

## 4. Constructing food sovereignty

An *apacheta* is a stone cairn built over time by each passing traveller who marks his or her brief presence in the high altitudes with a small stone as an act of spiritual and symbolic homage to the Sacred Mountain and Mother Earth. In time, these substantial stone hillocks themselves transform the landscape, which acquires a new feature and a new Andean meaning.



A similar transformation, stone by stone, idea by idea, also occurred with the concept of food sovereignty when it was discussed in a multicommunal event called the Summit on the Summit in Ayrumas Carumas. During four days in early June 2009 more than 400 Aymara and Quechua peasants from Peru and Bolivia, alongside various regional political actors and local authorities, celebrated a festival of mutual learning.

The four topics of the peasant summit were 1. Food Sovereignty, 2. Water and Climate Change, 3. Human and Landscape Health, and 4. Agriculture and Animal Production. A team of 20 community facilitators gathered together families – grandparents, parents, children – and helped to organise the research and deliberations.

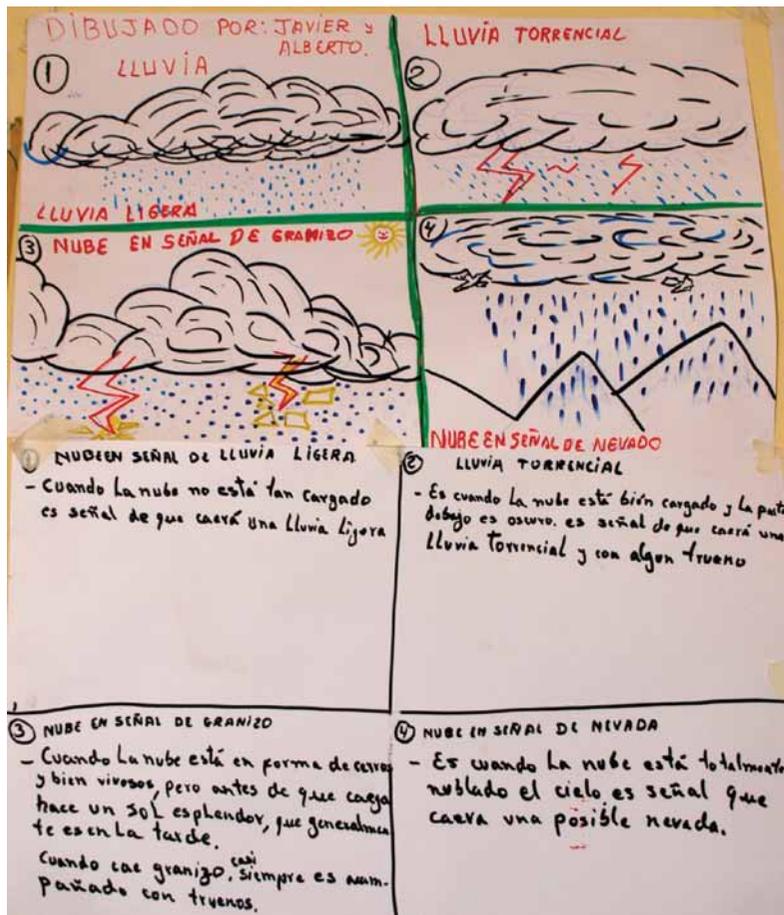


What follows gives an account of two days of fieldwork in the communities of Chajana, Imata, Collpa and Ayrumas Carumas in the valley of the Rio Blanco. The results were visualised in mind maps, charts and figures and displayed in a gallery of knowledge at the municipal centre. These original hand-drawn food and farming knowledge charts formed the basis for presentations and discussions for an Action Plan for the Rio Blanco Highland Zone. On the fourth and last day the participants presented the plan to the local authorities and reinforced their decision to create and strengthen the White River Defence Committee (CODECA) as a civil society organisation.

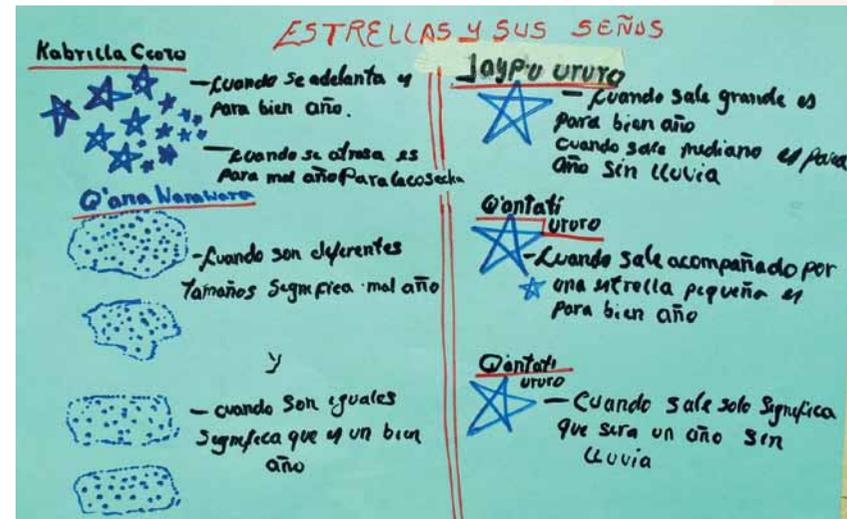


## The influence of natural indicators

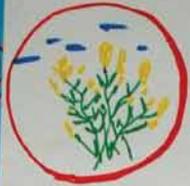
Sun, rain, hail, the waters of the rivers and springs; winds, frost, earthquakes and volcanoes, clouds, and thunder; the Southern Cross, the Andean Cross, the Pleiades, rainbows, rivers, and animal behaviour – everything influences agriculture. Potatoes, ‘sweet’ and bitter, *cañihua*, quinoa, and barley all grow differently in each community depending who interprets the indicators.



An elder from Chajana shows a map of the sky indicating the relationship between the Milky Way and the stars inside the Large Magellanic Cloud.



# NUESTRAS SEÑAS PARA EL CULTIVO EN IMATA



KARIVA

La Cariwa nos da la seña para cultivos para el año agrícola en sus FLORES, más flores buen año de cosecha me nos flores menos cosecha



ZORRO

- 1- baja a las Pampas a llorar es para buena cosecha.
- 2- Si está en la parte alta es para que el cultivo va ser en parte alta
- 3- si sus ojos tiene granos nos seña que va ver buena cosecha de Quinua y Farihuana
- 4- Cuando el cacti es tambien buena cosecha papa



ESTRELLAS

La Cruz del Sur (Constelacion de las estrellas)  
 1- sale con la cabeza mirando al sur lo cuando era ver poca helada  
 2- sale con la cabeza al norte que el año va ser helada total



PARIHUANA

- 1: la Parihuana sube de la parte de lago entre los meses de Octubre, es una seña que va ver cosecha (Buen Año) Chuno Papa.
- 2: Otro nos indica cuando no viene es que va ser sequia y mala cosecha

¿Que es lo que hace la pari huana? la Pari huana es lo que hace imita como nosotros como estariamos pisando chuno Ah... entonces, vamos a pisar chuno!



LEKELEKE

### EL NOS INDICA

- 1: Pone su nido en la parte alta es una seña para que hay ga lluvia - Pesechibi
- 2- Si su nido está a la orilla del río es para que hay ga poca lluvia
- 3- al Costado del nido pone fierro es para que va ver Rayo o ru lampagos
- 3- Al Costado del nido hay moneda que va ser buen año



TRUCHA

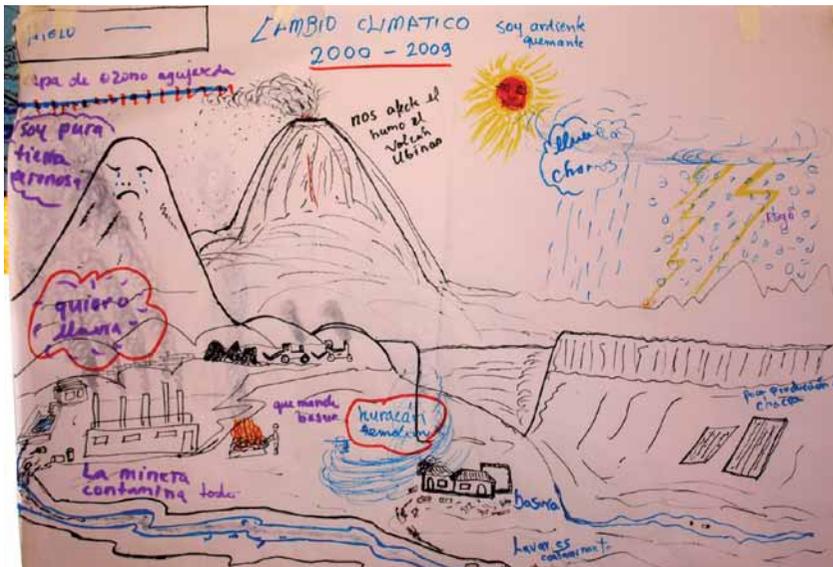
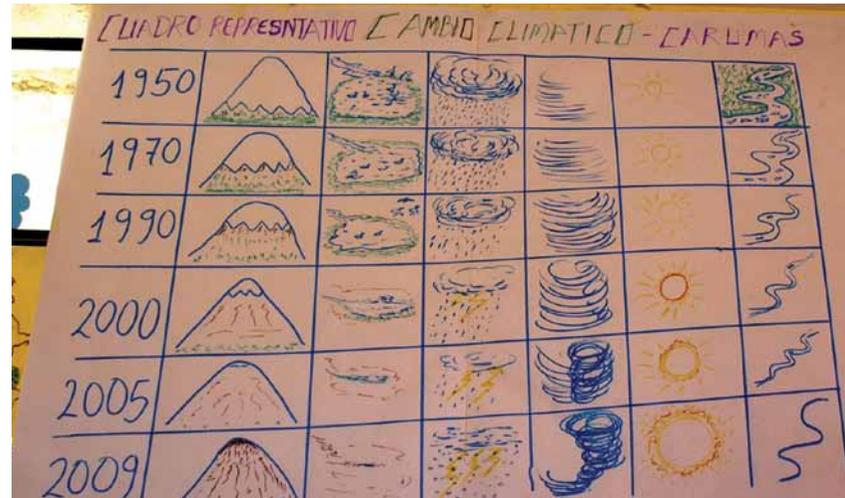
Prepara el Tiwi (para por huevo)  
 1- en las Partes con pocas aguas es para que el río va aumentar su caudal - Huala  
 2- En las partes Profundas del río es para que el año agrícola va ser seco o no va ver lluvia.

