement needed a new structure. Díaz-Urbe’s team encountered a bias toward nutrition, where the SDS dominated over food security discourse (as detailed above), with Jiménez-Soto leading the CDIÁN. The coordination role of BSH implied finding inter-institutional synergies.

⁹⁸ Corredor-Martínez recounts, however, how the mayor seemed weary of scholars’ implementation capabilities (Delgado-Gómez 2009:347).

One such example came from one intersection between health and education. A parallel program to BSH, *Health from Home*, headed by SDS director Román Vega, sought to expand and strengthen health promotion and prevention. Through visits of a medical team to selected neighborhoods, the health system was reached beyond the hospital network to reduce the demand for hospital services. This framework was well suited for early detection of undernutrition, complementary/supplementary feeding, and promotion of healthy and nutritious eating, all areas in which the CDIÁN had expertise and which a lot of thought had been given. Country-wise, the healthcare system had made significant advances in expanding social security so that the right to medical attention was guaranteed. Then again, the Alma-Ata commitments to primary healthcare (WHO 1978) had been evolving into innovations in preventive social medicine and the social determinants of health framework, i.e., the idea that the socio-economic milieu and social differentiation have important effects on health. The City was, thus, attempting a move to “territorialize” social securitization into the neighborhoods and homes, in order to evaluate children and mothers before they had to reach out to the hospital system. A “territorial approach” was beginning to infiltrate public management discourse and was indeed part of the discursive apparatus that Garzon04 promoted (Agreement 119/2004: art4.11), which alluded to decentralization and deconcentrating services, even if the concept came from discussions on rural development (Fernandez et al. 2019). The territorial approach here served to expand access to nutritional experts making use of public schools. Schools would be strengthened as sites for nutritional intervention, making sure that students received an important fraction of their calorie-nutrient needs, promoting healthy eating habits, teaching healthy diets, and monitoring health status.

Infrastructurally, schools needed to be customized to meet the goal of providing healthy and warm meals: building kitchens, hiring personnel, and so on. The reforms were not only costly, but they would take time. Similarly, other means of direct assistance were being transformed. DABS and IDIPRON, importantly, already had infrastructure that needed modification to meet the new program guidelines. Developing the territorial approach also implied that BSH's management approached communities to understand how civil society organizations were coping with food insecurity. There were different initiatives, from neighborhood associations to religious initiatives that provided emergency food assistance that were not involved with the City (or any other form of the state). According to Diaz-Urbe, this posed an interesting challenge for BSH, since it was important not to disincentivize their existence but to enhance them.

One way of organizing the provision of services was by hiring non-profits that could provide size-driven economies of scale due, and be able to train, implement, and monitor small civil initiatives with food safety and nutrition guidelines. For example, five months after (and before concluding the first year of government)-, a Cooperation Agreement was signed with the Catholic Church, officializing a network of food providers in communities that had already been identified as needing it through processes independent of government and guaranteeing they would abide by nutrition guidelines (UESP 2004). This became Bogota's food bank, already functioning without government support since 2001. Similar charter agreements were signed with other non-religious organizations, always prioritizing certain areas of the city evaluated as vulnerable.

BSH gained structure with the creation of an Operations Subcommittee for Food and Nutrition Security (Bogota Decision 68/2004). Its function would be to advice and provide guidance for the joint action of the City, the private sector, the academic and international communities, civil organizations, and the community at large. It would also contribute to the planning, monitoring,

and evaluation of the developments towards a new FNP. This Subcommittee stemmed directly from the CDIÁN of Bogotá's Nutrition System, and organized BSH into three lines of action: a) food and nutrition actions, b) the City Food Provisioning System, and c) social responsibility actions. With this structure it was possible to trickle actions to the district level and promote community involvement. Soon after, guidelines for an eventual FNS policy were established (Agreement 186/2005) and a new PMASAB was drafted (Decree 315/2006), capturing many of the lessons learned by BSH. These were considered preliminary steps towards the drafting of a Food and Nutrition Security Public Policy, PPSAN, sanctioned less than two months before the end of the government (Decree 508/2007). Comparing these policy documents shows how the City grappled to articulate a structure for its food policy that was consistent throughout the four-year government. Like the tensions between Corredor-Martínez's and Díaz-Uribe's positions, more than a theoretical stronghold, the FNP that these texts delineated was a discursive opening that made possible praxis to take place, be recognized, and be framed into public policy structures.

The government plan had set forth a FNS policy based on the *right to food*, adapting a definition of *food security* enriched with *food sovereignty* concepts. The government plan spoke of a "food security policy," where the four tenets of FS, *sustainable* timely *availability* of food, its *access* and *use*, were supplemented with a political commitment from the City to promote citizen participation with an emphasis on recognizing and buttressing relevant civil networks. With principles of "equity, universality and social inclusion" emphasis would be given to "urban and ecological agriculture," "regional integration" and "buildup of social capital" (Agreement 119/2004: art.7). The plan held an intention to redefine food policy and articulate a multi-sector response that restructured the City's response to hunger and malnutrition. Textually, this meant juxtaposing different concepts that became characteristic of Garzon04.

The “policy guidelines” (Agreement 186/2005) spoke of “food and nutrition security” that claimed to be in line with PMASAB: “locally sufficient and stable availability of food supply, timely and sustained access by all to required quantities and qualities of foods, adequate consumption and use, for which access to essential services of sanitation, healthcare, and political will to attain it.” What these guidelines proposed was structured into three elements: 1) food provisioning and nutritional complementation; 2) promotion of healthy eating and nutritional habits, and food and nutrition surveillance; and 3) food supply. This third element referred to the infrastructural aspects of PMASAB which, in its 2003 version, spoke only of “food security” and not defining it in relation to: a) the recognition of a network of municipalities, b) a relationship between rural sites of food production and increasing demand for food in the urban centers, mostly Bogota, and c) part of an economic process that included economic clusters, diversification of services, and integration to global trade dynamics, and d) a need for a “modernization of agriculture in line with agro-industrial development to [first] satisfy local demand and [second] produce surplus to improve export capacity (Decree 469/2003: art.1-4). However, recall from section 2.2. that that Plan would be the first to speak of FS within a systems framework. To complement that infrastructure system the “citizen” was constructed as ideally responsible and politically involved, at least at the community level, and thus promotion and surveillance would be the strategies towards new subjectivities of eating centered on nutrition towards a healthy life. The guidelines also differed in PMASAB2003 shifting from FS to FNS. Adding *nutrition* to the securitization strategy became an effort to stress and distinguish it from food. For example, nutrition supplementation meant addressing micronutrient deficiencies which understood foods as imperfect containers and nutrients as technologically manipulated objects for medical intervention and in line with the international expansion of the nutritional supplement market. The vigilance

already at work through SISVAN remained a health issue, hosted at SDS with nutritionists as specialized guides. The distinction between food and nutrition also incarnated the efforts to expand food policy beyond health centered interventions. This division also highlighted the sectoral divisions inside the City that BSH was coordinating, where *provisioning* was represented by DABS, SED, and IDIPRON, *health* by SDS, and *infrastructure* by UESP.

Finally, the new PMASAB would advance food sovereignty as the guiding concept (Decree 315/2006): in its Art.2. it would recall the definition of food sovereignty from the 2001 World Forum on the matter:

“as the peoples’ right to define their own policies and strategies for the sustainable production, distribution and consumption of food that guarantee the right to food for the entire population, on the basis of small and medium-sized production, respecting their own cultures and the diversity of peasant, fishing and indigenous forms of agricultural production, marketing and management of rural areas, in which women play a fundamental role”⁹⁹

Despite this mention of (rural) women’s role, this PMASAB didn’t develop a gender perspective. It did bring small producers from its neighboring rurality into the City’s food policy. Its guiding logic was that of *efficiency*, “provide nutrients at minimum cost” (UESP 2005:15) or overcome a set of inefficiencies in food provisioning impacting the city’s consumers (Ramírez-Pascagaza 2013:25). To achieve this, it built on the work undergone in the previous government that had reoriented the food policy focus to rural development, city-region integration, and community

⁹⁹ The Forum published this declaration in both English and Spanish. Decree 315/2006 uses the Spanish version. I reproduce the English version (World Forum, 2001, September 7).

involvement. Derivative of the POT, previous versions of PMASAB focused on “ordering the territory;” although this new version intended to also order food flows (UESP 2005:7). Since its focus was on provisioning infrastructure, the definition quoted was helpful since it identified stages of production and distribution to guarantee availability and access. This came almost synchronous to the linkage between an existing system of rural technical assistance (SISADI, see Note 70 *supra*) with the City Nutrition System achieved by Agreement 231/2006. The idea to promote technologically improved “traditional Andean crops”¹⁰⁰ to meet an increased demand derived from the inclusion of nutritious varieties into the City Nutrition System bolstered the promotion of local production and its diversity. Small producers were to be incentivized to unite into networks that were easy for the City to link to food demand for its food provisioning programs and beyond. PMASAB would further seek strengthening ties between farmers and small vendors, as well as between food and environmental City systems (Decree 315/2006: art.7-9). Indeed, Garzon04 required novel ways of knowing the emerging food system and held the premise that timely information (e.g., food prices) would reduce transaction costs and intermediation. Value chain analyses, and material flow studies were conducted; they mapped out added value, new collection systems at wholesale markets were designed, and so on.¹⁰¹ Eventually, the Plan built an information and equipment infrastructure that grouped organized producers (mostly peasants, mostly outside of Bogota) and organized consumers, but without attention to gender difference. This infrastructural emphasis, although seeking to enhance care by paternalistically reducing

¹⁰⁰ The Decree characterized them as originated before colonial times, organically cultivated, and with higher nutritional value compared with corn, wheat, rice, and oats (Agreement 231/2006: Art.1).

¹⁰¹ The Agriculture Ministry kept yearly national records of cultivated area, production (in tons) and an estimated value of its production in line with FAO recommendations, but not much more. Rodriguez-Muñoz (2005) recounts there were no statistics on yearly food consumption or import statistics to Bogota by 2004. He provides a good overview of the few studies that had addressed the city’s food flows. UESP conducted a study to draft PMASAB2006 that gathered information of available surveys, agricultural census, and other data collected by wholesale markets, supermarkets, and associations of producers (2005:23).

intermediation costs, it didn't account for sex/gender-related vulnerabilities for either farmers or vendors. Furthermore, according to Ramírez-Pascagaza, this had not been fully accomplished due to the flaky position of the City, unable to properly substitute intermediaries or to properly appreciate intermediation services (2013:27ff).

These addenda to the pillars of food security, the structuring axis of the food policy apparatus before BSH, reinstated the commitment to the right to food, as well as to align with the objectives of food sovereignty to counter market liberalization and the commodification of food as the principal guides of food policy, redistributing power towards small farmers, small vendors, and consumers. Garzon04's textual expansion of Mockus01 exhibited the City's efforts to define FS in ways that overcame the conceptual limitations raised by many, particularly from the ideological left, since its consensus definition from WFS96, seeking to not only conceive of a food system but making sure it was visible to public management and manageable without the City government playing a determining role. The City as manager and convener of a multi-stakeholder, continuous process helped those involved understand themselves as part of an organization and make use of tools to advance their interest. Nutrition surfaced as a mechanism that differentiated health sector priorities from the rest of the food apparatus. All the organizing, the lessons, and the vision gathered over the years of Bogota's food apparatus that I have described so far were to be summed into a public policy to be implemented during the next two City governments, the PPSAN (see Appendix D).

3.3. The Policy *PPSAN 2007-2015*

Bogota's Food and Nutrition Security Public Policy, PPSAN, in the words of Diaz-Uribe, "was an endpoint, not one of departure." Indeed, the PPSAN was officialized during the last year of the

term, on November 6, by Decree 508/2007, and provided a roadmap for the next eight years. The policy explicitly connected the RtF to FS redundantly: “[collective action] strengthens individual or collective autonomy for the fulfillment of the right to food and related goods and services, contributes to food and nutrition security, and thus to fulfilling the right to food” (par.16). This phrasing is indicative of the difficulties to bring together both conceptual traditions, that while related, were not fully reconciled. Furthermore, the intention to weave both concepts into a policy framework that also endorsed food sovereignty was a task of the multiple and could not shy away from contradiction, inconsistencies, or debates. Notwithstanding, the policy built them explicitly as co-constitutive, a conceptual reconciliation as shown in Table 2.3.3.

Table 3. Conceptual diversity in Food Security norms 2004-07

	Government Plan 2004-2007 Accord 119/2004	Policy guidelines Accord 186/2005	PMASAB2006 Decree 315/2006	PPSAN 2007-2015 Decree 508/2007
	Food Security Policy	Food and Nutrition Security	Food Sovereignty	Right to Food
Original in Spanish	Se desarrollará una política de seguridad alimentaria entendida como la garantía de acceso y abastecimiento adecuados de alimentos y nutrientes en un horizonte de sostenibilidad y como espacio de encuentro para la formación ciudadana, de manera complementaria a otros servicios sociales del Estado . Se promoverán las redes de productores y consumidores y las potencialidades de la agricultura urbana y ecológica como alternativa socioambiental. A través de esta política se espera contribuir a la generación de empleo e ingresos en el marco de la integración regional, con el consiguiente fomento a la construcción de capital social y a la corresponsabilidad.	Art.2. Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutricional. Se entiende por seguridad alimentaria y nutricional, tal como la define el Plan Maestro de Abastecimiento y Seguridad Alimentaria de Bogotá, "la disponibilidad suficiente y estable de los suministros de alimentos a nivel local, el acceso oportuno y permanente por parte de todas las personas a los alimentos que se precisan, en cantidad y calidad, el adecuado consumo y utilización biológica de los mismos, para lo cual es indispensable el acceso a los servicios básicos de saneamiento, atención de salud, y la decisión política de los gobiernos para lograrla ."	Art.2. Principales definiciones: 1. Soberanía alimentaria: Se adopta la Declaración del Foro Mundial sobre Soberanía Alimentaria, La Habana, Cuba, 2001 que define la soberanía alimentaria como el derecho de los pueblos a definir sus propias políticas y estrategias sustentables de producción, distribución y consumo de alimentos que garanticen el derecho a la alimentación para toda la población, con base en la pequeña y mediana producción , respetando sus propias culturas y la diversidad de los modos campesinos, pesqueros e indígenas de producción agropecuaria, de comercialización y de gestión de los espacios rurales, en los cuales la mujer desempeña un papel fundamental.	Art.2. Definición. El derecho a la alimentación es el derecho a tener disponibilidad y acceso en forma regular, permanente y libre , a una alimentación adecuada y suficiente, que responda a las tradiciones culturales de la población, así como a agua suficiente, salubre y aceptable para el uso personal y doméstico, que garanticen una vida, individual y colectiva, satisfactoria y digna. Art.3. Dimensión y alcance del derecho a la alimentación y el derecho correlativo al agua. El derecho a la alimentación adecuada comprende cuatro dimensiones: la disponibilidad , el acceso y el consumo de alimentos y agua suficientes, inocuos y adecuados, nutricional y culturalmente, así como el aprovechamiento de los mismos.
English translation	A food security policy will be developed, understood as the sustained assurance of adequate access and supply of food and nutrition and as a site of encounter for citizen building, complementary to other state services. Networks of producers and consumers and the potential of urban and ecological agriculture as a socio-environmental alternative will be promoted. Through this policy, it is expected to generate employment and income within a framework of regional integration, with the consequent promotion of the construction of social capital and co-responsibility.	Food and Nutrition Security, as defined by PMASA, is "locally sufficient and stable availability of food supply , timely and sustained access by all to required quantities and qualities of foods, adequate consumption and use, for which access to essential services of sanitation, healthcare, and political will to attain it"	Food sovereignty is "the peoples' right to define their own policies and strategies for the sustainable production, distribution and consumption of food that guarantee the right to food for the entire population, on the basis of small and medium-sized production , respecting their own cultures and the diversity of peasant, fishing and indigenous forms of agricultural production, marketing and management of rural areas, in which women play a fundamental role" (Food Sovereignty Forum 2001)	Art.2. The right to food is the right to regular, permanent , and free availability and access to an adequate and sufficient food, that meets the population's culture and tradition, as well as enough, healthy, and reasonable water for personal and domestic use, ensuring a fulfilling and dignified individual and collective live. Art.3. Dimensions and scope of the right to food and the correlative right to water. The right to adequate food includes four dimensions: availability, access, and consumption of food and water that is sufficient, safe, and nutritionally and culturally adequate, as well as their use.

Table 4. Development of Food Security in PPSAN 2007-2015

FAO's dimensions of FNS	PPSAN Dimensions of RtF (Art.3)	PPSAN Objectives (Art.13)	PPSAN Strategic areas (Art.14)	PPSAN Lines of action (Art.15-18)
Physical availability of food	Availability	Guarantee the availability of nutritious, secure, and harmless food for the city-region.	Axis 1. Availability of sufficient, nutritionally, and culturally adequate and safe food and water in the minimum essential quantity and with the regularity and sustainability necessary for human consumption.	1. Strengthening of regional food production and the peasant economy.
				2. Protection of water resources.
				3. Promotion of regional integration.
				4. Consolidation of supply at district level.
				5. Provision of nutritious and safe food.
Economic and physical access to food	Access	Ensure timely and uninterrupted access of citizens to nutritious, safe, and innocuous food by generating conditions that contribute to overcome economic and cultural constraints.	Axis 2. Access of the entire population to food and drinking water autonomously and under equal conditions and opportunities.	1. Food supply at a fair price.
				2. Expansion of residential water and sewage services in the city and implement technologies and practices to provide drinking water in rural areas.
				3. Food support for food and nutritionally vulnerable populations.
				4. Promotion of work and income generation to improve purchasing power of poor rural and urban families.
				5. Promotion of productive processes of quality and safe food for own consumption.
				6. Promotion of urban agriculture.
Food utilization	Consumption of sufficient, safe, and nutritional and culturally adequate foods and water,	Promote healthy eating practices and physical activity in the context of cultural diversity, the recognition of the autonomy and the protection and promotion of intangible cultural heritage.	Axis 3. Healthy eating practices and lifestyles within the framework of cultural diversity.	1. Promotion, protection, and support of breastfeeding and healthy infant feeding.
				2. Promotion and support of healthy eating and an active lifestyle.
				3. Consumer rights protection and promotion.
	as well as their utilization	Promote health and environmental conditions that favor the biological utilization of food and adequate nutritional status of the population.	Axis 4. Nutrition and healthy environments.	4. Acknowledgement, protection and promotion of immaterial cultural heritage related to food production and consumption.
				1. Promotion of healthy environments.
				2. Prevention, early detection, management, and control of nutritional alterations, according to the life cycle.
Stability of previous three through time				

Source: FAO (1996) and Bogota Decree 508 of 2007

Aside from *stability*, each pillar of FS corresponds to a dimension of the RtF, each of these developed into a policy goal with strategies and lines of action. First, the erection of a normative framework that conceptually reconciled international, national, and local demands is, in itself, commendable. Additionally, it raised water as a correlated right to the RtF. The new framework was based on the social determinants of health framework, mentioned above, complexifying the previous focus on calorie-nutrient-specific interventions through territorialization, where the existence of calorie-nutrients is contextualized in culture, dietary pathways, and a complex social landscape. Finally, each component is conceived in relation to a production chain, itself geographically traceable. This allows network calculations such as percentage of food provided by small and medium retailers, their level of dispersion, organization, and connectivity, and so on.

While this structure brings programmatic clarity to the different instances of policy described in the previous section, it must be repeated, there is no development of a gender lens. Rural development, retail, labor, income, citizen participation, urban agriculture, feeding, were all areas that had previously advanced gender perspectives. There is no acknowledgment that power differences affect the realization of the RtF in relation to ethno-race, sex-gender, or other axes of variance. In the dimension of *access*, the vulnerabilities that would grant preferential access to food support brought along a history of a differential perspective for focalization. Similarly, the gendered character of breastfeeding that developed *utilization* seems inescapable. Each continued to advance ways to address gender difference, but the PPSAN gave no indication on how to systematize it. All this despite the government plan “to recognize the productivity of the care economy” (Agreement 119/2004: art.14.5.)

The decentralization effort opened and promoted political participation, and even took action to develop community leadership, particularly to develop local, rural, and district networks. No

analysis of time-use or care was undertaken. Emphasis was given to rurality, another underdeveloped side of public policy. Parallel to food policy, a rural one had been discussed and developed, also stemming from the initial government plan, and brought about by Decree 327/2007. The objectives of making the lives of rural communities better, tackling their marginalization, securitizing the environment (water sources specially), and developing management tools to intervene the rural stemmed from a political, ideologically driven program, but also from the perceived threat, particularly by small farmers, from a free trade agreement with the USA. Fears were raised by the National Agrarian Congress, NAC, uniting peasants, indigenous, and black communities in 2003, and taken up by the City that framed them in terms of food security (Bogota 2006:16ff). I want to center the discussion on this position because the City makes the case for a rural policy by affirming a food security strategy “that includes the components of food supply, promotion of capacity for food demand in the poorest areas (income), and seeking to secure access for all people and all families, including peasant farmers, to essential foods, based on the principle of equity that must describe *all the food system*” (ibid, my emphasis). At this point, the legibility of a food system as an interrelated network that the City could coordinate/manage, allowed the City to integrate rural areas and communities into its flagship policy, BSH, and hold a stance opposing the national government’s trade policy.

The City, with the mandate of making FNS operational, functioned as a mediator between peasant organizations and national and international policy designs. Contrasting PPSAN with NAC’s “Agrarian Mandate for a dignified life, food sovereignty, the right to the earth, and territoriality,” from which the first claimed to adopt its definition of food sovereignty, it becomes clear that some issues were left out. The competencies of city-level governance were indeed at odds with the national, and to an extent, excused the City from taking them up. First is the omission of “genetic

material” from PPSAN. GMOs were beginning to be commercialized in Colombia and free trade negotiations with the USA included discussions on genetic patents. PPSAN adopted the defense of food heritage resorting to “UNESCO’s Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage” which included “seed production, practices of cultivation and harvesting,” which countered genetic commodification without explicitly mentioning it nor defining it as part of the commons; those were explicit goals of the national Congress. Second, NAC demanded a Bill on “rural women” that singled out their rights and contributions (2003: Art.9-10). Recognition of peasant, indigenous, and Afro-Colombian women and their rights explicitly called for the recognition and valuation of women’s agrarian production and reproduction of the labor force. The role of women as “participants of culture, defenders of their communities’ integrity, and life bearers,” was counterposed to the recognition of historical discrimination, their vulnerabilities in the context of war, and their specific difficulties in actively partaking in the political sphere.

The City had been working on developing women and gender policy. It was around the same time as food was gaining discursive relevance. The policy story can be said to have begun with the Plan for Gender Equality (Agreement 91/2003), then adapted to the 2004 government plan’s *Public Policy of Women and Gender*, leading to the creation of an *Office of Women and Gender*, later an *LGBT Working Group*, and in 2007 the creation of an *Undersecretariat of Women, Gender, and Sexual Diversity* (Decree 256/2007). It is these developments in conjunction with peasants’ demands that lead to the inclusion of a Program of Equality for [Rural] Women in the City Rural Policy, meant to develop the Policy inside Bogota’s rural areas (Bogota 2006:46). *Rural women* are thus indirectly incorporated as a vulnerable subject into the City’s food apparatus, owing more to the food sovereignty movement than to other developments from national or international guidelines.

Given that the government also made important reforms in other sectors, there was an important reorganization of the management structure (Agreement 257/2006). Care provision was importantly restructured, eliminating DABS, where BSH began under the direction of Corredor-Martínez. She was to direct the newly created Department of Economic Development, and continued to influence food provisioning including through, the also new Institute of Social Economics (IPES), in charge of managing wholesale markets in line with the PMASAB.¹⁰² The Department of Social Integration kept service provision and restitution of rights for vulnerable and minoritized populations; and the Department of Habitat which introduced an ecological perspective to public utility provision, and thus in charge of PMASAB. This new food policy structure still required harmonization. To coordinate this and other complex policies inter-sector commissions were created along with “Technical Support Units,” which for food policy was named Inter-Sector Commission for Food and Nutrition Security, CISAN, and its UTA. (This was done through Decree 256/2007: art.24-25, which also created the Undersecretariat of Women just mentioned). This new institutional architecture sedimented this important conceptual bridge between governance levels. With it, rural women became visible in food system discourse in relation to their civil organization. While food safety and nutrition security propelled conceptualizing a food system, these were not limited to their molecular forms, but were territorialized, i.e., inscribed into social, cultural, and environmental contexts.

¹⁰² Decree 552/2006 structured SDDE including the Division of Rural Economy and Food Provisioning.

The next chapter reviews the aftermath of this edifice, and the changes it underwent during the next two administrations. It will conclude on the ways in which gender has intersected the food policy apparatus.

Chapter 3 – Cisheteronormativity is the backdrop for Food policy otherwise

1. The 2008-2015 PPSAN's apparatus

The beginning of PPSAN at the last days of the Garzón government set forth an 8-year path, providing guidelines for the next two administrations. Part of the reforms advanced by the Garzón government can be understood as continuity: restructuring government to “modernize” the management structure and define a decentralization process that stimulated inter-institutional coordination and expanded political participation, both followed the constitutional mandate of the 1991 Constitution. On the other hand, it also represented an institutional change that countered national policy or changed its course. The next two administrations did not explicitly challenge the path set forth by Garzón's food policy, sharing similar political allegiances. Mayor Moreno's administration, however, was emblazoned with corruption scandals, while later, Mayor Petro, faced staunch challenges from national authorities. Despite a sustained increase in the allocated budget for food policy programs, both governments cut spending overall, responding to reduced income, and hampering the realization of their intended goals. I will show how the food apparatus remained largely unaltered, although paying attention to its micro-politics and impacts, as well as to instances of possibility.

BSH had been a work in progress since Garzon's failed race for the 2002 Colombian presidency. He was part of a fractured political left that coalesced under a common party and won Bogota's seat in 2003. The party also won 8 seats, out of 45 in Bogota's Council, one of them taken by Ati

Quigua, an Arhuaco leader, daughter of another Arhuaco leader, Luz Elena Izquierdo. Quigua became then the first indigenous member of the Council. Her mother's political capital likely helped: Izquierdo had married into the family of one of the first indigenous parliamentarians, and by 1998 she directed the first indigenous EPS.¹⁰³ During Quigua's tenure, she supported the inclusion of food sovereignty, the right to water, and women's equity in the legislative agenda. Importantly, she promoted the City Indigenous Policy that incorporated the concepts of *legal pluralism* and indigenous conceptualizations of *territory* (Agreement 359/2009). Although kinship was predominantly patrilineal through Izquierdo's and her own differently ethnic partnerships/marriages and migration, she gained recognition as an indigenous feminist; an "outward feminism," that is, one which did not advocate for gender-related change inside her own community but outside of it (Santamaria 2016:189). She tried passing a bill (unsuccessfully) setting guidelines for a City food sovereignty policy (Draft-Agreement 409/2009). In it, she states that Bakata's land use should be used for *life* and its inhabitant's *food sustainability*. She invoked Ati Seynekun, "our mother," "from which all life exudes, sacred symbol of fertility, unity, and reciprocity," and which "develops our obligation and principal right to spread the signs to modern society for its recovery and safeguarding" (ibid). This Arhuaco cosmogony expresses an inclusive concept of life that vests bio/geo-logical formations with souls, suggesting the recognition of the rights of nature. Quigua invoked it to propose guidelines connecting food policy with broader environmental, indigenous, and women's rights. She invoked multiple international norms undersigned by Colombia (e.g., CEDAW, WFS96). It also included Ecuador's then-recent, pro-indigenous Constitution founded on the concept of *buen vivir* (see below). The policy's main

¹⁰³ EPS were charter public health businesses created under Law 100/1993. The state licensed (mostly) private-owned EPS to affiliate users to public healthcare, effectively increasing coverage. Colombo-indigenous communities had more difficulties accessing healthcare, partly because they lived in places harder for providers to access, but importantly because indigenous health and healing practices and knowledges were undervalued, if not dismissed by healthcare professionals.

authors were minoritized indigenous-cum-ethnic communities from Bogota and it instructed them to address one intersection with gender: “Design programs with a gender perspective to contribute to inclusive, just, and plausible solutions so that indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and peasant women contribute as stewards of seeds and biodiversity” (art.3).¹⁰⁴ This attempt provided a blueprint for food policy otherwise, but no changes were made to the apparatus and its conceptualization of a food system.

The 2004-2007 government had encouraged “a systems approach” not just for food policy. Decree 546/2007 created intersectoral commissions throughout to coordinate the City’s response to a series of issues. The City Intersectoral *Commission* for Food and Nutrition Security, CISAN, was created then without replacing the previous City Intersectoral *Committee* for Food and Nutrition (Agreement 86/2003).¹⁰⁵ The principle of “territorialization” contemplated in PPSAN promoted the creation of district-level FNS committees (CL-SAN). CISAN followed this mandate, and each district established its CL-SAN, each developing a Local FNS Plan for 2008-2012 through multistakeholder participation. This meant twenty local plans, a scope that proved difficult to oversee by CISAN (OBSSAN 2018:70). However important and despite the institutional restructuring, food policy didn’t become institutionally salient, e.g., no Department of Food was created, and the issue remained at risk of becoming dispersed again, an intersectoral coordination failure away. Discussions about the creation of such an instance took place without fruition (interview with Diaz-Urbe, see also Borda in Lopez-Prieto 2015). Three members of the CISAN,

¹⁰⁴ Santamaría accompanied Quigua and her mother’s journeys since 2009 publishing biographical snapshots and discussing their involvement with feminism (2015, 2016). Quigua’s speech for the Council’s presidency was uploaded in “Las mujeres del PDA...” (2010). Izquierdo et al. (2012) gave an account of Izquierdo’s life, including her divorces and motherhood experiences, helpful to nuance her and her daughter’s feminism. Both identify as Iku (Arhuaco) from Jeurwa where they hold strong matrilineal ties. In Quigua (2006) she expands on Iku cosmology.

¹⁰⁵ Since its members were effectively the same, the new arrangement took precedence. Decree 547/2016 declared the Committee “obsolete” and abolished it.

all nutritionists, involved in developing Bogota's food policy framework since the formulation of the *Food and Nutrition Plan 2000-2003*, insisted to include FNS across different areas of the 2008-2012 government. Martha Borda at SDDE, Gloria Ochoa at SDIS, and Luz Mery Rodriguez provided technical assistance to the CISAN, with a stark commitment to promoting food policy, prioritizing vulnerable groups.¹⁰⁶ This collaboration also shows how, while BSH made efforts to expand food policy beyond nutrition (initially at SDS), nutritionists followed food policy's incursion into other sectors. A proof of commitment, the government's fealty at the technical level sustained the food apparatus and its transformations. It also reaffirmed the significance of nutrition discourse for the apparatus.

The determination of these public officers throughout City governments kept food policy alive, although in the public sphere it lost momentum during 2008-2015, after its 2004-2007 protagonism. During these two governments two food programs derived from PPSAN, one per government: *Well Nourished Bogota Program* (2008-2011) and *Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security Program* (2012-2015).¹⁰⁷ The policy became less of a guideline to develop government plans and instead, the policy was made to fit the programs. Each government marketed its program through a slogan in relation to life: the first spoke of 'living better', the second adopted the decolonial option of 'buen vivir.' This last is the Spanish translation of Quechua *sumak kawsay*, which according to Walsh "denotes, organizes, and constructs a system of knowledge and living based on the communion of humans and nature and on the spatial-temporal-harmonious totality of existence" (2010:18). This concept came from indigenous resistance and thought that became the guiding principle of the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution, and was theorized as a new, collective path

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Luz Mery Rodriguez. They were formally part of CISAN's Technical Support Unit.

¹⁰⁷ In Spanish, *Bogota Bien Alimentada* and *Soberanía y seguridad alimentaria y nutricional*.

towards an-other development. ‘Buen vivir’ has been coupled with ‘food sovereignty,’ the second concomitant to the first. By exploring the continuities and changes of these programs and their conformity with PPSAN, it will be possible to elucidate the persistence of coloniality in liberatory discourse as well as the entanglements with other visions of modernization.

2. 2008–2012 Living Better: Bogotá Positiva

The 2008-2012 Plan included one food program. *Well Nourished Bogota* was part of a group of sixteen reaching for the goal of making Bogota a “*City of Rights*.” Parallel programs promoted “*Respect for Diversity*” (including sexual diversity) and “*Women and Gender Equality*” (Agreement 308/2008:art.7). In its formulation, the food program recognizes education, social inclusion, economic development, and environment as “related sectors.” It split into four projects, each with measurable targets: school meals, prenatal food aid, food and nutrition security, and promotion of urban agriculture (art.33). There was no indication of programs intersecting, except to provide *comprehensive care* to children.

Comprehensive care, which included the provision of food, had been an initiative of the national government cast out from the idea of “children as right-holders.”¹⁰⁸ Like the turn towards rights-based policy consolidated under Garzon04, policy discourse for children (i.e., anyone under 18-years-of-age) had shifted towards wellbeing overall. This had been stipulated by Law 1098/2006 and this Plan was explicit about its endorsement. The City’s Plan developed children’s right to food included a gendered provision: mothers’ pregnancy and birthing costs were to be covered

¹⁰⁸ In Spanish, “*sujetos de derechos*.”

(art.24). This relation to costs made palpable the tensions with the economicism of human capital discourse. The national framework as well as the City often mentioned were the economic returns of investment on early childhood.¹⁰⁹ This policy framework tied pregnant and birthing women to children rights, additional to the promotion of infant breastfeeding practices. In a similar vein, *Well Nourished Bogota* intersected with the City's implementation of Law 1098/2006 by securing that no child would be undernourished (Agreement 308/2008: art.34). While it restated the school meal target, it complemented it with the promotion of breastfeeding and healthy eating habits.

In this 2008-2012 government plan, thus, gender intersects its food-related objectives in a familiar way: identifying reproductive difference as determinant of distinctive treatment. Care and the family were phrased in gender-neutral terms without explicit acknowledgment of gender differences in their realization. Reviewing the final management report (SDP 2012), the government plan's food discourse was expanded into an array of 12 targets distributed among four sectors and six institutions, with a total of 21 indicators to track progress. This change between the proposed government plan and its execution, as mentioned, resulted from CISAN's efforts at the technical level (and without opposition from upper management).

