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Bolivian Quinoa in the context of globalization

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Abstract

The Bolivian quinoa has transformed from being a domestic food supply to being introduced to the global market. This transformation of the market has contributed to several social changes in the local society in the Altiplano, Bolivia, where quinoa has an ancient history of cultivation and consumption. By examining what determinant actors and underlying incitements that have contributed to the introduction of Bolivian quinoa to the global market, as well as to what extent it has led to social change, the concept of globalization is scrutinized. The study is conducted through a qualitative literature review of both academic articles and news from daily media of Bolivian and international origin. Material from the actors operating at the Bolivian quinoa arena are also included. The interpretation of theories considering globalization and the perception of local agency in comparison to global forces are conducted in the aim of understand the phenomenon. The findings of the study shows how globalization affects the local population and society in different directions dependent on the amount of connectedness to other places that is obtained. In the initial phase when a local commodity is introduced to the global market it is shown that the local agency is determinant on global forces and the local inherits dependency and vulnerability towards the global. When the connectedness to other places increases and stabilizes, it is possible to see how the local agency strengthens in the context of globalization.

Keywords

Quinoa, Bolivia, Altiplano, globalization, social change, local agency, local vulnerability.

Words: 17578.

Abbreviations

ANAPQUI Asociación Nacional de Productores de Quinoa (National Association of Quinoa Producers)

BCE Before Common Era

CABOLQUI Cámara boliviana de exportadores de quinoa y productos orgánicos (Bolivian Chamber of Exporters of quinoa and organic products)

FAO Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations

FAOSTAT Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations Statistic Division

GDP Gross Domestic Product

HDI Human Development Index

IFAD International Fund of Agricultural Development

IYQ International Year of Quinoa

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

WTO World Trade Organization

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Introduction

Globalization is a concept that we constantly are reminded of in our everyday life. The increasing connectedness between places all around the world are changing our perceptions of both place and space. The globalization of the market, with the increased international interdependence, has contributed to new conditions at the world market, which has led to changed ways of production and distribution of commodities.

In conjunction with globalization of the market, an increasing variety of commodities have been accessible for many participating countries. In the western industrialized world, there has been an increasing interest in *super foods* in recent years. There is a demand of groceries of high nutrient value, and new high quality nutrient food supply has been introduced to the market. One of these recently discovered *super foods* is the Andean grain crop quinoa. Besides being introduced as a *super food* it has also been suggested to be a possible solution to end world hunger.

In a human geographical perspective, it is interesting to examine how the process of globalization is proceeding in the context of quinoa being introduced on the global market and how it affects the local population and society in the geographical area where quinoa is originally produced.

Aim and research question

The objective of the thesis is to examine how globalization is presented in the context of the introduction of quinoa at the world market. In contribution, the thesis will examine what consequences it has brought, with focus on the local population and society in the quinoa producing areas, by examine the relations of agency between the local and global. The ambition is to reach for inputs concerning the future production and distribution of quinoa that could be beneficial for the local population and society.

The research questions to guide the study are:

- *What actors have been determinant in the process when Bolivian quinoa has been introduced to the global market?*
- *Due to what underlying incentives have the local population and society in the quinoa producing areas been affected in terms of social change in the context of Bolivian quinoa becoming a global trade commodity?*
- *How is the local agency of the Bolivian society and population perceived in relation to the global, in the process of Bolivian quinoa becoming a global trade commodity?*

Formulation of the problem

The introduction of the Bolivian quinoa at the international market, and the identification of quinoa as a *super food*, have contributed to an awareness of its great nutritious value and health benefits worldwide. Bolivian Quinoa has transformed from being a domestically produced and consumed food supply, to becoming international circumscribed and accessible. What is of interest to examine is how the local society and population in the quinoa producing areas are affected of this transformation. By examining how globalization is perceived in the context of Bolivian quinoa being introduced to the world market, and what local outcomes globalization implies for the Bolivian population and society, a better understanding of the process of globalization will be received.

Delimitation and definitions

The geographical delimitation will be demonstrated through a strict focus on the Altiplano area in Bolivia. The explanation of the chosen area is due to the high localization of quinoa production both historically and today (Mujica et al., 2001). When referring to the local, I will further on refer to the society and population in the Altiplano area. When referring to the global or international market, I will in this study refer to the economic market outside of Bolivia introduced by the forces of globalization. Or even more simplified; the global and international economic market refers to the economic market of trade outside of Bolivia, which in contribution to globalization has interconnected with the domestic market in Bolivia.

The concept of agency is recurrent through this study. The definition of the concept will in the following study refer to the ability to conduct an action with a particular effect, based on own desires and authority.

Even though the concept of globalization in the thesis merely considering economic aspects such as trade, the thesis will not focus on the economic outcomes in the first place. It will rather concentrate on the social and human outcomes of economic globalization, with emphasis on the human beings in the local society in the area of production. Hence it will not put much effort on examining the consumers at the global market and their outcomes and benefits of globalization or access to quinoa.

The thesis will examine what actors there are in the context of quinoa in the globalized world. Though, less focus will be put on investigating each actor and its contributions to the production and trade of quinoa, but rather scrutinize how they are represented in the articles considering quinoa in the international context. Furthermore, those actors that have been frequently occurring in the chosen material, have also been considered as important players in the context

of globalization in the thesis. Consequently, I have considered it justified to put more focus on these identified actors since they are assumed to have a great contribution to the theme of the thesis. To make this limitation is essential, since it is in line with the aim and research questions, but also considering the limited extent of time and material. Limitations are also made due to favoring and enabling to put focus on certain aspects, such as in this case is to examine how social outcomes are related to the phenomenon.

Theoretical framework

The thesis is based on two theories which are considered to bring guidance and support in the process of examining the problem that is previously formulated in the thesis. The choices of theories are based on the predominated desire to understand how globalization is conceptualized in a geographical and social approach, and moreover how it effects local communities and population. The usage of two theories will enhance the understanding of the phenomenon, since they will contribute with different angles of the theme.

Development and Social Change. A Global Perspective

Philip McMichael has been examining the concept of globalization of today, and its related concepts of development and social change enhanced by globalization. According to McMichael, the main conflict in the force of globalization is the conflict between profit and meaning. When talking about profit, McMichael is referring to the economic globalization which is gaining many enhancing voices in the debate considering development. The other counterpoint is, according to McMichael, the enhancement of meaning in the debate considering development and globalization. In this sense, meaning is defined as to preserve the cultural value in the proceeding force of globalization in the world (McMichael, 2004:xxvi).

McMichael (2004) is demonstrating how the global marketplace of today is binding us all together, and turning us into one unit. He is describing how the consumption of commodities today is interconnecting places, people and resources, since we all participate in the global process that links us all together due to the sources of commodities. Even though consumption has been perceived as an individual act, it is according to McMichael, a fundamentally social and environmental process (McMichael, 2004:xxviii ff).

Historically, the assumptions and definitions of development and globalization have redesigned over and over again due to the changing context we are living in. McMichael is arguing for a new era in this debate which is considered as taking place today. He calls it the globalization project. By calling globalization a project, he subscribes the political dimensions of

globalization. McMichael points out that only one fifth of the world population is included in the globalized discourse, and therefore it would be legitimated to call globalization a political project since it requires political acts to proceeding the process. For example, the globalization agenda of today is merely about free markets, and consequently implies the political act of freeing markets. Subsequently, markets are no natural structures, but needs to be constructed and further on be accepted as real and produced. When McMichael is introducing the concept of the globalization project, he is describing that the intentions of the concept is to overcome the limits of the development project by political interventions. The development project is referring to what McMichael is calling the earlier present perception and agenda of development, which definite political agenda was the nation state. In conjunction with the progress of the globalization project, the limitations were erased and became more flexible to alternative arenas, such as macro regions, communities, cities, fair trade networks and international corporate coalitions (McMichael, 2004:154). According to this shift of project thinking from development to globalization, an example of adjustment is clear: the national sovereignty is declining since economic nationalism is seen as it limits development by obstructed transnational mobility of money, goods and companies in service of effective provision of global resources. As a consequence, powerful corporate players in the world market and multilateral institutions are those whom are the highly important actors of the development agenda (McMichael, 2004:153 ff.).

One big player at the world market, and therefore having much impact on the development agenda, is the multilateral institution WTO. The agenda of WTO has had as main focus to enhance trade liberalization, with additional implementations of compromising laws and regulations of the market that will go beyond and restructuring the nation-state system. WTO assume that development is enhanced by trade liberalization, since they observe the increasing power of international economy. By implementing their agenda, by linking together countries at different levels of development, they assume to prevent the backdrop of globalization (McMichael, 2004:153 ff.).

As a conclusion, the globalization project indicates a new alternative way of organizing economic growth which is corresponding to the growing scale and power of international corporations and banks. The new global regulatory system is subordinating states and social protection, in favor of enhancing the financial credit protection. Since the assumption of the globalization project is to compete at the international market, all states are merely forced to prioritize their international engagement at the market in terms of upgrading financial and

commercial export, and consequently downgrade social functions such as subsidizing health, education, food prices, producer credits and other social services. To proceed this process of globalization as a project, there are international institutions and organizations operating on the international arena, to enhance the liberalization of the market, through for example structural adjustment programs. Alongside with high achieved benefits for prosperous regions, there are oppositional outcomes of the globalization project. When structural adjustment programs requires reductions in welfare and infrastructure in countries where governments are of great debt, in favor for liberalization of trade, deregulation of protective laws regarding foreign investment, trade policy and national banking, the inequalities are deepening even more. McMichael is uncovering the unpleasant outcomes of globalization caused by seeing and implementing the globalization project homogenously. McMichael (2004) claims that the consequences of globalization are not universal, since the outcomes are cohering with the role a community, region, population or nation-state has in the global economy. The globalization project is offering new forms of authority and disciplines according to the laws of the market. The governance functions of the globalization project are performed by global institutions, such as WTO, or by national institutions which aim to managing the global marketplace within their territories (McMichael, 2004:153).

McMichael (2004) is making some assumptions about global networks in the context of today. He is presuming the increasing interdependence among people, communities and nations in the world, and considers consumption defined as consuming images as well as material and labor derived from many origins in the global marketplace. Since actions in our everyday life is globally connected, we are dependent on not just close places and nation-states, but also far away events in time and space. According to the interdependence across the globe, a new context of the market is emerging. McMichael is pointing out the global food industry as a great example since fruits and vegetables, for instance, are grown and produced in conjunction with corporate contracts by farmers and agricultural laborers around the world. The firms are forces to remain flexible according to the conditions at the world market, so they can be a competitive actor internationally. As a consequence of globalization of the market McMichael (2004) is pointing out the farmers to be limited by the predefined needs of the firm. Since the firms are seeking to keep the costs down, it is a contradiction between a desire of declining costs and keeping up good quality and consistency for the farmers. The farmers are dependent on the requirements of the firms, which are defined in accordance to satisfy the consumers worldwide. As a result, the working situation of the farmers is insecure, and their performance is shaped by

requirements on the global market. Additionally, the mentioned increasing interdependence brings global markets as shapers of both the work and livelihoods of communities across the world (McMichael, 2004:xxx).

