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Title: Territory, organic and fairtrade cocoa – commodities or commons? The case of Chazuta, San Martín, Peru

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Abstract

The "Miracle of San Martín" in the Peruvian Amazon is a metaphor that is well known nationally and internationally, for the recovery of state order in a region that has been convulsed by terrorism and drug trafficking. Specifically, I focus on the process of "alternative development" that symbolizes the eradication of coca produced for drug trafficking through the implementation of cocoa value chains, and - particularly - organic and fair trade chains.

In these „alternative" value chains, a strong connection of the local actors with the territory is supposed. This would be particularly true for the indigenous communities of kichwa-lamistas in the area that would use common land for common benefits in a traditionally cohesive way. In this narrative, cocoa is seen as an alternative and organic common good that can be inserted into different (niche) markets, at a fair price for the producers. This is considered a friendly discourse with the liberal logic for making the territory look like a productive, efficient and at the same time sustainable asset, based on the communities´ own "sense of place" (Cresswell, 2004) and connectedness to their territory. Cocoa´s materiality permits production in sustainable agroforestry systems in contrast to its extractive monoculture production as a commodity in conventional production chains. The integrated production system and the „ethical" and organic certification could give it a status as a "hybridized social common" (Basu, Jongerden, & Ruivenkamp, 2017), where the physical attributes of the crop and the expert knowledge to produce it in a global production system, cannot be separated.

Based on visits and field work in the area since 2002 in which I have applied different participatory research methods, as well as a Social Network Analysis in order to test the idea of social cohesion and density of g-local networks, I argue that the construction of organic and fair trade cocoa chains, perceived as relatively successful, has been possible due to the confluence of two processes, one domestic-regional and a global one that found a "fertile ground" in some districts of the region, as Chazuta, while in others it did not.

In this sense, organic and fairtrade cocoa has been promoted as a „common" that permits paying a fair price to a collective of producers and at the same time, prevent further deforestation and extension of the agricultural border, if it is produced in integrated systems. The proposed strategies made by a glocal network that came into existence in this territory, were assumed by most of the local actors of Chazuta, with few „frictions" (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2005).

Key words: territory, sustainability, fair trade, organic cocoa, common good

1. Introduction

The "Miracle of San Martín" in the Peruvian Amazon is a metaphor that is known nationally and internationally, for the recovery of state order in a region that has been convulsed by terrorism and drug trafficking. In another article (Kaulard, 2019, submitted) I have explored– with the lens of historical and social neo-institutionalism – the economic policies, synergies and actors of the "alternative development" in the Peruvian region of San Martín, by the implementation of global production networks, and particularly organic and fair trade cocoa value chains as an alternative for coca. In this region, two productive transformations have taken place: The first one is the successful eradication of coca production and the implementation of different crops like coffee and cocoa, and the second transformation is related to the introduction of fairtrade and organic production systems, that I shall call "alternative" value chains, and that have a potential for social justice and environmental protection. These crops are mainly grown by smallholders and can work in agro forest systems that do not expand the agricultural border. Surprisingly, the study found out that the construction of organic and fair trade cocoa chains, commonly perceived as relatively successful only because of the intervention of International Cooperation Agencies in the context of "the war against drugs", has been possible in fact due to two different key factors. On the one hand, the development of a proper and innovative landmark of a modernized regional government, that is permitted to be "developmental" in a mostly neoliberal context in Peru. On the other hand, the rather unusual continuity of regional government´s staff in different government periods and their professionalization as an agricultural "green policy think and action tank" together with the formation of a network of regional technical experts from the public, academic and private sector called "tigers", that contributed to a relatively stable strategy of the sustainable global value chains and their implementation.

In this paper, I will focus on this *glocal* network of experts, mainly supported by the "think and action tank" and the "tigers", in order to ask if it could be termed a "knowledge common" that has created the organic and fairtrade cocoa production system. As Basu et al. (2017) point out, the commons cannot be understood without a community where they materialize. In this case, the empirical evidence comes from the village of Chazuta, where we can find a special and informal *glocal* cocoa community, composed by the "tigers", as well as a fairtrade cocoa cooperative whose members are, among others, indigenous communities owning community land, a women´s association that produces chocolate, as well as cocoa processing family enterprises and local intermediaries. These actors identify strongly with the community and call themselves "Chazutinos", whereas ethnicity or race seems to be less important. There are different groups of producers, mostly "mestizos" of the region and people of native communities. This local network is supported by international fairtrade and organic inclined NGOs, governmental programs, as well as investigation institutions, and has produced a new kind of common knowledge about fairtrade and organic fine and aromatic cocoa.

The main research question of this study is how the glocal cocoa network of Chazuta came into existence and by which actors it is composed and supported. Then it is important to know if this network can be considered a common good for the community. Another related question is what role common land tenure and formal membership in a cooperative or association, as well as informal networks play in the construction of a common goal. And finally, can the global consumer contribute to the creation of a common in the country where the crop is produced?

At first, some conceptual and theoretical considerations have to be made regarding the wide field of the commons. Commons are a particular type of institutional arrangement for governing the use and disposition of resources. The main difference to property is that no single person has exclusive control over the use and disposition of any particular resource. Instead, resources governed by commons may be used by anyone among a certain number of persons that can be more or less defined, in a range between very loose, informal and tight formal rules (Benkler, 2003). In this sense, commons are generally understood as shared resources, in

which each stakeholder has an equal interest. It can be distinguished between cultural and natural resources, and commons are accessible to all members of a society, including natural materials, such as air, oceans and land. A common must be held in collectively and is not privately owned.