PPSAN also required a series of institutional harmonization. Like the discrepancy between Commission and Committee mentioned above, other adjustments were required after the significant reforms that took place at the end of 2007. This meant the government inaugurated in 2008 found a host of decision bodies and rules to be developed, e.g., for PMASAB, CISAN, and SDDE. Unfortunately, during this period, major corruption scandals were uncovered, including fund mismanagement of food programs (Contraloria 2013). PPSAN itself kept going with tangible

¹⁰⁹ By 2011 even economist Nobel laureate Heckman, famous for his research on precisely this topic, had been invited as endorsement of this national framework.

results regardless, diminishing the amount of people going hungry and reducing malnutrition indicators, including deaths from malnutrition. While mostly unaltered, District expenditure increased to expand the program (more people/meals served) reaching up to 20% of local districts' budget (Contraloria 2011).

In the rendition of results at the end of the term, nutrition was framed within the health sector and provided conservative conceptualizations of *nutritional status*. When jeopardized it was phrased in terms of “human capital deterioration,” “effects on learning capacity,” “school performance,” and “school desertion.” “Food vulnerability” was seen as “the probability of a steep decrease in access or consumption of food, in relation to a critical value that defines a minimum level of human wellbeing;” it restated the importance of nutrition to infant mortality and the risk of maternal death (Bogota 2012d:77). It did however emphasize that these indicators also attested to social inequality, the central object to be intervened by the government plan.

On the margins, the Program *Network of Productive Women and Women Producers* sought empowerment, (political) participation and stimulating belonging, and often sponsored food as that which was produced and which signaled productivity. This policy innovation concerned enhancing productivity, rather than food securitization/sovereignty.

3. 2012–2015 Buen Vivir's Humanity

Human was a peculiar adjective chosen to label a program proposed by an animal rights defender, Bogota's 2012-2015 mayor. Under *Bogota Humana* a series of reforms aimed to reduce human-perpetrated animal suffering. The old slaughterhouse reopened as the state-of-the-arts library of

Bogota's Universidad Distrital (although renovations began in 2009), bullfighting was banned (a colonial-Spain era practice), and the City bullring was declared available only for non-animal exploitative events (reverted after the Constitutional Court ruled bullfighting as National heritage in 2018), and other provisions were emplaced, but commercial husbandry took place mostly beyond city borders. Food safety surveillance remained without much change. Food provisioning did, but not due to animal rights.

A fifteen-minute walk from the bullring, displaced Embera had built a camp. Embera communities were disproportionately affected by the militarization of their territories in relation to government-guerrilla-paramilitary confrontations in 2002-2012. Choosing Bogota for settlement was a strategy of visualization of how their body-territory had been affected by politico-economic decisions at the centers of power. Cosmogonic understanding of Embera territory diverged from capitalist circuits of trade, legal and illegal, drugs and minerals in particular (CNMH 2020). Research done by the National Indigenous Organization on the effects of the war on their communities titled its first chapter "The 'Conquest' isn't over." The erasure of their bodies was directly linked to the erasure of their territories. Violence against women's bodies constituted a type of "spiritual violence" (ksxa'wesxtx phthawênxi in Nasa-Yuwe), an affront against ancestral knowledge that imprinted sacrality to the land; it attacked woman's spirit and altered the ancestral order (ONIC-CNMH 2019:114-5). The colonality of violence exerted against bulls and against indigenous people-lands mediated their physical proximity. Seeking to recognize the wrongs against this (sometimes) visibly displaced community, the 2012-2015 Government Plan used an Embera phrasing to define actions against ethnic/racial discrimination, "Di seim fi aal, abarika jomainta, pe savogengue sa," translated as "equality for a good life and a better living" (art.11).

It could be said that “a good life” gave “living better” an endpoint. Overall, the 2012-2015 government attempted a transformational agenda with ‘a communal good life’ as its end. This included *food sovereignty*. This last term became part of the Program’s name, preceding and complementing *food security*, not a veiled structuring principle like in the 2007 PPSAN. In this government plan, *food* appeared repeatedly and throughout, beyond the sheer food program. The apparatus *Petro12* spoke of food sovereignty and security with different emphases. Some conclusions about their differences can be drawn by examining their usage.

Like in the previous Plan, Comprehensive Early Childhood Care had a ‘healthy food’ component and was developed in coordination/cooperation with the national strategy. Care responsibilities were still very motherly: “Families, caretakers, *community mothers*, *substitute mothers*, *FAMI mothers*, and other teaching and cultural agents” were made co-responsible, but I underlined those that were explicitly part of existing government programs, all mothers (art.7.2). Whether they were actual mothers or not, the national government hired them under that guise (through ICBF). However, the phrasing suggests training-for-care was not just oriented toward child-wellbeing but to “promote a culture of care” (good-treatment as opposed to abuse/mal-treatment). Attaining a ‘healthy growth’ was said to be subjected to *food security risks* for which *nutritional valuation* was a tool (among others) that must be provided through an intersectional approach. This was extended to all children and teens (art.11), this time with City funds only. The Comprehensive *non-Early* Childhood Program was branched into 11 dimensions, the second of which was called “Boys, girls and teens eating well.” The language of risk was no longer present, although provision was to take place principally through schools. They were to “enjoy healthy and balanced meals” through a food subsidy and iron sulfate supplementation, which prevented iron-deficiency anemia (an illness affecting school-aged girls more than boys). “Healthy eating” was further promoted

along with physical activity. Additionally, food was made part of the ‘right to quality free education and continuity’ emphasizing the terms “widespread” and “sufficient” (art.9). Finally, food assistance was also to be provided as support for those who had suffered discrimination.

Food security was included in the “territorialization” of a climate change response (art.25.4) that integrated Bogota with its neighboring municipalities and linked to “support of peasant farming” and other dimensions of a comprehensive strategy. The pledge was repeated in art 32, which develops the vision for regional integration.

It was through articles 15-16 that a Food Program was formally proposed. Formally, it adopted the 2007-2015 format of PPSAN, in addition to developing the existing rural policy and regional integration frameworks. The first, while rephrasing food security goals with inclusivity, it restates food sovereignty commitments second, pledging “to intervene [food] provisioning chains from a regional perspective, promoting national, regional, and local partnerships... and build a public food provisioning system...”

Food sovereignty complemented food security in ways that countered globalized-market pressures against local production. Recognizing that food assistance and aid were intrinsic to many City programs, the government opted to consolidate its food purchases and act as a major stakeholder able to significantly impact the market, particularly its prices. Markets and nutritional and agricultural networks continued to be strengthened shortening distribution chains between local producers and consumers; similarly, urban and peri-urban agriculture increased, although not at a rate able to counter corporate capital expansion. Supermarkets had continued growing despite the

persistence of small corner shops and seeking to mimic them.¹¹⁰ Funding of peasant markets and strengthening peasant production within city limits, while improving rural livelihoods and countering devaluing processes of land and landscapes was a pyrrhic endeavor.

Food and gender policy didn't overtly intersect, outside the usual maternal/caregiver dimension. It must be noted that the terms 'sexuality' and 'FNS' appear next to each other as part of a list of public health priorities for a *Health for Buen Vivir*. This indicated that efforts for inclusiveness made food and sex/gender agendas to converge. Caregiving was delinked from the maternal, as can be seen from the comparison between types of childcare: *early, national-sponsored* in contrast to *City-sponsored* childcare. Interestingly, the maternal is scaled genetic for the first time in a government plan: it speaks of "células-madre" (stem cells) aiming to promote public investment in biotechnologies and guarantee the provisioning of their services to the wider population. I point to this, not as discursive gymnastics, but because Buen Vivir and decoloniality ventures are often deemed pre-modern, and essentializing indigeneity as outside-of-modernity. Attention to decolonial potentialities was key for policy formulation under this government. However, promulgating decolonial turns from a position of mainstream authority is tricky.

A quick note on gender policy. Women-as-policy object was lifted to the level of Department with the goals of freeing the city from violence against women and guaranteeing equality of opportunity for women. This could be seen as the culmination of the 2004-2016 City Policy on Women and Gender Equality, formulated under Mockus01, in terms of institutional hierarchy and budget allocation. However, Afro-Colombian scholar, Betty Ruth Lozano, in Lorde's fashion, would

¹¹⁰ Toward the end of this dissertation, after the lifting of restriction under the covid19 pandemic, one of the biggest corporations that took over corner shops went bankrupt. This likely meant the disappearance of the shops it once acquired and the services it substituted.

question the use of women/gender as part of the master's toolbox (2014:8). Like Lorde, she suggested an answer should stem from everyday experience (Lorde 1984:114), redefining sex/gender beyond the constatation that patriarchy oppresses (Lozano 2014:22). Petro12 articulated a pluralism that defined an open-ended womanhood that would turn to the Department and its policy for affirmation. Implementation proved much harder.¹¹¹

4. **sumak kawsay**

Development is a result of a modern-linear teleology of betterment. Like capitalist productivity, people, things, life itself can always already be better. It is a constant actualization in a future direction that presupposes that right now is not good enough. Scholars of decoloniality have linked this proposition, better-living, to coloniality, a way through which beings and their knowledges have been hierarchically classified, a manner of measurement when some are intrinsically never enough, and others have always already been. Quechua remains a marginalized culture-language of the Andes, although *sumak kawsay*, translated into *Buen Vivir*, became Ecuador's "guiding principle for a new regime of development" (Walsh 2010:15). I build on Walsh's critique of the institutionalization of *Buen Vivir* to problematize its use in Petro12.

The *Human* in Bogota Humana, the government plan through which I characterize Petro12 as discourse, refers to Human Development, the policy framework advanced by economists (prominently Sen but also Max-Neef in LAC). Walsh suggests contemporary development can be characterized as "neo-liberalization and globalization [that] are experiencing a process of European 'humanization' in which the European model of functional interculturalism and development is on the way to replace the multicultural hegemony of US neo-liberal development

¹¹¹ Others have evaluated the effectiveness of the policies, e.g., Barón-Mesa & Muñoz-Eraso (2016).

policy” (2010:17). Buen Vivir, or the collectivization of well-being, has been mobilized by a pan-indigenous movement (in and of Abya-Yala/the Americas) that aims at valuing non-Western ways of knowing-doing, and in particular, collective ways of governing, centered on a broad understanding of life and its potential.

What appears as an epistemic shift needs to be reconciled through the democratic process and the colonality inherited through its structure. Walsh questions that such shift is truly radical. The connivence of human development and Buen Vivir should raise suspicion. I have pointed to some of the continuities between this apparatus and previous ones. However, the 2012-2015 government (not necessarily its discourse) did meet reactionary resistance up to the destitution of the mayor from office, an action eventually reversed but nonetheless highly disruptive.

It could be suggested that previous governments, even if inspired on theories of human development, had been racially “tainted” by indigeneity’s transformative resistance, through the hybridity of mestizaje. Mestizaje was the bio-epistemic process that tried to erase indigeneity through breeding-with-whiteness, both corporeally and epistemically. To make the Colombian race better, the bodies it emanated from had to be whiter, although with a distinctive character that set it apart from Europeanness. As Lugones showed, some embodied knowledges-practices-feelings reproduce through means that are hard for modernity to reach. She wrote that *mestizaje* works as a metaphor for impure resistance of enmeshed oppressions and deployed it towards a research program on what she calls *the politics of purity* and its bearing on the politics of separation (1994:458-9).

Most food studies readers will know *food security* is not a pure entity. That its meaning is constantly renegotiated, that depending on the party that claims it, it will purport meaning

differently. Food security is not a pure concept. However, as often happens with political concepts, i.e., concepts deployed to prescribe policy, I wonder about the extent to which it is used to convey something specific. I am willing to investigate some impurities of food security as a mestizo concept, or one that becomes mestiza, the concept (el concepto) gendered masculine, la mestiza (the identity claimed by many scholars of color thinking through enmeshed oppressions with liberatory aims). I want to raise attention to the gendering of food security as it affects communities racialized impure and as it partakes in the politics of im/purity, of resistance to control over the means of reproduction. I want to imagine with Lugones (1994:460) how a becoming into, or becoming through mestizaje, becoming mestiza means becoming “unclassifiable, unmanageable,” with no pure parts to be controlled.

Lugones early intersectional critique led her to denouncing the coloniality of gender, a modern/colonial matrix that instrumentalizes sex/gender dichotomies for subjectification of racialized beings away from practical solidarity (2007). There is some discussion among decolonial scholars about the renunciation of the political-governing sphere as a result of rejecting its colonial legacies. When Lozano answers that gender as political fiction is to be redefined from below (see above) she invokes intersectionality to critique, in line with Lugones, how gender emerges as an ethnocentric category that veils the plurality of being beyond the Euro-white sex/gender dichotomy. The dark side of modernity is the double negatives inscribed in racialized bodies: e.g., non-human, non-woman (Lugones 2007:196). The dark side of the modern/colonial matrix of power bears the sign of the violence of coloniality, that collectively punished, maimed, and killed genderless beings akin to animals, savages.

Government as Buen Vivir requires ambivalence. It is disruptive in its aim of radical inclusivity, allowing to think-with, sense-with, feel-with, be-with others, including the radically other. But

cosmogonies are a process of genealogical renegotiation. The institutions for deliberative processes that the City of Bogota offers have given way to feminist indigeneity, like Ati Quigua's proposal of a food sovereignty policy, one that did not make it through City Council. However, I want to suggest that awareness of the prevalence of cisheteronormativity should impact precisely the ability of deliberations to open up toward radical possibility.

5. The prevalence of cisheteronormativity in the transition toward a local food policy

Nutrition services were coordinated by institutions that depended on the national or the department levels,¹¹² namely by two institutions, the *National Social Welfare Department* -ICBF and the departmental *Beneficencia de Cundinamarca*. While their history predates the 1991 constitutional reform, I want to argue that examining the inauguration of the 1991 Constitution, this new politico-legal regime, demonstrates how food plays an integral role to the sex/gender power/knowledge regime. Decolonial afro-lesbian scholar, Ochy Curiel posits that the 1991 Constitution comprises the discursive materialization of a nation-building [cis]heterosexual¹¹³ regime in Colombia, because, among other reasons, as its basic law, it can only express hegemonic values through the deliberation and negotiated resolution of those who assembled, substantially men (2013:29f). It is the privilege of class and race, she says, which discursively unite the different political views of the members of the Constitutional Assembly, that assure the heterosexual nature of this new social

¹¹² Colombia's political-administrative structure has been three-tiered since 1991: nation, department, municipality. Bogota was an electoral district of the Department of Cundinamarca until it became an autonomous district through this constitutional reform. Thus, Bogota benefited from the services of Cundinamarca pre-1991.

¹¹³ Curiel doesn't extend her analysis to trans-exclusion/cis-normativity. I want to emphasize the significance of trans inclusion and participation in Bogota's government after the rise of a consolidated left. I recall the activism and other work of Diana Navarro Sanjuán, key to the formulation of the first City LGBTI Policy.

contract, which she calls, following Wittig's critique to Rousseau, a "heterosexual contract" (2013:42).

Let me now review the framing of the Constitution as it relates to food to understand how a heterosexual regime impacts its formulation. There are two instances where food appears. The Colombian Constitution begins its second chapter "on social, economic, and cultural rights" declaring the family as society's fundamental nucleus (art.42). The introduction of sexual dimorphism in the next article is coupled with equality of rights and opportunity, which merits an immediate reproductive consideration: during pregnancy and birth women are to be subjects of special consideration and will be entitled to food assistance in case she's forsaken (art.43). Thus, food entitlements first derive from giving birth as a state of insufficiency. The rights of children follow, which include a "balanced diet" (art.44). To complete this life cycle approach, article 46 addresses old age under destitute poverty as meriting state-sponsored food assistance.

The second set of provisions concerns food production. After considering private property, and land and intellectual ownership, public goods come up. Article 63 contemplates different modalities of collective ownership and proscribes their transferability. Article 64 recognizes peasants as subjects of special consideration and the need for state action to guarantee their rights. Finally, article 65 envisions food production as in need of special State protection. Like peasants in the previous article, food requires investment and access to technologies, peasants to increase their income and food to increase its yield. Finally, article 67, prescribes credit as intrinsic to financial logic, where future harvest introduces uncertainties whose 'risk' can be financially smoothened.

These two sides of food-and-state reveal interesting parallels. Food must be procured inside the family household during the “non-productive” stages of life.¹¹⁴ Food production itself deserves special protection, especially in its path toward productivity. Food assistance emerges as the state response to solve a class divide that threatens the indivisibility of the family: The law identifies a first moment of vulnerability (pregnancy/childbirth) that is threatened by the state of poverty. Food operates then to secure not just human reproduction but the integrality of the family. The pregnant/birth-giving woman is treated differently from the child, for whom the right is to “a balanced diet.” While women are to be elevated from a state of poverty, children’s diet is qualified from the start, not as minimal but as sufficient. This distinction subordinates women, not to men this time around, but to children/fetus.¹¹⁵

The novelty of this “law of laws” was built upon the promise of an expansive (human) rights-based approach to governance while adhering to government-tightening demands of neoliberal international markets and geopolitics: while providing recognition to historically marginalized and oppressed groups and built amongst debates on gender equality, it continued to reproduce a patriarchal model (Curiel 2013) that sustained a food model based on charity antithetical to gender equality. Patriarchy doesn’t only operate on sex but on age too. The asymmetrical mother-child dyad¹¹⁶ has been central to all food policy discourse during the 1990-2015 period, and is part of the domestication of women. While it has been shown how breastfeeding operates through such logic, pro-lactation feminist policymakers have proven its potential as resistance practice and a site of liberatory possibilities. If anything, the advent of bottled nutrients for breastmilk

¹¹⁴ While education policy promotes school retention for teenagers it is possible to work from 15 years of age onward. Officially, children include anyone under 18, but the discrepancy between art. 44 and 45 leaves space for ambiguity.

¹¹⁵ Unless, logic prescribes, men are akin to children and/or children are assumed akin to men.

¹¹⁶ The term is from Kimura (2013). See Chapter 6.

substitution (think Nestle) has come with considerable capital investments to eliminate breastmilk and articulate customers from before birth. Nutritional complementation has been key to the marketing of breastmilk substitutes and strengthen subjectivities of subordination and bodily inefficiencies.

Which leads me to the infusion of technologies not only on motherly corporeity but into the fields. Enhancing agricultural productivity has been a defining characteristic of inter-nation competition through valuation practices that have neglected feminized and collective practices. Since at least male-initiated Euro-colonization introduced monocrops and urbanization as part of the domination/domestication of the land altering body-landscape relations favoring European-valued crops,¹¹⁷ Colombia's militarized violence has had an urban bias. Urban securitization has come at the expense of the state's presence in the countryside where it has been largely military. Consequently, peasants and land resistance movements have suffered marginalization, like the Embera or Arhuaco, mentioned above (or the MAQL in Chapter 7.1). It is often said that Colombia's land distribution is one of the world's worst.¹¹⁸ Recalling from the introduction, the building blocks of the 1991 reform were a series of peace treaties between the state and revolutionary movements, as well as civil moments led by students and women. Armed companies, whether revolutionary or not, were often agrarian and rurality was their predominant landscape, even when bombs began exploding in Bogota's markets and other spaces of circulation and exchange (see Ch.1). No considerable agrarian reform had been attempted since the 1960s, a principal reason for armed insurrection, and political parties that defied the status quo were

¹¹⁷ For a history of e.g., the value of quine and colonial knowledge see Nieto-Olarte (2001).

¹¹⁸ For an economic analysis of land distribution in favor of landed elites see Faguet, Sanchez, Villaveces (2020). How this affected rural women, and the moderate land reform of 1994 see Leon & Deere (1997).

exterminated (CNMH 2020b). A violent heterosexual order also operated through a landscape axis, producing body-gradients of urban modernity.

Heterosexuality is a violent regulatory order in Colombia, a political fiction amidst a regime of sexual difference, not a sexual orientation, paired with homosexuality in order to guarantee its existence. Hetero/homosexuality are territories of white and colonial Western modernity that now demands new lines of flight. What this Western-centric global order calls sexual orientation is no other than the production and management of desire. Decolonial scholarship and practice has often looked towards indigenous epistemologies to provide alter-narratives. Here I suggest that mestizo epistemologies can also open new imaginations of ‘buen vivir’/ ‘vivir bien’.

6. Possibilities reconsidered

Between the two governments of 2008-2011 and 2012-2015, a significant change operated. Petro12 devised a system of food coupons, “My Vital,” seeking efficiencies in resource allocation. OBSSAN found that purchases through coupons had unintended dietary effects against balanced meals: beneficiaries opted for tubers (starchy, filling, high with energy) over better sources of proteins, vitamins, or minerals. It also hurt corner shops, unable to process their electronic format, privileging instead supermarkets further away from their households, with food from even further origins. Community kitchens were also negatively impacted, curtailing their potential as social, empowering, and safe and clean kitchen/cooking spaces, important features for resource-poor people. This attempt to reduce food assistance gave beneficiaries the illusion of autonomy, an opportunity to decide what foods to buy and where, surrendering management decisions to the individual.

The last three chapters have introduced and discussed the intersections of gender and food policy amidst a local, neoliberal tropicity. I have suggested that the initiation of city electoral politics inaugurated a path towards organizing gendered and food interventions, in response to local contexts. What I have termed a dispersed policy apparatus, where discourses operated with only coincidental articulation, through the initiative of a group of local technical public officials, gave way to the structuration of a food system. The consideration of such a system for policy through the lens of liberation theology became the flagship of the 2004-2007 food policy, a prominent marketing and social intervention that gained a momentum soon overshadowed by poor administration practices. I finalized by addressing considerations of coloniality.

Considering both biopolitical theorizations and a decolonial feminist lens, I suggested this three-tiered periodization where the coincidence of food and gender is better understood in relation to the provision of feminized charity inside a patriarchal structure. Maria-Emilda Jimenez-Hernandez (2012) showed a discursive and gendered shift between baroque and enlightened/modern charity in Bogota. The modern/colonial charity model to food provisioning is further debilitated by access to cheaper international foodstuffs and specialization on “comparatively advantageous” cash crops, a characteristic of the third food regime (McMichael 2013). However, the expansive recognition to the right to food alongside women’s rights intensified the provisioning of these rights towards local government action. The changing structure at the city level, as has been shown between 1991 and 2003, led to the creation of a multi-stakeholder food policy committee that was better able to innovate in biopolitical controls as well as in paths to subvert it. Between 2004 and 2008 the centrality of food policy to city governance incorporated food sovereignty claims into food security, opening a discourse shift with biopolitical consequences that both subvert and reaffirm international corporate markets. While woman gained roles in charity-led food

provisioning, an expanded model of structural change against structural violence was set in place with consequences to urban reproduction possibilities. The 2008 – 2015 period shows how the shift operated when food provisioning was de-prioritized.

David Nally posits that the biopolitics of food provisioning is “a lens to think about how the management of food maps onto strategies for managing life, a synergy that becomes more pronounced as agrarian structures are transformed to suit commercial interests rather than human needs” (2012:38). While indeed Colombia had built a contradictory new lego-political structure that expanded free trade at the same time as rights to its citizens, the resolution would not be reflected only on the racial axis that peters out non-market access to food, but also on a gender axis that colonizes sex and reproduction. To further explore how this came about I now turn to another scale of governance. I have sidelined discussion of global governance to privilege the provincialization of the postcolonial, to flesh out the hybrid becomings and complications of governance. I will attempt now to provincialize the global, discussing the consolidation of global discourses that make up the intersection of gender and food policy. Following Tsing’s insights on the friction of global connection, I urge the reader to keep in mind Bogota’s public policy conundrums as the reimaginings, misinterpretations, or dismissals of the selected global apparatuses that patched the way to a global gender perspective on food security.

Chapter 4 – Modernity and the emergence of rural women

The subsequent three chapters open an analytical space to critique the global scale of a gender perspective of food policy. While the globality of food governance is enacted through various actors that sustain the global as an epistemic locus, after the 1990s *food security* became the driving commonality, i.e., all [formal] food policy discourse became, if not centered on it, then related to it. Food security as a concept (FS) can be said to solidify in 1996 thanks to the World Food Summit (WFS96) called for by the UN Secretary-General, and organized by its agency, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). However, the proposition to securitize food had been the purpose of global governance since the configuration of a post-WWII order. This spiraled efforts to define food securitization programmatically. This section traces the discursive evolution of food security as it came to dominate global policy between 1990 and 2015. It will first show how gender (re)emerges in global food policy in the 1970s through development macro-structures after being at the heart of food policy since its 1798 Malthusian iteration. While this led to important discursive and structural reforms in food governance in order to include ‘women’ as a universal category in policy promulgation, if not necessarily conception, it did preclude gendered claims of agrarian movements. The incorporation of North-Atlantic feminisms into the 1970s ‘food policy complex’, I claim, happened through its economization, that is, through its compliance with economic discourses of development. In this sense, I characterize gender in food policy as composed of two discursive streams with distinct policy-objects: one akin to production and centered around ‘rural women’, another coupled to consumption and tied to the reproductive body articulated (mostly) through nutrients. I propose to interpret the assemblage of gender and food policy as co-constitutive of the infrastructure of reproduction and of the modern/colonial gender

system following the insights of Michelle Murphy and María Lugones. The consequences of such framing, I suggest, can contribute to ‘provincializing feminism’, bring forward forgotten rural/peasant genealogies, and add to the efforts of articulating gender into the post-1990s molecular order.

The connivance of supranational organizations in relation to the biopolitical question of how food provisioning meets reproduction in the body, emphatically feminized bodies, has been usually overlooked. These chapters build on critiques to development and the essentialist approaches to women and gender that have permeated it (e.g., Escobar 1995; Lugones 2007; Harcourt 2013; Nightingale, 2006, 2011). Critiques of the international governance of gender have focused on the explicitness of gender equality-as-goal (Kardam 2004; Cornwall and Rivas 2011; Kabeer 2005), although less attention has been given to the intersections of other development issues with gender, and even less to ‘gender and food’ at this institutional level. Few scholars have directed their gender-critical lens to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).¹¹⁹ Inspired by historians of international organizations Pernet and Ribí-Forclaz’s invitation to examine FAO’s history with new perspectives, I build on the scant attention given to the location of gender in food-as-development from within FAO, its most salient promoter at the global scale. I also part from their proposition that the linkage between agriculture and food and nutrition was determined by the interwar context (2019:347).

¹¹⁹ While most FAO histories have been institutional (Phillips 1981; Abbott 1992; Hambidge. 1955; Shaw 2007, 2009, 2010), some focus on its founding members (e.g., O’Brien 2000; Way 2013). Only recently some critical scholarship was published in a special issue of *The International History Review* (Pernet & Ribí-Forclaz 2019) and some few articles in the edited volume by Frey, Kunkel, and Unger (2014). Ruxin (1996) focused on FAO exclusively on nutrition, but, as in the above, gender analysis is seldom prominent, and never has gender policy at FAO been explicitly addressed. Some exceptions being Jarosz (2015) and Phillips & Ilcan (2003), as well as some articles in Pernet & Ribí-Forclaz (2019).

The current chapter, as an introduction to the above, recalls from the introduction the concept of *food security*, often quoted in Bogota's food policy, and how it was said to stem from international compromises and discourses of which Colombia was a signatory country. The World Food Summit of 1996 (WFS96) put forward a definition of FS to unify its meaning and structure a world Plan of Action. The discourse of Lemos-Simmonds,¹²⁰ Colombian delegate to WFS96, already heralded how considerations around gender were on the global food policy table: "It has been made clear that hunger has the face of a woman," he stated in the plenary (1996). This was not surprising given the preparation of food governance organizations to participate in the 1995 Fourth Conference on Woman in Beijing (WCW4). More high-level conferences for international governance took place on overlapping themes such as the environment (1992), nutrition (1992), and population (1994). This mushrooming of UN conferences in the early 1990s, became associated to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's governing strategy,¹²¹ a similar one to that of Secretary-General Waldheim, his antecessor in the 1970s. The connection between these two periods is more than tactical. At a minimum, there is a thematic continuity and an overlap of issues, actions, and responsibilities. Regarding food security, this cementation in a definition that would become widespread can be seen as the conclusion of substantial reforms to global food governance in the 1970s when a complex web of financial, economic, ecological, and social events sedimented into a global policy architecture. I propose that in this context, the epistemic shift provoked by the rise of urban feminism in the 1970s North-Atlantic constructed a universal policy object, *rural*

¹²⁰ Lemos-Simmonds, Colombian Vicepresident at the time, had been negotiator of the Peace Treaty with M19, the guerrilla movement-turned political party that played a key role in the Constitutional Assembly of 1991 (See Introduction; Bogota's 2012-2015 mayor was a member of both). He was a member of the Assembly for the Liberal Party and was part of the transitional Congress.

¹²¹ Although the first two were being prepared years previous to his post.

women, who would be defined in need of development, and constantly at risk of being left out of development.

This chapter traces the conceptual development of Women-in-Development (WID), the so-called feminist first wave to approach development. WID scholars would have an important impact in defining the women's policy agenda inside the UN leading to the 1975 *International Women's Year* and the launch of the Decade of Women in Development. The following chapter inquires about the World Food Conference of 1974 (WFS74), just one year prior, which resulted in erecting a reformed global food policy architecture. Since both were being prepared parallelly, I inquired about their correspondence at their time of preparation. Despite the inclusion of a chapter on women, most of the conference overlooked the intersections between women and food policies, although a dialogue between these two arenas began there. I follow Jarosz' insights about the gendered impacts transformed alongside the discursive shift from *world food security* to *household food security* that marked the beginning of 1990s, and how by WFS96 the latter had become synonymous with *food security* itself.

1. Development without women

Before there was *woman* there was *population*. I refer to policy objects and their instrumentalization, at least regarding global food policy during the preparation of WFS74. A four-year endeavor, the 1974 World Population Conference of the UN took place in Bucharest, uniting a generalized anxiety about rapid population change, not just growth. The Club of Rome, founded in 1968 had published two years prior its first report, *The Limits to Growth*. The report promoted a Malthusian interpretation of population change, foreseeing an eventual collapse through hunger and war over scarce resources, and using state of the art computational simulations. FAO officials

had been busy preparing for another World Conference, “an emergency conference,” this time on Food (WFS74), called for by the US Secretary Henry Kissinger at the UNGA. The connections were clear: just like state-of-the-art computational simulations had been given by the Club of Rome, so too was FAO interested in estimating “the production potential of the world at present levels of technology, and its implications in terms of inputs (including energy) and perhaps ecological/environmental considerations” for “up to 1985 and if possible 2000,” wrote DJ Walton, WFC74 Chef de Cabinet, in a draft outline of the assessment. Walton’s missive also proposed “targets for national and international action” such as “i) doubling of (world) (developing countries’) food production between 1975 and [2]000; ii) specified (tonnages) (percentages of world production or world trade) for national/international reserves; iii) achievement of minimum nutritional standards for (vulnerable groups) (poorest quarter of population) [and] iv) achievement of specified level of food aid.”¹²² The Organization was busy worrying on international food reserves, increasing food production, and developing new technologies to boost productivity. However, as EH Hartmans pointed out to Director-General AH Boerma, this couldn’t be done with

“the idea that the land can be cultivated by the individual owner, regardless of size of farm and level of education... I challenge the soundness of this concept, since agricultural production, like industrial production, requires certain minimum levels of basic resources in terms of land, capital, technologies and *management* without which “effective” production, let alone accelerated production, cannot take place. The effective application of modern technologies demands a certain minimum size of business which in turn

¹²² Walton, Pre-Planning Group for special world food conference, 10 October 1973

demands a level of ability far above that of the GREAT majority of millions of small farmers in the developing world”¹²³

Boerma, appointed Sayed Marei as Secretary-General of the Conference, partly in recognition of the role of the OPEP in influencing energy and food prices. Marei was aware and emphatic about the technological side to the problem and favored corporate efficiency. So much so that he instituted a FAO/Industry Cooperative Programme early on. Appointed in February, by April he had hosted a dinner at the University Club NYC with Agro-Industry representatives to brainstorm corporate solutions to the ‘developing country’ woes. Notes from the meeting read

“[Marei] wants to find a ‘fair and just’ solution to the world food problem. The conference will be ‘action-oriented’ and will be conducted in a business-like manner so that practical ideas for both short and long term action can be incorporated in a ‘master plan’ for the developing countries... [On multi-lateral aid,] Neither governments nor industry are interested in the “charity” approach [but instead] on mutual long range interests”¹²⁴

Marei suggested a large development fund could be set up to financialize solutions to the world food problem, which he envisioned as routes to increase agricultural productivity, principally through pesticides and fertilizers. He believed the agroindustry had a moral and advisory role to “promote agro industrial growth” especially rapid local infrastructure expansion” analogous to the “Ford Foundation’s work on high yielding varieties.” “Appropriate” agricultural technology should be transferred, and given the energy crisis, “particularly less energy-consuming technology” (ibid). Various proposals came from member countries after an open invitation by Marei.

¹²³ Letter from Hartmans to Boerma, 10 October 1973, SWFC/BP/9 (original emphasis)

¹²⁴ Summary of FAO/Industry Cooperative Programme, April 22, 1974

Additional techno-fixes and financialization strategies came as response to the invitation: a World Fertilizer Fund, a World Bank of Food, Agricultural Inputs Supply and Research, an Agricultural Development Fund, a Universal Declaration on Hunger, and a World Food Security Council.¹²⁵ Even a proposal that didn't warrant comment came from the director Food and Nutrition Division.¹²⁶ NGOs presented a thorough and structured proposal. Aside from increasing production, they also recommended rebuilding depleted food reserves, curbing inflationary pressures, promoting changes in agrarian structures (with special consideration for women), and reducing over-consumption.¹²⁷

Anyone at FAO could simplify the problem with ease, given their privileged access to food statistics. Less a matter of accuracy than rhetoric, yields were growing less rapidly while population appeared to be “exploding.” Indeed, Boerma thanked the editor of “Explosion Hunger-1975” for including his statement on “Population Growth and the Need for Food Reserves” next to that of the UN Secretary-General.¹²⁸ However, FAO's own *Inter-Divisional Working Group on Food and Population* had prepared a series of *Food and Population Studies* for the Bucharest Conference and WFC74 with more paused assertions than those driving the preparations for WFC74.¹²⁹

Marei was aligned with Boerma in his supply-side solutions. The DG had explicitly asked for participation of (new) agroindustry NGOs in particular those concerning “other representatives of groups interested in food problems, particularly those concerned with agricultural machinery, seed

¹²⁵ E/CONF.65/PREP/L2, L3, L4, L5

¹²⁶ Ganzin to AG Orbaneja, Director, Conference, Council and Protocol Affairs Division: A 10 year plan to solve the inadequate food and nutrition conditions of needy populations, no date.