In the neighbouring community of Imata, besides observing the sky, people also pay attention to other indicators to foresee harvests.

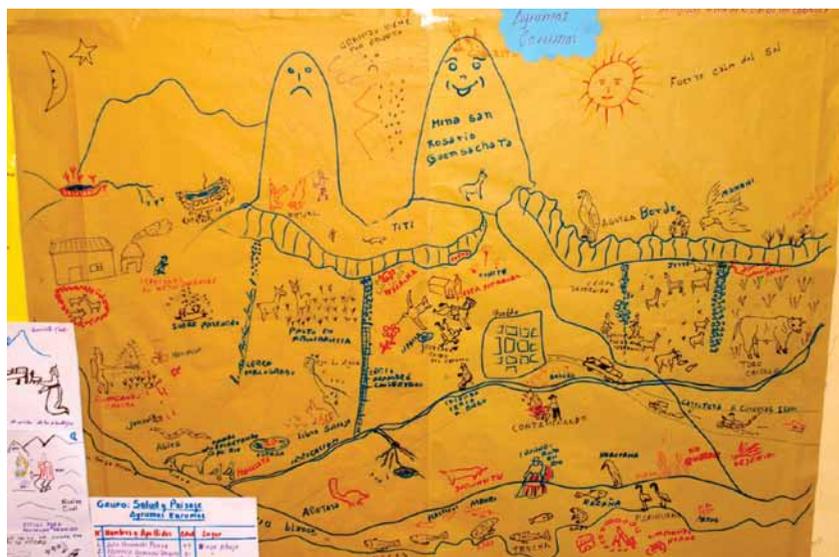


They have observed other signs of change too, for example, in the last 30 years there have been unforeseen changes in the sky and on the earth. The permanent glaciers on the mountain peaks have shrunk while solar radiation is increasingly intense, rainfall

has become erratic, hailstones larger and more destructive; there have also been longer frost periods, more storms, strong earthquakes and more frequent and severe floods.



There is also a shared sense of unease that the natural indicators are often random; efforts to reinterpret the natural signs are sometimes discouraging. Some say that yields are strongly affected by environmental contamination from agrochemicals and mines, the invasion of high-yielding varieties, and the substitution of traditional ways of animal husbandry and health with that of veterinary science. Another issue they were facing was the generation gap, with the wisdom of the elders falling into a vacuum, with youngsters not listening to their advice, preferring instead to imitate urban habits, especially with regard to food consumption.



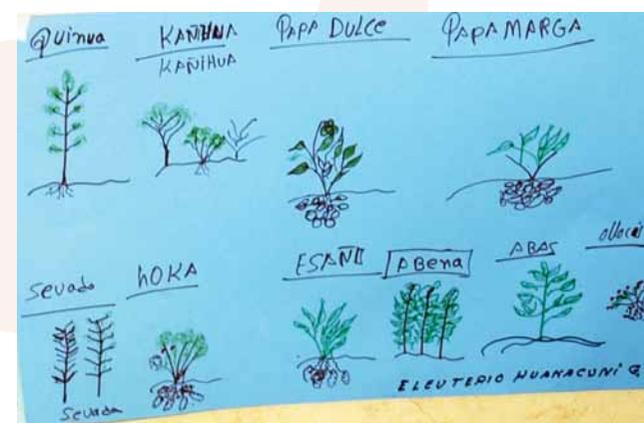
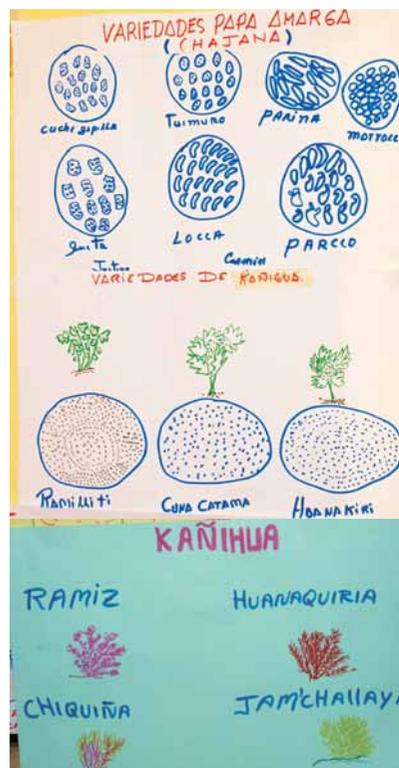
## Our health depends on our seeds

Women are in charge of caring for the seeds as an integral part of ensuring family health. They guarantee the quality and vitality of seeds during sowing, harvesting, classification, processing and conservation.

VARIEDAD DE SEMILLAS DE CULTIVO				
PRODUC.	NOMBRE	TRANSF.	USOS	MEDICINA
	LOQ'A	CHUÑO	ALIMENT.	FIEBRE
	PARQO	CHUÑO	ALIMENT.	CALOR
	PARINA	CHUÑO	ALIMENT.	FIEBRE
	CHOBUEFIO	CHUÑO	ALIMENT.	FIEBRE
	CAÑIHUA	CANIHUA ACO	ALIMENT.	DIARREA

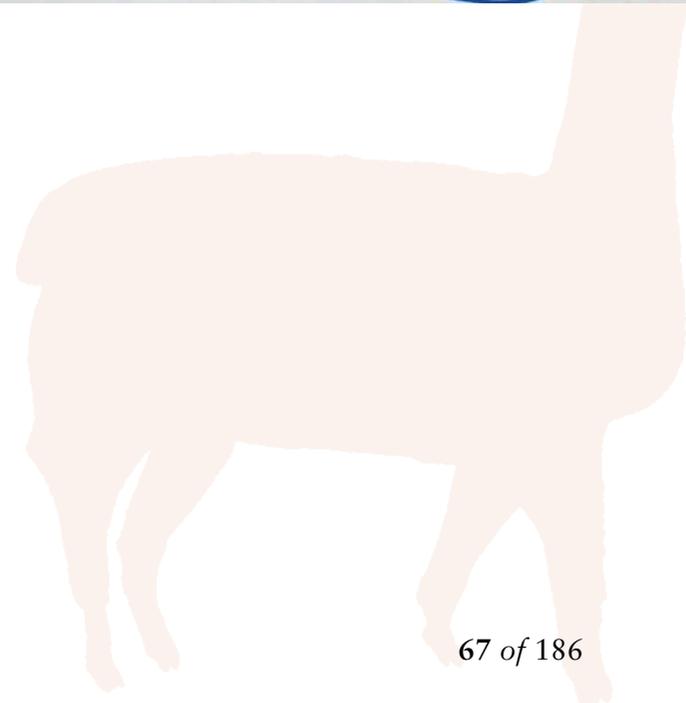
Eating the basic Andean foods – potatoes, both the ‘sweet’ and the ‘bitter’ varieties, quinoa, *cañihua*, river fish and alpaca meat along with other crops that grow in the *chacra* – keeps families strong.

Eating seasonally according to the agricultural calendar also enables them to remain naturally healthy.





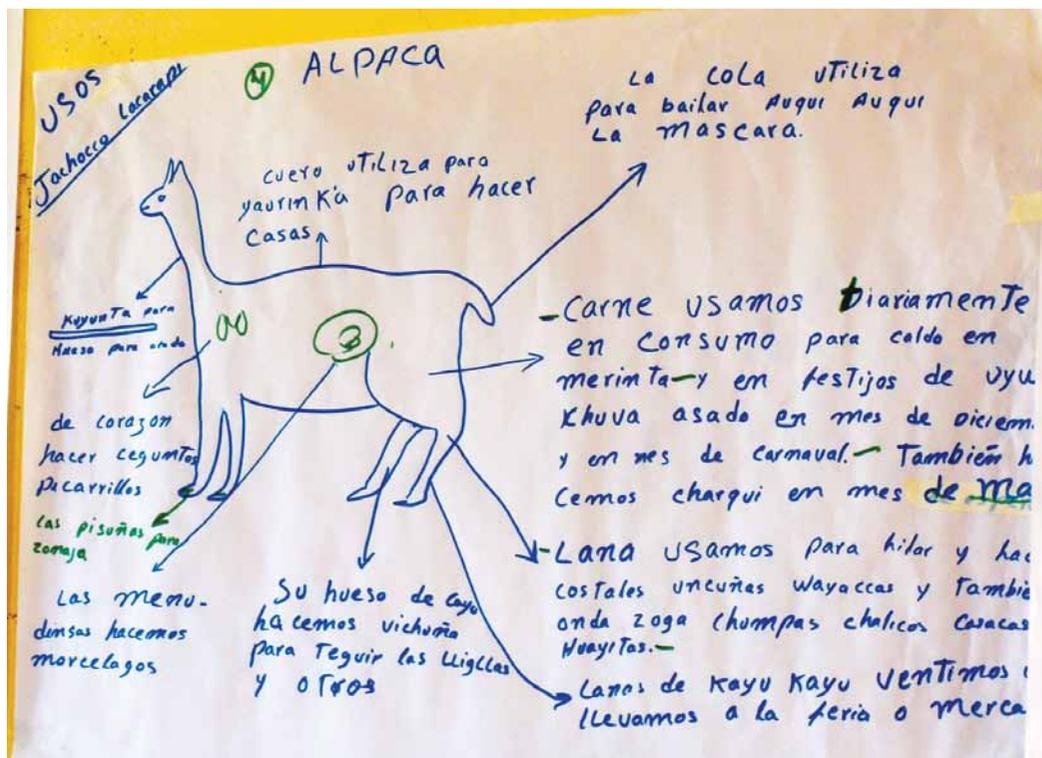
In the last fifty years, however, strong external influences have been changing Andean eating patterns, which has led to a higher incidence of ill health. Some families consume more rice, wheat flour, and soft drinks bought at the fairs or in the market. These families need medicine constantly.