But, in the line with Basu et al., I use an amplified concept of commons beyond the conceptualization of political economy, integrating the social level. In this approach, commons are mainly a set of networks of social actors, also termed as social commons. In this study, the social common would be the g-local knowledge network that enables a certain type of production system. "This concentrates on production resulting from human-human and human-nature interactions." (Basu et al., 2017) As Basu et al. holds the knowledge common cannot be separated from the material common, which is organic and fairtrade aromatic cocoa here.

"Taking the idea of *commons* as production systems, we have relied upon the notion of a community, defined in terms of an enterprise, such as the development of certain types of plant varieties. A community may also be viewed as a dynamic process in which actors with a similar interest, shared norms and/or organisational culture create a particular discourse (Berkes et al. 1989; Coe and Bunnell 2003; Mies 2014; Richardson 2015, cited in Basu et al., 2017, p. 17)".

It is important that the community follows a common goal or objective, what Basu calls a common „enterprise". This does not exclude that the members of the glocal network have particular goals, but these do not contradict the broader goal. In this sense, we can talk about a shared identity and a common purpose for the members of a community or network, with which they identify (Wang et al. 2002). A shared identity is supposed to create a relatively stable and sustainable community in time (Basu et al., 2017).

"In order to be considered as a ´common´, the autonomy of the community is also reflected within the policies of this community, which is *non-hierarchical*, *horizontal*, and *inclusive* in nature, a striking feature of commons in general and commons-based production in particular" (Harvey 2012, cited in Basu et al., 2017, p. 162). The authors tentatively posit that the development of a community-building process based on shared practices for the creation and/or management of resources is the first aspect to identify commons that are understood in terms of production (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Gual 2012, cited in Basu et al., 2017).

The authors understand the positioning of commons „beyond state and market" as a system that is beyond policy, property rights and law mainly enforced or implemented by the state. It is a voluntary and horizontal community without enforcement structures, although it follows some rules. „Understood in this way, commons are not things to be possessed, nor the goods of political economy but the ways of connecting between agents in society". (Aier et al. 2011; Bandyopadhyay 2011; Cheria and Edwin 2011c, cited in Basu et al., 2017).

Another important aspect of this understanding of the commons, is that there is no division made between knowledge and natural commons. The case of Chazuta illustrates that a product, as the fairtrade and organic cocoa, is constituted by both natural resource and knowledge. Finally, when talking about the commons that are embedded in a community or network, the term *hybridised commons* in which techno-scientific knowledge as well as farmers' practices co-exist can be used.

The commons-discussion, related to embedded knowledge networks, also dialogues with the institutional theory of Peter Evans, whose theoretical contribution is to detail and refine general ideas about state structures, relations of society and the State, and how these constitute possibilities for industrial transformation. Evans coins the term *embeddedness* (Evans, 1995), understood as the roots of public institutions of a developmental state in a dense network of social ties that allow political elites to negotiate objectives and implement strategies with private actors. However, in this study, more than an embedding in sense of Evans, I will make an interpretation of this framework by using the term synergies between the sub-national State,

civil society, NGOs and international cooperation that helped to build sufficient social capital for productive transformation. These synergies are *glocal* and also expressed in the term *Global Production Networks* (Gereffi, Humphrey, & Sturgeon, 2005 (12)) .

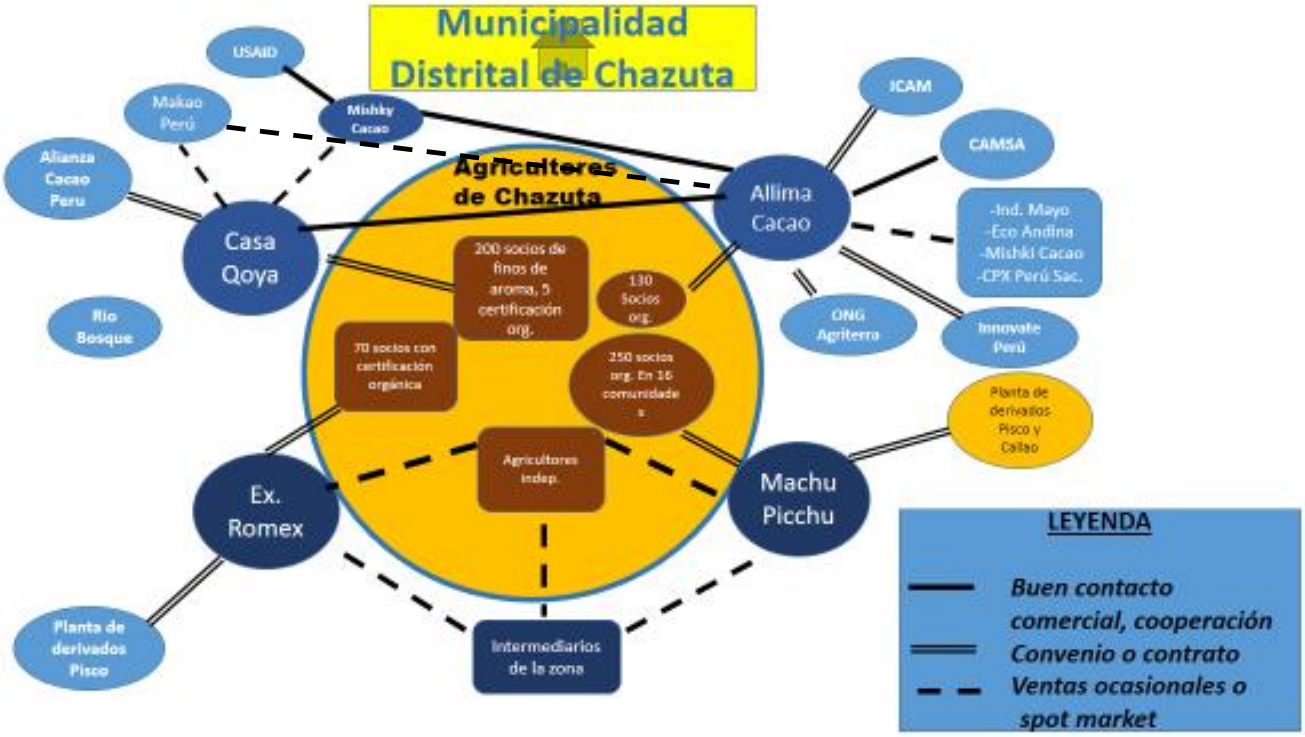
In regular field visits since 2002 I have applied different methods of participatory research, as well as Social Network Analysis (ARS) in order to test the idea of knowledge dissemination and intermediation functions (*brokerage*) in informal networks. The ARS also helps to visualize the actors´ perception about the glocal network from their proper space or institution that might be an indigenous community or a mainly mestizo-led cooperative. I carried out approximately 50 semi-structured interviews with government staff, local actors and international agencies to triangulate and deepen the analysis of networks, as well as to understand the multiple synergies between state, society, the academic and the entrepreneurial sector and the actor´s perception of how the production system works. I also analyzed strategic plans, project evaluations and reports of different institutional actors that belong to the knowledge network.

