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ABBREVIATIONS

Acepat	Central Association of Oil Palm Growers of Tocache
Aspash	Association of Oil Palm Growers of Shambillo
Cocepu	Central Committee of Oil Palm Growers of Ucayali
Cordepalma	Regional Corporation of Oil Palm
DI	Discursive Institutionalism
EIA	Environmental Investigation Agency
Emdepalma	Company for the Development and Exploitation of Oil Palm
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
Feconau	Federation of Native Communities of Ucayali
Fredepalma	Regional Federation of Oil Palm of San Martín
GHG	Greenhouse gas
Indupalsa	Palm Industries
Jarpal	Gardens of Palm
Junpalma	National Junta of Oil Palm of Peru
MIDIS	Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion
MINAG	Ministry of Agriculture
Minagri	Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation
MINAM	Ministry of Environment
MINCUL	Ministry of Culture
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OEC	The Observatory of Economic Complexity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Olamsa	Amazon Oilseeds
REDD+	Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
RSPO	Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil
UN	United Nations
UNDOC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

SUMMARY

This research looks at the policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon to determine whether ecological concerns risen in recent years have influenced it. These concerns are based principally on the rapid deforestation process related to this crop occurred along the last 20 years and the experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia. The research is framed theoretically within Discursive institutionalism, which allows looking at policies as institutionalised discourses, also referred to as policy paradigms. If policy actors contest ideas articulated in a policy paradigm and take actions against them, the paradigm could change. If this happens, the policy changes as well. The research looks at the policy paradigms associated with oil palm cultivation in Peru and their relationship with ecological concerns. For this analysis, three different sources of information are used: a systematic literature review, policy documents and semi-structured interviews with policy actors. The analysis is based on interpretive policy analysis, which propose a three-party dialogue among the researcher's background, theory and the data set (i.e. policy documents and interviews). In this way, the researcher interprets data and her interpretation of it can feed theory. Findings show that policy making is in the pathway towards a third order change, form an extended form of the multidimensional policy paradigm to the globalised production paradigm and that this is significantly influenced by ecological concerns about the expansion of the crop in the Peruvian Amazon. Since this concerns affect considerably the capacity of oil palm growers to expand their markets, they are forced to tackle them. This is done by the inclusion of certification schemes. Recommendations for policy making in the Peruvian Amazon and for future research are made at the end.

1. INTRODUCTION

The economic relevance of oil palm has triggered its cultivation in recent times, bringing both positive and negative impacts. Oil palm is a highly productive crop (GRUPO PALMAS 2012, 7) as well as a very versatile one (MINAG 2012, 18 f.). These features in combination, along with an increasing demand for food and biofuels, have seen oil palm cultivation sky rocket in recent decades (BARRANTES et al. 2016, 33). Reports find positive economic effects of oil palm cultivation at both macro and micro levels (e.g. WORLD GROWTH 2011; MILLER 2015). However, they also find significant negative social and ecological impacts (e.g. SHEIL et al. 2009; OBIDZINSKI et al. 2012). Negative ecological impacts stand out in particular, with reports of massive deforestation and biodiversity loss (e.g. LUSKIN et al.; CAMPBELL-SMITH et al. 2011; VIJAY et al. 2016).

At the root of many of these negative impacts is the suitability of oil palm to humid and warm areas in the tropics, which coincides with the location of tropical rainforests (BARRANTES et al. 2016, 34 f.). It follows that conflicts occur due to competition for land between oil palm and these biodiverse tropical ecosystems.

Oil palm has also reached the Peruvian Amazon, where the state hopes to harness its positive impacts to promote rural development, and in turn, fight drug trafficking. Oil palm was first referred to in legislation to promote investments in the Amazon and later it was declared of national interest. In 2001, the National Plan for the Promotion of Oil Palm Peru, 2000-2010, from now on be referred to as the *old plan*, was enacted. The implementation of the old plan had a focus on fighting drug trafficking and, in this regard, was supported by the UNDOC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime).

Negative impacts, especially ecological ones, have generated concerns regarding how oil palm expands in Peru. Oil palm in Peru has grown very rapidly in the last 20 years (BORASINO 2016, 49 ff.), and it there are currently no signs of it slowing down. Despite unsuccessful attempts for aggressive expansion by international investors (EADEM 2016, 47), interested capital can still potentially stimulate an even faster growth. Accompanying this rapid grow of oil palm cultivation, reports about its negative impacts have appeared, principally deforestation (e.g. PAUTRAT 01.11.14; EIA 2015; SALAZAR and RIVADENEYRA 2016).

Reported deforestation is not even close to the levels reported in countries like Indonesia and Malaysia; however, as referred to by DAMMERT BELLO, concerns

associated with oil palm in the Peruvian Amazon should be focused not just on the current extent, but on the velocity at which expansion is occurring (IDEM 2015, 19). Policy regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru should pay more attention to this. This is even more important in the light of national policies and international compromises assumed by the Peruvian state and which consider deforestation as a main problem to tackle (e.g. National Climate Change Strategy, National Strategy of Forests and Climate Change, and the ratification of the Paris Agreement).

In this context, in 2015, a proposal for a new plan to regulate oil palm cultivation in Peru appeared. The proposal for the National Plan for Sustainable Development of Oil Palm in Peru (2016-2021) will from now be referred to as *the proposal*. This document, stalled due to the request of a prior consultation promoted by original peoples, will probably never be enacted as it is referred to later. However, it is used as a reference point for the research.

A review of the proposal does not give the impression of a significant change towards the inclusion of ecological concerns about the expansion of oil palm in the Peruvian Amazon in the policy making regarding this crop. References to sustainable development as well as avoiding deforestation appear along the document many times. But the general objective of the proposal is not so different from that of the old plan. It is not clear if the ecological concerns brought up changes or if those concerns have even been included in the proposal.

A deeper analysis of the differences between the old plan and the proposal regarding the presented ecological concerns is needed. This will help to understand the direction that policy regarding oil palm follows and to identify challenges that are still to be tackled by it.

The conceptualisation of policy based on discourses provides a framework for such an analysis. This is called Discursive Institutionalism (DI), which allows looking at discourses as the articulation of ideas and at policies as the institutionalised discourses (LYNGGAARD 2007, 294). Considering this, policy changes can be identified through partial or full changes in the institutionalised discourses, which receive the name of policy paradigms (HALL 1993, 279). Moreover, the concept of ideational power helps understanding the ways policy actors can promote or discourage policy change influencing “other actors’ normative and cognitive beliefs through the use of ideational

elements” (CARSTENSEN and SCHMIDT 2016, 318). This way, some policy actors can influence the position of others towards policy and available options for it. Discourses, then, provide rich information for the analysis of policy change.

In this respect, the research is driven by the following general question “to what extent have ecological concerns associated with the expansion of oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon triggered a process of policy change in the promotion of oil palm cultivation in Peru?” It is important to note that, since the proposal has never been enacted, it is not possible to address policy change itself. Considering this, the analysis focuses on the possibility of ecological concerns triggering a process of change, which can be tracked by looking at the intentions posed through policy documents.

From the general question, three specific questions are derived: (a) “what policy paradigms are behind the old plan and the proposal?”, (b) “how do the old plan and the proposal include ecological concerns associated with oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon?”, and (c) “what kind of ideational power can be found in the policy making associated with oil palm cultivation in Peru regarding negative ecological impacts in the Amazon?”

The following five chapters attempt to articulate answers to these questions. Chapter 2 presents the literature review, which is divided into three sections. The first section presents the theoretical framework for the research. It is based on DI (SCHMIDT and RADAELLI 2004; SCHMIDT 2008, 2011) and includes as analytical concepts the concepts of orders of policy change by HALL (1993), and further developments on it (COLEMAN et al. 1996; OLIVER and PEMBERTON 2004), and ideational power by CARSTENSEN and SCHMIDT (2016). The second section provides the context of oil palm cultivation in Peru, which is preceded by an overview of the world status of the crop for comparisons. The third section contains a summary of the state of the art on the analysis of policies regarding oil palm cultivation. This is done not just for the Peruvian case but also at the international level.

Chapter 3 presents the method and materials used for the research. The research is based on interpretive policy analysis: a qualitative research approach which proposes a dialogue among the background of the researcher, the available literature and data (WAGENAAR 2011). It is explained in more detail at the beginning of the chapter. In the second section, the background of the researcher is briefly described. Next, data collection

is detailed. This includes a systematic literature review, the collection of policy documents and semi-structured interviews. The process of analysis of the data set, done by qualitative coding, is then described. Finally, details about the preparation of this manuscript are reported in the fifth section of this chapter.

The fourth chapter reports the results of the analysis, which are then divided into five parts. Results from the literature review about paradigms in Peruvian agriculture policy and policy regarding oil palm in Peru are first presented. The results from the coding are reported in the second section, which includes the results of policy instruments, those of the interviews and results cross-cutting the whole data set. Finally, findings are summarised according to the three specific research questions.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 present discussions and conclusions respectively. The fifth chapter discusses results addressing first each specific research question followed by the general one. Finally, discussions regarding the fit of the results to theory and the methodological aspects are presented. The last chapter reports first the general conclusion: Ecological concerns have considerably influenced a pathway towards significant change in the policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru. Recommendations for policies and further research are then presented at the end.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review is divided into three sections. The first section develops the theoretical framework applied to the research. It is based on DI (SCHMIDT and RADAELLI 2004; SCHMIDT 2008, 2011) and incorporates the three orders of change by HALL (1993) and ideational power by CARSTENSEN and SCHMIDT (2016) as main analytical concepts. Extensions of the orders of policy change (COLEMAN et al. 1996; OLIVER and PEMBERTON 2004) and referential agriculture policy paradigms (COLEMAN et al. 2004) are also presented. The second section presents the status of oil palm cultivation in Peru, which is contrasted with an overview on the world status of oil palm growing. The third section provides an overview of the state of the art on the analysis of policies regarding oil palm cultivation at an international level and in Peru.

2.1. From discourses to policy change¹

Discourses can be institutionalised and become public policy. In that way, they frame policy action, serving as a guide but also as a filter to the influence of other discourses on policy. Then, for the study case, it is expected that the discourse institutionalised through the public policy on oil palm cultivation in Peru sets limits to policy action and filter the influence of other discourses in policy making.

Theoretically, the research looks at discourses as basis of public policy as well as to their changes and the driving forces of change. The following theoretical framework presents concepts that allow the research to base on these points.

2.1.1. Discursive Institutionalism

2.1.1.1. What is it?

Also referred to as ideational institutionalism, constructivist institutionalism or strategic constructivism (SCHMIDT 2008, 304), DI frames the analysis of how ideas construct policy making through discourses. Discourses *articulate* ideas in rule-based systems producing context-specific conceptions and interpretations of the social world, which can be *institutionalised*, becoming authorised and sanctioned policies (LYNGGAARD 2007, 294). In this sense, DI "considers the discourse in which actors engage in the process of

¹ This section is based on the literature provided by Professor Peter H. Feindt in his course "Public Policy Analysis: Agriculture and Food Policy" given at the Humboldt University in Berlin during the winter semester 2017/2018.

generating, deliberating, and/or legitimizing ideas about political action in institutional context according to a 'logic of communication'." (SCHMIDT 2011, 47).

Unlike the three older new institutionalisms (Rational Choice Institutionalism, Historical Institutionalism and Sociological Institutionalism), whose institutions are exogenous to policy actors, DI's institutions are internal to them, who acknowledge institutions as structures but also as constructs, which can be transformed by them (EADEM 2011, 55).² This allows a transition from "positivist approaches, in which ideas are mainly seen as reflecting the strategic interests of actors, to constructivist approaches, in which ideas are seen to constitute interests" (EADEM 2011, 50).

From this perspective, ideas and discourses articulating them represent interests influencing policy making and, finally, defining policy.

2.1.1.2. Ideas behind policy

Ideas are the final point of reference for policy actors, who need to express for or against them "in order to produce relevant and meaningful statements" (LYNGGAARD 2007, 294). In a policy context, they are better understood through the description of their different levels and types. SCHMIDT (2008) develops on this.

Ideas can be generated at three levels of generality: policy solutions (or just policy) are at the first level, programmes are at the second one, and public philosophies are at the third and most basic level. Policy is the direct source of solutions to the problems defines in the next level (EADEM 2008, 307). Programmatic ideas "define the problems to be solved by [the policy]; the issues to be considered; the goals to be achieved; the norms, methods, and instruments to be applied; and the ideals that frame the more immediate policy ideas proposed to solve any given problem" (EADEM 2008, 307). Finally, public philosophies undergird ideas in the other levels, presenting rarely contested underlying assumptions (EADEM 2008, 307).

Ideas can also be divided into two types: cognitive ideas and normative ideas. Cognitive ideas (also called causal ideas) provide the background to policy and programmes and justify them according to certain public philosophy (EADEM 2008, 307). Normative ideas refer to appropriateness, either by looking at the match of policies with

² SCHMIDT (2011) calls agents with these characteristics as sentient agents.

“aspirations and ideals of the general public” or by the resonance of policies and the programmes behind them with public philosophies (EADEM 2008, 307).

2.1.1.3. Discourse in policy change

Discourse articulation

Conveying ideas for discourse elaboration includes the process of policy coordination, where discourses are build up, as well as political communication (EADEM 2008, 310). Coordinative discourses refer to the policy construction and includes policy stakeholders involved in the articulation of political discourses, for example the civil servants, elected officials, experts, and activists (EADEM 2008, 310). Communicative discourses comprise "the presentation, deliberation, and legitimation of political ideas to the general public" and it occurs in the political sphere of policy making, involving several political actors from opposition parties, media, civil society and the academia (EADEM 2008, 310). The elaboration of coordinative discourse might be strongly linked to cognitive ideas, while communicative discourses do to normative ones.

Interaction through discourses

As Schmidt refers to

"Without discourse, understood as the exchange of ideas, it is very difficult to explain how ideas go from individual thought to collective action. We don't, after all, know what people are thinking or why they act the way they do until they say it. And we don't, for the most part, engage in collective action or in collective (re)thinking of our actions without the articulation, discussion, deliberation, and legitimization of our ideas about our actions" (EADEM 2011, 55).

Such exchange is possible using two different abilities of political agents: background ideational abilities and foreground discursive abilities. Background ideational abilities link discourse and action when allowing agents understanding of discourses and their embedded ideas in a given context (EADEM 2011, 55). Background ideational abilities do not propitiate changes (or maintenance) by themselves. Therefore, foreground discursive abilities are needed. These allow agents "to think outside the institutions" in which they behave, making it possible to critique discourses and persuade other agents to act against or in favour of them (EADEM 2011, 55).

2.1.1.4. Limits of Discursive Institutionalism

SCHMIDT (2011), when defining and describing DI, refers also to two main limitations of the framework, namely, (a) a too voluntarist view on institutions and (b) a lack of seriousness when approaching power and position.

The voluntarist approach of DI sets a challenge for the balanced inclusion of institutions from the other three new institutionalisms, which can frame the analysis of discourses and ideas. DI, at the same time that goes beyond the static view of the older new institutionalisms, relies too much on policy agents voluntarism, unless structural constraints from the other three institutionalisms are borrowed (EADEM 2011, 60).

However, this does not necessarily solve the problem:

"while discursive approaches in the sociological institutionalist tradition might suffer from too much constructivism [ignoring material interests in favour of seeing everything as socially constructed within a given culture], those in the rational choice or historical institutionalist tradition might suffer from too much positivism, with political action assumed to be motivated by instrumental rationality alone, such that cognitive ideas about interests over determine the choice of ideas, crowding out the normative values that also colour any conceptualization of interest" (EADEM 2011, 60).

The focus on discourses and the power they hold approaches just a part of power, which can also come from the advantageous position of some actors with respect to the others. Discursive institutionalists tend to overlook position in their analysis and focus on ideational power (Sub-section 2.1.2), which often give power to actors who do not enjoy the power of position (EADEM 2011, 60). Then, one part of the power interplay in policy making might miss when basing research on DI.

Moreover, it must be considered that the inclusion of discourses is not a panacea for the analysis of policy change. Discourse, just as any other factor, sometimes matters, sometimes does not in the explanation of policy change. (SCHMIDT and RADAELLI 2004, 184).

In short, discourses, articulating ideas and representing interests, allow the interaction among policy actors with respect to policy. Policy actors interact when positioning for or against other discourses ideas. Actors who take part off this interaction through their ideational abilities and support or oppose discourses. When policy actors act for or against discourses institutionalised into policies, they act as well to prevent or promote policy change. In this sense, if discourses behind policy change, subsequent

enacted policy is expected to change as well. How much they change or how they do it is matter of the next Sub-section.

2.1.2. Policies change when discourses do

Since policy is institutionalised discourse and discourses can change, it is to be expected that changes in discourses behind policy affect policy itself. This is explained bellow.

2.1.2.1. Policy change and social learning

Social learning and policy paradigms

Social learning is a process that may lead to policy change. HALL defines social learning as "a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience and new information" (IDEM 1993, 278). If successful, the result of such attempt is a policy change (IDEM 1993, 278).

Based on the concept of policy paradigm, policy changes can be understood as changes into the discourses behind policies. "[Policy makers] customarily work within a framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goal of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing" (IDEM 1993, 279). Such framework is a discourse and is given by HALL the name of policy paradigm (IDEM 1993, 279). Policy discourses, then, become policy paradigms when institutionalised.

Since adjustments are not always of the same magnitude, these are divided into three different orders of change.³ These orders match the three central variables that usually involve policy making: (a) settings of policy instruments, (b) techniques or policy instruments, and (c) and overarching policy goals (IDEM 1993, 278). These orders of change are based on the case of macroeconomic policy making in Britain from 1970 to 1989, where a Keynesian policy paradigm was changed to a monetarist one (IDEM 1993, 277). The orders of policy change are explained next.