¹²⁷ Joint Representation to the Preparatory Committee for the World Food Conference by NGOs in Consultative status, 1974 May 10

¹²⁸ UN 43/6 TL ec Letter from Boerma to Karamchandi, 28 Jun 1974

¹²⁹ Memorandum Bachman to Boerma 5 Oct 1973 SWFC/BP/8; UN ST/ESA/SER.A/57: 484-497

production and agro-industry.”¹³⁰ Marei put it in the following terms “The anxiety to which I refer stems from recent developments concerning the supply of food with which every country is familiar in some shape or form, whether it is steeply rising prices, widespread malnutrition or the not so distant threat of famine (...) Malthus rises from the ashes again.”¹³¹ It was an informed choice. Both Marei and Boerma were acquainted with Meadows & Meadows’ *Population Bomb*, but appeared to be eluding engagement with human reproduction.

The Director of the Population Division at the UN thought Marei’s attendance and speech at the Population Conference “would clearly demonstrate how the two conferences are linked together.” Marei would feel proud of his speech and for good reasons; he would receive an invitation to the Club of Rome soon after. Marei’s vision joined the US position, which US Secretary of Agriculture Freeman had put rather protractedly in a letter to him:

“the basic problem of feeding people... can only be met in the less developed countries where tropical weather conditions with sunshine 300 days a year or more permits triple and even quadruple cropping. Ironically, the technology to product [sic] efficiently in these areas is available – new seeds, fertilizers and chemicals make it possible. But to apply this technology effectively requires investment, knowhow, skill and good management. The question then becomes, how can the threat of famine be thwarted and the overwhelming need for jobs in the most underdeveloped world be met?”¹³²

¹³⁰ DDI:G/74/49 29 APRIL 1974; Letter from Boerma to Marei 1974 March 22 DDI-FA 7/40. It is telling that Cyanamid took part of this ICP. Cyanamid was reorganized through mergers after the mid-1990s, in 2020 mostly owned by Pfizer, smaller portions belonging to BASF and Procter & Gamble. In a telegram it is confirmed that FAO’s role here would be to promote agroindustry presence in LDCs. “Believe important 26 April meeting consider not only direct advisory assistance in WFC preparations but also possible ICP role organizing ad hoc consultation” (Telegram from Simmonds to Friedrich, date illegible).

¹³¹ Statement of Mr Sayed Marei, Secretary General, WFC, 30th meeting of the ECAFE, Colombo, March 29, 1974.

¹³² Letter to Marei from Freeman Business International Corporation, 1974 June 12.

Reproduction, however, was on everybody's minds. An internal letter included this bit of personal information, "Merci de tes félicitations à propos de la naissance du Nouveau fils. J'espère qu'elles son méritées en cette Année mondiale de la population et que je n'ai pas simplement contribué à donner plus de travail au Secrétariat de la [WFC74]!"¹³³

2. Bucharest 1974

The World Population Conference took place in August 1974. In October 24 and in preparation for the 64th Session of the FAO Council, a paper was circulated to discuss follow-up actions (CL 6/1). First, the problem addressed there had three faces: population, food supply, and rural welfare. At its most prescriptive, the Declaration suggested achieving a decline in population where 'developing countries' *only* should reduce birth rates from 38 to 30 (born/1000 hab.) by 1985. Family planning should be accompanied by reduction in child mortality, more education for women, the improvement of the status of women, land reform and support in old age. The topic of women's economic inclusion was raised, specifically "the economic contribution of women in household and farming should be recognized in national economies" (ibid). After attending the Conference, it was clear that solutions to the food problem also concerned reproductive decisions. The Conference's resulting Plan of Action was disaggregated into seven dimensions: 1) population growth, 2) reduction of morbidity and mortality (including maternal mortality) in conjunction with massive social and economic development. 3) Reproduction, 4) family formation and the status of women, 5) Population distribution and internal migration, 6) International migration, and 7)

¹³³ Letter of Mengin to M. Benaissa, 27 May 1974.

Population structure.¹³⁴ Luminaries like Simon Kuznets, Esther Boserup, and Margaret Mead attended it, and even dissidents who dismissed the idea of population control altogether.¹³⁵

The affective atmospheres¹³⁶ behind these political loci, and the tactical role (often feminized) of strategies like gossip are often left out from the records. The strength of the Non-Aligned Movement, the call for a “new international economic order,”¹³⁷ and similar rhetoric that openly discussed structural inequality kept making some people queasy, like US Secretary-of-State Henry Kissinger. Supportive structuralist perspectives were presented, like those of the Women and Development perspectives (WAD), advancing a structural analysis against geopolitical power relations that instrumentalized population and reproduction, like UN chief of the Population Policy Section who complained in a personal letter that “Bucharest was difficult.”¹³⁸ Questions about the need for a food conference would stem from the Bucharest experience that would exclude these discussions.

It would be futile to try to understand why the organizers of WFC74 seemed so reluctant to include rural women into their agenda. The centrality of the reproduction of life in the Malthusian interpretation of the situation, be it in planetary, in human, or in women’s terms, not only involved women but the subject was explicitly addressed from various perspectives. I will refer to Kissinger’s speech at WFC74 for guidance. First, because it was he who called for a food conference to happen: Through Senatorial gossip, Boerma heard Kissinger’s stance that “since in

¹³⁴ UN. E/CONF.60/WG/L.55/

¹³⁵ Like Finkle and Crane’s presentation. Notes on all presentations can be consulted in (1975b). Sanders (1974 Oct) considered the conference cemented Latin American populations policies, a region that according to him had adopted modern family planning “until recently” (i.e., within the past decade although not unlike the rest of the world) and allowed the regional block to come to terms with the erection of this infrastructure of distributed reproduction, another signifier of having entered modernity.

¹³⁶ The term is from Murphy (2017b).

¹³⁷ This resulted in [UNGA Resolution 3202 in 1974](#) where UNCTAD played a leading role.

¹³⁸ Letter from Tabbara to Walton Aug 1974. The PoA was approved on after 47 previous votes (Merchant 2021:187). Merchant acknowledges that North/South tensions guided most disagreements.

the past twenty years despite very large shipments of food to needy nations, food had remained somewhat of a political embarrassment to the United States, since sometimes it was blamed for dominating the countries concerned through food aid, and sometimes for not doing enough.” Additionally, Kissinger was adamant that “food was not a subject which could be left only to Agricultural Ministers.”¹³⁹

Secondly and more importantly for the subject at hand, Kissinger also dismissed women. In his speech, increasing population imperiled and was a threat to the earth’s carrying capacity along three axes: production, distribution, and reserves, and proposed strategies to address these, none of which addressed women or reproductive issues. His geopolitical vision stated that the USA recognized “the responsibilities [USAmericans] bear by virtue of our extraordinary productive, our advanced technology, and our tradition of assistance.” The goal was to diminish divisions recognizing that all nations were “linked to a single economic system” and confrontations were “sterile,” suggesting that “the poorest and weakest nations will suffer the most [from discussions about a new economic order.]” “Food has become a central element of the international economy. A world of energy shortages, rampant inflation, and a weakening trade and monetary system will be a world of food shortages as well.”¹⁴⁰ It can be speculated how this view would eventually favor the US financially, but I want to stress that in neither the analysis of the problem nor the strategies that addressed it spoke of the role of women, instead favoring technical fixes.

The Bucharest Conference concluded that population policies were needed to secure social and economic welfare but family planning, let alone deciding who family planning was for, was not

¹³⁹ Letter from Boerma to Aziz, Confidential Memorandum on meeting with Senator Butz, 2 November 1973.

¹⁴⁰ Kissinger Address before the WFC, 1974 November 5.

enough or effective to ‘solve the food problem.’¹⁴¹ What the food problem was then has been recounted by Patel as “the perfect storm” (2012), referring to the compounded nature of its causes. From decreased harvests over the 1973 summer, to geopolitical tensions (including the selling of US grain to the USSR), the end of the USD gold standard, meteorological events like the ENSO, and new data and computational power that sustained a theory of population growth, all contributed to the *perception* of scarcity. The idea of scarcity of resources, not just food, had already been brought up in 1972 at another UN conference, about the environment. The affective atmospheres seemed however structured around the political tensions that raised them and that negotiated a response. These political tensions raised when speaking about exploitative, unfair relations were shading new uncomfortable light on how to address this perceived scarcity.

3. Women had been there always already

What about women? Did they play a role at all in WFC74? This question was raised by N. Van Than, Deputy Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour to PH Chrane at FAO’s Office for Inter-Agency affairs: “1975 will be the *International Women's Year*. Could you info me if the FAO is planning any special programmes for rural women workers in which we can cooperate?”¹⁴² Crane forwarded the letter from FAO in Rome to the seat of WFC74 in NYC. I couldn’t find an answer from Marei’s office in the archives, but at least two copies asking the questions were kept.

FAO Economist and feminist at Washington D.C., Okura-Leiber, addressed Declan Walton at FAO in this respect. Writing two months before the selection of a Secretary General to the Conference,

¹⁴¹ Merchant details how behind the Conference was the political intention to empower “population bombers,” i.e., those who building on the impending nuclear threat suggested that high fertility was contrary to economic growth. The problem rested in the desired number of children remaining above (a population’s) replacement rate (2021:158f).

¹⁴² IL 2/214 CLobo/ar 7.May.1974 NVT/bh Letter from Van Than to Crane, original emphasis.

she raised issues of content and representation. On this last, she counted 37 women out of 950 delegates and observers at FAO's Conference 17th session; "Half of them came from "centrally planned economy countries."¹⁴³ Regarding content she recalled the 1970 World Food Congress at the Hague where "there was a feeling that too little recognition had been given to the important role which women play in the life of the rural community." She quoted extensively from the Congress' report:

"Governments and international agencies should recognize the important role which women have in the social and economic life of the family and the community, and involve them actively in the planning and implementation of all development programmes. To this end women's committees and organizations as instruments for making this participation possible, should receive the support of governments and of FAO."¹⁴⁴

All high-level intra-institutional conversations for WFC74 were had between men. Walton's answer to Okura-Leiberg was lacking, "Insofar as our ladies are fighting for equal rights and the abolition of measures that discriminate against them I follow the arguments wholeheartedly and would be with them on the barricades.... *In the future we should be more conscious than in the past of the need for selecting women.*"¹⁴⁵

Esther Hymer, Chairman of the Committee on International Women's Year of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the ECOSOC addressed Marei reminding him of UNGA's commitment to "the full integration of women in the total development

¹⁴³ That 1973 Conference memorialized Josué de Castro, Chairman of the Council (1951 to 1955). He advanced clearly anti-Malthusian population (pro-Ricardian) theories, where reproduction is presented as a coping mechanism to scarcity (see Ch.2.3 for his indirect influence on Bogota's food policy).

¹⁴⁴ UN 43/1 43/8 DJW/jpk 7.12.73 Letter from Okura-Leiberg to Walton.

¹⁴⁵ DJW/jpk 9.1.74 Letter from Walton to Okura-Leiberg, my emphasis.

effort.” Her organization had been following preparations for WFC74 and after studying drafts that circulated in preparation over the summer, the organization suggested that under the title “Need for National and International Action-Measures for Increasing Food” the following should be included: “improved efficiency of rural agricultural workers with special attention to the needs of rural women.”¹⁴⁶ They had developed a framework where “in order to increase food production it is believed by members of the committee that it is imperative to deal vigorously with the adverse conditions under which rural women live and work.” The issue of how women were being excluded from development issues or how they were being included not just in unequal terms but through dynamics that worsened them were becoming an urgent research agenda and a strengthening political pressure seeking to change such situations.

I want to highlight how efficiency became the gateway for women’s inclusion. This double bind would characterize the framing of rural women in spaces of policy: women’s efficiency solved problems, but their efficiency needed improvement. If the Population Conference had focused on women’s reproductive potential, for food policy ‘women’ were “the untapped human resource” (Hymer 1974:1; the remainder of this section references it). What IWY was suggesting was a rephrasing of the ‘food problem’ to include women. The proposal emphasized how women were agricultural producers and workers in rural areas of the ‘developing world,’ how nonetheless they required improved “access to opportunities to acquire the necessary skills of knowledge to increase the output and diversification of food crops” and other activities, how they did all that while also giving care (only childcare is mentioned), and how their voice in families and communities is often dismissed.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from Hymer to Marei, referred to Vidal-Naquet May 13 1974 UN 43/6.

Furthermore, Hymer claimed the recognition of women's potential was *strategic* which would expand the labor force, particularly, an underdeveloped countryside was framed as a potential recruiter of labor through development projects. Additionally, women's role as household managers and players in 'local markets' should be taken into account to increase quantity and quality of food delivered at both spaces; "simple hand tools" to that end should be devised and handed out to rural women. This was an opportunity to lessen women's reproductive activities and increase productive ones. All this could be achieved through three recommendations: Hymer stressed how "women's aid" was useful. Her second "suggested recommendation" was to "enlist qualified women to serve as volunteers in the rural areas of their own or other countries to train rural women as agricultural workers and assist in improving conditions affecting women in rural areas." The other two suggestions were less petty, like establishing Regional Training Centers that would train [urban?] women to train "women in rural areas."¹⁴⁷

Problematic as these proposals sound half a century later, their intentions were addressed at bridging an increasing gap between the promise of urban technological innovation and a rurality left behind in space and time (and rural-to-urban migration as a threat). A psychoanalytic address at the generational guilt of having left the countryside to the city might prove an insightful take on the origin of Development, but my focus is rather about the hubris and invalidity of the statement. The urban, highly educated, and politically motivated bias of someone in Hymer's position was no worse than those of Marei or Boerma at FAO. It is however possible that Hymer intended to portray women with the language of investment in labor, increased efficiency, and increased productivity to capture some attention. After all and at that time, 'very important men' were busy solving the 'world food problem' in preparation of WFC74, including Robert McNamara, then

¹⁴⁷ It should be noted that training here is meant to be inferior to formal education.

president of the World Bank. One of the ideas that occupied them was the creation of “A World Food Authority” to direct a fund “to promote food production, world food security, and food aid,” whose purpose had “evidently been designed in part to encourage support and contributions for food and agricultural development from oil-exporting countries which so far had given practically nothing to multilateral programmes to this field.”¹⁴⁸ Directives at FAO were discussing a full-on reform on world food governance, including their own organization and, apparently, women had very little to do with it.¹⁴⁹

Despite this and other expositions of reasons of why *women* should be openly addressed by WFC74 by individual feminists inside FAO or by interested political organizations, in June, a Provisional Agenda of a regional FAO conference (where WFC was to be discussed) none of the presentations concerned rural women, or women at all.¹⁵⁰ A draft proposal by October didn’t seem to have included yet any mention to women. Notwithstanding, the final output did include ‘women,’ as the next chapter will show, including some of the points raised by Hymer and IWY. After all, “FAO had assisted in the formulation of plans for the rural sector incorporated in [WCW1],” which took place in June 1975.¹⁵¹

At the foundation of the UN were two Roosevelts, one of them Eleanor. The USA first lady was key in the founding of a post-WWII architecture for multilateral governance, including FAO (see Chapter 6.4). Relevant to women’s issues was the Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1946. While first wave feminism’s original concerns were taken up by creating CSW, their efforts

¹⁴⁸ Except for Venezuela, Iran, and Saudi Arabia to UNEO, IBRD and WFP respectively (FAO 1974 Aug 6).

¹⁴⁹ Except at least for Sri Lanka’s Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the world’s first woman prime minister, who had suggested the idea to Marei at ECAFE in March. The idea led to the creation of IFAD, finally in 1977, although it didn’t bring the change these men seemed so excited about.

¹⁵⁰ FA 10/4 -12 Umali to Yriart; E/CONF.65/PREP/

¹⁵¹ FAO 1975 CL 66/REP: par112.

would consolidate greatly through the World Conferences on Women (WCW). The IYW in 1975 launched the UN Decade for Women with the intended effect of affecting it all, including global food policy. Most of the initial tools to understand the relationality between women and food were being framed by the approach of Women in Development (WID), which helps frame Hymer's proposal and how women-as-policy object was taken by policymakers.

4. Women in Development

WID was an ordering apparatus that named rural/peasant women as in need of modernization/urbanization. WID was also an academic, political, and feminist project seeking to reshape the world toward a more just configuration. As part of Development, WID scholars often saw how women's subordination and exclusion was being sustained or reinforced through these, often international enterprises. Ester Boserup's work in economic development became synonymous with the approach after publication of her *Woman's role in economic Development* in 1970 and how development projects were often (if not always) biased against women. Before publishing it, she had become famous already for proposing a theory of population growth that contested Malthus story.

Malthus' late eighteenth-century thesis on population's dependence on agrarian change and their demise was controversial and was reworked into six editions, but the controversial message endures more than two centuries later, that the reproduction of the population changes at a rate faster than that of its food, unless it faces "checks," like war and famines. These two objects (the reproduction of food resources and of population) are ontologically differentiated in Malthus' essay and at the UN, Boserup would sustain such difference but adding technological change to the mix. Her book on agrarian change ponders on land use change, tenure, and technology as a

result of population growth (1965). She became famous for suggesting that when faced with population pressure, technological innovation came along.

FAO's view for the WFC74 seemed to favor this idea. In Bucharest, Boserup analyzed global statistics by the UN and FAO and suggested not jumping too quickly to "the conclusion that this is the only way in which to obtain a substantial increase in total agricultural output during periods of rapid increases in population and in the labour force" (Boserup 1975:498). She mentioned two analytic ways to face population growth's and economic development's raise of the demand for agricultural products: to apply more labor to existing land, and to apply industrial and scientific inputs. She cautions that both actually take place in diverse combinations. The difference will lie in the change of productivity of the land use.

I pause to mention this, because in Latin-America there was enough fertile land to be cultivated without need for increased yield/area, thus the population increase didn't pose the pressure that some were so concerned about. Boserup seemed to be emphasizing another type of disparity. "In comments on developments during the 1960s, FAO emphasizes that agricultural output increased only in step with over-all population increase, so that *per capita* availabilities remained unchained" but that was due "to a less than proportionate increase of some export crops which suffer from marketing problems and to a relatively slow increase of some livestock products" (1975:500). What she imagined was happening was a change in consumption habits, from land-intensive products to some that were less and tried giving comfort away from fears of [nuclear] bombs and explosions reminding [European] attendants that "similar changes of consumption apparently took place during the nineteenth century demographic transition in Europe" (ibid). Much to the contrary, she considered that agricultural productivity was just fine, except for the fact that agriculturists were getting less profit since they were now using more costly industrialized inputs. Additionally,

she mentions a widening urban-rural wage gap as a matter of concern. What she did not mention in this short intervention were trends in the feminization of fields and poverty. She had addressed this to an extent in (Boserup 1970).

Before she was studying UN data, Boserup was observing villages in Africa and Asia with funding from the Danish government. One of the first things Boserup addressed was the distinction between farming systems by sex. She criticized Margaret Mead's generalization that "the provision of food is a man's prerogative" since she found rather often that subsistence agriculture was separated by sex; "one in which food production is taken care of by women, with little help from men" she called a female system of farming (the other male) and so her exploration of women's role in agriculture began (1970:4). She based her thinking in a structuralist and evolutionist Rostownian idea of economic growth, where development follows a linear path toward betterment. She stated,

"female farming systems seem most often to disappear when farming systems with ploughing of permanent fields are introduced in lieu of shifting cultivation. In a typical case, this change is the result of increasing population density... When a population increase induces the transition to a system where the same fields are used with no or only short fallow periods, this change often goes hand in hand with the transition from hoeing to ploughing" (p.20).

Boserup uncovered an important and neglected area of research that fitted perfectly with growing attention to women's role and what the UN should do about it:

"In the last few decades population in developing countries has been increasing at unprecedented rates. The increased population density in rural areas calls for a change of

agricultural system towards higher intensity. Unavoidably, this change must affect the balance of work between the sexes and it must often be necessary for one of the sexes to take over some tasks which were normally done by the other sex” (p.23)

She addressed “the impact of agricultural modernization on the employment of women” stating it isn’t obvious that women will disappear from the fields. Since population increase was “combined with shortage of capital, many countries will probably be unable to solve their agricultural problems exclusively by means of capital-intensive techniques, and therefore the total demand for female labour is likely to increase... If there is to be a decline of female agricultural labour it will more likely be due to a change in labour supply; rural women may increasingly refuse to toil in the fields and insist on doing only non-agricultural or domestic work” (p.69). She further campaigned for ending sex-based discrimination at agricultural schools and in extension services (but curiously, not everywhere), setting forth an important development agenda for women in agriculture.

I want to finish this review mentioning how Boserup introduction to *towns* as urban, and in contrast to *villages* as rural was also interestingly gendered (1970:73). Towns were a “Men’s world” created around Euro-colonial interests that favored male labor. Migration to towns, a recent phenomenon, she says needs to be addressed in terms of labor and education. With a prescriptive tone she declares,

“the primary motive of providing work for rural women—in agriculture or in non-agricultural occupations—is of course to obtain their immediate help in increasing production in the rural areas and to make sure that an improvement in men’s earning power

in agriculture is not offset, to an appreciable extent, by a decline in women's work participation and hence in women's earning power" (211).

Among the many critiques Boserup's work has received I want to briefly linger on two issues raised by Carney & Watts (1991). Through ethnographic work in the Sene-Gambia, they confront the disciplinary nature of work, noting that agricultural intensification, be it by increased labor force or technological inputs, make some people work harder than others, and that this change is also negotiated along the axis of sex. Secondly, colonialism introduced certain crops and their varieties, often foreign and more valuable according to land fertility, with the consequence of reordering gender relations where women became unquestionably inferior to men. The Columbian exchange thus altered social organization by means of what Lugones named the modern/colonial gender system by the introduction of foreign species that were classified according to Eurocentric monetized value systems. Lugones is often criticized for her uncritical reliance on Oyewumi's mayor work. I suggest reevaluating Lugones insights through works like that of Carney and Watts that focus on the microphysics of disciplinary power in modern/colonial re-inventions of gender. Consequently, I suggest that Boserup's work introduced an interpretative framework to understand how gender was impacted by agriculture at a time when Denmark had recently ended their colonial ambitions, but that was not necessarily the case in the territories she visited. She gendered agriculture and identified patterns of that change. Her urban-colonial bias might have framed rural women as less deserving or simply impossibly limited unless transitioning to urbanicity.

I believe this helps contextualize Hymer's proposition to the WFC74. It also helps explain the content of CEDAW's art.14, where *rural woman* is singled out, an action both commendable and

disquieting.¹⁵² Today it is possible to reassess Boserup's contributions by reassessing body-territory relationalities that have been lost or changed through modern/colonial discipline. Boserup's voice at the UN and the line of research she inaugurated and expanded became key to understanding women-in-agriculture as a subject that needed to be disciplined differently, this time through a seemingly less coercive introduction of tools, knowledges, and practices, distributed through and with specialized education.

5. Investment: women Vs. technology

Women were key to solving population problems to the extent that they conveyed reproductive potential without societies having to engage in genocidal campaigns.¹⁵³ Female bodies at a micro-level solved population problems since they could be controlled to not reproduce or reproduce faster. For populations that feared depopulation, childbearing was promoted, while others were exposed to apparatuses of subjectification that made them populous. While efforts had been made to tie population growth to economic and social development, by the end of the conference that relation was at most tenuous. Non-aligned countries continued to press for another [economic] world order, since they were aware that industrialized countries industrialized regardless of reproduction rates. Provocatively, I want to suggest that if in 1972 the environment was proclaimed scarce, in 1974 solutions were proposed to solve it along human-centric lines. The Bucharest Conference secured a strategy of subjectification for women reproducibility, promoting family planning. WFC74 secured investment in non-human reproducibility, fearing food scarcity.

¹⁵² Pruitt (2011) discusses this article's history in detail, including FAO's key role in its formulation.

¹⁵³ Merchant features some of threats thrown during the preparatory phase of Bucharest. She also narrates the geopolitical tensions in addition to the political divides inside North-Atlantic debates on demography; the US did attempt to give numbers of how much and at what pace populations should grow, and Romania was allowed to ban all abortions and reproductive control methods (2021:183f).

During the planning of the WFC74 a clear message was unveiled. The planners dismissed *women*, and the concerns and ideas that women and their organizations had raised in relation to WFC74. Instead, they favored solutions with ‘business modeled efficiency’, corporate efficiency preferably, to the literal extent of making corporations the solution itself. Feminist voices had grown stronger inside and outside FAO and at least some of their proposals were included in the documents that would structure the food policy architecture of the end of the twentieth century. The next chapter discusses the terms in which *women* were included as a policy-object.

Chapter 5 – Global genealogies: the emergence of gender in food policy discourse

1. Rural women in the new world food order

The UN General Assembly of 1974 upset the USA with Resolution 3202, a *Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order* (UNGA 1974) and the USA didn't want to know about it.¹⁵⁴ Decolonization was vigorous and now a clear majority of nations were unhappy with the very tangible scars of colonial relationships, particularly with economic ties. The resolution included a list of “Fundamental problem[s]... related to trade and development” of which *Food* ranked second. The original idea of a systemic reform of global agriculture was made by the Non-Aligned countries, those that were not into the Soviets, not into the USA. This alliance between non-imperial governments started claiming a third alternative, different from the opposing parties of the Cold War. This *Third World* wanted to address the inequities of global food trade. In September of 1973, they asked FAO to join UNCTAD to address the issue. However, it was only two weeks later when US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, brought up the idea to the UNGA, but without involving UNCTAD. Between the formal Proposal for the World Food Conference (hereon WFC74; WFC 1974) and its final call for participation, ‘the food problem’ was consistently summed into three issues, as shown in Table 5.1, although the modifications hinted to women making explicit how national security related to the reproduction of food and population, as well as nutrition.

¹⁵⁴ The preceding chapter noticed how the US Secretary of State expressed unhappiness regarding complaints about their food aid policy. Merchant documented more explicit US spite against this new economic order and their efforts to leave such matters out from the Bucharest Conference (2021:187).

Table 6. Changing definitions of “The Food Problem”

Oct 10, 1973 [DJW/JKP]	Jan 31, 1974 Memorandum from M. Benaissa, Assistant Director GI	The Food Problem [May 1, 1974]
a) increasing (doubling or trebling) food production b) minimum nutritional standards and national goals c) target specific agricultural sectors and/or regions	a) increasing production and consumption of food b) Food Security c) International Adjustment and Trade	1) get reserves to stabilize crop fluctuation 2) food/population balance, 3) lower costs of carrying of stocks

Price and stock stability appeared fuzzily linked to food security and Malthusian anxieties. From the previous chapter, (over)population was a main concern linking women’s reproductive potential and food. Despite the initial intentions in 1973, and after the Population Conference in early 1974, WFC74 opted not to address the financialization of food, unequal terms of trade, and other power differences between countries; reforms focused instead on how individual countries could increase production. Insights from WID voices foresaw that the burden of such an increase in agricultural productivity was carried particularly by rural women (see Appendix G). The generalized trend, as Boserup claimed, would have most women peasants endure trade unequally with a heavily subsidized North-Atlantic.

This *new food order* was to be financed by shifting resources away from military expenditure. It didn’t. “We found no evidence of a direct reduction in military expenditures tied to an increase in funds to be used for development or food production,” claimed a report to the US Congress (Comptroller General 1980:10). Food trade would also remain unequal: “dealing with agricultural adjustments, there seems to have been no intention to implement all of the provisions, at least as far as most developed countries were concerned” (p.11). But changes did take place, nonetheless, and here I will expand on two: the visibility of women and the definition of ‘world food security’.

Like expenditure, military discourse remained in place: threats and risks were to be identified to subsequently securitize the problem. The main solution to the *world food problem* was to create a system of *world food security (wfs)*. Rather than defining wfs, the Conference directed attention to its operationalization. Oft quoted as the definition of wfs is the opening statement of Resolution 17 titled the *International Undertaking on World Food Security* (hereon UWFS, WFC 1974:14): “the urgent need for ensuring the availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic food-stuffs particularly so as to avoid acute food shortages in the event of widespread crop failure, natural or other disasters, to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption in countries with low levels of *per capita* intake, and offset fluctuations in production and prices” (see Maxwell 1996:156; Alcock 2008:19). However, wfs is stated throughout providing meaning in additive fashion. Rather than a status, wfs defines a system, an internationally guarded system to ensure adequate availability and reasonable prices of food at all times, including an information system (IUWFS, Res.14,16). It was also a coordination and cooperation mechanism to, not just increase, but *develop* production, i.e., emplace a mechanism of knowledge and technology transfers (Res.17,18,22).

The resulting institutional arrangement gave emphasis on boosting production of “basic foodstuffs, primarily cereals,” creating world grain reserves, accelerating the technification of agriculture, and enabling the infrastructure for the production of a global scale consisting of a) the creation of a statistical information system [FAOSTAT], b) an international food aid mechanism [WFP, although with gained independence from FAO], c) an international fund for agricultural development [IFAD], d) the liberalization of (food) trade, and e) an overseeing and coordinating institution [the World Food Council]. In brackets I have enclosed the names of the institutions that came out from this reform. As mentioned, terms of trade in food would remain biased against the

Third World. Five years later, a report to the US Congress affirmed, “little [had] been accomplished [in food trade]” because of “restrictions on developing-country exports and fear of domestic disruptions and political and economic repercussions.” (US Comptroller General 1980:ii).

2. In/visible women

How did wfs impact women? I suggest that the above definition continued to obscure gender roles, despite efforts to include from WID advocates. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the gendered practices of FAO and other multilateral organizations were too focused on architecture and finances. Resolution 8, nevertheless, was solely about “Women and food” (see Appendix E). The resolution began by considering that most production increase would have to take place in the developing world, although the reason for this was obscure. In any case, with a WID approach it could be interpreted that it was likely that ‘developing country’ dog-whistled ‘rural population’ and it foreshadowed a new approach to aid, distributing responsibilities of reserves away from the developed world. In this sense, it was a glum recognition of rural women’s productive role. Additionally, women were acknowledged as food-procurers in the household and as lactating mothers. Recognition didn’t mean action. For that the Resolution called for the design of production and nutrition policies *with* women; as well as for a series of investments, mostly in health and education, although as instruments for boosting labor/productivity. Resolution 8 framed women in a rather standard tradeoff between productive and reproductive roles. While it acknowledged gender stereotypes, instead of seeking their transformation, they were further reified.

WFC74 and wfs did impact women in another important way: Nutrition. Under Resolution 5, “Policies and programmes to improve nutrition,” 15 interventions were prescribed (see Appendix E). The most straightforward recommendation said, “That governments consider *the key role of women* and take steps to improve their nutrition, their educational levels and their working conditions; and to encourage them and enable them to breast-feed their children” (my emphasis). This formulation omits specifying what women’s role were key for, but it was clear that their nutritional needs were important for production and reproduction, for food and babies. As was discussed already, the conference framed women as key to increasing agricultural productivity. Women’s reproductive role, however, was also key to children, and it would seem that Nutrition’s role had a bias towards this last. The other gendered terms in Resolution 5 referenced women disproportionately in relation to their reproductive roles (if not exclusively): Human milk, breastfeeding, child-mother relationship, pregnancy, family wellbeing and planning, pregnant and nursing mothers. Less obvious was micronutrient fortification (and as will be discussed in chapter 7), which had designed supplementation with a bias towards women’s reproductive role. In nutrition, women’s role was again instrumentalized.

Resolution 5 also brought about the consolidation of a global nutritional surveillance system with joint governance by WHO/FAO/UNICEF.¹⁵⁵ This system was meant to monitor food safety in tandem with people. While sampling and testing techniques were relatively easy to implement, less so was checking individuals. Expensive surveys could not be conducted with the desired frequency to actually surveil the nutritional status of a population, so the primary subjects of this recommendation were mothers and children who were more easily monitored, mostly due to their relationship with the medicalization of pregnancy/birthgiving. It also became a preferred sight of

¹⁵⁵ SISVAN was the corresponding Spanish acronym. Its iteration in Bogota was discussed in the first three chapters.

intervention, since early corporeal change had been studied to signify health and labor futurity. Malnourished babies had already a signifier of decreased labor productivity (this was discussed in Chapter 2).

Other transformations were less palpable. Nutrient fortification was only addressed through one of the 15 recommendations, while “technical assistance,” “planning,” and to a lesser extent “education,” received the most attention (see Table 6). Nutrition had become the realm of molecular expertise and was no longer possible to qualify food without their expertise, but it was to be taken closer to people’s sense of autonomy, through education. According to Ruxin, this emerged as the aftermath of a conflict inside the global nutrition policy administrators. Nutritional fortification was a “magic-bullet,” a supply-side solution, whose defenders had been in dispute against those holding a more holistic approach that instead emphasized supplementary feeding programs, something that required more context-specific interventions, increasing the autonomy, not of women, but of national and local authorities (1996:242f). The rise of National Nutrition Planning meant a change in FAO’s Nutrition Division, who would have been hosting the gendered office of Home Economics until 1972.

HomeEc had been the stronghold of women’s policy at FAO and it is telling that it was reassigned to the *Rural Institutions and Services Division*. The internal rearrangement at FAO had been slowly changing the understanding of women’s key role more as an agricultural producer than as a mother; just in time for showcasing family planning, which was at the center of discussions in Bucharest in 1974.

Table 7. Summary of recommendations from Resolution V “Policies and programmes to improve nutrition”

Intervention\Recommendation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	#
Technical assistance	x	x	x				x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	11
Planning	x						x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	9
Education				x		x	x				x				x	5
Vulnerable groups			x				x	x					x		x	5
Other human capital investment					x	x		x						x		4
Market						x	x				x			x		4
Agricultural production							x			x						2
Family planning					x	x										2
Environmental					x							x				2
Nutrient fortification									x							1
Legal											x					1

3. Women for food security

By the end of WFC74 the next conference was underway. The International Women's Year (IWY75) had been preparing the first World Conference on Women (WCW75) and led to the UN Decade on Women. A salient consequence was making the multilateral governance system evaluate women's presence both inside their organizations and how their work related to half of the world's population. FAO's principal theme in this regard would be 'women in agriculture,' a sub-field of WID although many times synonymous.

A review of the WFC74 five years later for the US Congress revealed the state of rural women policy at FAO. It didn't speak optimistically about food and nutrition planning since only a few countries had implemented them: it gave three reasons “a lack of understanding about what nutrition is, the fact that nutrition has not been given a high priority, and the fact that no complete assessment [had been made by most countries]” (US Comptroller General 1980:11). Colombia was among the few. It had launched the PAN (Spanish for “BREAD”), its National Food and Nutrition Plan in 1975. PAN's main goal, to increase agricultural production, did not make any explicit reference to women's role. Women were the subject of the educational strategy through

nutritional campaigns to the “mother-infant population.” Women were also framed as a vulnerable group with food stamps designed with poor pregnant and lactating women in mind, to be managed by the Health Ministry. Parra-Escobar and Bruce-Cantor explain that Human Capital Theory lies behind its formulation, “seeing food and nutrition expenditures simply as capital investment, with returns much higher than physical capital” (1975:76). They explain the logic: the nutritional status of the Colombian labor force is alarmingly low, explaining the country’s low productivity, and low economic growth: better food and nutrition increases productivity and growth, leading to higher wages. Macroeconomically it is understood as an investment in labor productivity thus impacting economic growth. Microeconomically, it is understood through Marginalism, that would imply an increase in individual wages, which they qualify as baloney, particularly since Marginalism disregards income distribution and market power and concentration (p.77).