## The many uses and tastes of alpacas and llamas

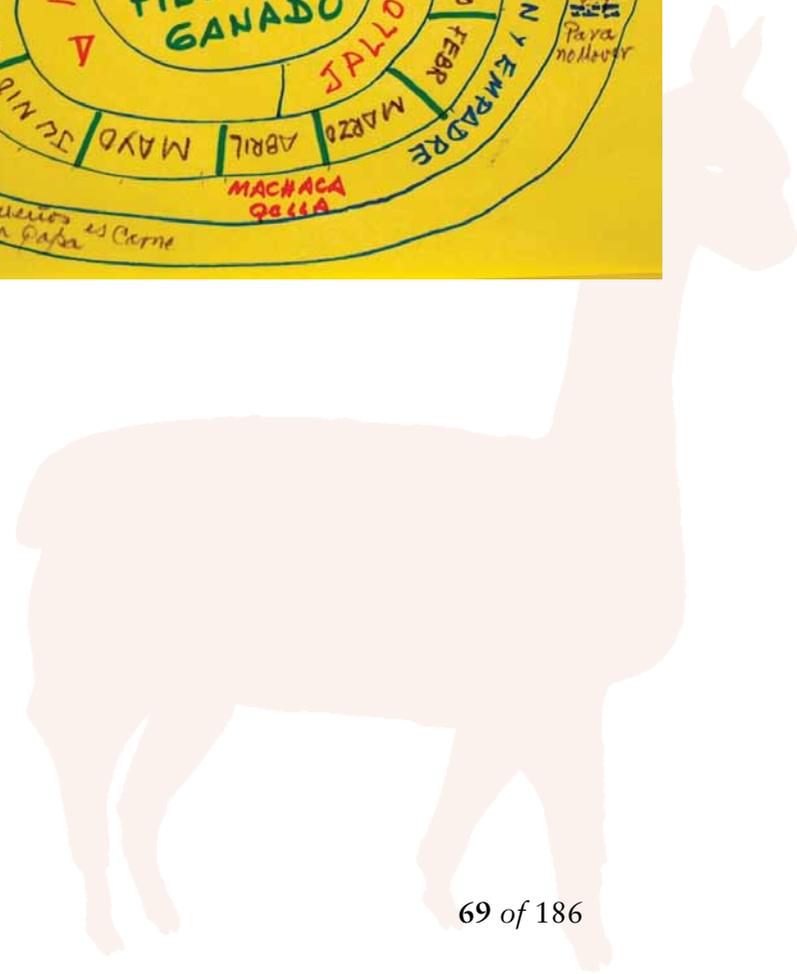
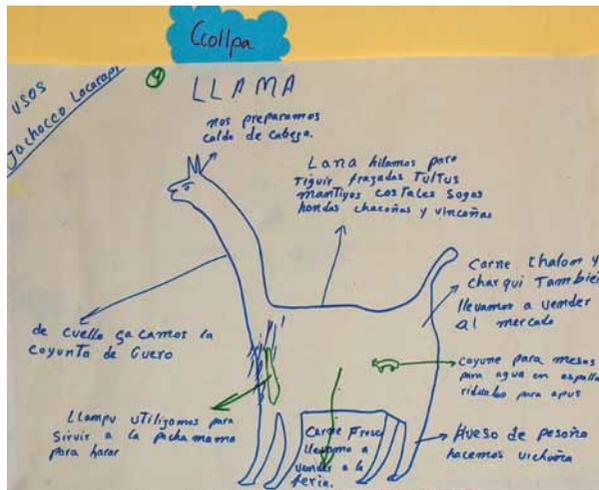
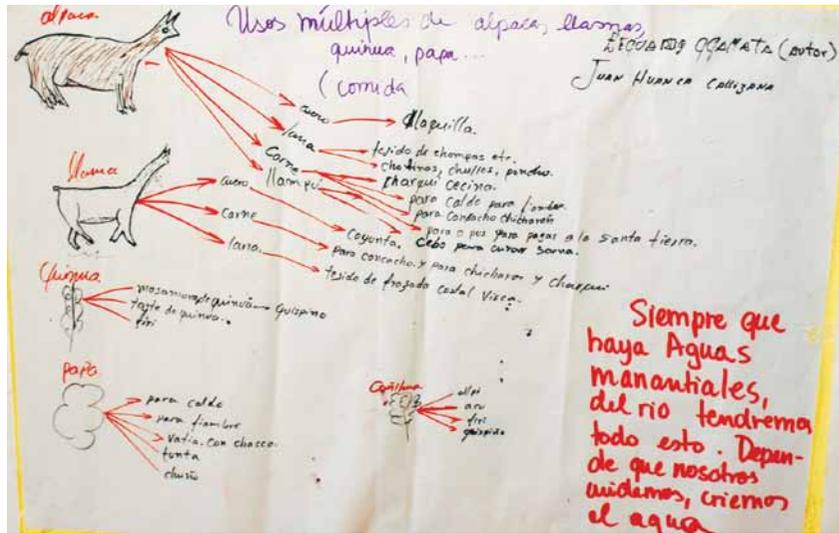
The alpaca is an amazingly useful animal. Its skin provides *Yarink'a*, leather used to fasten roofs; from its tail one can make masks for the dance *Auqui Auqui*. Soup made with alpaca meat is consumed daily; sometimes, the meat is deep-fried and eaten as *chicharron*, or in the form of jerky, *chalonga* and *charqui*, or roasted as *kankacho*. The fat, *llampi*, and the foetus, *cayuna*, are always used in the rituals to the *Apus*, the Sacred Mountains, and *Pachamama*, Mother Earth.

Naturally tinted alpaca wool is woven into jackets, blankets and vests that are used all year round. The sacks and ropes made of alpaca fibres are durable and the weaving tool *vichuña* that is made of alpaca bone lasts forever. A medicinal ointment is made from the heart and from the hoof, a rattle.

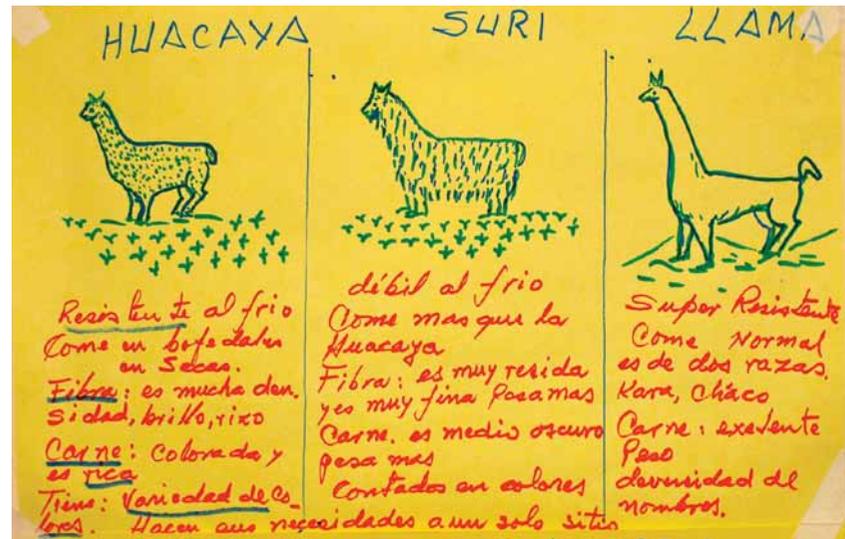


Similarly, many parts of the llama are edible and useful and fresh llama meat is sold in the market. The head is boiled for soup, the legs for making *chalonga* and *charqui*; llama wool is used for heavy blankets, sacks, ropes, and slings. The foetus forms part of the water ceremony and to ask for permission from the *Apus*, llama fat is offered to Mother Earth.

The behaviour of alpacas is an indicator regarding the transitions between dry and rainy seasons.





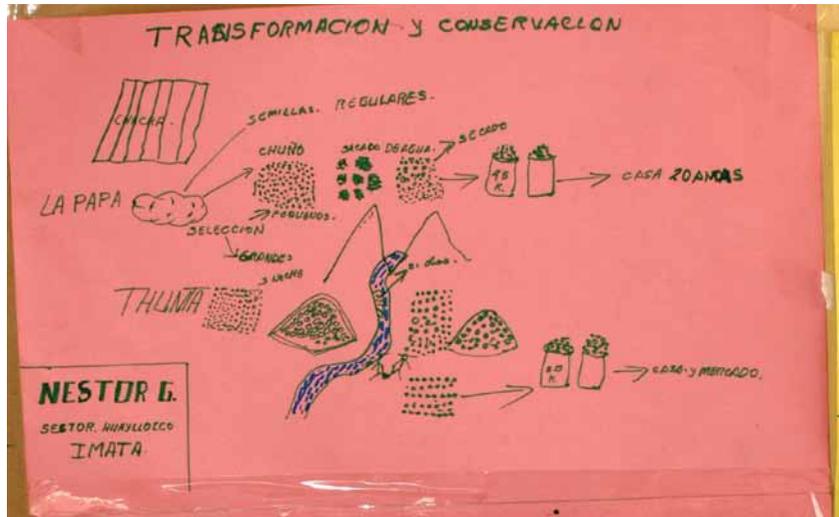


There are fewer multicoloured alpaca flocks now because the technicians have been breeding only white animals due to the influence of industry, which only wants white alpaca wool.