Hall's three orders of policy change

First and second orders of change, which match the two first central variables usually involved in policy making, do not represent deep changes in policy. A first order change is the "softest" form of policy change since it addresses just settings of policy instruments,

³ Not to be confused with the three levels of ideas in policy (Sub-section 2.1.1.2).

without challenging policy instruments or the policy paradigm (IDEM 1993, 278). A second order change goes further, representing changes of policy instruments; however, it does not challenge the policy paradigm either (IDEM 1993, 278 f.). The first and second order of changes are principally responses (in a time $t=1$) to results of previous policy (in a time $t=0$) (IDEM 1993, 288). This is considered normal policy making since they result from adjustments which do not challenge the policy paradigm (IDEM 1993, 279).

Changes of the third order, on the contrary, are major changes in policy, which involve state and society and lead to shifts of policy paradigm. Changes of this order result from processes of reflection on past experiences and involve also first and second order changes (IDEM 1993, 279). Such processes do not necessarily occur inside an autonomous state; it "can be a much broader affair subject to powerful influences from society and the political arena" (IDEM 1993, 288). This implies a relation state-society. For the case of the British macroeconomic policy, HALL found that the relation state-society occurred not just through political parties or other organised groups; the media, for example, played a significant role (IDEM 1993, 288).

Changes of third order do not occur separately from first or second order changes. As HALL reports the sequence of failures at the application of Keynesian measures to recover control on the economy led to the discredit of the paradigm (IDEM 1993, 285). This gave the opportunity to the monetarists to take the lead and change the policy paradigm.

2.1.2.2. Evolutionary policy change

Based as well on the analysis of the British Macroeconomic policy, but in a period longer than that of HALL (1993), OLIVER and PEMBERTON (2004) adjusted this model of policy change for including for evolutionary rather than just revolutionary paradigm changes. Their model shows that "a failure to stabilize the paradigm via first and second order changes does not necessarily result in paradigm change" (IIDEM 2004, 419).

In their extended model of policy change, OLIVER and PEMBERTON consider that change will depend on the presence of shocks which erode the policy paradigm in place (IIDEM 2004, 416). However, authors also argue that this will as well depend on "the preparedness of interest groups to adopt [the change], on their ability to promote the new idea and to secure its endorsement by those in power, and on its subsequent adoption by

the institutions of economic policy" (IIDEM 2004, 419). Otherwise, a processes of policy paradigm change will be started, but not fully completed.

2.1.2.3. Networks for driving policy change

When analysing the agriculture policies in three industrialised countries (USA, Canada and Australia) in the long term, COLEMAN et al. found dynamics of change different from those in the financial sector analysed by HALL (1993) in Britain (COLEMAN et al. 1996, 277). They suggest that, in the agriculture sector, there are incentives for the formation and institutionalisation of policy networks, which finally drive policy change (EIDEM 1996, 277).

They found that policy actors can join in two types of networks, which will influence differently policy making: corporatist networks and pressure pluralist networks.

Corporatist networks tend to be representational monopolies, controlled by representative groups (EIDEM 1996, 278). They organize in long-standing institutionalised relations in a form of peak associations with a public status: recognised by the state, receiving public resources and being able to participate in policy formulation (EIDEM 1996, 278). All these facilitate communication in order to influence policy making and achieve policy change (EIDEM 1996, 278 f.). According to the authors, a corporatist network "features a more managed, planned, even anticipatory series of changes that are negotiated between state actors and group representatives around a new set of basic principles" (EIDEM 1996, 297).

On the contrary, pressure pluralist networks join policy actors who compete with each other for benefits from the state as well as for members to represent (EIDEM 1996, 278). This type of networks have relatively low levels of integration (vertical and horizontal) and group generally ad hoc, dissolving after once their political motivation disappears (EIDEM 1996, 278). Pressure pluralist networks seek to influence policy change from outside the state (EIDEM 1996, 278) and do not have public status (EIDEM 1996, 278).

Corporatist networks are associated with cumulative rather negotiated changes, while pressure pluralist networks relate to crisis-driven change (EIDEM 1996, 298). Then, crisis or shocks might be essential ingredients of policy change if groups pursuing change cannot build institutions for a corporatist influence on policy making.

After explaining how policy changes based on discourses, it is necessary to know how policy actors can influence policy making using of discourses, or more specifically using ideas imbedded in them. For the case of study, it is expected that some policy actors act against ideas in policies regarding oil palm cultivation policy in Peru from an ecological point of view. Next, ideational power is presented to depict how this can happen.

2.1.3. Ideational power and policy change

2.1.3.1. What is it?

Ideational power is “the capacity of actors (whether individual or collective) to influence other actors’ normative and cognitive beliefs through the use of ideational elements” (CARSTENSEN and SCHMIDT 2016, 318). Ideational power is a category of power different from compulsory (direct control of one individual over another), structural (subject's capacities are constructed in direct relation to another) and institutional (control through mediating formal and informal institutions) forms of power (EIDEM 2016, 321).

The use of ideational power presents three different features. First, ideational power "is exerted through the constitution of intersubjective meaning structures that agents both draw on to give meaning to their material and social circumstances and battle over to affect what ideas and discourses are deemed viable" (EIDEM 2016, 322). Second, struggles to influence discourses from top-down interactions in the policy hierarchy are considered as important as those from bottom-up interactions (EIDEM 2016, 322). Third, ideational power is agency-oriented since it looks at how normative and cognitive beliefs of actors are affected by exertion power through ideational elements (EIDEM 2016, 322). Rather than dismissing structure, this feature implies that ideational structures are susceptible to change also with the use of them by political agents (EIDEM 2016, 323).

2.1.3.2. Types of ideational power

CARSTENSEN and SCHMIDT (2016) identify three different types of ideational power: power through ideas, power over ideas and power in ideas.

Power through ideas

Power through ideas is defined as the "capacity of actors to persuade other actors to accept and adopt their views of what to think and do through the use of ideational elements" (EIDEM 2016, 323). Ideational elements are used by ideational actors through foreground

discursive abilities in order to persuade other actors of their positions (EIDEM 2016, 325). In this case, persuasion does not mean having the best argument, but adequate cognitive and normative ones (EIDEM 2016, 323 f.). This means defining a programme and its policy coherently, regarding a discourse and according to public philosophies.

Power over ideas

Power over ideas is defined as the "capacity of actors to control and dominate the meaning of ideas" (EIDEM 2016, 326). It is exerted in three different ways.

First, it is exerted by powerful actors, who control over compulsory, institutional and structural forms of power to ensure that the ideas they support remain predominant and unchallenged (EIDEM 2016, 326). Persuasion can be also involved in these kind of processes; however, their most important feature is "the control over the production of meaning and the diffusion of information via the mass media" (EIDEM 2016, 326).

Power over ideas is also exerted by usually powerless ideational actors, who gain affinity from other powerful agents in a conflictual context (EIDEM 2016, 327).

"[H]ere the use of ideas to exert power is [...] instrumental, in the sense that the actor who is affected does not necessarily believe in the ideas, but the intersubjective efficacy of the idea – and the communicative discourse employed by the ideational agent – is so strong that the actors concerned are compelled to adhere to the idea" (EIDEM 2016, 327).

This is the case, for example, of social movements acting for cases which are widely considered fair and difficult to contest (e.g. environmental conservation).

Power over ideas can also be exercised when policy actors in closed groups

"are able to harness enough legitimacy around their policy ideas to avoid considering alternative approaches. Often such legitimacy is based on the technical or scientific complexity of the knowledge necessary to create policy in a given sector, which enables actors to disregard alternative approaches as untenable or not even qualified for discussion" (EIDEM 2016, 327).

Corporatist networks relate to this way to exert power over ideas.

Power in ideas

Power in ideas refers to "the authority certain ideas enjoy in structuring thought at the expense of other ideas" (EIDEM 2016, 329). It is at a deeper level that power through or over ideas. While these focus on the interaction between ideational agents, power in ideas does on ideational structures (EIDEM 2016, 329). In general terms,

"power in ideas concerns the ways that agents seek to depoliticize ideas to the degree where they recede into the background, meaning that they become so accepted that their very existence may be forgotten, even as they may come to structure peoples' thoughts about the economy, polity and society" (EIDEM 2016, 329).

Ideas are, in this case, the political background that constrain and limit the range of acceptable options for policy makers (EIDEM 2016, 329 f.).

For the case of oil palm cultivation in Peru, it can be expected that some actors use ideational power to promote or prevent changes addressing to incorporate ecological concerns. Environmental activists might use power over ideas, while those defending current policies might apply power in or through ideas.

Once the role of discourses in defining public policy and the ways policy actors interact throughout them to promote or prevent policy change have been theoretically presented, it is necessary to assign parameters to identify and compare discourses in agriculture policy. The following section presents them. Since these discourses are found behind already implemented policies, they are referred to as agriculture policy paradigms.

2.1.4. Paradigms of agriculture policy

COLEMAN et al. (2004) identify four different policy paradigms in the agriculture sectors worldwide: dependent paradigm, competitive paradigm, multifunctional paradigm, and globalised production paradigm. These paradigms are based on the analysis of OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, but are increasingly applied in the so called developing countries (IIDEM 2004, 92). Studies characterising agriculture policy paradigms in Latin America or Peru were not found. Nevertheless, the presented paradigms are expected to be congruent with the case of Peru and its current national policy, influenced by neoliberal concepts (see Sub-section 4.1.1).

The dependent and the competitive paradigms are, to certain extent opposite concepts. The *dependent paradigm* defends the idea that the agriculture sector provides food needs as well as national security, political stability and rural employment, but requires government support for the generation of adequate incomes (IIDEM 2004, 92). It is assured that the agriculture sector cannot compete with other sectors in the national economy or other agriculture sectors overseas (IIDEM 2004, 92). On the contrary, the *competitive paradigm* argues that the agriculture sector can compete with other economic sectors and thrive in international markets (IIDEM 2004, 92). The function of the state, in

this case, is to provide conditions for the farmers to compete adequately in the national and international markets (IIDEM 2004, 93).

The multifunctional and the globalised production paradigms present similar features to the dependent and competitive ones respectively, but including aspects associated with current global concerns. The *multifunctional paradigm* conceptualises the agriculture sector as part of the countryside landscape and a provider of non-market environmental goods, whose adequate provision requires government support (IIDEM 2004, 92). Like the dependent paradigm, it demands government support, but for the provision of environmental public goods. Under the *globalised production paradigm*, agriculture is seen as food chains, "where farmers are seen as supplying land and animal management services to an integrated vertical process from input supply and technology provision through marketing the product" (IIDEM 2004, 92). In this case, governments are supposed to provide conditions for competitive trade as well as safety and quality standards, which ensure acceptability of service provision and fairness (IIDEM 2004, 94).

Table 1 comprises programmes associated with each agriculture policy paradigms. This table presents how discourses, or policy paradigms in this case, determine problems, their solutions and appropriate policy instruments. These programmes provide benchmarks for the analysis.

Table 1: Features of the four agriculture policy paradigms

Paradigms	Nature of agricultural problem	Policy objectives	Policy instruments
Dependent paradigm	Low incomes chronic in agriculture Not competitive with other sectors without assistance Not competitive with other countries without protection	Government needed to fix markets Supply control necessary to avoid surpluses	Border protection Surplus buying State trading Export assistance
Competitive paradigm	Average or above average income levels in farming Competitive with other sectors only if costs are kept under control Competitive in world markets only with "level playing field" achieved through reform of domestic border policies	Move towards free market Relax supply control Provide safety-nets in times of price weakness	Decoupled payments in transition Risk management Low safety-nets
Multifunctional paradigm	Incomes of farms inadequate for support rural areas Production of public goods under-rewarded	Preserve countryside for recreational value Keep family businesses viable Stimulate rural development to provide off-farm jobs	Environmental subsidies Cross-compliance to enforce environmental regulation Protection against "monofunctional" agriculture
Globalised production paradigm	Consumer-driven (i.e.: top-down) sector implies focus on market opportunities and product differentiation, which policy must encourage Incomes depend on bargaining power within chain, not just on costs	Establish quality and safety standards Promote fairness in contractual relationships	Harmonisation of regulations and standards Competition enforcement Protection of intellectual property

Compilation of tables presented by COLEMAN et al. (2004).

Prepared by the author.

Information about agriculture policy paradigms allow to spot the complexity of the interplay among them when policy change is attempted. For example, farmers under policy based on the dependent paradigm might disagree with losing state support if a change towards the competitive paradigm is proposed and they might oppose it. On the opposite side, this change might be supported by large-scale companies of the sector that can increase their revenues if the state focuses on improving competitiveness. These

different interests will be translated into discourses, which will justify actions to influence policy making to certain direction.

For the case of oil palm cultivation in Peru, the analysis attempt to identify discourses behind the old plan and the proposal to spot changes and their driving forces. Ecological concerns about oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon might have already promoted such attempt. But confirmation is searched. The next section provides an overview on the cultivation of oil palm in Peru and contrasts it with the world situation to define similarities and differences. This provides basis for the analysis.

2.2. Peru's oil palm cultivation in context

Oil palm is a very versatile and productive oil crop suited ideally to zones where tropical rainforests exist. Its expansion along the tropics, especially in South East Asia, has brought beneficial economic consequences, but also significant negative social and ecological impacts. Peru is not the exception to this.

This section presents the context of oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon in a global context to spot similarities and differences with global trends. A brief description of oil palm characteristics is first provided.

2.2.1. Brief: oil palm, uses and cultivation

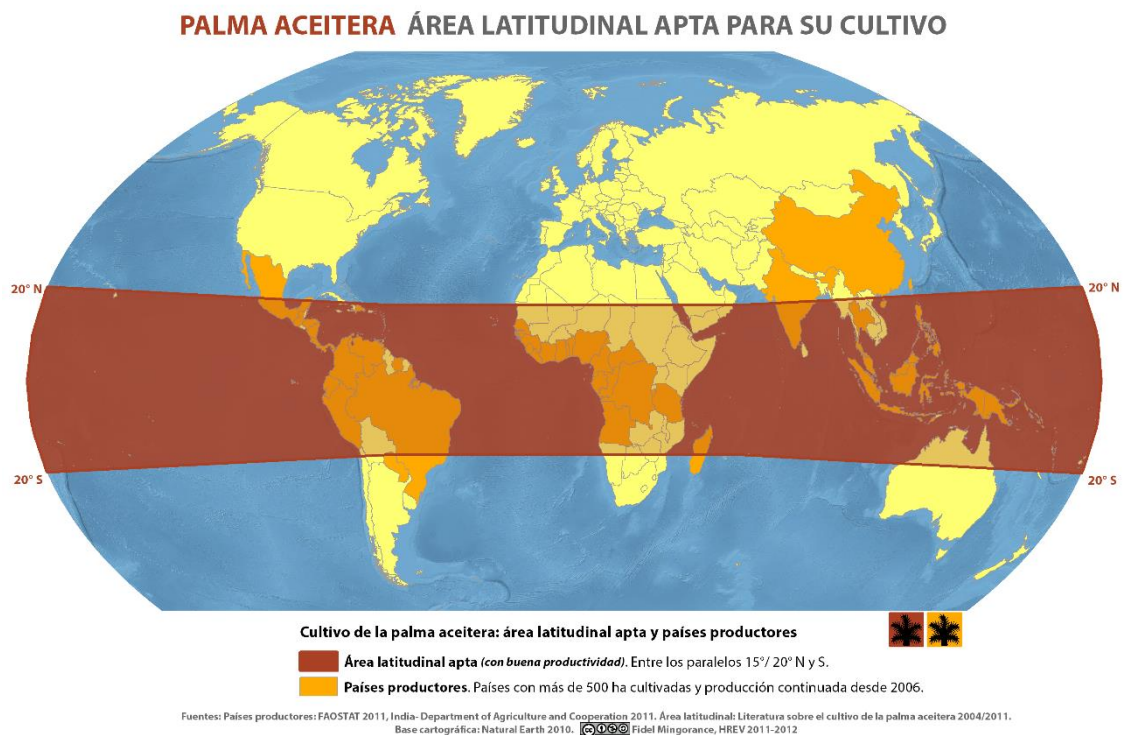
Elaeis Guineensis is the scientific name of oil palm, a tree original from west Africa, which in Spanish is referred to as *palma aceitera* (the name used in Peru), *palma africana* (used commonly in Colombian literature) and *palma de aceite* (no specific place was identified for the use of this name). Names in Spanish are important since most of literature about oil palm in Peru is written in Spanish. This is similar for the case of other countries in Latin America. These names were important when looking systematically for literature as will be explained in the next chapter (see Sub-section 3.3.1).

Oil palm is a very productive crop whose fruits release a very versatile red-coloured oil used as an input for several products. Palm oil can supply industries of edibles as well as in those of non-edibles. Patisserie, ice cream, instant soups, margarine, cook oil, soaps, detergents, lubricants and paints are among some of the products produced with palm oil (MINAG 2012, 18 f.). Biofuels are also part of this group (IDEM 2012, 13). Although oil from other vegetable crops show similar versatility, like Canola or Sunflower, oil palm is appreciated due its high productivity per hectare: 2.5 to 5 times

higher (GRUPO PALMAS 2012, 7). Another oil can be also extracted from the kernel of the fruit, which is used as well in several industries (MINAG 2012, 13). Since the distinction between the two oils is not fundamental for the following analysis, both are referred to together as palm oils.

Oil palm grows optimally in tropical latitudes, especially where the conditions are also optimal for rain forests ecosystems. As Figure 1 shows, oil palms grow optimally between the 20° north latitude and the 20° south latitude. This area overlaps the locations where tropical rain forests are placed (BARRANTES et al. 2016, 35). Oil palm grows under similar conditions than those under which tropical forests do. Ideal climatic conditions for oil palm cultivation are temperatures between 22°C and 33°C, and annual precipitations between 1,800 mm and 2,000 mm (MINAG 2012, 10), while, for example, the low Peruvian Amazon presents an average annual temperature of 24°C and annual precipitation of 2,000 mm.⁴

Figure 1: Oil palm, latitudinal area for its cultivation



Source: MINGORANCE (2011).

Based on its characteristics, it might be expected that oil palm leads among other oil crops and that the search of optimal locations for its cultivation and that the production

⁴ Perú Ecológico – Selva baja: http://www.peruecologico.com.pe/ecorregion_selvabaja_1.htm (29.08.18).

of palm oil has a significant potential to generate a competition for land with tropical rainforest.

