

transformative social innovation theory



WP 4 | CASE STUDY

Report: La Via Campesina

Theme [ssh.2013.3.2-1] [Social Innovation- Empowering People, changing societies]

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1 Introduction to the international peasant movement: La Via Campesina

In the 90s, the initiative of La Via Campesina ('the way of the peasant' - LVC) emerged as an international movement of peasants with the main objective of opposing the prevailing global economic system - neoliberalism - and to defend the inclusive rural development. Gradually, the peasant movement created or rebuilt a proposal for proactive intervention based on agro-ecology as a "peasant way of life". The movement is based on the Cuban experience (ANAP) which developed the teaching-learning 'farmer to farmer' ('campesino to campesino') methodology to learning by doing and by interacting.

Currently, the LVC initiative is extended territorially in 73 countries and about 164 organizations. And local manifestations differ substantially in the way they have generated social innovations to achieve social transformation.

These case studies describe the emergence and development of the global social movement La Via Campesina (LVC), and two local manifestations of small scale family farmers' groups:

- Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero (MOCASE) in Argentina, which is the main peasant organization that supports and develops an intervention model based on agroecology.
- National Association of Hungarian Farmers' Societies and Co-operatives (MAGOSZ) in Hungary, which was earlier a registered observer member organisation under the coordination of the European peasant and rural organisation, Confédération Paysanne Européen (later renamed as European Coordination of La Via Campesina) that joined the global movement of La Via Campesina.

The proximity and remoteness of local manifestations with transnational network would allow to understand how and international actions are aligned and coordinated and how knowledge is socialized.

LVC is the international network of groups and organizations of smallholder peasant farmers that addresses public policies on food and agriculture and promotes the concept of Food Sovereignty, the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through sustainable methods and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems.

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1.1 Literature review

In the last two decades, visions of 'food sovereignty' have inspired the origin of social movements, policy innovations, new experiments and debates. The perspective of food sovereignty is thinking by many authors as a 'dynamic process', without a clear conceptual and practical definition (Edelman *et alii*, 2014). La Vía Campesina (LVC), and many social movements, adopted this concept as "the right of peoples, countries or unions of states to define their agricultural and food policy, without dumping towards third countries".

In this sense, LVC define the food sovereignty like the opposite of 'food security' (simply adequacy of supplies and nutritional content, with the food itself produced and delivered under any conditions, including far-off, chemical-intensive industrial agriculture) and conceived as a new perspective against the 'Capital and agribusiness' (Martínez-Torres and Rosset 2014, 980).

Many articles describe and analyze the case study. Some are focused on the study of the agro-ecological position in terms of their socio-productive practices for e.g., the authors of Latin American Scientific Society of Agroecology-SOCLA like Altieri, Rosset, Martínez-Torres, Osorio, and Lastrada. Others authors focused on the right of alimentation (Aguirre, P.; Filardi, M), and the agro-economic system of food production (Campbell and LeHeron, 2007; Fisher, 2007; Sylla, 2014). Mainly, the Marxist authors are the ones who analyze disputes and power struggles presented by the international peasant movement.

In this report, the principal sources about the LVC movement and the strategic of food sovereignty was their own documents:

La Vía Campesina (2001): "*Final Declaration of the World Forum on Food Sovereignty.*" Havana, Cuba.

(2002): "*Food Sovereignty.*" The World Food Summit +5, Rome, Italy.

(2005): "*WTO in Crisis: Groups Offer Alternative Plan to Protect People's Food Sovereignty.*"

(2008): "*The peasant agriculture and food sovereignty are the solutions to the global crisis.*" Open Letter from Maputo, Mozambique: V International Conference of La Via Campesina.

(2011): "*Sustainable family farming can feed the world*", International Conference of La Via Campesina in Jakarta.

Institute for Food and Development Policy (2002): "*Policy think tank reports find agricultural trade agreements hurt family farmers and the poor.*"

The perspective of LVC is shared by both local manifestations - MOCASE and MAGOSZ -. In this sense, the production of scientific articles about local manifestations also allows us to observe greater quantity and quality of the analyzes. In this report we sought to dig into the cases to show how the movement is manifested in the territories.

