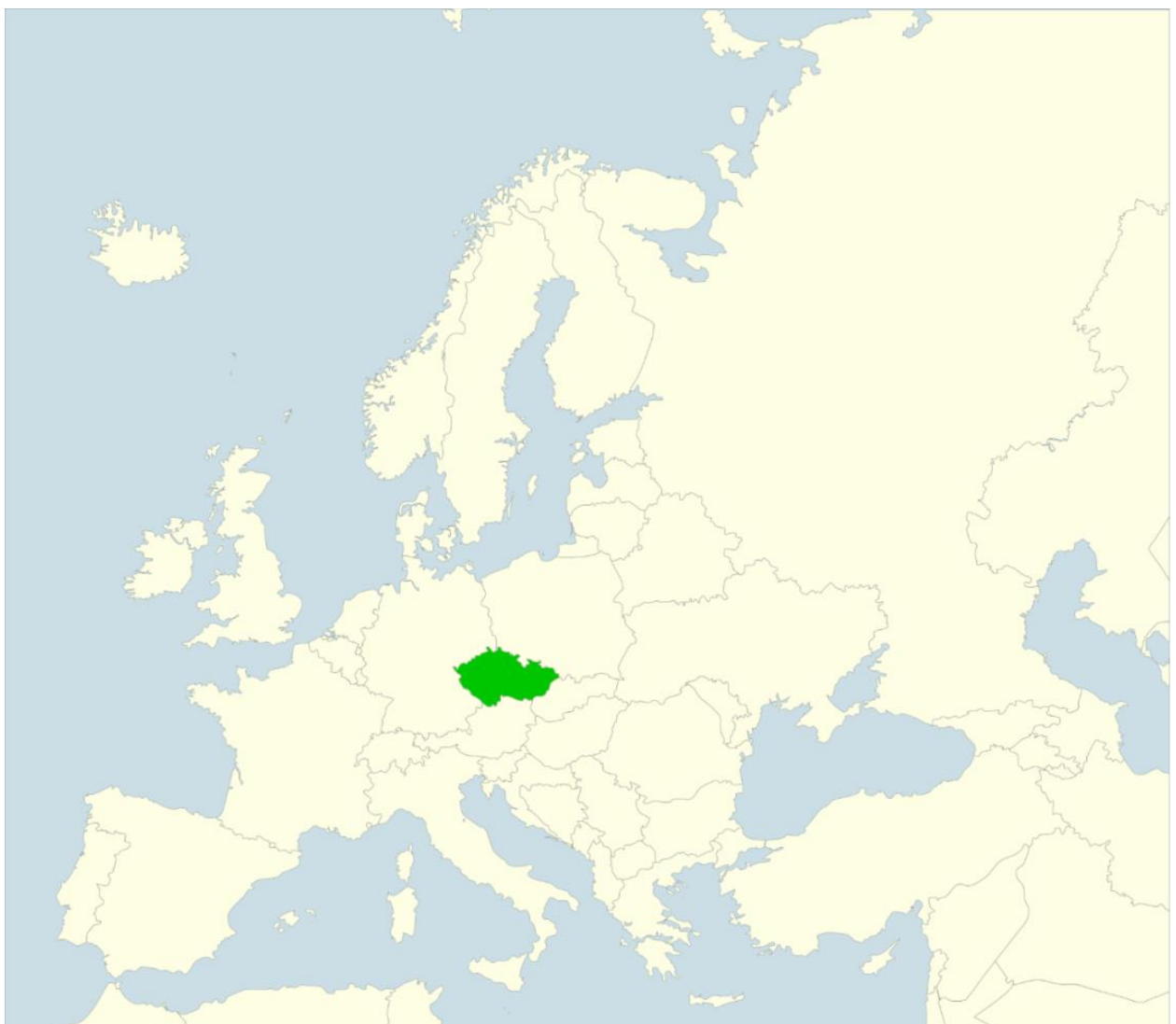


TOWARDS FOOD POLICY FOR EUROPE: A COMPARISON OF THE POST-2020 COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY DISCOURSES

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Abstract: This paper dives into the world of policy discourses to assess the extent to which the European agencies' discourse of the post-2020 Common Agricultural Policy incorporates the innovative impulses presented in the Common Food Policy proposal of the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES food). The discourse analysis performed on European Commission and IPES food documents, showed fundamentally different foci and goals, proposed actions and understanding of the concept of sustainability. However, although the differences between the two discourses are still very large, the analysis points out that some features of the IPES food discourse are starting to become part of that of the European Commission.

Keywords: Common Agriculture Policy; Food Policy; Europe; discourses; paradigms

1. Introduction

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is one of the eldest, most costly and also most controversial EU policies. Despite the general positive acceptance of the EU citizens (European Commission 2017), there is a constant pressure to reform the policy in order to improve its impacts in all key areas – food production, rural development and nature protection (Bailey et al. 2016; Alons 2017; Buckwell 2015; Bureau and Mahè 2015; Compassion in the World Farming 2014; De Schutter 2016; Dragoi and Balgar 2015; Fresco and Poppe 2016; IPES food 2018; Ruxandra and Petrescu-Mag 2009). The 2013 reform, which regulates agriculture – and indirectly the whole food system (Bailey et al. 2016) – from 2014 to 2020, reconfirmed the slow transition from producer support to the environment and rural areas, happened over the years. In fact, this reform sets three main objectives compliant with other EU policies: “viable food production, sustainable management of natural resources and climate change action, balanced territorial development” (European Commission 2013, p. 2). The most relevant change was the introduction of a new system of direct payment replacing the Single Payment Scheme (SPS), called Basic Payment Scheme (BPS), which was a direct payment rewarding farmers for their good practices such as the environmental ones (Anania and Pupo D'andrea 2015, p. 52). Together with the BPS, a Green Payment was introduced as the first compulsory payment “in favor of the environment” (Bureau and Mahè 2015, p. 106).