The paper is structured in the following way. First, the development of the glocal network for knowledge production in order to implement fair trade and ethic value chains in integrated systems is analysed. The public and private actors who construct this new kind of system are presented. In this context, the figure of the “tigers“ stands out and will get a profounder analysis. Second, I will take a look at the producers and their communities, as well as their informal networks and the importance of production systems that rely upon common indigenous land. Surprisingly, the study has found that there is a relatively weak identification of local actors with common land and the indigenous tradition is getting lost, but they seem to be part of a bigger network of the cocoa commons. Finally, I will discuss if Chazuta might be a case of a new kind of social commons, manifested in a stable, glocal network for the fairtrade and organic cocoa production.

2. The Glocal cocoa network of Chazuta

The glocal network of Chazuta includes a series of actors on different levels. As can be seen in graphic 1, in 2018 the institutional network is formed by family enterprises as Casa Qoya and Rio Bosque, the cooperative Allima Cacao, fairtrade and organic certified enterprise Machu Picchu and Romex, as well as independent producers and traders that have relatively stable relationships with their members or local cocoa committees. The buyers as ICAM, and CAMSA are connected to the external market. The glocal network also receives support from different cooperation agencies as USAID, the NGO Agriterra or the governmental program of Innovate Perú.

Graphic 1: The glocal production network of Chazuta



Elaboration: Víctor Luna and Anke Kaulard

It is striking that the cooperative Allima Cacao (interested in organic cocoa) and the family enterprise Casa Qoya, specialized in organically produced fine aroma cocoas, are cooperating, through the mutual exchange of certified organic cocoa, although they were thought to be competing for suppliers among the cocoa farmers. According to interviews with managers and technicians of the organizations, each company has a different main niche market, which allows to support with the exchange (buying and selling) of cocoa beans that are needed at the moment. The Romero Group's Romex company is also stocking cocoa and forming a group of cacao producers with organic (national) certification, which means that it is entering a niche market that does not use "conventional" cocoa. So far, it has a relatively small group of producers and it seems not yet to collide with the interests of the cooperative and Casa Qoya. On the other hand, Machu Picchu has grouped the largest number of cacao producers, lately with organic and fairtrade cocoa in different communities and is also working with individual cocoa producers. The Mishki Cacao association, which produces chocolate mixed with the traditional majambo, buys its cacao from the cooperative Allima Cacao and shares with the cooperative an eco-tourist circuit, the so-called cocoa route. The Makao company of the Pucacaca district which is in another province, is also involved in this cocoa network in Chazuta, because it is occasionally supplied with fine-flavoured cocoa from Casa Qoya and also with certified cocoa from Allima Cacao for its production line of organic chocolate. Makao has also provided a Japanese client to the women´s association that produces majambo.

On the other hand, the producers of the cocoa and members of the different organizations can be either indigenous communities, mestizo „*naturales*“ of the region (a person born in this area), or migrated people from the coastal or Andean regions of Peru. Some “*comuneros*“ (i.e. persons living in an indigenous community) prefer to have a small cocoa enterprise only composed by members of their own extended family. Some of the people related to chocolate production or eco-tourism are „limeños“ (people born in Lima) or foreigners who are forming part of the glocal network. It can be observed in Chazuta that joint production and commercialization of products like cacao can lead to more cohesion of the community. E.g.

some farmers, who have migrated from the Andean region into the Amazon basin, could be integrated in a joint commercialization effort, although they do not belong to the indigenous community, because they do not share the same culture and social habits. Migrants from the mountain area are said to be better merchants than the local settlers living along the Huallaga river ("*ribereños"*).