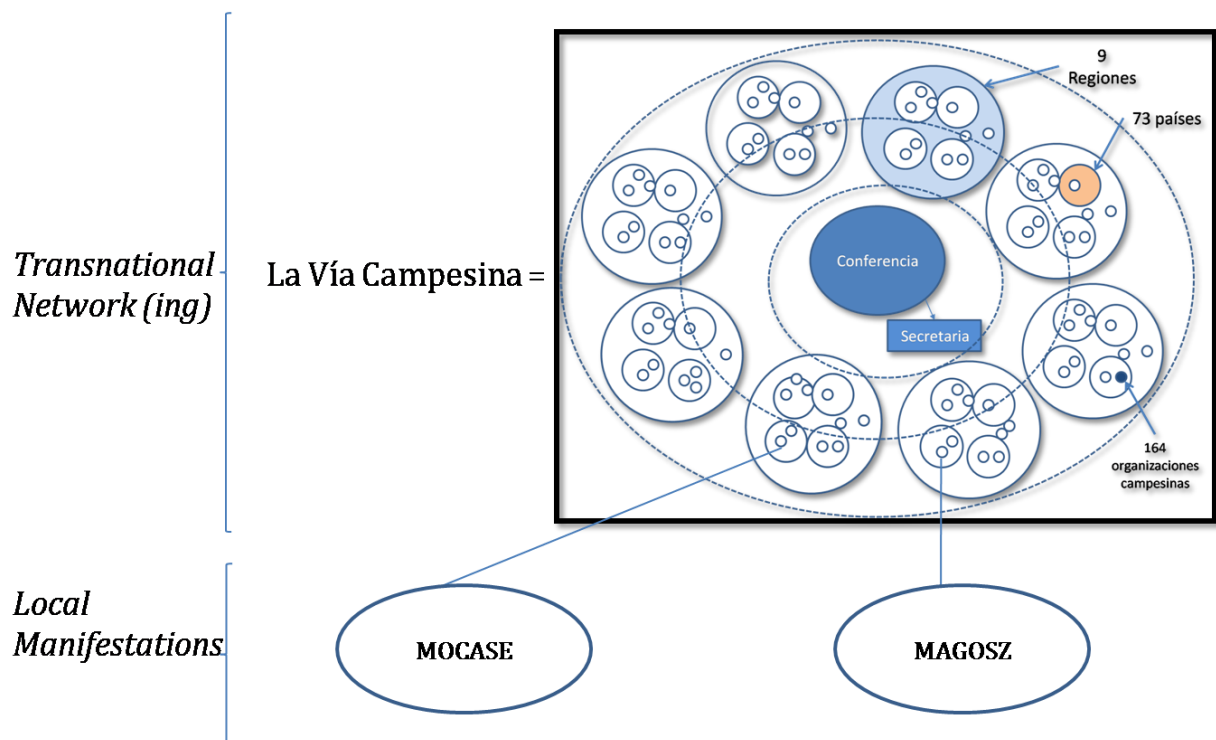
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1.2 Case demarcation

The global movement of peasant farmers has various manifestations. One, perhaps the most radical of all, is the Via Campesina movement. The objects of study are international collaborative network and two local manifestations quite different from each other.

MOCASE is an organization of LVC. It is currently one of the cases that the international movement LVC shows when thinking agroecology in the territories. On the other hand, MAGOSZ, the organization that was only registered in 2005 as an observer member under the coordination of the European peasant and rural organisation, Confédération Paysanne Européen (later renamed as European Coordination of La Via Campesina) advocates for strengthening small-scale family farmers in the given historical, economic, social and political context of Hungary.

La Vía Campesina International Network



Source: Authors

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1.3 Overview and structure of the report

This report has two main sections. This first section is a brief introduction to the study of the social movement to be analyzed. The second section refers to the methodology that was used to conduct this report. The third section describes and analyzes some relevant aspects of the case of the social movement internationally - La Via Campesina.