Could the inclusion of women become key to solve this ‘Marginalist nonsense’? Kandiyoti would likely say no: “the case for explicit support of rural women’s activities is often presented as a basic-rights issue which also makes good economic or ‘development’ sense” but instead its often contradictory and harmful to women” (1990:6). She identified five main assumptions that lead to this failure: i) rural women are *essentially* food producers; ii) housework is the main constraint to an otherwise productive woman; iii) “liberation” from housework implies a new wage-earning occupation; iv) women are better at sharing their gains, especially with their children; and v) women’s productivity requires little investment (p.7-8). Leon & Deere (1979) seem like they would agree with Kandiyoti’s list, although they seem to suggest there was a ‘sense’ to the ‘solution’. They documented four systems of capitalist development in Colombian rurality elucidating diverse gendered divisions of labor, exemplifying what Kadiyoti criticized of Rural-Women-in-Development policies: there was no homogeneity in rural women. They did all seem

to be homogenized in a particular way, however, through “the exigencies of capitalist development” (p.65). Insertion into capitalist circuits, at least through labor relations, can effect ontological changes in women; according to one of their peasant (male) informants, "Seventeen years ago women did not work on coffee haciendas, because people said that they would 'infect' the crops. Now, however, they work just like the men" (p.66). Through their Marxist analytics, rural women blended into one category, a new reserve labor that hadn't been properly tapped. Not only were women often employed in labor-intensive crops and with lower wages, but they also replaced male workers temporarily scarce (p.76). FAO's recognition of rural women gave visibility to the challenges sex-differentiated agrarian labor brought but would not transform the unequal dynamics brought upon agrarian labor relations.

FAO launched an Interdivisional Working Group on Women in Agricultural Development in 1976 to ensure the integration of women in all FAO programs and projects. It would create Guidelines for the Integration of Women in Agricultural and Rural Development and work towards the 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD). Miljan (1980) compiled some of the progress by FAO: for “the full integration of women in rural development” they gave “increasing support... to enhance their contribution to food production and utilization;” it assessed the inclusion of women in 246 agricultural projects in 55 countries (the results were largely disappointing and very few actually did); and commissioned a series of studies to better inform policy (including the one by Leon & Deere on Colombia mentioned above) (p.97-100). WCARRD became an effort to reconcile the goals of the UN Decade for Women and WFC1974. Integrating woman in rural development was elevated into “a principle” of food policy, and it promoted four types of policy-actions regarding equality of legal status, of access to rural services,

of education and employment, and guarantee and promote women's political organization and participation (FAO 1984:152). Kandiyoti's critique would keep its validity.

In FAO's flagship report of 1983 (SOFA83), a special chapter was commissioned about "Women in developing agriculture" (FAO 1984). Introducing the report, the DG communicated "the new concept of world food security..." (p.v). The new definition of wfs introduced a formulation, based on IUWFS, saying its goal "should be to ensure that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need" and had three components: "the adequacy of food supplies and production; maximising stability in the flow of food supplies; and the security of access to supplies" (FAO CL 83/10: par.43). Measures to improve wfs were suggested at the national, regional, and global levels, specific to FAO. The concept operated at a clear macrological level. SOFA85 opened by stating, "the growing interdependence of agriculture and other economic sectors, particularly through trade, had made the sector much more susceptible to the powerful economic forces" (FAO 1986:1).

However, women would pose a methodological problem for FAO. Their mandate to generate aggregate statistics and analysis was not met with proper data collection strategies, to ideally inform development planning/programming. SOFA 1983 devoted an extensive section of its report on describing the need of "micro-level data" to complement macro-statistics (FAO 1984:109) based on studies by anthropologists, sociologists and extension workers. The main problem was under-representation of women and their participation in agriculture. Population and Agricultural censuses were to be made one per decade and the manner they captured information didn't properly capture the information they were now seeking.¹⁵⁶ Female labor accounting was the central

¹⁵⁶ These problems with macro-data had been present since the creation of a system of national accounts. Simon Kuznets, who set international standards, warned constantly of similar accountability biases.

concern, and the relevant omissions were the exclusion of seasonal work, the obscurity of the census variable ‘primary occupation’, and the self-perception of what constituted work (p.111). Nonetheless, when discussing women, *household* food security came up (p.126;136). The discussion centered on how the intensification of agriculture (what was promoted as the solution to wfs) could negatively displace women’s work, and new techniques/technologies could increase availability and reduce waste.

These concerns were not exclusive of FAO. The UN’s *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* would be presented in 1984, almost a year after SOFA83’s publication. It had been decided in 1980 by the UNGA (Resolution 35/78) following IYW, to take place every five years. The concluding paragraph of the Survey annotated that aside from “equality between sexes” and “making development more responsive to human needs” improving women’s role in agriculture “has also the effect of accelerating the process of agricultural development, increasing the level of national production and the supply of food at the national and local level” (UNGA 1984 A/39/566:12). This doesn’t show that ‘women’ was the political object responsible for the shift toward the micrological, but it was clearly participating in it. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the development of micro-economics became highly influential in understanding the household and consequently women’s roles in it. What I do want to emphasize is the coincidence of a new definition of wfs at a moment when micrological analysis was sprouting; while wfs was still strongly macrologically biased, ‘women’ was revealing the epistemic boundaries of global analytics.

4. Translating Sexual difference

In preparation for the Committee on World Food Security of March 1990, the FAO prepared the document *Gender Issues in Rural Food Security in Developing Countries* aiming to advance the framework put forward in the 1988 FAO Council Resolution 1/94, the organization's Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development -PAIWID [W/U2121]. A Spanish translation was published in tandem: "*Problemática Derivada de la Diferencia de sexos en Relación con la Seguridad Alimentaria Rural de los Países en Desarrollo*." 'Gender' was translated as 'sexual difference.' Gender hadn't become mainstream and it was the Anglo-American pole often in mis-translation with French theorists who preferred the latter (Braidotti 1991; 1994:258f). Aside from this peculiarity which likely speaks more of the translator than the content itself, *gender* would soon become *género* in FAO translations and the general Spanish-speaking public as the 1990s advanced. A Decade after WCARRD, agrarian reforms weren't widespread, and they didn't appear to have improved women's situation where they did. I speculate, but it might be symbolic of diminishing tensions in the UN, the slow abandonment of a New World Economic Order (Miljan 1980:vii), the acceptance of a Washington Consensus regime (Williamson 2000), and the entry into the WTO Economic Order. These agreements see agricultural trade and its geopolitics differently. Where the first saw a chance to make international food trade fairer, aided by wfs as a concept, the others did not keep up the struggle (or in any case the WTO took it less intensely).

Back to the document, *rural food security* largely meant *household food security*, and *woman* was aptly translated into Spanish as *peasant woman*. Spanish became a relevant language since the Debt Crisis had impacted LAC countries severely. Despite some translation issues that arose occasionally between the preparatory documents and deliberation, Resolution 1/94 was not

exceptional¹⁵⁷ and word-by-word translation was not a relevant issue. FAOC was more worried with the lack of results of FAO's approach since 1974 and the need for reform without asking for an expansion of the budget. *Gender Issues...* was devoted almost entirely to *household food security*. The document changed previous ones who employed the NLFS for structure and instead focused first on women's contributions to food supply (be it by growing it or through income generation, also paying attention to intra-household distribution in relation to individual nutritional status) and constraints to access. The analysis of macrological reforms (land tenure, SAPs, and environmental policy) is also analyzed through its impacts on *hfs*. Although there was no clear succinct definition of what *hfs* was, the document innovated in the way it presented rural women's situation.¹⁵⁸

This document was published just a year after a call had been made for an International Conference on Nutrition, that would eventually take place in 1992 (ICN92). It was then when a clear definition was formally presented expanding food *and nutrition* security which seemed to make more sense at the household level with the downfall of population-wide micronutrient fortification (see Chapter 7). Maxwell and Smith (1992) provided an early analysis of this conceptual transition from macro to micro but left out discussions related to gender or rural women. It would soon be made explicit that women, the policy-object and actual women at multilateral food governance, would be key to food security.

¹⁵⁷ See López-Portillo's intervention in FAOC (1988).

¹⁵⁸ The inclusion of women in FAO governing bodies and its result is analyzed in Appendix H.

5. Neoclassical Women

In August of 1995 the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) published a document prepared by Agnes R. Quisumbing, Lynn R. Brown, Hilary Sims Feldstein, Lawrence Haddad, and Christine Peña.¹⁵⁹ This report on food policy sums up the advice on the relevance of women for the advancement towards the two longstanding goals of agricultural and nutrition policy institutions: reducing hunger-cum-malnutrition and increasing food production-cum-reserves. In line with IFPRI's mission, these notes were meant to be centered on “developing world” problems (not the “developed” other). The document's credence made it to the curriculum of the United Nations University's (UNU) Food and Nutrition Programme for Human and Social Development at Cornell University, thus influencing the thought of many United Nations officers.¹⁶⁰ Its theme was no novelty, as all authors had been working on these issues for years, but it came handy for the Institute to set a position in respect to the Fourth Conference on Women being held in Beijing that September. Its leading author, Quisumbing, represented the CGIAR in this conference (CGIAR 1995:41), and continued to lead food policy conversations on gender beyond the post-2015 agenda. To understand the relevance of this, two things need to be clarified. First, the importance of IFPRI for FAO policy, and a more elaborate second, the economic discourse that structures this specific way of understanding and analyzing gender. The first point connects to the previous chapter's discussion of international food governance, while the second will consider the

¹⁵⁹ There are at least two versions (Quisumbing et al 1995a, 1995b).

¹⁶⁰ UNU (n.d.; 1996). The United Nations University Inventory of gender-related research and training in the international agricultural research centers 1990-1995 programme can be found at these repositories:

<http://archive.unu.edu/capacitybuilding/foodnutrition/pg.html>;
<http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/food/8F171e/8F171E00.htm#Contents>

It should be noted that Cornell University has an important history as a hub in agricultural, nutrition, and food policy at a US-national level as well as internationally. Similarly, Wageningen university has formed various FAO DG among other food-and-agriculture internationalists policymakers.

paper's lead author trajectory in order to understand what kind of a gender lens was at play then and later.

IFPRI was founded in 1975 as a direct result of the food governance reforms of the 1970s reviewed earlier, with the objective of promoting the adoption of new agricultural technology, headquartered in Washington D.C. but with offices in less wealthy nations. Founded as an initiative of the Rockefeller foundation, IFPRI also had ties to the World Bank and other institutions that funnel money for development projects (IFPRI 1978:3, 35). It is part of a network of research institutes ascribed to the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research – CGIAR (founded in May 1971, headquartered in Montpellier), whose own mission is to promote research in food security (another one is CIAT, in Colombia, see below). The CGIAR is funded and gives advice to, among other institutions, the FAO. Thus, the link between IFPRI and FAO is direct and it doesn't surprise that many FAO reports have been prepared by or in collaboration with IFPRI. The document in question here proves this, as it would work as the blueprint for the homonymous report presented in 1997 by the FAO as its first formal version of a gender perspective to food security (SOFA97; FAO 1998). However, there is a particular ideology at play at the heart of this institution: the WFC74 was looking to boost agricultural productivity through technoscientific means. Although the other members of CGIAR would be the most involved in designing new breeding techniques, crop varieties, and other technologies, IFPRI's goal was researching relevant policy.

Quisumbing fitted well. As an economist and econometrician, trained initially in the Philippines and later in the USA, Quisumbing started incorporating gender into her analysis since, at least 1994, while working for the World Bank in the Education and Social Policy Department (Quisumbing 1994). She framed this work in Becker's model of an economic family/household

(1974)¹⁶¹ and James Heckman's life cycle model of female labor supply (Heckman and MaCurdy 1980) and applied it to the Filipino context.¹⁶² Quisumbing would publish this work for the World Bank, USAID and IFPRI. Her 1996 paper, *Male-female differences in agricultural productivity*, presents a comprehensive and shrewd review of the pertinent neoclassical modeling and the information/data and methodological setbacks of the econometrics through which it had been developed, while envisioning furthering this field (not contesting it). Her contributions to the development of a gender lens in food and agricultural policy can be further appreciated in her work as editor of publications like *Household Decisions, Gender, and Development* (Quisumbing 2004) and *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* published by FAO and IFPRI (Quisumbing et al. 2014).

Quisumbing (1996) presents an exhaustive and well thought review of economic literature on wo/men productivity differentials in agrarian activities. She notes that the common model focuses on the estimation of production functions, that is, an expression that indicates how much is produced by certain inputs, namely gendered labor, given a particular technical and technological setting. Modeling this implied making assumptions about efficiency, which she classified as technical or allocative, i.e., productivity in relation to doing the right things (doing your best with given resources) or doing the things right (arranging resources the best possible way). This type of models had been common in healthcare, but they came from the theory of the firm.

She presents Battese & Coelli (1992) as her inspiration for her presentation on frontier production functions. While the Battese & Coelli's paper models firms in order to judge the productivity of

¹⁶¹ The importance of Becker will be discussed in Chap. 6.

¹⁶² "This paper provides econometric evidence on wealth transfers from parents to children in five rice-growing villages in the Philippines. It focuses on gender differences in education, land, and nonland assets received by children. The paper examines gender preferences of parents in inheritance decisions using family fixed effects estimates with interactions between gender of the child and parental pre-marriage wealth" (p.168).

15 paddy Indian farmers, and thus Quisumbing simply replicates this pattern (a prevalent practice in economics), it is important to understand that they are measuring the price of agricultural yield as a result of inputs, of which, labor is explicitly gendered: “Labor represents the total number of hours of human labor (in male equivalent units) for family members and hired labor,” which meant that “Labor hours were converted to male equivalent units according to the rule that female and child hours were considered equivalent to 0.75 and 0.50 male hours, respectively.” The International Crops Research Institute of Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) is made responsible for these ratios. Although I reviewed the 1985 version of ICRISAT’s “Manual for Village Level Studies”¹⁶³ I found no specific reason to make those gendered assumptions on labor productivity. Of course, it is a methodological issue since in a patty with multiple laborers it is cumbersome and probably equivocal to individualize crop output; the explanation was missing.

Quisumbing is keen in discerning this and other issues of method and concept, while remaining complacent with the underlying onto-epistemic foundations of neoclassical economic modeling. When she warns about confusing sex and gender, her discussion is technical, not transformational, and limited to econometric specification. She warns, “Note, however, that the confusion between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ could lead to misspecification of the production function if a ‘gender dummy’ were to capture only the sex of the farmer, omitting information on physical and human capital” (1996:1580). In total her review classifies eight research papers that she makes a point to group according to methodology rather than country. This last, I believe, contrasts significantly with the sociological methods of Leon and Deere (1979, see chapter 5.3 here). Not only would thick

¹⁶³ This is an updated version of the 1978 original cited in Battese and Coelli.

description become irrelevant, but the comparison dilutes the macro-structural analysis of international trade.

The relevance of discussing the above neoclassical microeconomic framework as constitutive of the views of Quisumbing, herself a leader of gender promotion inside global food policy, is to unpack the assumptions and logic through which the policies operate. Neoclassical microeconomics focused on understanding the family/household as an efficient production unit and could be understood/modeled through the metaphor of a small firm. Quisumbing built on this framework, looking at the rural household's agricultural productivity and understanding male and female members as labor inputs. She mentions Boserup's attempts at estimating sex-differentiated productivity differentials but goes on to argue that *managerial efficiency differences* posed a greater challenge.

Quisumbing and her colleagues at IFPRI had impressive career trajectories and influenced the understanding of gender performativity in agricultural policy. Despite their technical probity and important research in intrahousehold approach to development policy analysis, the political rhetorical gymnastics soften the more transformative message of the previous decades. Take IFPRI (2000) which summarizes eight of the institute's research papers since 1996 on women and gender, done mostly by rearranged teams of authors with different themes, to provide three general recommendations: i) reform institutions to improve women's status, ii) do innovative design of relevant programs, iii) design "mainstream gender-sensitive projects" as suggested by "Experiences from the past 15 years" (p.4). A homonymous report by FAO might have contradicted IFPRI's: "In the past, however, research and extension systems have largely ignored the needs and priorities of women" (1997:16).

6. Women: Key to Food security

This was the formulation waiting to happen since WFC74: “it is necessary to recognize the *key role of women in agricultural production and rural economy* in many countries, and to ensure that appropriate education, extension programmes and financial facilities are made available to women on equal terms with men” (E/CONF.65/PREP/: par.4 my emphasis). Further, “[The WFC recommends] That Governments consider *the key role of women* and take steps to improve their nutrition, their educational levels and their working conditions, and to encourage them and enable them to breast-feed their children” (Res.5.6). Both phrasings marked the epistemic division between agriculture and nutrition that FAO nor other organizations had been able to properly reconcile.

When Quisumbing et.al (1995) decided to title their Food Policy Report *Women Key to Food Security* they were presenting a schema to organize research on rural women into three pillars. As mentioned above, the bias favored planning and microeconomics.¹⁶⁴ Although their tripartite classification of food security wasn’t new (recall the 1984 FAO CL 83/10: par.43) it turned wily that defining *pillars* instead of *dimensions* would prove so stout.¹⁶⁵ The metaphoric language, was likely not obviously phallic, but seeking to convey a reinforcing circularity by means of the rigidity of classicism: “this report brings together the latest evidence on the key roles that women play in maintaining the three pillars of food security and examines ways to strengthen the pillars through policies and programs that enhance women’s abilities and resources to fulfill their roles” (p.1).

¹⁶⁴ Escobar (1995) similarly argued that neoclassical economics plays a big role in Development Planning.

¹⁶⁵ I personally recall seeing presentation slides as that of Figure 5 showcasing three to four Doric columns (availability, access, utilization) holding Food Security for a pediment; sometimes the fourth pillar (stability) laying down as a platform and indicating temporal continuity. I am not claiming this document is the origin of the neoclassical diagram, just an early iteration when PowerPoint was becoming ubiquitous after it was acquired by MicrosoftOffice.

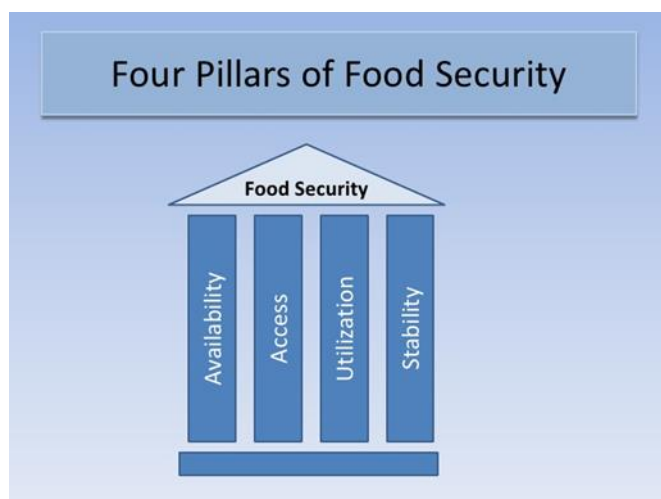


Figure 5. Representation of FS from a PowerPoint presentation c.2000. Jannie Armstrong, consultant for FAO, (n.d.) "Four Pillars of Food Security," <https://digilab.libs.uga.edu/exhibits/items/show/727>

Women could benefit in two main ways, either with better resource distribution or “by lifting constraints they face” (ibidem). The second was preferred. *Sustainable food production* could ameliorate through a better distribution to land or receiving specialized education/services (like extension services and financial literacy). *Economic access to food* could be eased by pro-poor policies that target women. Finally, *Nutrition Security* depended on food, health, and care, including sanitation, an investment that women were more prone to make.

This summary was the main message in *Food and Nutrition Bulletin* version (1996), a journal targeted to nutrition policymakers. It could be said to have had been criticized five years earlier by Kandiyoti (1990) (see above 5.3). In an IFPRI Policy Brief the authors made a presentation geared to food policymakers instead. Here, food security had the year 2020 in sight. Here women were somewhat empowered. Food production was not maximized because women decided to occupy themselves otherwise, not due to lack of knowledge. Women were “gatekeepers,” controlling access to food. Finally, they were “shock absorbers” of external blows to household welfare (IFPRI 1995c).

Attention to IFPRI's less abbreviated versions of the report (1995a, 1995b) would account for more interesting acknowledgements such as: promoting inclusion in agricultural sciences, valuing women's expertise regardless of schooling, and reassessing indigenous knowledge/s. On this last, they showcased a study by Sperling and Ntabomvura (1994) that took place at place at CIIAT, a South-South collaboration where Rwanda agronomists met Colombian 'rural women'. While the scientists selected bean seeds according to yield, women made their own idiosyncratic choices and used indigenous breeding/cultivating techniques that outperformed the 'scientific choice', a win for rural women and the opportunity to collaborate with them to reinsert their knowledge into productivity improvement. It is unclear what happened with those varieties, particularly in the long-run. Did they outperform other local cultivars and diminished indigenous diversity? What other impacts could this have had in local body-territories?

7. Ossified food security: reified globality

One final definition of food security would be secured during the World Food Summit of 1996 (WFS96). It became one of the most attended conferences in a period of abundant high-level UN meetings. One of its accomplishments was to create consensus around one definition of food security, not worldly, not of the household:

“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. In this regard, concerted action at all levels is required. Each nation must adopt a strategy consistent with its resources and capacities to achieve its individual goals and, at the same time, cooperate regionally and internationally in order to organize collective solutions to global issues of food security. In a world of increasingly interlinked

institutions, societies and economies, coordinated efforts and shared responsibilities are essential” (WFS96 PoA: par.1).

In preparation for WFS96, FAO commissioned to IFPRI a report on macroeconomic issues related to food provisioning. Among the plethora of definitions of what food security meant (Maxwell and Smith1992) the IFPRI report settled on the following wording under the title “Household Food Security and Nutrition:” “access for all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life” (IFPRI 1995d:6). It was a variation on ICN92’s definition of “household food security” which it promised to improve:

“Food security is defined in its most basic form as access by all people at all times to the food needed for a healthy life. Achieving food security has three dimensions. First, it is necessary to ensure a safe and nutritionally adequate food supply both at the national level and at the *household level*. Second, it is necessary to have a reasonable degree of stability in the supply of food both from one year to the other and during the year. Third, and most critical, is the need to ensure that each *household* has physical, social and economic access to enough food to meet its needs. This means that each *household* must have the knowledge and the ability to produce or procure the food that it needs on a sustainable basis. In this context, properly balanced diets that supply all necessary nutrients and energy without leading to overconsumption or waste should be encouraged. It is also important to encourage the proper distribution of food *within the household*, among all its members.” (ICN92 PoA par.29)¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Chapter 7 will review ICN92 in more detail.

The process this points to, in a reversed timeline, had obscured the differences between *household* and *world* food security, by a process of simple subtraction. First *household* was removed from the definition but remained in the title, and then it disappeared altogether. A shift of governance scale that, as Jarosz (2011) points out, impacted women significantly, who often were held accountable for household management. The international system was not reformed in 1996 unlike in 1974, nor did it want to go beyond providing guidelines and technical advice. To get at the definition of their proposal, IFPRI conveyed a “ministerial conference” in June 1995 that consolidated the previous regional workshops “for a 2020 Vision for Food, Agriculture, and the Environment.” The Latin-American workshop took place on March, in Cali, Colombia, where CIIAT was headquartered. Participants were workshoped into three groups with a facilitator. Edelmira Pérez, Director of PUJ Master's Program in Rural Development in Bogota, who was the facilitator at Room Calima, named after a grouping of pre-Columbian naturecultures. In her group was James Garrett, Special Assistant to the Director General, who would draft the regional report. Of the seven members, she was the only one with a research background on rural gender relations.¹⁶⁷ However, Garrett’s synthesis mentions “women” only twice: first, in relation to household food security, where they are naturalized as provider of services, i.e., housekeeping, breastfeeding and pregnancy; second, its persistence as a discriminated group that signaled the state’s weakness (IFPRI 1995d: 5, 9). Despite this, the call for the development of a gender perspective for food seemed important:

“Food security means having access to enough food to lead an active, healthy life. Good nutrition depends not only on getting enough food to eat but also on staying healthy. Thus,

¹⁶⁷ Perez, et al. (1985). Perez would direct the master’s thesis of her (later) longtime collaborator on rural women research, Farah-Quijano (1996)

access to adequate sanitation, clean water, and health care, within and outside the home, is important, so that the body can fully use the nutrients in food. Often the woman is primarily responsible for food preparation and child care, and issues affecting her ability to carry out these activities effectively are critical” (p.6)

This call seemed lost during the June conference, where a Malthusian approach was promoted by Canadian physician Margaret Catley-Carlson. In Gilbert Grosvenor welcoming speech as president of the National Geographic Society, he introduced the question, “Will there be enough food and resources to support an exploding population? And, if not, what to do? Fairly basic, fairly basic geography” (IFPRI 1995b:3)

Speciosa Wandira-Kazibwe, the first African woman Vice-president, was the second keynote speaker. Her speech discussed gender difference: “it is very difficult for a woman to fit in a man’s shoes. But, in Uganda, we say that nothing is impossible because everybody came from a woman, men and women alike... for us women, after a hard day’s work, [millet] is the simplest food to prepare for our husbands and children; it takes a very short time” (p.20). She highlighted rural women’s importance in Ugandan agriculture and how the womb was a site where children begin suffering of malnutrition. This connection of earth and body-fertility was tied to agricultural geopolitics, where trade liberalization was preached only to “the developing world” (p.22). She reminded listeners that crops have been gendered, “The muscle power of a woman was liberated on maize because it was not a cash crop. Husbands concentrate on crops like coffee and cotton. But the food crops have always been the domain of the woman and she would get some money from increased production of maize” (p.22). Wandira-Kazibwe introduced an epistemic reversal. It was not multilateral governance institutions who cared about hunger, it was women caring for their children (p.23). Aside from what might seem as an essentialization of motherhood in women,

it suggested a demographic anti-Malthusianism. It was women who would act onto the world to solve hunger. A hypothesis, no doubt, but hypothesis akin to Boserup's work on gendered technological change, or deCastro's Geopolitics of Hunger, both previously discussed.

The points of Wandira-Kazibwe, aside from a criticism to the financialization of aid, is the reproduction of subordination of women's issues. "Unfortunately, women's issues normally come on the second to last page of any agenda, and people say, "Oh, but there are so many banking programs in Africa, the women should benefit from those"" (p.24). The Vicepresident's points didn't stick around. IFPRI's Latin-American document was the agricultural version of trickle-down economics:

"Appropriate exploitation of Latin America's agricultural and natural resources will generate growth and higher incomes...To enjoy the high, sustained levels of economic growth necessary to reduce poverty, Latin America must strengthen the ability of the private sector to take advantage of these resources and respond quickly to changing market conditions. With the lowering of barriers to trade, this is true even for countries with large domestic markets. Those markets will be taking their pricing and investment cues from the international market as well" (IFPRI 1995b:5).

Global relations were no longer to be transformed. The securitization of food and the subordination of women as an object of policy were symptomatic of it. Except it wasn't exactly true. SOFA97 would devote a special chapter, "Raising women's productivity in agriculture," with little elaboration from the previous framework. A new strategic framework was launched for the 2008-2013 period to mainstream *gender equity* across the organization (FAO 2009). Although it was faced out for management reasons detailed in Chapter 6.5, it was an effort to formulate FAO's

approach to gender in the terms development planning, with goals and targets set for the internal structure and attain better results. A result of that effort was SOFA 2010-2011, sub-themed “Women in Agriculture: Closing the gender gap,” communicating a Gender and Development approach to the public. The report had various collaborators, although it was prepared “in close collaboration with Agnes Quisumbing and Ruth Meinzen-Dick of IFPRI and Cheryl Doss of Yale University” (viii). This new framework adapted the previous WID analysis to fit the MDGs, showing the correspondence between actions toward the right to food and gender equality. Part of the effort was communicating clarity, stipulating strict, easy to understand explanations, beginning with the difference between sex and gender. In proper Millennium Development Agenda-fashion it deployed goals and targets as part of an action-cum-monitoring scheme to prompt effective government. The keywords to policy design were “gender-aware” interventions and recognizing “gender gaps” that could be subject to intervention and bridging. Color-coded planning efficiency dominated gender-food governance at FAO and microeconomic theory became the framework of analyzing its policy-object (see Figure 6. below).



Figure 6. SDGs on food and gender after 2015. Adapted from <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

By the end of the Development Sesquidecade all organizations and offices inside them were busy reporting on accomplishments and evaluations as to why it didn't go so well. The Sustainable Development Agenda was already being convened and a new development schedule renewed. FAO's Programme for gender equality in agriculture and rural development printed out its new artillery of goals and intersections between them, this time around with environmental concerns coming more forward. More importantly, however, was the growing visibility of

movements and discourses converging at FAO. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food was inaugurated in the year 2000 (dependent on OHCHR), the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) recruited scholars that were critical of food security itself, similar to other food governance institutions. Additionally, local and national movements and governments were beginning to turn to food sovereignty to complement, redesign, or contest their food securitization strategies synchronously to the strengthening of their women's movements, rural and not.

By the end of the year that began with Mayor Petro launching the *Food and Nutrition Sovereignty and Security Program* in Bogota, the supranational Latin-American Parliament, Parlatino, launched in 2012 a legislative framework for *Food Security and Sovereignty*. Elías Castillo, its president, acknowledged that the region produced more than enough food to feed its population, emphasizing that its political drivers prevailed over technical or scientific ones (FAO 2013:4). That year, the new FAO DG, José da Silva, had recently led a successful Zero Hunger policy in Brazil, an initiative with strong ties to liberation theology and an inspiration of Bogota's BSH (see Chapter 2). Adding to this, FAO commissioned its ex-Regional Director for LAC, Gustavo Gordillo, a base document published that same year to discuss the convergences between both frameworks (FAO, Gordillo 2013). Gordillo had been Director of Rural Development during the greater part of the 1990s, meaning he oversaw the discussions on rural women discussed throughout this chapter. It could be speculated that women-and-gender discussions were partly affecting the opening of FAO toward food sovereign futures.

Chapter 6 – The coloniality of Feminism at FAO: Women, Gender and Development in food policy

1. Introduction

Fifteen years after the 1974 World Food Conference (WFC74) Patricia L. Kutzner recapped the problem of “world hunger” in a popularizing “Reference Handbook”: peasants from “Asia, Africa, and Latin America produced more than half of all the grain harvested in the world” yet “at least half a billion people in those regions, about 10 percent of the earth's population, lacked enough food to eat, while another half billion lived at constant risk of hunger” (1991:1). She also pointed out that *food security* had been the driving goal of international anti-hunger policy since WFC74.¹⁶⁸ While replicating this rhetorical division between a hungry Third World and its delusional invisible negative, a hunger-less First, and recognizing that the problem concerned distribution, Kutzner seemed not to realize that the heart of the political rhetoric was about population. She unproblematically retold how population growth remained the main obstacle, despite noticing how food insecurity could be defined as *worsening*, when considering ‘the absolute number of chronically undernourished people’, or *improving*, if focusing instead on ‘the proportion of world population that lacks food’, i.e., she summarized the political accounting of the estimated 1 billion additional members of the world population between 1974 and 1990 (1991:3). The reproduction of the Third World, it appeared, was particularly responsible for the denominator’s expansion, aka ‘world population’, and so efforts to slow it would contribute to achieving the UN’s “No Hunger Target”; as if the First’s didn’t count or their food production-consumption patterns were not

¹⁶⁸ Kutzner cites the then working definition by FAO of food security, “access by everyone at all times to enough food to sustain an active life” (1991:ix, compare with Ch.6.7)

disproportionately intensive in comparison. Kutzner did show, however, that hunger is feminized by its links to the feminization of poverty: first, “the percent of women-headed households is growing rapidly as men migrate to cities in search of higher income”; secondly, “nutritional ignorance commonly leads to neglect of the extra needs of small children and of women who are pregnant or breastfeeding. In many poor households, survival for everyone dictates a strategy that protects the strength and energy of male income earners” (1991:4). This handbook was not exceptional, reproducing the standard discourse and terms of the debates surrounding ‘world hunger’. This chapter shows how the genopolitics at the heart of food governance that we saw solidify in the previous chapter, sustained a political economy of the reproduction of the Third World, veiled through the rise of neoclassical economic approaches to the national economy and the household, that is, with the ‘discovery’ of women’s productive role in development, a role primarily dictated by “men’s absence” and “women’s ignorance.”

Kutzner was the executive director of World Hunger Education Service, a Washington-based NGO “helping leaders help others end hunger” with consultative status at ECOSOC, FAO, and other instances of global governance. Kutzner was a pupil of Irene Tinker,¹⁶⁹ a pupil herself of Margaret Mead and Ester Boserup.¹⁷⁰ These US-based feminists enacted a genealogy with a different worldview from those female/women members of the Quintin Lame Armed Movement (MAQL), a majority indigenous and peasant guerrilla that negotiated a peace treaty with the Colombian government around the same time as Kutzner’s above statements: 1990-1991. MAQL’s negotiation led to the inclusion of a (male) representative in the 1991 Constitutional Assembly and

¹⁶⁹ Tinker was US delegate to the UN-CSW of 1973, also prominent researcher in women and development at Berkeley and Wellesley, and promoter of Northern development on Southern women at the International Center for Research on Women and the Equity Policy Center.

¹⁷⁰ Recall Mead and Boserup participation in the Bucharest Population Conference (Ch.4.2).

subsequently in the newly founded Colombian Congress, leading to the first indigenous legislative representation (of any sex/gender) in Colombia's history and opening political spaces for previously disenfranchised ways of knowing/being. MAQL members were committed foremost to the defense of (indigenous) life (both non-human and human) and of territory,¹⁷¹ highlighting the post-genocidal encumbrances they faced, including the continuous murder, displacement, dispossession, and other threats posed by government and other armed forces. MAQL didn't fear an indigenous or peasant population bomb; quite the contrary. The dwindling numbers of different indigenous ethnicities after the Columbian Exchange had been countered through the active participation of women in strategies of self-education and indigenous medical practices, which included guarding and developing indigenous knowledges.¹⁷² MAQL-women's participation in *la lucha* (the fight/struggle) often emphasized a communitarianism that downplayed internal divides, including sex/gender divides.¹⁷³ Indigenous woman guards/fighters often found role models in indigenous-female resistance to colonization. As Tattay-Bolaños puts it, their roles were better understood as complementary to their communities' way of life, instead of signifying another term for development planning (2012:213).