The implementation of these new payments was highly criticized by many (Bailey et al. 2016, p. 7). Critics referred to CAP impacts not only on agriculture, rural economy and the environment but also on society, public health and animal welfare (Bailey et al. 2016). More specifically, the CAP has been criticized for privileging large scale producers with an income distribution based on production quantities, for creating a system of food poverty instead of food security for a large share of the population and for exacerbating environmental problems rather than solving them (Bailey et al. 2016, p. 8–10). A large branch of literature argue that the current food system has negative impacts on environment, society, human and animal health, local economies and many other sectors, and that the externalities of those systems exacerbate global challenges – such as poverty, hunger, pollution, labor exploitation etc. (Bailey et al. 2016; Fresco and Poppe 2016; De Schutter 2016; Compassion in World Farming 2014).

A new approach that claims the need of a more integrated set of food policies to reach sustainability has been advocated by many academics and organizations (De Schutter 2016), such as for instance Compassion in the World Farming (2014), the Wageningen University and Research (Fresco and Poppe 2016), Bailey et al. (2016) and much more. In particular, the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES food) started in 2016 the project of a transition to sustainability by proposing a Common Food Policy, an umbrella policy that would regulate the entire EU food system (IPES food 2018). The work of the Panel is unique because it was specifically created to inform the policy debate on food systems and their sustainability (IPES food 2018). It works under the idea of a holistic, systemic and democratic approach and for these, it started in 2016 a three years multi-stakeholders process to write and

present to the EC a concrete policy proposal (IPES food 2017). In this process, 36 organizations have been involved and joined to present July 17, 2019 an open letter to the President of the EU Commission advocating for integrated European food policies (IPES food 2019).

Main goal of the paper is to provide a detailed look at the discursive content of the CAP visions for the future and evaluate the potentials of the policy to incorporate more radical visions of agricultural sustainability represented by the IPES food.

2. Theoretical background

IPES food is a research and advocacy panel, created in 2015, currently composed of twenty-two experts from all around the world with different expertise – from environmental sciences to sociology (IPES food 2018, p. 2). All their work is undertaken following four main approaches which are: “democratic approach, political economy approach, sustainability approach and holistic approach” (IPES food 2018, p. 3). Indeed, they advocate for the need of a transdisciplinary strategy that would help to achieve sustainability towards a new food and cultural paradigm. It is important to note that this idea is not new (Bailey et al. 2016, p. 16): for instance, in September 2014, the international NGO Compassion in the World Farming claimed that “the CAP should be radically reformed; its core role should be to help the EU introduce the new approach to food and farming”, which would be achieved by a “Sustainable Food policy for Europe” (Compassion in World Farming 2014). Moreover, Bailey et al. since 2016 have stated the need to transform the CAP into a “Common Sustainable Food Policy or Common Food Policy” (2016, p. 16). They believed that EU food system would require a bespoke policy functional to the current climate change issues, the loss of cultural identity, the dietary transition and the increasing urbanisation affecting EU (Bailey et al. 2016, p. 16). Also, Wageningen University and Research published a pamphlet “Towards a Common Agricultural and Food Policy” (Fresco and Poppe 2016) presenting a draft of five focuses for a future integrated food policy: “income support, ecosystem services, rural development, food and health, monitoring and research” (Fresco and Poppe 2016, p. 42).

Even though more radical changes have been promoted by very specific political environments (such as IPES food), the need for change has been acknowledged also by EU agencies themselves. In fact, discourses and measures on sustainability, coherence, integration, have been introduced in the EU policies long ago (DG AGRI 2012, p. 11). These “new vision” has been criticized by many for being a new form of business-as-usual (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p54). However, the recurring reforms create a potential to reach the integration and the change needed (Bailey et al. 2016, p. 17; IPES food 2018).

Previous studies on the CAP discourse determined that the Common Agricultural Policy has been for years shaped by a “productivist” (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p. 55) or “productionist” (Lang and Heasman 2015) paradigm. This was mainly characterized by market orientation, food security and consequent production support focus, and a strong role played by the State in managing the food system (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015; Lang and Heasman 2015). Along the years, a multifunctional discourse was introduced in the CAP, claiming for more quality and sustainability (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015). However, the multifunctional discourse is very controversial: it actually includes the idea that the CAP does serve other purposes than agriculture and farming and, therefore, the idea that it can be used to achieve sustainable development but it is seen as “greenwashing” of the policy (Alons 2017) as opposed to “greening”, term used in regard of the introduction of environmental components in EU policies (Alons 2017). The term “greenwash” has been used in the literature to express the “watering down of the environmental components” made by the EU Parliament and Council on the EU Commission proposal (Erjavec et al. 2015, p. 215).