Later, in the fourth section of this paper, we describe and analyze the Argentinean case of the Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero (MOCASE-LVC). And then, the Hungarian case, the MAGOSZ was analyzed. And finally, the last section provides a summary.

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2 Methodology

2.1 Researcher relations to the case

Proximity

The coordinator IESCT-UNQ (Argentina) team developed between 2008 and 2012 a project called "Technologies for Social Inclusion and Public Policy in Latin America" (funded by IDRC) where a survey of social movements and organizations that design and implement social and / or technological innovations were made in various areas, such as agriculture and access to water in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Ecuador. This research program allows a series of case studies on public policies and social initiatives for food security and food sovereignty. Learning on how to design, implement and evaluate technologies (artefactual, process and / or organizational) for the resolution of social problems and / or environmental allowed to define the "yes" and "no" to design, scale and generate sustainability of the initiatives.

From these analyzes, the IESCT-UNQ team conducted a new research and intervention project called "Right of Access to Goods: Water for Development" to work in northern Argentina (Chaco province) with organizations and farmers' associations in the design of strategies and plans to generate dynamics of territorial development. In this trajectory the team has made contact with numerous networks and social farmers movements in the territories, including Via Campesina.

MOCASE-LVC (Argentina), the case of Argentine local manifestation, is located about 1000 kilometers from the capital of Argentina, but the research subject is one of the most important of the country for their strategies of both training and recruitment, mobilization and fight for the right to land and food sovereignty. This movement now has its own university, agroecology schools and literacy groups. In turn, the Peasant University is supported by the National University of Quilmes.

In the case of the Hungarian local manifestation, researchers have been involved in organising the Nyéléni Europe Forum for Food Sovereignty, held in August 2011 in Krems (Austria) when also the Food Sovereignty Network in Hungary was first initiated. Case researchers also actively helped in the creation of the network of CSOs to support Food Sovereignty in Hungary, and initiated social learning and links to national and international organizations. Furthermore, researchers undertook participatory, collaborative research on alternative agro-food networks as part of the FAAN project (Balázs-Simonyi 2009).

Normativity

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The researchers have a positive view on the case studies. Given the previous experience in agricultural initiatives and interest in the cases, looking deeper into social innovations for social transformation presents La Via Campesina in the local and global context. Such an object of study requires open-mindedness and critical thought to understand the dynamics that are embedded experiences, such as agro-ecological movement. The researchers proceeded as stipulated by the TRANSIT methodology.

From the start, the Hungarian case researchers' disposition was self-reflective: sympathetic but critical towards the initiative. Researchers are not directly involved in the work of Hungarian small-scale peasant organizations but had some cooperation with food producers on various project proposals at national, regional and global levels.

Reciprocity

In terms of reciprocity, the case researchers have long been involved in participatory research, particularly cooperative research on alternative agro-food networks. In such interdisciplinary teams of researchers and local community members a balanced partnership is created on common interests and mutuality.

The local key informants have been invited into TRANSIT as knowledgeable partners who are able to contribute to the common understanding of social innovation potentials and co-create new knowledge and action. Therefore, the whole research has been seeking to bring clearly defined helpful outcomes for the initiative.

Research subject versus research object

The topic of research as social innovation is clearly a normative choice that brings to the table the issues of power, domination, and inequality. This case study has a strong perspective about the co-construction of knowledge, and how the learning process is so important in this kind of cases.

2.2 Methods

2.2.1 Overall methodology

The research methodology follows the guidelines set out in the Social Innovation TRANSIT methodology for case studies (Methodological Guidelines D4.3). In the first instance a search and systematization of primary and secondary sources (documents, videos, papers) existing on the food sovereignty, particularly on La Vía Campesina movement, was conducted globally. This activity allowed reconstructing the history, values and focus of the movement LVC.

Those research questions that were not covered by the sources were addressed through interviews with key actors and from participant observation. Interviews were conducted

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with key stakeholders, and from the technique "snowball" the number of respondents was extended. And we participated in four international network activities and case studies.

The participant observation strategy aimed to analyze aspects of the movement, especially in MOCASE-VC, related to the everyday construction of practices in each case. Each technique sought to collaborate with research responses.