2.2.2. Oil palm cultivation in a world context

2.2.2.1. Global production and distribution

Currently, oil palm leads the world production of vegetable oils. According to FAOSTAT, oil palm took the lead as the principal source of vegetable oils from soybean in 2006. In 2014, oils from oil palm accounted for 32.79 percent of the total world production of vegetable oils, while soybean oil did for the 29.53. However, it is expected that the production of oils from oil palm slows down its pace in the following years, while production associated with soybean does the opposite (OECD and FAO 2016, 101). In any case, oil palm is expected to remain in an expectant position in the market.

Cultivation has expanded principally in South East Asia, where Indonesia and Malaysia are the principal producers of palm oil of the world. According to FAOSTAT, in 2016, Indonesia and Malaysia represented together 67.82 percent of the world total harvested land of oil palm. These countries accumulate not just most of cultivated lands but also a large portion of the world production of vegetable oils. Table 2 presents Indonesia and Malaysia as the first world producers of palm oils. These countries accumulated 50.50 and 34.19 of the world production of palm oils respectively in 2014. In the same year, they also accounted, respectively, for 19.56 and 12.74 percent of the total world production of vegetable oils, being the first and the third world producers respectively.

Table 2: Five main world producers of vegetable oils (2014)

Country	World production (2014)		Principal crop	
	Mt	%	Crop	World rank
Indonesia	33.97	19.56	Oil palm	1st
China	22.52	12.97	Soybean	1st
Malaysia	22.13	12.74	Oil palm	2nd
United States of America	12.90	7.42	Soybean	2nd
Brazil	8.50	4.89	Soybean	3rd
Others	73.69	42.42	Rapeseed	

Source: FAOSTAT .

Prepared by the author.

Due to the relevance of the Indonesian and the Malaysian cases for the study of oil palm cultivation, the information presented in the following sub-section relates principally with these countries. However, information for African countries and in Latin America has also been included.

2.2.2.2. Impacts associated with oil palm cultivation

Socio-economic impacts

At a national level, oil palm industry has become an important part of Indonesian and Malaysian exports and an important source of currency. Table 3 shows that Indonesia and Malaysia together account for almost 90 percent of the total value of the palm oils production in the world. The participation in the total economy of each country does not seem much relevant. However, as the table also presents, these products share a very considerable portion of Indonesia and Malaysia Exports. According to OEC, palm oil leads in both cases the exports in the “Vegetable and animal bioproducts” sector. In 2016, palm oil became the most important export of Indonesia (IDEM).

Table 3: Oil in Indonesia and Malaysia economies (2014)

Country	Palm oil production			Palm oil exports	
	Value (B of US\$)	% of world production	% of country GDP	Value (B of US\$)	% of total exports
Indonesia	33.70	47.68	0.38	17.50	8.90
Malaysia	29.57	41.82	0.87	12.40	4.50

Source: FAOSTAT, WORLD BANK DATA, OEC.

Prepared by the author.

When looking at the local level, there exist evidence of the positive impact of oil palm in income generation. In Indonesia as well as in Malaysia, oil palm cultivation is reported to improve live standards of small-scale growers. In Malaysia, the average income of oil palm growers is 2.56 times the national poverty line (MILLER 2015), while reports in Indonesia mention that oil palm cultivation can generate incomes even three times than those from other agricultural activities (WORLD GROWTH 2011, 14). Similar findings are obtained from studies in Guatemala (MINGORRÍA et al. 2014) and Colombia (HURTADO and HERNÁNDEZ-SALAZAR 2010). Based on their study in Sarawak, Malaysia, CRAMB and SUJANG (2013) mention that economically successful oil palm cultivation depends on the establishment of, at least, the infrastructure for processing palm oils.

However, evidence also show that economic inequalities are increased since income increases do not reach the whole local population, and that the social fabric is damaged due to new institutional arrangements put in place. Evidence in Indonesia shows unequal income distribution among locals since just those with enough capital are able to develop successful oil palm plantations (OBIDZINSKI et al. 2012, 24). Also in Indonesia workers exploitation and exposure to potentially dangerous substances was reported as well as reduced livelihoods for local populations and undermined community cohesion (SHEIL et al. 2009, 37 ff.). Situations of increased inequalities and weakened social fabric have been reported also in Mexico (OCÓN et al. 2013) and Colombia (ESPINOSA and CUVI 2016).

Oil palm expansion is also associated with land tenure conflicts and competition with other crops. Evidence in South East Asia relates oil palm expansion with disregard of traditional land tenure, land competition between oil palm and food crops, and increasing risks due to dependence on incomes from oil palm (MUKHERJEE and SOVACOOOL 2014, 5 f.). This is mainly associated with the expansion of large-scale plantations performing into rather permissive legal frameworks or out of them in collusion with bureaucrats as studies in Indonesia (URANO 2014), Sierra Leone (YENGOH and ARMAH 2016) and Colombia (HURTADO and PEREIRA 2011) show.

A special mention to the relation between oil palm expansion and forced displacement in areas directly affected by the internal armed conflict in Colombia must be done. Evidence about the correlation of both events has been collected for the first decade of the 2000s (OTÁLORA CORTÉS and CORTÉS RUEDA 2009; SABOGAL 2013). Some studies went even further and pointed out to the incursion of paramilitary groups (fighting against the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)), who entered violently rural areas and generated displacement, and finally installed oil palm plantations (GOEBERTUS ESTRADA 2008; HURTADO and HERNÁNDEZ-SALAZAR 2010; GARCÍA REYES 2014; OSORIO PÉREZ 2015). The incursion of paramilitary groups is associated with economic powers, which accused of collusion with bureaucrats or profiting from institutional weaknesses (OSORIO PÉREZ 2015, 25). The case of Poligrow in Mapiripán, Meta (FINZI 2017) provides one example of the situation.

Ecological impacts

From an ecological perspective, oil palm expansion principally threatens tropical rain forests. VIJAY et al. estimated, on the basis of high resolution georeferenced images for 20 countries, that in 2013, in comparison with 1989, oil palm expansion affected large extensions of tropical rain forests in South East (45 percent of sampled areas) Asia and South America (31 percent) (EIDEM 2016, 1). Ecuador (60.8 percent), Indonesia (53.8 percent) and Peru (53.1) lead the rank (EIDEM 2016, 10), while South American and African forests present the highest vulnerability in the future (EIDEM 2016, 1).

Deforestation of tropical rain forest is important mainly due to the loss of ecosystem services associated with them, being losses on carbon sequestration and biodiversity the most studied. It is estimated that these tropical rain forests and swamps about nine times the amount of carbon fixed by oil palm plantations in Indonesia (PETRENKO et al., 8). One study in Thailand points out that "emissions from converting other lands to oil palm will render benefit to the GHG balance of biodiesel" (SILALERTRUKSA and GHEEWALA 2012, 541). However, Indirect emissions from crop displacement might change the balance (EIDEM 2012, 541). The Sumatra tiger (LUSKIN et al.) and the orangutan (CAMPBELL-SMITH et al. 2011) are the two icons of biodiversity loss due to oil palm expansion. In general terms, it is found that oil palm presents less biodiverse ecosystems, dominated by generalist species (PETRENKO et al., 4 f.). Additionally, other negative impacts of oil palm cultivation begin to be studied, like those on water resources (LARSEN et al. 2014).

Currently, the most important initiative to tackle negative impacts associated with oil palm cultivation is the certification of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). The RSPO certification comprises criteria and principles to ensure sustainability of oil palm cultivation and make it credible (RSPO 2018). They refer to adequate conditions of workers in oil palm crops and restrictions to market palm oils from deforested areas for example. These principle and Criteria are generic and must be adapted to each country conditions through national interpretations (IDEM 2018).

Although oil palm cultivation can present encouraging figures with respect its economic performance, its significant negative impacts in social and ecological terms rise concerns. Negative impacts on the social fabric or biodiversity losses are not compensated

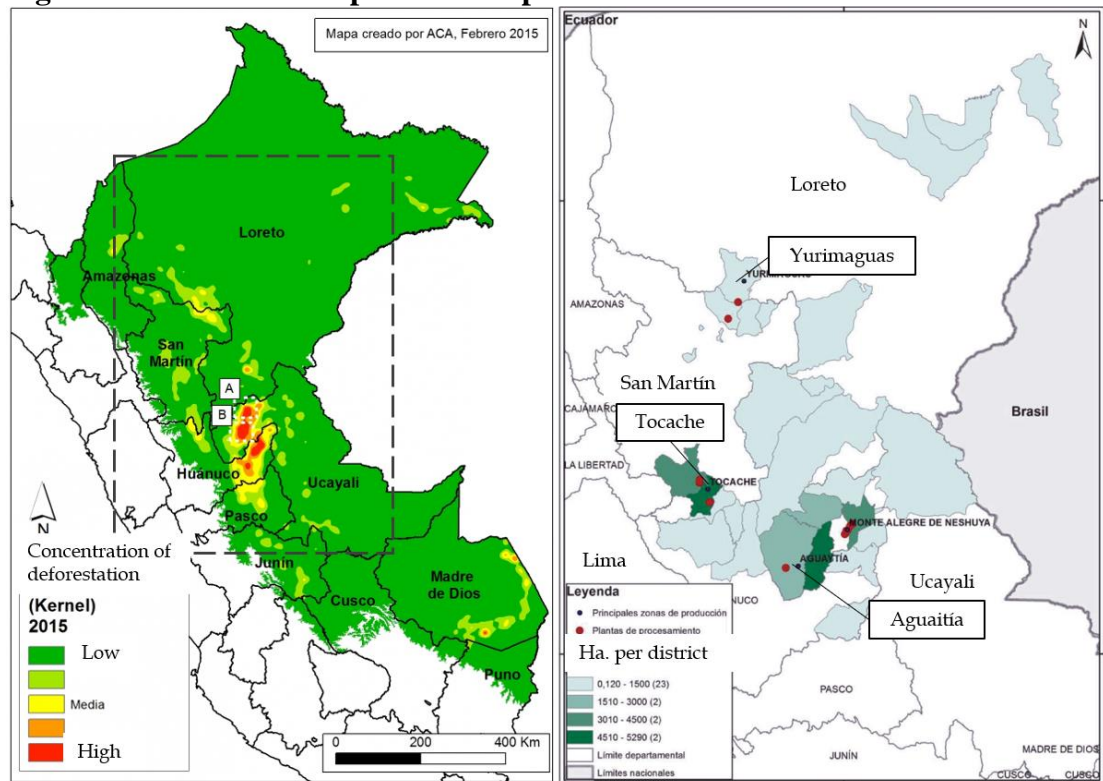
by increasing income. Therefore, these negative impacts must be considered when promoting of oil palm cultivation. Certification schemes are developed to support this.

2.2.3. Oil palm cultivation in Peru

2.2.3.1. Brief historical account of oil palm cultivation in Peru

The reader might get confused reading different names of organisations and their related locations in the Peruvian Amazon. To help this, Figure 2 is provided. It shows (right) areas where oil palm is cultivated in Peru. The figure also helps to compare the expansion of oil palm with deforestation in the Peruvian Amazon, described in the Sub-section 2.2.3.3.

Figure 2: Areas of development of oil palm in the Peruvian Amazon



Sources: BORASINO 2016; FINER and NOVOA 2016.
Prepared by the author.

Large-scale plantations

Oil palm cultivation in Peru started far before its legislation, in the early 1970s, with the establishment of large-scale plantations. In 1969, a technical mission of a French institute determined that the agro-climatic characteristics of the Peruvian Amazon match the conditions for oil palm cultivation (MINAG 2001, 5). After this, in 1973, the state company Emdepalma (Company for the Development and Exploitation of Oil Palm), was

established in San Martín as part of a colonisation project, with a plantation of 5,273 ha and a processing plant, which came three years later (BORASINO 2016, 37, 39).

Two more initiatives followed Emdepalma. Six years after, one the most important economic groups in Peru, the Romero Group, started operations also in San Martín with the company Palmas del Espino with 600 ha, which have grown to the 12,300 ha they own currently (EADEM 2016, 39). Its processing plant, Industrias del Espino, was established in 1982 (EADEM 2016, 39). The second state company, Cordepalma (Regional Corporation of Oil Palm), was established in 1981 with 702 ha in Loreto (MINAG 2001, 6). There is not register of the construction of a processing plant for Cordepalma. No large plantation, public or private, was established for long time after Cordepalma.

At the beginning of the 1990s the oil palm sector converted totally private. Both state companies entered a process of privatisation in 1993; finally, they were not sold and some of their land was assigned to former employees, while the rest was transferred to the MINAG (Ministry of Agriculture) (IDEM 2001, 6).

Some years after the enactment of the old plan, interest for the establishment of large-scale oil palm plots was reborn; however, just one plantation was established. In 2006, Palmas del Shanusi, another plantation of the Romero Group, was established in Loreto with about 10,000 ha, which currently is growing close to 15,000 ha, and its processing plant, Industrias del Shanusi, was established in 2010 (BORASINO 2016, 41).

Since the last years of the 2000s, transnational capitals started to show interest and even buy lands for the establishment of oil palm plantations. In 2007, Asian capitals (primarily Malaysian) initiated their way to Peru with the support of the Peruvian government, specifically the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Proinversión, a department of the Ministry of Economy and Finance (SALAZAR and RIVADENEYRA 2016, 57, 60). The name of Dennis Melka stands out from this group.⁵ He, associated with Malaysian investors and with contacts in the regional governments, applied with different company names for more than 100,000 ha for oil palm cultivation (EADEM 2016). After being rejected by MINAG, Melka started to buy and join small plots from locals and even was

⁵ Dennis Melka is an US American businessman, who developed large oil palm cultivations in Malaysia and looks permanently for opportunities to expand his operations (SALAZAR and RIVADENEYRA 2016, 35).

awarded 4,759 ha by the Regional Government of Ucayali despite omitting the mandatory environmental impact assessments (EAEDEM 2016, 60).

Small-scale plantations

Activities at a small-scale initiated in Ucayali in 1988 with the establishment of plantations by social agriculture partnerships,⁶ who nevertheless paid more attention to wood extraction due to the immediate revenues and the lower risk (MINAG 2001, 7).

After that failure, a model promoted by UN (United Nations) was established. In 1991, Cocepu (Central Committee of Oil Palm Growers of Ucayali), with funding from the UN and the Canadian government, and supported by the Regional Government of Ucayali, planted 1,300 ha in Ucayali and later installed a processing plant owned by Olamsa (Amazon Oilseeds),⁷ a Cocepu's company (IDEM 2001, 7). The creation Olamsa presented an innovative model in which Cocepu is its majority shareholder (56 percent), while associated growers own the rest (BORASINO 2016, 40). As explained by one of the interviewees, this way to share ownership prevents that Cocepu sells Olamsa since, according to the Peruvian legislation, the association cannot sell. So, there is no incentive from large-scale oil palm companies to tempt associates to sell their share.

After the enactment of the old plan small-scale plantations followed the UN model. In 2002, Jarpal (Gardens of Palm), another association, started oil palm cultivation with 2,000 ha in the border between Loreto and San Martín (1,000 ha each region) (BARRANTES et al. 2016, 47 f.). In 2006, Jarpal installed a processing plant owned by Indupalsa (Palm Industries), being Jarpal its majority shareholder (80.19 percent) accompanied by Olamsa and the Jarpal growers (EIDEM 2016, 48). Similar cases are those of Acepat (Central Association of Oil Palm Growers of Tocache), which received land and the plant owned by Emdepalma in San Martín (BORASINO 2016, 40 f.), and Aspash (Association of Oil Palm Growers of Shambillo), which installed a plantation of 1,000 ha in Ucayali as well as a processing plant (EAEDEM 2016, 42).

Despite the popularity of the UN model, to date, three associations of oil palm growers decided not to implement it and sell their fruits to Palmas del Espino. Fredepalma (Regional Federation of Oil Palm of San Martín), established in 2003 by ex Emdepalma

⁶ These partnerships were a legacy from the socialist military government in Peru at the late 1970s.

⁷ In many cases it would be found that company names present a "sa" ending. This comes from the abbreviation of *sociedad anónima*, which means limited company or stock corporation in English.

workers, rejected the UN model and decided to sell its production to Palmas del Espino, which provided credits to growers (EADEM 2016, 43 f.). Currently, Fredepalma sells its production to Olpesa as well (EADEM 2016, 44). The associations José Carlos Mariátegui and the of Oil Palm Growers of Santa Lucía were created with the support of Palmas del Espino. After growers invaded Palmas del Espino's land, the company gave up land to the invaders to solve the problems, the associations were created, and the company provides them credits as well as technical support (EADEM 2016, 44).

2.2.3.2. The current situation of the oil palm sector

Oil palm extension in Peru has grown about five times since 2000, reaching almost 80,000 ha mainly managed by medium- or small-scale growers. In 2000, about 15,000 ha were covered with oil palms, which increased until 56,932 ha in 2012, the year of the last agriculture census in Peru (BARRANTES et al. 2016, 39). These became 77,537 ha in 2015 (BORASINO 2016, 52).⁸ This means an average increase of 12 percent per year. As Table 4 presents, most of the area under Oil palm cultivation is managed by medium- or small-scale growers (53 percent) while the rest is managed by large-scale companies, principally by the Palmas Group (33 percent), part of the Romero Group.

Table 4: Cultivated area of oil palm in Peru per type of grower (2015)

Grower	Growing	In production	Nursery	Total	%
Romero Group	3,768	21,340	187	25,295	32.62
Associated growers	4,582	16,623	1,856	23,061	29.74
Other small- and middle-size growers	4,943	9,793	2,949	17,685	22.81
Melka Group	7,683	0	3,813	11,496	14.83
Total	20976	47756	8805	77537	100

Reproduced by the author with minor changes from BORASINO (2016).