Although CAP reforms are steps ahead towards public health and social fairness there is still a lot of work to be done (Ruxandra M. Petrescu-Mag 2009, p. 52). The “long productivist tradition” still remains in the CAP discourse and therefore in its provisions (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p54). Even though environmental sustainability has been included among the main goals of the CAP, this policy is still mainly aiming at supporting farmers’ livelihood by proposing productivity

solutions in line with the food industry interests. It seems that productivist paradigm “rather than a deep-rooted endorsement of multifunctionality, continues to characterize the CAP” (Daugbjerg and Swinbank 2016, p. 275). This sustainability strategy has been considered a failure since the greening discourse seemed to justify productivist measures (Erjavec et al. 2015, p. 238).

Many experts in the field consider the 2013 reform a missed opportunity (Bureau and Mahè 2015, p. 128). From this common feeling, IPES food gathered its panels of experts and stakeholders of the European food systems and decided to actively propose a radical transition towards an integrated sustainable system.

3. Methodology

The paper conducted a discourse analysis on policy documents to identify ideologies and how these influence policy interventions (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p. 54). Discourse analysis is indeed “the systematic description of various structure and strategies”, which helps determine “their political and social context” (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p. 56). Concurrently to the discourse analysis, a content analysis has been conducted, defined by Given (2012, p. 2) as “the intellectual process” creating categories and identifying themes patterns among qualitative data. Policy content analysis is primarily “used to compare different perspectives on the same topic” (Pierce 2011, p. 3) by different policies. Some authors view the discourse analysis as a methodology rather than mere method, to emphasize the potential of the technique to understand “discourse and its role in constituting social reality” (Phillips and Hardy 2002, p. 9). It is important here to notice that this study has the limitation to be exclusively qualitative. Hence, the choice to not gather quantitative data has been made as qualitative discourse analysis seemed the best methodology to answer the research question that lead this research.

In particular, the use of discourse analysis help to understand how key concepts came about, why they have a specific meaning in that context, how some discourses draw from and influence other discourses, and compare how these discourses are constructed through diverse texts (Phillips and Hardy 2002, p. 8)., in the case of this research, the visions for the future of the EU food system. In fact, this paper follows the long history of discourse analysis on the CAP which tried to understand if the “policy layering on sustainable policy reform” (Daugbjerg and Swinbank 2016, p. 276) was going in the direction of a paradigm shift or was following an “evolutionary reform” (Buckwell 2015, p. 520). In order to compare the European and the IPES food discourses on the future of the EU food system, two documents have been selected for the analysis:

1. EU Communication on “The Future of Food and Farming” (European Commission 2017)
2. Framing paper of IPES food for a Common Food Policy proposal (IPES food 2018)

These two documents have been selected because they both are emblematic of the two organizations’ mindset and they are both communicative papers, which made them suitable for a discourse analysis. Moreover, IPES food framing paper was the most recent document published by this panel of experts by the time of the research. Indeed, this research was conducted during the summer of 2018 while the official Common Food Policy (CFP) proposal was published in February 2019. However, the framing paper selected for this analysis perfectly represents the outlook that IPES food share by proposing a CFP. In fact, the document was given to all stakeholders that participated to the final forum “to provide the basis for further deliberation and development of the ‘Common Food Policy’ vision” during the EU Food and Farming Forum (29–30 May 2018)” in Brussels (IPES food 2018, p. 1). Regarding the EU document, the selection has been more complex since the research needed a document that represented the general vision for the post-2020 CAP but was also adaptable to the methodology selected. For this reason, the Communication was chosen instead of the legislative document. In fact, the EU communication and the IPES food framing paper have very similar purposes: they both aim to express their general view on the future of the EU food system to their main stakeholders – EU Communication to EU agencies, IPES food to the experts that helped the panel during the drafting of the CFP proposal.

Tab 1. Framing of "Food Wars thesis" paradigms adapted from Lang and Heasman 2015.

Theme	Productionist	Life science integrated	Ecological integrated
Environment	Cheap energy; limitless natural resources; monoculture; externalisation of output	Intensive use of biological inputs; technology for environmental and health benefits;	Finite resources; move away from extensive monoculture and reliance on fossil fuels; biodiversity
Social Issues	Cheapness; homogeneous products; convenience for woman; assumed food safety	Consumer sovereignty rhetoric; language of choice; personalised appeal;	Citizens not consumers; improved links between the land and consumption; greater transparency;
Health	Health gains from sufficiency of supply and lower prices	Mass food output; health can be technically fixed; health as individualised choice; improve beneficial traits of crops for human health	Ecological public health approach; diet diversity
Technology Innovation and Knowledge	Chemistry; pharmaceuticals (antibiotics); traditional plant breeding; role of agro-economists as important as scientists;	Engineering at molecular level; control from laboratory to field and factory; science as neutral but tailored by industry-led/oriented funding; big data; farm management technologies; top-down knowledge; expert-led; hi-tech skills; laboratory science base	Interdisciplinary; social and eco-systems resilience; knowledge-intensive rather than input-intensive; knowledge as empowerment
Integration	No integration; iper-specialization	Integration of technology into nature	Integration at all level and in all areas; whole chain system approach; sub national and regional food economies;
Policy Effectiveness	Policy set by agriculture ministries; reliance on subsidies	Big science expertise; consumer reactions; blurred regulatory and policy responsibilities between State and companies	Partnership of ministries; collaborative institutional structures; decentralisation and teamwork
Food security	Productivity; main focus of policies	Tech solutions on an individualised basis	Socio-economic factors influence food security
Economy	Homogeneous products; pursuit of quantity and productivity; quality defended mostly in cosmetic terms; global and national markets; emergence of consumer choice; shift to branding	High tech; industrial scale application of biotechnology; sophisticated use of mass media to shape food markets; global ambitions; large companies' domination	Traditional industry approach; shorter supply chains; authenticity; minimal processing; selected use of biotechnology (fermentation, not GM)
Governance	Technocratic and landed elite ownership; State as gatekeeper	Highly capitalised ownership	Collaborative; community and network; mix of "old" landed interest and new business