2.2.2 Interviews

Transnational Network: La Via Campesina

Informal interviews with various leaders of La Via Campesina movement, such as Peter Rosset (LVC Mexico), José María Oviedo (LVC Costa Rica) and Angel Strapazzon (LVC Argentina) were made. We also interviewed Miguel Altieri, president of the Latin American Scientific Society of Agroecology (SOCLA), as one academic reference of LVC Movement in the region. These interviews lasted an average of 40 to 50 minutes.

Case #1: Movimiento Campesino de Santiago del Estero- Argentina

Six interviews with key members of the Via Campesina movement were made. Everyone played an important role in the development of the organization and expansion of the escalation strategy of LVC. Four of the respondents are members of MOCASE-LVC and have a solid trajectory.

Interviews MOCASE-LVC

Name	Role	Time/place
Angel Strapazzón	MOCASE-LVC Leader	Buenos Aires, 1 hour La Plata, 2 hours
Margarita Gómez	Coordinator of Peasant School MOCASE-VC	La Plata, 1.30 hours
Ayelen García Chávez	Trainee at MOCASE-LVC	Buenos Aires, 1.30 hours
Lucia Pugliese	Trainee at Brigadas de Escolarización of MOCASE-LVC	Buenos Aires, 1 hour

Informal discussions occurred with Miguel Gómez, member of MOCASE.

Case #2: MAGOSZ - Hungary

The selection of interviewees was based on the following considerations: (i) key informant of the case under study, (ii) key informant who has an influence beyond the case upon the

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unfolding of food sovereignty movement in Hungary, (iii) good, mutual trust-based connection to the key informant.

Interviews MAGOSZ

Name	Role	Time/place
Istvan Jakab	President of Magosz	Budapest, (HUN) 2 hours
Szabadkai Andrea	Member of Kisleptek	Budapest, (HUN) 50 minutes
Dr. Agnes Major	Member of Kisleptek- Coordinator of FAO IYFF	Budapest (HUN) 45 minutes
Borbala Simonyi	Member of Vedegylet	Skype, 85 minutes
Zoltan Kalman	FAO Permanent Representative of Hungary	Rome (IT), 35 minutes

Informal discussions on international networking occurred with the former ECVC secretary (Gerard Choplin) and members of LVC - ECVC- Aiab (Andrea Ferrante).

2.2.3 Participative Observation

International Movement: La Vía Campesina

Team members participated in three international events where LVC Movement was present: Agroecology Congress (La Plata, 7 to 9 October), the Tri-national meeting of the American Women's Collective Chaco (Córdoba 25 to September 27) and GLOBELICS (Cuba 23 to September 25). In the first event, a panel of Via Campesina was conducted, and they worked on the role of social movements in food sovereignty. There were various organizations from Latin America and the northern provinces of Argentina. In the second event they involved local organizations working on land rights and environmental protection. And the last one, the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), member of VLC in Cuba, presented different experiences of the success of the method "Peasant to Peasant".

Mocase-LVC case (Argentina)

Participant observation was performed in MOCASE activities in Buenos Aires, La Plata, Cordoba and Santiago del Estero. This includes, for example, participation in the work of the Brigades of schooling in universities, participation in seed fairs and exhibitions of social and solidarity economy, among others.

MAGOSZ case (Hungary)

The participative observation at the technical meeting between FAO and LVC, entitled Identification and Dissemination of Family Farmers' and Peasants' Experiences on Agroecology and Farmers' Seeds (held, in Rome, FAO Headquarter, on 29 - 30 September

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2015) allowed for gaining an accurate insight in the current work and its modalities LVC is undertaking relating to Agroecology and Seeds.

2.2.4 Document reviews

International Movement LVC

A wide range of documents were reviewed for cases of Via Campesina and local manifestations. These include web sites, videos, books, strategic documents, and academic papers. Details of these can be found in Annex 1.