This network produces and shares knowledge and support for the organic and fairtrade cocoa. This could be considered a production system based on a common good. Some producers work together in cooperatives, where common goods, for example the fair trade premium, is negotiated. A rule of the fairtrade system is that the cooperative, in its general assembly decides democratically, how to invest and/or distribute the premium.

My findings are similar to the case of a drought tolerant rice variety where the research community that it created was studied. This community "is situated in an overlapping institutional sphere of state institutions, NGOs and international institutions" (Basu 2016; Basu et al. submitted); it is itself neither public nor private in nature.
In a parallel way, the glocal cocoa production and knowledge network in Chazuta can be located in this sphere, where in spite of a relatively strong overall intervention of the regional government in economic policy, there is no individual institution from the private or public sector taking the property or leadership of the expert knowledge. This peculiar, relatively sustainable system is created by a common effort.
The material part is the fine aromatic cocoa, while the (knowledge) production system is based on organic and fairtrade. The production of this crop and above all the post-harvesting and commercialization process requires refined and profound expert knowledge which is delivered by experts from different spheres. In Chazuta, I found an attitude of sharing knowledge and even the product among the local actors involved in the system, such as family cocoa enterprises, the cooperative and even the bigger enterprises like Machu Picchu, lately integrating themselves into the fairtrade and organic market. Basically, the form of interaction seems to be cooperation between private sector actors of different types. The indigenous communities are integrated as members of the cooperatives, or work in informal networks with local intermediaries who give them credits on a trust base.

In comparison with other communities, like for example, the neighbouring province of Picota, Chazuta has a more active associative culture, altough the situation is not conflict-free and there are also problems of changing loyalties and some frustations.
In Chazuta, the producers´ associations were formed once the transition from coca to cocoa was over, after the introduction of the Programme for Alternative Development (PDA) in the area. In areas close to Chazuta different associations and cooperatives can be found. (Ganoza, 2017). One of the findings of our study is that in Chazuta there are producers who sell to two or more commercial associations or groupings, depending on the conditions or price they offer. But another study shows that generally, when a producer is formally linked to an association, he sells all of his production to the association to which he belongs. In general, we can point out the acceptance that producers have towards associations. They consider that belonging to an association is a benefit. (Ganoza, 2017). As we can see in the following graphic, there are more people associated in the district of Chazuta than in the (more populated) province of Picota.

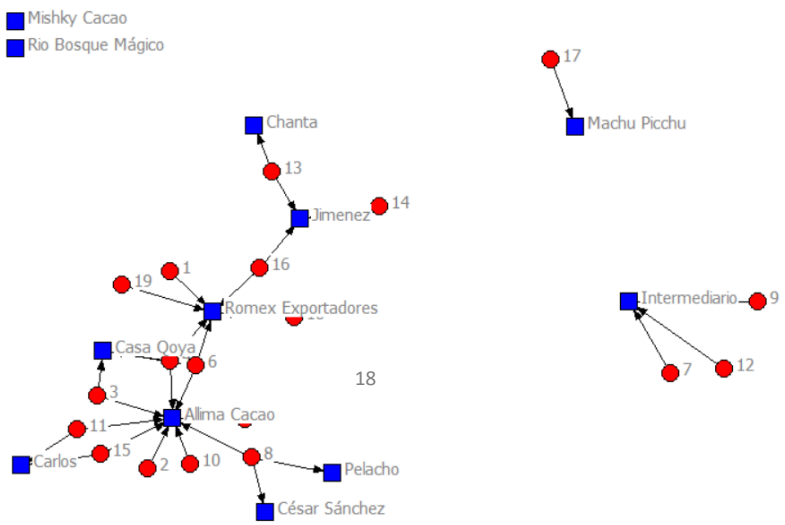
Graphic 2: Cocoa associations and cooperatives Chazuta y Picota

Cocoa associations and cooperatives

Place	N° of Organizations	Name of organizations	N° of members
Chazuta (district level)	5	• Allima Cacao (organic and fairtrade) • Asociación de Productores de Cacao Orgánico "El Porvenir" de Llucanayacu • Asociación de productores orgánicos la Nueva Jerusalen • Asociación de Productoras Agropecuarias Mishki Cacao (organic) • Asociación de agricultores agropecuarios Cristo es el Camino	362
Picota (province level)	3	• Asociación de Productores de cacao Provincia de Picota (APROCAPP) (not active) • Asociación de productores agropecuarios de la localidad de Machungo • Asociación de Productores Agrarios Wira Cacao del Valle de Mishquiyacu	289 (-171) = 118

Source: own elaboration, based on DRASAM, 2016

After having analysed the glocal network from an institutional perspective with the main actors on the micro (i.e. enterprises, cooperatives) and meso level (government institutions, international cooperation agencies), I will have a closer look into the networks of the relatively isolated producers in indigenous communities and take the particular case of one community where a Social Network Analysis was conducted. Although the results are preliminary and more investigation in other communities has to be conducted in order to confirm the results, some interesting findings shall be shared here. When being asked for their formal membership in a cooperative or association, in remote cocoa producing areas, there were no signs of a formal membership and sense of belonging to the cooperative or an association, although we found deep connections of the producers with so-called brokers (of knowledge, technical assistance or commercial intermediaries). Producers from this area mostly do not belong formally to a cooperative or firm that gathers cocoa, like Machu Picchu. Nevertheless, in the network that shows the organization(s) to whom the producer sells cocoa, the following graph gives further evidence.