Despite the rapid increase of oil palm cultivation, the production of palm oils is still far from matching the domestic demand. Between 1999 and 2014, the production of oil from oil palm grew at an average grow rate of 2.73 percent per year, reaching 368,325 Tm (EADEM 2016, 58). In the national industry of vegetable oils and greases, palm oil represents the major share (58 percent) (EADEM 2016, 59). However, Peru is still far from being sufficient in vegetable oils and receives significant imports of, for example, soybean

⁸ BORASINO (2016) does not indicate the year this information refers to. It is assumed that it was the year before the publication of the book: 2015.

and its derivatives (EADEM 2016, 60 f.). Moreover, production cannot even fulfil the domestic demand of palm oil. Significant amounts of it and its derivatives have been imported in recent years, mainly from Indonesia (EADEM 2016, 60).

Palm oil production in Peru is limited by national and international market features. Oil palm growers consider the production deficit as an opportunity to expand and making Peru a vegetable-oil-sufficient country; nevertheless, lower prices of imports (naturally low or with dumping) and discordant consumption patterns (consumers are not used to red-coloured oil) limit this intentions (DAMMERT BELLO 2015, 16). The case of biofuel, which was supposed to be one of the products linked to palm oil, must be highlighted. Biofuel imports grew considerably in recent years and left palm oil apart from this industry (BORASINO 2016, 62). In this context, successful claims against biofuel imports from Argentina associated with dumping were done by Palmas del Espino arguing damages the national industry (DAMMERT BELLO 2016, 79).

Peruvian oil palm growers still believe in the expansion of the sector and even started to export. BORASINO reports that, in 2014, these exports, which belonged almost completely to Romero Group, were low (EADEM 2016, 59 f.). As referred to by one of the interviewees, small-scale growers have also started to export in 2015 and expect a considerable increase this year. Nevertheless, their exports are still relatively low.

2.2.3.3. Impacts of oil palm cultivation in Peru

Socio-economic impacts

The Peruvian palm oil industry does not present a significant part of the Peruvian economy and cannot be considered as having an impact in this sense. There is no study on this respect, but it can be inferred from information in the previous sub-section. This is different from the Indonesian and Malaysian cases.

Oil palm cultivation generates higher incomes for growers and provides them better life conditions, even more if they belong to associations. Oil palm growers report that they generate sufficient income in a higher percentage than those cultivating other crops (EADEM 2016, 55). Moreover, ZEGARRA and VARGAS found that being in an oil palm association can increase incomes from growers in about 10 percent due to the services associations bring (fertilizer credits and technical support) (IIDEM 2016, 150). They also found that the incidence of poverty is lower among oil palm growers (8 percent) than in average in the areas where they are located (14 percent) (IIDEM 2016, 147).

However, it can be expected that, as found for international cases, increasing income solely for one group of the population can generate inequalities and damage the social fabric. Direct references to this issue in Peru were not found. However, findings quoted in the last paragraph already suggests at least increasing inequalities since oil palm growers generate higher incomes than growers of other crops.

Oil palm is also reported as successful in replacing in mitigating coca cultivation and providing an alternative and legal source of income (UNDOC 2016, 19). ZEGARRA and VARGAS found that 28.3 percent of the respondents of a survey performed in several places where oil palm is cultivated changed coca cultivation as their main source of family income for oil palm, figure that reaches a very significant 67.3 percent in Aguaitía, Ucayali (IIDEM 2016, 116). UNDOC reports in a study in Neshuya, Ucayali, that some oil palm growers were able to start oil palm cultivation due to income gained from coca cultivation (IDEM 2005, 6), providing also evidence of a transition from coca to oil palm cultivation.

There also exist reports about displacement motivated by oil palm projects. Reports point principally cases related to Melka's companies. For example, Plantaciones Ucayali is reported as responsible of the displacement of several small-scale growers in Ucayali in complicit with the regional government (SALAZAR and RIVADENEYRA 2016, 55 f.). The same company is accused to set disproportionate deals and to threat or promote hostile environments against those who oppose their activities (EAEDM 2016, 58).

Ecological impacts

Oil palm cultivation is found an important deforestation driver in Peru. According to VIJAY et al., 53.1 percent of the total expansion of oil palm cultivation in Peru between 1989 and 2013 occurred at the expense of forests (EIDEM 2016, 10). The Monitoring of the Andean Amazon Project, using high resolution satellite images, found that oil palm (among other activities such as alluvial mining or cocoa cultivation) is one of the most important deforestation drivers in the Peruvian Amazon (FINER et al. 2018; FINER and MAMANI 2018). In contrast with these findings, ZEGARRA and VARGAS' results show that a relatively low share of the land possessed by the oil palm growers respondents of a survey (14.1 percent) was forest previous to the cultivation of oil palm (IIDEM 2016, 117).

Forests loss is principally associated with large-scale plantations. Diverse reports present this relation (DAMMERT BELLO et al. 2012; EIA 2015; SALAZAR and

RIVADENEYRA 2016; FINER et al. 2018; FINER and MAMANI 2018). Melka is mentioned repeatedly in them. For example, he is associated with deforestation of about 13,000 ha in Loreto (2,000 ha) and Ucayali (11,000 ha) (SALAZAR and RIVADENEYRA 2016, 54, 55). His companies have received precautionary measures (*medidas cautelares*) to stop their activities in the Peruvian Amazon (see PAUTRAT 01.11.14; KENÉ 2018).

RSPO principles and criteria have already been interpreted in Peru and Junpalma (National Junta of Oil Palm of Peru), Palmas del Espino and Alicorp (an industry of food products, which belongs to the Romero Group) are already members of the RSPO. They can produce certified palm oils and derivatives. The process initiated in 2012, in 2015 the document with the national interpretation was socialised and in 2016 Junpalma, Palmas del Espino and Alicorp entered the RSPO (JUNPALMA 2017).

The Peruvian case raises concerns about the future of oil palm cultivation in the Amazon. Peru is still a small player in the huge oil palm international market led by Indonesia a Malaysia and the negative impacts in the Peruvian Amazon do not compare yet to those in the Asian countries. However, as DAMMERT BELLO states “this is not an issue to be analysed arithmetically. The environmental concern about oil palm is grounded on its rapid grow rates” (IDEM 2015, 19). Relevant positive impacts from oil palm cultivation are reported, but also are significant damages to the Amazon forest due to the deforestation that oil palm expansion implies are. Negative social impacts are found as well.

Policies regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru should reflect these aspects. Apparently, they do not do it or fail at the implementation. The next section presents the state of the art on policy analysis associated with oil palm cultivation and provides possible answers to this situation.

2.3. Policy making and oil palm cultivation: the state of the art

The literature related to this research is scarce and scattered. It approaches different topics and does not allow generalisations for the analysis. But it provides relevant information to be contrasted with the case of oil palm cultivation in Peru. The literature was divided into four sections, being the last one exclusively for the Peruvian case.

2.3.1. Making policies sustainable

2.3.1.1. Inclusion of ecological concerns into policy

Two studies refer to the inclusion of environmental aspects into policies. BRENNER focuses on the factors obstructing the integration of the environmental policy in two projects (one of them of oil palm cultivation) in mangroves regions in Mexico (IDEM 2018, 239).⁹ ANDERSON et al. examine the implementation of the green economy paradigm in Indonesia,¹⁰ focusing on challenges of multi-scalar environmental governance of oil palm cultivation (IIDEM 2016, 30).

Results refer to a lack of articulation among organisations, sectors and state levels promoting the inclusion of environmental aspects into policy and those in charge of the implementation of projects on the field. BRENNER found that the promotion of oil palm is not articulated with mangrove restoration initiatives and leads to crop expansion on degraded mangroves, preventing restoration activities (IDEM 2018, 260). Moreover, since budgets of dependencies in charge of ecosystem conservation policy in Mexico are low, they cannot afford remediation of negative impacts from oil palm expansion or other projects (IDEM 2018, 260). ANDERSON et al. found that attempts of the Indonesian national level to promote green economy at the provincial one comes into conflict due to different understandings of environmental governance and disconnection among policies (IIDEM 2016, 38). Oil palm promotion at the provincial level in a context of green economy promotion generates a paradox due to its negative ecological impacts (IIDEM 2016, 30).

Both studies highlight the influence of networks or coalitions for the strengthening positions for and against the inclusion of ecological concerns in policy. BRENNER mentions the existence of clientelist networks which include local bureaucracy and local businessmen for political support to the promotion oil palm (IDEM 2018, 257). ANDERSON et al. consider that just complete institutional arrangements or markets are not solution for the implementation of green economy; it is essential that key reformist actors, policy makers and non-state actors, mobilize support to reformist coalitions (IIDEM 2016, 38).

⁹ By integration of the environmental policy, the author refers to the incorporation of environmental concepts to public policy (BRENNER 2018, 240).

¹⁰ Green economy depicts the conversion of conventional development to incorporate a sustainable management of natural resources using market mechanisms and without curtailing economic growth (ANDERSON et al. 2016, 30).

LARSEN et al. found a "water blindness" in Indonesian policies regarding sustainable oil palm cultivation due to an almost exclusive focus on climate change (EIDEM 2014, 302). When looking at the use of criteria for sustainable production and existing certification schemes as basis to "improve the accountability of market actors and promote sustainable water resource management" (EIDEM 2014, 295), they found a high focus on climate related issues, which lead to the de-politization of water resources and set them aside of market solutions (EIDEM 2014, 303). This is also the case of many other natural resources and even locals peoples' livelihood (EIDEM 2014, 302). Authors also consider that certifications, such as RSPO, do not really help to handle problems related to oil palm cultivation, but provide just cosmetic solutions (EIDEM 2014, 303).

2.3.1.2. Sustainable agendas

PADFIELD et al. aim to clarify Indonesian and Malaysian current and future directions of the expansion of oil palm (EIDEM 2016, 744). Trans-boundary hazes in 2013, 2014 and 2015 put pressure on policy-makers and stakeholders related to landscape transformation in Indonesia and Malaysia (EIDEM 2016, 753). This forced governments and corporations to develop policy agendas focused on sustainability: basically agriculture expansion over already degraded areas and the protection of high ecological values (EIDEM 2016, 753).

They found that weak institutions and an excessive focus on large-scale oil palm plantations can hinder policy agendas on sustainability that Indonesia and Malaysia try currently to set. Governments currently lack of regulatory frameworks and enforcement capabilities to ensure that these agendas are adequately executed and committed corporations are still just a relatively small group (i.e. those affiliated to the RSPO) (EIDEM 2016, 753). Moreover, these agendas do not reach medium- and small-scale growers, a critical group, who will likely resist a reform towards sustainable practices (EIDEM 2016, 753).

2.3.2. Discourses articulate in oil palm cultivation

2.3.2.1. Oil palm for development

MCCARTHY and CRAMB (2009) discuss the use of a neoliberal paradigm to promote oil palm cultivation to bring development in detriment of traditional economies. Cases of Jambi (Indonesia) and Sarawak (Malaysia) are explored since policies for oil palm cultivation set frontiers around them (EIDEM 2009, 114). Despite significant differences in the design of organisations for the execution of agrarian policies for the modernisation

of the sector, both cases followed the same privatisation pathway under the influence of a neoliberal paradigm (EIDEM 2009, 121). Authors found that, in both cases, policy narratives based on this paradigm conceive customary uses of land as backward or idle and overlook them as well as rights of locals and their livelihoods, promoting, at the same time, policy approaches in favour of a transition to "modernity" –seen as moving from customary to other land uses (EIDEM 2009, 120).¹¹

CRAMB (2011) looks more in detail the case of Sarawak and argues that the dualism modern-traditional "facilitates a complex process in which various local and global actors within and beyond the state seek to control and exploit land and forest resources and associated business activities to further their own and others' interests" (IDEM 2011, 276). Contradicting previous Sarawak agrarian history, where capitalist and the state were minor actors, a dualistic agriculture economy was set from 1981 due to the influence of economic agents (IDEM 2011, 290). This worked in favour of the private estate sector, which can administrate land and patronage through its allocation when "unleashing the dynamism of the modern sector on behalf of its backward citizens while concealing the true nature of the agrarian transition underway" (IDEM 2011, 290).

ANDERSEN et al. (2016) have similar findings when exploring the case of a village in western Sarawak. They found narratives expressing that "large-scale land development projects are 'bringing development to the people' by utilising 'idle lands' and 'creating employment' to lift them out of poverty" (EIDEM 2016, 366). This is consistent with CRAMB's dualism. These narratives were used by political forces, in collaboration with investment interests, to promote large-scale oil palm plantation and convince local to include their lands in joint venture companies, which benefited mainly already favoured local actors (those who were able to negotiate) and created division in the village (ANDERSEN et al. 2016, 373).

2.3.2.2. Adjusting discourses to the context

Research has also been done on how oil palm promotion is adjusted to an specific context to justify its expansion. HUNSBERGER and ALONSO-FRADEJAS explore how discourse flexibility in politics lead to legitimation of the crop expansion using the case of oil palm

¹¹ This is called dualism and refers to an economy divided into two distinct, but interacting components: a modern sector, ruled by immigrants and linked to international markets, and a traditional one, based on agriculture and families (CRAMB 2011, 276).

(and also that of and *Jatropha curcas*) (EIDEM 2016, 227).¹² From a different perspective, CANO CASTELLANOS focused on ecologisation or the use an ecologist discourse to justify the introduction of oil palm (an exotic, and sometimes even considered pernicious, species) into intertropical ecosystems in the south of Mexico (IDEM 2014, 101).¹³

Authors found that adjusted discourses in support of oil palm expansion facilitate mobilising resources and even the support of local actors. Discourse flexibility legitimises the crop and mobilises resources when facilitating investment, as in the case of oil palm cultivation (HUNSBERGER and ALONSO-FRADEJAS 2016, 236).¹⁴ It acts in two different ways: (a) generates synergies among legitimising discourses (e.g. climate change mitigation and rural development), and (b) reconciles apparently contradictory discourses even if temporally (e.g. natural resource conservation and capital accumulation as natural resource exploitation) (EIDEM 2016, 245). In the Mexican case, efforts towards economic development lead to a process of transformation, which joint colonisers and the state in order to develop oil palm cultivation backed up by disinformation of oil palm growers, who adopted an ecological discourse to defend the crop as an option for reforestation (CANO CASTELLANOS 2014, 131 ff.). They feel proud of their efforts to find new lands where to work and live as well as of their ecological contribution, but also confronted by the past of deforestation due to oil palm expansion (IDEM 2014, 108).

2.3.2.3. Local narratives and resistance

Literature also refers to the conflict between locals' narratives and those of agents promoting oil palm cultivation and their efforts to resist oil palm expansion. SELVADURAI et al. (2013) examine development discourses of the Penan natives in Malaysia and contrast them with development discourses associated with oil palm cultivation promoted by the government and investors. HAZLEWOOD looks at cultural practices from original and afro-descendant communities in Ecuador, who resist the CO₂lonialism (EADDEM 2010, 81) or colonisation through market-based efforts to fight climate change by industrialised countries (EADDEM 2010, 83).

¹² Flexibility of discourse is defined as "the ability to strategically switch among multiple discourses which construe the necessary meanings and representations to achieve an objective" (HUNSBERGER and ALONSO-FRADEJAS 2016, 226).

¹³ Discourses in ecologisation are based on the link between nature and human well-being and the necessity to care about it, independently of its correct or incorrect interpretation (CANO CASTELLANOS 2014, 117).

¹⁴ These actors are called by the authors "masters of discourse flexibility" (HUNSBERGER and ALONSO-FRADEJAS 2016, 236).

Studies show negative impacts from oil palm expansion on communities due to a contrast with their vision of life, and how they develop strategies to survive such impacts. SELVADURAI et al. found that Penans oppose development that implies negative impacts on the forest ecosystem they live in since they rely almost entirely on it for providing their livelihoods and cannot assimilate new activities due to lack of the required skills and work values (SELVADURAI et al. 2013, 76). HAZLEWOOD found that communities resist the influence of expanding oil palm plantations using links in and among territories. Locals survive in “islands” where they develop their own cultural practices and keep their own identities in harmony with remnant tropical forests (EADEM 2010, 92).¹⁵ These islands also interact in networks, which allow them protecting collectively their territories (EADEM 2010, 92).

2.3.2.4. Colonisation

CARMODY and TAYLOR use the case of oil palm promotion in Uganda to argue the existence of an ongoing process to conquer new frontiers for accumulation, territory creation, and compensation of ecological consequences of capitalist mode of production (IIDEM 2016, 101). They call this process ecolonisation and is performed “by domestic political elites and transnational investors, through the United Nations’ Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation [REDD+] and enhance forest carbon stocks projects, for example” (IIDEM 2016, 100).

Findings show how Ugandan government articulates with external actors to facilitate access to natural resources under the excuse of its scarcity. The government works to maintain a regime based on ecolonisation, being dispossession one of the its channels (IIDEM 2016, 118). Resource scarcity is used as an argument to support “discourses of conservation that can then be used to legitimize [conservation measures and consequent] displacement and dispossession” (IIDEM 2016, 118). This opens the door to the capital and the generation of “fictitious use and exchange values through, for example, the development of carbon markets” (IIDEM 2016, 117), like REDD+.

¹⁵ HAZLEWOOD (2010) calls these territories hope geographies. He does not define what hope geographies are. However, from the text, it might be understood that they are spaces where local communities develop themselves culturally, internally and externally, generating links among them (EADEM 2010, 94).

2.3.3. Policy incidence

2.3.3.1. Policy and socio-economic factors

Two studies focus on the connections between policy and socio-economic factors and their incidence on the oil palm sector. VARKEY et al. uses the Jevons' paradox to examine "how and why political and social factors, rather than technology and market incentives, can better account for the differences between yield and land use efficiency in Indonesia and Malaysia today" (EIDEM 2018, 150). GATTO et al. address linkages among socio-economic factors and policies associated with land use change in Indonesia (EIDEM 2015, 292 f.).