The social web of the global market is a phenomenon that McMichael (2004) is pointing out as fundamental to create awareness of. McMichael (2004) announces that globalization is experienced locally, hence the perception of globalization in commodities somewhat can be difficult to understand. The importance of the awareness is due to three standpoints according to McMichael: 1, receive an understanding of changes in society is simultaneously understanding it globally. 2, when ignoring contributions of global processes to political and economic instability brings misinterpretations of social upheavals. 3, the importance of including world-scale social transformations and the stress on natural resources is fundamental when creating an understanding of the consequences of disturbances in the complex biosphere of today. When an awareness and contribution to these standpoints are achieved, one can go further on examine how social links are engaged in the globalized world. Social links can be identified between consumers and producers through commodities across space, but that is just one perception of it. Since everything intermingles in our globalized world, each and every action is interconnected with one another in some sense. McMichael states that the more links that are made, the more interdependent the destiny of labors, consumers and producers across the world. To visualize this phenomenon, one can see how a new food preference in one part of the world is intensifying the agricultural export somewhere else in the world. Additionally, McMichael is saying that the vulnerability of the suppliers is increasing when the affluent consumers requires higher demand of global food supplies, since the following consequence is a reduction of fresh, healthy and local food universally. Other crucial aspect to notice when a local market is entering the global market is the issue of security for the local community. McMichael admits how an intensification of interconnectedness can bring security, but only in a limited sphere of time. The vulnerability of the community is dependent on more competitive producers somewhere else, due to comparative advantages such as land fertility and costs which are easily accessible when firms are movable. Another aspect that causes vulnerability for the local community that McMichael pronouncing is the displacement of local cultures. When a mixed economy is reshaping in line with the global demand, and converts to a more planned economy, the local culture of the community is losing value. In that sense, the economic priorities of the nation may be affected by the global market, and additionally also the resource base of the nation as well as of the world since we all intermingle (McMichael, 2004:xxxv).

McMichael interests himself for the dimensions of social change in conjunction with the global marketplace. He is scrutinizing how the changes in structures and rhythms of the global marketplace is connecting people and what potentials it brings for development across the world. With his assumptions considering an increasing interconnectedness in three dimensions one can assume how the constant reorganization of the global market is effecting the livelihood and life trajectories of all world citizens. The three dimensions of interconnectedness that McMichael defines are: 1, the integration of consumer and producer across space, as a result of commodities intersects political boundaries. 2, new perceptions of time are introduced as a consequence of spatial integration is taking place when the global market is connected to physically separated communities. And ultimately as a last and concluding step; 3, when the integration of space and time of the global market in a communities has occurred, the outcomes for these communities are an increasingly subjectivity to decisions made by powerful agencies at the market, such as firms, governments and commodity or currency speculators (McMichael, 2004:xxxvii).

As a response to the globalization project that is discussed by McMichael as the current perception and strategy of the status of the internationalized world of today, there have arisen several countermovements. These social movements are, according to McMichael, founded because of an underlying dissatisfaction of developmentalism and the organization of the impacts of globalization. Therefore these movements seeks for a different strategy and view of globalization and particularly of development. By enhancing the social values, including both cultural and ecological aspects, their attempts are mainly to reframe development and put more focus on the protection of human rights and social welfare. The crucial desire for these kinds of countermovements is to break free from, and eliminate, the homogenizing and disempowering dynamics caused by the globalization project, in favor for create a new form of sustainable environment with respect to social life. To be able to implement these new settings, the notion is to establish them through new forms of associative politics. McMichael is further on talking about the increased popularity of NGOs as a consequence of a profounder grievance of the globalization project of today. Participants in countermovements such as NGOs are in general people and communities whom have been left behind in the project of globalization. McMichael merely calls it a phase of NGOization, since he notice how national governments and international institutions loses their legitimacy in exchange for the prosperity and meaning of civil society. The presumption is that NGOs are taking their responsibility of their participants by representing them and meeting their needs in their own context (McMichael,

2004:281). The human sustainability redefined in the rethinking of development is taken less into account the economic growth as a contributing factor to development, and instead enhancing the environmental conservation (McMichael, 2004:307).

Geographies of Responsibility

Massey (2004) is in her theory Geographies of responsibility re-conceptualizing the definitions of space and place, and put it in relation to a more globalized discourse of today. The theory is build up on relational thoughts regarding identity, place and space and the connectedness in between these scales. When doing so, one is able to examine the relationship between identity and responsibility and prove how politics is closely connected to space and place. The essential in the argumentation of Massey is how identities are relationally constructed in contribution to spatial circumstances (Massey, 2004:5). Massey sees a re-conceptualization of place and its politics as necessary due to the globalized circumstances of today. She is therefore promoting to think in terms of flows and networks, which adjusts the politics of place in conjunction to the setting of globalization. Proximity is of importance to negotiate, since the awareness of connectedness is implied. Hence, the politics of place are not eliminated, but altered to our current settings (Massey, 2004: 6).

By enhancing identity as a relational outcome, there are several aspects to be aware of as being a part of the shaping process. Initially, identity is formed and dependent on the geography of the relations it is connected to. When analyzing these geographies, one is recognizing a multiple set of connectedness which each has a crucial impact on the formation of the identity. For instance, if one is talking about an identity of a place, the formation of the identity is dependent on how the place is relationally connected to other geographies and then obtains its identity based on these relationships. Massey is further more talking about both the political and social responsibility for these relational geographies (Massey, 2004: 6).

Massey is questioning the earlier assumptions of the oppositions between place and space, since she finds it both politically problematic to derive these assumptions, and intellectually untenable. In earlier theoretical approaches, place has been recognized as something much more meaningful than space. For example, Edward S. Casey has been stated that “To live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know the place one is in” (Casey, 1996, in Massey, 2004:7). Additionally, the work of Carter, Donald and Squires (1993) that Massey is referring to is describing place as a concept of space, hence place has been ascribed with a meaning. The definition of local place has been presented in association with words such as lived, everyday,

real and grounded. Meanwhile, the perception of space is seen as something more abstract and elusive (Massey 2004: 7).

Massey is questioning the preconceived universalizing statements these kind of conceptualizing made by Casey or Carter, Donald and Squires are attributing in terms of the significance of place. Initially the production of differentiation is of main concern for Massey in these previous mentioned statements. Since place often is claimed to be the key source of where identity is rooted and developed, it is crucial to examine how the construction of identity is related to place. There are many observations of historical actions which can be taken as examples of this. Eventually, combats over territories, struggles of landownership etc. are empirical examples of how places are of great importance in terms of a struggle of autonomy and self-determination, and enhances the construction, and reconstruction, of identities and cultures. In this sense, one is not exclusively talking about individual identities, but also considering the emergence and development of cultures among populations. Massey is arguing for a relational construction of identity in conjunction to space, and where place is the site of negotiation. With this thoughts in mind, it is viable that a universalizing of place, which implies a homogenous identity, is contradicted since place is fluid and changeable. Hence, the relationship between place and identity is of great importance, although it is dependent on how they are conceptualized. What Massey is doing in her theory is to show how space is relational, by explaining how the conception of the abstract space outside of the lived place, is vague to posit. Massey claims that it is a simplification to draw lines and define to what extent limitations ones' grounded daily life is lived. She enhances the perception that ones' habitual actions are engaged at a distance. With this said, Massey (2004:7) is not neglecting the perception of place as grounded, concrete and real, but rather enhances that space is so too.

Massey is through her theory showing how the perception of space in the globalized world of today is highly grounded and embodied, and therefore also is of great importance and meaningful to both the construction of identities and places. Massey exemplifies space as embodied by the globalization finance and economic flows of today. She argues for these global phenomena as grounded since they too have a local setting, in terms of always being grounded in a local place. Massey is therefore questioning if there is any possibility whether a phenomenon can be global without being local. Certainly, there has been debates considering the level of meaningfulness in contribution to spatial scale, since one is perceiving a different relation to the distant. Massey is arguing for the global space as a consequence and summary of connections, relations, embodiments and practices that is constantly happening in everyday

life. Space is therefore not the outside of place, since space is continuously grounded through everyday action and utterly occurring. Hence, the difficulties of similar meaningfulness for individual are remaining, Massey is questioning how groundedness can imply meaningfulness to everyone (Massey, 2004:8).

To overcome the barriers of a vaguer perception of meaningfulness to geographies at a distance by individuals, Massey is implying a new direction of thinking which is considering the sense of politics to a place should in a sense not deprive the meaning of close connections, practices and meaning, but also go beyond it and improve the mindset (Massey, 2004:9).

As earlier stated, the perception of responsibility is derived from those relations which identity is constructed. One additional aspect when considering responsibility is the temporal dimension. Massey is questioning if the implementation of the temporal aspect is of relevance, and enhances the argument that “our past continuous in our present”. The theory is putting the temporal aspect in relation to the spatial one, since our “here” is nearly associated and constructed by our distant. Massey is making reflections considering that if the temporal distance would be spatial and not just considered as temporal, the outcome should be that a greater force of responsibility would be awakened since one would feel a greater sense of commitment to do something about it (Massey, 2004:10).

Massey is referring to Gatens and Lloyd and their work of reassessing the work of Spinoza considering cultural self-understanding in the present. Massey is especially interested in the awareness of the places within globalization created by the conditions of existence. What Massey is especially pointing out the referring to the work of Gatens and Lloyd are how they consider the relational impacts of identity as the crucial cause to the concept of responsibility. A summarization of the conclusion by Massey based on the work of Gatens and Lloyd follows:

“We are responsible to areas beyond the bounds of place not because of what we have done, but because of what we are”.

(Massey, 2004:16).

In conjunction there is a stark admittance to how place can be a part of a political project, hence there are many aspects incorporated in place since it is relational. A quotation by Massey explains the essential in the perception of place in the sense of political project:

“Certainly, place can be a political project, as Gibson-Graham put it, but a real recognition of the relationally of space points to a politics of connectivity and politics whose relation to globalization will vary dramatically from place to place”.

(Massey 2004: 17).

A crucial point in the theory by Massey is to enhance the sources of differentiation between places. Since the theory is build up upon the perception of relational connectedness, these are the fundamental explanation to the differentiation. According to the contrasting variation between different places in the world in terms of patterns and power of engaged relational geographies of connectivity, it is viable to discover more and less entangled places in the sphere of globalization (Massey, 2004:12). Since the local and places are argued to be the sources of the wider constituted global, the local is a holder of agency. Hence, the possibility for local politics to challenge capitalist globalization is of varying power due to the relational connections it is adhere of (Massey, 2004:13).