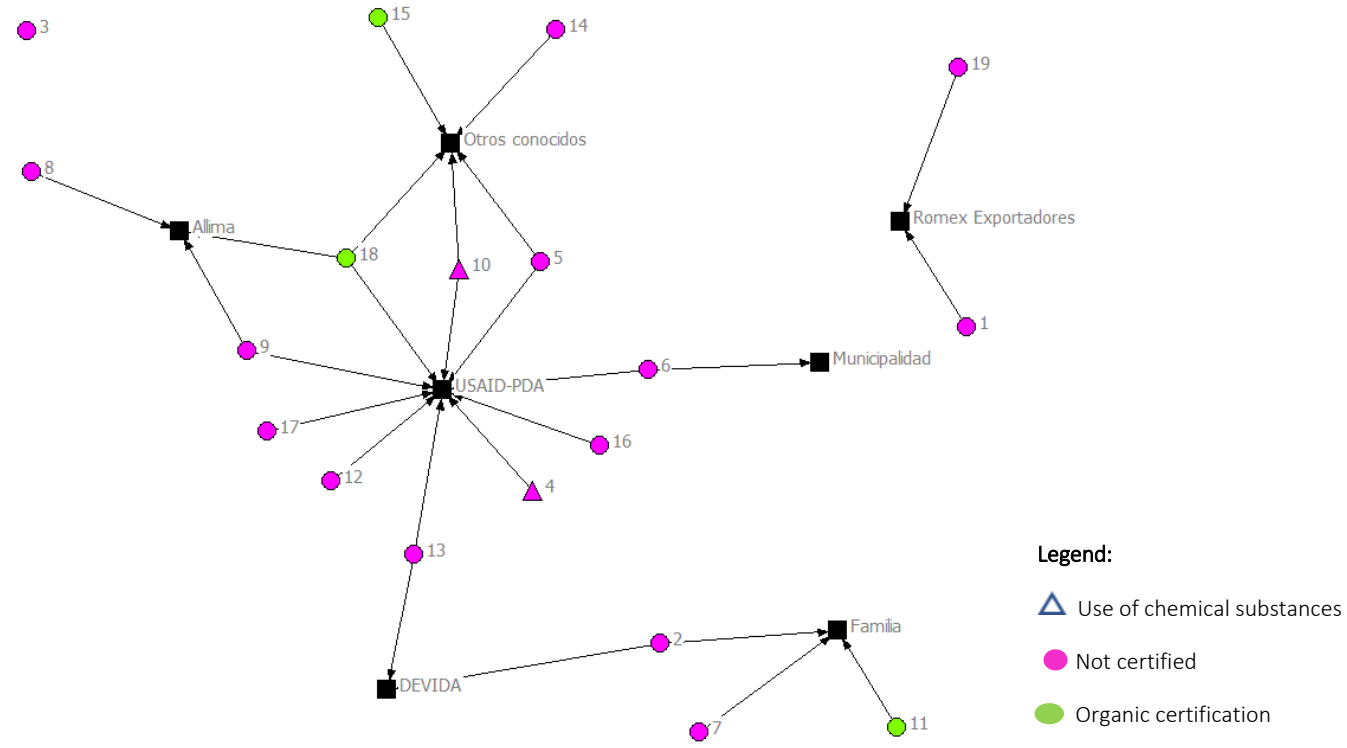


Source: own elaboration, 2018

In this network it is observed that the majority of the producers (represented by the red point with numbers) of this community sell to the cooperative Allima Cacao, although they are not officially registered as members of this cooperative. However, several sell to intermediaries whose name they do not remember or to known (and appreciated) intermediaries of the town of Chazuta, such as "Pelacho", who were also mentioned in the study of the networks of other communities of Chazuta. It is striking that some producers sell to Allima Cacao and, at the same time, to their supposed competition Casa Qoya or Exportadora Romex. This would be explained because different collectors ask for different types and qualities of cocoa and the producer decides according to the convenience of the case to whom to sell.

With respect to the structure of the networks relating to capacity-building for the cocoa production, the findings are illustrated in the following network graphic.