Relevant documents:

- La Via Campesina (2008): Maputo Letter of the V International Conference of La Via Campesina in Maputo, Mozambique.
- La Via Campesina (2011): Declaration on Seeds. Peasant seeds are dignity, culture and life: peasant resistance, defending their rights over farmers' seeds, Bali.

Case #1: MOCASE- LVC (Argentina)

The following documents were used as secondary sources in preparing the case study of Argentina local manifestation:

- MOCASE. *Conclusiones del Primer Congreso del MOCASE*. Santiago del Estero, 25 y 26 de noviembre de 1999
- Desalvo, A. (2009): *Historia del Movimiento Campesino*. Santiago del Estero (MOCASE), Congreso de Sociología.
- Michi, N. (2010) *Movimientos campesinos y educación. Estudio sobre el Movimiento de Trabajadores Rurais Sem Terra y el Movimiento Campesino de Santiago del Estero Vía Campesina*. Editorial El Colectivo, Buenos Aires.
- Agosto, Patricia; Cafardo, Analía y Calí, Julieta (2004): "MOCASE Movimiento de Campesinos de Santiago del Estero. Una experiencia cooperativa". Cuadernos de Trabajo N° 53. Departamento de Cooperativismo, Centro Cultural de la Cooperación.
- Barbeta, P. (2006): "El Movimiento Campesino de Santiago del Estero: entre el juarismo y la subjetivación política". Informe de tesis doctoral. Becario CONICET.
- Desalvo, Agustina (2014): *El Mocase: Orígenes, Consolidación y Fractura del Movimiento Campesino de Santiago del Estero*. *Revista Astrolabio* N°12.

Case# 2: MAGOSZ (Hungary)

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- STATUTES of the National Association of Hungarian Farmers' Societies. (2009). URL: http://gazdakorok.hu/?page_id=111
- Simonyi Borbála - Varga Géza: Élelmiszer-önrendelkezés: mezôgazdaság • fenntarthatóság • demokrácia. (2008). URL: <http://www.vedegylet.hu/doc/eleonr.pdf>
- Nemes Gusztáv: A vidékfejlesztés szereplői Magyarországon. Intézmények, megközelítések, erőforrások. (2000). URL: <http://econ.core.hu/doc/dp/dp/mtdp0010.pdf>
- A 2005. márciusi gazdademonstráció dokumentumai. URL: http://gazdakorok.hu/?page_id=111
- Együttműködési megállapodás a CBA-val. URL: <http://gazdakorok.hu/files/2011/03/CBA.pdf>
- A Magyar Gazdakörök és Gazdaszövetkezetek Szövetségének álláspontja a KAP 2013 utáni helyzetével kapcsolatban. URL: <http://eu.kormany.hu/download/b/b5/40000/Jakab%20Istv%C3%A1n%20el%C5%91ad%C3%A1sa.pdf>
- Az AGRYA hivatalos álláspontja a gazdatüntetésekről. URL: http://www.agrya.hu/sites/default/files/downloads/gazdatuntetes_jakab_0311.pdf

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3 Transnational network(ing): La Vía Campesina

3.1 Emergence of La Vía Campesina Movement

3.1.1 Aims, goals and territorial coverage of La VC Movement

The SI initiative of La Via Campesina (LVC) was created in 1993 as an international movement of farmers, small and medium producers, rural women, indigenous people, landless people, rural youth and agricultural workers with the main purpose of opposing the economic system prevailing globally -Neoliberalism- and advocating for a territorial development based on human rights and greater social equity.