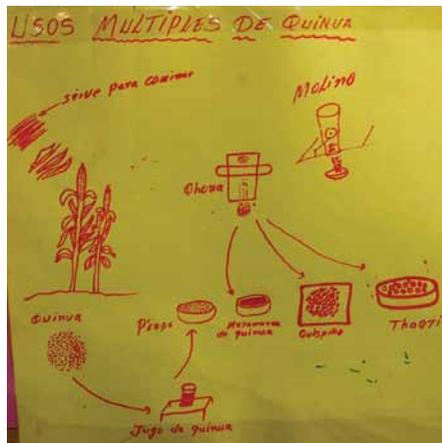
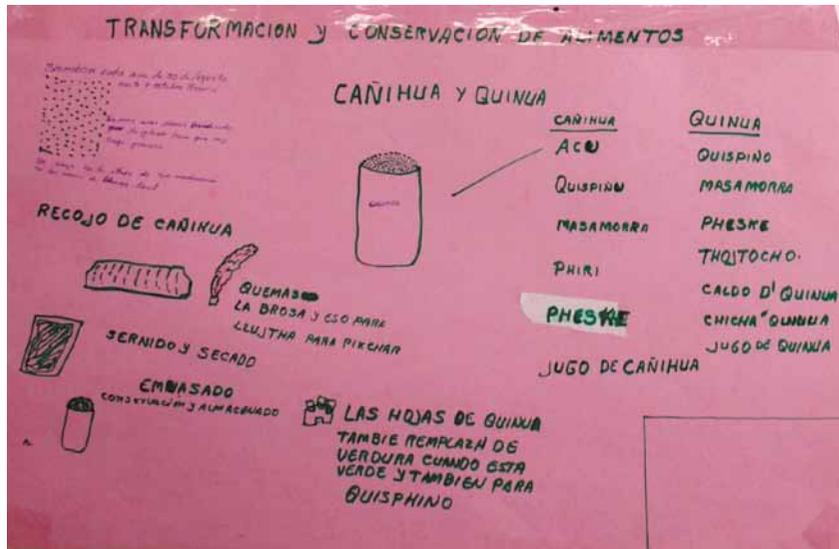


All participants acknowledged that Andean crops suffer from variable harvests. There are years during which yields are generally good, and bad years for tubers and grains. That is why it is so important to know how to interpret the natural signs, which give approximate correlations for farming, transmitted in dynamic and metaphorical messages. Moreover, each crop has its own lifespan: some varieties of potatoes can last many decades, if they have been properly cured before being placed in the storeroom.

Bitter potatoes are processed as *chuño*, if it is black in colour it is also called *tunta*, or *moraya*, if white. They are dried (desiccated) by harnessing the dramatic temperature differences between night and day during June–July.

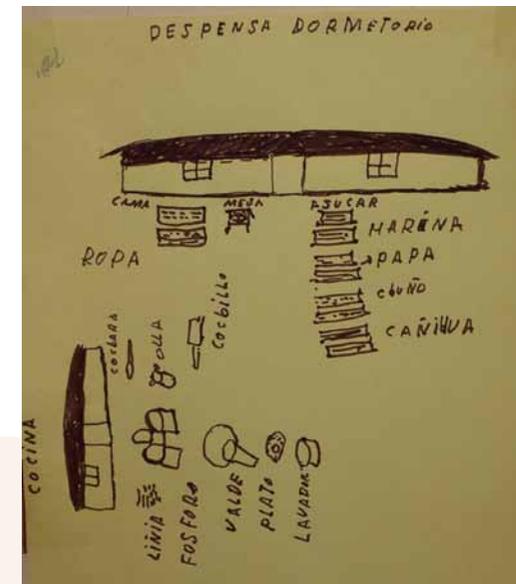


Andean grains are also roasted and transformed into flour with the *ccona*, a manual grinder made of two stones. All these procedures are very labour-intensive, but proper preparation and storage ensures at least one year's supply of ingredients for a family's daily meals in the form of soups, or sweet and savoury porridge.



## The storeroom

The storeroom is separate from the house. Here can be found *cañihuaco*, roasted and ground *cañihua*, *chuño*, quinoa, *kiwicha*, Andean tubers, wheat and barley; each and every one of these products is subject to special treatment and rules. For example Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays are auspicious days to enter the storeroom; if you stick to these days, your food will last longer. If you enter on Tuesdays and Fridays your food will vanish without you noticing it. Grandmothers always kept food in woven baskets. While this advice is not adhered to too strictly, the observation of natural indicators for storing food and their respective rituals is still practised.

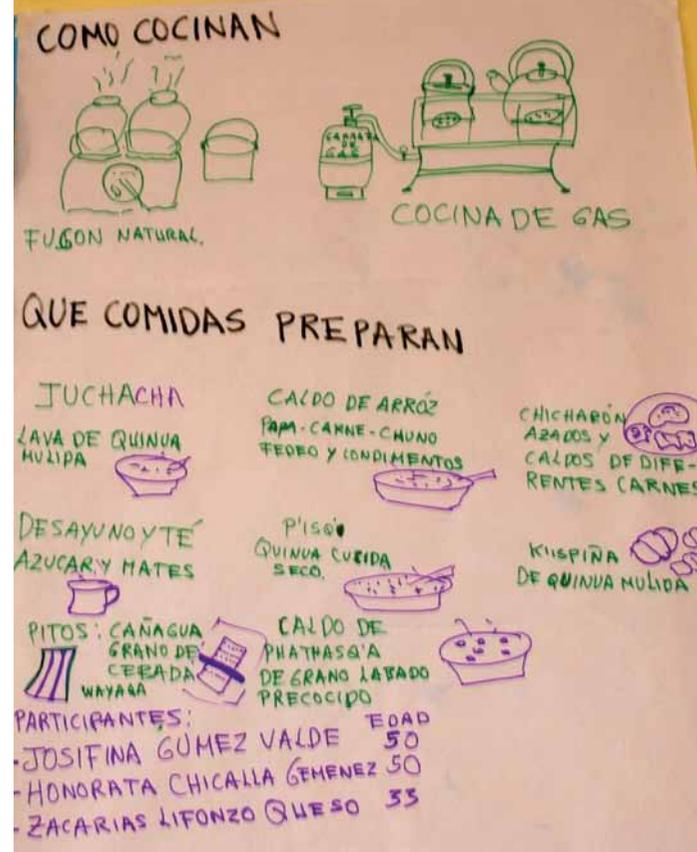


The storeroom as a wider concept includes three main spaces. One is 'above', the open spaces where one can forage for wild vegetables and fruits. This means that nature itself is also perceived as a food reserve, especially in the rainy season. A second area is near the home, where one stores Andean tubers and grains according to customary rules. This area suggests an extension of life from the fields. The rules for maintaining the storeroom as provider of food for longer periods of time are particularly known and applied by women. There is a third space to keep staples, like salt, sugar, rice, oil, and other products bought at the market. This place is very commonly 'below' and inside the house. Since these products are not from the fields they have a different type of life; some say this is food without spirit and keep it under their beds.



## The kitchen

The kitchen is the place where the fruits of the fields are transformed into delicious meals. It is a microcosm of Andean society with its three types of kitchen. One is inside the home where the family gathers, the other is outside the house when the extended family and friends eat together, and the third is during the harvest, the *watia*, using soil to create an earth oven. In fact, all three use earth as raw material, which is also true for the clay cooking pots. Wood is carved into spoons.



# cosinas y comidas

**Dentro de la casa**

- es abrigado.
- centro de reunión de la familia
- la mamá es la más más de la cocina
- es mejor para guardar leña

**fuera de la casa**

**en la chacra**

x no hay humo

Podemos pastorear, cosechar y bañar

OCIO a mamá  
PLATO a papá  
Cocina PAPA  
La olla para preparar comida

salada papa Trugle  
queso papa  
Cacha  
Picaron  
Thawite  
Queso  
Papa chupe  
Bijido S. Numa  
Mito M. Guiza A.

# IMPORTANCIA DE LA COCINA En la vivienda rural

**Cocina**

Em La cocina se Preparan comidas

Cocina para preparar comida

En la cocina se preparan las comidas de la familia

# VILURCUNI ANTES AHORA

PARA TRANSFORMAR PRODUCTOS

**ANTES**

**AHORA**

Jun/2004

# VILURCUNI LA COCINA ANTES AHORA

**ANTES**

**AHORA**

Cocina

Cocina

chuneta  
Ganga PUTU  
PATATI  
PAPA  
PAPA  
PAPA

Nombre: CRISTINA P. ALVARADO  
MARCADO ALVARADO



Traditionally and still in general, women cook and are in charge of the hearth. They perform their role with great concentration without wasting anything, even the smallest and most wrinkled potato, the *chuño* that good wives can preserve for 10 or 20 years. A woman's intelligence is demonstrated by how long she can feed her family from her storeroom without going shopping.

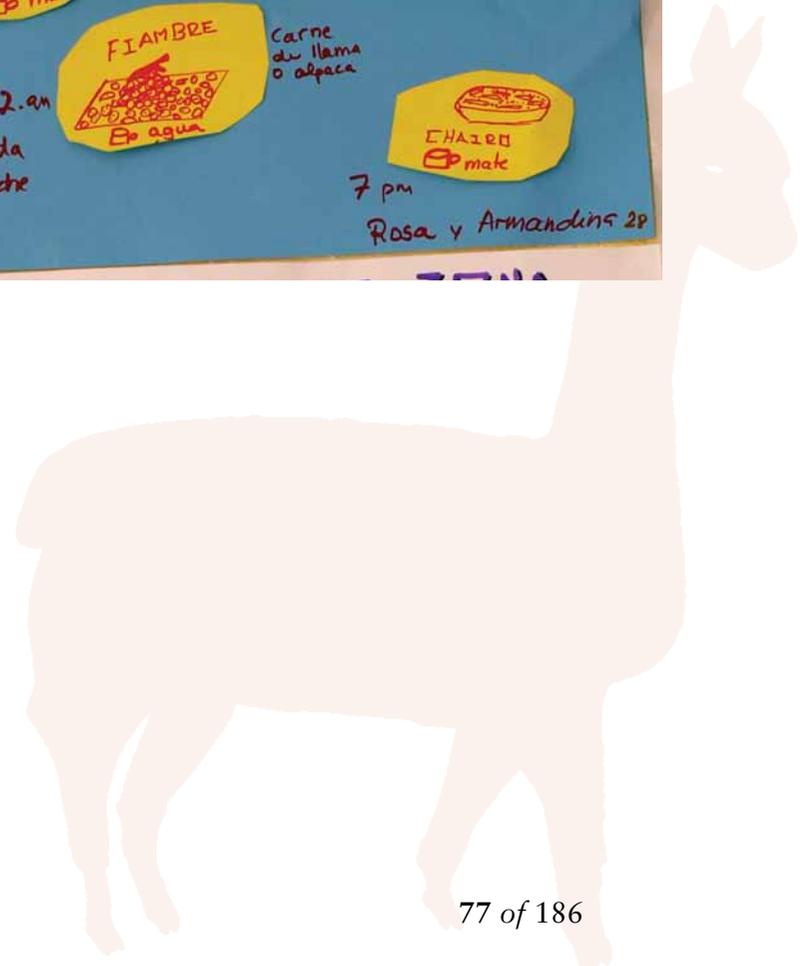
The daily cycle of food consumption is integrated into the rhythms of farming. Early in the morning, *cañihuaco*, freshly prepared with a cup of herbal tea or a substantial soup, will provide enough energy to work in the fields until the first snack made of *chuño* or roasted grains. Returning from the fields, at home there will be a soup or savoury porridge made of Andean grains for dinner.