One of the first actions done by MAQL, men and women alike, was the recovery/reclamation/repossession of an industrial sugar mill "in defense of indigenous communities and in response to displacement and subsequent murder of leaders," by settling

¹⁷¹ The comparison is illustrative. The MAQL brings together various communities, with diverse and sometimes competing worldviews. I won't complicate the movement's plural conceptions of sex/territory entanglements. MAQL was one of three guerrilla groups that negotiated a peace treaty with Colombia's executive government during 1989-1991. Recall the discussion on Izquierdo and Quigua from Ch.3.

¹⁷² On the Columbian Exchange see Crosby (1972) and the Introduction.

¹⁷³ This doesn't mean a total disregard of gender conflicts and differences among, e.g., women, on how to frame gender conflicts. This characterization of MAQL-women is taken mostly from (Tattay-Bolaños 2012); an account of a woman-militant see Trochez (2009); the first ethnography of the movement was done by Espinosa (1996) which provides an important yet limited account of gender; Peñaranda-Supelano (2015) gives a broader overview of the movement.

practices such as the immediate preparation of the soil for seeding,¹⁷⁴ along with the erection of family tents (Espinosa 1996:67; CNMH and Peñaranda-Supelano:180). The action countered an emblem of colonialism, land-grabbing and monocrop exploitation, and involved the mill's agro-laborers, mostly Afrocolombians. The MAQL was already interethnic and thus incorporated different sex/gender+ relationalities, but women were recognized as key to forming broader alliances (Tattay-Bolaños 2012:219). While this was an armed action, other modes of gendered resistance are acknowledged by the movement, such as the communitarian replication of gender norms as a means of reclamation just mentioned, but also reproductive resistance (Trochez 2009:338).

What this comparison loosely illustrates is a divide between the concerned global and a rebellious local, diverging visions of gender-rurality intersections. Women in MAQL were worried about the disruption of community life and territory, they exerted autonomy by re-establishing their continuity with it. They cared not just about planting-for-harvest and repopulating their ancestral landscapes, they had an anti-colonial and survival agenda; MAQL's affirmation of territory-as-life countered the necropolitical Plantationocene apparatus.¹⁷⁵ When contrasting Kutzner's and MAQL's discourses, MAQL's concern for 'woman-headed households' was growing because of the assassination of their communities' men, not due to an 'economic migration' that favored men over women; their nutritional disenfranchisement was not due to "ignorance" but to their displacement, dispossession, and other disruptions to the way they related to fertile land.¹⁷⁶ And

¹⁷⁴ Of maize, mandioc/yuca, beans and plantains (CNMH and Peñaranda-Supelano 2015:180).

¹⁷⁵ I'm referring to "the devastating transformation of diverse kinds of human-tended farms, pastures, and forests into extractive and enclosed plantations, relying on slave labor and other forms of exploited, alienated, and usually spatially transported labor" (Haraway 2015:162/fn5).

¹⁷⁶ Which in the 1980s was being sought/fought for monocultures, prominently coca plantations, and passageways for armed groups.

yet, these were the very subjects that the gendering of global food policy sought to benefit, rural women. To explore the potential for creative friction that the global gendering of food policy has tampered in Bogota after this opening to the 1990s, I first dwell on the epistemic architecture of naming women and gender in development planning at the global scale.

I build on Jarosz analysis of key FAO documents to further scrutinize the framing of women as a universal object of intervention in food policy. I suggest that the institutional history of FAO contributes to the understanding of the perseverance of the *third world women* as a universal policy object *in need of modernization*. I show that women, despite the legacy of Malthusian political economy, are framed through the lenses of two competing disciplines inside the organization: economics and home economics. I show how these epistemic traditions are differently gendered, to then contend that they are complicit with food policy as a modern/colonial project dependent and enacted by a particular feminism. What localities (and their genealogies) insert themselves in this global intersection between food and gender, and what can they tell us about coloniality, i.e., the perpetuation of a hierarchy of the global privileging one stance over the rest? This chapter provides two possible avenues through which the strands of feminism adopted by FAO can be denoted as instances of coloniality: the preeminence of economic rhetoric over other knowledges and the reification of women as a policy subject.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Another possible avenue (which I don't provide) is framing the lives of architects of FAO like Orr or Aykroyd as a transformation of colonial experts into international organization experts (Hodge 2010; Kirk-Greene 2001). There is a difference between the British experience that constitutes a change from "late colonial technocrats to becoming postcolonial, international development experts" (Hodge 2010:25) from that of Latin American republics that entered the space of international governance already from a stance of previous independence. Even if Colombia became a full member of FAO from an early start, the participation of Colombians as FAO technocrats was null in the early years and remained minoritarian throughout. Consider for example Bula-Hoyos' role at FAOC. Even further, the formation of the experts that eventually participated could be accounted too. This further reiterates the detachment of (esp. early) development experts from Colombian localized knowledge-practice.

According to Phillips and Ilcan it was a commonly held idea that FAO development policy before WID was gender-blind, something they contest (2003:33). A biopolitical analysis of ‘numerical governance’, they suggest, unveils how gender, as other social relations, were flattened into calculable spaces, i.e., that through the erection of infrastructures of accounting, the relationships between women and food lost complexity. I would rephrase the diagnosis: there is a homogenizing process of women-food relationality made dependent on infrastructures of accounting, which is favored to the detriment of those that are not accounted either because they have been overlooked or because they cannot. Here I explore some specifics of the women-food nexus inside FAO that bolstered the scaffolding of numerical governance. I start by noticing that Economics became a prominent career in the policymaking and international organization labor markets. Many, if not most post-WWII policy recommendations were associated with the profession, and popular among them were those using the modeling of neoclassical economics.¹⁷⁸ However, a closer look at the foundation of the organization gives a glimpse to a competing field of knowledge: home economics.

2. Economics and the government of Women

Economics is an invention of the early-to-mid-twentieth century, says Mitchell, a kind of veil that obscures the will to govern a population and territory; the word did not convey the discipline and career it now does, instead suggesting the government of a polity (2002:4). The economist upholds the veil by invoking the universality of some Northwestern prototype that negates other localities, other temporalities, speaking from a zero-point that sustains science (Castro-Gomez 2010). By the first half of the twentieth century mainstream Economics had begun speaking about women and

¹⁷⁸ See for example Mitchell (2002, 2005); Callon (1999); Mirowski (1991, 2002, 2013).

gendered behavior. Women had entered the work force, demanded goods and services, and provided for others, they were taking decisions in markets, and were taking active part in spaces that had been overtaken by men for some time. Economics was beginning to spout Northwestern prototypes of womanhood as it expanded across the globe, especially through the formulation of development policy. However, the epistemological split of Economics between macro and micro phenomena meant each kind spoke about women differently.¹⁷⁹

In March 1980, the American Economic Association held a session of its Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession —CSWEP (1980). Among its eleven members, Robert Solow was present, seven years before receiving the Nobel Prize for proposing in 1956 a rhetoric for long-run macroeconomic growth-modeling that would become dominant after the 1980s. Solow's commitment to feminism, he announced at CSWEP, would translate to restricting his US lectures to ERA-ratifying states; however, feminism would have little impact in his neoclassical theorization.¹⁸⁰ Growth theory heavily depended on National Account Systems that famously undercounted, if not blatantly excluded, women's labor. Productivity growth soon became equated with development and with industrialization, with competition between nation-states, and with ontological questions about the possibility of convergence between differently developed countries.¹⁸¹ Solow's answer as to why an economy's productivity increases didn't consider

¹⁷⁹ This has repercussions on the infrastructures to approach economic phenomena at both levels. While National Account Systems usually provide the basis for macro phenomena, Household Surveys are heavily exploited for microeconomic analysis. Prydz et al 2021 show how analysis from each angle can show contradictory results.

¹⁸⁰ The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the US Constitution was a proposal to guarantee the rights of US citizens regardless of sex which required the individual ratification of minimum 38 states, something not yet accomplished in 1980. While different women and feminist collectives had reasons to oppose it, supporting it became the mainstream feminist position. Solow's involvement went further than announced at this CSWEP (e.g., Solow 1993), but his economic work largely remained unaltered.

¹⁸¹ For example, "Are developed countries intrinsically different from underdeveloped ones?" a colonial racist trope redressed with economics.

discussions on gender relations. His model soon rested at the heart of macroeconomic theory. However, there was space to reconsider how gender might affect his modeling: Labor participation, as well as population size and its growth rate, were key variables of the model, all now subject of feminist analysis in economics.¹⁸² Sollow's theory became the standard model of economic growth for developing economies and in Development Economics, and by the 1990s it was a requirement of all mainstream economic schools, largely dominated by the Neoclassical school of economic thought.¹⁸³ In contrast, Sollow's involvement with feminism remained largely unknown outside of feminist economists circles in the USA.

This macroeconomic blindness towards women's economic role was unexceptional. Considerations about population and reproduction were often concerns of classical political economy but assumed a gender-neutral discourse. Some common considerations were on women's labor¹⁸⁴ but gendered considerations never gained the prominence in macroeconomics as it did in neoclassical microeconomic analysis. The household became Microeconomics' unit of analysis. Alongside it, the family was modeled with the purpose of understanding it as an economically efficient institution, a family deprived of history or geography. Gary Becker is usually considered the founding father of such modeling that he called "New Home Economics." Along with Jacob Mincer at Columbia University they introduced econometric and firm production analysis to inaugurate this field where the sexual division of labor is a given and contributes to a family's

¹⁸² While others have critiqued and expanded this model from a feminist angle (e.g., Saam 2003), it is worth noticing that reproduction as well as women's postwar participation in the labor supply (as accounted in the system of national accounts) was a potentially major contributor to economic growth that was not explicitly accounted for.

¹⁸³ Case in point are Colombian universities. Most professors had graduate degrees from Ivy-League universities. Alvarez, Guiot-Isaac, and Hurtado (2019) trace this as the result of a Rockefeller Foundation project to build a reserve force of macroeconomists. This contrasted the economic advice from US economist to Chile's dictatorial regime in during similar periods. Also recall Rockefeller's involvement in WFC74 and the creation of IFAD (see Chap. 4).

¹⁸⁴ As seen in the previous chapter Boserup was a pioneer. Common macro themes would be the feminization of labor, the gender gap, care work, and sector differentiation. For a recent overview of topics see Berik and Kongar (2021).

production efficiency. On the backcover of Becker's 1956 *A Treatise on the Family* the publisher equates a family with "a kind of little factory," a metaphor indicative of a political agenda; as Barbara Bergman put it, "[it] leads, as does almost all neoclassical theory, to a conclusion that the institutions depicted are benign, and that government intervention would be useless at best and probably harmful" (2010:141). As Ruttan recounted, Becker intended "a unified framework for understanding all human behavior" (2007:4).¹⁸⁵ As we will see, Becker built on feminist insights, although both hiding them and renouncing them demeaningly.

Becker explained that "most noneconomists and many economists would interpret the qualifier "economic" to indicate that the discussion is confined to the material aspects of family life, to incomes and spending patterns" (1993[1981]:ix). What the "new" signified was his distance from "Home Economics" (HomeEc for short), the study of the government of the home, a feminized field where few economists had ventured. Hazel Kirk and Margaret Reid were two such economist that had innovated in theories of home production, theories Becker was acquainted with (Yi 1996:18). In contrast with neoclassical economics and before the paternal "new" of Becker, HomeEc simply was a field of study where women found a more comfortable place to enter academia and economics.¹⁸⁶ Ibberson (1958) summarizes HomeEc's scope into five branches: food, textiles, household management, children, and family and social relations. Founded and promoted by (first wave feminist) women in a then mostly agricultural USA, Home Economics pre-Becker rose to prominence during WWI, at least partially due to the contribution of mostly home economist women to rationing diets, conserving food, and optimizing consumption in the

¹⁸⁵ On the imitation of physics' quest for a unified theory by economists see Mirowski (1991), although there is no specific discussion about Becker's work.

¹⁸⁶ This is not to say that academia was easily accessible for women.

household, all with the aim of improving soldiers' lives away from it (Elias 2008:64ff; Dreilinger 2021:167). It was all about "the rationalization and professionalization of housework" (Elias 2008:6). What currently would be described as an interdisciplinary career, HomeEc was deeply entangled with agriculture and nutrition, where women-led experimentation, from MIT to Cornell, achieving, for example, better techniques for using agro-resources and nourishing. The concern of the profession was one of modernization, where improvements were to be brought to 'the peasant home'; modernizing agriculture so would those who worked the land. It also had a communitarian ideal (although nationalist), where paths to development were designed in benefit of vulnerable populations, namely children, pregnant women, the sick and the elderly, always cemented around the solidity of the family. This moral conflation of modernization and militarization in HomeEc made the case for the broader inclusion of women in social spaces until then largely occupied by men, or at least first and foremost in the USA.¹⁸⁷ Its validation as a nation-building policy apparatus came in 1923, when US President Harding created a Bureau of Home Economics inside the US Department of Agriculture, the first such post to be taken by a woman in the department (Baker 1976:196).

This parochial recount of US "Economics" is based on the academic hegemony of that country in both fields described. As mentioned, economics connoted governance over a less humble realm and with a less veiled pretense at objectivity and modernization. Sollow and Becker would win Nobel prizes in economics and their theories would fill Economics' classrooms and textbooks

¹⁸⁷ Elias points out how farmwomen were more often the subjects of home economists and how their work often traveled through agricultural extension bulletins (2008:78-79). A slightly more critical take on the modernization work of home economics, as enacted by the Peace Corps, revealing US expansionism/imperialism can be found in Geidel (2010:774) and Baumann (1970:193-96), or portraying Belgian HomeEc's contribution to the domestication of African women (Hunt 1990). Rogers equates it as the promotion of an "ideology of domesticity" for women (1990:34-35).

across the world. HomeEc would fill the world's countryside and rural development offices. FAO's work would depend on Economics to govern the global, but little attention has been given to its Home Economics office. I speculate that intimate connections placed HomeEc inside the FAO, and through it, into the global. I briefly explore how women-as-policy object built from these two US academic fields and how it was placed inside the FAO. I then focus on the policy documents leading to the development of a 'gender perspective' of the organization. These three discourses, macroeconomics, microeconomics, and home economics would contribute to the framing of women and gender inside the FAO. How did this governance space particularly inhabited and dominated by North American women shape the way women and gender was thought in global agricultural policy?

As we will see, just as Becker built on Home Economics to expand neoclassical economic thought, so would governance at HomeEc offices become a vehicle for neoliberalism and modern/colonial sexing. Inside the FAO, this is best seen just before the 1990s, when the office in charge of HomeEc changed its name to refer only to women. While it could be said that HomeEc's thrill with moral modernization and technological innovation was a trojan horse for its neoclassical takeover, here I want to point out how the field existed in tandem with certain 'technologies of visibility' that were developing to make food governable, directly related to the episteme that allowed for Malthus' population thesis. Built also on it, neoclassical economic modelling, macro and micro, additionally relied on mathematical abstractions that assume an ideal human behavior; abstractions justified by their explanatory power when contrasted with collected "observed" data, or in its own jargon, how well the data "fits the model." In principle, economists don't claim actual

humans choose like machinic entrepreneurs, incessantly computing cost-benefit analysis, but policy design would appear to incentivize it.

Macroeconomic and microeconomic neoclassical insights rely on technologies of visibility that allowed economists to grasp phenomena of interest. The creation and expansion of a national system of accounts and its refinement to estimate the Gross National/Domestic Product, birth and mortality rates, etc. were part of these developments. They are a telescopic infrastructure that give shape to objects known to exist but are too far away from the naked eye's grasp: the population, the economy, the biosphere. From the League of Nations-era International Institute of Agriculture, FAO inherited the objective of building, sustaining, and nurturing an infrastructure to account for world foodstuff. The expanding technologies to collect data, beginning with censuses of agriculture predating FAO's inauguration, provides thick data's¹⁸⁸ explanatory power through statistical analysis that sustain the knowledge network of food-economics-population-environment. These technologies coexisted with Home Economics inside FAO. The exploration of the interactions between these will not be undertaken here. It will suffice to know that the conditions for them to collaborate were there, and to speculate that it would be a place from where to know women and gender for those working on home economics.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ According to Murphy, thick data describes "the dense enumeration practices in the twentieth century... Postcolonial thick data is entangled with the history of twenty-first-century big data, from projects to regulate the flow of labor to biosecurity, and hence new forms of empire" (2017:158).

¹⁸⁹ It should be noticed that the 2011 internal evaluation of FAO's work related to gender showed that, while impressive, the effort to gather gender-related data (mostly "sex-disaggregated data") did not always translate into widespread use, analytical strength, or desired outreach of results (FAO 2011d:11).

3. Women/gender in Development

As seen in Ch.4, WID was an ordering apparatus that named rural/peasant women as needing modernization/urbanization. Boserup's work in economic development in the 1960s had influenced Washington-based women development professionals, in particular the Women's Committee of the Society for International Development who coined the term 'Women in Development' (WID), an approach to development soon adopted by USAID.¹⁹⁰ As this US agency put it, "the key issue underlying the women in development concept is ultimately an economic one: misunderstanding of gender differences, leading to inadequate planning and designing of projects, results in diminished returns on investment." It summed up the approach as consisting of two things, first, on the recognition that modernization brought by development projects had, at least in some cases, "negatively affected females," and thus implementers should be weary so that that wouldn't be the case; and second, on the economic role of women in relation to economic efficiency (USAID 1982:3-5). In relation to women in agriculture specifically, USAID's strategy focused on the sex/age division of labor, gender differences in access and control over resources, specific female farming responsibilities, and specific female responsibilities in agrarian households (p.10).

WID's origins in Boserup's work and macroeconomics gave the approach a primarily economic bias, set on enabling productivity as the goal of woman's work. This critique led to a second major approach to development, Gender and Development (GAD), which portrayed women with agency to choose and shape the development processes they insert themselves in. Additionally, it focuses not on women specifically but on gender as a construct, although narrowly framed as woman-to-

¹⁹⁰ USAID established a WID coordinator position in 1974 (USA Controller General 1980:46).

man relationality, and seeks restorative action towards gender equality and social justice. This has translated into the proposal, at least nominally, of transformative approaches and actions. The incorporation of this approach, notwithstanding, cannot be expected to openly subvert the international inequities that sustain the organizations that implement its actions. Similarly, emerging from within developing institutions, it is to be expected that its actions are to conform (or not structurally challenge) development discourse and practice.

Importantly, the incorporation of these approaches into development institutions required a series of methods for planning and implementation. Collecting sex-disaggregated information, designating structural locations and networks, capacity building, gender-awareness training, gender mainstreaming, participatory gender-planning, monitoring and evaluation, became some of the processes aiming to institutionalize WID/GAD approaches. These were happening at the same time as other processes of institutional reform by the end of the century, from New Public Management to Structural Adjustments for reducing public spending, to decentralization. These macro-processes were not just coupled to trade liberalization and government reduction but against population bomb anxieties. The phantom of an unsustainable demand for resources somehow was met not by a deacceleration of extractivist practices or the incentivizing of resource-conservation/reparation, but by pressures towards the depopulation of the Global South¹⁹¹ and by innovative, geo-transforming strategies to increase and accelerate production. All these synergistically contributed to the erection of infrastructures of accounting and planning, actions that economists were said to excel in.

¹⁹¹ Nineteenth century depopulation anxieties in Northwestern Europe can be found at the birth of demography and of their national identities in a context of war and competition (see Offen 1984).

4. The shifting place of women at FAO

FAO was no exception to thinking economists would become the go-to policymakers. The first Director-General of FAO, John Boyd Orr, was set on creating a board for the stabilization of food prices, even against the pressure of those instituting the organization. His idea was to structure a Division of Economics and Statistics that would achieve this goal through the management of food storage, and it would become “the focal point of the work of the Preparatory Commission which led to the establishment first of the FAO Council and subsequently of the Committee on Commodity Problems” (Phillips 1981:90-91; 116). In the words of the first Chief of Economics and Statistics Division, “[t]hrough a long series of international conferences... agreement has persisted that the world food problem must be considered in concrete terms of economics and trade, on a world basis” (Rutherford 1947:496).¹⁹² However, another type of governance had also found its way into the organization, the governance of the home, home economics.

It was due to the intimate social networks that sustained international governance, that work on home economics (HomeEc) would be foreseeable at FAO; yet this feminized stronghold would have a hard time finding where to roost inside the organization. As first lady of the USA, Eleanor Roosevelt was key in setting up preliminary talks about a post-WWII international governance mechanism for food and agriculture and would become a bridge-builder between Australian colonial trade expert Frank McDougall and her husband, US president Franklin Roosevelt

¹⁹² He would go on to say, “As far as world food and agriculture are concerned, the fundamental problem is clear. Economists, other scientists and policy-making officials agree on the fact that improved food production, distribution and nutritional intake, along with more adequate clothing, housing and education, are essential to any long-range betterment of man's condition. Producers must be given the assurance of relatively stable prices and markets to avert the periodic slumps in income so traditionally experienced by wheat farmers and growers of other primary products. Better diets for consumers must be achieved at prices they can afford to pay for nutritionally desirable foods. These goals must be achieved as far as possible through existing economic machinery, using prices as the “stop” and “go” lights by which long-term production and utilization of resources are regulated.”

(Hambidge 1955:49). As a HomeEc enthusiast, it is difficult not to conjecture that Roosevelt's understanding of FAO's nature would not propose its inclusion in the nascent organization. Roosevelt was an involved patron of the New York State College of Home Economics (at Cornell University) and friend of its founders, the lesbian couple of Martha Van Rensselaer and Flora Rose (Dreilinger 2021:140; Elias 2006:81). An alumnus of the college, Margaret Hockin was assigned to lead the first post of Home Economics at FAO in 1949, initially under the *Rural Welfare Division*.¹⁹³ This homosocial network shows the influence of US feminism in the early configuration of FAO and the location of 'women's issues' in its agenda. Despite this, it turned to be difficult to comfortably place the office within the organizational structure. In 1951 it was transferred to the *Nutrition Division* where in 1968 it was promoted to a "Branch," and in 1970 into a "Service;" in 1972 HomeEc was reassigned to the *Rural Institutions and Services Division* (after 1974 *Human Resources, Institutions and Agrarian Reform Division*) and renamed *Home Economics and Social Programmes Service*. It is in 1983 when HomeEc gets nominally and ideologically absorbed by WID, when the office was renamed *Women in Agricultural Production and Rural Development Service —ESHW*.

HomeEc was part of FAO's initial efforts to bring modernity into rural, underdeveloped households. The promotion of technological innovation and market expansion were conceived in the US to fight food insecurity and poverty, and promote woman/rural empowerment/overcoming. Through the decades at FAO, HomeEc had expanded to encompass a more ambitious itinerary.

¹⁹³ New York State College of Home Economics (n.d.); Phillips (1981:129). Before the 1960s, Divisions reported directly to the Director-General. As the organization grew, so did its administrative complexity. The hierarchy prevalent in 2015 had at its head Departments, then Divisions, Services, and Groups, with some exceptions. It remains to be researched how the communitarian domesticity promoted at HomeEc and by the Boston marriage of its founders influenced the early work at FAO.

Just before the erasure of its founding title in 1983, Phillips would characterize its functions like this:

“The Home Economics and Social Programmes Service assists Member Countries to develop programmes designed to integrate families and women into rural development through programmes of home economics, rural extension and training, and family life/population education. Governments are assisted in formulating goals, policies and plans to raise the standard of living of rural families by promoting economic productivity and social development, with special emphasis on easing the tasks of women by improving home and village facilities and organizations and by enabling them to realize their potential contribution to development activities and structures. Assistance is also provided to Member Countries in the planning and development of family- oriented and home economics training with a view to staffing national programmes and services for families and women in rural areas. The Service also provides leadership within FAO for the promotion of women in rural development programmes.

“The Home Economics and Social Programmes Service also engages in population activities in the context of rural development. Advice is provided to countries on the formulation of national population programmes, and help is given in training, education and research, with emphasis on building up national research capacities. A documentation service on population and rural development is helping to develop an information network and to train national documentalists” (Phillips 1981:129).

As its organizational evolution shows, the subjects of women and gender were tied with the development of economics through population and rurality. The office of Home Economics was responsible for issues related to rural women in a double feminization of gender and landscape. The Home Economics post was tied to a vision of rural women that had the potential to better engage with development processes. Home economists “are extension agents who deal with farm families” said one of FAO’s *Guide to Extension Training* (Oakley and Garforth 1985:22). In a simplification of Boserup’s analysis, the guide typified rural women into three roles: “[1] Economic, as producers of food and other goods for the family economy, and as a labour force for economic activities. [2] Domestic, with responsibilities as wives and housekeepers to care for and manage the household economy. [3] Reproductive, as mothers with responsibilities to reproduce family labour, care for children and look after their upbringing” (p.121). This booklet would be distributed widely and was reprinted four times, the last in 1997. As many epistemically extractivist projects at FAO, the Northern authors acknowledged their work drawing from “the three principal continental regions of the developing world - Asia, Africa and Latin America - and have used material from these regions in the text” to instruct farmers from the South (p.v). It is symptomatic of the forceful division by sex/gender (see figure 7) where men upgrade from animal traction to tractor, unrelated to reproduction, while women are confined to domesticity or doubly burdened, rearing children while working the fields.

Advances in statistical demography and the contraceptive pill constituted epistemic and technological developments in aggregation, i.e., building a macrological infrastructure, were influencing the production of knowledge on how women should develop, especially those left out from modernity (Murphy 2017). UN concerns about population and women were soon reflected

inside FAO's structure, inaugurating a *Population Programme* alongside ESHW.¹⁹⁴ According to Dreilinger, HomeEc began fading from the academic and professional US landscape throughout the 1980s (2021:374ff).¹⁹⁵ FAO was not impervious to the local trend and institutional reform diluted Home Economics into the rising tide of Women in Development. Simultaneously, WID brought the influence of neoclassical economics both macro and micro as discussed above. Karlyn Eckman, FAO consultant, recounts the moral downturn of HomeEc's promotion through development assistance up until the 1990s: centered "on aesthetic and functional relationships primarily in the context of western middle-class households" that projected a "stitch and stir" image, it emphasized "household technologies, and on traditional values related to home, motherhood, and the ideology that these were women's primary vocation" (FAO 1994, Ch.1.3). This promotion/reinstatement of what Lugones termed "the modern/colonial gender system" needs to be stressed because, in the decolonial spirit she invokes, it unveils "the reach and consequences of complicity with this gender system" (2007:188-89). FAO's global endeavor supported this epistemic domination of a US-East Coast feminism that was uprooted and transplanted into 'underdeveloped' territories/bodies/socialities from 1945 until the 1980s.

¹⁹⁴ Initially funded by UNFPA since the mid-1980s, it became part of the *Economic and Social Department* in 1990, parallel to the *Population Programmes Group* inside ESHW (FAO 1989:153,360-62)

¹⁹⁵ This was not the case in other parts of the world, particularly parts of Africa, Central and Southeast Asia where HomeEc colleges remained relevant, including those FAO had supported. In Latin America, "economía familiar" was a field of study rather than a career, and a typology to differentiate policy interventions, often equated with "economía campesina" (Carmagnani 2008).

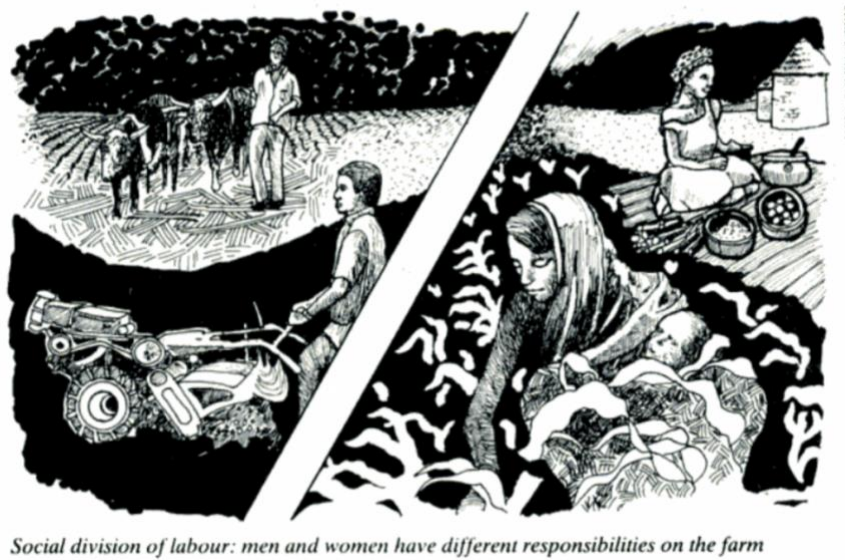


Figure 7. Visualization of sex difference in rurality. Taken from Oakley and Garforth (1985:25)

To be clear, HomeEc was still part of the organization's work as it entered the 1990s. The *Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development 1990-1995* recommended to prioritize FAO staff's training on "means for addressing women in agriculture and rural development," particularly on the WID emphasis of strengthening field projects and programmes "to reorienting and strengthening the curricula of training programmes for agriculture and home economics" for the benefit of rural women (FAO 1988; FAOC Council resolution 1/94). Various non-US countries had introduced HomeEc training in their school curricula and didn't necessarily follow the US loss of prestige. Not only was the organization actively conducting work and producing and promoting knowledge on HomeEc, but its officers were also still being named 'Home Economics Experts'. ESHW included a *Home Economics Group* until 1997 with at least one "Home Economics Senior Officer." In 2000, the director of the Woman and Population Division was still advocating for the expansion of HomeEc to eradicate poverty and food insecurity in rural communities across the world (Anderson 2000:79). Notwithstanding, by 1989 there was a clear guideline to reorient

HomeEc towards a WID approach, having by then been reduced to at best a synonym of extension services in agriculture, at worst just part of them (FAO 1989a:31; c89/14; 1989b:12-14).

Eckman's main goal in her 1994 technical document cited above was not to critique HomeEc but to reorient it inside FAO's range of actions for rural development. Her critical gender lens calls for a turn towards (human) ecology, embracing "the ecological and economic relationships of rural families: the household and its near environment" (1.3.1). Despite acknowledging the ills of development ("development can even be detrimental to women and children, especially in their roles as resource managers and rural economic actors") the scope of her work does not contest the power infrastructure that reproduce gender dimorphism ("Women are often regarded as gardeners and are provided with extension services in small-scale poultry or vegetable production rather than staple crops or large livestock, even though [sic] they are often also responsible for the latter"; "fail[ure] to recognize the often significant domestic roles of men"). On the contrary, this gender critical lens is used to reinstate securitization-as-globality by promoting participation for local conflict resolution over the commons ("in areas where the carrying capacity has been exceeded, families critically need information on alternative economic strategies, family planning, and environmental conservation and rehabilitation") instead of addressing global inequities responsible for global ecosystem degradation, including major dynamics overseen by FAO (1.3.2). Furthermore, Eckman reproduces rural/women, rural/families, and rural/households as sites par excellence of gender conflict and intervention. My intention isn't to appraise Eckman's work; the document was published by FAO and concerns a trimmed area of policy action. However, despite multiple iterations towards gender-critical reform, I posit that this institutional effort is indicative of the persistence of the coloniality of gender.

5. Mainstreaming: ebbs and flows

One first symptom of WID at FAO was the Resolution on "Integration of women in agricultural and rural development and nutrition policies" leading to the establishment of an "Interdivisional Working Group on Women in Development" (FAO 1975a; 1975b; 1975c:E). However, it is thanks to the commitments to the *Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies* (NFLS) that the organization began adopting a systematic woman/gender strategy that inaugurated and/or expanded accounting infrastructures and numerical governance, although subject to backdrop macrological dynamics.

Between 1990 and 2015, FAO developed 3^{1/3} *Plans of Action* (PoA) concerning women and gender until the incorporation of gender as a "strategic objective":

- i. FAO Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development (1989-1995)
- ii. FAO Plan of Action for Women in Development (1996-2001)
- iii. FAO Gender and Development Plan of Action (2002 - 2007)
- iv. Second GAD Plan of Action (2008-2013) [phased out in 2009] ¹⁹⁶
- v. Strategic Framework 2010-19: Strategic Objective K (SO-K)
- vi. Policy on Gender Equality (GEP) (2012-2017)

The changes of these PoA's titles show forthright the transition from WID to GAD. These represent efforts a changing framework to systematize women/gender into the organization's work. These PoAs must be understood in relation to the wider UN's efforts to include women and gender in their development initiatives. While women's original concerns were taken up by

¹⁹⁶ "Gender will be fully integrated into the Strategic Framework and Medium-Term Plan and will no longer have a separate Gender and Development Plan of Action." (FAO C2009/LIM/8:35)

creating the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1946, their efforts would only start consolidating through the World Conferences on Women (WCW). The third one in Nairobi set forth the NFLS that birthed the first PoA, aiming to institutionalize women's issues in all areas and eliminate biases against women, assuring that women were *in* the development agenda. The fourth WCW, Beijing 1995, shifts the discourse to gender equality, gender mainstreaming, women empowerment, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Additionally, 1992 set the agenda for sustainable development; 1996 brought the World Food Summit (WFS96) and its food security apparatus; and finally, 2000 the Millennium Declaration and its 2002 version of the MDGs. Along these international milestones, dialogues, and commitments, FAO was engaging with other less explicit global dynamics: the gradual adoption of New Public Management (i.e., the adoption of management techniques typical of end of the century businesses constantly seeking more efficiency with less resources), increase motivational capital (attempting to gain hype for gender among staff to include it in their work) decentralization (i.e., giving more weight to the regional and local offices), incentivizing the use of participatory methodologies, and expenditure priorities of the member countries (notoriously, the post-2001 increase in military spending).

The shifts in the organizational importance of gender throughout the 1990-2015 can be characterized by two mainstreaming movements. A first, ossifying one that centered gender to a specific location inside the organizational structure (1990-2009), and a second, dispersing, that distributed 'gender' across it (2009-2015). To better understand this, consider the PoAs as the blueprints for the buildup of a gender governance infrastructure: "to order, accentuate, and intensify" (FAO 1988c:3). The first PoA sets a strategic framework for implementation of WCW commitments, defining actions, assigning responsibilities, and intra-organizational cooperation.

The second PoA, “focused more clearly on measurable and medium-term goals and set out to institutionalize WID in all of FAO’s mandates and to provide a framework to member countries to ensure that rural women benefit from development” (FAO 2001e). The third PoA adapts the structure to GAD which the fourth continues. The most relevant commonality of these PoAs that distinguishes them from SO-K and GEP is their absence from the budget. Despite creating a cross-cutting plan, responsibility was mostly assumed by ESHW, a situation that changed as plans of decentralization were being set (after 1994) and post-2001.11.09 budget cuts, the strategy of having gender responsibilities in relevant offices and clear accountable officers across the organization would be the lasting formation at the end of the period.