Results show that deforestation is closely connected to migration patterns associated with national and international policies. VARKEY et al. found that the Malaysian pledge to keep 50 percent of forest cover led to the intensification of oil palm cultivation motivated capitals to migrate to Indonesia, where accessing forest is easier and deforestation still goes on due to extensive cultivation practices (EIDEM 2018, 158). Both countries experiment currently pressures, political and from the market, in order to reduce negative impacts on forest ecosystems (EIDEM 2018, 158 f.). GATTO et al. found that "[o]il palm has not been a major driver of deforestation [since] much of the forest in Jambi was cleared more than 20 years ago, and rubber was an established cash crop long before the oil palm boom started" (EIDEM 2015, 292). Deforestation regarding oil palm cultivation was found mainly related to immigration to Jambi for cultivating oil palm, while locals mainly keep their rubber plantations (EIDEM 2015, 301).

2.3.3.2. Land allocation

HARAHAP et al. (2017) found incoherence among policies allowing access to land in Indonesia.¹⁶ The research focused on the links between biofuels policy and agriculture, climate change and forestry ones, which have land as an essential component (EIDEM 2017, 452). Results show overlapping land uses determined by the different sectors, which means incoherence among their policies, and potential conflicts, as for example between food security goals (agriculture policy) and the production biodiesel (biofuels policy) (EIDEM 2017, 461). Suggested measures consist principally on clear definitions

¹⁶ Policy coherence refers to the consistency between the design of policy (goals and instruments) and its implementations, leading this also to mutual consistency among sectors (HARAHAP et al. 2017, 454).

unified among policies as well as unification of base information for land administration (EIDEM 2017, 461 f.).

SAHIDE and GIESSEN, when looking at legal responsibilities of state bureaucracies on forestland, found conflicts among state organisations leading transformations: native forest, rubber agroforestry, and rubber and oil palm plantations. Authors found six different categories of forest, which cross responsibilities from several state organisations (IIDEM 2015, 106). This implies conflicting responsibilities among authorities responsible for forestry and land, and regional authorities since all of them can award rights on the same land (IIDEM 2015, 96). Conflicts increase with the inclusion of commodity interests, which increase competition for resources and political domination among state organisations (IIDEM 2015, 106).

2.3.3.3. Political ecology

MARIN-BURGOS and CLANCY explore the interaction between the international biofuels boom, and national geographies and socio-economic and political processes using the case of oil palm cultivation in Colombia in the 2000s (EAEDEM 2017, 1). As explained by them, commodity expansion might correspond with two different patterns: accumulation by dispossession or the accumulation at the expense of locals' livelihoods, and assimilation or the pseudo-inclusion of locals in disadvantageous terms, denying and erasing cultural and identity differences between assimilators and assimilated ones (EAEDEM 2017, 3).

Authors found evidence of accumulation by dispossession and assimilation in detriment of locals. The expansion of oil palm in Colombia was politically-driven by an internal demand of biofuels, as a response of the saturation of oil palm traditional markets (EAEDEM 2017, 17). This was allowed by the flexibility of oil palm, which come from its versatility (EAEDEM 2017, 6). This expansion lead to the simultaneous occurrence of accumulation by dispossession and assimilation. In the first case, displacement is done illegally or taking advantage of the weak the legal system, assimilation occurs throughout the establishment of productive alliances and supply agreements (EAEDEM 2017, 11).

2.3.3.4. Domination of policy making

RUYSSCHAERT and HUFTY studied the enabling conditions that allow NGOs in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Indonesia, to impose a new forest policy according to their own conservation goals. Authors use the Advocacy Coalition Framework for the research.

Two coalitions were identified: one aligned with NGOs objectives regarding forests and one built around a paradigm of forest conversion for economic development, which join basically large-scale oil palm growers, different instances of the public administration and local people.

Results show that adapting policy beliefs to the context allowed NGOs to increase their support and their influence on policy making. NGOs were able to deal with and take advantage of changing political conditions. Circumstances like the reconstruction after the tsunami in 2004, a government change, the increasing link between deforestation and climate change, and the use of technologies to disseminate information allow NGOs adjusting their policy core beliefs from biodiversity forests for conservation to forests for people well-being in order to broaden their advocacy coalition and promote their agendas (IIDEM 2018, 6).

2.3.4. Research about the Peruvian case

2.3.4.1. Political ecology

DAMMERT BELLO (2015) discuss the political nature of the problem around of oil palm spatial allocation in Peru. He used the concept of accumulation by dispossession to refer to the dynamics (often involving theft, fraud and violence) associated with the "incursion of the capital to non-capitalist arenas throughout privatization, land appropriation, free trade agreements, and lack of regulation" (IDEM 2015, 13). The author focuses on the establishment of big-scale plantations for his analysis in the Peruvian Amazon.

The most salient conclusion is the assertion of the absence of a policy around oil palm cultivation in Peru, which allows the expansion of oil palm under unsustainable standards. The author bases this conclusion on the lack of articulation and clarity, and on the weakness of the institutions set for regulating oil palm activities (IDEM 2015, 64). For him, the Plan 2000-2010 approximates a policy, but does not reach this level (IDEM 2015, 65). It suffers from a generalised illness of Peruvian economy: lack of enforcement, which is supposed to be product of the current Peruvian legal framework, whose neoliberal background is not "planning-friendly" (IDEM 2015, 66).

2.3.4.2. Land rights and deforestation

BENNETT et al. found in Ucayali (a hotspot of land use change in the Peruvian Amazon) a complex link between oil palm promotion and land entitlement (EIDEM 2018, 92). A

relation between migratory status and oil palm presence suggests that they “work jointly to influence whether or not households are able to secure the title [of the plots they possess]” (EIDEM 2018, 92). This does not work solely for oil palm growers but also for the case of those growing other crops who settled close to oil palm plantations since titling processes have mainly favoured areas where oil palm grows (EIDEM 2018, 92). When land entitling is highly desired, growers might turn to oil palm to ensure titles, threatening traditional agriculture practices and activities (EIDEM 2018, 92).

Results also show a relation between oil palm, migration and coca cultivation that contradicts reviewed studies. They show that many of the original oil palm growers in Ucayali (associated with first UN projects in 1991) were migrants from the Andes, who did not cultivate coca before (EIDEM 2018, 92). This, then, challenges assertions about the effectiveness of oil palm cultivation to fight coca cultivation and drug trafficking.

2.3.4.3. Land planning

Looking at the utility of land planning instruments to promote sustainable oil palm cultivation, BARRANTES et al. (2016) found that government priorities can change radically the panorama of the crop expansion. They use the case of oil palm cultivation in Alto Amazonas (Loreto) to propose the design of a territorial information system to support land planning by the use of not just georeferenced information but also information of other types (e.g. economic reports or qualitative studies) (EIDEM 2016, 11). As an example of the use of this system, a model for the identification of optimal areas for oil palm cultivation is developed. It is based on international standards (for example, RSPO), national legislation and REDD+ considerations (EIDEM 2016, 11). Government priorities towards forest conservation and oil palm expansion are analysed in two different scenarios with very different results: As expected, suitable areas for the expansion of oil palm are very large when expansion is the priority and rare when conservation is the priority (EIDEM 2016, 122).

This study reflects the importance of policy priorities. In this case, these are based on the use of different criteria for the identification of suitable areas for oil palm cultivation, which can go beyond just the agro-ecological ones and reduce possibilities to affect forestlands (EIDEM 2016, 127). GLAVE and VERGARA (2016), based on this study, present a similar position in a study developed for the whole Peruvian Amazon.

The literature presents a panorama where unsustainable oil palm expansion benefits from weak institutions, and the capacity of the crop to adapt to public philosophies. Overlapping responsibilities, lack of articulation with ecological policies and among different government levels, and even extreme focus on certain issues (e.g. climate change) limit the capacity of governments to promote oil palm cultivation with reduced negative impacts. At the same time, oil palm is promoted with a development emphasis which allows it to fit in several contexts. This legitimises its expansion at a political level and propitiates even societal support.

Oil palm association with colonialism and connection of its promotion or opposition with the capacity of actors to associate are also shown by the literature. Ecolonisation, CO₂loniamism or simply colonialism are terms associated with the promotion of oil palm cultivation to produce biofuels to allow accumulation through facilitating capitals to access lands. This might involve dispossession, with negative impacts on locals and original peoples. Capitalists and bureaucrats are accused to associate and take advantage of institutional deficiencies to expand oil palm. The capacity to associate is also used to resist the changing context that oil palm cultivation brings to local economies (e.g. the Penans' case), and by groups opposing oil palm expansion to increase their influence in policy making.

Literature specifically addressing the case of Peru is scarce but matches some findings of international cases. Signs of accumulation by dispossession are found as well as a relation between oil palm expansion and migration. Moreover, the weakness of Peruvian institutions for the promotion of sustainable oil palm cultivation is present. Literature also refers to the inclusion of ecological criteria into policy making as a promising option to regulate access to forestlands.

These studies have mainly focused on instruments and not so much on the political aspect of the problem. New instruments are presented (BARRANTES et al. 2016; GLAVE and VERGARA 2016) or the impacts or old ones are reported (BENNETT et al. 2018). But the analysis of policies is almost absent. BARRANTES et al. (2016) goes on the direction of a policy analysis when presenting different scenarios or paradigms for the implementation of their proposed methodology for land allocation. As DAMMERT BELLO concludes "standards and principles cannot replace policy. The principal challenge

[towards a sustainable oil palm cultivation] is not technical, but political" (IDEM 2015, 68). This research attempts to contribute on this aspect.

This chapter develops on the use of discourses for the analysis of how policies regarding oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon can be shaped by ecological concerns about this crop. Oil palm expansion in Peru has generated negative ecological impacts, which are expected to trigger actions from policy actors to include these concerns in coming versions of policies regarding the crop. The proposal is expected to fulfil this. Considering a lack of literature regarding oil palm cultivation and its ecological concerns from the perspective of policy analysis, this research's goal is to contribute on this respect.

Chapter 3 presents methods for the analysis of relevant literature, policy documents and interviews with relevant policy actors in order to address the research question: To what extent have ecological concerns associated with the expansion of oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon triggered a process of policy change in the promotion of oil palm cultivation in Peru? As mentioned before, since there is no new oil palm promotion plan officially published in Peru, this research does not attempt identify a concrete policy changes but the pathway policy making follows product of the influence of ecological concerns in policy making regarding oil palm.

3. METHOD AND MATERIALS

This chapter is divided into five sections. Based on the proceedings by FEINDT (2018), the methodology for this research is framed as an interpretive policy analysis. This is explained in the first section. The second section briefly describes the background of the researcher. The third one explains the process of data collection, which includes the systematic literature review that feeds the subsequent analysis as well as the state of the art in the previous chapter and the procedure for interpretive data collection. The fourth section shows the procedure of codification of interpretive data. The fifth and last section provides details of the execution of the analysis and the elaboration of this manuscript.

3.1. Interpretation for policy analysis

Interpretive policy research proposes the analysis of policy change based on meanings. As YANOW indicates, meanings are not directly observable or accessed, but interpreted from their artefactual representations, which are obtained by observation, conversational interviewing and close document reading (IDEM 2006, 18). When interpreting artefactual representations or simply artefacts, or even simpler data, the researcher looks after the meaning made by the policy actors throughout the interpreted artefacts. The researcher can use for her interpretation (a) direct observation of a situation as well as (b) other sources presented by other interpreters: reports from situational members who experienced directly the situation or available materials on the issue (IDEM 2006, 20).

The process of interpretation of artefacts implies a dialogue among three parts: the researcher past experiences, theory and data. As IDEM shows, interpretive policy research is based on making sense of empirical data, which allows a dialogue between it and preconceptions of the researcher (IDEM 2011, 244). These preconceptions incorporate theoretical assumptions of the researcher as well as her past experiences (IDEM 2011, 272). In this sense, the experience of the researcher in the oil palm sector in Peru, the reviewed literature and the collected data (literature regarding agriculture policy paradigms in Peru, policy documents and performed interviews) come into the analysis for a three-party a dialogue.

3.2. Researcher's background

Miguel Angel La Rosa Salazar is a 31-year-old, male economist from Lima, Peru, who is interested in the clash between agriculture and forest conservation policies in the Peruvian

Amazon. He was born and raised in Peru's capital, a city with more than 9 million of inhabitants.¹⁷ Miguel has Amazon roots, from his mother's side, who come from Iquitos, capital of Loreto, in the middle of the Peruvian Amazon forest. Despite almost not visiting the region until recently, he was also amazed by the stories of his family members about the place, which was well known by them. Miguel also developed affinity for the rural life since his father comes the countryside of Lima. He probably developed interest in both family-related aspects and combined them in his research.

As an economist, Miguel has a neoclassical background, being trained mainly in welfare economics and environmental economics. At the Agrarian National University La Molina, he received training in environmental economics and project assessment with some agriculture bias. After his bachelor, he participated in economic valuation courses. During the first years of his five-year professional life (2011-2016), he participated in research about climate and economic valuation of its impacts (2012, 2016). He also provided teaching assistance in courses of project assessment in his *alma mater* (2012). Also, regarding his neoclassical background, his bachelor thesis (2015-2016) approach causes of deforestation using an econometric model based on the relation of forest clearing and agriculture rents.

Professionally, the most relevant experience of Miguel comes from his work in Amazon conservation. As a researcher, Miguel explored effects on livelihoods coming from the implementation of projects impacting negatively Amazon rivers (2014-2015) and participated in a two-year project (2014-2016) on the analysis of land planning policies using oil palm expansion as study case. This project provided valuable background for this research. Miguel also worked in the advisory board of Minagri (Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation) for a year (2013),¹⁸ where he has seen closely the process of forest policy making, not just forest conservation but also the promotion of productive activities. These experiences provided insights into political issues that fed the design of this research.

Despite his training as an economist, his professional experiences made Miguel to investigate political sciences to find answers for the problem he is concerned the most:

¹⁷ INEI (the National Instituto of Statistics and Informatic) reports that Lima, by the beginning of 2018, Lima had 9 320 000 inhabitants. In: <https://www.inei.gob.pe/prensa/noticias/lima-alberga-9-millones-320-mil-habitantes-al-2018-10521/> (19.10.18).

¹⁸ In 2013, the MINAG changed its name to Minagri.

how to minimise the impact of agriculture in the Amazon. The case of oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon is an approach to the issue.

3.3. Data collection

3.3.1. Systematic literature search

The search was principally performed through three web search engines as well as five Peruvian virtual literature repositories. The engines were Scopus, SciELO and Dialnet.¹⁹ Scopus is the largest abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature, while the other two search motors were considered due to their relevance as sources of academic literature from Latin America and in Spanish language. From the Peruvian repositories, two are public: The National Repository of Research Works and the repository of the Research Institute of the Peruvian Amazon. The other three belong to private institutions chosen by the author: Institute of Peruvian Studies, Analysis Group for Development, and Permanent Seminary of Agrarian Research. The search of literature was closed on the 26th of July 2018.

The search was performed separately in English and Spanish, looking at keywords of scientific literature. 93 different terms were used for the search. The 21 terms in English result from the combination of 21 keywords with the keyword “oil palm.” The 72 remaining terms are in Spanish and result from the combination of 24 keywords, translations from the 21 in English, and the combination of the Spanish terms to refer to oil palm: “palma aceitera”, “palma africana” or “palma de aceite”. Due to the use of genders in the Spanish language, some keywords were translated to their male and their feminine form, resulting three more keywords in the Spanish list. Appendix A presents the complete list of keywords.

The systematic search provided 27 text. Of these, 19 fed the state of the art and 7 were used to sketch the situation of oil palm worldwide. Just 1 provides information about the Peruvian case. In total, the search provided 110 documents, which were refined manually according to the scope of the research. 29 documents were discarded for approaching rather technical issues related to oil palm production. From the rest, 52 documents related to some extent with the research question but did not provide valuable

¹⁹ Scopus: <https://www.scopus.com/>.
SciELO: <http://www.scielo.org/>.
Dialnet: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/>.

inputs since they presented reviews of cases rather than deeper analyses. The researcher overcame paywalls through the institutional library of the Humboldt University and the request service of ResearchGate.²⁰ Two documents were the only exception, being left out of the research.

Literature was also collected based on recommendations by interviewees, from colleagues of the author or from the knowledge of the author about oil palm cultivation in Peru and the Peruvian agriculture sector in general. Repositories of the FAO, the World Bank, and the OECD were reviewed.²¹ Google was also used. This was done especially for the case of literature regarding policy paradigms in Peru in the agriculture sector. The already-mentioned Peruvian repositories were also used for this purpose.

3.3.2. Interpretive data collection

The research involves the use of two different types of meaning sources (ideational elements): (a) policy documents regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru and (b) expert interviews with relevant policy actors in the policy making related to the crop. This follows the analysis by FEINDT (2018), who identifies discourses that shaped the Common Agricultural Policy in Europe. Differently from this study, interviews are included in this research, attempting to overcome the lack of literature addressing discourses regarding oil palm cultivation and its ecological concerns in Peru.

3.3.2.1. Policy instruments

Two policy instruments are included in the interpretive data set: the old plan and the proposal. These documents provide points of reference for the analysis of ecological concerns have influenced policy making on oil palm cultivation in Peru. Since the second document is just a proposal and it has not been officialised yet, results do not show actual change but the pathway policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru follows.

Both documents used to be accessible online; however, this has changed. The old plan is not available online for about three years. It has been taken from the personal archive of the researcher, who used it in his work (see references in BARRANTES et al.

²⁰ Humboldt University's institutional library: <https://www.ub.hu-berlin.de/en>.
ResearchGate: <https://www.researchgate.net/>.

²¹ FAO: <http://www.fao.org/documents/gsa-search/en/>.
The World Bank: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/>.
OECD: <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/>.

(2016) for a confirmation of this assertion). The proposal was downloaded directly from the Minagri's website on the 13th of March 2018. Nevertheless, a recent view on this website showed that the document it is not accessible anymore, like other related files.

3.3.2.2. Expert interviews

Interviews were performed with experts who were involved to certain extent in policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru or have relevant information about it. “An *expert* is a person who has background in the subject area and is recognized by his or her peers or those conducting the study as qualified to answer questions” (MEYER and BOOKER 2001, 3). Her opinion is, then, recognised as an informed one and not just a guess (EAEDM 2001, 4). This means that suitable individuals for interviews were not just policy makers in the Peruvian government. The universe included also other actors such as researchers, NGO representatives or representatives of oil palm growers associations.