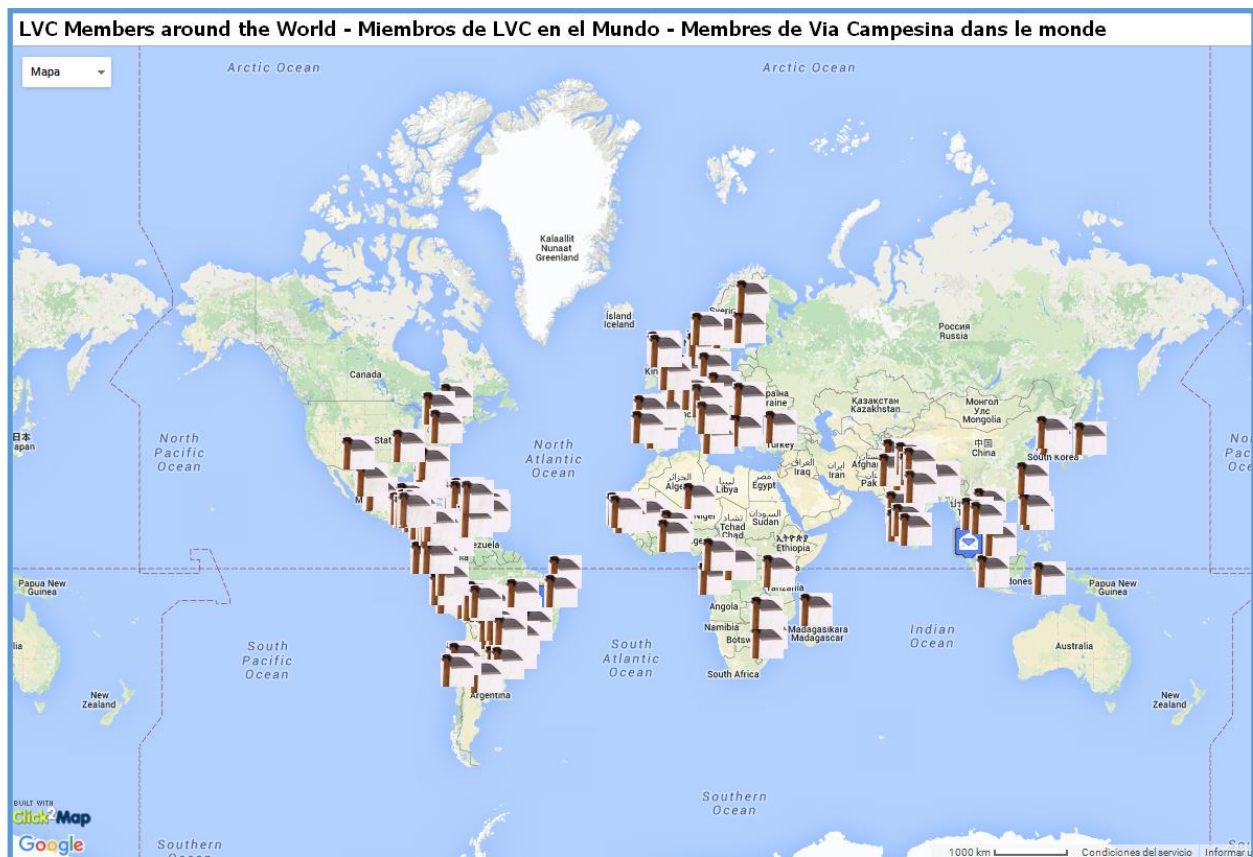
To achieve these main goals, the movement seeks to create various *social innovations* for social transformation, such as:

- *demanding accountability to intergovernmental agencies* on their roles in the processes of social exclusion, mainly in the agricultural sector;
- *facing and opposing corporate control* over natural resources and over the design and implementation of technology centralized and linked to agribusiness, and
- *defending food sovereignty* of the people based on *securing land* and *agro-ecological forms of production*.

The initiative is widespread geographically in about 164 organizations in 73 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and America (see Figure 1). VC is estimated to represent about 200 million peasants in the world.

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Figure 1 - Members of La Via Campesina worldwide



Source: website La Vía Campesina (<http://viacampesina.org/map/members/map.html>)

LVC develops coordinated activities at the global, regional, national and local level focusing on the following topics:

- agrarian reform,
- land and territory,
- biodiversity and genetic resources,
- food sovereignty,
- human rights,
- sustainable rural agriculture,
- migration and rural workers,
- training
- gender parity.

Its main social innovations are social mobilization and building support networks to strengthen an alternative production system tied to agroecology.