This was the buildup of an epistemic gender infrastructure¹⁹⁷ that allowed for the expansion of gender institutionalization at FAO. Despite their self-defined successes and failures¹⁹⁸ the organization had effectively put together a systematic process to know gender, to arrange that knowledge according to shifting orders, to store it, guard it, circulate it, and translate it. Murphy’s term “distributed (ontology of) reproduction” is fitting; “a figuration of reproduction as *process* that exists at *macrological* (not merely micrological and bodily) registers and which is *extensive* geographically in space and historically in time” (original emphasis, 2011:24). When Murphy claimed that “reproductive health” is entangled with political economy, I believe she was thinking along the lines of the international PoA from Cairo and Beijing in 1994 and 1995, on population and women respectively, both setting in motion a series of policies around the world affecting the

¹⁹⁷ I am referring to Murphy’s “epistemic infrastructures” that perform “the economization of life,” assemblages of practices of quantification and intervention conducted by multidisciplinary and multi-sited experts that became consolidated as extensive arrangements of research and governance” (2017:6).

¹⁹⁸ There have been at least two internal evaluations of FAO’s work on gender, additional to the monitoring and evaluation reports emanating from the PoA and the Strategic Framework (FAO 2011b; FAO 2019).

bodies of women. Here I want to extend this thought to food, which also generally exceeds through social reproduction the bodies it contributes to constitute, not just the human ones. These too are *formations of reproduction*, descriptions of historically specific relationships that produce and mobilize “reproduction” (p.26).

The transversality of gender that was enacted at FAO depended on a concerted effort to mobilize actors and knowledges (individuals and officers at headquarters, decentralized offices, international partnerships, and member governments united in this will-to-gender); a network of focal points, with responsibilities and mechanisms of surveillance, building not only on the realignment the organizational structure (adding/suppressing posts, functions, or tasks) but also on the enactment of mainstreaming-as-process (initiating loops of i. capacity development, ii. knowledge building, iii. communication (advocacy, awareness raising, branding, and imaging), iv. gender discrimination minimization, and v. monitoring, reporting, evaluating, and auditing). Similarly, financial flows and data assemblages that develop, collect, and use information. I enumerate these to focus on the materiality of this epistemic infrastructure that FAO’s gender policies mobilize.

Recall from Ch.5 that the efforts to “close the knowledge gap” of gender in agriculture FAO resulted in the edited volume “Gender in Agriculture” (Quisumbing et al 2014) after working for FAO’s “flagship publication” *The State of Food and Agriculture 2010-2011*. The introductory chapter states that FAO “had a clear message: agriculture is underperforming because half of its farmers—women—do not have equal access to the resources and opportunities they need to be more productive” (4). This is exemplar of “the economization of life,” i.e., “the historical

emergence of forms of governmentality that sought to govern living being, particularly sexed-living-being and fertility—for the sake of fostering economic development and enhancing national GDP” (Murphy 2011:29). However tied to the dominance of macroeconomics, as Murphy suggests, I have shown it is tied also to microeconomics and efficiency, that weak linkage to nineteenth century HomeEc.

Microeconomic modeling has also contributed to the buildup of infrastructures of accounting to know gender. If Becker proposed a sealed “unitary model” of the household/farming unit to explain marriages and fertility, its critique has given way to varying alternatives delving into intrahousehold conflict, intrahousehold cooperation, models of women’s marketing and farming decisions. There are now collective decision models that help understand diverging allocations of a given good inside the decision unit (usually the household). A wealth of data both in terms of quantity and quality “has contributed to the growing empirical literature on intrahousehold allocation” (Quisumbing et al 2014:13). This enumeration of microeconomic and statistical possibility exemplifies an “ontological politics of reproduction,” capable of rendering legible how life is constituted through the infrastructures and political economies that exceed sexed and raced bodies (Murphy 2011:26). It is important to recall the epistemological divide between micro and macroeconomics. The microeconomical configuration of the economization of life continues to impose the primacy of the economy over other configurations, except scaling it to the household level. Jarosz said, “Women are thereby integrated into food security as economic actors and in terms of their gendered responsibilities, and the micro-scale of the body is integrated with the macro-scale of institutions of global governance” (2015:131). This can now be qualified through the lens of the coloniality of gender: it is the epistemological presupposition of sex

difference that allows gendered economic discourse to be pronounced. This historization of women's integration into the economy, displays the coloniality of North-Atlantic feminist dreams of modernization. It is the epistemic primacy of economics that orders feminisms from the "Third World" through the coloniality of North-Atlantic ones.

6. Conclusion: Pachakuti

The genealogy of feminist discourse inside FAO and its mainstreamed woman/gender policy has been characterized as pertaining to Northwestern feminism, an entanglement between HomeEc and neoclassical economics. It performs a minoritarian discourse in a majoritarian system. I suggest that discourses of macroeconomic productivity and microeconomic efficiency frame, and in so doing, coopt feminist discourse and subordinate it to the development enterprise. Thinking again through women's communitarian objectives accompanying armed resistance in MAQL as seen in the introduction of this chapter, exemplifies the difference of goals pursued. MAQL members' is not the experience of a 'rural woman' with a modernizing agenda aided through logics of efficiency and productivity. Theirs is a fight for their body-territory (Zaragocin&Caretta 2020). This meant that their territory and lives were both at stake, and that endangering one endangered the other. During the 1989 peace treaty negotiations there were no specific demands that set women apart from the goals of the community. To *live-well* meant recovering and defending their ancestral belonging to a land whose tenure was now contested, the possibility of reproducing their people and their customs without fearing extermination.

Cusicanqui (2019:108), building from Quechuan and Aymara political mobilizations, suggests the need for an indigenous 'turning up the upside-down' that European colonization has made of

South-Amerindian being-in-the-world, a *Pachakuti*, a reversal-renewal of the world. I read MAQL's goal as analogous, a change towards territorial autonomy where 'indigenous ways' could be exercised without external challenges. This goal didn't aim for a transformation from its 'low intensity patriarchy', but then again, neither did FAO's inclusion of women in agrarian futurity.

By the time MAQL signed the peace accords, another bigger guerrilla movement, M-19, had signed and committed to the creation of a new political constitution that included the diversity of beings contained in the country. MAQL's symbolic weight was attributed to its indigeneity, the representation of indigenous demands; these seemed jeopardized when two indigenous representatives announced their involvement in the constitutional process. According to its leaders, sustaining armed resistance was costly, especially in terms of lives lost (Peñaranda-Supelano 2015; 2010). They opted for the new political option that offered multiculturalism and capabilities approach to development, an option Cusicanqui sees as a technocratic ornament to guise financial structural adjustment policies as humane. Indeed, conflict in the region they inhabit endured, but their political organization was transformed, their ways of defending the land changed, and a more united indigenous front was formed. Female participation in politics increased through the election of women representatives that mediate ways of being in the territory with national policies. Their lives, women and not, are still riddled with violence in their territories, including sexual violence, gendered migration as well as return,¹⁹⁹ and resistance, individual and collective.

Stemming from the WFC74 architecture, CGIAR researches food-secure futurity. CGIAR is a global partnership of which FAO is member, a network of research centers strategically deployed

¹⁹⁹ For example, I was made aware of a Paez/Nasa houseworkers community in Bogota, coming from this region (Cauca) which remains transited by armed, territorial conflict.

around the world to gather agricultural knowledge. In Colombia it is represented by CIAT, who conducts research where MAQL militated.²⁰⁰ Conflict between “campesinos” (peasants that don’t file other identity claims) and indigenous people (a majority of them peasants) has increased since the 2000s, at least partially due to climate change. Devereux (2014) conducted research under the auspice of CIAT focusing on the role of women in agriculture in relation to climate adaptive strategies. She finds that “women are often agents for change and adaptation *within the household*” (8, my emphasis) by collecting sex-disaggregated perceptions on a variety on climate-agriculture practices.

The study concludes that the perceptions of men and women differ substantially, as to which CSA practices are considered more beneficial. In addition, the study identifies traditional gender roles in agricultural activities and considerable gender gaps in terms of ownership of resources. Furthermore, an examination of how information is diffused throughout the region reveals certain inequalities in the method and degree to which information reach men and women. The vast majority of both male and female farmers seem familiar with the concept of climate change and had perceived its effects in the watershed. However, while most of the interviewed women stated that they had modified at least some of their activities due to these changes, less than half of the interviewed men had done so, suggesting that women may be more exposed or vulnerable to changes in climate, or alternatively, that their productive activities are more affected.

²⁰⁰ Previously referenced in Ch.5.5.

Chapter 7 – Molecular corporeity

1. Nourishment Disembodied

Malnutrition had been related to food and hunger, for tautological reasons. Etymologically, *nurture* preceded *nutrient*, from the carnal dynamic of lactation to the disembodied substantivation of an abstract matter, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries amidst the so-called ‘chemical revolution’, the rise of chemistry. This points toward epistemic, technological, and political changes that redefined ideas about bodies and their composition, as proposed in the introduction. The disembodiment of the nutrient became a staple for physiology, and the imperfect assimilation of food was captured by disciplined discourse as ‘nutrient deficiencies.’ The abstraction of nutrients from everyday breastfeeding to ‘the mother that nourishes,’ to the medieval ‘virgo nutrix,’ to the Enlightened ‘nutrient,’ these changes obscured gendered dynamics of social reproduction, of feeding/making bodies, suppressed gendered knowledges, and disposed gendered practitioners.²⁰¹ The rise of nutrition-as-science knew that hungry people were often undernourished, but also that nutrients were an axis of qualification of both foods and bodies. This brief wants to introduce the Foucauldian issue of the rise of an apparatus that delineates problems by erasing others, a geohistorical contingency that hints at how Nutrition had entered the twentieth century with a gendered inheritance operating on both the intervened bodies, subjected by knowledge, as well as the disputes over who could exert it.

²⁰¹ I refer here Schiebinger’s feminist account, among the many that show how women-centered knowledges, like midwifery and cooking, didn’t survive unscathed by the male-professionalization of ‘scientific’ fields (1991:102ff). Culinary-cum-gardening constituted knowledge-practices where women had greatly contributed, and the kitchen had become *the* chemical laboratory, Schiebinger narrates, eventually masculinized through the rise of food/pharmacy/medicine distinctions at the end of the eighteenth century. Feminist STS abound and suggesting a list would be insufficient, especially for a footnote.

Indeed, *Nutrition* was key in the structuring of international food governance, despite *nutrition* being a difficult object of policy, placed somewhere between health and agriculture, even when addressed jointly [as was home economics at FAO, see Ch.6]. A derivative of the new global food architecture inaugurated by WFC74, The UN's Subcommittee on Nutrition (SCN), part of the UN Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC), was established in 1977, and its members were a compilation of UN offices that had *nutrition-as-mandate*.²⁰² Dissolved in 2001, the ACC/SCN provided an aggregation platform able to produce a *global* discourse on nutrition based on two mandates: WFC74 Resolution V and, much later, an International Conference on Nutrition to take place in 1992 (hereafter ICN92). As a coordinating body, it also reported and advised (governments) on data, policies, and actions; it compared territories (reinstating political divisions), and also learned from them. The SCN Secretariat had initially been attached to FAO but had been transferred to WHO in 1988. It was right after this move, during its 1989 session, that ACC/SCN called for ICN92, concerned over increases in malnutrition associated to *the Debt Crisis*, since governments access to last-resort loans were conditional in cutting welfare provisioning.

I begin discussing the ICN92 because it became a milestone for international food policy, and because, as noted, it influenced the production of Bogota's food policy. Conveniently, its second iteration (hereafter ICN2014) sets another milestone that gives some closure to this period. The neoliberal episteme described in previous chapters enacted a discursive change, refashioning Nutrition away from costs and towards investments. Kimura posits that the World Bank, largely

²⁰² It took over some of the functions of the *Protein-Calorie Advisory Group of the United Nations System* (PAG) founded in 1955 as the *FAO/WHO/UNICEF Protein Advisory Group* and terminated in 1978. On PAG's difficult position between agencies see Ruxin's detailed account of the 1960s intra- and inter-agency enmity derived from governing nutrition (1996:220f).

blamed for cutting funds to healthcare provision through its 1980s Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (especially criticized by global governance institutions including during the Conference²⁰³), began speaking of micronutrient fortification as an avenue of development, one favorable to public-private partnerships (2013:53). The era of *functional foods*, i.e., those that were framed to be consumed to attain a function (run faster, ‘grow muscle,’ ‘enhance memory,’ etc.) mobilized molecular discourses that reinforced gendered expropriations. Disembodied nutrients could be technologically added, either to food or as supplements, acquired directly from the store and as the output of a distant, mystified process outside of the home and its kitchen. Furthermore, disembodied nutrients were the result of an industrial process that occurred out of the fields and in an abstract private chemistry laboratory where peasants had no place, physically and legally privatized from the public.

What were the gendered impacts of this discursive veiling? How was this shift addressing growing concerns about women and gender inside this international policy framework? The ACC/SCN, as I will show, did address these concerns explicitly, producing expert advice and guidelines whose frames morphed from WID to GAD. I inquire about the “nutritionally reductive ways of understanding food [that] have been translated into reductive food production practices, such as nutrient-fortified food products and nutritional supplements” that Scrinis has termed *nutritionism* (2013:27), particularly *functional nutritionism* that he places as beginning in the mid-1990s and

²⁰³ ICN92 was explicit. To improve *household food security* relevant actors should “strike an optimal balance between macroeconomic policy objectives and food security needs, minimize the possible adverse impact of structural adjustment programmes on the food security of the poor and, where some negative effects are unavoidable, introduce appropriate measures to alleviate these hardships... International lending practices should be re-examined...” (ICN92:par.31.b). Also FAO: “Public expenditure on health has declined in many developing countries, especially in the context of structural adjustment programmes, leading to an alarming situation where malnutrition continues to massively affect the poorest people and especially the young. Special efforts by the governments of the countries concerned, with adequate technical and financial support of the international community, are needed to reverse these disquieting trends and to safeguard food security” (FAO 1989d:2).

characterizes as partly driven by “scientific developments that enable experts to develop a more precise understanding of nutrients and bodies at the molecular level, as well as the development of new techniques for reengineering the nutritional profile of foods,” and partly driven by the corporatization of nutrients along the food chain (p.158). My strategy here will be to present a gender-critical review of ICN92, to which governments committed, before historicizing the conference and its development into a formalized gender perspective. I show how complexities to place women/gender in nutrition fostered a shift in governance on household food security, and veiled macroeconomic insights concomitant to the trade-liberalization commitments that gave birth to the WTO.

2. Nutritionism: 1992 International Conference on Nutrition

Like others, this international conference’s material existence often remained in two interlocked documents, the World Declaration (hereafter WD; ICN 1992a) and its Plan of Action for Nutrition (hereafter PoA; ICN 1992b), with 21 and 52 paragraphs respectively, plus an annex recalling nutrition-related commitments in two preceding UN fora. Their wording was devised, debated, and drafted months earlier, first proposed in February of 1989 during ACC/SCN’s annual symposium titled “Women and Nutrition.” Draft reports were discussed in different regional meetings between January and April of 1992, rounded up in August of that year by a Preparatory Committee, and finalized for plenary approval in December with world state dignitaries and their speeches. The PoA gave guidelines mainly directed toward governments to achieve the objectives set in the WD, referencing gender and the household constantly.

The WD’s main objective was to “ensure that freedom from hunger becomes a reality” and “sustained nutritional well-being for all people in a peaceful, just and environmentally safe world”

(par.1). There were concerns for “more than 2.000 million people [in the Developing-World], mostly women and children, [who] are deficient in one or more micronutrients,” and of these “enormous numbers of women and children are adversely affected by iron deficiency” (par.3). Paragraph 7 emphasized “basic and applied scientific research” and “food and nutrition surveillance systems” as the means to know and eliminate nutrition problems that affected “women, children and aged persons.” Thus, women were quickly framed as a focalized group, directly affected by micronutrient deficiencies and as caregivers (especially due to reproductive labor, through pregnancy/breastfeeding) (par.19). WD recognized the existence of “gender disparities” (par.8) as well as the “right of women and adolescent girls to adequate nutrition” (par.13), alongside a series of spheres in which women were recognized as disadvantaged when compared to men. But what perspective on gender did ICN92 introduce?

An examination of ICN92’s WD and PoA shows five avenues through which gender was inscribed. The already mentioned reproductive vulnerability and care provisioning role are accompanied by a Neo-Malthusian rhetoric of population, gender role differences along productive labor, much empowerment-through-education, and of course, molecular vulnerability (see Appendix F for a detailed analysis of how gender got codified into ICN’s “Strategies and Actions”). These were discursive efforts to harmonize the Declaration with the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (hereafter NFLS85, UN 1985), agreed by the end of the UN Decade for Women, although depriving them of the intended geopolitical redistribution towards a more equitable international order (NFLS85, esp. par.98-100). Instead, WD’S framing of development avoided geopolitical confrontation, seeking transformation by two means: a macrological tie of the individual to the macroeconomy, fostering productivity for productivity’s sake, and a micrological tie to

individuated commitments towards efficiency for efficiency's sake. While both aim to converge, they not always do. I argue that both deploy sex/gender strategies to reconcile.

The erasure of geopolitical confrontation led to a logical contradiction. WD stated that "Underdevelopment" caused poverty and lack of education, "the primary causes of hunger and undernutrition" (par.5). However, hunger and undernutrition themselves appear intrinsic to underdevelopment, thus falling into an unresolvable loop where underdevelopment begets itself. While recalling that year's commitments to raise 'Development Assistance' at the Rio Declaration (par.16), a tepid insinuation of condoning debt was shadowed by the endorsement of trade's liberalization and expansion (par.17). While NFLS85 stated that

"Protectionism against developing-countries' exports in all its forms, the deterioration in the terms of trade, monetary instability... have aggravated the development problems of the developing countries, and consequently have complicated the difficulties hampering the integration of women in the development process" (par.100),

ICN92WD was more akin to liberalism, demoting WAD structural geopolitics. Its commitments attempted discerning 'achievable' goals (like ending famines and iodine and vitamin-A deficiencies) from those deemed more challenging and could only expect reduction (like starvation and hunger, impediments to optimal breast-feeding, iron deficiencies, and undernutrition among women) (WD:par.19). Women are presented already inscribed in development, although gendered roles positioned them differently within it. Development trajectories appeared clear, and countries' responsibilities became individualized, mostly by minimizing direct references to North-South power-divisions.

The (neo)Malthusian bias was very much present from the start. “[D]evelopment programmes and policies lead to a sustainable improvement in human welfare” needed to be implemented “at family, household, community, national and international levels (...) to achieve and maintain balance between the population and available resources and between rural and urban areas” (WD par.6). This emphasis on the “family unit as the basic unit of society” (par.12) was celebrated by the Pope (ICN 1992c:1) despite the Declaration tying women’s rights to family planning provision (par.12). Between PoA’s paragraphs 12 and 13 the family, not the household, is chosen as a preferred site of intervention of food-cum-nutrition provisioning. Although it recognizes the importance of care-work, it limits mentions of gender biases to this statement: “Men should also be *motivated through appropriate education* to assume an active role in the promotion of nutritional well-being” (my emphasis). Proper of a structuralist universalization of patriarchy, the invisibilization of masculine care was compounded with a diagnosis (lack of motivation) and a remedy (motivational education). Similarly, women and girls’ rights to “adequate nutrition” were tied to education, although also to health, the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes, and access to and control of resources.

To unpack these takes on gender it is necessary to examine the PoA, where key concepts are advanced. Structured into six sections, while it recognizes *power over* as key to solving hunger and malnutrition, just like WD it is quick to emphasize continuity instead of antagonizing world order (par.2). After an introduction, its four objectives are grounded in the material connection between nutrients and foods, stated in terms of diets and access to food,²⁰⁴ emphasizing at least two security threats it seeks to overcome: famines and environmentally unsustainable development. These threats had been already related by Malthus, and the neo-Malthusian redlining

²⁰⁴ This counters popular discourses of nutrition, problematized by Scrinis’ *nutritionism* or Kimura’s charismatic nutrients.

is even more explicit in the next sections, the policy guidelines, and the strategies and actions that follow these. A fifth section differentiates national from international commitments and a final suggest a monitoring framework.

Nutritional well-being is at the core of the proposal; it “should be adopted as a key objective in human development and must be at the centre of development strategies, plans and priorities” (par.6).²⁰⁵ This concept is dependent on *nutritional status*, a function of 1) macro/micro-nutrient intake, 2) health and care, 3) drinking water, and 4) knowledge [of diets]. Nutritional status is qualified in each component to achieve nutritional well-being, but this qualification isn’t specifically gendered. Attainment is defined at the individual level, but it isn’t explicit that the burden of the qualification-onto-wellbeing often relies on feminized labor, something addressed on Guideline 8 (par.16). Additionally, the neo-Malthusian imbalance between population and resources is to be achieved through sustainability, framing the reproduction of foods and the reproduction of humans as antagonistic. In any case, nutritional well-being is mentioned on almost all guidelines, which understand it a) in kinship with WHO’s 1981 *Global Strategy for Health for All*, b) as an anti-poverty egalitarianism, “better” or “adequate nutrition for all, at all times” (par.18); c) as a goal towards which one moves through improvement and promotion; d) to be protected against deterioration (par.13-14); e) as a stage of development that must be sustained; f) achievable through increased agricultural productivity in “an open international economic system (par.10) in tandem with adequate healthcare (par.19); h) although needing an important intervention from governments, to guarantee appropriate allocation of resources (par.21). Nutritional well-being signaled the neoliberal conundrum of governments, caught up between their

²⁰⁵ This was advanced already by WHO by Djamil Benbouzid, acting chief of Nutrition at Food and Nutrition Division in Dec. 1990 (N3/86/1, Facsimile 7910746, WHO Message 40743)

“reduction” to build a “liberalized market” and their “expansion” to offset the undesirable outcomes that resulted. To resolve the contradiction, women were acknowledged as *key to nutrition security*.

The thirteen guidelines emphasized the need to perpetuate economic growth, although sustainably and equitably. If sustainability signaled reproductive control, equity framed women as a vulnerable group, emphasized when pregnant and nursing. Vulnerability was to be addressed at the household level through access to “adequate care” and “basic social services” of which family planning and maternal-and-child health were discernibly gendered. Female children and teens were signaled out, although without clear reasons (par.12,13,18). The eighth guideline exclusively focused “on women and gender equality,” unambiguously advancing a gender perspective. Women’s entitlement to nutritional well-being was emphasized in relation to their “fundamental role in assuring improved nutritional status for all.” Three roles were presented: rural women farmers, pregnant-nursing women, and those subjected to discrimination. It stated gender relations should be studied having equality in mind, but mentioning only equality of household workload and responsibility; notwithstanding, a list of cases was presented: allocation of food in children, economic opportunities, education/training opportunities, and participation in development. The role of men is mentioned firstly, to ensure family planning, and then to raise their consciousness of their control over household resources and nutritional status, and to learn about nutrition. This guideline ends with the promise of further development in preparation for WCW4 in Beijing. Further emphasizing Malthusianism, Guideline-9 on “population policies” heavily relied upon women’s individualized access, not only to contraceptive/reproductive methods, but to an actuarial mindset capable of “account[ing for] the interests of present and future generations” (par.18). ICN92’s critique of SAPs due to its negative consequences on hunger and malnutrition didn’t rail

against economic growth as antithetical, but emphasized women's role as a bridge for macroeconomic stabilization.

Additional to nutritional well-being, ICN92 promoted the idea of *household food security* as “a fundamental objective of development policy as well as a measure of its success” (par.30). It drives focus away from WFC74's *world food security*, with an apparently anodyne definition: “access by all people at all times to the food needed for a healthy life” (par.29). Like nutritional well-being, it is multidimensional, dependent of food supply, stability, and access. The first dimension is qualified through food safety and nutrition adequacy and both state and household are implicated. Supply stability must be “reasonable” between any two years. Access, however, is defined as dependent exclusively on the household, specifically on its *knowledge* and *ability* “to produce or procure” the food it continuously needs, and it is framed importantly to operationalizing efficiency: encouraging “properly balanced diets that supply all necessary nutrients and energy without leading to overconsumption or waste.”

It should not surprise that this conceptualization concerned an importantly gendered space. “Women and women's organizations are often very efficient, effective and fundamental in improving household food security,” the PoA recognized (par.31.d). Subjectification seemed twofold: a) Women had increased vulnerabilities to *food insecurity*, and women farmers and female-headed households were signaled out (par.30-31); and b) As food-securitizing agents when actualized through nursing, agents of crop-cum-genetic diversity and other parts of the food chain. Both subjectivities were to be cultured or enhanced through education and expert education, including HomeEc. Not leaving Malthusianism behind, “men and women” were to be made aware “of the benefits of limiting household size and the advantages of family planning practices” (par.31.o). There wasn't, and probably couldn't be, a discussion about valuation practices of

women's work, knowledges, and practices in relation to household management (οικονομία) or tending the fields.

The macroeconomy on the other hand, required stabilization and the WFC74 food reserves continued to be strategic (par.31.i), as well as their redistribution through aid-for-emergencies. Technological transfer and training were other common qualifiers of aid. It should be highlighted that these inefficiencies of subsuming human life to productivity were recognized as having led to SAPs; food insecurity and malnutrition, including lack of availability of specific micronutrients affecting human food, and the food of their food;²⁰⁶ and death, reproductive failure, or decreased productivity.²⁰⁷ The link between nutritional status and food insecurity was spelled out macrologically as a security threat: “The interaction of infection and malnutrition (...) is a major cause of death, sickness and disability in infants and young children and an important contributor to women's ill health and reproductive problems” which required biopolitical intervention, “Preventing, controlling and correctly managing infections improves nutritional well-being and markedly enhances the productivity of the adult population” (par.33). These formulations agree with the economization of life, building a molecularizing infrastructure to sustain a distributed ontology of reproduction, although it also subjected life to micrological efficiency to correct macrological failures.

This macro-inability to provide all populations with sufficient micronutrients, or contrapositively, the macroeconomy's ability to sustain “hidden hunger” was self-harmful, depriving subjects of their potential to enhance individualized productivity for the collective expansion of production

²⁰⁶ This formulation comes from Landecker (n.d.). Specifically, ICN92 PoA par43.f. states, “the iodization of all salt for both human and livestock consumption is required, recognizing that this is the most effective long-range measure for correcting iodine deficiency.”

²⁰⁷ Par.40. says that among the consequences of iodine deficiency are “reproductive failure, goitre, increased mortality and economic stagnation. Children, adolescent girls and women are particularly vulnerable.”

itself. The consequences were gendered, and ACC/SCN had been compiling a *Women's Nutritional Status Database* to track these molecularized gender imbalances. Iodine deficiency's link to reproductive failure, iron deficiency's to death during pregnancy/childbirth, and Vitamin A to a host of gendered disorders were explicitly addressed by ICN92, although many others were not highlighted.²⁰⁸ One particular silence was not directed to micronutrients themselves²⁰⁹ but to the political economy of their sourcing.

According to the 2nd *Report on World Nutrition situation*, published just before the Conference and prepared in unison, anemia had increased, likely a result of iron deficiency, impacting women the most among deficiencies. This was recognized as related to reduced production of legumes which were replaced by Green-revolution crops. "The overall per caput supply of iron appears to be static or perhaps decreasing in all regions [except MENA]," although only 'developing' regions in 1970-1990 were accounted (ACC/SCN 1992b:74). "In South Asia this is at least partly due to a major decrease in the production and availability of pulses (lentils, beans, etc.), which have been squeezed out in many areas by the green revolution emphasis on cereal crops," it exemplified (ibid). These estimates were based on FAO-compiled data (its 1990 Food Production Yearbook) but they were linked to the new ACC/SCN *Women's Nutritional Status Database*: "Data that are available to assess level and trends in women's nutritional status are mainly: anthropometry [the stature, women's weight/thinness by developing region]; anaemia; incidences of low birth weight; and maternal mortality." The database compiled "around 340 studies carried out since the late 1970s" (ACC/SCN 1992b:80). Dietary iron supply was measured in milligrams/capita by source

²⁰⁸ It should be noted that emphasis was given to individualized nutrients, despite important interactions, e.g., Vitamin C enhances iron absorption. This is related to nutritionists emphasizing diets and foods instead of individualized nutrient supplementation.

²⁰⁹ Nor to their charisma, in Kimura's formulation, i.e., not related to the actors-and-interests that promoted individualized nutrients.

(vegetable>animal) and by region between 1960 and 1990. “Isotopic methods of measuring iron absorption from complete meals” became “the golden standard” and was corporealized: a sign of (15–49 years-old) women being pregnant (haemoglobin < 11 g/dl) or not (< 12 g/dl). This mention of how the financial, technical, and knowledge investment that transformed agriculture and landscapes was also transforming bodies. This brief comment didn’t make it to the ICN documents.²¹⁰

The redistribution of gender in agricultural relations that had been reorganizing bodies and landscapes to the shape of internationally priced and traded commodities, was not an avenue of inquiry that these agencies would take, a field pioneered instead by contemporary geographers (e.g., Carney&Watts 1991; Hayes-Conroy&Hayes-Conroy 2013a, 2013b). Nutrition governance gendered women molecularly, yet again, in relation to reproductive potentiality, not the political ecology of gendered embodiments of nutrients and their procurement. Kimura expressed this framing as the *asymmetrical mother-child dyad* in nutrition, calling out the subordination of women to children/fetuses (2013:32). This emphasis essentializes women into reproductive labor denying more recent gender differences structured along a colonial production axis. Colonization introduced agricultural technologies that changed patterns of production and labor roles that disciplined women towards a disenfranchised pigeonhole. However, the material conducting to ICN shows that gender transformations had been associated with agricultural innovation and participation in international markets. Not only had the call for the ICN come from a symposium on “Women and Nutrition” where related discussions had been presented, including as an

²¹⁰ This might have been a lesson learned from the 1960s “world protein gap” problem, the claim that nutritional requirements (i.e., population growth, but also the urbanization-driven “dedomestication of women”) were not aligned with production. It would lead to the excision of UNICEF from PAG. Macronutrients then raised political economic issues that favored “concentrated” processed foods or supplements over non, under the premise that increased production would translate automatically into improved nutrition to the predilected subjects of intervention, mothers and children (Ruxin 1996:229-39)

analytical framework, but FAO (1977, 1979) had begun to address some of these issues. When was it scrapped from the agenda?

3. Producing a conference before gendering nutrition

ACC/SCN held its 22nd session at Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) headquarters in Washington, D.C., from 12 to 16 June 1995. PAHO Director, Carlyle Guerra de Macedo, recalled commitments from Alma-Ata 1978 and ICN92 as determinant to the future of policies against hunger and malnutrition (ACC/SCN 1996). The Conference on Primary Health-Care, held in Alma-Ata in 1978 and convened by UNICEF and WHO, was key to making nutrition a health-policy issue, according to Ruxin (1996:287f). Previously dominated by FAO, the comfort of nutrition policy into the health realm was related to the prominence of the newly created ACC/SCN and to Alma-Ata78's understanding of health as directly tied to social and economic contexts. New development policy would start being concerned about *the social determinants of health* and involving communities, and relevantly women, to address nutritional issues.

1995 would be the last year of a decade-long work of Chilean Abraham Horwitz as Chairman of SCN. According to Horwitz, nutrition policy changed entering the 1990s, not only because of ICN92 but due to two lines of work. First, a comparative country-level strategy that began in 1989 strengthened information systems, accounted for bureaucracies' capacity to establish national Nutrition Programmes, and ranked them between successful (and not). Diplomatic rigor, of course, highlighted noteworthy experiences rather than mistakes. All that led to 1991's *Nutrition Policy Discussion Paper*, which structured a policy framework titled "Nutrition-relevant Actions." The second was UNICEF's "Strategy for improved nutrition of children and women in developing countries" (UNICEF 1991). Led by SCN, the food/health/care triad that corresponded loosely to

FAO/WHO/UNICEF, i.e., the agencies/fund that had guided nutrition policy since the mid-twentieth century, seemed to converge in these documents on addressing women's role as central to nutrition security.²¹¹ Both documents revealed the ongoing framing of women's role in nutrition policy.

The centrality of women to nutrition was put to systemic review at SCN in 1986, right after NFLS85 commanded the inclusion of women in every UN institution. The work had been commissioned, however, in 1984 to two Norwegian and one Tanzanian researchers funded through Norwegian cooperation (Gerd Holmboe-Ottesen, Ophelia Mascarenhas, and Margareta Wandel). They recognized the importance of a 1977 report (PAG 1977) which initiated multilateral governance attention on the topic. The new SCN framework began recognizing that “agricultural development, focussing [sic] largely on market production, has left women food producers more marginalized than ever” (SCN 1989:7). They were also aware that nutrition mostly saw “women only as wives and mothers and not as individuals in their own right” and narrower still, between women's work and child nutrition (p.39). To overcome this, the researchers developed a food chain approach that would highlight women's contributions to the food-nutrition nexus. The chain identified linkages between sites of production and consumption (which actualize depending on where, when, or what is being considered): production, handling, preservation, storage, marketing, casual agricultural labor, purchasing, preparation, distribution, and consumption finally leading to nutrition. In all of these, women's role is constrained and posed a possible tradeoff: “effectiveness” in provisioning qualified nutrition to the household Vs. improving their status in terms of HHRR (duly acknowledge, this had been proposed into policy by ILO in 1976). Following their

²¹¹ The birth of ACC/SCN was from the ashes of PAG, which had been dissolved after the three agencies' disillusionment with its policy outcomes, especially after WFC74.

collaboration in Eide et.al. (1985) *Household Food Security* is presented for development planning as a conciliatory formulation between effectiveness and women's own interests. The proposal allows agricultural activities to be channeled toward improving nutrition, divided into food adequacy, viable food procurement, and sustainability. By identifying women's role in achieving any dimension of FS at any point of the food chain interventions could be designed to address constraints/potentialities materially, of knowledge/skill, and organizational/political.

This framework appears biased towards the household, but “macro-level factors of change” were considered as e.g., determinants of gendered work/participation in the food chain. These included land ownership, women household-headedness, and gendered labor, among others. Tinker (1979) is often referenced, whose food chain analysis centered on development planning in women, building from Boserup's work. Incorporation into monetized agriculture had led in many places to cash-crops substituting food-crops. As the soon-to-be director of IFPRI, Pinstrip-Andersen said, “Projects and policies promoting a shift from mixed cropping systems to mono-cropping should be carefully watched for possible negative nutritional effects” especially if non-food cash crops replaced those that sourced home consumption (1982:4). Senegalese sociologist, Marie Savané had also built on Boserup's macroeconomic insights for SCN, emphasizing how cash crops were indeed a technology that “changed the division of labour by sex,” where commercial agriculture favored men's participation while “women have continued to grow the food, although taking an active part in producing income from the family field” and impacting nutrient sourcing (1981:2-3).