In our analysis, we have applied the standard analytic procedures, which included thematic inductive analysis and the creation of a framework of analysis which has been used on the documents to categorize and summarize emblematic sentences and underline keywords. Then, the Food Wars Thesis (Lang and Heasman 2015) has been used as a second framework of analysis in this research. This thesis explains the challenges that the productionist paradigm – which governed our food system and economy for many years – is facing and the new paradigms that are emerging in response. Each paradigm, productionist and the alternatives, has very distinct features (Table 1) that could be summarized as follow:

- Productionist (P): productivity and cheapness of food are the main focus since there are limitless natural resources; the economic system is iper-specialized and search for quantity and food safety; the governance system is technocratic and see the State as a gatekeeper of the food system.
- Life Science Integrated (LSI): integration of technology and nature along with consumer sovereignty/choice are the two main rhetoric, since technology and innovation are claimed to deliver environmental and health benefits on an individual basis; policy responsibilities are shared between State and companies and the governance of the food system is based on highly capitalised ownership.
- Ecologically Integrated (EI): frames the food sector with a whole chain system approach, therefore, aim at integrating environmental and conservation policy with industrial and social policy; there is a focus on citizens rhetoric rather than consumers. This paradigm aims at interdisciplinarity, ecological public health along with social and eco-systems resilience.

Indeed, the three paradigms of the thesis – Productionist, Life science integrated and Ecologically integrated – have been adapted and used to better understand the inductive findings (Tab 2).

As the term paradigm will recur in this paper, it is important to define that it has be intended as: “a way of thinking, a set of assumptions from which new knowledge is generated, a way of seeing the world which shapes intellectual beliefs and actions. [...] A paradigm [...] is an underlying fundamental set of framing assumptions that shape the way a body of knowledge is thought of” (Lang and Heasman 2015, p. 24).

4. Results²

Based on the analysis, we argue that both organizations have a different vision for the future of the European food system. They both share what Levidow et al. call a master narrative, namely a “cultural vehicle” (2012, p. 42), which creates assumptions around a specific problem and can include different solutions and future scenarios. In this case, it is a series of preconditions that both organizations share, which led them to write the two documents analysed. These preconditions include the following points:

1. the current system has to improve
2. Europe is facing new challenges
3. to address these new challenges there is a need of transition towards *sustainability*
4. to meet the sustainable transition, the policy/system need to be more *integrated*

This master narrative is expressed with opposite languages: IPES food uses a very strong, direct language, favoring negative sentences to express the relevance of the topic. For example, environment is framed for the negative role of humans in harming nature and its resources. “*Impact*”, “*consequences*”, “*degradation*”, “*disturbance of ecosystems*” (p. 39) are some of the terms used to refer to the role of humans and their food systems in exacerbating environmental issues. While EC uses a smoother language, starting sentences always with the positive impact of the policy on the current system. In fact, while EC admits that the CAP should be “*more ambitious*” and “*do more*”, IPES food proposes a “*fundamental change of*

² All the references in these sections refer to the two main texts analysed. If not stated differently, each reference of EC will refer to: European Commission (2017 a); while each reference in IPES food will refer to: IPES food (2018 a).

direction". This use of language characterizes their entire discourses. Moreover, IPES food uses many compound words and intensifiers to emphasize the seriousness of the problem or to reinforce negatively the meaning of words. There are also a lot of compound words that use the verb "drive" or "lead" – such as "*technology-driven*", "*market-driven*", "*efficiency-driven*", "*market-led*", "*industry-led*" – that emphasize their active role (most of the time intended as negative).

Also, the application of the sustainability concept follows the different policy objects of these two proposals. Hence, EC intend sustainability to be applied explicitly – "*three dimensions of sustainability (economic, environmental and social)*" (p. 8) – and implicitly – "*the knowledge triangle*" (p. 24) – on economy, environment and society, while IPES food focus' include the regulation of the whole food system under the sustainability principles. Indeed, under the section "sustainability challenges" (p. 3–8) environment, public health, social and cultural issues, food supply chain, agricultural and production systems, economic system and technology are considered. This opposite focus is also a recurrent characteristic of both discourses.

Tab 2. Main features of EC and IPES food discourses.