Massey is arguing that the issue of putting the local in contrast to the global maintains the perception of the good and bad in the discussion of globalization and its determinant outcomes. Instead she continues to enhance its relational connections where the global is an outcome of the local and therefore is dependent on one another. When doing so, one cannot blame all local discontents on global forces, since the relational geographies has a crucial impact of the creation of the global (Massey, 2014:14).

Globalization, especially in economic terms, is having a great importance in the conceptualizing of local development. Hence, the perception of global is crucial when considering development. If one is having the view of global as an abstract, elusive phenomenon and something that is happening “up there”, the conclusion of development is seen as an outcome of a successful local project caused by forces of globalization. In contrast, if having the perception of globalization as an outcome of local agency, development can be seen as a consequence of empowerment of the local caused by local forces in relation to globalization (Massey, 2004:14).

Interpretation of the theories

The interpretation of the theories in this thesis is a fundamental building block in the analysis of the examined theme of the thesis. Therefore, it is vital to announce how these two theories have been understood, how they will be used and in what purpose.

The theories by McMichael (2004) and Massey (2004) are understood as two independent mindsets of globalization and its outcomes. Both theories are arguing for a proceeding process of globalization where connectedness in both time and space are apparent. This perception leads to an awareness of the global appearance in the local, and vice versa. What separates these two theories though, is how they are considering the outcomes of globalization, connectedness and determinant factors.

In accordance with the thoughts introduced by McMichael (2004) the local outcomes of globalization is caused by external forces, since the power of globalization exceeds the power of the local. Given this perception, social change is caused by structures implemented by globalization. Additionally, what McMichael (2004) states implies that the more connectedness a place, community or nation etc. is holding, the more interdependent it becomes to its share of links. This creates, according to McMichael (2004), a local vulnerability to global forces.

In contrast, Massey (2004) is in her theory Geographies of responsibility re-conceptualizing place and space in accordance to how identities are relational constructed. This leads to the perception that globalization is an outcome of the local. Given these assumptions by Massey (2004), local responsibility of globalization and its outcomes are fundamental. As a consequence, the local enlarges its international power and agency when the connectedness and network of links for a place, community or population etc. expands to the surrounding international spheres.

Methodological approach

Inductive approach and interpretative stance

The relationship between theory and research in the study is important to declare, since it shows how the study was conducted. This thesis has an inductive approach which implies that theories are to be drawn of the outcomes of the research according to Bryman (2012:111). By using an inductive approach, I will be able to delve into the material of the chosen theme of the thesis, and receiving a perception of the phenomenon without being predetermined by pre-chosen theories.

The underlying epistemology of this study is of an interpretive stance. The fundamental when using an interpretive stance is to put emphasis on *understanding*, in terms of scrutinizing and make interpretations based on theories, of the actual social action (Bryman, 2012:28-30). According to Bryman, (2012:110) is the aim for interpretative researchers to enrich the human discourse with new knowledge of the chosen topic. With this said, the aim of my study is not to achieve any solutions of the problem, but rather to understand the phenomenon in itself. Bryman (2012) describes how an interpretative stance makes the process and study more flexible and adaptable to new findings that were not predetermined by the knowledge of the researcher. Therefore it is possible that the study can change directions, if new issues of the theme is discovered after the chosen material have been analyzed (Bryman, 2012:111). Since my own pre-knowledge of the chosen topic Quinoa and globalization was limited, but I had a genuine interest in examining the phenomenon, I found it suitable to use an interpretative

stance. That enabled me to receive a broader understanding of the phenomenon, and then I could later on be delving into and examine furthermore the aspects of the chosen topics which I found were the most interesting to study.

Qualitative literature review

The study of the chosen phenomenon will be made through a qualitative literature review, since the aim is to examine the area of interest by reading and analyzing already produced material of the theme. According to Bryman (2012) it is of high relevance to initially go through the already produced material in the considering area of the study to receive a deeper understanding of the context; what has already been examined in the area of interest, what approaches and methods have been used, are there any significant controversies in the earlier field of studies, and what relevant concepts and theories that have been used. Additionally, Bryman (2012:98) proclaims that a significant aspect to be aware of when doing a literature review is whether there are any unanswered questions in the considering area of interest. If so, that can be of great guidance when delving into the area since there is a lack that could be of interest to fulfill (Bryman, 2012:98). When conducting the qualitative literature review in this study, I found out that there were many studies made in the themes of agriculture, biology and medicine. These studies were interesting to read, but in a human geographical perspective, I found an absence in how globalization was presented, and how place and space was conceptualized in the context of it.

The implementation of a qualitative literature review can be done through different techniques. According to Bryman (2012) there are two main approaches which are called systematic review and narrative review. The narrative review, which is used in this study, is well conducted in combination with a qualitative research with an interpretative stance according to Bryman (2012:111), since the outcomes and structure of the study is flexible. If using a systematic approach instead, it is difficult to change directions and be flexible as a researcher since it is conducted on a strict plan that is predetermined (Bryman, 2012:111), and that is why I did not used a systematic approach. This kind of methodological approach that is used in this thesis can seem to be rather unspecified due to its vague guidelines. Hence, according to Bryman (2012:111) that is necessarily since the essential in these kinds of studies is that one will not in advance know what outcomes that will be achieved, and therefore is the wide range fundamental.

Trustworthiness

When doing a qualitative research it is important to consider its trustworthiness to strengthen its quality. In comparison with a quantitative research, it is rather complicated to define the validity and reliability of a qualitative research since the aim of the qualitative research is not to evaluate or measure anything (Bryman, 2012:389). Bryman (2012) presents four criteria in the issue of trustworthiness which are important to comply in qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In the criteria of credibility, I consider my research is adhering to its requirements since my findings have been consolidated with lectors in the current topic of globalization and social change. Although, as Bryman (2012:390) declares, there are always different aspects of a social reality, and my study is therefore just one of these accounts even though I have been consolidating with others who have justified my research. The criteria of transferability is met since I have consolidated my delimitations and given a thorough presentation of the background of the studied phenomenon, such as the state of geographical setting, history and present actions. In the issue of dependability, which is described as an auditing approach, entails a well conducted structure, with complete information of all steps in the research presented and accessible for the reader (Bryman, 2012:392). This criteria has not come to be that popular, according to Bryman (2012:392), since a qualitative research includes a wide range of work that has been conducted. Although, with these conditions stated, I have intended to consolidate all my taken steps in the process of research by presenting them in both the methodology chapter and in the narrative writings. The methodology part is re-written several times to adapt to the process to be accurately presented and corresponding to the study. The fourth criteria of trustworthiness is confirmability, which is described by Bryman (2012:392-393) as met when the researcher has conducted the study with good faith, without letting theoretical predispositions and personal values overtake the study. To meet this requirement, I have conducted the study by not having set a theoretical framework in advance, which enabled me to examine the phenomenon without any preconceptions. Additionally, the argumentations and statements that are presented, are in a wide range presented and considered in different directions and aspects, which indicates that my own thoughts are not a leading source.

Selection of material

A combination of academic studies and articles from the daily news media have been the building blocks of the material. By including a wide range of different sources, I found my material to be comprehensive. The articles from the daily media are used since I found them

contributing with different angles on the phenomenon than the academic material. Additionally, the material found in the daily media are more up to date, and contributes with the latest news in the field. These articles are both of international and Bolivian origin, and by origin I consider in what country the newspaper or journal is established when it was initially published. The international media articles are mainly from the US, which I consider contributes with an important angle due to their leading import rates of Bolivian quinoa internationally. To combine articles of different origin provides with a broader understanding of the examined phenomenon.

The literature review has been conducted through continuously implemented notes taken for each written material. Even though I did not do a systematic review, I organized my material by grouping the articles and material based on geographical origin, published date and type of text. I have been later on putting them in relation to key concepts and categories such as: Quinoa, Bolivia, Altiplano, globalization, social change, local agency, local vulnerability. Thereby, I considered that I received a well conducted overview of my material, which made me able to analyze my material and synthesize the results.

Presentation of material

In my choice of material I have taken in consideration, as mentioned above, in what circumstances and context they are produced. Both what the underlying objective is for the material to be produced, but also of whom the material is produced and what implications that can cause. By presenting my material and critically scrutinize it, I will demonstrate the trustworthiness of my choices of material in the thesis.

The academic articles used in the study are signed by Mujica et al. (2001) and Jacobsen (2012). These articles are fundamental in the background of the study, since they have contributed with knowledge considering the phenomenon of quinoa being introduced at the global market. Jacobsen is professor at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, and is well known in the sphere of agriculture development, crop science, in particular in the setting of South America. Jacobsen is well reputed in the academic writings considering quinoa. The editors and main authors of *Quinoa (Chenopodium quinoa Willd.): Ancestral Cultivo Andino, Alimento del Presente y Futuro* (Mujica et al. 2011) are Mujica, Jacobsen, Izquierdo and Marathee. All of them are considered to have a knowledge in the theme of quinoa since they are having high positions in the sphere of agriculture development in South America. In addition, the material is produced in collaboration with FAO, The International Potato Center and the National

Agrarian University of Molina, which I consider contributes to its trustworthiness since several professors and institutions have collaborated to produce the material.

Material from FAO are used in the background and empirical part of the thesis. Since FAO is an international organization funded by the UN (FAO, 2014a), I consider it important to include their material and work since they are a great actor on the international arena. A wide range of material related to the thesis is produced in contribution with FAO, and it is of crucial value to implement. Furthermore Bolivia is a member of FAO, and therefore I consider it to be a comprehensive source to use. Although, I am aware of their own subjectivity, and their material is therefore conducted with carefulness to biases.

The study is using material produced in relation to the International Year of Quinoa. I consider the implementation of IYQ as an important contribution in the process of an expanded international market of quinoa. Therefore, it is interesting to include the material to the thesis, with sources produced by its founder as well as other actors in the area. The founder of IYQ is FAO, and the material obtained by them is taken in great consideration of its subjectivity. I consider it is important to include material produced by FAO, even if it is a subjective source to use, since how they are representing both IYQ and the underlying objectives of the implementation will contribute with their angle of the examined phenomenon of the thesis.

To give the discussion of the thesis more substance and wider perspectives to analyze, I used articles published in daily news media. The origins of the articles are of both domestic and international sources. All of the used articles in the thesis are scrutinized in terms of where it was published, the legitimacy of the publisher and its establishment in society. As far as it was possible, I looked up the authors of the articles in terms of what they previously have been published, origin and work position. Hence, the articles of Bolivian origin were seldom signed by an author. Therefore, to be as consistent as possible in the thesis, but without losing trustworthiness, I have chosen to refer to the responsible news agency of the Bolivian articles in the study and the list of references. The selection of both Bolivian and international articles are made due to its relevance in the chosen topic of the thesis, but also in contribution with their repetitiveness of appearance in other international articles referring to them.