Comida y soberanía alimentaria

1: ¿QUÉ COMEMOS EN UN DÍA?

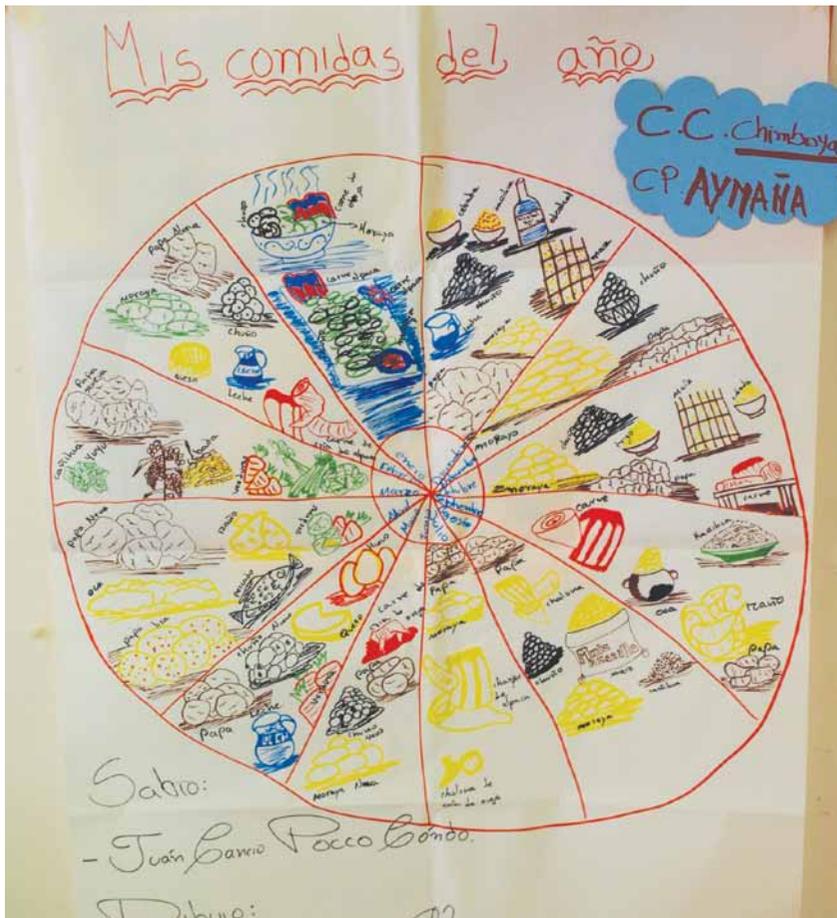
En La Mañana.	En medio día.	En La noche. (tarde)
En la mañana tomamos mate y con nuestro quispiño. Al siguiente mañana pito de trigo o pito de cebada y kañiwa (callo de)	Comemos fiambre. Papa, chuño, quispiño, abax, tostado, tostado de trigo, pescado frito, batia, huevo frito, etc.	comemos masamra de kañiwa, Leche con aku,



## Annual food cycle

In the Altiplano, every day people eat Andean tubers and grains transformed in local cuisine. There are two different food seasons. During the harvest there is abundance, and one can see the families gathered to eat in the fields, using the *watia*; sometimes this period overlaps with the Carnival festivities. There is also the seasonal diminishing of food, which coincides with the time of the main sowing. The critical months are October and November, a time of scarcity if the storeroom has not been well managed.

While the Andean diet appears to be monotonous, with its year-round consumption of tubers and grains, another picture emerges if one looks closer: there is a wide repertoire of dishes, with tasty ingredients and many different presentations.



**PLATOS LOCALES**

**- ASADO DE AIPACA (PATACRU)**

Ingredientes

- Carne de alpaca
- Sal (curada)
- cebada
- yuca
- agua (queso)
- Patacru

Son alimentos nutritivos

**- FIAMBRE**

Ingredientes

- carne de llama
- queso dulce
- cebada
- carne de llama (curada)
- Sal (curada)
- agua (curada)

plato utilizado para la hora de almuerzo, en trabajos de asni etc.

Representante: MORIA OTIWA

Son ricos.

**- MASAMORRA DE QUINUA**

Ingredientes

- quinua molida
- sal (curada)
- cebada de alpaca
- Sal (curada)
- agua (curada)

Plato utilizado para el desayuno por el alta contenido nutricional

USAMOS MUCHAS SEMILLAS

**- PESQUE**

Ingredientes

- queso blanco
- sal (curada)
- leche o queso
- agua (curada)

Conomizamos

Janiwra Colpo Gastanti... Jiwaspaña Jortap

Son naturales sin químicos

**- CASHO APU**

Ingredientes

- leche molida
- agua (curada)

MATES

Almuerzo

Son naturales sin químicos

**- CHAYRO**

Ingredientes

- agua (curada)
- queso amargo
- Chicha (curada)
- queso alpaca
- Chamusa (curada)
- Sal (curada)

REFRESCOS

para de cebada

Son naturales sin químicos

Jat'hasampi lurtastara...  
Jiwaspaña lurtastara

## Favourite dishes

The following list includes some of the favourite Andean dishes. Among them are potatoes with cheese and chilli sauce, *wallaqui*, fish soup with *chuño* and potato, *pesque*, a savoury porridge made with quinoa and milk, and quinoa soup.

**Fiambre**

Papa, Chuño, Carne

Por: Máxima Fuentes Chipana

**CALDO DE QUINUA**

Quinua, Leche, Sal y agua, Maíz Lila, Papa

Por: Victor Incaña

**Plato de Mazamorra**

Quinua, Leche, Sal y agua

Por: Alvaro Frohmanca

**Esta bebida**

Leche, Chuño, Papa

En plato servido

Por: Alvaro Frohmanca

**PLATO HUANCAYNO PACEÑO**

Ingredientes

- Papa
- Mani
- Lechuga
- Huevo
- Queso
- Tomate
- Sal

CHUA

Por: Lucila Rojas Choque

**PLATO PACEÑO**

Ingredientes

- aba
- chucru
- pa pa
- queso
- Carne
- Tomate
- Locoto
- Wacataya
- Sal
- aceite

- ajo

- Limón

- Comino

**QHISPINA**

Preparación de Qhispina

Por: Lucila Rojas Choque

**PLATO-WALLAKI**

Pescado (Carachi), Papa, Chuño, Gruza, Aji Amarillo

Por: Alvaro Frohmanca

## Recipes

Alpaca Cracklings

Quinoa Soup

T'impo Stew

Alpaca Heart

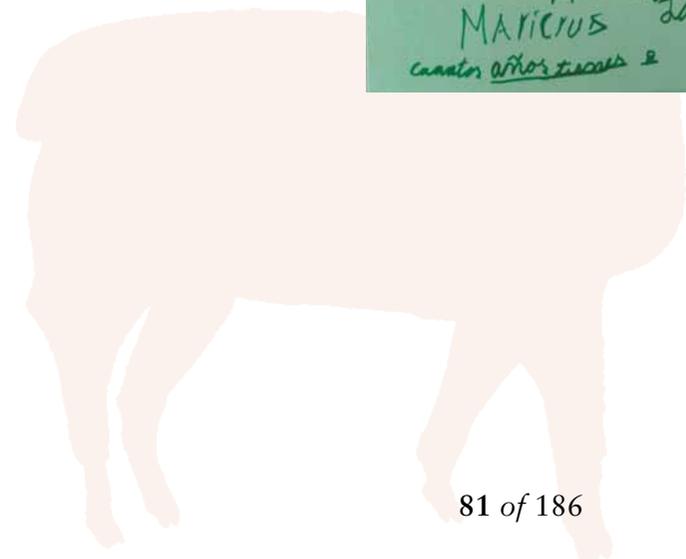
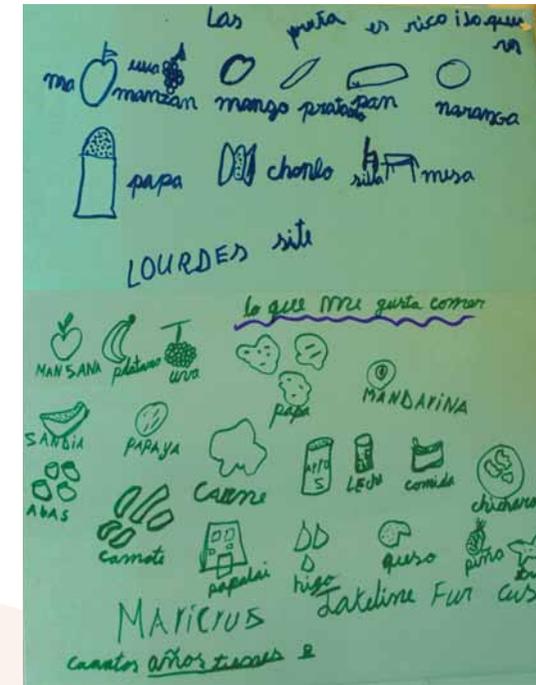
## Special food

A birthday party or animal rituals such as mating ceremonies are celebrated with *kankacho*, roasted fresh alpaca meat. A new mother is served a salt-free lamb soup to regain her health and barbecues are very popular for saint's days or holidays. There is also special food eaten in honour of Mother Earth in August.

Some animals like the marmot are hunted and eaten strictly for medicinal purposes.