Main features	EC	IPES food
Focus of the policy	Agriculture and rural areas	Entire food system
Goal of the policy	Efficiency of the policy	Resilience of the system through integration
Change required	Enhancement of the current CAP	Fundamental transition (CFP)
Solution presented	Promote technological intervention and a strong role of Member states	Promote environmental intervention and multiple level of governments (governance)
Link between sustainable production and consumption identified	Citizen's choice	Public health
Actions needed	Corrective	Proactive

Going in details into the discourses emerged by the analysis (Table 2), the EC communication proposes an enhancement of the current CAP, namely a more efficient and effective policy which would be able to meet citizen's choice. The efficiency of the policy would be addressed by *corrective* actions in which the role of humans and the State would be crucial along with technology and innovation. Moreover, the policy proposed would mainly focus on agriculture and rural areas. Policy coherence and cooperation at different levels reveals to be very important inside the current governance system. It is therefore very important to "*modernise and simplify*" (p. 8) the policy in order to reduce the "*administrative burden*" (p. 9), create a "*more ambitious*" (p.19) policy which would be "*result-driven*" (p. 10), better tailored and coherent in target and objectives all around EU. Here, the effectiveness of the policy is measured in efficiency. Sustainability challenges – social, economic and environmental – will be addressed with a more efficient policy through technology, more State intervention and cooperation. For instance, "*climate smart farming supported by training, advice and innovation is one part of the answer, but this requires an agricultural policy with strong commitment to deliver public goods and ecosystems services related to soil, water, biodiversity, air quality, climate action and provision of landscape amenities*" (p. 19).

IPES food, instead, is proposing a fundamental transition to sustainability, which would include first of all a redesign of the system and of its governance, namely a Common Food Policy. The idea is to focus on the entire system in order to make it more resilient, that is to say a more adaptable system throughout adaptable solutions. Indeed, the solution presented is integration, among all shades and aspects of the food system, and with nature, because the problems are presented for their lack of integration: "*issues related to food have been compartmentalized*

through reductionist-technocratic solutions" (p. 9) and food policy *"frequently respond to incoherent and conflicting objectives, miss out synergies and allow key priorities to fall through the cracks"* (p. 10).

Sustainability needs to be reached in order to improve global public health and, therefore, the actions needed would be proactive, namely precautionary and, again, resilient. Public health and social justice are seen as *"two sides of the same coin"* (p. 26). For this reason, *"delivering sustainable healthy diets"* (p. 24) is crucial for CFP proposal. Sustainability challenges – intended in this case as social, economic, environmental and health – will be addressed with a resilient integrated system that would learn and cooperate with nature and new local authorities. IPES food claims the *"need for governance reforms to place the public interest and public health protection at the center of policymaking and to increase public participation in a range of areas"* (p. 27).

Therefore, the two discourses rotate around two opposite features: EC around efficiency, and rural focus, IPES food around integration and systemic vision. Indeed, EC proposal shows a strong focus on agriculture and rural areas in almost all thematic areas. Only when talking about new economic models (bioeconomy, circular economy), food security (intended for all Europeans), technology (seen as the solution for all food system problems), there is an opening to a more systemic focus. On the other hand, this systemic vision is the main focus of IPES food CFP proposal. For every theme, IPES food shows a way of seeing issues and solutions that is not only related to agriculture but to the entire food supply chain and even broader. This difference in focus of the policy is part of a different vision of most of the other features. Indeed, the role of humans as panacea and only actors able to solve food system's issues, is crucial in the EC discourse. This relates to the fact that the main goal is efficiency: EC proposes solutions that are *"smart"*, namely a mixture of human intelligence and technology/innovation to lead positive changes. The role of the State to guarantee the functioning of the system is very important, showing an inclination to top-down regulatory systems. The Commission itself is presented to have the *"crucial function"* of *"supervising the delivery on results and the respect of basic EU rules and international commitments"* (p. 10). Moreover, *"MS will have the flexibility to formulate strategic plans allowing for addressing climate and environmental need at local level"* (p. 19) and they appear to be *"in the best position to stimulate generational renewal using powers on land regulations, taxation, inheritance law or territorial planning"* (p. 23).

On the contrary, IPES food presents solutions that integrate nature and new governance structures, which have the main goal to improve resilience of a system that has been exacerbated by humans. The idea of integration as a way to lead radical transition is interesting since it stresses the need to act in a proactive way. Proactive actions are different from active actions since they include the concept of precaution and resilience. Humans learn how to act starting from how the system works. Active actions, instead, are the reactions to something, in EC case, of an inefficiency of the system.

All of this reflects on EC and IPES food idea of sustainability and, more specifically, of the link between sustainable consumption and production. IPES food defines sustainable diets rather than sustainability, showing a strong interest in public health. CFP needs to include public health measures since unhealthy food consumption is framed to have a strong systemic characteristic: *"eating and drinking [should not only be seen] as food system outcomes but also as active drivers of food system interactions – and therefore levers for change"* (p. 24). According to this panel of experts, production and consumption have to be considered as a whole. On the other hand, EC discourse focus on sustainable production rather than consumption, explicitly saying that diets are an individual choice which can be modulated by campaigns and promotion. Here, the only link between production and consumption is therefore choice. Citizens in EC document have the role to boost the improvement of the CAP around sustainability topics. Indeed, more than once, EC claims the need to *"address citizens' concerns"*, *"citizens' demand"*, *"citizens' expectation"*, *"regarding food security, safety, quality and sustainability"*, *"regarding sustainable agriculture production, including health, nutrition, food waste, and animal welfare"*. This role of shaping the change of the policy and putting on the agenda the sustainability matter, shows an interesting point of view. In the policy system, citizens are not only recipients of the policy, but

also first director of what the policy will be about. The focus here is on citizens' choice and interest. The use of the word "citizen" and not "consumer" shows a society-focus rather than a market-focus even though the context in which it is used is the "supply-demand" concept: "*citizens are also increasingly valuing access to a wide variety of food that carries broader benefits for society [...] and the CAP must continue to respond to these concerns*" (p. 24). Moreover, "*the food produced and marketed should adapt to citizens' expectation, in particular concerning the impact on their health, the environment and the climate*" (p. 11).