The international articles which are conducted in the study are having their origin in well-known and established news media: The Guardian (Collyns, 2013; Philpott, 2013), Reuters (Palencia, 2011), Fox News (2011), Independent (Stocker, 2013), New York Times (Romero & Shahriari, 2011) and Time (Friedman-Rudovsky, 2012). The article signed by Kerssen (2013b) was

published in Slate, which I never before have been in contact with. Although, since Kerssen is a researcher in the theme of food sovereignty, and well-known in the academic sphere due to her research in collaboration with a range of universities, I consider the use of her produced material as trustworthy. The other mentioned international sources of articles is conducted through profound consideration and reflection, since they are produced in another geographical area, with their own relation to the phenomenon. Therefore, these articles could include many biases. Although, I found them contributing with an important input on the phenomenon, and since I later on will examine them with both academic writings and articles from Bolivian daily news media, I consider them justified to include.

The Bolivian articles from the daily news media used in the study are: EA Boliviana (2013a;b;c), Economía Boliviana (2014a;b;c;d;e), Hoy Bolivia (2014), La Razón (2012), Los Tiempos (2014) and Página Siete (2014). They are of great relevance in the understanding of the phenomenon, since they are contributing with the Bolivian perception of it. Although, I am aware of that the chosen material is just a hint of a range of different angles and perceptions recurrent in the Bolivian society. The articles used in the thesis are of different origin, but mainly from media with an economic approach. In combination with the above stated argument of selection considering repetitiveness and relevance, I find these articles important to incorporate in the study.

Material from different actors in the theme of quinoa production and trade which are used in the study are: ANAPQUI (2014a;b), CABOLQUI (2015a;b;c), Alter Eco (2015a:b), Fairtrade (2011;2015a). I am aware of their own subjectivity and that their own interest is to present themselves in a good manner. Although, these material are used to receive a wider overview of what actors are operating in the arena of quinoa production and trade, and are therefore mostly used as complementary information with the aim of presenting the existence of the organizations and actors.

Hermeneutic

When doing the text review and analysis a relevant concept to have in mind is the hermeneutic, also known as the text interpretation. To be able to analyze the material one must carefully think of the underlying objectives, circumstances and context of the produced material. There are several aspects that influence the concerned material which must be taken in consideration when scrutinizing it. For example, a reflection of what the signification of the treated material is for the producer of it, as well as the consumer, our contemporary context, and especially for

certain groups (Esaiasson et al., 2012:221). In this thesis, when scrutinizing the material and systematizing it, the assumptions that will be exposed are based on the objectives of the authors. Since my aim of the thesis is to examine how the local population in Bolivia are affected by globalization, the main focus when scrutinizing the material is put on how the authors in their texts have been representing the position of the local population and society in the context. When doing so, I will be able to get a wider understanding of how one can approach and define the outcomes of a globalizing market of quinoa for the local population.

Language

Since almost all of my chosen material in the study is in English or Spanish, a discussion considering language is relevant. There are always risk for errors when conducting material written by other authors than oneself, since the way of interpretation is individual. When using material of another language than my own mother tongue, these sources of errors could possibly be at greater risk. Although, I have considered myself having a sufficient level of both English and Spanish to be able to understand and examine the material without severe misinterpretations. When new words and formulations have appeared, the solution have been dictionaries and discussions with native speakers of the current language.

Background

Initially, a brief introduction to the Plurinational State of Bolivia will be given, since that is the geographical delimitation of the thesis. Thereafter will a description of the grain crop quinoa be introduced, through explaining its composition, cultivation and historical use in the Bolivian society. When being aware of this basic information, one will receive a better understanding of the importance of quinoa in the Bolivian society, both its cultural value historically, as well as its nutritious determinants. Further on, a basic background will be given considering the process when Bolivian quinoa was introduced to the international market. To end with, an introduction to the event International Year of Quinoa is presented, since it had a great impact on the launching of quinoa internationally.



Map 1: The map is showing the geographical setting of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

(Map source: Landguiden, 2014d).

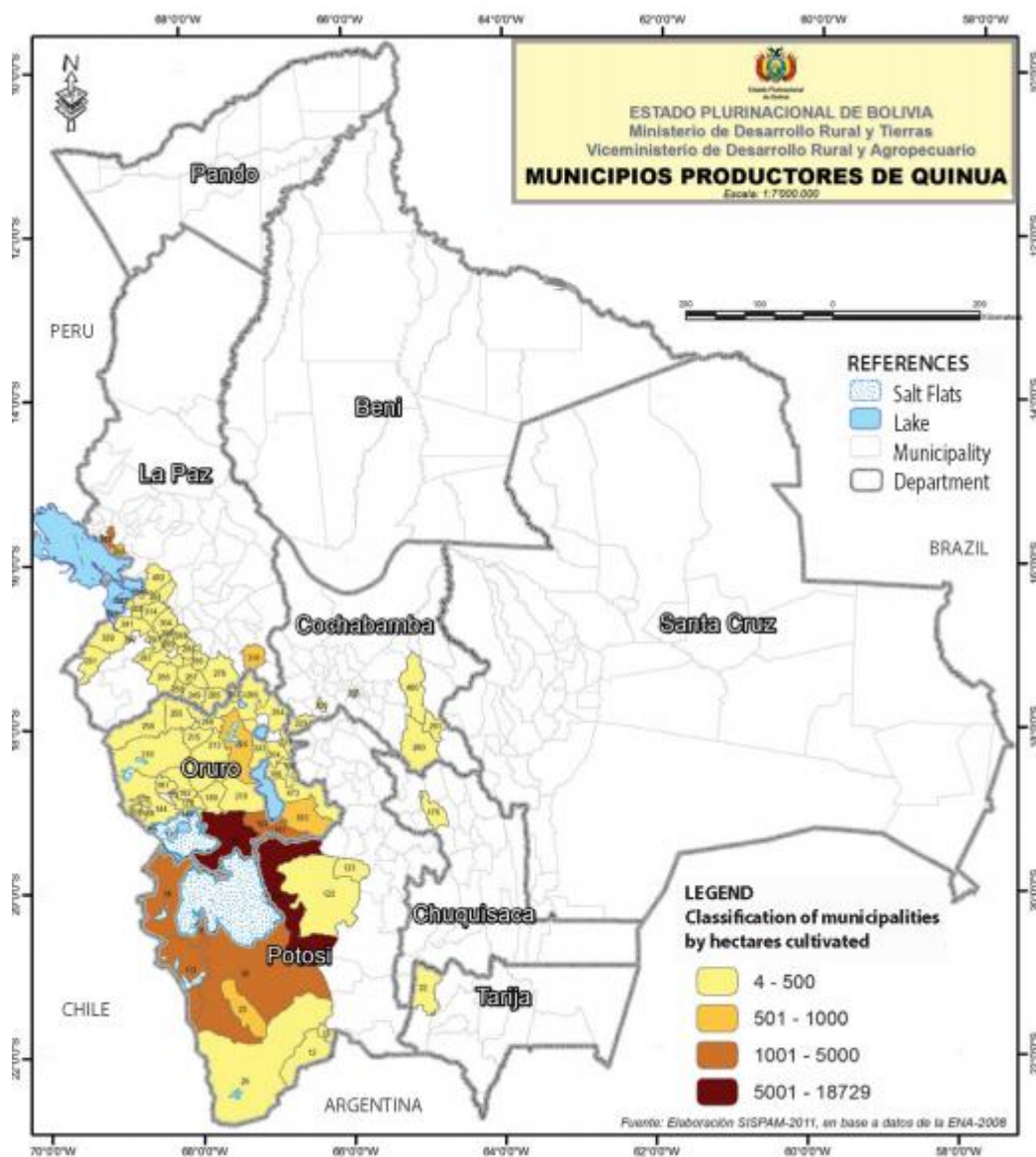
Bolivia

The Plurinational State of Bolivia, displayed in map 1, is situated in the eastern part of South America with the Andes Mountain containing the high plateau, or Altiplano, stretching out in the west part of the country (Landguiden, 2013a). Bolivia has a history of great social inequalities and poverty, and is considered one of the poorest countries in South America (Landguiden, 2013b). The whole country is populated by approximately 10 million habitants, and almost two thirds are of indigenous origin (Landguiden, 2013c). The country has in the recent decade explored economic growth, with great increased GDP per capita. Although more than half of the population are living below national poverty line. The poverty are greatest prevalent in the countryside, and the indigenous people are considered to be the most vulnerable in society (Landguiden. 2013b).

Quinoa- an introduction

Quinoa is a grain crop belonging to the herbal plant family (Mujica et al., 2001), related to the pigweed and spinach. In human nutrition, the seeds of quinoa are the mainly used part of the crop. The seeds are containing a great value of proteins, amino acids and minerals, which makes them highly nutritious and a valuable component to human dietary (NE, 2014).

History of quinoa production



Map 2. Quinoa-producing municipalities of Bolivia, by hectares cultivated. The dark red and orange areas indicate the main exporting region in the southern altiplano. (Source: Bolivian Ministry of Rural Development and Land)

(Map and additional text source: Kerssen, 2013a).

The main localization of quinoa farming and production is situated close to the Lake Titicaca in the highlands of Bolivia and Peru (Mujica et al., 2001). The highland area of consideration is known as Altiplano, which is presented in map 2, and is characterized by its barren and tough climate. The indigenous population is traditionally those whom have cultivated and consumed quinoa most frequently (Mujica et al., 2001). Quinoa has historically been a vital nutrient in Latin America for thousands of years, and was in the pre-Columbian era the second most important nutrient, only defeated by corn (NE, 2014).

The crop has a long history of usage in the traditional farming areas of quinoa in the Altiplano, displayed in map 2, and even the flowers, leafs, fruits and stems are used in cooking and consumption. Quinoa is historically used in several different fields in addition to human food supply, for example in medical treatments, decorative purposes, industrial extraction of alcohols, as a pesticide and converted into fuel (Mujica et al., 2001).

Cultivation

The preparations of the fields and the soil is crucial when implementing the cultivation of quinoa. Even though quinoa is known for its resistance, the outcomes of the harvest is based on the early stages of planting and the groundwork that has been done. To be able to achieve a beneficial harvest, the soil has to be ploughed several times in conscious manners in interaction with the nature (Mujica et al., 2001).

The cultivation of quinoa is best implied when conducted through a rotation system which alter different types of crops in periods. When implementing a rotation system in the cultivation of quinoa, the soil is improving its nutritional value. In that case, the soil is better recovering and is being enriched with new nutritious substances (Mujica et al., 2001). The soil is highly dependent on its recovering period from 2 up to 20 years, when alternated crops are grown (Mujica et al., 2001). Because of the harsh climate in the Altiplano, where the quinoa is mainly cultivated, quinoa is the only crop which can provide harvest. Therefore, quinoa is almost at all places a monoculture in these geographical areas. Consequently, this is contributing to an economic challenge due to the extended cycle of cultivation for the farmers whom are dependent on the incomes of quinoa (Mujica et al., 2001).