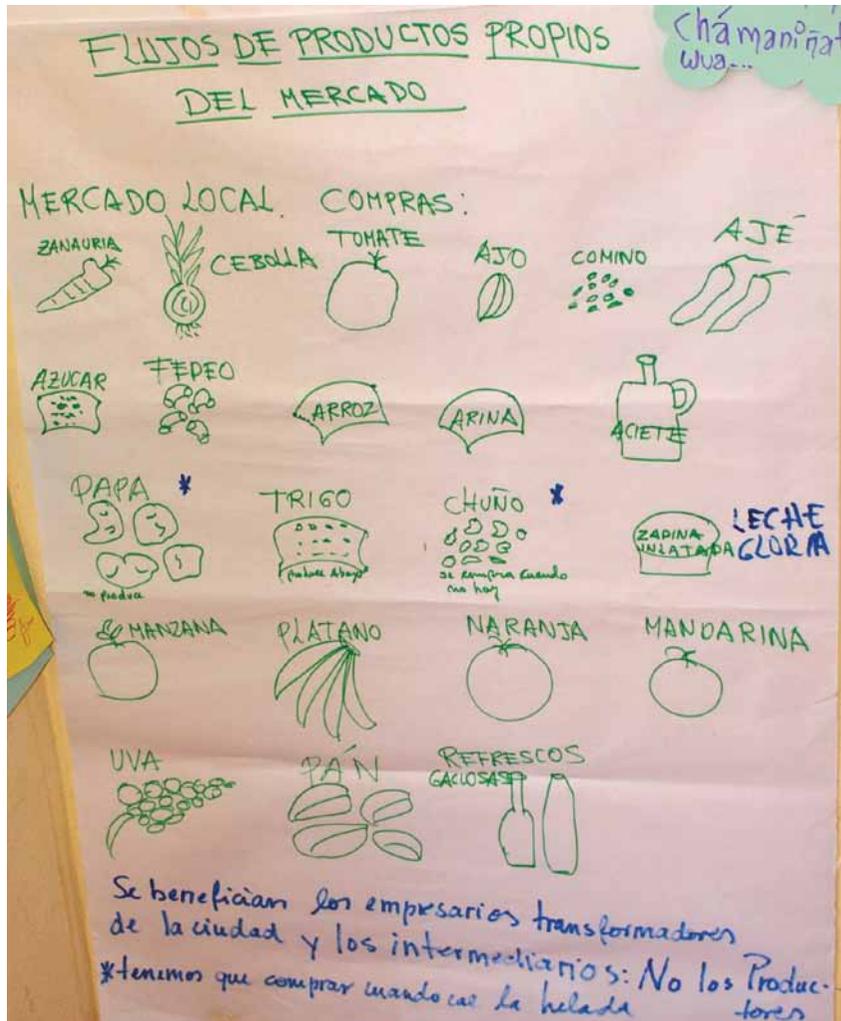
## What children like

Baby food does not exist in the Andes. Babies, children and adults eat the same food, from the same pot. Children prefer fruits from the tropical forest and the coast such as watermelons, grapes, pears, pineapples, bananas and apples, as well as sweet quinoa porridge with milk, cold meats, eggs, cheese, potatoes, maize, and an edible white clay, *chajo*.



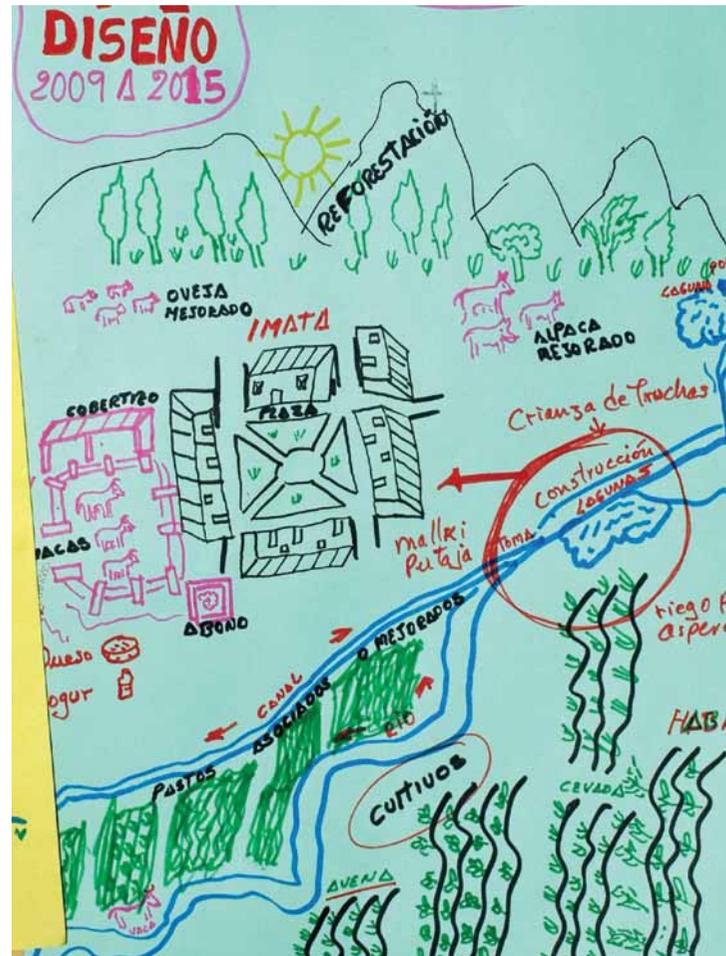


Now their diet includes a lot of processed or agroindustrially farmed or sourced food such as rice, processed wheat (flour, semolina, noodles), sugar, oil, canned tuna, and evaporated milk that have slowly pushed back the consumption of staple foods of the Andes, like potatoes, quinoa, oca, mashua, barley, oats, broad beans. This has been occurring since the 1960s and it has had an impact on human behaviour and longevity.

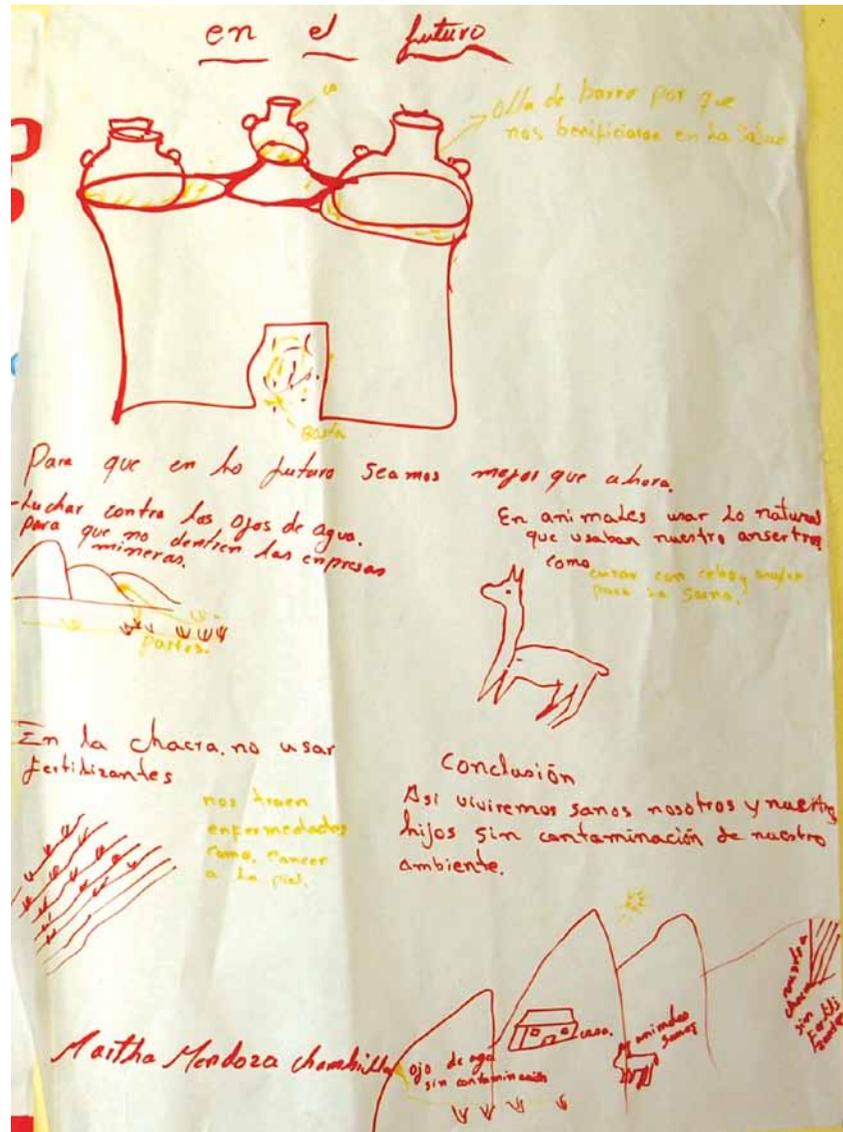


### Different views

In their visualisations of the future the men included some infrastructural improvements in rural life. The scene appears a little bit urban although the fields have a considerable presence but less diversity, like little monoculture fields. Modern technology displaces pastures with a modern irrigation system, there is reforestation in the high mountain slopes, and some man-made dams; cheese and yogurt are being made.



Women instead focus on the kitchen and utensils, and defending the pure water of the springs against mining interests. The animals and the fields are maintained as in the old times, very healthy and without agrochemical inputs, which have caused skin cancer and other diseases. For women, a future without environmental contamination is essential for food sovereignty.



A young man, 17 years old, expresses his ideas in terms of the continuity of a food chain that starts with the local seeds and continues with the nurturing of Andean crops and animals that are the basis for healthy, delicious and sovereign food.