On the other hand, more than the role of citizens, IPES food stresses the idea of cities as governance structures: "while urbanization has exacerbated sustainability challenges, cities are helping to find the solutions via citizen-based initiatives that reconstruct proximity and forge equal relationships along the chain" (p. 30). The role of cities is to address food system challenges at a local level "drawing on a variety of policy levers" and "becoming drivers of food system sustainability" (p. 30). As for EC, for IPES food people are the core of the sustainability change too. However, it is a very different point of view than EC since IPES food frames people as a whole – represented by cities- while EC as individuals – exemplified by citizens/consumers.

To clarify these findings, a graphical representation has been made. The content of the two visions have been mapped across two axes which refer to Figure 1. The two axes, indeed, summarize the main differences between the two visions: the orientation of the proposal to punctual interventions (PI) or to systemic interventions (SI) and the specific focus on agriculture and rural development (RD) or on food as a system (FS). Different type of interventions and visions have been selected as axes since they seemed to be the core of the two discourses around which all themes rotate (Table 3).

As Figure 1 shows, EC and IPES food do not share the same vision. However, depending on the topics, EC vision moves closer to IPES food one. In fact, as the figure shows, IPES food vision is very radical and in all the categories the orientation is towards integration of the system and focus on the entire food system as a whole. On the other hand, EC vision is more multifaceted. Indeed, health is the only topic in which EC has a completely different vision than IPES food. In fact, EC policy does not focus on public health, which is instead the core of IPES food document. Human public health is cited as important to address at EU level but not by the CAP. Indeed, EC explicitly states that "*consumers' food choices depend on a number of factors going far beyond the remits of the CAP*" (p. 24). EC centers the attention on a more efficient system to tackle phytosanitary and animal issues. Moreover, there is no interest in looking at integration with other policy areas, which results to be a crucial element for IPES food.

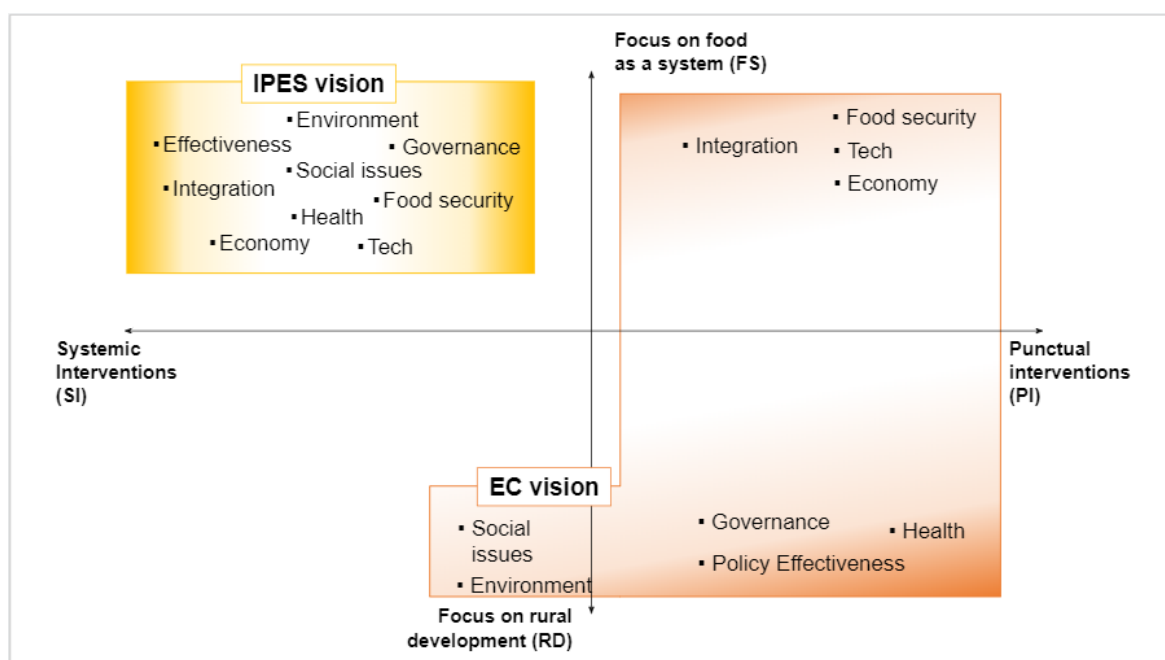


Fig 1. EC and IPES food visions mapped across axes.