Expansion to the global market

The expansion of quinoa production is shown in the official statistics from the statistic division of FAO called FAOSTAT. In the period 1992-2010, there was an increase in production and cultivated area of quinoa in the main producing countries Bolivia, Peru and Chile. The increase

of cultivated area was almost doubled, and the total production was tripled during this period. Even though the production of quinoa has expanded outside its ancestral areas of residence, Bolivia and Chile are the outstanding leaders in the market producing 92% of the total world production of quinoa (FAO, 2014b).

According to FAO, quinoa has an intrinsic value in the challenge of combating the hunger of the growing world population. Since quinoa is highly nutritious and has a great resilience to its agro-environmental surroundings, it is a beneficial alternative in the circumstances of today with climate change and a growing population in the world. Additionally, other aspects are presented, such as cultural and economic benefits for the local society as factors enhancing the cultivation of quinoa. Consequently, quinoa is considered to eliminate food insecurity in countries that are at risk, or already are affected, of food insecurity. Furthermore, FAO is enhancing the benefits of quinoa in comparison to rice and wheat, and argues that quinoa can remove the dependence of other staples crops (FAO, 2014b).

International Year of Quinoa

A crucial enhancement of the expansion of quinoa at the global market was implemented through an arrangement invented by the UN. The United Nations General Assembly dedicated the year of 2013 as the International Year of Quinoa. The aim was to introduce quinoa to the world market and proclaim its beneficial outcomes (IYQ, 2013a). The official stance follows:

“To focus world attention on the role that quinoa’s biodiversity and nutritional value play in food security, nutrition, and poverty eradication, and in support of the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals including the Millennium Development goals.”
(IYQ, 2013b).

Submitted arguments by the proponents have been made that quinoa is a multidimensional solution to the challenging situation of the world hunger today, since it is not just preventing food insecurity, but it is also gentle to the small farmers since it can lead to great opportunities to rise economic incomes. The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon is pronouncing the importance of the introduction of quinoa at the world market as a multi-sectorial investment (IYQ, 2013b). Furthermore the launching of the International Year of Quinoa enlightens the ancestral usage and history of crop, and pronounces its future importance;

*“This extraordinary grain has been a cultural anchor and a staple in the diet of millions of people throughout the Andes for thousands of years.
Quinoa is now poised for global recognition.”*

(Ki Moon, Ban, 2013 in IYQ, 2013c).

Additionally, the Bolivian president Evo Morales has pronounced the great importance and benefits of quinoa when launching the International Year of Quinoa, and is enhancing the effectiveness of its outcomes, in terms of both its nutrient qualities and the economic benefits, when expanding the Bolivian domestic market of quinoa to a global scale. Furthermore, a constant aspect which is pronounced in the context is the ancient history of quinoa. President Morales declare the crop as an ancestral gift from the indigenous people of the Andes whom have cultivated quinoa in thousands of years (IYQ, 2013c). The importance of involving the historical aspect of quinoa can be seen in the slogan of the International Year of Quinoa: “A future sown a thousands of years ago” (IYQ, 2013a).

Changes in production and cultivation

Quinoa is originally cultivated in an organic way, without pesticides and other inorganic substances. Since quinoa historically has been resilient to harsh climate and pests, there has been no reason to involve those elements in the process of cultivation. However, the crops were suffering from pests because of the rapid expansion of cultivation. The intensification of cultivation was, according to the research made by Mujica et al. (2001), caused by the great increase in demand of quinoa. The farmers searched for new methods to eliminate pests, enhance the production and the outcomes of the harvests. The introduction of pesticides was implemented in a wide range of the cultivation. The usage of pesticides was beneficial in the short period of time since it enhanced the volume of production. Over time though, the new way of production caused much damage to the ecosystem. In the beginning of the 90s’, the great increase in demand of quinoa at the world market was emerging. The demand of an organic crop was a fact, and to be able to meet the international request, the Bolivian producers implemented an organic production. A large-scale intensive introduction of quinoa internationally was enhanced by the domestic association of quinoa producers; ANAPQUI. La Sociedad Provincial de Productores de Quinoa; SOPROQUI, in Potosi, Bolivia, introduced the commercialization of organic quinoa in 1991. The establishment was made in contribution, and as a result of, an agreement with Germany as a trading partner of organic quinoa (Mujica et al., 2001).

ANAPQUI was founded in the year of 1983 in La Paz, Bolivia. When founding the organization, the main aim was to be a supportive actor in the process of intensify the production, industrialization and commercialization of quinoa. The organization is an offspring of the acting organization of peasant agriculture organization, known as CORACA. ANAPQUI

is acting in collaboration with unions of peasant quinoa farmers and with support from CORACA (ANAPQUI, 2014a).

There has been an obvious increase in the amount of produced quinoa in Bolivia. The statistics of produced quinoa is presented by the Bolivian national institute of statistics and shows a sustained increase in recent years. To compare different years considering the quinoa production one can be aware of this enhancement. Starting in the agricultural year 2007-2008 which consisted of 28 809 tons of produced quinoa, in comparison to the agricultural year 2012-2013 with a quinoa production of 58 000 tons, the increase of production is obvious. In conjunction with the increased production, the producers have experienced a great expansion of the exporting market for quinoa (ANAPQUI, 2014b).

In combination with the increased demand at the global market of quinoa, the international importers have implemented several criteria considering the crop. These criteria are associated to the quality of the plant, its purity, absence of small stones and dirt. When an exporter does not live up to the required standards in their exported products, punishment in terms of reduced payment has been issued by the importer. Organizations consisting of cultivating farmers and exporters of quinoa are together working for a more effective and well conducted process in the harvest and treatment of the seeds to eliminate the dirt and stones. This is a crucial challenge for the actors in the exporting process, and is of intrinsic value to solve since it is dependent on the economic outcomes generated from the global market according to Mujica et al. (2001).

Jacobsen (2012) presents how the price of quinoa has increased significantly at the world market, and therefore has the domestic production expanded and intensified greatly. The market price of quinoa has tripled between the year 1999 and 2008, and is according to Jacobsen (2012) resilient to crisis.

Consequences of international introduction

Since an increase in demand of quinoa has occurred, the area of cultivation has become larger and new ways of cultivation have been implemented. An emergence of a more stressful process of cultivation, with reductions in the periods of fallow, to mention some changes, has led to impacts on the outcomes of the yields. The harvest per hectare has decreased in the recent 10 years. The decrease was, according to statistics by Jacobsen (2012), from 700 tons/ha fallen to 570 tons/ha in 2009.

Figure 1.

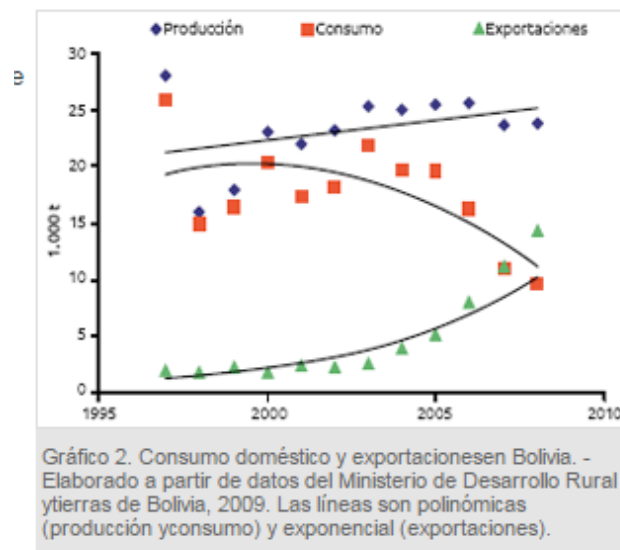


Figure 1. The figure shows how Bolivian domestic consumption, production and export of quinoa have progressed during the period 1995-2010. Blue = production. Red= Consumption. Green= Export. The figure is elaborated in collaboration with the Bolivian Ministry of Rural Development and land in 2009.

(Figure source: Jacobsen, 2012)

A new shift of the production, distribution and domestic consumption of quinoa has occurred in Bolivia. According to the figure there are vital changes in the patterns on the domestic Bolivian quinoa market, and transformations have been implemented to adjust to the new circumstances.

According to the increased demand of quinoa internationally, an increasing amount of the production is exported. In the year of 1999, the value of the exported amount was 2.7 million USD. Seven years later, in 2006, the amount increased to 8.9 million USD. 90% of the domestic production of quinoa in Bolivia is exported. The graph is showing a negative relationship between the increase in exportation and a constantly reduction in the domestic consumption of quinoa, with a positive rise of production during the same period (Jacobsen, 2012).

When intensifying the production of quinoa, mechanical facilities have been introduced in the cultivation which has led to a destruction of the soil and nature. Initially, the traditional cultivation has been conducted through manual labor which is carried out carefully together with nature in a sustainable way (Hellin & Higman, 2005 in Jacobsen, 2012). Additionally, Hellin and Higman (2005 in Jacobsen, 2012) states that the reduction in consumption of quinoa by the local population in Bolivia is caused by the increased prices of the crop at the domestic market.

Discussion

Social changes in the local Bolivian society as consequences of the introduction of quinoa at the international market is a fact which all authors of the read material are agreeing on. Hence, why social changes have occurred in the local society in the area of quinoa production in Bolivia are framed in different ways. Additionally, there are disagreements concerning what these changes implies for the local population in the Altiplano. Therefore, what is of interest to investigate are which determinant actors the introduction of quinoa at the international market was performed, and how the local agency of the Bolivian population and society is presented in the context. Furthermore, it is essential to examine how globalization is conceptualized and seen in conjunction with the phenomenon.

Actors in the introduction to the global market

As mentioned in the background of the thesis when undertaking the process when quinoa was introduced to the global market, it is not a straight forward process determinant on one single event. It is rather a range of different events that together have introduced quinoa to an international commodity. To identify and examine central actors and events in the process is of importance to understand the progression. For instance, the mentioned international institution UN and its subdivision FAO have been present in the process of international introduction of quinoa. According to their engagement internationally to enhance the beneficial aspects of quinoa consumption, and their implementation of the IYQ, their involvement in the process is demonstrated.

The process of introducing a local market internationally is according to McMichael (2004) dependent on international institutions and corporations whom are the most powerful on the global market. To advocate that UN by their launching of IYQ was the crucial event that played an important role of the introduction of quinoa to the global market, one can adhere to the thoughts of McMichael (2004), since this event can be seen as generated by global forces to determine the trade of the domestic quinoa production to the international market.