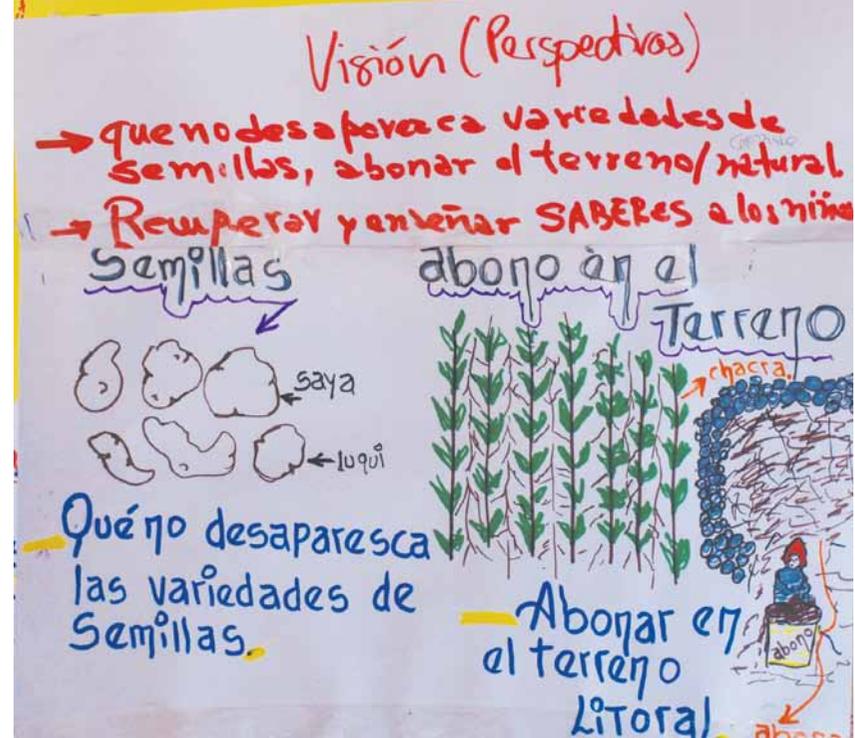
## Agreements

These different positions were debated on the third day, resulting in a declaration of principles and an intercommunal action plan supported by men and women, young and old, which recognises the importance of access to sufficient and varied food produced in their own fields.

They agreed upon following principles:

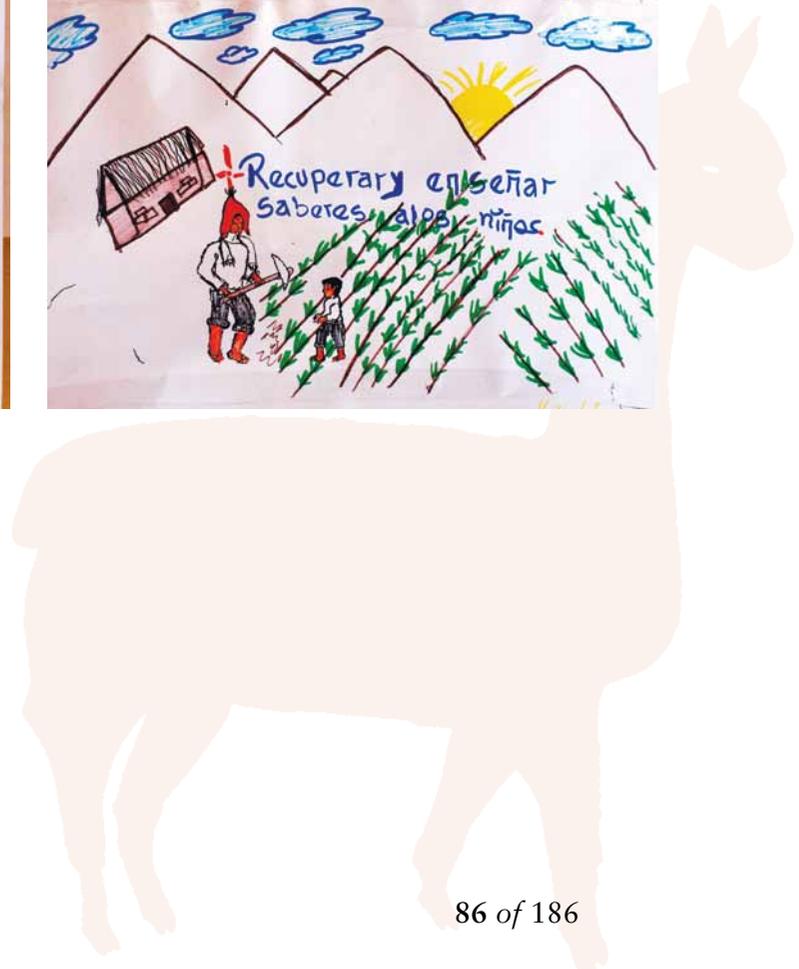
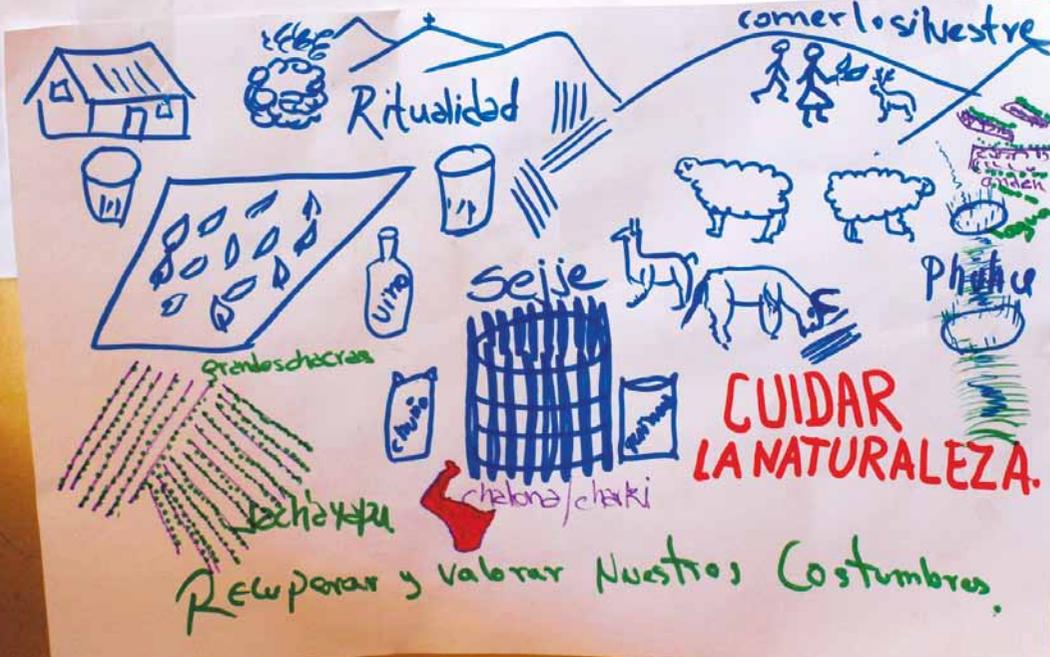
- Andean tubers and grains are food that keeps people from the Andes strong, healthy and happy.
- Alpaca meat is considered part of the diet along with lamb, guinea pig, chickens, pigs, as long they are taken care of by the families.
- Food that is eaten every day should be cooked in a natural way and that starts with clean pure water.
- Eating in the kitchen around the fire integrates the family in a natural and social life cycle with all its manifestations of reciprocity for the animated landscape as well the human community.
- Eating together supports the shared identity of the Aymara and Quechua people.
- Remembering traditions is a way to keep in touch with the ancestors and perpetuate a good quality of life.

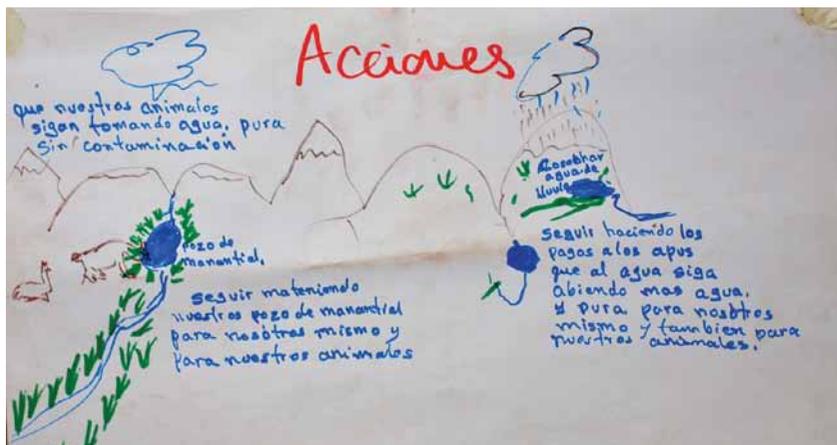
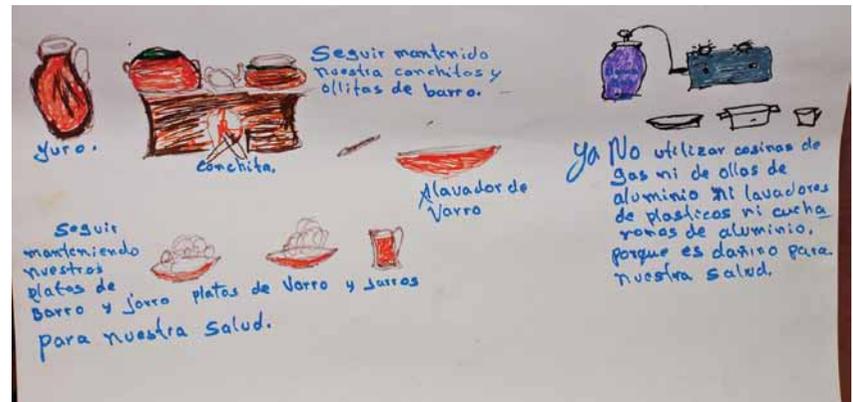
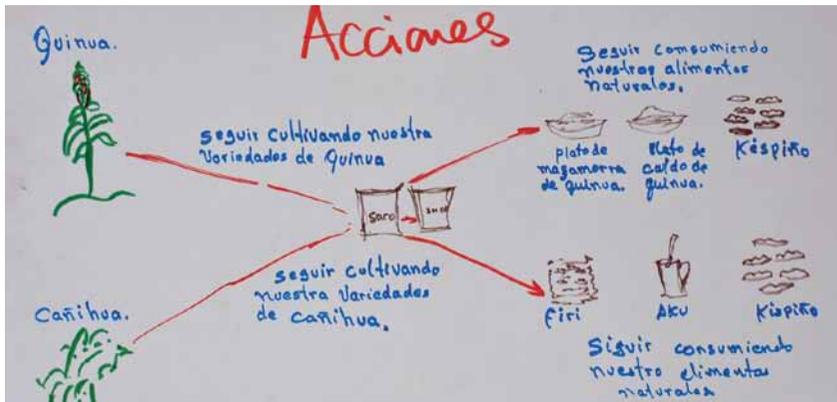
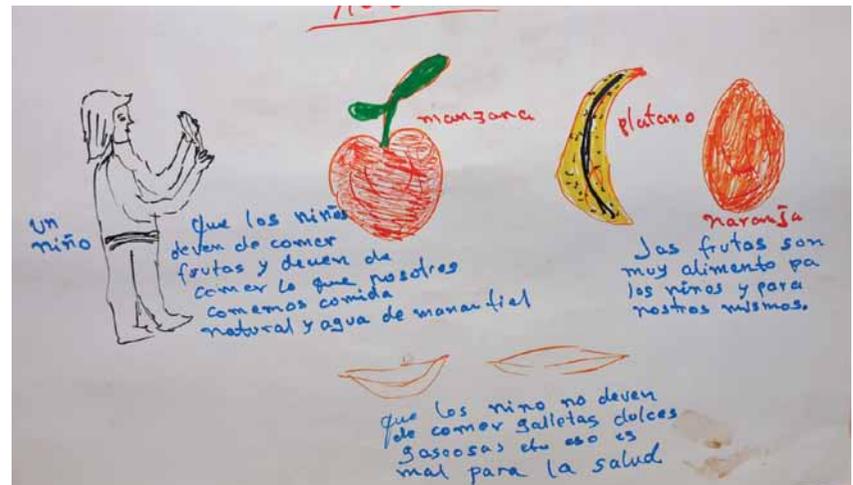
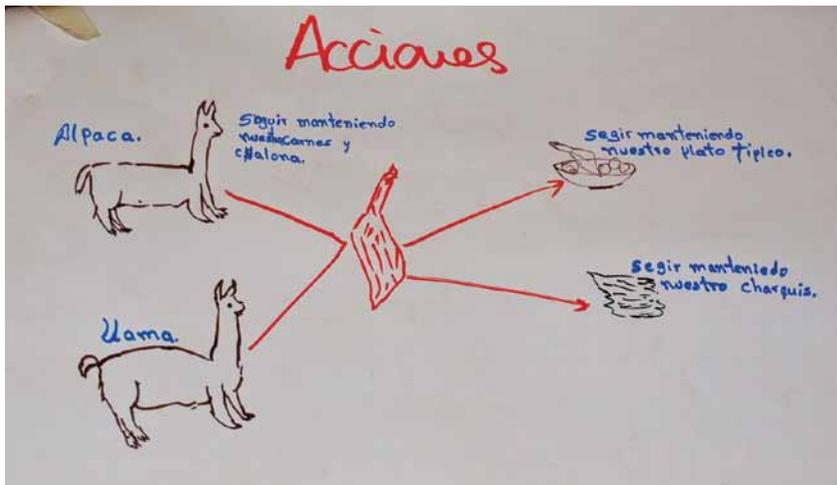
The intercommunal assembly confirmed that food sovereignty is the right to determine the natural quality of food, and reflects a strong desire to maintain food traditions, knowledge and practices as well as the spiritual values attached to the food that comes from the fields. The following action plan contains that spirit of good living.