Regarding governance and effectiveness of the policy, the EC still shows a focus only on agricultural systems. Even though all solutions proposed aim to improve the policy performance, an orientation to achieve efficiency through integration is starting to be part of the EC vision. Particularly, integration with other policy objectives and areas is considered to be strongly relevant to achieve better policy performance in the governance system. Environment and social issues are two of the topics in which the EC is moving closer to the IPES food vision. Even though these two areas are still framed only from an agriculture/farming point of view and the solutions presented are still focused on the idea of efficiency and technology – climate smart farming and smart villages –, there is an intention in working in coherence with other policy areas, cooperating with international actors and boosting knowledge sharing. Although the IPES food vision of the environment and social issues still remain strongly different to the EC one, the EU trend towards integration is part of an important objective of the IPES food proposal.

Finally, regarding technology and knowledge, food security and integration, the figure demonstrates that the EC discourse is oriented towards the entire food system and not only to rural areas. In fact, around these three themes, the EC seems to be referring to them in a more systemic way: technology and integration are seen as main solutions to most of the problems of the food system; while food security needs to be the main focus of the whole food system, not just the CAP. However, there is still a very strong focus on efficiency rather than integration and, generally, the vision on those topics is completely different from IPES food one.

The analysis demonstrated that EC discourse does not incorporate IPES food vision. It clearly showed how radical IPES food proposal is. However, it also highlighted that, regarding some topics, EC discourse is moving closer to IPES food vision. Reforming the CAP instead of moving to an umbrella policy does not appear as part of EC vision but the opening to a broader narrative, might be seen as a future inclination towards it. Same regarding integration: there is still a strong focus on efficiency but the tendency to work with other policies, policy areas, countries, among actors, is definitely already part of EC vision.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

Adapting the inductive framework into the three Lang and Heasman paradigms (Table 2), the results showed that IPES food discourse follows the Ecologically Integrated (EI) paradigm in all nine categories (Table 3). The idea of proposing a CFP is an exemplification of EI paradigm itself. The role of nature and integration, the proposal of new type of governance that would empower citizens and local authorities, the central role of public health as final goal of a sustainable systems, are all characteristic of IPES food discourse, and emblematic features of EI paradigm. EC discourse, instead, is more articulated. In fact, the predominant paradigm is definitely the Life Science Integrated as the technological evolution of the Productivist one. This paradigm is indeed based on productivist principles with the addition of a strong technological and business orientation (Lang and Heasman, 2015). The role of efficiency and technology is central in EC discourse, particularly in addressing environmental, social, health and economic challenges. However, EC vision have some EI and P features layered in its discourse. Health is the only category that totally follows the LSI paradigm: public health issues, such as overconsumption of food need to be solved with the use of technology; moreover, there is a focus on promotion of “healthy diets”, which embraces the idea that nutrition and diets are individual choices that public policy can just recommend.

Regarding environment, social issues, technology and integration categories, EC definitely tends to LSI paradigm. Indeed, the role of technology as a panacea is shown by the idea of “*climate smart farming*” and of “*smart villages*” as well as the integration of technology and nature-exemplified by the idea of “*using research and innovation to better link what we know to what we grow*” (European Commission 2018, p. 12). However, for all these topics, the idea of limited resources that need to be protected by a new system which integrate different policy areas, different actors with a coherent approach is starting to become part of the discourse. Indeed, the use of the word “citizen” instead of “consumer” is a shift towards EI paradigm, even though the use of it is still somehow related to the “consumers’ choice” rhetoric.

Tab 3. Comparing findings with Food Wars thesis Lang and Heasman 2015.

	EC discourse			IPES food discourse
Environment	EI	LSI		EI
Social Issues	EI	LSI		
Health	LSI			
Food security	P	LSI		
Technology and Knowledge	EI	LSI		
Integration	EI	LSI		
Policy effectiveness	P	LSI	EI	
Economy	P	LSI		
Governance	P	LSI	EI	

Moreover, in the technology discourse, the role of integration is not only related to integrating nature with innovation (typical of LSI paradigm) but also to integrating people with each other. This idea is part of the EI paradigm as well as the need to see food as system with a holistic approach, which is something that is partially starting to become part of the EC discourse. Food security and Economy present a binary discourse too, which can be related to P and LSI paradigms. In fact, the idea of productivity and cheapness of food in a market-focus economic system is still very strong in EC document but LSI paradigm emerges in the proposal of a bio-economy, which would link innovation/technology to the current economic system. Food security is still the main focus of the policy, and it is guaranteed by the current economic system, which is based on productivity and export-orientation. However, the idea that food security is challenged by new issues – such as environmental ones – and could be fixed with tech solutions is part of the discourse too.

Finally, regarding policy effectiveness and governance, EC presents a very interesting vision. Features of the three paradigms can be found in the first category since effectiveness of the policy is seen as efficiency of the system (P), which can be addressed both with technology and innovation (LSI) and with a more integrated a holistic system (EI). Governance, on the other hand, is still very focused on the traditional EU governance system which see Member States as gatekeeper of the food system. However, by giving MS more flexibility as well as by giving more power to farmers' network, EC shows the will to create a system which includes more the community rhetoric (EI). However, the role of businesses as public strategic partners makes EC discourse tend towards LSI paradigm too.