Sampling

Due to the focus on experts, interviewees were not selected randomly but purposively. Purposively looking for interviewees is a feature of interpretive policy analysis. As MAGNUSSON and MARECEK mention

"The researchable questions that interpretative researchers ask concern close descriptions of people's experiences associated with some phenomenon.^[22] Researchers seek to learn about the many different experiences that people may have had. Researchers therefore select people for study who are likely to have had the experiences of interest" (EAEDM 2015, 35).

The researcher appealed to colleagues with experience on research about oil palm for performing targeted nominations and chain referrals (known as well as snowball sampling) with the initial participants. Targeted nominations "involves asking different individuals to name one potential participant who fits a particular set of characteristics" (EAEDM 2015, 38), while chain referrals means "to gather a group to study by asking each participant to suggest the names of other potential participants" (EAEDM 2015, 38). The researcher contacted the initial participants through his professional network and these participants led to others. In doing so, the researcher carefully included the broader possible range of experiences in order to fit a representative sample (EAEDM 2015, 35).

²² “*Interpretative* is slightly more common than *interpretive* in 21st-century British publications. Everywhere else, including in the U.S., Canada, and Australia, the shorter form is preferred.” Source: <http://grammarist.com/usage/interpretative-interpretive/> (10.07.18).

Potential participants from the national and regional governments were included, as well as associations of oil palm growers, large-scale companies, NGOs, civil groups, associations of original peoples, and researches.

Regarding the size of the sample, it was decided to join a group from 5 to 10 interviews. Since the ideal number of interviews included in an interpretive research is not fixed and depends on “the number of interviews with each participant, the scope of each interview, and detail of the analyses to be done” (EAEDEM 2015, 37), numeric boundaries were set upon the recommendation given by Prof. Peter H. Feindt.²³

Interview guide

The semi-structured interview guide was designed in such a way that allows (a) to extract information with regard discourses behind interviewees and (b) to vary its application regarding the interviewee. The first point generates the match between the theoretical framework and the methodology applied. Interviewees are asked principally to describe problems and solutions around oil palm cultivation in Peru, depicting policy paradigms related to interviewees. With the second point, it is referred to that interview guide included questions simply to paraphrase depending on the expected background of the interviewee.

The interview guide is presented in Appendix B in its original version in Spanish and in Appendix C in its English version.

The interviewing process

Due to budgetary limitations, it was not possible to perform person-to-person interviews, but phone ones. This was done via Skype,²⁴ using regular Skype calls, and calling to desk phones and mobile phones with Skype credit. Calls were performed using a cabled internet connexion most of the time. This prevented problems during the interviews, which occurred just once and for a short period of time. The interview was finalised without major inconveniences. Every interview was recorded using iFree Skype Recorder.²⁵ The previous contact with interviewees was attempted via email. However, this option was found less reliable than phone calls, either directly to the interviewees,

²³ Prof. Peter H. Feindt mentioned that “for a master thesis, it is enough if you do from 5 to 10 interviews.” Source: Notes from the module Qualitative Research Methods – Winter Semester 2017/18 (22.05.18).

²⁴ Skype: <https://www.skype.com/es/>

²⁵ iFree Skype Recorder: <https://www.ifree-recorder.com/>

whose phone numbers were provided by personal contacts, or to the organisations they work for, whose numbers were available on their websites.

Seven interviews were performed and included in the analysis. In these, participated people from the agriculture public sector (2) in Peru as well as from associations of growers (1), the big palm industry (1), the academia (1) and civil society (2). Interviews were planned to be performed from the 2nd of July to the 21st of July. However, due to ongoing conversations and difficulties to schedule meetings, two interviews were performed after this period. There was one pilot interview, which is not reported.

One of the interviewees refused to answer the questionnaire. Just before the interview, this person argued a lack of knowledge about the researched topic and proposed instead to talk about another related one. The conversation was about regulation for agriculture in the Peruvian Amazon with an emphasis on oil palm.

Unfortunately, not every policy actor aimed to be included in the interview process took part of it. It wasn't possible to get contact on time with, for example, people from the Ministry of Environment or representatives of original peoples. This lack of balance in the analysis has been acknowledged and considered for the discussion.

3.4. Coding for data interpretation

3.4.1. Why coding?

Codes are used as links between and theory and the researcher's background with the data. "A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (SALDAÑA 2016, 4). Codes, then, enable the three-party dialogue already referred to since they can represent conceptual categories that describe and explain data element based on the theoretical assumptions of the researcher (WAGENAAR 2011, 261). They can contain interpretations.

3.4.2. Coding strategy

The coding process was separated into four steps. First step was a pre-coding, which involved just the two policy instruments in the interpretive data set. This allowed the researcher, who has never done coding before, getting used with codification software interface and coding (codes, memo writing, categorisation, etc.). Codes generated in this

step were improved in the following one. The second step began with the coding of policy instruments and continued with the coding of interviews in the order they were performed. Recoding is performed as a third step. This was expected to improve the consistency of code system and serve as a double check, as well as to trigger deeper interpretive analysis. Finally, codes were grouped into categories.

3.5. Execution

3.5.1. Confidentiality of interviewees

Identities of the interviewees must be protected. In this respect, nicknames are assigned to them. The seven most common family names in Germany are crossed randomly with the seven most commonly used first names of the year 2017 in Germany as well.²⁶ Interviews are presented in Sub-section 4.2.2 in the order they were performed. As a matter of confidentiality as well, interviews are not reported as appendix to the document. Nevertheless, the two supervisors of this research were provided with hard copies of the interviews in the original language.

3.5.2. Coding

Interpretive data was coded using the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA 2018,²⁷ following instructions of “The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers” by SALDAÑA (2016). The software was used with a one-year license provided by the Humboldt University. The use of the software was supported with the “MAXQDA 2018: guía de introducción” (TEAM MAXQDA 2017) and tutorials on the official YouTube channel of MAXQDA.²⁸

Categories of the code system are reported in Table 5. They guide the report of results in Sub-section 4.2.3. The complete code system is reported in Appendix D. Due to restrictions for the longitude of the document, just the two first levels of the code system are reported. However, supervisors received it complete.

²⁶ The 50 more common family names in Germany: <https://www1.wdr.de/wissen/mensch/haeufigsten-familiennamen-100.html> (10.10.18).

The preferred first names: <https://gfds.de/vornamen/beliebteste-vornamen/> (10.10.18).

²⁷ MAXQDA: <https://es.maxqda.com/>

²⁸ MAXQDA 2018, Guía de Introducción: <https://www.youtube.com/user/MAXQDA>

Table 5: Categories of the code system

Category	Description
Competitiveness	References to improve conditions for participating in markets related to vegetable oils production.
Alternative rural development	Segments related to the promotion of oil palm as an alternative crop for the rural development of the Peruvian Amazon.
Ecological concerns	Segments referring to ecological concerns (problems and solutions) associated with oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon.
Box ticking	References to concepts associated with an adequate management of oil palm cultivation (e.g. sustainable development), which are included into the discourses without any concrete meaning, presumably for complying with policy requirements.
Social concerns	Segments referring to social concerns (problems and solutions) associated with oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon.
Bad practices	References to illegal or non-transparent practices to get access to resources (e.g. land) or influence policy making.
Institutional aspects	References to improvements of the institutional framework on the cultivation of oil palm in Peru.
Discussions	Additional topics, whose codes match different categories, but compound a same corpus apart from the previous categories.

Prepared by the author.

3.5.3. The document preparation

The document was elaborated using principally the text processor Word, from the package Microsoft Office 365,²⁹ which is used under the one-year license provided by the Humboldt University. Tables were prepared using the spreadsheets processor Excel, from the same Office package.

The document was formatted based on the guidelines provided by the Albrecht Daniel Thaer-Institute of Agricultural and Horticultural Sciences of the Humboldt University.³⁰ References were managed using Citavi in its version 6.1.³¹ This software is also used under a license provided by the Humboldt University and it is connected to Word through an add-in. The standard AGIT Konferenzband format of Citavi was modified by the author to avoid repetitions of authors' names in consecutive quotations.

²⁹ Office 365: <https://www.office.com/>

³⁰ Indications in English are available on: https://www.agrar.huberlin.de/de/lehre/studium/pruefungen/anleitung-zur-abfassung-von-studienabschlussarbeiten_en.pdf (18.10.18).

³¹ Citavi: <https://www.citavi.com/de>

The research method, based on interpretive policy analysis, allows looking for discourses and other information which is not easily detected when data is just described. Literature, policy documents and interviews were collected to start a three-party dialogue which include them and researcher's experience. In this sense, theory and the researcher's background are used to interpret data. At the same time, the interpretation of data can be used to look at the theory and build up on it as referred to by WAGENAAR (2011). The next chapter reports the results of the interpretive analysis. The discussion in Chapter 5 attempts to start the mentioned dialogue.

4. RESULTS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first one presents the political context in which policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru has occurred from the old plan (and even some years before) to the proposal. The second part presents the results from the interpretive data set. These are divided into results from the coding of policy documents and interviews. Finally, a summary of the chapter is presented. It tackles directly each specific question with the information reported along the chapter.

4.1. Political context of the cultivation of oil palm in Peru

This context concerns the period from 1990 since the Peruvian political system was restructured completely that year. A neoliberal programme was presented as the solution for the social and economic crisis of the 1980s' Peru. The introduction of this programme changed deeply policy making in every sector, including the agriculture one.

4.1.1. Peruvian agriculture policy since 1990

Peruvian agriculture policies during the 1990s followed neoliberal macroeconomic policies. These were directed to restore fiscal and monetary equilibrium after the economic catastrophe of the 1980s, when poor economic management teamed up with an internal armed conflict in a pernicious combination for the domestic Peruvian economy (EGUREN 2004, 26). Addressing a long-term growth for the agriculture sector, reforms in the 1990s principally focused on reducing the role of the state in agriculture markets, increasing productivity through infrastructure and efficient use of land, access to financing sources, and providing stability to coming capital, fighting illegal activities, such as coca cultivation and terrorist activities from groups opposing the government (WORLD BANK GROUP 1992, 24).

This might be considered a third order change, from a dependent paradigm towards a globalised production one. During the second half of the 1980s, agriculture policies in Peru were characterized by state control of marketing and pricing of most important crops and barriers to imports (IDEM 1992, ii), which resembles the dependent paradigm. Neoliberal policies coming in the 1990s led to a focus on agriculture exports growth based primarily on the private sector, which benefited from policies directed to set a favourable business environment for private investment and competitiveness: principally on labour and land markets, taxation, trade, and sanitary and phytosanitary

compliance (IDEM 2017, 115). This coincides with the globalised production paradigm, suggesting a third order change.

Agriculture policies during the 1990s, while focusing on exports, benefited production in a macroeconomic sense, while small-scale growers received few attention (EGUREN 2004, 31 f.). Budgetary support to rural development, for example, decreased 63 percent between 1990 and 1999, being the remaining budget almost exclusively used for building infrastructure: irrigation systems -mainly in the Coast region- and roads (WORLD BANK GROUP 2017, 121). Such lack of support is considered as a cause of social and economic inequalities, which were attempted to address by compensatory measures (EGUREN 2004, 26 f.), without significant impacts (IDEM 2004, 72 f.).

Small-scale growers are directly addressed by the Peruvian government since the early 2000s with measures directed to increase their capacity to compete in agriculture markets. These efforts were directed mainly to small-scale growers in the Andean and Amazon regions: tax incentives and access to productive resources and financial products (WORLD BANK GROUP 2017, 122). Efforts to include them into markets have been materialised in policies, like, for example, the National Strategy for Development and Social Inclusion, issued in 2013,³² which considers agriculture as a key aspect for fighting poverty and increasing economic inclusion (MIDIS, 57).

4.1.2. Policies in the Amazon

Public policies in the Peruvian Amazon from 1990 on are also based on the national neoliberal programme; however, the Amazon context provides them with an emphasis on fighting drug trafficking. Due to the beginning of a symbiotic relation between this illegal activity, specifically for the cultivation of coca, and armed groups, the state channelled efforts to control both phenomena (MOREL SALMAN 2014, 33). After significant achievements in both flanks, neoliberal policies were extended to the Amazon region to promote economic growth attracting foreign private investments to extractive industries,³³ such as crude oil extraction, and changing regulations on the use of Amazon forestland (IDEM 2014, 33).

³² Supreme decree N° 008-2013-MIDIS, Estrategia Nacional de Desarrollo e Inclusión Social.

³³ Foreign private investment fled during the economic crisis in the 1980s (MOREL SALMAN 2014, 34).

As well as national agriculture policies, policies in the Peruvian Amazon incorporated social aspects from the 2000s on. National governments during the 2000s have, apart from the establishment of programmes for fighting poverty, strengthened capacities for original peoples to take political decisions with respect to their territories and regions have been given progressively regional governments capacities for taking decisions locally (IDEM 2014, 36–37, 38–39, 41). These add to the measures directed to small-scale growers mentioned in the previous sub-section.

Considerations about ecological aspects are a weak point of policies in the Peruvian Amazon. Historically, Peruvian policies have pictured the Amazon based on two public philosophies: (a) a rich territory to be colonised for natural resources extraction and (b) a homogeneous geographic unit (IDEM 2014, 22 f.). The inclusion of social aspects to fight poverty into policies regarding the Peruvian Amazon have changed partially the second philosophy. Differences along the region are accounted and local populations as well as regional governments play ever more important political roles. The Peruvian Amazon is not seen as a geographic homogeneous unit anymore; however, it is still seen as a source of natural resources (IDEM 2014, 43).

4.1.3. Policy addressing oil palm cultivation

The Minagri is the public organisation ruling oil palm cultivation in Peru. Over the years, other public and private organisations have been included in the policy making. However, their active participation still missing. The MINAM (Ministry of Environment), for example, an actor expected to be more active, participated in the process of the proposal just technically through the General Direction of Land Planning.³⁴ Regional governments became relevant actors in the policy making in the Amazon due to the decentralisation started in 2001. NGOs have also increased their participation recently.

Oil palm started to be promoted as part of a stimulus to generate “alternative” rural development in the Amazon to fight drug trafficking. In this context, the word alternative is used to refer to rural development detached from illegal activities (see UNDOC (2005) for a reference). Oil palm is firstly addressed in 1998 by the Law for the Promotion of Investments in the Amazon,³⁵ which determined the reduction of taxes –or even exoneration as in the case of plantations– to activities related to palm oils production

³⁴ Its participation is consigned in the participation lists of the workshops for the design of the plan in 2015.

³⁵ Ley N° 27037, Ley de Promoción de Inversión en la Amazonía.

chains (MINAG 2001, 8). Based on this law, in 2000, a supreme decree declared oil palm cultivation as an activity of national interest for the promotion of an alternative rural development and the substitution of vegetable oil imports (IDEM 2001, 8). This was followed by the enactment, in 2001, of the old plan,³⁶ whose implementation was actively supported by UNDOC.

After this plan, the Peruvian government did not pay further attention to oil palm cultivation until small-scale growers brought their attention again few years ago. The lack of attention of the Peruvian government occurred even despite the enactment of the Law for the Promotion of the Biofuels Market in 2000 (BORASINO 2016, 44 f.).³⁷ In 2015, after claims by Junpalma, the state took seriously the update of the old plan and established work groups focusing on such purpose (EADEM 2016, 45). To increase their bargaining power in the process towards the proposal, small-scale growers established Junpalma from the fusion of their two former growers associations (EADEM 2016, 45 f.).

Finally, by the end of 2015, Minagri established a sectoral commission including representatives of some interest groups related to oil palm cultivation in Peru. It included actors from the Ministry itself, its dependencies in charge of policies, environmental impacts and agrarian business were included as well as the Forest and Wildlife National Service, the Interregional Amazon Council, Junpalma and the National Society of Industries (EADEM 2016, 46). Nevertheless, it left apart the MINAM or the Ministry of Culture (MINCUL), expected to provide relevant information for the discussion of Amazon-related issues.

The proposal was released in 2016 but was not yet officially enacted due to the request for a prior consultation for it. The previous consultation was requested by the Feconau (Federation of Native Communities of Ucayali) to the Vice-Ministry of Interculturality of the MINCUL. The Vice-Ministry presented the request to Minagri. As mentioned by interviewees, differently from the old plan (designed and enacted unilaterally by the agriculture sector), the proposal was presented for the approval at the Council of Vice-Ministers, at a multisectoral level. This allowed the Vice-Ministry of

³⁶ Resolución Ministerial N°0155-2001-AG, Se aprueba el Plan Nacional de Promoción de la Palma Aceitera Perú, 2001-2010

³⁷ Ley N° 28054, Ley de Promoción del Mercado de Biocombustibles.

Interculturality to present the request for a prior consultation, arguing that the proposal jeopardises land rights of original peoples.

Oil palm cultivation, then, matches national policies focused on the Amazon during the 1990s. It was promoted as an alternative to illegal cultivation of coca in the Amazon. Coca growers were supposed to integrate to the market of vegetable oils to increase their income and migrate from the illegal activity cultivation. Investors were also invited to invest in oil palm cultivation. As reviewed before, they installed large plantations and attempted an aggressive increase of the oil palm extension. All this happened into institutional arrangements that promote production and income generation in the first place, claiming that this is the way to promote an alternative rural development, but that do not seem to include the context where oil palm develops: The Peruvian Amazon.

4.2. Results of the interpretive data set

Results in this section are divided into three parts: policy documents, interviewees and according to the code system. Since results in every part come from the same code system, those results reported in the last sub-section are just results which did not fit previous ones and deserve a broader view.

4.2.1. Policy documents

4.2.1.1. The old plan

The codification of this policy instrument shows mainly references to competitiveness. It proposes basically opening the sector to private investors and boost oil palm cultivation to supply the national market of vegetable oils. This does not match exactly the overall national agriculture policy paradigm. But can be considered “default” content since efforts to increase competitiveness are in the core of Peruvian Agriculture policies.