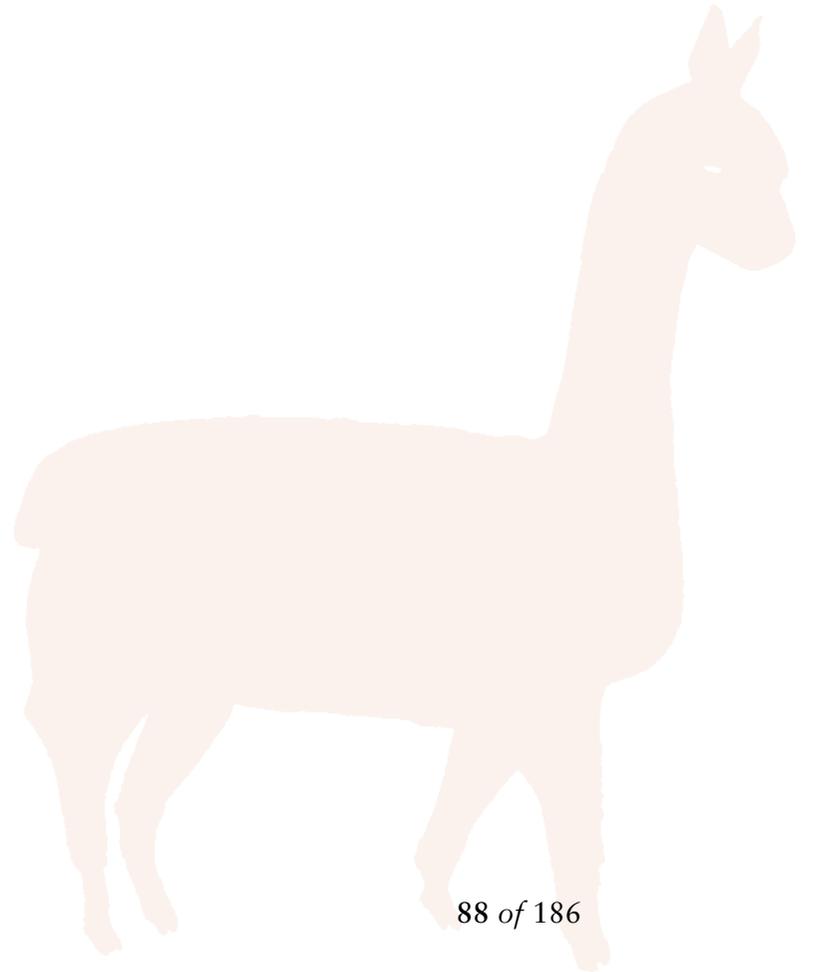


- Maintaining seed diversity as well as the diversity of animal races that are the basis of daily livelihood.
- Cultivating the fields with organic manure.
- Recuperating and transmitting to the children the wisdom of working in the fields as well as the ritual cycles.
- Valuing food that comes from the fields as well as from the wild and consuming them in *quispiño*, *aku*, *firi*, *chaqo*, and other customary dishes.
- Maintaining the purity of water sources, keeping them free of contamination because they are for human and animal consumption alike, that the Sacred Mountains provide as long as humans keep pure water flowing on the earth.

- Recuperar la ritualidad / crianzas.
- Valorar nuestros alimentos / chacra / animales.
- Volver a comer los alimentos silvestres.







## Summary of the concept of Food Sovereignty

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Dominant model</i>	<i>Food Sovereignty Model</i>	<i>Andean Perspective</i>
Production priority	Agroexports	Food for local markets	First is food for the family, then the surplus is for the local market or for barter, which strengthens the local dynamics: llama caravans. Consumption of the harvest from the fields complemented by industrial goods
Crop prices	“What the market dictates” (leave intact mechanisms that enforce low prices)	Fair prices that cover costs of production and allow farmers and farmworkers a life with dignity	Priority on complementarity, exchange of products, spirituality and knowledge between families, within the community and region
Market access	Access to foreign markets	Access to local markets; an end to the displacement of farmers from their own markets by agribusiness	Barter - exchange of products from different ecological zones and an opportunity to gain trust with different people
Subsidies	While prohibited in the Third World, many subsidies are allowed in the US and Europe — but are paid only to the largest farmers	Subsidies that do not damage other countries (via dumping) are okay; i.e., grant subsidies only to family farmers, for direct marketing, price/ income support, soil conservation, conversion to sustainable farming, research, etc.	Healthy and nutritious food crops are sold by the peasants at low cost to the urban population. The state should recognise their contribution to society.
Food	Chiefly a commodity; in practice, this means processed, contaminated food that is full of fat, sugar, high fructose corn syrup, and toxic residues	A human right: specifically, should be healthy, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and locally produced	Is a person and the weft of life
Being able to produce	An option for the economically efficient	A right of rural peoples	Requires knowledge or wisdom of nurturing nature, harmony with nature, deities and cultivating biodiversity

## Summary of the concept of Food Sovereignty

Hunger	Due to low productivity	A problem of access and distribution; due to poverty and inequality	Exists mostly in cities, in rural areas only affects families without land, those who eat from the field to the table without storing. Also families who sell all their harvest to the market and have to buy food. Traditional storage enables a supply of food over years.
Food security	Achieved by importing food from where it is cheapest	Greatest when food production is in the hands of the hungry, or when food is produced locally	We achieve food security by cultivating agro-biodiversity and consuming our local crops. Only export if we have surplus.
Control over productive resources (land, water, forests)	Privatized	Local; community controlled	Is the Pacha (animals, mountains, stones, water, plants, rain, frost...), all what surrounds and nurtures us.
Access to land	Via the market	Via genuine agrarian reform; without access to land, the rest is meaningless	Respect for Mother Earth (Pachamama) and the territory of the peasant communities. The earth is a source of life for peasant families.
Seeds	A patentable commodity	A common heritage of humanity, held in trust by rural communities and cultures; “no patents on life”	Is life, food, regenerating life, the mother which requires love and respect (ritual).
Rural credit and investment	From private banks and corporations	From the public sector; designed to support family agriculture	Not used in the family agriculture, is only for festivals or to buy appliances. Creates bad feelings and menaces peasant families due to the bank guarantees (land).

## Summary of the concept of Food Sovereignty

Dumping	Not an issue	Must be prohibited	Peasant families do not measure their production costs but see their crops as a medium to share with other families, relatives, (exchange potatoes or corn with wool, meat, fish or fruit).
Monopoly	Not an issue	The root of most problems; monopolies must be broken up	Andean peasant society is based on diversity and reciprocity.
Genetically modified organisms (GMOs)	The wave of the future	Bad for health and the environment; an unnecessary technology	Not natural and horrible.
Farming technology	Industrial, monoculture, chemical-intensive; uses GMOs	Agroecological, sustainable farming methods, no GMOs	Based on wisdom, signs, secrets.
Farmers	Anachronisms; the inefficient will disappear	Guardians of culture and crop germplasm; stewards of productive resources; repositories of knowledge; internal market and building block of broad-based, inclusive economic development	Are the rural families, which nurture life in reciprocity and complementary with the natural commons of deities, nature, seeds.
Urban consumers	Workers to be paid as little as possible	Need living wages	They should respect, value and consume healthy products, grown by the local communities.
Alternatives: different worlds in this world, bio-cultural diversity	Not possible/not of interest	Possible and amply demonstrated	Many worlds in this world, the diversity of cultures is life.

Source: Based on Rosset, 2003 and the perspectives of the PASA networks of wise people.