Although, it cannot be justified to state that FAO itself was the only actor in the process. When paying attention to other contributing actors in both the foundation and progression of IYQ, and in other crucial initiatives to introduce quinoa internationally, the process and its contributors are more complex. For example, the Bolivian president Morales and his contributions to both IYQ and other launching events of introducing quinoa internationally can be understood through Massey (2004) as well, since they indicates a participatory approach of actors from the local origin whom enhances local values. According to the declarations by Morales and Ki

Moon when launching IYQ (IYQ, 2013c), the Bolivian cultural and historical value was of great importance to both enhance and protect in the process. In that regard, one can see connections to the description by Massey (2004), since she finds the cultural value is as a fundamental aspect to be aware of and encourage in the process of globalization. Additionally, the participation and agency of Bolivian actors in the process of internationalization are also in conjunction with the thoughts of Massey (2004). When actors of Bolivian origin are participating in their own process of introducing their local market to the global scale, their own responsibility is visible. According to Massey (2004) it is vital to enhance the local power in the global arena, which in this process can be stated according to the participation of the Bolivian president. On the other hand, if adhering to McMichael (2004), the local participation in the global process is not of intrinsic value and power, since the global is of utter power and agency and consequently determines the local. Therefore, the participation of the Bolivian president can instead be considered as a proof that global forces, such as international institutions and corporations, are inheriting the greatest power, and as a consequence is the local, such as the Bolivian president, forced to participate since the local itself does not possess any own power and therefore is dependent on higher institutions.

The emerging and founded organizations of Bolivian origin in the context of quinoa are interesting to analyze in the process of globalization. For instance, Bolivia is considered to have a crucial impact in the beginning of the introduction and commercialization of quinoa internationally according to the research by Mujica et al. (2001). Since ANAPQUI is an organization of domestic quinoa producers, it can be seen as a result of local agency when quinoa was introduced to the global market. In this case, the similarities to what Massey (2004) enhances are evident. Since the working of ANAPQUI was performed in collaboration with other unions of peasant quinoa farmers (ANAPQUI, 2014a), the argument that local agency is present in the global context is underbuilt even more.

Additionally, the contributions by Bolivian SOPROQUI to commercialize organic quinoa (Mujica et al., 2001), could be understood through Massey (2004) since a local actor is the source of implementation and therefore inherits agency. Although, it is difficult to be sure that the enhancement of organic quinoa was initially desired by SOPROQUI, or whether it rather was a response to international demand. If it was the latter, the thoughts of McMichael (2004) are more suitable since he advocates how social change is dependent on global forces.

International responsibility and local agency

Many of the international articles in the daily media are approaching whether it is good or bad to eat quinoa outside Bolivia. Their arguments are stated in conjunction with what consequences international trade of quinoa brings to the local society in Bolivia. The articles in the international media are turning towards the consumers of quinoa in the western world. According to the titles such as “*Quinoa: good for you- bad for Bolivians*” (Stocker, 2013), “*Quinoa: To Buy or Not to Buy... Is This the Right Question?*” (Kerssen, 2013b), “*Quinoa: good, evil, or just really complicated?*” (Philpott, 2013), “*It’s OK To Eat Quinoa*” (LeVaux, 2013) and “*Quinoa: The Dark Side of an Andean Superfood*” (Friedman-Rudovsky, 2012), one can distinguish how the articles are enhancing the feeling of an international responsibility of the world market, as well as a responsibility of the social outcomes for the population living in the local areas of production.

According to these thoughts of responsibility, one can identify similarities with the presumptions by Massey (2004), since the authors of the articles consider it relevant to hold a discussion about the ways of consuming commodities from places far away whom they are connected to through international trade and financial flows. These mentioned articles are framing how their local consumption in the geographical origin of the articles are affecting local places far away where the commodities are produced. Equal to Massey (2004), the interconnectedness between global places entails a responsibility for all localities, since they are constructing the space of globalization. To understand what happens outside the local place, Massey (2004) promotes that it is important to be aware of the agency localities are having in the global context, since everything is relational constructed and therefore bear a collective responsibility.

When framing the positive outcomes of international trade of quinoa, the authors of the international articles are enhancing the beneficial effects of increased incomes for the local population in the area of production. For example, it is considered that the most vulnerable in the Bolivian society are the population in rural areas and especially those of indigenous origin. When incomes generated from quinoa export are enlarged, those mentioned people are considered to benefit of improved incomes and livelihoods, according to Collyns (2013), Fox News (2011) and Romero & Shahriari (2011). The aspect that cultivation is based on small-scale agriculture is identified by Philpott (2013) to be of value to point out when enhancing the good aspects of quinoa trade, since the perception is that this kind of production financially benefits the Andean smallholders. The increased incomes generated by quinoa export are considered by Friedman-Rudovsky (2012) as the main source to the increasing opportunity to

attend to university for the local Bolivian population, since they now can afford the costs of attendance. Additionally, Friedman-Rudovsky (2012) proclaims that increased economic incomes also have led to better living standards, such as enhancing the livelihood conditions and building better houses.

Meanwhile the daily media articles of international origin are enhancing the benefits of a global trade market of quinoa, there are many aspects introduced acknowledging several bad impacts on the local society and population in the areas of quinoa production. For example, Stocker (2013), Romero & Shahriari (2011) and Philpott (2013) enhances considerations whether these increasing financial incomes are beneficial and contributes with positive developmental effects on the local society, or if it rather leads to undesirable social outcomes with negative impacts on the local citizens, environment and culture.

According to Massey (2004), the perception of local responsibility is based on the increasing interconnectedness to other places and enhanced agency and global power. Although a wide range of the international media are framing the shared responsibility of globalization, there are contradictions since they at the same time are pronouncing how the local society in Bolivia are deemed to vulnerability to global forces. The Bolivian population and society are not possessed with any power in the context of globalization, but rather depends on the global forces, which is what McMichael (2004) proclaims as the outcome of increased international connectedness. Therefore, it can be understood that, whether the social outcomes of globalization are good or bad, they are rather based on the relation of uneven dependency between the vulnerable local society and the superior power of the global, than enhanced by the local agency.

Bolivian considerations and encouraging actions

Common topics in the theme of quinoa that are circumscribed in the daily news media of Bolivian origin are the issues of decreasing market prices of quinoa, how to sustain the Bolivian quinoa as a competitive commodity at the world market, implementations made by the Bolivian government and the outlooks for the future production of quinoa (La Rázon, 2012), (Página Siete, 2014), (Economía Boliviana, 2014a), (Economía Boliviana, 2014b).

There are variations in the presented statistics considering the changes in domestic consumption of quinoa. Many of the Bolivian articles are neglecting the fact that a decrease of domestic consumption has taken place. The statistics presented in EA Bolivia (2013a) for example, are pointing on an increased domestic consumption. Even though there are some doubts considering the equalities of the domestic distribution, it is stated that an overall internal increase has occurred. Both social politics, such as government investments, and IYQ are

considered as two main contributors to facilitating this process according to EA Bolivia (2013b). Another important aspect that vice minister Vásquez is pointing out in the issue of domestic distribution of consuming quinoa, is that quinoa has been introduced to Bolivian communities where quinoa never has been accessible before (EA Bolivia, 2013c). Additionally, EA Boliviana (2013b) pronounces that the introduction of quinoa to the global market has contributed to spreading the acknowledgment in the Bolivian society considering nutrient value and health benefits of quinoa.

The enhancements of beneficial outcomes of the increasing demand of quinoa due to its introduction to the global market is obvious in the daily media articles with Bolivian origin. Hence, it is interesting to identify to whom the sources of facilitating the benefits are subscribed. According to the enhancement of IYQ and governmental investments, as well as recurrent statements by national ministers circulating in the articles, it can be assumed that institutions and international organizations are of great importance. According to McMichael (2004) is the local power decreasing when links to other places increases and the interconnectedness is recurrent. This could be seen as a contradiction to what have been presented in the articles due to the importance of Bolivian government etc. What is important to enlighten though, is that these investments and actions would probably never have been implemented if not as a consequence of global forces. Consequently, the increased acknowledgement of health benefits can be understood through Massey (2004) as a relational outcome of increased connectedness to other places. But it can on the other hand be adhered to McMichael (2004) when he proclaims that the local understanding is realized through the global, and that the global has determinant power on local outcomes.

Social change: cultivation, production and competitiveness

To continue with the aspects of social change in contribution with globalization it can be interesting to examine some crucial changes in the quinoa farming process and production that have occurred in Bolivia. According to previously stated changes in the thesis such as expanded areal of cultivation, intensified periods of farming (Jacobsen, 2012), implementations of criteria considering required standards of the produced crops (Mujica et al., 2001) and the introduction of mechanical facilities in the process of production (Hellin & Higman, 2005. in Jacobsen, 2012), they can be analyzed in terms of global impact and local agency.

The enlargement of cultivated areal of quinoa in Bolivia is preferably seen as a consequence of increased demand of the crop according to Jacobsen (2012). Furthermore, Jacobsen (2012) shows through his graphs and statistics how the patterns of production, distribution and

domestic consumption are related to one another, and that the fallen domestic consumption depends on the increasing exportation of quinoa. The perceptions by Jacobsen (2012) can be described by McMichael (2004), since social change are seen as a consequence of global forces. Why this changes have occurred, is due to Jacobsen (2012) because the Bolivian production was in need to adapt to the global demand. Decreased amount of harvest yield per hectare is a consequence of the intensification of the production (Jacobsen, 2012), which can prove how the local is dependent and vulnerable to global forces. According to McMichael (2004) is the local culture losing its value when being possessed to globalization. This can be seen as it has occurred due to when the domestic consumption, which has an ancient history of culture use in the Andes (Mujica et al., 2001), has fallen sharply as a consequence of increasing export due to global demand.

The introduction of technological facilities such as tractors and bulldozers in the process of cultivation has implied a great change of quinoa production since it historically has been conducted through manual labor. There are several implications that the introduction of machinery in the cultivation has led to, such as degradation of the soils and ecosystem (Hellin & Hignman, 2005 in Jacobsen, 2012), and it is illustrated in the statistics that the yield outcomes of the harvest per hectare have decreased in conjunction with the implementation of the new ways of cultivation (Jacobsen, 2012). It is therefore interesting to scrutinize of what reasons the implementations of machinery was introduced, to further on be able to understand what underlying forces of power and actors that have enhanced these changes. Since the historical farming of quinoa did not include machinery, one can imagine that it is not in conjunction with the local culture that the machinery has been implemented. Although, the argument that the development of technology in the cultivating process is introduced in accordance with better knowledge and connections with other places and markets internationally, can be understood through Massey (2004), since she states that an increasing network, with more links to other places, brings new perspectives and enriches knowledge and consequently reshapes identities. To understand the phenomenon in this way, it makes sense that the implementation of machinery is based on the relational outcomes of globalization, and that the local has agency in the process.