The old plan refers principally to an alternative rural development for the Peruvian Amazon. Oil palm is promoted to fight drug trafficking, basically the cultivation of coca for producing cocaine in the Amazon. The relatively high income expected from oil palm cultivation is considered a way to discourage coca cultivation. Measures are proposed to increase grower’s competitiveness: associativity, provision of training and technical assistance, access to financial markets and infrastructure. Considered funding sources for this are the Peruvian state, the international cooperation and multilateral banks.

Ecological concerns in the old plan are few and principally refer to oil palm as an option for reforestation of degraded forestlands. This has been banned by the current Forest and Wildlife Law enacted in 2011, which does not consider oil palm a forest species, but an agriculture one.³⁸

4.2.1.2. The proposal

The presence of codes associated with competitiveness is even more prominent in the proposal. Here access to markets in relation with the development of production chains is a main topic. This covers the consolidation of markets already connected to oil palm cultivation and the addition of others, being the market of biofuels the principal aim at the national level. The substitution of imports is also part of this. The proposal refers as well to the role of the state as promoter of competitive conditions for the oil palm production chain, such as banning subsidised imports. New issues with respect to the old plan are reference to exports and quality standards.

Relevant points in the proposal are also those related to ecological concerns, which are tackled by certification and determining adequate areas for oil palm expansion. Certification is implemented to enter green markets, which are supposed to help regulating oil palm expansion. This is connected to the efforts towards exportation. To identify adequate areas for oil palm cultivation land planning instruments are promoted based on of certification criteria, like the RSPO. This is expected to reduce deforestation and relate to efforts to tackle climate change.

The importance of oil palm as a mean for rural development is again considered in the proposal, which also refers to the necessity to enhance institutions in the oil palm sector and articulate its actors. This last point does not consider just state actors but also the involvement of Junpalma in public investment decisions.

4.2.2. Interviewees

Interviewees are presented in chronological order with respect to the date each interview was performed. Table 5 already presented the list of interviewees and the interest groups they relate to.

³⁸ DAMMERT BELLO et al. (2012) present a discussion about this issue from a legal perspective.

4.2.2.1. Maria Schneider

She is principally concerned about the lack of ecological criteria for land allocation for oil palm cultivation in the Amazon. In her consideration, criteria for land allocation have not improved much from the old plan to the proposal. Although the proposal refers to ecological criteria, she considers that land allocation is still biased towards the use of agriculture criteria, which are insufficient for an adequate use of land in the Amazon. This concern reaches also the lack of criteria to avoid conflicts with original peoples.

Schneider, despite considering oil palm important for rural development in the Amazon and the proposal a step forward, is concerned about the capacity of the Peruvian state to implement policy. She argues a lack of technical capacities to determine adequate areas for oil palm to expand in the Peruvian Amazon and to supervise the expansion of the crop even if these areas are identified.

4.2.2.2. Emma Fischer

Fischer refers as well to the use of productive criteria for allocation of land in the Peruvian Amazon and their combination with ecological criteria. Her speech is rather instructional that critical and does not show any concern about agriculture criteria being the basis of this allocation. She highlights the relevance of current criteria for land allocation in the Amazon and steps forward that the Peruvian state took in recent years towards the improvement of forestland planning.

When consulted for social criteria regarding forestland allocation in the Amazon, Fischer answered that this is already covered by the current forest regulation. She argues that the current forest legislation has been enacted after a process of prior consultation and that environmental impact assessments, required for land allocation for agriculture activities in the Peruvian Amazon, already contain a component of citizen participation. For her, this is enough to cover social aspects around the cultivation of oil palm (and other crops) in the Peruvian Amazon.

4.2.2.3. Sophia Meyer

She absolutely opposes the promotion of oil palm as a mean for rural development in the Peruvian Amazon. Meyer rejects arguments suggesting that oil palm can be sustainable in the Amazon. This is not just in ecologic terms, but also in social ones, especially regarding original peoples. Meyer argues also a lack of competitiveness of palm oils

compared to other imported vegetable oils, which can supply national industries at lower prices. In her opinion, forest management and the provision of ecosystem services are appropriate alternatives to promote development in the Peruvian Amazon.

A main argument of Meyer's opposition to oil palm promotion in Peru is its almost symbiotic relation with land trafficking and drug trafficking. In this respect oil palm and its promotion, coming not just from the state but from international cooperation, is a perfect cover for both activities. Meyer considers land trafficking a mayor threat to Amazon forests and their peoples. Non-suitable forestlands are cleared for oil palm cultivation and lately formalised through corrupt deals with local bureaucrats. She presents the case of Melka's company in Tamshiyacu, Loreto, as an example of this. Meyer also mentions that oil palm grows in company with coca and that reports about the efficacy of oil palm to fight drug trafficking are wrong.

She also accuses big economic groups of funding and using Junpalma to promote their interests in the policy making regarding oil palm cultivation.

4.2.2.4. Hannah Weber

She claims state promotion to consolidate current production chains, access new ones and ensure equal competition with imports of other vegetable oils. Weber considers that the state must pay more attention to oil palm cultivation in Peru since it has already shown success in generating an alternative rural development. One of the most important claims is support for getting access to the financial sector, which does not adjust to oil palm growers' necessities. For example, oil palm growers require loans for periods of about three years, but banks offer loans for just one. Access to financing sources is also required due to the fragile situation of the agriculture state-owned bank.

Weber defends the benefits of oil palm cultivation for local people and considers the request for a prior consultation for the proposal highly regrettable. About the petition by the Vice-Ministry of Interculturality of a prior consultation for the proposal in the Vice-Ministers board, Weber said, "we never thought that the [MINCUL] would restrain us" and blamed NGOs of being behind the request due to financial reasons. As she mentions, Minagri assures not having the capacity to perform a prior consultation. Junpalma or another policy actor promoting oil palm cultivation neither does. This traps the enactment of the proposal.

She also rejects the strong linkage between oil palm and deforestation in the public opinion. Weber alleges that, on the contrary, oil palm helps to tackle the main cause of deforestation in the Peruvian Amazon: poverty. Moreover, she considers that accusations from actors concerned about negative ecological impacts of oil palm cultivation have damaged the competitiveness of the sector. For example, they have a bad reputation in the financial sector.

4.2.2.5. Emilia Wagner

The interviewee supports the proposal and oil palm cultivation but is rather cautious when talking about possibilities for the sector to expand. She considers the proposal a determined effort to face ecological concerns regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru. Nevertheless, in her view, it fails at not addressing the optimal participation of palm oils in the national market since this can help to direct efforts for the promotion of oil palm cultivation as well as towards forest conservation. For her, the main concern of the sector must be if it is efficient to increase palm oils production and, if is, how much the increase should be.

Regarding the process of the proposal, Wagner highlights the cautious treatment it received at Minagri. The Ministry didn't want to be seen as a promoter of oil palm expansion due to its linkages with deforestation. To accomplish this, the responsibility for the elaboration of the plan was delegated to the Vice-Minister of Agriculture Policies rather than to the technical department responsible on agriculture chains.

On the prior consultation, she explicitly mentions the "establishment of a precedent" if it is performed on the proposal. She does not elaborate further on the issue. But, from the moment of the interview this mention is done, it can be understood that she refers to a precedent that can lead to the application of prior consultation to every policy document enacted by Minagri. This would delay the enactment of plans and put a high budgetary pressure on the ministry.

Wagner discards completely the enactment of the proposal due to a change in the national design of policies, which will be based on guidelines in the future. Wagner does not know details about the implementation of guidelines for public policy in Peru but was informed that plans will not be enacted anymore. She considers guidelines weak policy instruments, just "good intentions."

4.2.2.6. Marie Müller

Müller focuses almost entirely on the omission of original peoples in the proposal. In her opinion, despite addressing certain ecological concerns, the proposal preserves the vision of the Amazon as an inhabited source of natural resources and vulnerate the rights of original peoples, who have the right to decide about development options in their regions. Nevertheless, were not consulted about oil palm promotion. Dispossession of their lands throughout land trafficking is considered the main threat for these communities. She disapproves the proposal.

As she tells, prior consultation for the proposal was requested firstly by the Feconau, who considered their rights might be vulnerated by oil palm projects. In Müller's opinion, prior consultation is completely valid in this case and the proposal should not be enacted before the consultation is fully performed, and original peoples approve it.

4.2.2.7. Sophie Schmidt

She points out the capacity of oil palm to generate development in the Peruvian Amazon and the possibilities of the oil palm sector to grow sustainably. In Schmidt's opinion, the Amazon region can develop around oil palm industry, established there and not in Lima as usually happens. At the same time, this industry can grow upon increasing its participation in markets of vegetable oils derivatives. This growth, if driven by the state, can be ordered and help to reduce the risk of deforestation. In this sense, oil palm could be an "ally of forests" rather than an enemy of it.

Schmidt refers extensively to the "demonization" of oil palm in Peru and the stall it brought to the policy making regarding oil palm. According to her, "antis" in Peru are radical and exaggerate when opposing oil palm. In her opinion, prior consultation was driven and funded by these interests in order to stop the proposal. She also accuses "antis" to promote restrictive regulation on forestland allocation, which just limits the sector, discourages investments and principally damages small-scale growers, who see reduced their possibilities of development.

4.2.3. According to the code system

4.2.3.1. Competitiveness

This category is the most prominent along the analysis. It covers long extensions of each policy document and is mentioned by almost every interviewee, except for one.

The presence of this category in the code system is covered mainly by the policy documents, especially in the proposal. This is congruent with the Peruvian agriculture policy and its neoliberal basis. The increase in relevance of this category from the old plan to the proposal can be explained by the appearance of Junpalma, which intend to boost the competitiveness of the oil palm sector. Junpalma was considered by the interviewees a very influential policy actor in the process of the proposal. The organisation recognised this influence as well. For example, mentioned by Weber, after looking at the inaction of the state, Junpalma growers said “You know what? We are going to develop a plan [...] especially oriented to our competitiveness.”

The most relevant topic is the promotion and establishment by the state of minimum conditions for the industry to be able to compete. This is associated almost entirely to small-scale growers. As Weber refers to, “subsidies are not pursued,” “the only intention is that the state undertake its role as promoter.” The oil palm sector just claims for competitive conditions. They will do the rest, working alone “as always,” she says. Weber and Schmidt agree when referring to the lack of support from the state during the last decade. Mentions to higher-scale oil palm cultivation are few and, in general, consider the relaxation of conditions for investors to enter the sector.

4.2.3.2. Alternative rural development

This role of oil palm is mainly referred to by the old plan and the defenders of the crop in the Peruvian Amazon. They claim promotion from the state to ensure that small-scale growers can enter the market and ask for funding. Funding is considered not just from the state, which can be provided from public funds or loans from the multilateral banks, but also from international cooperation. Cooperation is especially important in the old plan and for Weber and Schmidt, while access to decisions on public funding is asked in the proposal.

Associations are considered important to build capacities of small-scale growers to manage production chains and to increase their negotiation power against oligopsonic

powers in the oil palm industry. Associations in the old plan were thought as a mean to channel oil palm growers' concerns to the state. Currently, they are considered means for engaging with production chains.

Due to its connection with rural development and the features of public good that the fight against drug trafficking presents, this category is associated with the multifunctional paradigm. Alternative rural development is considered an extension of it.

4.2.3.3. Ecological concerns

References to adequate land allocation for oil palm cultivation cope the biggest part of codes in this category. These relate mainly to the implementation of land allocation methodologies going beyond agriculture criteria and including characteristics of the Amazon forests. There is almost no reference to this concern in the old plan. The proposal presents a totally opposite situation, which might be explained by ecological concerns appeared in the period between both policy documents.

This is closely connected to the promotion of certification standards as a mean to tackle ecological concerns and diversify markets at the same time. The read of the proposal presents the RSPO certification as the main one. The connection of the proposal with certifications is explicit in in citations to GLAVE and VERGARA (2016), who use international standards and RSPO criteria to define adequate locations for oil palm in the Peruvian Amazon. This work is used as basis for proposed land planning methodologies. Areas for further expansion of oil palm, then, are expected to comply certification criteria and decouple from the principal ecological concern associated with oil palm cultivation: Amazon deforestation.

This base upon certifications and references to production chains from the competitive category suggest a connection with the globalised production paradigm.

Oil palm cultivation is referred to also as a mean to contribute with the reduction of carbon emission and as a healthy option to other vegetable oils. It is considered as a way to sequester carbon and biofuels made of palm oils are considered as a mean to reduce emissions from fossil oils combustion. Another way oil palm is promoted refers to its healthy characteristics, such as the lack of saturated fats.

4.2.3.4. Box ticking

The analysis found terms like “sustainable development” or “sustainability” has been used pointing to a specific direction, which agriculture activities must point to, but without clarifying it. This occurs mainly in the proposal, whose name, including the term sustainable development, provides a first explanation. The proposal contains a “sustainable development approach,” which is explained but provide just the fuzzy, mainstream definition of sustainable development. Interviewees also refer to sustainable development, but without any further clarification of the term.

In the specific case of the proposal, it presents “approaches” (e.g. gender approach), which unfortunately are not found in the corpus of the document, but just in the section called “Policy approaches.” As referred to by Schneider and Müller, these approaches are included in the proposal as default contain, which is present in every policy document in Peru.

4.2.3.5. Social concerns

This category relates principally with the omission of potential negative impacts on original peoples due to the expansion of oil palm cultivation in their lands. The proposal refers shortly and superficially to the issue, while the old plan does not touch it at all. Müller considers the existence of a “blindness” to the problems of original peoples a generalised feature of agriculture policy in Peru despite the international mandate to protect the rights of these groups. These rights can be violated if the government allows access for oil palm expansion, especially in cases where land rights are not fully acknowledged by the state.

Nevertheless, defenders of oil palm cultivation argue that its cultivation does not affect negatively original peoples since they do not share same areas. Schmidt mentions that drug trafficking is the main problem for these peoples and not oil palm.

4.2.3.6. Institutional aspects

References to the articulation of policy actors for policy implementation are mainly found in the proposal. The document refers to an “interinstitutional dialogue,” including different sectors connected to oil palm cultivation to enhance the weak institutional arrangements framing the sector, which cannot set adequate conditions for competition.

The case of dumping practices in the import of soybean oil from Argentina is an example of this issue.

Interviewees mentioned a lack of technical capacities for policy implementation and its supervision. Mentions about technical capacities relate to the inclusion of diverse criteria in land allocation methodologies further than just productive ones, while those about supervision do with compliance of environmental normativity and protection of land rights of original peoples.

4.3. Matching results with research questions

Looking at both policy documents, findings suggest a pathway towards a third order change, from an “extended” multifunctional paradigm to a globalised production paradigm. Despite finding several mentions associated with the competitive paradigm in each document, their essence comes from different aspects. In the case of the old plan, alternative rural development is the main topic. References to production chains and land allocation related to certifications define the proposal.

Ecological concerns are addressed differently in each policy document. The old plan proposes reforestation using oil palm instead of establishing forest plantations. This proposition does not address ecological concerns presented in Sub-section 2.2.3.3 and is discarded by the current forest legislation. The proposal presents an initial methodological design for regulating the allocation of oil palm cultivation. This attempts to address ecological concerns and, at the same time, allows inserting oil palm growers into new “green” market. The introduction of criteria addressing social concerns, especially those related to original peoples, are still pending.

Different interests come together around the proposal in at least two different phases. The first one is the preparation of the proposal. Junpalma promoted the elaboration of a new plan to improve their conditions to participate in palm oils markets and inset to new ones. But at the same time, they had to comply with demands based on ecological concerns. The second phase is the attempt to enact the proposal with the approval of the Council of Vice-Ministers, when Feconau presented the request for a prior consultation on the document.

5. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses findings in six different sections. The first three sections coincide with the three last paragraphs of Chapter 4. They address discussions around the three specific research questions of this document. The fourth section addresses the general research question. Section 5 refers to the match between findings and theory. The last section discusses briefly methodological aspects.

5.1. A pathway towards a new policy paradigm

It is not surprising that segments related to competitiveness are prominent in both documents. This is congruent with the neoliberal basis of the agriculture policy in Peru.

Such ubiquity of competitiveness-related aspects motivates looking to other components of the policy documents to grasp differences between them. The codes related to the multidimensional paradigm, in an extended form, and the globalised production paradigm stand out in the old plan and the proposal respectively.

The old plan is characterised by aspects matching what is called an extension to the multidimensional policy paradigm. This is determined by the efforts to fight drug trafficking comprised in an alternative rural development. The fight against drug trafficking is a public good provided by certain agriculture practices, in this case oil palm. The cultivation of this crop is supposed to provide an alternative and significant income to small-scale growers, who obtained it formerly through coca cultivation for drug traffic. Although the fight against drug trafficking is not an ecosystem service, alternative rural development matches features of the multidimensional paradigm and is considered an extension of it.

This does not contradict or oppose references to competitiveness but is fed from them since the establishment of conditions for the cultivation of oil palm and the commercialisation of its derivatives is the only way to ensure incomes for fighting coca cultivation. Under a regime like that of Peru in the 1980s, the purchase of palm oil by the state or its direct intervention to ensure incomes directly to oil palm growers may have provided solutions. However, these are not possible under the current agriculture policy paradigm in Peru. The market is an instrument to reach alternative rural development.

The proposal adjusts to the globalised production paradigm. Frequent references to production chains, certifications and quality, and the necessity of a state promoting

competitiveness allow this assertion. In this way, the oil palm sector aligns in parallel with the overall agriculture policy in Peru.

5.2. Addressing ecological concerns

The old plan prematurely addresses ecological concerns referred to in this study, specifically deforestation. This is considered premature since ecological concerns presented in this research are those that appeared after the enactment of the old plan. However, the document could also be influenced by international experiences. The old plan proposes reforestation with oil palm instead of forest plantations. Based on the characterisation of oil palm as an agro-industrial crop which differs from that of forest plantations, this is banned in the proposal and does not appear in the proposal.

The proposal addresses ecological concerns with the implementation of certifications from a land planning perspective. This perspective matches perfectly the establishment of certifications since it proposes looking after areas where, for example, RSPO principles and criteria are met. In this sense, the policy paradigm behind the proposal attempts handling ecological concerns that generated opinions and actions against oil palm cultivation in Peru. This is analysed in the following section.