Geographically, there were biases favoring African cases, according to the authors because there wasn't much else “dealing with women's work and household food and nutrition.” Wandel and Holmboe-Ottesen were writing later, after encountering a different configuration in Sri Lanka, “In

these societies women are usually the main producers of food. Furthermore, women and men typically have separate economies, and women often bear the main responsibility for providing food to the household” (1988:118). By 1989 SCN annual symposium was themed "Women and Nutrition" and it included “Reflections from India and Pakistan.” By 1990, the theme had been titled “Women and Household Food Security” which included an intervention by critical development economist Nadia Kabeer and another by Mayra Buvinic who brought a Latin-American perspective (ACC/SCN 1990). Kabeer would expand Holmboe-Ottesen et al. framework of household food security to better incorporate concerns about SAP, which by then had impacted the developing world’s health response considerably. In 1991 ACC/SCN’s symposium would be themed "Nutrition and Population" focusing on links between family planning and nutrition, which were no novelty according to Horowitz, but “provides all the arguments for linking nutrition – specifically breastfeeding – and family planning programmes because both are beneficial for the mother and the child, increasing the *cost-effectiveness of each*” (ACC/SCN 1992:2 my emphasis). This last recognized the need to bridge women’s productive and reproductive life, which further advanced women as cost-effective laborers, the type of microeconomic subject best suited to overcome the Debt Crisis. As the scope widened geographically and conceptually, ACC/SCN settled on putting household food security at the heart of its gender perspective, emphasizing women’s “effectiveness” to cope and solve macroeconomic mishaps. The recognition of macroeconomic issues’ impact on nutrition required cost-effective development planning that indebted countries could afford.

While these thematic meetings were shaping policy discourse at the UN’s coordinating mechanism, the agencies in charge of ICN92, FAO and WHO, were caught up in formalities. ACC/SCN’s call for ICN was made February 1989. “As you have indicated, the general objectives

of the Conference originally suggested by the [ACC/SCN] are quite acceptable,” wrote WHO-DG.²¹² However, previous disagreements between the agencies regarding nutrition (see Ruxin 1996) seem to have resurfaced early during the planning stages. Both directors had different visions about the terms of the collaboration and thematic concerns were not prioritized. Consequently, gender was included late in the agenda. It was clear that FAO’s technical expertise in nutrition had a longer trajectory and budget and the FAO D-G, Edouard Saouma wanted to show it:

“As regards to the venue of the Conference, during the Council discussions in June 1989 the Government of Italy offered to host the Conference in view of its long-standing interest in food and nutrition issues. I hope that we can agree to accept this offer. Concerning the location of the joint secretariat, Rome has several facilities to offer. FAO has the most extensive library on food and nutrition in the world after the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Also the FAO Food Policy and Nutrition Division is the largest UN agency unit devoted to nutrition-related matters. Utilization of these reference materials and nutrition staff will be extremely important to the joint secretariat in preparing for holding the Conference. Also in addition to FAO, the World Food Council, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, and the World Food Programme are located in Rome and they will have a contributory role to play in the Conference.”²¹³

²¹² Letter from Nakajima to Saouma 1989 sep 5 NU 19/1

²¹³ Letter from Saouma to Nakajima 1989 sep 21 NU 19/1 NU 19/5, ESN-DG/89/1248:2

While Saouma emphasized the political and diplomatic importance of Rome to assert FAO as the natural space for the Conference's Secretariat, WHO appears not to have mentioned that it hosted ACC/SCN in Geneva, where all these thematic, state-of-the-art sessions had been taking place.

One point of disagreement was the view of the existence of a Joint Committee between both agencies. Nakajima insisted a Joint Committee had been operated since 1989, although it hadn't been formalized; a simple statute would be required to specify its functions and other matters. Under this premise, WHO had advanced thematic papers and regional consultations on its own under the leadership of D. Benbouzid, whom Nakajima suggests as co-chair of the Secretariat. For Souma the Joint Committee needed to first be formalized before acknowledging existence; besides, JR Lupien at FAO's Food Policy and Nutrition Division, was piqued by WHO's unilateral actions and so expressed it to his superiors.²¹⁴ Nakajima pressed for double management, proposing the other joint venture between the agencies for a model, the Codex Alimentarius. Conversations were irksome and Saouma insisted that double management was ungainly. The FAO archives contain a series of drafts before formalizing an answer.²¹⁵

FAO set up a Task Force in January 1990 to coordinate the technical preparations for ICN92, leading to the Joint FAO/WHO Secretariat set for that December (FAO 1991, Feb18). In a joint FAO/WHO Framework Paper²¹⁶ the themes were: "analysis of causes of malnutrition: population growth, carrying capacity of land and sustainable production, adequate living and environmental conditions" and eventually "maternal and child health care and nutrition." Further adjustments resulted in a Paper that didn't mention women at all, the most obviously gendered issue being

²¹⁴ FAO Memorandum from Lupien to Dutia NU 19/1 23 November 1990; N3/86/1, Facsimile 7910746, WHO Message 40743 Letter from Benbouzid to Lupien 3 Dec 1990; FAO Memorandum from Lupien to de la Taille 10 Dec 1990.

²¹⁵ Attachment to Brief on points for discussion with Dr. Nakajima, Ref. DG, FAO letter of 14 Aug and DG, WHO letter of 17 August 1990.

²¹⁶ This is a revised version from 24 sep 1990 Letter from Nakajima to Saouma. I couldn't locate the original.

“Enhancing caring capacity.”²¹⁷ The first FAO/WHO Steering Committee Meeting for ICN finally took place on December 1990 based on the Joint Programme of Work formulated that November. Among the themes of “nutrition and development” was “inequitable development and nutrition” itself divided into three. “Women, elderly and children” was a sub-thread further divided, where mention of women disappeared into “maternal and child health care and nutrition.”²¹⁸ Only until January of 1991 did Horowitz at ACC/SCN send a *Global Micronutrient Initiative* to FAO DG, answered by his Deputy with vague phrasing dismissing the proposal; in no moment did gender seem a relevant worry.²¹⁹

This partial bureaucratic story hints at how a gender framework for nutrition was sidelined from ICN. Women and gender were indeed included in the agenda, as has been shown, but the household food security framework that was advanced lacked the nuance attained at SCN. Other organizations ensured the presence of a woman/gender axis, particularly NGOs.²²⁰ Furthermore, it veiled various gendered dynamics married to the geopolitics of trade and its liberalization.

4. Molecular Gender Perspectives

1992 was the year of the first Olympics after the end of the cold war. Among the gold medalists, some reported having consumed *creatine* before the competition, a molecule deemed important for muscle energy metabolism in vertebrates that was then becoming a popular performance enhancer among athletes (Singh&Dash 2009). Creatine was thought essential to skeletal muscle

²¹⁷ Briefing notes on the ICN Preparations dk. M/4 From de La Taille AFS to V. Shah PBE in 1990 nov 9. Transmittal slip dk.

²¹⁸ FAO Memorandum from Lupien to various post, 1990 November 22; WHO Facsimile from Benbouzid to Lupien, 1990 November 21.

²¹⁹ FAO Letter from Dutia to Horwitz, 14-Feb-1991, UN 10/24 NU 19/1.

²²⁰ For example, the ICN director sent a missive suggesting invitations to a regional conference which “have been involved in the ICN process,” including the International Council for Women and Associated Country Women of the World (FAO Letter from de La Taille to Killingsworth, 5 May 1992 ICN NU 18 FA 10/6).

metabolism since 1832, but supplementation was becoming the language-practice of what Scrinis calls *functional nutritionism*, that is, the medico-scientific understanding of edibles through molecular de/re-composition and biochemical function (2013:324). The idea of body enhancement had been lurking before, but the techno-scientific infrastructure that allowed molecular manipulation was not only in place in 1992, but it had also become financially viable and scalable, and the securitization of nutrition through global policy could be instantiated through commodified molecules. It was not so much that abstract nutrients were now deemed functional. Global planners had already adopted such views, e.g., adding lysine to flour, aka the fortification of a staple. Production and marketing technologies had not only the ability to increase the circulation of individualized nutrients (or minimally, their signifier), it was dependent on policy technologies that had shifted nutritional governance toward individual responsibility and knowledge. This shift of governance to a household level, as we've seen, was highly dependent on women. A most influential technology, polymerase chain reaction amplification (PCR) was becoming widespread, opening new avenues to molecularly understand/intervene *bios* (Rabinow 1996). By 1991 PCR had become a technique for chromosomal gender verification and all women-identifying summer-Olympic competitors had been molecularly 'gender tested' (Ritchie et al. 2008:398). Globality became dependent on molecular knowledge, a knowledge that depended and reperussed on sex-gender differentiation technologies. It was after the Olympics, in December of that year, when the reformulation of nutrition policy would take place at the global stage.

As ICN92 took place, preparations for the 1994 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were underway. Another FAO/WHO joint venture was at stake, the Codex Alimentarius, which regulated food production standards, what foods should be called, what they should contain, what they should not, how they should be labeled, and so on. Food composition had been a concern of

chemical and food regulation for national authorities; FAO's call for a (renewed) *Food-Composition Initiative* was telling of the entry into a new technological era. New technologies were changing formulas, processing techniques, varieties, and production systems. Additionally, this molecularization of everyday life also meant the apparition of new chemical-analytic techniques-technologies but also technologies of government. Lupien, director of nutrition at FAO, mentioned the need for new requirements concomitant with the nascent WTO. Updating Codex trade standards was driving a new international testing mechanism that allowed cost-effectiveness, financially lumping multinational efforts and amalgamating trade standards. An advancement of the corporate food regime, corporate nutritionism, allowed for "the dominance of transnational food corporations along the entire food chain" (Scrinis 2013:49). Furthermore, WHO had inaugurated in 1991 its Vitamin and Mineral Nutrition Information System "to strengthen surveillance of micronutrient deficiencies at the global level" (Jennings-Aburto et.al.2013:105). ICN's complacency with this structural shift was likely not a full commitment. Emphasis on foods, rather than nutrients dominated discussions, but always with the objective in limiting prescriptive advice, underlining country self-rule, and discursively shifting nutrition-policy problems to the household, thus veiling international nutrient flows and ignoring the strengthening of the commodification of nutrients emplaced by corporatized markets. ICN92 set a decade-long plan to manage the impending epistemic shift toward the commodification of the molecular, but only until 1998 did *A Gender Perspective on Nutrition through the life-cycle* was discussed (ACC/SCN 1998). By 2001 the SCN was dissolved among a series of institutional restructuring at the UN without advancing a concrete policy framework out from the papers compiled during that meeting.

This section recounted iterations of policy design at ACC/SCN to address molecular discourse and how it contributed to the infrastructures that gendered the molecular. The failure of SAPs was a clear sign of macroeconomic inefficiency, leading to financial institutions' reconsideration of their program, toward human investment and participation and toward household efficiencies. The Rio Conference of 1992 had already made macroeconomic inefficiencies explicit, where productivity needed to be reassessed and qualified between sustainable and not. The ICN92 further exemplified how distributed reproduction not only tied life to the macroeconomy (Murphy 2011); it also required a simultaneous microeconomic efficiency operated through the abstraction of the household. Representing drives for productivity and efficiency respectively, they circumscribe systemic contradictions of market power onto bodies marking them through gender. Gender becomes a gradient wavering between the efficient-female and the productive-male. These two important global epistemes are deployed jointly to manage population aggregates. Jarosz's key insight about the gendered re-scaling of global policy was shown here to be intimately tied to a reconceptualization of molecular materiality.

Kimura posits that nutrients are imbued with charismatic authority, capable of presenting as a problem and the solution to nutritional policy, micronutrient deficiencies specifically (2013:21). The molecular charisma of nutrients was not a discourse that dominated ICN discussions, although they were firmly present. In any case, their charisma was not curtailed. It was *woman* instead who was presented as charismatic. Kimura suggests charisma has four dimensions that I believe equally apply to woman-as-policy-object. First, the charisma was backed and mobilized by FAO and WHO and their experts, including the parties that adopted ICN92. Second, this framing implies solutions, in this case woman's efficiency ethos, or in any case, can be corrected through credit, health and educational interventions. By becoming key to household nutritional security, 'woman' sustained

the boundaries of the household, representing domesticity and despite contradictory phrasings. Women's participation in monetized labor was recognized but was still a pole of domesticity to which man was opposed. Fourth, women were instrumentalized to secure household members and themselves, particularly breastfeeding babies, but additionally, they secured the expansion of the population. The inefficiencies of SAPs led to the instrumentalization of women and their empowerment as a solution to the geopolitics of increased trade liberalization. This gender perspective of nutrition and food obscured molecular macroeconomic inefficiencies. The emergence and strengthening of corporate molecularized agriculture brought about molecular inefficiencies that were to be resolved microeconomically. The negative impacts on foods, soils, and bodies were to be dealt with by individual choices about what to cultivate, without altering the profits of agrochemical production.

Conclusion - Friction

1. The national pattern as mediator

“Two separate forces are coming together at the summit. The realization that we can save millions of children's lives through underutilized, low-cost technologies,” declared James P. Grant, executive director of Unicef in 1990, “and the end of the cold war, which should liberate billions of dollars wasted on armaments” (“World Summit...” 1990 September 30).²²¹ Colombia’s First Lady, Ana Milena Muñoz, was in New York to officially attend the Summit for Children. In parallel, the Colombian president addressed the UNGA; he asked for aid given the window of opportunity of the devaluated price of coca leaves to debilitate the “narcotic-terrorists,” deemed responsible of various assassinations and acts of terror, including two car-bomb explosions at shopping malls that claimed the lives of many children (Gaviria 1990 September 28; see Ch.1.4.1). The president also denounced the unfair and unequal conditions during trade negotiations along the Global North/South divide. Back in Colombia the government was busy instituting a series of reforms, including the organization of a Constitutional reform and the boost to trade liberalization, opening the country to the world, “la Apertura.”

While Grant celebrated the end of one war, Colombia’s president was grieving the intensification of another. They both met at the Children’s Summit and signed the corresponding declaration. “We will work for optimal growth and development in childhood, through measures to eradicate hunger, malnutrition and famine, and thus to relieve millions of children of tragic sufferings in a

²²¹ According to SIPRI military expenditure did from 1988 until 1996 when the trend reversed (2021).

world that has the means to feed all its citizens,” read Art20.3 of one of the endorsed Declarations (UN 1990 September 30). Muñoz, also present, had decided to make childhood policy her responsibility, following a long example of First Ladies heading charitable causes. This time her protagonism seemed backed by the Declaration too: “We will work to strengthen the role and status of women. We will promote responsible planning of family size, child spacing, breastfeeding and safe motherhood” (ibid. Art.20.4).

Breastfeeding was one of the low-cost technologies Grant was talking about. Women’s milk was the untapped resource that could be put to good use in the service of saving children’s lives. Back in Colombia Muñoz would resort to two other international commitments: the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNGA 1989), that had come into force on September 2, 1990, during the Children’s Summit and setting up an agenda for the year 2000; and the Innocenti Declaration of August 1990 to protect, promote and support breastfeeding. Trujillo would begin working with the Minister of Health, Gustavo de Roux, on a Decree that created a National Breastfeeding Committee with a visible head, herself. The Minister chose a nutritionist working under him, Gloria Ochoa, from the Under-Directorate of Risk Factors. The undertaking ended up with the congressional ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Law 12/1991), the creation of the proposed committee, a code to regulate breastmilk substitutes, and guidelines to promote breastfeeding in all health establishments (Ministry of Health Decree 1396/1992, 1397/1992; Decision 7353/1992). The international initiative *10 Steps Ten Steps to Breastfeeding Success* created a certification mechanism that hospitals should follow towards the certification ‘Baby-Friendly Hospital’ (BFHI). Another instance of ‘territorialization’ was promoting the creation of Municipal Breastfeeding Committees, which Bogota adopted in 1993 (see Chapter1).

Ochoa would later become the Country-Director of Colombia's International Baby Food Action Network, IBFAN, where I would meet her between 2006 and 2012; we would keep in touch for years. She would recount how as a young professional she set out to complete the task given to her by the Minister and the First Lady with the resources being offered to her, unaware of what she would later find out. Ochoa was part of an interdisciplinary group of young professionals from the Health Ministry and one delegate from UNICEF, but none "proper" breastfeeding experts. Baby Milk corporations, parallel to multilateral governance institutions, had been working to give advice to governments on how to implement the commitments just mentioned. Ochoa didn't question the interest of such businesses on setting up legislation to support, promote, and protect breastfeeding. It would become clear soon enough, however, that she had been instrumentalized to let the corporations regulate themselves. In the Committee, a seat was given to Baby Food marketers and the Decree adopting the WHO International Code of Marketing Breastmilk Substitutes (ICMBS) was left without teeth. There was no budget assigned to monitor ICMBS with any regularity and no concrete sanctions were set in case of violations to it. The government also signed a "Commitment" with Baby Food Companies and Scientific and Professional Associations to promote, protect and support breastfeeding and cease immediately all donations of formula milk at any health facilities in the country. Monitoring would take place intermittently, and IBFAN would take charge for it, finding that in all its iterations the companies kept failing their commitment.²²²

To the companies it was a win. They would take the blow that international boycotts had achieved against Nestle and other corporations that resulted in WHO's ICMBS, but they would act locally

²²² Ochoa gives her written account in PAHO/OPS&MinSalud (2013). The first three evaluations of ICMBS compliance were funded by the Health Ministry thanks to Amanda Valdés. Future efforts to pass a reformed Decree that would strengthen sanctions against Baby Food companies that infringed were unsuccessful.

and in the developing world where advocacy wasn't perceived as strong as in North-Atlantic cities. By interfering with the policymaking process extending a friendly hand with the cash, right after cuts in public spending due to WB and IMF's SAPs, they played strategically to debilitate sanctions against them and guarantee market expansion and profits without breaking the law. For Colombia the stakes were different. It wasn't profit what Colombia reached for but Development. Remember UNICEF's James Grant was thinking of breastfeeding as a cheap strategy to save children's lives. Breastfeeding had been tied to the infant mortality rate for a century, and was key to monitoring the "demographic transition," that model formulated into the Cold War whose end Grant was celebrating.²²³ Securing breastfeeding meant securing development. As seen from Figure 8, taken from the *1991-1994 Plan of Action in Favor of Children*, the Colombian institutionalization of the commitments from New York, the infant mortality rate was not just an indicator of development, it was a history of development, also meant taking a lead, being "above average." Drawn alongside $\log\left(\frac{GDP}{Population}\right)$, infant mortality compared Colombia's "evolution" to other countries and it projected a five-year future towards, apparently, Costa Rica and Chile; in any case, a place a little better than the "international pattern."

²²³ Murphy shows how modernization theory influenced the consolidation of the Demographic Transition Model, classifying countries along Cold War ideologies (2017:36f).

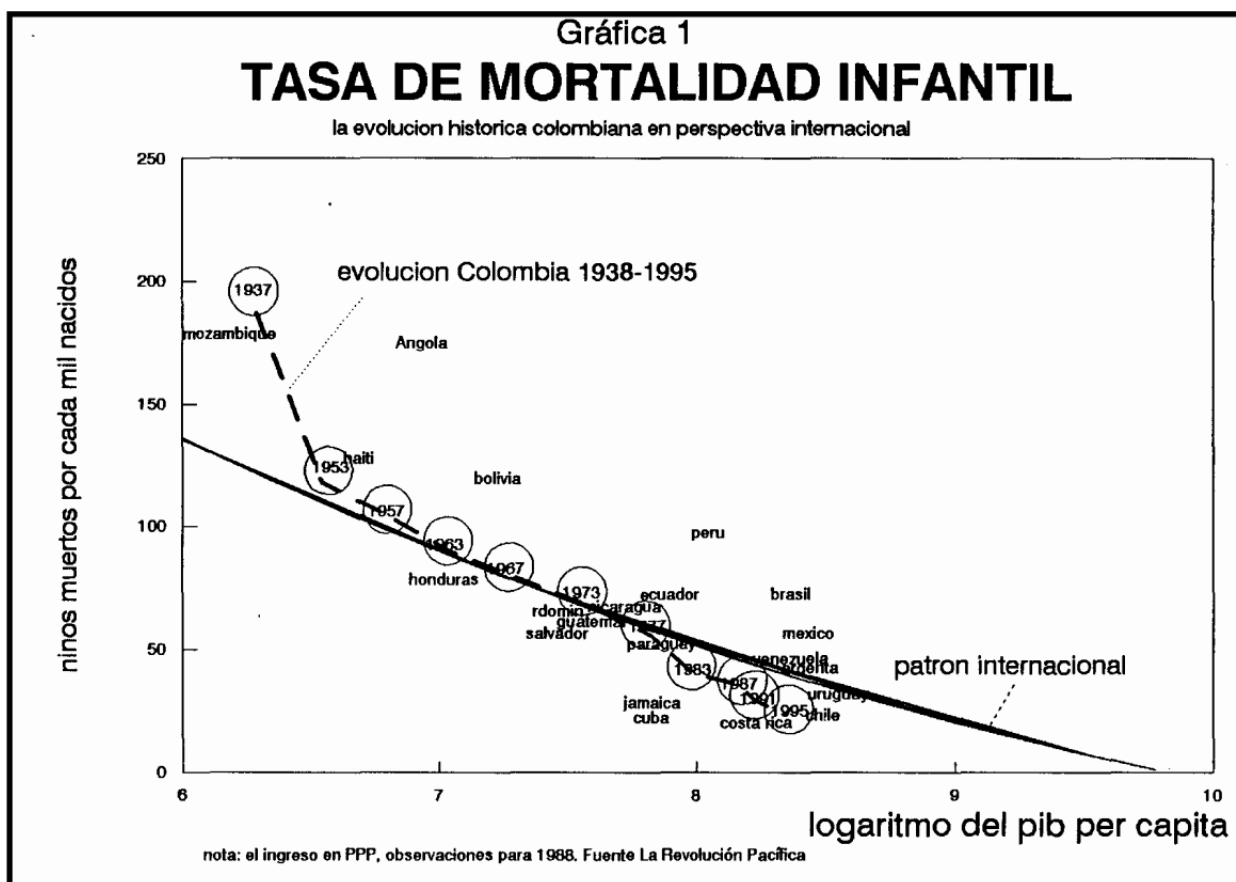


Figure 8. Childcare is associate with death and development. Infant mortality rate, Colombia 1937-1995, DNP (1991:6)

There are no details as to how exactly the 1991 *GDP + IMR* projections were estimated, but that PoA involved more than just breastfeeding policy. Additional policy on health, education, and care was being promoted, including strengthening statistical accounting of children. The SISVAN, i.e., the Colombian System of Nutritional Surveillance, was instituted in 1987, immediately adopting all the municipal systems that were already doing related work and reporting to the global nutritional surveillance system governed jointly by WHO/FAO/UNICEF, in accordance with Resolution 5 of WFC74. The local met the global, yet again.

Conversely, in Bogota, three hospitals were certified as Baby-Friendly in 1992, including the one where Kangaroo Care was “invented,” giving recognition to their important work promoting

motherhood and early childcare, including breastfeeding. The certification also meant making them participants of an international standard and the alignment with a global commitment to defend something common, something global, a universal charter of children's rights.²²⁴ Not minor was conceding to pressures from Muñoz before the end of her period.

This graph's international pattern, 'el patrón internacional', reminds me of Quijano's 'patrón'. Quijano's is a matrix of power, a configuration of discourses, institutions, practices, that promote modernization while obscuring its coloniality. A matrix that institutes a hierarchy and an order that organizes the global, that produces the globe as something that can be understood, a political fiction that sublimates actions against disordering it. The graph's international pattern visually recreates such political order, geographically and in time. It also signals the darker side of modernity, deaths per births: it is not that child survival has improved while availability and access to contraceptives have increased but the instrumentalization of death to convey underdevelopment and women's sublimation of caregiving-as-solution.²²⁵

This dissertation has traced some discursive formations around the securitization of gender in food. Over the last chapters, I have traced global discourses with the postcolonial intention of showcasing their provincial qualities. Similarly, I have inquired about how some of these discourses evince some things while disregarding or hiding others, with intention or without. Women as a discursive formation in global policy has been subsumed into food discourse as

²²⁴ The story of Kangaroo Care at the *Instituto Materno Infantil* was covered in the introduction to Chapter 1. The other two hospitals were *Occidente de Kennedy* and *de Fontibón* (personal interview with Valdés).

²²⁵ Consider the higher infant mortality rates among most indigenous peoples in Latin-America have been related to communal life-affirming reproductive futurities. Although less contraceptive use might be prevalent, the high indicators can be related to cumulative harm (CEPAL 2010:33). This deserves greater scrutiny, including how intentional depopulation strategies (including depopulation through colonialism and mestizaje) have impacted reproduction and reproductive decisions among these communities.

subordinated to its securitization. Put differently, to secure food women must be too. To secure child survival, breastfeeding must be promoted, protected, and defended.

Lactivists are diverse and plural, and while I have met those who acquiesce to a militarizing discourse of national defense and competition between countries, many others find breastfeeding as a defiant space and practice. Sometimes it is space of resistance against capitalism and its promotion of commodities, of reaffirming ‘the natural’ against technofixes, commodified substitutes, and so on. Usually, it seems to me, it is not. In an age of medicalized bodies, pregnancy-to-lactation has been at the forefront. A digression: The defense of breastfeeding in Colombia wanted to honor Ochoa for her lactivism, and a law was proposed: *Law Gloria Ochoa Parra for the protection, promotion, and support of breastfeeding and best child feeding practices*. In a 2021 draft for discussion, among the first reasons presented speaks of *Mammalia*, the linkage between humans and animals.²²⁶ Breastfeeding is also coded as a social construct, that needs to be supported, socialized, affirmed as a practice just as it has since “humans lived in tribes or hoards.” It later mentions how milk is “a living liquid containing living cells, hormones, active enzymes, antibodies, and at least 400 other unique components” and it is the reason why baby brains can grow big (Congreso, PL 216-21). Breastmilk, lactation, and the caregiving involved has been traversed by discourses that are molecular, evolutionary, and securitizing, providing tactical options for its mobilization and for its reimagination.

The idea of ‘living cells’ and the other molecular entities being mobilized in the project to convey ‘human milk’ as being ‘alive’ brings about Kimuras’s application of Webber’s charisma to qualify

²²⁶ The father of taxonomy, Linneus defended and coded breastfeeding into an evolutionary order and because of his lactivism (Schrieblinger 1993).

nutrients.²²⁷ Most people only have a vague idea about what enzymes, hormones or antibodies are and what they do. They are imbued with an authority that would seem to qualify *life*, that other legislatively complicated term. Emerging from within a discourse of molecular life, they express the authority of scientific vocabulary, a grammar only accessed ‘after intensive work,’ often masculinized, hard science. These masculine interventions into the all too feminine milk seek to render it efficient, another way in which the microeconomy *will promote* better futurity. Someday.

2. Nutritionism revisited

The ICN92 clearly endorsed breastfeeding as part of the securitization of nutrition. UNICEF did take part in the proceedings, but the organization of the event was left to just FAO and WHO. Colombia endorsed the resulting PoA which gave a timeframe of two years to implement actions. Like most countries it took longer (FAO 2014:x). FAO inquired about the implementation progress asking governments to report on their work. When Amanda Valdés received the questionnaire, she had recently been made in charge of nutrition policy at the Ministry of Health in 1994. She told me she began organizing an interinstitutional team to draft the *National Food and Nutrition Plan 1996-2005 (PNAN)* that would be launched in 1996, just before the WFS96. A delegate from the Ministry of Agriculture, another from Education, and Gloria Ochoa (who by then had left the Health Ministry for DNP, the National Planning Department) set up to the task.²²⁸ This led to the PNAN being criticized for being too Health-oriented. The new mandate to make policies participatory was also to blame. Only Valdés was up for the task. It wasn’t so much a bias toward nutrition but the distribution of responsibilities and competence between national institutions. That

²²⁷ The argument is speciesist, since all mammalian milks would be alive, yet the dairy industry is not in question under this law.

²²⁸ Eduardo Díaz, later director of Bogotá’s Food Program (see Ch.2), took part of this Plan as director of a newly created Pro-Poor Department (Red de Solidaridad Social).

didn't stop the dimensions of food security appearing and actions developed for each specifically. This imbalance in sectoral representation marked an important precedent for the construction of a national policy. Ochoa at DNP, in charge of articulating the three, had previously worked in the Health Ministry, PAHO, and in Breastfeeding policy. Availability, consumption, and biological use were all the structuring mechanism behind voices stemming from the participatory methodology implemented to understand the country's necessities. The nutritional bias made the nutritional diagnostic of the country be first and foremost, with no mention of agricultural-related activities before the specification of programs or projects.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, by the time of ICN92 there was a division among UN nutrition planners, those advocating for population-wide supply-side interventions against holistic planners. While in the realm of global nutrition Planners had prevailed, this wasn't reflected in Colombia's PNAN. The ICN92-type of planning was advocated in it, but supply fortification in Colombia was all the rage. Micronutrient deficiencies were handled through iodizing salt for human and animal consumption, and fortification of a range of staples with vitamin A, iron and "other" not specified micronutrients. Macronutrient fortification was addressed with Bienestarina (WellbeingFlour), a trademarked and enriched flour made since 1974 by ICBF (National Social Welfare Department).

The only discernibly gendered *policy guideline* was, of course, breastfeeding promotion. Women were only briefly mentioned as requiring special consideration, like children and the elderly, although generally only pregnant and lactating women were considered a vulnerable group, not women in general. Gender considerations were prominent in the nutrition-planning section. The "Promotion of health, healthy diets and living habits" invoked a human development framework and promoted: i) sexual and reproductive health and ii) promotion of comprehensive healthcare for women. These were all framed in relation to reproduction. The making of the *Nutrition*

Guidelines for Colombians became, in agreement with ICN92 commitments, instrumental to formulating policy and nutrition education. Envisioning the guidelines was an objective written into PNAN in 1996, and they were published in 1999, then reviewed and revised in 2012-2013 (due to FAO's review before the ICN14). Having reached fortification targets, nutritional planning prevailed, although marketing of fortified products had become rampant. Thus, the guidelines convey an epochal feel, from the preparation of ICN92 to their incorporation into a program, and then revised: 1992-2014.

The identification of nutrients and the molecular pathways through which they operate became a matter of experts and a new way to understand the pregnancy-breastfeeding continuum as a site of nutritional intervention. It also became a way to intervene the mother-child dyad and molecularize its asymmetry, sometimes enforcing it but sometimes challenging it. The charismatic molecules could confer 'life', a live tissue that actualized the bond that should be stimulated.

3. Productive friction

The first iteration of the Baby-Friendly Hospital Initiative in Colombia led to eight hospitals being certified before the end of the First Lady's term in office, three of those in Bogota. A series of institutional reforms gave way to a change of the implementation strategy. On August 7th of 1994 a new president was sworn in who increased public spending considerably. A series of reforms would open spaces of possibility, operating within the institutional constraints and pushing against them. One of the first policies of the incoming government was *for Equity and Participation for Women* (CONPES 2726/1994). The "social debt owed to women" had a health component: the five main reasons for hospitalization were related to reproductive health and complications, maternal mortality was high (when compared to other Latin-American countries). Women's

participation was also not promoted enough. A few days before, with Decree 1918 de 1994, the outgoing president left in place a Quality Assurance System that recommended the integration of services. Even earlier, Law 100/1993 (see Ch.1.5) changed the healthcare system by creating an artificial healthcare management market that made *hospitals* into *institutions*.

At the Health Ministry, Valdés saw compounded obligations and an opportunity to advance all three demands. BFHI was a program UNICEF advised on²²⁹ and as such she sought advice and support from Nohora Corredor.²³⁰ In feminist collaboration they renamed the strategy into *Mother and Baby Friendly Institution*, IAMI. UNICEF's focus on the baby needed to be re-centered on 'women'. *Baby* could be expanded to *Infant* (i.e., from under-2 to under-5-year-olds) and providing more *efficient* comprehensive care that also surveilled their nutritional status and the child's growth-and-development: hospitalizations, emergencies, planning, low birthweight, kangaroo care, maternal mortality, and complications during birth could all fit into the same strategy. Additionally, ICBF was invited to participate, providing spaces for breastfeeding support groups. The new turn in accreditation not only was towards a woman-friendly hospital, recognizing that obstetric violence was also related to the asymmetric dyad. The global strategy had been appropriated by local dynamics.

During 1996-97 a new breastfeeding plan had been prepared by Valdés. The Health Minister saw it as a complicated gamble that antagonized with food corporations who, unsurprisingly, were sponsors of health initiatives. She refused to sign the Plan into existence. By mid-1998 a new government had been elected. The 1988-1990 mayor of Bogota had been elected president, thus,

²²⁹ Recall from Ch.7 how PAG's disintegration was partially due to differences on UNICEF's nature. Among breastfeeding policymakers the sense was that PAHO/WHO officials were often not interested in the subject at that time.

²³⁰ Corredor was sister of Consuelo, who launched BSH in 2004 (see Ch.2). This was also a thematic kinship.

Andrés Pastrana and his wife, Nohora Puyana, would settle in the presidential palace. In late 1998, the National Breastfeeding Plan was launched just after the change of government. The legal page of the Plan was odd because it credited both ministers. Given the work needed to produce and publish such a policy it was clear that most (if not all) of it was not done during the incoming government. Inquiring about this, the officer in charge of the Plan, Valdés, who remained at the Ministry for during the period, told the following anecdote: The outgoing minister's approval was halted, possibly in relation to private corporations' funding of the Society of Pediatricians, in particular the milk producers and the pharmaceuticals. The officer refused to settle with outgoing minister's negative and in appointment with the incoming minister. Valdés wayward commitment was exemplar of what can result from efforts of non-politically appointed officers. The new policy design included the food security framework of WFS96, this created a climate of possibility in Bogota, where a group of nutritionists in Bogota (including Ochoa) proposed their own *City Food and Nutrition Plan 2000-2003* (See Ch.2.2). This would be the inception of Bogota's food security policy.