Graphic 3: Capacity building network Alto Chazuta Yacu

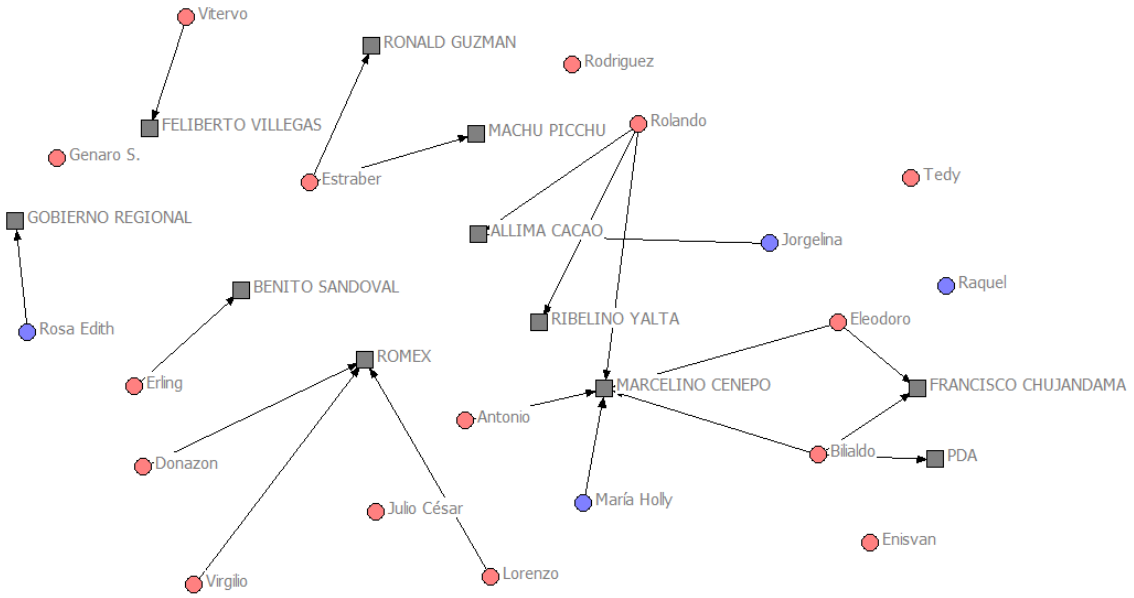


Source: own elaboration, 2018

This graphic shows the centrality of USAID, through its Programme for Alternative Development (PDA). Another important fact shown in this network is that several people point out that they have learned the cultivation of cocoa from their family or acquaintances/ friends, which could indicate a certain family connection in the knowledge transfer and learning of cocoa.

The following graphic was elaborated on the basis of the survey question „Whom do you ask for assistance or council in cocoa production“, understood as demand for technical assistance.

Graphic 4: Network of demand for technical assistance



Here we found a wide variety of people and institutions that are consulted. Some people do not consult anyone, while others consult with recognized technicians from the area who have mostly been trained by international cooperation programs, such as Mister M.C. from Alianza Cacao (a national organization promoted by USAID). Only one person mentions the regional Government as a provider of technical assistance, the municipality is not mentioned. Although the regional government, supported by the cooperation agencies, participated to a great extent in the formation of the „tigers“, these are commonly remembered as „normal people“ from the area that have gained specialized knowledge of the cocoa crop and the production in sustainable systems. Their work is highly recognized in the communities.

Preliminary conclusions can be drawn for the Alto Chazuta Yacu sub-networks, considering the limitations of the study. In summary, some of the sub-network indicators like density are low, and are far from the index 1, which corresponds to a perfect cohesion. Nevertheless, USAID has been a strong knowledge intermediary, who invested millions of dollars in alternative development programs to coca in San Martín. However, also the family or clan, especially parents, play a role in the teaching of cocoa production, which points to the importance of family ties in the social network of the indigenous community. The density of the studied sub-networks is generally low, which would indicate little diffusion of the knowledge of the cocoa crop. However, despite its distance from the district capital, Alto Chazuta Yacu seems to belong to a larger network with actors from outside that feed the producers with technical knowledge about the crop, although among the “*comuneros*“ themselves the knowledge network is not very dense. The hypothesis of the importance of brokerage in this community is reconfirmed. Only it is not a single broker of a large company or the cooperative, but several local intermediaries, who live in the capital of Chazuta. It is worth mentioning that in the qualitative work, trust and credit relationships were registered between the small producers and the intermediaries of Chazuta. For intermediaries provide non-perishable food to producers in the form of credits which the cocoa producers can pay back by selling the crop after harvesting to the intermediary. Formal membership in an organization does not exclude that the producer is also involved in other informal networks. If a producer formally belongs to an association, this does not imply that he also sells all his cocoa to this organization, because sometimes it is better to sell to another person because of price differences. However, the

price does not always seem to be the only criterion and there are loyalties to their organization in some cases or other considerations, such as the question of who assumes the transport of the product, a family relationship or friendship with a local intermediary, etc. Some of the producers from Alto Chazuta Yacu seem to belong to the broader glocal network through the cooperative Allima promoted by USAID and connected to international buyers, or Casa Qoya owned by „limeños", etc. that have their base in the district capital (Chazuta). This network fuelled by external human and financial resources from international cooperation, the State and private companies. As one of the next steps, a study of the structural cohesion and the embeddedness of sub-networks of several communities in a larger network should be carried out.

A deeper look into the production systems of the indigenous communities in their common land, show another potential for the maintenance of commons as the forest. The communities have traditional ways of land tenure and relatively sustainable production, for example by the chova-chova tradition, which is a reciprocal system of support between community members in the production and harvesting. Although it can be observed that in the Chazuta area these traditions are vanishing more and more, but depending on the case, they can be reactivated. Another important point is that in the region of San Martin agroforestry systems[1] have been developed. Integral plots (integrated production systems) and agroforestry systems in contrast to monoculture systems, have been developed exponentially in the San Martín region, because of the initiative of several state and private organizations, seeking the development of small producers in the region. An evaluation report on these initiatives between 1995 and 2006 is available and shows heterogeneous impacts. (Gallusser Jacquat, 2006)

When analysing the cocoa production in common land, according to the Peruvian legislation, this land can be used for communal or individual benefit. The „*communero*s" can decide over the right of use, but cannot sell the land. The assembly of the community can decide what they want to do with the land; it can decide that families or individuals might use it, but all decisions have to be consensual. It can also decide that a part of the benefits from selling products that have been produced on the common land, have to be given to the community. Nevertheless, this is relatively new in Peru and is not used very often. In the Chazuta area, some kiwcha-lamista communities are recently getting their formal land titles and still do not have experience with this kind resource governance.