If focusing on the actors that have authorized the implementation of machinery in quinoa cultivation, Kerssen (2013b) is putting the limelight on the Bolivian government, in collaboration with the international firm John Deere. The argumentation why those actors did these implementations are, according to Kerssen (2013b), that the Bolivian production needed

to adapt to the increasing requirements of the international demand. The intensification of cultivation was carried out through the aim of increasing efficiency by machinery (Kerssen, 2013b). According to this information of the causes and actions of implementation, it can be understood through McMichael (2004) since the local change is caused by international demand. In addition, the introduction of the new technology is not conducted by the peasant farmers, but rather by higher institutions inheriting greater power. According to the degrading impacts on the ecosystem and soils, it is possible to proclaim that the local value is not protected or taken in account, which adhere to what McMichael (2004) states that globalization causes.

Furthermore, McMichael (2004) consolidates the aspect of competition as evidence of how global forces are determining the local agency. McMichael (2004) argues that in conjunction with that nation-states are losing their agency in favor for global forces and thereby increases their own vulnerability, they consequently need to adapt to globalization. In the previously mentioned adaptations by the Bolivian quinoa production to meet international demand, one can see how localities and nation-states are required to be competitive in the global market. This phenomenon can be illustrated in an article in the Independent UK by Stocker (2013). A quinoa farmer is interviewed in the article who proclaims that since he cannot afford the new technology to his farming, he is unable to be a competitive producer at the market (Stocker, 2013). Consequently, this case strengthens the argument of local vulnerability to global forces.

The implementations of several criteria and legislations considering the feature of the produced crops have also contributed to changes in cultivation for the farmers of quinoa. By whom these implementations are made, and because of what, is of importance when trying to understand the underlying causes of change. Conferring the changes of cultivation in terms of organic or inorganic methods, it is recognized that those changes have occurred in conjunction with the demand on the global market. According to Mujica et al. (2001), the abandonment of organic cultivation in favor of inorganic methods with the usage of pesticides was realized because of adapting to the increasing demand and requirements of higher standards and faster deliveries. Hence in the long run, the inorganic cultivation damaged the soil and ecosystem in the Bolivian landscape. Mujica et al. (2001) proclaims that the reimplementation of organic cultivation was carried out due to meet the international request of an organic crop. To bring these processes of changes together with a theory of globalization, the explanation by McMichael (2004) that global power is the determinant factor of social change is suitable. The modifications in cultivation have, according to Mujica et al. (2001), been performed as adaptations to global demand and requirements. The local is framed without any own desire or power when it

encounters global demand, which adhere to McMichael (2004) when he states that in conjunction with increased interconnectedness it entails an decrease of local power in favor of global forces. Furthermore is McMichael (2004) arguing for how wider international networks determines the local and makes it vulnerable to greater institutions. Additionally, it is international importers whom have implemented the criteria considering the features of the crop (Mujica et al., 2001). That implies that the local farmers of quinoa have not been developing these conditions themselves, and it is uncertain whether those criteria are desired or beneficial for the domestic farmers. Although, the domestic farmers are obliged to live up to these conditions, since they otherwise, according to Mujica et al. (2001), are rejected by the international importers. These restrictions implemented by international importers are showing how the local are predetermined by international institutions and global forces, which McMichael (2004) is proclaiming.

Cultural value and changed dietary patterns

In conjunction with the increasing market prices of quinoa, the problems are also considered to rise for the local society, according to a local citizen in the heart of quinoa production in Bolivia (Friedman-Rudovsky, 2012). A main issue in the debate considering the local society is the aspect of cultural value. There are obvious evidences how the culture in the Bolivian society has been changed in conjunction with the introduction of quinoa at the international market. For example, the Bolivian farmers and population themselves are changing their dietary patterns since a decrease in domestic quinoa consumption has occurred in favor for other staple foods (Jacobsen, 2012). Why this change has occurred are of divided opinions. Some are stating that the domestic consumption of quinoa in Bolivia has decreased because the market price has reached inaccessible high levels for the local population. For the local farmers, it is argued that there is no option to keep some of the produced quinoa for own consumption, since to refrain from potential earnings of the production is unthinkable according to Collyns (2013). A Bolivian citizen indicates the changed way of consumption through the following quote: “*Quinoa was always food for Indians. Today it’s food for the worlds’ richest*” (Friedman-Rudovsky, 2012). A Bolivian mother says that because of the tripled prices of quinoa during recent years, she is now forced to change her eating patterns since she cannot longer afford to buy quinoa at the market as frequently as she used to before (Stocker, 2013). Another argument why changed patterns of eating in Bolivia have occurred is due to the enhanced opportunities to other food supplies. These supplies are introduced in the Bolivian society in conjunction with the expansion of connectedness with other places in the world. Banks (2011) proclaims that the

Bolivian population have changed their food preferences as a consequence of increased connectedness to and awareness of other cultures.

According to this knowledge, one is aware of the changes of distribution and consumption of quinoa, and it enhances the concept of vulnerability for the local society caused by globalization and increased connectedness to global places. This is to associate with the theory by McMichael (2004) states how places that introduces to international connectedness are decreasing their local power in favor for the forces of globalization. Furthermore, McMichael (2004) states in his theory how the understanding of local action and social change is constructed and predetermined by the global scale. Therefore, social change such as changed ways of dietary patterns in Bolivia, can be understood as the outcomes of globalization determined by global forces.

The phenomenon of changed ways of dietary patterns in the Bolivian society, can be understood associated with the thoughts of Massey (2004), if enhancing the willingness of the Bolivian local population as the determinant factor of changing their own dietary patterns. Massey (2004) advocates how identities are relational and changeable, which entails that they are constructed in conjunction with other places and spaces, and that an increasing interconnectedness with other places enhance the local agency. For that reason, one can argue that the Bolivian increasing international connectedness generated by the introduction of quinoa at the international market, is entailing enhanced power for the Bolivian society. In conjunction a mutual transformation of identities with other places occurs, since the relational outcomes of interconnectedness between places causes changed perceptions of the world. Massey (2004) states that to understand the outcomes of globalization, one must be aware of the agency of local places, since they are constructing the global. Therefore, the changed ways of dietary patterns in the Bolivian society can be considered as determinant to the local population and their agency, since they are a part of globalization and therefore have an own responsibility of social change.

[Actions taken to enhance domestic consumption](#)

Why the debate is often centralized considering the changing dietary patterns, and the abundance of quinoa in the Bolivian society, is due to its health impacts. Since quinoa often are substituted with less nutritious food supplies it can lead to bad impacts on public health and malnutrition (Romero & Shahriari, 2011; Kerssen, 2013b). According to Collyns (2013) have several acts been implemented to enhance the Bolivian public consumption of quinoa and to combat the fear of domestic malnutrition in Bolivia. The Bolivian state has proclaimed the

importance of enhancing and support the domestic consumption of quinoa, with several official declarations by president Morales and vice minister of agricultural and rural development Victor Hugo Vasquéz in the front (Romero & Shahriari, 2011). Romero and Shahriari (2011) are reporting about how the Bolivian government has subsidized quinoa and introduced it to national programs such as school breakfasts and packages of food supplies to mothers and young children. Palencia (2011) reports that president Morales has officially been blaming capitalism and global warming for causing the steep food prices in Bolivia.

The actions taken by the state to enhance the domestic consumption of quinoa, can be understood through the statements by Massey (2004). Since the Bolivian state is showing awareness of its own responsibility of the domestic society, it can be related to how Massey (2004) addresses local agency as a predominant factor for the outcomes in the society. Although, this way of acting by the Bolivian state can simultaneously be understood through McMichael (2004), since institutions and international corporations are declared as the predominant actors of power in society. The actions taken by the Bolivian state can moreover be described as a consequence of globalization caused by forces from outside. When the government are implementing these kinds of protection for their own population and society, it can be interpreted as an attempt to make resistance against forces of globalization. To compare with McMichael (2004), the increased interconnectedness with other places through the introduction of quinoa at the world market, are disempowering the local society, and the nation-state is losing its power towards global forces. Therefore, the involvement of the government, or other institutions etc. that are not locally based, can be seen as an evidence of the vulnerability of the local, and its dependence on larger forces of power. The above mentioned statement by president Morales (Palencia, 2011) strengthens the argument that governmental action adheres to McMichaels' (2004) thoughts of local vulnerability, since Morales blames global forces as the determinant actors to local outcomes.

Local participation

The author of an article in Los Tiempos (2014) is presenting a project of introducing the production of quinoa to Bolivian villages which before have been determined to peasant farming of other more fragile crops. The article is presenting how the process of introducing quinoa has led to beneficial outcomes for the inhabitants of the villages according to the diversification of farming, and the increased incomes generated by quinoa trade (Los Tiempos, 2014).

The participation of the local population in the introduction of quinoa at the global market is also visible in an event that took place in Italy in October 2014, which is presented in an article in ACLO (2014). A Bolivian quinoa farmer was sent to participate and promote Bolivian quinoa at an international event of several agricultural organizations and food companies. The event included 2000 participants from 150 countries. The farmers' aim was to enhance the acknowledgement of Bolivian quinoa, inform about the organic production with respect to the local culture and nature of Bolivia, as well as its beneficial health contributions. The quinoa products he represented were both guaranteed domestic quality and internationally certified (ACLO, 2014).

Both of these mentioned articles in Los Tiempos (2014) and ACLO (2014) are showing how the Bolivian society and population are taking part and enhancing their connectedness to other places in conjunction with the process of globalization. Since the participation of the local population in the process of globalization, as well as the acknowledgment of local power, are fundamental aspects according to Massey (2004), one can easily relate to her theory. In addition, Massey (2004) is enhancing the intrinsic value of local cultural and ecological acknowledgment since they are contributing with a greater understanding of global processes because of its relational constructions. Furthermore, according to the article published in ACLO (2014), the perception of responsibility by both the farmer, since he is participating in the process of international introduction, but also by the other participants of the event, according to their received acknowledgment of participation in global trade and its relational outcomes when consuming commodities. According to these aspects, Massey (2004) helps to make sense of the given phenomenon. Although, when considering how McMichael (2004) describes globalization, the aspect of international participation can be considered as determinant by global forces, and the local vulnerability is presumed. In addition, the feature of the products that the farmer were representing were having international certifications, can be seen as a proof of how the local is obliged to adjust to global preferences if wanting to compete at the global market, which corresponds to McMichaels' (2004) statements considering competitiveness and globalization.