The discourse analysis on EC communication paper on the future of food and farming showed a slow transition from productionist tout-court to something more complex. Previous studies on the CAP discourse determined that the Common Agricultural Policy has been for years shaped by a "productivist" (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p. 55) or "productionist" (Lang and Heasman 2015) paradigm and that the 2013 reform represented a change not only in measures but also in discourse. Indeed, Erjavec et al. (2015, p. 231) pointed out in their research on 2013 CAP discourse the presence of three discourses layered in the policy documents: productivist, neoliberal and multifunctional. They are characterized by diverse keywords and issues, namely: food security and global market; competitiveness and efficiency; sustainability and quality. This

has been confirmed by the findings of our research; however, the question still remains: does the proposed new CAP legislation represent a paradigm shift?

The introduction of the multifunctional discourse, which in this research has been called EI paradigm, in CAP, it is very controversial because of what has been called “greening”. This term has been introduced in the literature after the European Commission used it in the 2010 proposal to represent a “shift in paradigm” (Erjavec et al. 2015, p. 215). From that moment on, the term has been used not only to refer to the CAP but to the integration of environmental issues into the agricultural and other non-environmental policies at an EU level (Lenschow 2002). Though recognising the important step undertaken by the CAP, some could argue that “the CAP is still far away from the public goods orientation” (Bureau and Mahè 2015, p. 106). Actually, it includes the idea that the CAP does serve other purposes than agriculture and farming and, therefore, the idea that it can be used to achieve sustainable development. However, sustainability can be an abused word and its ambiguity may lead to controversies.

The different understandings of this term according to the context in which it is used make it weakens its meaning and effectiveness (Fuchs and Kalfagianni 2009, p. 559). For this reason, some perceive the EU sustainability discourse as “greenwashing” more than “greening”, intended as the “watering down of the environmental components” made by the EU Parliament and Council on the EU Commission proposal (Erjavec et al. 2015, p. 215) in order to cover existing negative practices (Alons 2017, p. 16). This controversy does not regard just the Green Payment measures, but also the whole reform parts aiming at more sustainably oriented practices, such as, the rural development strategies. The “long productivist tradition” still remains in the CAP discourse and therefore in its provisions (Erjavec and Erjavec 2015, p. 54). Even though environmental sustainability has been included among the main goals of the CAP, this policy is still mainly aiming at productivity and food security (European Commission 2017, p. 3). It seems that productivist paradigm or its evolution “rather than a deep-rooted endorsement of multifunctionality, continues to characterize the CAP” (Daugbjerg and Swinbank 2016, p. 275). This sustainability strategy has been considered a failure since the greening discourse seemed to justify productivist measures (Erjavec et al. 2015, p. 238). Many experts in the field consider the 2013 reform a missed opportunity (Bureau and Mahè 2015, p. 128), is the post 2020 reform a missed opportunity too?

Our findings showed that the EU narrative is now represented by a new layered discourse, that Levidow et al. (2012) called “knowledge-based-bio-economy”, which has a life sciences vision (LSI paradigm) and an agroecology vision (EI paradigm). This discourse is the biotechnology extension of the precedent – and historically dominant – “knowledge-based economy” discourse (productionist), from which, indeed, some features are maintained. With their study, the authors (Levidow et al., 2012) demonstrate that KBBE is composed of two rival narratives, one dominant, one marginal. Even though, life sciences one results to be dominant, the agroecology vision is creating its way in the master narrative of EU (Levidow et al. 2012, p. 116). Therefore, if LSI paradigm, can be considered an evolution of P paradigm, and, the dominant paradigm in EC discourse, following this paper findings and Levidow et al. study, the “new” CAP does not represent a paradigm shift from P to EI. However, some element of EI are part of EC discourse, therefore, the shift is slowly happening, with new element becoming more and more part of the EC vision of the future food and farming.

EC and IPES food visions differ in focus and goal of the policy, change required, solutions presented, link between sustainable consumption and production, actions needed (Figure 1). IPES food proposes more radical solutions while EC focuses on improvements of the current system. Figure 1 mapped differences and similarities between the two discourses showing that, although there are many differences, some main concepts of IPES food are starting to become part of EC discourse. First of all, the idea of a fundamental need of integration of the system to address the new challenges and embrace sustainable development. Second, the idea of shifting from focus on agriculture and farming to focus on food which is still at a primordial stage but is starting to be part of EC discourse.

Findings of this paper contribute to the ongoing CAP reform debate. Comparing the way in which EU agencies and IPES food understand the future of the EU food system, could help understand

what path EU is following, what is already going in a shift direction, what can still be improved. Indeed, radical proposal, such as IPES food one, will always have the important role to advocate for topics that are not on the agenda, but they are unlikely to be approved if the ideology of the EU agencies does not change.

New questions arise, particularly related to the implementation of these discourses, on both sides. This study analysed discourses without considering regulations or implementation of them. Further studies would have to look at those policies and analyse the application of those paradigms on regulations. This historic moment can be perceived as an open policy window (Kingdon and Thurber 1984) which could give the opportunity to IPES food to advocate for its CFP. This proposal will probably not be accepted the way it is now, because of its radical nature. However, the fact that EC discourse results to be layered gives hope to an opening to this transition in the future. As long as advocacy groups such as IPES food will continue fight for radical transitions, there will always be hope for conservative mindset to change.

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