The tigers of the commons

Particularly the „tigers" shall be mentioned here because they are crucial for the spreading of knowledge and capacity-building among the producers and their associations.
As shown in another study, from 2006 to 2016, there is a relative continuity of the personnel despite having regional governments from different parties and the creation of social capital understood as a network of thinkers and executors of the new regional policy can be registered. Progressively, a "think and action tank" of experts (mainly men) was created, who design and lead the restructuring of the regional government and its policy, as well as a group of male and female "tigers" in the field (technicians and experts in agricultural production and the transformation of products) who contribute substantially to capacity-building and knowledge transfer of sustainable cocoa production to the producers. For example, the project IDPA trained some 120 producers, both men and women, to be promoters or "*yachachis*", especially at the level of cocoa production technologies. Many other public and private (including academic) projects aimed at the capacity-building for these regional technical consultants or extensionists.

[1] Agroforestry refers to systems and technologies of land use in which the management of perennial woody species (trees, shrubs, palms, etc.) is associated with agricultural crops and / or animal production, in some form of spatial arrangement or sequence temporary (Nair, 1983).

Through the professionalization and ongoing training received by the regional government and organizations of civil society or international cooperation over time, this new important figure in the collective imagination has been crystallized in the region. They are called "tigers" and "*tigresas"* (female tigers), although latter is an expression invented by me to include women who are skilled in the production of fine chocolate and tasting of cocoa, which have a key role in the cocoa areas. These technical experts come from the public sector or the private-business sector and civil society, thus facilitating public-private-society synergies.
When traveling to the cocoa areas of San Martin, such as Chazuta, Juanjui or Tocache, one encounters the "tigers". Mostly, they are born in San Martin and belong to formal and informal networks in the region and are united by their universities, previous work, religion, family or friends. They are people who are recognized by using vests with the logo of their institution, for example, the regional agrarian direction (DRASAM). There are also "tigers" from the cocoa cooperatives or from the private company Machu Picchu. Many of them have been trained and then hired by the PDA, to "break the mountains", that is, to approach the remote areas where the coca producers where found and who should be converted to alternative production, like cocoa. The "tigers" are recognized by most farmers as experts in technical issues of cocoa, as extensionists of best practices of cultivation, pruning, harvesting and post-harvest. However, it is claimed in the field that there are very few. The figure of the "tigers" resembles the technicians of rural development described by Asensio in the high-Andean areas, who are also recognized by the vests, their strong symbol of institutional identification and are working on issues of productive development and also in the strengthening of associativity (Asensio Hernández, 2016).
The "*tigresas*" are less visible and are not named as such, but as "the technician" or "the engineer" (in the masculine form). They are women trained in the production of chocolates, mostly with university studies at the National Agrarian University in Tingo María, at the National University of San Martín or a technological institute and who have also received professional training by programs such as the PDA. While their male colleagues are mostly agronomists and advise on the part of the production and the post-harvest, the women are industrial engineers or technicians in food industries and have specialized in the production of fine chocolates, as well as in the packaging and marketing of these products. They work for the so-called special programs of the regional government, in their own chocolate company and / or as a consultant hired by an NGO or international cooperation agency. Some of them are also cocoa producers or the wife of a producer who have been encouraged by the PDA to produce small-scale chocolates and now train others in these skills. Traditionally, the processing of cocoa into chocolates or the cooking of the traditional "upe", a mixture of corn with cocoa, has been the role of women, although recently there have been changes in some families in the cocoa areas.

The female "tigers", as well as their male colleagues usually have a good technical training with a recognizable environmental sensitivity and are an important pillar for the continuity of the organic and fairtrade production system, as well as for the diffusion of expert knowledge that is highly specialized and necessary for the insertion in the global markets of the fine aromatic and organic cocoa.

Global actors of the network

Having analyzed the local and regional stakeholders of the fairtrade and organic cocoa, the global actors of the network are also important, for two different reasons. On the one hand, international cooperation agencies provide the link to the international buyers and can make commercial connections between cooperatives, associations and the international market, as it has been the case of Allima Cacao. On the other hand, the global end-consumer of fairtrade and organic chocolates is an important driver of the production system based on commons and encourages the social commons. Fairtrade as such promotes common good creation, such as higher prices for all and the common sharing of the so-called fairtrade premium. In Chazuta, the cooperative is fair trade certified, as well as newly, the firm Machu Picchu.

Fairtrade is a movement that emerged in Europe and the United States as a response to growing consumer awareness regarding the global processes of production and exploitation. It was first applied in the craft sector and then extended to agrifood chains, mainly to coffee, cocoa and banana crops. The movement defines itself as an association or commercial *partnership*, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, which seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better commercial conditions and guaranteeing the rights of marginalized producers and workers, especially in the South. (European Fair Trade Association - EFTA (EFTA, 2006), cited in: (Männing, 2013).

Consumers will have the possibility of contributing to sustainable economic and social development through their purchase decision (KOM 1999, p.3f.). This approach is consequently increasingly market-oriented (Parrish, Luzadis & Bentley 2005, p.177) and at the same time a significant expression of solidarity, since the social aspects are in the first plane (Nelson & Galvez, 2000, p.10), cited in (Thürbeck, 2007).

Although the feasibility and impact of fairtrade has been questioned, the narrative about the contribution of fair trade to build "a better world" through the disintermediation of markets cannot be cynically discarded, as some authors argue, because social and economic impacts and changes can be demonstrated locally. It is evident that there are economic and social benefits, at the individual level of the producers and also to a certain degree at the community level. A study by the University of Greenwich on the impacts of *Fairtrade* in two cooperatives in San Martín (Laroche, Jiménez, & Nelson, 2012) proves this assumption.