[International competition and local vulnerability](#)

A primary source of domestic media considering the development of the Bolivian quinoa market is the Bolivian economic newspaper *Economía Boliviana*. According to their approaches and what they are reporting about in the theme of quinoa, the main recurrent concern seems to be the issue of decreasing quinoa market prices. Many of their articles are treating this

issue, and the reason to why the prices have fallen are deemed to be the introduction of other international competitors at the world market of quinoa production. Peru is according to the articles the biggest challenger to Bolivia in the competition of exporting quinoa internationally (Economía Boliviana, 2014a;c;d;e). Since Bolivia in earlier years was the main producer and exporter of quinoa internationally (ANAPQUI, 2014b), the emergence of a new competitor implies an upheaval for the Bolivian production. Consequently, the Bolivian newspaper *Página Siete* (2014) reports that the Bolivian vice minister of agricultural and rural development Vásquez has declared his concern of the falling prices. According to *Página Siete* (2014) has Vásquez proclaimed that the reason why the prices are falling is due to the emergence of other countries entering the global market of quinoa production. This aspect of the phenomenon can be understood due to McMichael (2004) who proclaims that globalization is entailing competitiveness between local places to meet global forces. In addition, one can identify the perception of local vulnerability towards the global.

Economía Boliviana (2014c) are reporting about how preoccupations considering how to be a competitive actor at the global market have intensified in Bolivia, and strategies have been developed for the domestic production of quinoa. The Bolivian government has announced their participation to enhance the domestic quinoa production by promises of implementing strategies, programs and beneficial loans with the intention to intensify the production and stabilize the domestic prices, reports *Economía Boliviana*, (2014c).

The implementations and declarations by the Bolivian government, as well as the acknowledgment by daily media, about Bolivian preoccupations about other international producers entering the global quinoa market, could according to what Massey (2004) states, indicate how all places together are constructing the global, and therefore all places, or countries, are both inheriting agency to participate, but also have a responsibility to contribute in the process of globalization. Although, if the feeling of responsibility is only deemed for the own near local, such as Bolivia just feeling responsibility for its own domestic market, what Massey (2004) is saying about responsibility is not recurrent. Consequently, McMichael (2004) enhances the competitiveness as fundamental in the process of globalization, which is describing the recurrent phenomenon of actors entering the global quinoa market, and wanting to defend its own survival.

According to *Hoy Bolivia* (2014) has the Bolivian government promised to establish an international quinoa center as a contribution to develop the production of quinoa. The

functioning of the center is described in Hoy Bolivia (2014) to support investigations and technical transfers of quinoa production with the aim to preserve cultural and ecological values of Andean origin. La Razón (2012) reports how Vásquez has declared that the Bolivian quinoa is not at risk to be extradited from the international market, even if other competitors are entering. According to La Razón (2012) is Vásquez enhancing the intrinsic quality and value of the Bolivian quinoa, and proclaims that no other country can compare with their quality.

Even though McMichael (2004) describes how competitiveness is a part of globalization, these mentioned implementations could also be understood through Massey (2004). For example, the promised international quinoa center could be explained by Massey (2004) when talking about increased networks and relational outcomes. Since the center is presented to be international, it indicates how places and countries worldwide together are contributing with knowledge and innovation, which comprehends with the thoughts of Massey (2004) in terms of both local participation and relation connectedness. On the other hand, if the international center is implemented only for its beneficial outcomes of gaining in the competition on world market, McMichaels' (2004) assumptions considering local vulnerability towards global forces are more accurate.

Consequently, the announcements made by Vasquéz (La Razón, 2012) considering the intrinsic value of Bolivian quinoa, could be understood through both Massey (2004) and McMichael (2004). In conjunction with McMichael (2004), the announcement is implicit relying on the perception of global forces being a threat to the local market. Hence, what Vasquéz (La Razón, 2012) declares, is that this threat not is that devastating for the Bolivian quinoa, which enhances the argument of Massey (2004) that the local have agency and therefore not is totally dependent on the global. Additionally, when Vasquéz (2012) proclaims how the Bolivian quinoa has its own intrinsic value and quality, it can be understood through Massey (2004) according to the perception of local agency in the process of globalization, and that the local culture and ecology have its own intrinsic value. Although, McMichael (2004) argues that there is an underlying struggle between economic profit and cultural value, which could be seen in this mentioned statement as well. When implementations or statements are made which have an underlying aim to strengthen their own position at the world market, it could rather be understood that the attention put to ecological or cultural values are of secondary value.

New directions

In recent years one can visualize a new direction of how the Bolivian domestic production of quinoa is carried out, and what actors that are participating. CABOLQUI (2015a), a non-profit

organization founded in 2005, is the overarching actor which has the functioning as an umbrella organization for 11 member firms. The aim of the organization is according to their website (CABOLQUI, 2015b) to include and enhance an active participation for all actors in the quinoa producing chain, and promote social and environmental responsibility, organic production and secure a development for all quinoa farmers. The 11 members are Bolivian companies working in the export sector for quinoa and organic products (CABOLQUI, 2015c). They are together representing 70% of the total Bolivian quinoa grain export, according to CABOLQUI (CABOLQUI, 2015b). The implementations and actions taken by CABOLQUI to reach their goals becomes possible by the obligation of the member firms to donate a percentage of their generated export profits to the ongoing projects issued by CABOLQUI (CABOLQUI, 2015b).

Two other actors which are contributing with a new direction of quinoa production and trade are Fairtrade (Fairtrade, 2015) and Alter Eco (Alter Eco, 2015a). These two mentioned companies are multilateral and operating at the international arena with the aim of enhancing sustainable development in terms of ecological, social and economic fair trade. An essential condition of their strategies to achieve their goals is the inclusiveness and participation of the producers and peasant farmers of their traded products (Fairtrade, 2011; Alter Eco, 2015b).

These new directions and strategies could possibly be understood through the thoughts of both McMichael (2004) and Massey (2004). According to McMichael (2004), these organizations can be seen as founded because of dissatisfaction towards the implications and outcomes of the recurrent project of globalization. Therefore, these countermovements, as McMichael (2004) calls them, can be seen as movements of resistance against globalization and how it is organized. McMichael (2004) is going even further, and calls the increasing emergence of these countermovements a process of NGOization. The construction and aim of countermovements are according to McMichael (2004) based on social and ecological values, and the desire of another strategy to development. In that sense, globalization is seen as something outside the local, and that local action is understood through the global. Although, the perception of responsibility, which Massey (2004) proclaims as fundamental in the process of globalization, is recurrent in these mentioned organizations. According to Massey (2004), it is proclaimed that the local inherits agency to participate in global action and therefore is able to affect international markets. The participation of both local peasant farmers and the local value enhanced in the strategies of the presented organizations and firms, could indicate the agency of the local. Although, these mentioned organizations are not entirely community based, since they are conducted through either leading companies or international interests. Hence they are

claiming to work for locally based interest in the area of production, the possibility of other interests is of importance to have in mind. According to what McMichael (2004) states considering international corporations, these organizations can be understood as an outcome of the willingness of participate on the global arena, while in the same time enhance local values. The perception of responsibility is something McMichael (2004) is declaring in his theory when considering these countermovements. McMichael (2004) proclaims that countermovements and NGOs are taking responsibility of their participants, whom in general are people and communities that are feeling left behind in the project of globalization.

Final discussion

The concept of globalization could be understood in several different aspects, but by examining the phenomenon of Bolivian quinoa being introduced to the global market, a better understanding is achieved in the context of the phenomenon. The relationship of agency between the local and global has been the underlying aspect to examine, and makes the interpretation of globalization more comprehensible.

The initial process of introducing quinoa to the global market has been conducted through several actors, which in the used material of the study has been proclaimed with diverse significance. An event that is recurrent in a broad setting of the phenomenon, and which is considered as important for Bolivian quinoa being a global commodity, is the International Year of Quinoa, initiated by UNs subdivision FAO. IYQ was conducted in collaboration with the Bolivian government and the international members of the UN. The Bolivian president Morales has had a prominent position in enhancing Bolivian quinoa internationally, according to the participation in international corporations as well as through official statements. Two organizations of Bolivian origin, ANAPQUI and SOPROQUI, have been crucial in the commercialization and internationalization of Bolivian quinoa trade, with connections and agreements with international firms and corporations.

In the context of quinoa being introduced to the global market, there have occurred several social changes in the local society where quinoa originally has been produced. These domestic social changes can be visualized through changed dietary patterns, changes in quinoa agriculture and production and changed circumstances at the domestic market, to mention some of them. Why these changes have occurred, in terms of what underlying incentives that have caused these changes were of interest to examine in the study, to be able to better understand the process of globalization. What has been a recurrent reason for social change in the local society has been identified as the need for the local population and society to adapt to the new

circumstances caused by the forces of the global market. The social changes are considered to not have becoming implemented due to the local culture or ecology in the Altiplano, but rather as a response to meet global requirements and opportunities. Even though it sometimes has been evident that the local community have appreciated social changes and participated in the process of implementing them, the determinant factor of these changes to occur are due to global conditions.

In the initial process of introducing Bolivian quinoa to the world market, I found the local agency for the Bolivian population and society almost insignificant, since all implementations and changes in the theme of Bolivian quinoa are done with the ambition to adapt to the global market and its requirements. It seems that to enter the global market, and create new links to other places worldwide generates a local vulnerability in favor to greater global forces. The dependence of the global market is recurrent in the local society where quinoa is produced, which seems as a natural introduction when entering a new arena of trade. Even the issue of competitiveness observed between domestic quinoa firms wanting to secure their places at the global market, as well as between Bolivian quinoa and other entering actors of different origin at the global market, demonstrates how the global forces determines the conditions of the local.

Although there are some indicators that enhances the local agency such as enhanced value of Bolivian culture and history in government statements and the launching of IYQ, as well as the participation of local population and organizations in diverse actions to improve the production. Nevertheless, according to my findings in the study, these indicators are in the end determined by global circumstances and local vulnerability. As a final conclusion, it has been noticeable that a new direction of the local agency is about to happen. According to recently founded organizations and countermovements which disapproves to the ongoing project of globalization, they could be seen as initial steps to enhance the culture value and ecology, and increase the local agency at the global arena.

It appears that the local agency towards global forces are dependent on the amount of connectedness for the local to other places, as well as the involvement at the global arena. When a local place or trade commodity is well established at the global market, with a wide range of links to other places, it obtains increased agency. This could be seen both in the context of the international actors considering their involvement in the quinoa trade as an important influence,

but also in the context of Bolivian quinoa becoming more involved at the global market and thereby is starting to create their own strategy and requirements at the global arena.

Suggestion to future research

As a suggestion to future research that would be interesting to make in contribution with this study, is to examine how the Bolivian food security is affected when quinoa has become an international commodity. It would be interesting to examine the issue of food security and scrutinize it in relation to which power structures that are determinant in the process of decide where to invest in public health. Another perspective of the topic of Bolivian quinoa being introduced to the global market, that would be interesting to do further research on, is whether it has led to local development in the Bolivian society or not.

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