Also, LVC initiative under study in this report describes itself as an autonomous, pluralist and multicultural movement, no party, economic or any other type of affiliation. The latter has allowed LVC to have different regional, national and local strategies concerning how to

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articulate, for example, with the State, with the UN and other international organizations and rural institutions (such as FIPA, ILC, among others) for the defense of their rights and inclusive and sustainable rural development.

In Figure 2, one can see how members of LVC draw the map of actors in the international social movement. In this case, from the perspective of an Argentinian farmer organization, they develop particularly the branch of peasant organizations in Latin America, the sub-regions and countries.

Figure 2- Map of actors of Vía Campesina



Source: Performed by students of the Agroecology School MOCASE-VC

3.1.2. Origin and Evolution of LVC Movement

The movement La Via Campesina began to organize in April 1992, when several farmers from Central America, North America, and Europe leaders met in Managua, Nicaragua, at the Congress of the National Union of Farmers and Cattlemen (UNAG). In this space, globalized agricultural policies and agribusiness that were having negative effects on the lives of the peasants were problematized.

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It was considered necessary to develop a common vision from the peasantry and fight for it: *food sovereignty, defense of the land and opposition to the model of social exclusion of agribusiness*. In this event, they also expressed they wanted their voices to be heard and to participate directly in the decisions affecting their lives.

LVC was formally founded in May 1993 at the First Conference of La Via Campesina in Mons, Belgium. It was constituted as a Global Organization, setting out their first strategic guidelines and structure. Since then, new organizations joined the movement, and gradually a common agenda has been built.

The Second International Conference held in Tlaxcala, Mexico, in April 1996, was attended by 37 countries and 69 organizations to discuss a number of issues that were of central concern to small and medium producers, such as food sovereignty, agrarian reform, the discussion on credit and external debt of developing countries, technology production, the participation of women in rural development, among others.

That year, 1996, introduced the political agenda of Food Sovereignty, and with this slogan they participated of the World Food Summit, confronting the concept of "Food Security" proposed by the FAO-UN so far. Essentially, Via Campesina aimed to conceive a wider right to food concept:

Food sovereignty is the right of the people to healthy and culturally appropriate food, produced through sustainable methods, and their right to define their own agricultural and food systems. It develops a model of sustainable farm production that favors communities and their environment. It puts the aspirations, needs and lifestyles of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and food policies, ahead of the demands of markets and corporations. (LVC website).

And at the conferences of La Via Campesina in Bangalore (2000), Sao Paulo (2004) and Maputo (2008) food sovereignty was established as an alternative against neoliberalism and as an aperture to debate with new social forces, economic and / or political, in the territories. This political vision was reaffirmed in the territories from different confrontations over land, killings of peasants (carried out by the police or thugs), and forced displacements of rural populations (cases of Brazil and Honduras, for example).

Gradually, national struggles cases occurred based on social protests, occupations and international campaigns, that led to some victories against large multinational companies such as Syngenta Seeds (Brazil, 2006), Monsanto (India, 2009), European supermarkets, among others.