The principles and rules of fairtrade are aiming at the common good, i.e. a relatively fair price for producers in the locality:

"The minimum price that *Fairtrade* producers receive is determined by the *Fairtrade* criteria. Most *Fairtrade* certified products have a certain minimum price. This price tries to guarantee that producers can cover their average costs of sustainable production. It acts as a safety net for producers at times when prices on the world market are lower than a sustainable level. Without this mechanism, farmers are completely at the mercy of the market. When the market price is higher than the *Fairtrade* minimum, the buyer must pay the highest price. Producers and traders can also negotiate higher prices based on quality and other attributes. " (CNCJ – webpage of Fairtrade in Peru – translation by A. Kaulard).

In a study of two cooperatives in San Martin, it was shown that organizations tend to exert an upward influence on local prices in the communities where they have established committees, which was confirmed by all the producers interviewed. However, the scope of both cooperatives is still not enough to influence prices at the regional level and it was not possible to collect information on communities where there is no *Fairtrade* committee regarding the impact on prices paid to farmers. (Laroche et al., 2012, p.85). Whereas it is not exactly clear, in how far the “fair” price contributes to the common good or wellbeing, the fairtrade premium can be considered as a common good.

"In addition to the *Fairtrade* price, there is an additional sum of money, called the Fairtrade Premium. This money goes to a community fund for workers and producers with the purpose of being used to improve the social, economic and environmental conditions of the community. The use of this additional money is decided democratically by the producers within the organization of small farmers, or by the workers in a plantation. The Premium is invested in education and health education projects, in agricultural improvements to increase yield and quality, or in processing facilities to increase income. Since many of the projects funded by the Premium are community-based, the community in general, outside the producer organization, also touches the benefits of Fairtrade." (CNCJ)

Other principles of fairtrade promote the generation of commons within this kind of glocal production and knowledge network. The producers are part of cooperatives or voluntary organizations that have to work democratically; the relationship between producers, distributers and consumers is voluntary, too. The system is based on free initiative and work, in rejection of subsidies and welfare assistance. The equality between men and women stands in the center, work is made with dignity, honoring the human rights. Quality and sustainable production are valued and the environment is taken care of, for what it also relates and is often combined with organic production and many export cooperatives have a double certification,

as is the case of Allima Cacao. The concepts of justice and environmental sustainability are linked in the fair trade discourse. Organic production protects the health of producers and their environment, and they also obtain higher prices. But even if the products are produced in a conventional manner, attention is paid to the source of the resources required to allow ecologically sustainable production. (Wills, 2006)

3. Conclusions and discussion

As contesting to the principal research questions, first it can be concluded, that there is a relatively stable glocal network for knowledge production and diffusion of organic, and fairtrade cocoa production in Chazuta. The network is rather informal and does not depend on one single institution that could „grab" the knowledge and keep it for itself. Nor there seems to be interest in doing so, as all actors benefit from a specialized expert knowledge needed for the production of high quality organic and fairtrade cocoa that has a growing market and different niches for everybody. The "tigers", local experts trained by international organizations, have a crucial role in the production and diffusion of expert knowledge, particularly to remote areas where mostly the indigenous communities are installed. Although there is a decreasing support from international donors such as USAID in the analysed territory, the highly trained experts are available, although sometimes funding for their work nowadays seems to be more difficult than a few years ago.

The mestizo and indigenous cocoa producers form part of the glocal network, and depending on the remoteness of their territory, belong to smaller informal sub-networks which seem to be nested in the bigger one. Surprisingly, the study has found that there is a relatively weak identification of local actors with common land and indigenous traditions and ethnic cohesion is getting lost, but this does not prevent them to get connected to the glocal cocoa network made up by actors from very different backgrounds. The brokers, or intermediaries of the system, i.e. the "tigers" in terms of knowledge transfer" and local merchants, in terms of commercial brokerage, who offer different services to the indigenous community members and mestizo cocoa producers, have a central role in the network.

Going back to the research question of this paper if the glocal cocoa network of Chazuta can be considered as a common, it may be concluded that its development was the common result of cooperation among various stakeholders. In this context, I find that the Chazuta glocal network could be considered as a „social common". Aspects like the existence of a socially and ecologically conscious global buyer, the domestic creation of expert knowledge and support from international donor agencies and the regional government to do so, contribute to this construction. Also, the horizontal and democratic structures in the network and within its organizations due to the participation in fair trade certification, as for example the cooperative or women´s association can be mentioned here. In the line with Basu´s results, in the case of Chazuta we also see the existence of this glocal network within „a nebulous institutional level (distinct from state/market based institutions) and its sustenance based on plural resources" (Basu et al., 2017, p. 165).

Although powerful structures of unsustainable production systems, such as the traditional maize and rice production on a large scale, threaten the region, the Chazuta community seems to have had relative success in building a kind of fairly sustainable island of organic and fairtrade cocoa production. On the other hand, it can be discussed how threatening the danger of a commodification of cocoa production on a large scale basis is for this area, although the trend seems to be towards a focus on smaller organic and high quality niche markets.

Some projects with regard to the creation of production in agroforest systems have failed, as an evaluation report of 2006 shows (Gallusser Jacquat, 2006). However, the development of more sophisticated projects with governmental and private support and the accumulation of knowledge over time could lead to different results in current times.

Given the importance of the former drug trafficking and insecurity problem, combined with narco-terrorist activities in that area, this new common purpose is also socially highly relevant and the members of the network are benefitted in many ways by participating in this community.

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