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**From top-down food security to bottom-up food sovereignty? The impact of Russia's food embargo on smallholders' discourses and practices in Russia**

It has been nearly 4 years since Russia introduced the embargo on Western food imports in retaliation for Western Sanctions. The embargo was expected to drive the revival of domestic agriculture and promote the Kremlin's goal for the country to become self-sufficient in food production. The Russian agricultural sector has indeed increased production of some food items in the past four years. However, at what costs? The food prices went up, the quality of farm products went down. Contrary to the Kremlin's promises that the embargo would positively influence the development of small-scale agriculture, the recent statistics show a sharp decline in the number of family farms in Russia. This study investigates the responses of Russian smallholders to the food embargo related changes in the country. It revealed that despite overall support for Putin's foreign policy, smallholders are very critical to the consequences of the food embargo in their regions. In particular, people condemn the declined quality of industrially produced products, which they see as a violation of their right to adequate food. Moreover, there is a growing discontent among family farmers, who experience serious pressures and even displacements due to the further expansion of large-scale industrial agriculture. This study has detected various overt and covert protests and bottom-up mobilisation in the Russian countryside, which may lead to the development of a food sovereignty movement.