Findings also show that oil palm is associated with negative social impacts, which are, nevertheless, barely mentioned in policy documents. These concerns are mentioned not just by interviewees but also in the literature regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru. They are associated mainly with larger scale activities, which are sometimes reported as connected with land trafficking and corruption.

5.3. Influences on policy making

As mentioned in the previous chapter, influences on policy making can be divided into two phases: the preparation of the proposal and the attempt to enact the proposal.

5.3.1. First phase: The preparation of the proposal

Junpalma, partially established as a corporatist network (it is not funded by the state), exerted power over ideas in the preparation of the proposal. After the fusion of the two associations of oil palm growers into Junpalma, the organisation managed to set conditions for the preparation of the proposal looking for its enactment. While being the principal promoter, it is to be expected that Junpalma used power over ideas when filtering ideas coming into the proposal. The data set does not provide enough information

to explain how Junpalma became so influential. As shown before, oil palm cultivation is still small in the agriculture sector and not expected to be particularly influential.

The influence of Junpalma might be helped by the presence of Palmas Group, which is not just a big actor in the oil palm sector but also part of the most important, and therefore influential, economic group in Peru: The Romero Group. This does not confirm or disprove in any manner the accusation regarding the use of Junpalma to influence policy making. The presence of Palmas Group may have brought the oil palm sector to the attention of the state or they may have even endorsed Junpalma's endeavour. Similarities between Weber and Schmidt's interviews suggest at least compatible discourses of both organisations.

Policy actors representing concerned interests over negative ecological impacts also influenced policy using power over ideas. They presented a statement hardly refutable by defenders of oil palm cultivation and attractive to international donors. Actors referring to ecological concerns even influenced the financial sector, which held (and probably still holds) an image of oil palm growers as drivers of deforestation. There is no evidence suggesting the establishment of at least a pressure pluralist network. In this case, ecological concerns influenced policy making in a rather unarticulated manner.

5.3.2. Second phase: the attempt to enact the proposal

The influence of Junpalma reached the Council of Vice-Ministers, where the proposal was supposed to be discussed and approved. There is no evidence of the involvement of Junpalma, Palmas Group or any other interested pro-oil-palm-cultivation policy actor after this point.

At this moment, Feconau intervened using power in ideas by the request of the prior consultation for the proposal. Feconau limited the options of the promoters of the proposal to just one: performing a prior consultation. This stalled the process of enactment due to the lack of capacity of Minagri and the private policy actors in the sector, which do not have the legal obligation to perform the consultation. Finally, the proposal will not be enacted since plans have been replaced by policy guidelines in the Peruvian policy making.

5.4. Have ecological concerns influenced policy change?

There is evidence of a pathway towards a third order change between the old plan and the proposal, highly influenced by ecological concerns about oil palm cultivation in Peru. This policy change, however, has not been concluded and will not be concluded, at least not in the expected way when the proposal was originally prepared.

This pathway of policy change can be considered an expected and almost natural transition towards the overall agriculture policy paradigm in Peru. Since policy present neoclassical foundations, it is expected that the oil palm growers attempted a transition to improve their capacities to maximise their incomes. Considering the overall paradigm of the Peruvian agriculture sector, it could be expected that policies regarding oil palm cultivation take a similar way. Such an explanation, it not satisfactory, however.

This raises the question: would the oil palm sector in Peru have taken the pathway towards a globalised production programme in the absence of ecological concerns? The most likely answer is no. The emphasis on the expansion into non-traditional markets, which includes exportation and other green markets, could have led to the implementation of certification standards. However, these markets are still small and, at least from the perspective of the author, uncertain options. Moreover, as mentioned before, the domestic market of vegetable oils has still room for the expansion of palm oil. Since this market does not yet extensively require certifications, focusing on it would minimise efforts. This would just need features of the competitive paradigm and not those of the globalised production one.

This answer is based on the consideration that a path towards a competitive paradigm would have been the most efficient option for the oil palm sector. As mentioned before, the domestic market of vegetable oils has still room for the expansion of palm oil. Provided that, this market does not yet extensively require certifications, the focus on it would minimise efforts. This would lead to the implementation of a competitive programme. Since, this does not happen, the only available explanation is the influence of ecological concerns.

In addition to that, ecological concerns had as well an indirect influenced in policy through the financial sector. It is likely that the demonization of oil palm forced growers to pay attention to their practices in order to improve their reputation thereby increasing the possibility to access private credit and, ultimately, to expand.

It is noteworthy that, even without the influence of ecological concerns, the oil palm sector would have followed a pathway towards a third order change, likely to the competitive paradigm. This seems to be driven by Junpalma and partial condition as a corporatist network. The relative ease to adopt different pathways, according to the situation, can be associated with the flexibility of discourse of oil palm mentioned by HUNSBERGER and ALONSO-FRADEJAS (2016). In this sense, oil palm has changed from a tool for fighting drug trafficking to an alternative to tackle climate change and is even presented as an ally of forests.

5.5. Do results fit theory?

They do partially. Some findings seem to fit the presented theoretical concepts. They fit the model the model of evolutionary change by OLIVER and PEMBERTON (2004), who argue for the necessity of shocks leading to a third order change. The absence of shocks triggering change might explain the stalled proposal. Findings match also the concept of cumulative change by COLEMAN et al. (1996). The working space established for the preparation of the proposal after the promotion of Junpalma is similar corporatist networks set to change policies in a controlled way. Change did not occur, but it can be argued that the period of analysis was relatively short. Finally, findings on the influence of different policy actors are coherent with the types of ideational power by (CARSTENSEN and SCHMIDT 2016).

Presented theoretical concepts cannot completely account for other findings. This is the case of the partial match with agriculture policy paradigms presented by COLEMAN et al. (2004). Alternative rural development, presented as an extension of the multifunctional paradigm, is a proof of that.

This lack of fit with respect to the theoretical framework of the research academic possess challenges. It must be considered that the theoretical concepts, which the research is based on were developed on cases of industrialised countries. Peru, which does not belong to this group, present different features. Nevertheless, these theories are not considered totally alien to the Peruvian case, since the country to emulate industrialised nations. The applied concepts require at least amends to include the Peruvian case.

5.6. Methodological issues

The focus on just ecological concerns attempted in this research limits the analysis regarding oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon. It was attempted the isolation of

ecological concerns from social ones. However, social concerns were also mentioned by interviews in different respects. Oil palm is seen as a mean for improving lives of locals, but also as a threat for them and especially for original peoples. The dependence of some communities on the forests, like explained by SELVADURAI et al. (2013) for the case of Penans, is an example of the last. The complexity of the Peruvian Amazon social-ecological system determines such inseparability of concerns. The focus of the author must be extended in further research regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru.

There exists a bias towards agriculture promotion in the analysis. This likely comes from the disproportion of interest among the interviewees. Four interviewees are considered to present tendencies towards agriculture promotion: two from the agriculture public sector, one from the growers association, and one from the big oil palm industry. In this regard, further research might gain from the inclusion of policy actors with different backgrounds. However, this does not depend entirely on the researcher.

It might also be the case that the academic background of the researcher influenced his capacity to spot segments related to competitiveness. If this is the case, the relevance of this issue with respect to others would be reduced. This possible background-related bias is not considered relevant for the analysis.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Ecological concerns have considerably influenced a pathway towards a third order change in the policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru. Policy documents present different features depicting an extended version of the multidimensional paradigm in the case of the old plan and to the globalised production paradigm in the case of the proposal. Ecological concerns are found to explaining differences between them and the pathway from one to the other. These concerns became influential throughout the use of ideational power by policy actors, who principally exerted power over ideas.

Policy making regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru is moving towards the overall paradigm behind the Peruvian agriculture sector through the implementation of certification schemes. This is happening pragmatically, even despite the discarding of the proposal, since oil palm growers have already taken this direction (e.g. Junpalma and Palmas del Espino). The RSPO certification plays a relevant role in this. Certification is to be supported by land allocation methodologies, which help spot adequate areas for the expansion of oil palm in the Peruvian Amazon. Nevertheless, it is still uncertain if these methodologies are able to help tackle ecological concerns and if the state has the capacity to implement methodologies and supervise their use.

The findings of this research lead the author to suggest that the Peruvian state must adopt a clear position regarding oil palm cultivation in Peru. The crop has brought significant and appreciated positive impacts but has also brought significant and regrettable negative ones, which have risen concerns. These concerns must be addressed so that the benefits from oil palm cultivation continue. The lead taken by private organisations, even seeking the implementation of sustainable standards (e.g. RSPO certification), cannot replace the state since they are not obliged to protect interests aside from their own. The state must determine a position, which can also clarify its position towards efforts for Amazon conservation and the possibility of work to enhance it.

Social concerns were found to be a relevant factor that must be included in further research. This research focuses just on the ecological concerns. However, social concerns always appeared to be pared with ecological ones. The complexity of the social-ecological system of the Peruvian Amazon provides an explanation for this. This complexity must be included in research regarding oil palm cultivation in the Peruvian Amazon or any

other activity developed in this region. This is not just a recommendation for the author, but for every researcher focusing on the Amazon.

Further research, not just on oil palm, but on other crops in the Peruvian Amazon, can help to “clarify the field” of policy making and contribute to the main ecological objective in the region: The conservation of the Amazon forests. As referred to by SCHMIDT (2011), DI is not the solution, but part of the puzzle for looking at policies. It sometimes matters and sometimes does not. Research addressing other aspects of oil palm cultivation might focus on, for example, the optimal production of palm oils, as proposed by Wagner, or opportunities to a sustainable expansion in international markets. The inclusion of a wider and diverse range of policy actors must be part of further research as well. This would add to the already existing literature for completing the puzzle of policy making regarding oil palm in Peru. This conclusion also applies to other crops in the Peruvian Amazon.

Finally, further development of the theoretical framework but based on a wider and diverse range of countries is recommended. It is found that the theoretical framework does not totally fit the case of study. This specific to the case of the agriculture policy paradigms. The reason of this could be in the different features of Peru, which is not an industrialised country, with respect to those countries, which theories are based on. This poses the challenge to develop research to at least adjust the utilised theories to cases other than those of industrialised countries.

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I hereby declare that the present thesis has not been submitted as a part of any other examination procedure and has been independently written. All passages, including those from the internet, which were used directly or in modified form, especially those sources using text, graphs, charts or pictures, are indicated as such. I realize that an infringement of these principles which would amount to either an attempt of deception or deceit will lead to the institution of proceedings against myself.

22.10.18

Date

Signature

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Appendix A: Keywords for the systematic literature research

English	Spanish
"oil palm"	"palma aceitera" OR "palma africana" OR "palma de aceite"
<p>"policy", "policies", "policy change", "policy strategy", "policy strategies", "strategy", "strategies", "policy layering", "social learning", "discourse", "discourses", "discourse analysis", "discursive analysis",</p> <p>"paradigm", "paradigms", "policy paradigm", "paradigm change", "change of paradigm", "ideational power", "peru", "peruvian".</p>	<p>"política", "políticas", "cambio de política", "cambios de política", "estrategia política", "estrategias políticas", "estrategia", "estrategias", "capa política", "capas políticas", "aprendizaje social", "discurso",</p> <p>"discursos", "análisis del discurso", "análisis discursivo", "paradigma", "paradigmas", "paradigma político", "paradigmas políticos", "cambio de paradigma", "poder ideológico", "perú", "peruano", "peruana".</p>

Prepared by the author.

Appendix B: Interview guide (Spanish)

Secciones	Preguntas	Comentarios
Presentación (2 minutos)	1. En primer lugar, me gustaría que me cuente cómo definiría usted participación en el proceso de diseño de políticas de palma aceitera en el Perú.	Autodefinición para tomar una posición desde el inicio.
Situación de la palma aceitera en el Perú (20 minutos)	2. En su opinión, ¿cuán importante es la palma aceitera en el Perú? ¿Por qué?	Para que el entrevistado tome parte por un discurso.
	3. ¿Cuáles considera usted que son los principales problemas alrededor de la palma aceitera en el Perú? ¿Cuál sería el problema más importante? ¿Cuál el segundo más importante? ¿Cuál el tercero?	Identificación de los problemas definidos dentro del discurso del entrevistado.
	4. ¿Dónde ve usted oportunidades sobre la base del cultivo de palma aceitera en el Perú? ¿Cuál es la principal oportunidad? ¿la segunda mejor? ¿Y la tercera?	Otra aproximación al abordaje de los problemas definidos dentro del discurso del entrevistado.
Sobre la propuesta del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Sostenible de la Palma Aceitera en el Perú (2016-2025) (20 minutos)	5. ¿Cuán satisfecho se encuentra usted con la propuesta? ¿Por qué?	Correspondencia propuesta-discurso.
	6. ¿Cómo considera usted que la propuesta enfrenta los problemas que usted mencionó anteriormente?	Nivel de correspondencia
	7. ¿Qué tan bien la propuesta incorpora las oportunidades antes referidas?	Revalidación sobre la coherencia entre el discurso del entrevistado y el plan.
	8. ¿Qué aspectos importantes son dejados de lado por la propuesta?	Ídem.
Con relación al Plan Nacional de Promoción de la Palma Aceitera, 2000-2010 (10 minutos)	9. ¿Dónde ve usted diferencias entre el plan antiguo y la propuesta? Para saber si entendí correctamente, ¿Considera usted que la propuesta es un paso adelante o un paso atrás?	Identificar cambios coherentes con el discurso del entrevistado.
Impulsores de la propuesta (5 minutos)	10. ¿Por qué se inició el proceso de elaboración de la propuesta?	Cómo se percibe el proceso de aprendizaje social.
	11. En su opinión ¿por qué se ha retrasado el proceso de oficialización de la propuesta?	Indicios de “ideational power”.
Visión general del discurso (5 minutos)	12. Si estuviera en la posibilidad de implementar políticas ¿qué medidas implementaría para resolver los problemas y sacar ventaja de las oportunidades de las que conversamos antes?	Identificación de las soluciones planteadas por el discurso del entrevistado para revalidar lo antes dicho.

Prepared by the author.

Appendix C: Interview guide (English)

Sections	Questions	Comments
Introduction (2 minutes)	1. First, I would like you to tell me how you would define your role in the process of policy making regarding oil palm in Peru.	Auto-definition to take a position from the beginning.
Situation of oil palm in Peru (20 minutes)	2. In your opinion, how important is oil palm in Peru? Why?	The interviewee takes the side of a discourse.
	3. In your opinion, what are the main problems regarding oil palm in Peru? What is the main one? The second one? The third one?	To identify problems defined in the interviewee's discourse.
	4. Where do you see opportunities based on oil palm cultivation in Peru? What is the first one? The second one? The third one?	Another approach to problems defined in the interviewee's discourse.
About the proposal for National Plan for Sustainable Development of Oil Palm in Peru (2016-2021) (20 minutes)	5. How much satisfied are you with the proposal? Why?	Match proposals-discourse.
	6. In your opinion, how does the proposal address problems you mentioned?	Match level.
	7. How well does the proposal incorporate opportunities you mentioned?	Double check of the match.
	8. What other important aspects are not considered the proposal?	The same.
About the National Plan for the Promotion of Oil Palm Peru, 2000-2010 (10 minutes)	9. Where do you spot differences between the old plan and the proposal? Do you consider that the proposal is a step forward or backwards?	To identify changes congruent with the interviewee's discourse.
Promoters of the proposal (5 minutes)	10. Why did the process of preparation of the proposal begin?	How is perceived the process of social learning.
	11. In your opinion, why is the process of enactment of the proposal delayed?	Signs of ideational power.
Overview on the discourse (5 minutes)	12. If you had the opportunity to implement policies, what measures would you implement to solve the problems you mentioned and take advantage from the opportunities you also mentioned before?	To identify solutions determined by the interviewee's discourse and revalidate previous information.

Prepared by the author.

Appendix D: The code system (two first levels)

Code System	Coded Segments
Code System	1177
Competitiveness	
Market conditions	150
Room for growing	71
Access to markets	63
International trade	48
Private sector	26
Productive chain	13
Palm growers empowerment/pride	7
Versatility	4
Limitada competitividad de la cadena	2
Mejorar condiciones para la competencia del sector	1
falta de mecanismos para afrontar el mercado	1
Enfoque de mercado	1
Alternative rural development	
To fight drug trafficking	45
Local benefits	36
Associativity	32
Funding sources	28
Ocupación del territorio: paradigma dependiente	1
Ecological concerns	
Adequate areas for expansion	139
Opportunities from cultivation	35
Certification	28
Alternative activities in the Amazon	5
Hay otros problemas ambientales	2
preocupaciones ambientales no se respetaron en la práctica	1
estamos en los ojos del mundo	1
Cuestionamientos impactos ambientales	1
hay mercado para la palma con conflicto	1
Crecimiento no sostenible	1
Box ticking	
Desarrollo sostenible	59
Approaches are found along the proposal	7
Social concerns	
Conflicts with original communities	40
In general	10
protección para defensores y defensoras de derechos humanos	1
Bad practices	
To obtain land	36
Working together with drug trafficking	11
Instrumentalisation of social conflicts	7
To influence policy making	6
About normativity	2
Institutional aspects	
Articulation enhancement	32
Lack of capacities to implement policy	24
Institutions enhancement	17

Policy guidelines replace plans	8
Mejorar difusión	3
Declaran palma de interés nacional	1
Serfor interviene en dominio público	1
opinión del MINAM para el cambio de uso	1
Dominio privado es únicamente la región	1
Serfor participa técnica y no políticamente	1
el sector público en general da señales erradas	1
Discussions	
The proposal	87
Positions regarding oil palm	22
Demonization	20
Opportunities	18
Problems	17
Government acts cautiously	16
Efforts to promote the plan	7
Tercer interés en los biocombustibles	1
Junpalma representó el mayor público de la socialización	1
Not classified	
Alimentar este debate con una propuesta técnica	2
veeduría desde la sociedad civil	1
foco sobre pueblos nativos	1
Desconfianza de las políticas	1
Amazonía como despensa de recursos	1

Source: MAXQDA folder.

Prepared by the author.