4. Engaged universals

Sometimes universals work. Not always, and it need not be clear all the time. Anna Tsing's pensive descriptions of the friction that holds the global together is an anecdotal patchwork or collage that helps rethink what universal do. I have attempted to show how some universals were mobilized in policy, the people that deployed them, the ritualistic bureaucratic procedures that sustain policymaking architectures. "All universals are engaged when considered as practical projects accomplished in a heterogeneous world," Tsing explains (2005:8). I have tried to think food and women as "engaged universals," traveling difference and charged by their travels. The compilation of fragments and contrast of globality/locality that I have here presented touch upon some multi-

angular facets that make my universals graspable. These are my takes on gender-and-food, and they have been presented here in this concoction, my sancocho, this heavy soup so local that it claims-in-difference a national identity. Sancocho connects underground, earth, and sky, says artist Maria Buenaventura as she prepares the hearty meal, also referencing the political promise of Jaime Bateman-Cayón, a revolutionary Colombian leader who believed that he could concoct a political meal with the most plural of ingredients. Bateman-Cayón believed that radical difference could be symbolically held together into an enjoyable plate. He was thinking at a country-wide dimension. Here I wanted to have some insight on a wider, although maybe less-but-more ambitious endeavor: global food.

The dissertation examined snippets of the political processes that negotiated world-scale changes at the turn of the twenty-first century. The discursive excess of policymaking, the ideological and emotional digressions that mediate the production of a text, the extended cavillations over a particular word and the fast dismissal of others, the fears and the aspirations that certain formulations convey, all sustain a structure of analysis that leaves out some grasp of the lived experiences outside the political ambitions of policy. Going back to Natalia Paris' and Evo Morales' statements with which I began this text, the change undergone by our food needs to be reconciled with the changes of our bodies. I believe that global food policy attempts to do that, explaining to itself how to secure a world food order that it keeps telling itself should not hold. Interrogatively, how can hunger and malnutrition's demise be kept as an ambition while claiming effort to efface them?

I have traced gendered discourses at the conformation of the current world food order set up in the 1970s. I had the hunch that the framing of corporeity through sex/gender would reveal some body-food relationalities more than what classic ethnographic material has already done. Exposing the

subordination of sex/gender to food or any other mainstreamed issue was expected. What was less so was the persistent difficulties to overcome it. It is the changes brought about through such persistence which needed documentation, and its failure to address the molecularization of landscape-and-body.

By the molecularization of the landscape, I referenced at least two processes. Toxicologically, the human-nature relationalities have been traversed by disruptive, altering substances that have been defined as chemicals, viruses, nano-and-micro life, and so on. Nineteenth-to-twentieth century industrialization isolated, produced, recombined, and mixed molecules through the language of science into circuits of value, that had the consequence of changing the ‘nature’ of bodies and their relations. The negotiation of glyphosate aspersion from Bogota (a negotiation that implies questioning the how, where, on whom, to what extent, with what compensations, which perjury) as part of an international economy of illegal molecularized drugs,²³¹ resulted, for example, in miscarriages, water contamination, crop failure, and displacement to Bogota (see Ch1). Secondly, I refer to the selection of food circulation processes in relation to circuits of value, not just of profit, but of nutrients. Nitrogen, phosphorous, and other biogeochemical cycles are altered globally with consequences on soil, air, vegetation cover, and biodiversity. The landscape becomes a macroeconomic- and ecosystem- accounting exercise, of calories, nutrients, and currencies, dominated by the USD-COP exchange rate. The biochemical transformations routinely enmeshed in our every encounter are redefining our relationships with the world into new risky becomings. The obduracy with which global policymaking is unable to solve its geopolitical contradictions gives more force to rising forms of local association. The contingencies of the global political

²³¹ Methyl (1R,2R,3S,5S)-3-(benzoyloxy)-8-methyl-8-azabicyclo[3.2.1]octane-2-carboxylate aka cocaine, Diacetylmorphine aka heroin

process have difficulties to quickly incorporate the rate of change of these transformations into its procedural parsimony.

Bogota has reacted more swiftly to the demands of body-landscape transformations. I have suggested that something can be learned about the tropical mestiza episteme, that could be said salutes the global structure, seeking to conform, while simultaneously acting to subvert it. An immorality of sorts that helps advance the reconciliation between the discursive realm of policy and the carnalities that it affects. A silent recognition that some effective strategies of resilience and survival are still around and cannot be fully grasped by modernity's current developmentalist impulse. These decolonial fissures are also part of global modernity.

Thinking with Michele Murphy's proposal of visualizing a distributed ontology of reproduction I have wondered about the linkages between how this globality upholds human and edibles as separate epistemological orders. Even while intersectional feminisms have shown how racialized females have been made akin to *Animalia* it is always a queasy subject to revert. Yet, non-evolutionary animal-to-human genealogies can give ways to how reproducing with others, in more localized entrapments might open paths forward. I speculate that this divide of food policy that endorses the reproduction of food as secluded from the human is spurious and gives way to Malthusian speculations where one outcompetes the other. Instead, thinking food as part of the infrastructures that hold a competitive ontology of reproduction can hopefully be an avenue away from the macroeconomy as it currently stands.

I have also suggested that extending Murphy's analysis to the North-Atlantic microeconomy to show the veiling of its feminized efficiency has been deployed towards the subordination of women to agrarian productivity. It is not just an impulse toward productivity but a more neurotic

and equally obsessive one toward efficiency. Productivity and efficiency under this guise might be prone to a gendered dichotomization which I find unnecessary. Despite their particular circuits of ‘original’ affirmation, they have circulated widely to have been reshuffled in other gendered formations.

This is not to decry either productivity or efficiency but their impulsive excess. There are serious preoccupations about solidarity in the quest for the alleviation and end of hunger and malnutrition that still seem sensible to maintain. There are economic moments, both efficient and productive that help move us toward such futures. In moments of impending failures of current agro-environmental futurity it must soon be faced how not going hungry with my hungry others can change towards being similarly divested. Grain reserves, gene-and-seed banks, distribution networks, and so on, are more-than-local endeavors that have given way to (partially) non-monetized economies. A macrological figuration of reproduction of foods and bodies does not have to be subsumed to the logic of unhinged productivity or efficiency. There is space for macrological affirmation.

...*.*.*. .

On a personal note, my mitochondrial genealogy reminds me of the excesses and failures of efficient productivity, of productive efficiencies. There have been successes along the way and many a time recounting life as success contributed to our collective affirmation. I pause, however, to reconcile with those moments when productive/efficient urges have led to unproductivity and inefficiency. The irony of writing this here, a doctoral dissertation, does not elude me. I nonetheless believe that this is no molecular-genetic marking ossified through generations. Instead, I advocate for a paused rupture that helps untie some knots that make the muscles twitch beyond the comfort

zone. When I threshed grains of maize from kernel with my great grandmother it was a moment of connection. There were needs to be reconciled, milling the grain, preparing the dough, cooking lunch, and so on. We could do that together and still watch tv on her rocking chair. There were many privileges that allowed for such connection although they didn't seem much. My infantile awareness of the world couldn't grasp the violence, gendered and not, that shaped my childhood Bogota. I hope the recognition of the inescapable violence that has shaped my present and these words seed a glimpse of reconciliation.

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PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

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Glossary – Spanish to English Legal Rosetta

Spanish	English
Acuerdo de Concejo	Council Agreement
Comedor comunitario	Community kitchen
Comisión	Commission
Comité	Committee
Concejo	Council
Concepto	Opinion
Convenio de cooperación	Cooperation agreement
Decreto	Decree
Directiva	Directive
Mesas consultivas	Consultative Board
Proyecto de acuerdo	Draft agreement
Resolución	Decision
Unidades Técnicas de Apoyo UTA	Technical Support Units (UTA)

Appendices

Appendix A. Bogota's government plans 1990-2015

Appendix B. FAO's Flagship Report signals changes in feminist perspectives in international development

Appendix C. Pivot Tables Format

Appendix D. Comparison between international and local FNS framework

Appendix E. Gender in WFC74

Appendix F. Gender in ICN92, Plan of Action for Nutrition

Appendix F. Textual emergence of Rural Woman

Appendix G. - The FAO Council – Gender analysis

Appendix A. Bogota's government plans 1990-2015

Norm	Mayor	Apparatus	Title (Spanish)	Title (English)	Period	Total Articles	Word count	Official Plan's name	City's name	Priorities	Sector policies	Programs
Agreement 8 1991	Juan Martín Caicedo Ferrer	Caicedo91			1991 - 1992	23	2021	Políticas Generales del Plan de Desarrollo Físico, Económico y Social	Distrito Especial de Bogotá	"políticas básicas": 5		
Agreement 31 1992	Jaime Castro	Castro93	Prioridad Social	Social Priority	1993-1995	130	20653			7	8	
Decree 295 1995	Antanas Mockus Sivickas	Mockus95	Formar Ciudad	Forming the City	1995-1998	56	6631	Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social de Obra Públicas	Santafé de Bogotá, Distrito Capital	7	13	47
Agreement 6 1998	Enrique Peñalosa Londoño	Peñalosa98	Por la Bogotá que queremos	For the City we love	1998-2001	67	20481	Plan de Desarrollo Económico Social y de Obras Públicas	Santa Fe de Bogotá, D.C.	7	10	30
Decree 440 2001	Antanas Mockus Sivickas	Mockus01	BOGOTÁ para VIVIR todos del mismo lado	A Bogota for all to LIVE on the same side	2001-2004	51	13290			7		37
Government Program	Luis Eduardo Garzón	Garzón04	"Lucho por Bogota Humana y Moderna"	Lucho for a human and modern Bogota	2004-2007	Program		Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social y de Obras Públicas	Santa Fe de Bogotá, D.C.			
Agreement 119 2004			Bogotá Sin Indiferencia Un Compromiso Social Contra la Pobreza y la Exclusión	Indifference Free Bogota: A social pledge against poverty and exclusion	2004-2008	42	17229	Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social y de Obras Públicas	Bogotá D.C.	14	23	52
Government Program	Samuel Moreno Rojas	Moreno08	Bogotá Positiva : Por el Derecho a la Ciudad y a Vivir Mejor	Positive Bogota: For the right to the city and a better life	2008-2011	Program		Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social y de Obras Públicas	Bogotá D.C.			
Agreement 308 2008			Bogotá Positiva: Para Vivir Mejor	Positive Bogota: For a better life	2008-2012	55	36081	Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social, Ambiental y de Obras Públicas	Bogotá D.C.	7		51
Government Program	Gustavo Petro Urrego	Petro12	Bogotá Humana Ya!	A humane Bogota now!	2012-2015	Program		Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social, Ambiental y de Obras Públicas	Bogotá D.C.			
Agreement 489 2012			Bogotá Humana	Humane Bogota	2012-2016	76	35431	Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social, Ambiental y de Obras Públicas	Bogotá D.C.	33		145

Appendix B. FAO's Flagship Report signals changes in feminist perspectives in international development.

FAO's Report The State of Food and Agriculture		Development approach	Relevant events
Year of Publication	Themed chapter		
1974	Population, Food Supply and Agricultural Development	Population	WFC74 IWY75
1975			
1976			WAD
1977			
1978			WCW2
1979			
1980			
1981			
1982			
1983	Women in developing agriculture	GAD	WCW3/NFLS
1984			
1985			
1986			
1987			
1988			ICN92
1989			
1990			WCW4
1991			
1992			WFS96
1993			
1994			MDGs
1995			
1996			
1997	Raising women's productivity in agriculture		
1998			
1999			
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			
2004			
2005			
2006			
2007			
2008			
2009			
2010-2011	Women in Agriculture: Closing the gender gap for development		ICN92
2012			
2013			
2014			
2015			

Note: While this periodization of development approaches is an informed one it is easy to contest it. As noted in the discussion, GAD was being discussed already in the early 1990s, but it received greater prominence in FAO's internal reforms in the 2000s.

Appendix C. Pivot Tables Format

				1991 - 1992	1993-1995	1995-1998	1998-2001
	Pivot term		Término Pivote	Juan Martín Caicedo Ferrer	Jaime Castro	Antanas Mockus Sivickas	Enrique Peñalosa
Food	Food	aliment*	Alimento/s				
		comid*/come	Comida/s				
			Comedor				
			cocina				
			Plaza de mercado				
Nutrition	nutrient	* nutri*	Nutriente/s				
	nutrition		Nutrición/al				
			desnutrición				
			malnutrición				
			sobrepeso				
			obesidad				
	fortification		Fortifica/ción				
	protein		Proteína				
	milk		Leche/ro				
			láctico/teo				
Gender/sex	Gender		Género				
	woman		Mujer/es				
	women						
	feminine		Femenino				
	man		Hombre/s				
	men						
	masculine		Masculino				
	sex	sex*	Sex/ual/o				
	family		Familia/r/es				
Reproduction	breastfeeding	lact*	Lactancia				
	lactating	mater*/pater*	Lactante				
			Amamantar				
	SRH		Gestante				
			Gestación				
			embarazo				
			prenatal				
			parto				
			cérvix				
			útero				
			fecundidad				
			materno				
	care		cuidado				
			madre				
			madre comunitari				
			padre				
			pater				
Agriculture	rurality/agricu	agra*/agri*/ag	agricultura/or				
			agropecuario/a/s				
			campo				
			rural				
			campesino/a				
			agroindustria				

Appendix D. Comparison between international and local FNS frameworks

FAO's dimensions of FNS	PPSAN objectives (Art.14)
Physical availability of food	Guarantee the availability of nutritious, secure, and harmless food for the city-region
Economic and physical access to food	Ensure timely and uninterrupted access of citizens to nutritious, safe, and innocuous food by generating conditions that contribute to overcome economic and cultural constraints
Food utilization	Promote healthy eating practices and physical activity in the context of cultural diversity, the recognition of the autonomy and the protection and promotion of intangible cultural heritage
Stability of previous three through time	Promote health and environmental conditions that favor the biological utilization of food and adequate nutritional status of the population

Source: FAO (1996) and Bogota Decree 508 of 2007

Appendix E. Gender in WFC74

Resolution V “Policies and programmes to improve nutrition”

Recommendations (<u>keywords underlined</u>)	Interpretation
<p>The World Food Conference, Recognizing that malnutrition is closely linked to widespread poverty and inadequate social and institutional structures... Recognizing that information on food consumption patterns and on their consequences for the nutrition and health status of the majority of the population in developing countries is insufficient and inadequate, and that improved knowledge about how to prevent malnutrition through better use of available food resources, <u>including human milk</u>, is essential, Considering the <u>relationship which often exists between child and mother, malnutrition and too-close pregnancies</u>...</p> <p><i>Recommends:</i></p>	
1. That all governments and the International community as a whole... formulate and integrate concerted food and nutritional plans and policies aiming at the improvement of consumption patterns in their socio-economic and agricultural planning, and for that purpose assess the character, extent and degree of malnutrition in all socio-economic groups as well as the preconditions for improving their nutritional status;	Create (sex-differentiated) nutrition standards, nutrition planning
2. That FAO, in cooperation with WHO, UNICEF, WFP, IBRD, UNDP and UNESCO, assisted by PAG, prepare a project proposal for assisting governments to develop <u>intersectoral food and nutrition plans</u> ...	Need of experts, new role of technical assistance
3. That governments, with their own resources, supplemented with food, <u>financial and technical assistance</u> from multilateral or bilateral external sources, and in close cooperation with agricultural production programmes initiate new or strengthen existing <u>food and nutrition intervention programmes</u> , on a scale large enough to cover on a continuing basis a substantial part of the <u>vulnerable groups</u>	Need of experts to address vulnerable groups which generally include reproductive vulnerability
4. That governments include nutrition education in the curricula for educational programmes at all levels and that all concerned in the fields of agriculture, health and general-education be appropriately trained to enable them to further the nutrition education of the public within their domains;	Problem is ignorance need more experts, often ignorant mothers
5. That governments strengthen basic health, <u>family well-being and planning services</u> and improve environmental conditions, including rural water supplies and the elimination of water-borne diseases; and provide treatment and rehabilitation of those suffering from protein-energy malnutrition;	Holistic interventions (not supply-fixes), family planning, water,
6. That governments consider the <u>key role of women</u> and take steps to improve <u>their nutrition, their educational levels and their working conditions</u> ; and to encourage them and enable them <u>to breast-feed their children</u> ;	Productive reproductive tradeoff vs labor
7. That governments review special feeding programmes within the context of their food and nutrition strategies to determine desirability and the feasibility of undertaking such new programmes, or improving existing ones, particularly amongst the <u>vulnerable groups (children, pregnant and nursing mothers)</u> ...such	Reproductive vulnerability; nutritional education

programmes should promote increased local food production and processing thereby stimulating local initiative and employment and should also include an element of nutrition-education;	
9. That governments should explore the desirability and feasibility of meeting nutrient deficiencies, through fortification of staples or other widely-consumed foods, with amino-acids, protein concentrates, vitamins and minerals, and that, with the assistance of WHO in cooperation with other organizations concerned, should establish a world-wide control programme aimed at substantially reducing deficiencies of vitamin A, iodine, iron/folate, vitamin D, riboflavine, and thiamine as quickly as possible;	World scale micronutrient fortification; micronutrient vulnerability, esp. related to reproduction
10. That FAO, in association with other international and non-governmental organizations concerned, undertakes an inventory of vegetable food resources other than cereals, such as roots, tubers, legumes, vegetables and fruits, including also those from unconventional sources, and that it studies the possibility of increasing their production and consumption, particularly in countries where malnutrition prevails	Many of these are 'female crops'
11. That governments take action to strengthen and modernize consumer education services, food legislation and food control programmes and the relevant aspects of marketing practices, aiming at the protection of the consumer (avoiding false and misleading information from mass-media and commercial fraud, and that they increase their support of the Codex Alimentarius Commission;	Previous WHA Res. Later ICMBS
13. That a <u>global nutrition surveillance system</u> be established by FAO, WHO and UNICEF to monitor the food and nutrition conditions of the disadvantaged groups of the population at risk, and to provide a method of rapid and permanent assessment of all factors which influence food consumption patterns and nutritional status;	Focus on pregnancy, lactation and early childhood
15. That governments should associate, wherever practicable non-governmental organizations whose programmes include nutrition-related activities, with their nutritional efforts, particularly in the areas of food and nutrition programmes, nutrition education and feeding programmes for the <u>most vulnerable groups</u>	Reproductive vulnerability

Source: WFC (1974:278-280)

RESOLUTION VII “Women and food”

Recommendation	Interpretation
1. Calls on all governments to involve women fully in the decision-making machinery for food production and nutrition policies as part of total development strategy;	Decision making in policy design
2. Calls on all governments to provide to women in law and fact the right to full access to all medical and social services particularly special nutritious food for mothers and means to space their children to allow maximum lactation, as well as education and information essential to the nurture and growth of mentally and physically healthy children;	Full health for women prioritizing their reproductive roles: 1. amenorrhea/reproductive control (spacing between births by means of lactation), 2. directly responsible for their children's health. Essentialize women as caregivers and reproductive function Women as labour/factor of production
3. Calls on all governments to include in their plan provision for education and training for women on equal basis with men in food production and agricultural technology, marketing and distribution techniques, as well as consumer, credit and nutrition information;	Equal investment in human capital and access to credit, markets and technologies Women as labour/factor of production Women as means to further market penetration
4. Calls on all governments to promote equal rights and responsibilities for men and women in order that the energy, talent and ability of women can be fully utilized in partnership with men in the battle against world hunger.	Women as labour/factor of production War metaphors
First goal: increase food production [rural women farmers] Second goal: while acknowledging gender stereotypes they reify them instead of seeking forms to transform those roles [procurement, preparation, lactation, child rearing/nurturing]	

Source: WFC (1974: 282)

Appendix F. Gender in ICN92, Plan of Action for Nutrition

V. STRATEGIES AND ACTIONS

Strategy	Paragraph	Subsection	Action	Perspectives on gender					
				Neo-Malthusian	Reproductive	Care provisioning	Productive labor	Molecular	Empowerment/
1	27.12	(I)	<p>With a view to improving nutrition, direct additional investment into agricultural research where necessary to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - address the problem of seasonality through diversification in food production, including fruits and vegetables, livestock, fishery and aquaculture; - promote environmentally sound and economically viable farming systems to increase crop production and maintain soil quality to encourage resource management and resource recycling; - encourage the development of safe biotechnology in animal and plant breeding and facilitate the exchange of new advances in biotechnology related to nutrition; - develop techniques that decrease post-harvest crop losses and improve food processing, storage and marketing; - develop and disseminate technologies that respond to women's needs and ease the workload of women; - improve extension services to cooperate more effectively with farmer and consumer communities in identifying research needs; - improve training methods at the international, national and local levels to ensure dissemination of new technologies; - address the needs of small and poor farmers including those dependent on poor quality or fragile land; - develop technology and systems applicable to small-scale agriculture; - encourage intensive food production at the farm and household levels, taking account of prevailing local conditions; - develop more effective techniques for the traditional production of food at the household and community levels. 						

Strategy	Paragraph	Subsection	Action	Perspectives on gender					
				Neo-Malthusian	Reproductive health	Care provisioning	Productive labor	Molecular	Empowerment/ education
1	27.12	(I)	<p>With a view to improving nutrition, direct additional investment into agricultural research where necessary to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - address the problem of seasonality through diversification in food production, including fruits and vegetables, livestock, fishery and aquaculture; - promote environmentally sound and economically viable farming systems to increase crop production and maintain soil quality to encourage resource management and resource recycling; - encourage the development of safe biotechnology in animal and plant breeding and facilitate the exchange of new advances in biotechnology related to nutrition; - develop techniques that decrease post-harvest crop losses and improve food processing , storage and marketing; - develop and disseminate technologies that respond to women's needs and ease the workload of women; - improve extension services to cooperate more effectively with farmer and consumer communities in identifying research needs; - improve training methods at the international, national and local levels to ensure dissemination of new technologies; - address the needs of small and poor farmers including those dependent on poor quality or fragile land; - develop technology and systems applicable to small-scale agriculture; - encourage intensive food production at the farm and household levels, taking account of prevailing local conditions; - develop more effective techniques for the traditional production of food at the household and community levels. 						

- 2 31.1 (n) Encourage necessary research by governmental, international and private institutions to promote household food security through better food production, handling and storage and prevention of food losses, **crop and genetic diversity**, and improved food processing, preservation and marketing. Research should be done on household handling of food and **intrafamily food distribution** to assure adequate food availability and to protect the nutritional value of food and prevent food losses and wastage. Such research an enhance rural employment and **promote the role of women**, in particular, **in all aspects of food production, processing and marketing**. Research should also be carried out on appropriate cost-effective indicators to measure household food security problems and to measure progress of appropriate programmes in solving those problems.
- 2 31.2 (p) International financial and specialized agencies should give high priority to assisting countries with their programmes for strengthening household food security. The nature of such support may be increased investment in production enhancement projects such as irrigation, **soil fertility improvement** and soil and water conservation, intensification of agriculture or assisting countries undertaking structural adjustment. Assistance should also include technology transfer adapted to the local conditions in developing countries to improve food production and processing while protecting intellectual property rights as appropriate; the training of personnel at all levels; and the establishment of a suitable economic environment to improve the competitiveness of developing court tries.

x

x

x

Strategy	Paragraph	Subsection	Action	Perspectives on gender					
				Neo-Malthusian	Reproductive	Care provisioning	Productive labor	Molecular	Empowerment/ Education
1		(I)	<p>With a view to improving nutrition, direct additional investment into agricultural research where necessary to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - address the problem of seasonality through diversification in food production, including fruits and vegetables, livestock, fishery and aquaculture; - promote environmentally sound and economically viable farming systems to increase crop production and maintain soil quality to encourage resource management and resource recycling; - encourage the development of safe biotechnology in animal and plant breeding and facilitate the exchange of new advances in biotechnology related to nutrition; - develop techniques that decrease post-harvest crop losses and improve food processing , storage and marketing; - develop and disseminate technologies that respond to women's needs and ease the workload of women; - improve extension services to cooperate more effectively with farmer and consumer communities in identifying research needs; - improve training methods at the international, national and local levels to ensure dissemination of new technologies; - address the needs of small and poor farmers including those dependent on poor quality or fragile land; - develop technology and systems applicable to small-scale agriculture; - encourage intensive food production at the farm and household levels, taking account of prevailing local conditions; - develop more effective techniques for the traditional production of food at the household and community levels. 						

27.12

- 2 (n) Encourage necessary research by governmental, international and private institutions to promote household food security through better food production, handling and storage and prevention of food losses, **crop and genetic diversity**, and improved food processing, preservation and marketing. Research should be done on household handling of food and **intrafamily food distribution** to assure adequate food availability and to protect the nutritional value of food and prevent food losses and wastage. Such research an enhance rural employment and **promote the role of women**, in particular, **in all aspects of food production, processing and marketing**. Research should also be carried out on appropriate cost-effective indicators to measure household food security problems and to measure progress of appropriate programmes in solving those problems.

x x

- 2 31.1 (p) International financial and specialized agencies should give high priority to assisting countries with their programmes for strengthening household food security. The nature of such support may be increased investment in production enhancement projects such as irrigation, **soil fertility improvement** and soil and water conservation, intensification of agriculture or assisting countries undertaking structural adjustment. Assistance should also include technology transfer adapted to the local conditions in developing countries to improve food production and processing while protecting intellectual property rights as appropriate; the training of personnel at all levels; and the establishment of a suitable economic environment to improve the competitiveness of developing court tries.

x

- 7 31.2 Vitamin A deficiency and its consequences, including blindness, poor growth, increased severity of infections and death, are fully preventable, making its control one of the most effective child health and survival strategies that governments can undertake. **The protection, promotion and support of breastfeeding is an effective way of preventing vitamin A deficiency in infants and young children.**

x

x

7		Over one-fifth of the world's population lives in iodine-deficient areas. It is the most common preventable cause of mental retardation. Additional consequences of iodine deficiency are Reproductive failure , goitre, increased mortality and economic stagnation. Children, adolescent girls and women are particularly vulnerable . The means for its correction are readily available and provide an exciting opportunity for its elimination by the year 2000.	x	x
7	40	Iron deficiency and/or anaemia is the most common micronutrient deficiency, especially affecting young children and women of reproductive age . Uncorrected anaemia can lead to learning disabilities, an increased risk of infection and diminished work capacity and to death of women during pregnancy and at childbirth . Thus, iron deficiency has an impact on all segments of society.	x	x
7	41	(e) Ensure that sustainable food-based strategies are given first priority particularly for populations deficient in vitamin A and iron , favouring locally available foods and taking into account local food habits. Supplementation of intakes with vitamin A, iodine and iron may be required on a short-term basis to reinforce dietary approaches in severely deficient populations, utilizing primary health care services when possible. Supplementation should be directed at the appropriate vulnerable groups, especially women of reproductive age (iodine and iron) , infants and young children, the elderly, refugees (sic) and displaced persons. Supplementation should be progressively phased out as soon as micronutrient-rich foodbased strategies enable adequate consumption of micronutrients.	x	x
	43.5			

Appendix G. Textual emergence of Rural Woman.

Publishing History This graph charts editions published on this subject.

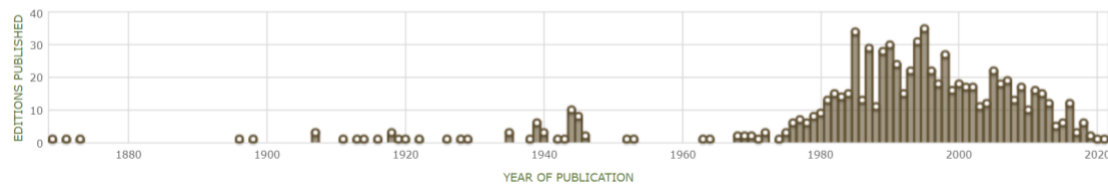
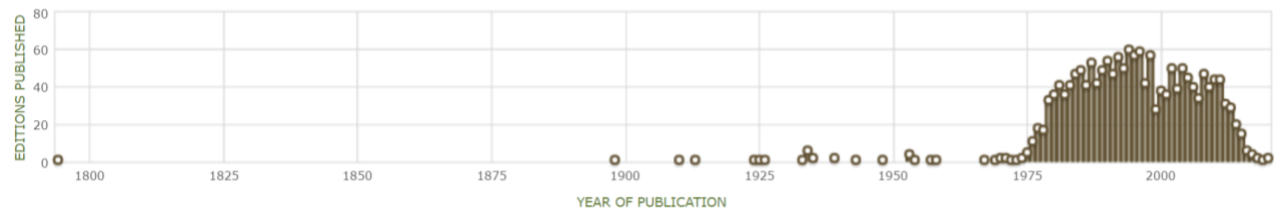


Figure 9. Publishing history of "Women in agriculture"

The Internet Archive documents 738 works concerning "Women in agriculture." A persistent interest in the subject begins in the 70s although continuous publication starts in 1974 peaking with 34 in 1985 and 35 in 1995 (in tandem with the Nairobi and Beijing conferences).

https://openlibrary.org/subjects/women_in_agriculture



The Internet Archive documents 1595 works concerning "Rural women." A persistent interest in the subject begins in the 70s although continuous publication starts in 1969 peaking with 60 in 1994. https://openlibrary.org/subjects/women_in_rural_development

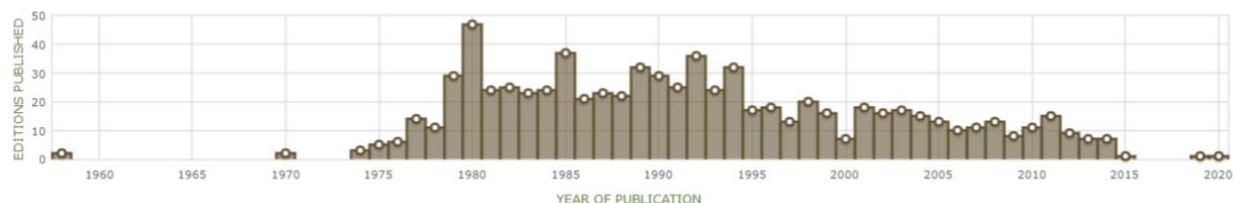


Figure 10. Publishing history of “Women in rural development”

The Internet Archive documents 733 works concerning “Women in rural development.” A persistent interest in the subject begins in 1974 that fades in 2015. Peak was reached in 1969 with 47 publications. https://openlibrary.org/subjects/women_in_rural_development

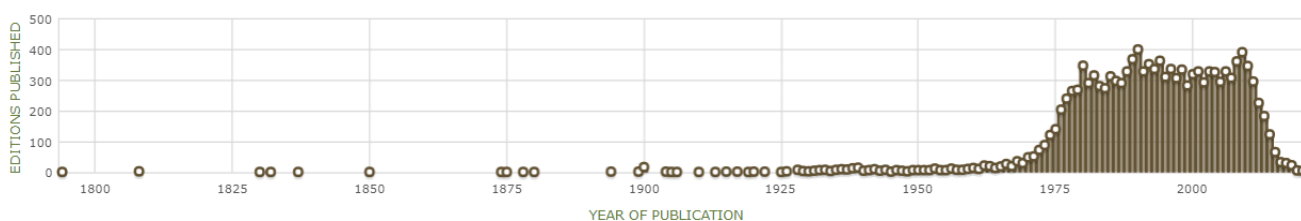


Figure 11. Publishing history of "Rural development"

The Internet Archive documents 12.794 works concerning “Rural development.” A persistent interest in the subject begins in 1920s that strengthens in the 1970s and in sharp decline by 2015. Peak was reached in 1990 with 402 publications.

https://openlibrary.org/subjects/rural_development

A similar analysis was done with Google Ngram, not shown here, with similar results indicating the 1970-2015 period as the one where ‘rural women’ emerged and solidified as a discursive entity.

Appendix H. The FAO Council – Gender analysis²³²

The independent chairperson of the Council has always been a man²³³. The history of the vice-chairpersons has been more accommodating: three per session since 1978, two before that (except for the 59th session in 1972), it first included a woman²³⁴ for its 1968 51st session, Ms Dorothy H. Jacobson from the USA, who governed alongside Mr Gonzalo Bula Hoyos from Colombia. 44 women have held the position (11% between 1947-2021; 1990-2015: 23 women, 14%). Of the 7 world regions used by FAO, Europe has had the most women 15, although representing only 13% of all elected chairs between 1947-2021.

Vice-Chairpersons ‘Ms’ 1947-2019							
FAO regions	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	Total
Africa		1		1	2	2	6
Asia					1	1	2
Europe		1		4	4	4	13
Latin America -LAC		2	2	2		5	11
Near East					1		1
North America	1		1	2			4
Grand Total	1	4	3	9	8	12	37

In the 1990-2015 period there were 168 vice-chairpersons, of which 23 (14%) registered with the title ‘Ms’ (all others ‘Mr’). Of the 51 chairpersons from Europe, North America or the Southwest

²³² All data taken from “Governing and Statutory Bodies Web site - 2021 FAO. <https://www.fao.org/unfao/govbodies/gsbhome/council/vice-chairpersons/en/>

²³³ Non-binary/trans invisibility is prevalent in these sessions and in all the biographies consulted, although it was not an exhaustive review. I acknowledge the lack of a mainstream vocabulary to name such identities/practices/corporalities alongside discrimination in representations of ‘the national’

²³⁴ I use ‘woman’ as the denotative of the English abbreviations “Ms” and in opposition to “Mr,” the titles taken when in office.

Pacific (i.e. Australia and New Zealand) 12 were Ms, representing 52% of all Ms during the period. LAC Ms followed, with 5 (3%). While NATO+ represented 30% of all members during the period they accounted for 52% of Ms. This meant that the remaining 48% of less powerful nations were dispersed throughout the period. This also meant that Latin-American Ms, with just 5 representatives, amounted for 22%.

Vice-Chairpersons by gender 1990-2015							Regional representation			
Row Labels	Mr	Ms	Total	%Mr	%Ms	Fem index	Mr	Ms	Reg.	Ms/Total
Africa	25	4	29	86.2	13.8	16.0	17.2	17.4	17.3	2.4
Asia	29	1	30	96.7	3.3	3.4	20.0	4.3	17.9	0.6
Europe	32	10	42	76.2	23.8	31.3	22.1	43.5	25.0	6.0
LAC	22	5	27	81.5	18.5	22.7	15.2	21.7	16.1	3.0
Near East	30	1	31	96.8	3.2	3.3	20.7	4.3	18.5	0.6
N. America	5	2	7	71.4	28.6	40.0	3.4	8.7	4.2	1.2
			100.							
SW Pacific	2		2	0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.2	0.0
			16							
Total	145	23	8	86.3	13.7	15.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	13.7
NATO	37	12	49	75.5	24.5	32.4	25.5	52.2	29.2	7.1
NATO+SP	39	12	51	76.5	23.5	30.8	26.9	52.2	30.4	7.1

These issues of representation further convey the GAD cause of representation of women's inclusion at FAO. Inclusion of 'women' has sustained a North-Atlantic/Rest division.