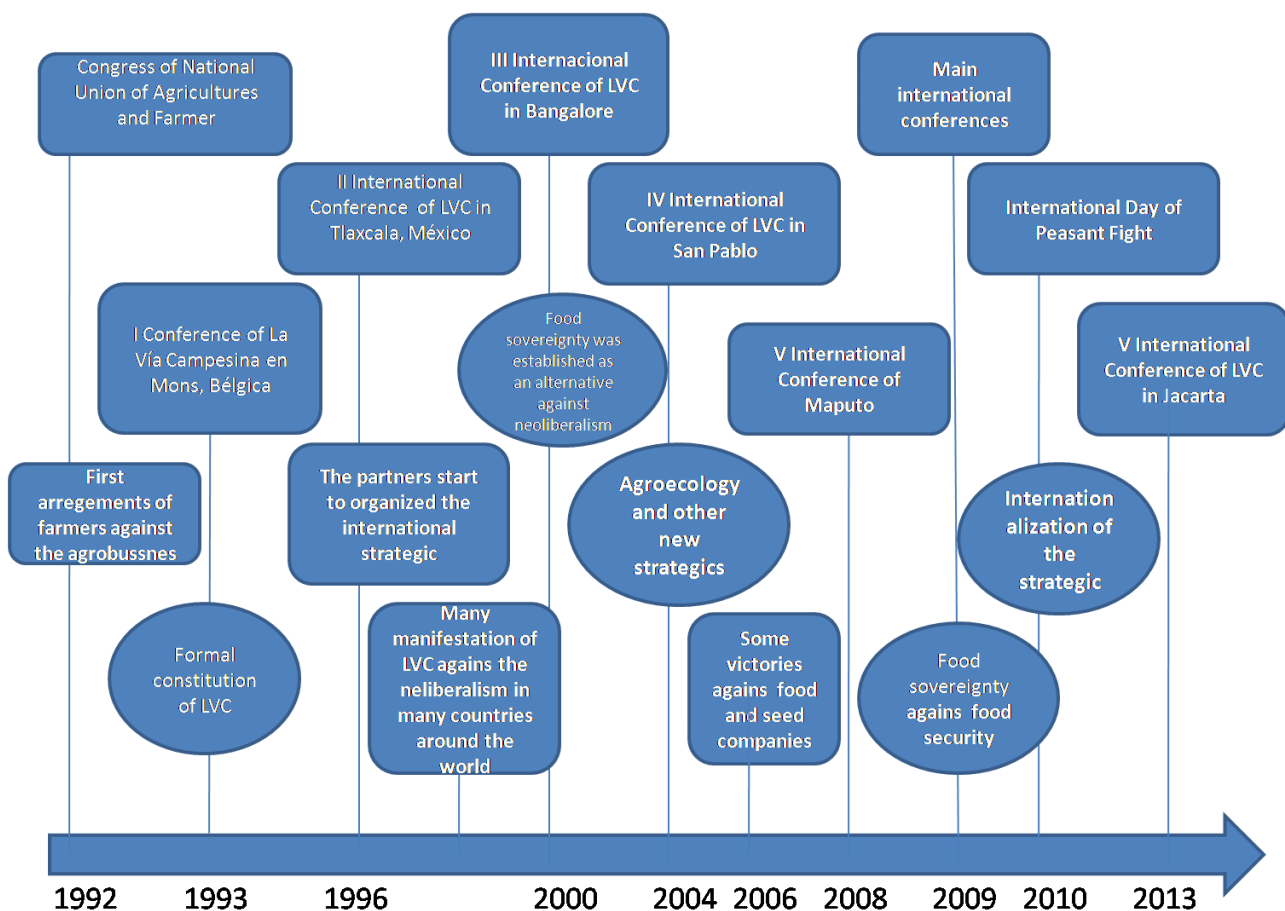
In 2009, three international summits occurred: The World Summit on Food Security in Rome, the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization in Geneva and the United Nations Climate Summit in Copenhagen.

According to the LVC, transnational companies (TNCs) again showed its ability to control the policies oriented to food and agriculture systems for their own benefit. Therefore on

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April 17, 2010, the International Day of Peasant Struggle, La Vía Campesina proposed its member organizations and partners to join and intensify their strategies against transnational companies like Monsanto, Cargill, Carrefour, Archer Daniels Midland, Nestle and Syngenta.

Timeline 1. Transnational Network of La Vía Campesina



Martinez-Torres and Rosset said that the evolution consists of five main phases:

1. State withdrawal from rural areas created autonomous peasant organisations first in Latin America, and then at a global scale (1980ies)
2. Peasant organisations participate on international debates (1990ies)
3. Leadership role in global struggles (from 2000)
4. Organisational strengthening, internal re-structuration (2004–2008)
5. Self-definition and self-identification as an opposition to transnational corporations (from 2008): peasant internationalism.

The struggle is for food sovereignty, for the environment and health. On this occasion, the global movement suggested options such as direct action for peaceful purposes (march, protest or occupation); exchange of native seeds; educational training on a transnational

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company and its impacts on their school, local food co-op or farmers market; the projection of Marie-Monique Robin's film, "The World According to Monsanto"; asking the media not to broadcast Monsanto's or other similar companies' commercials; and carrying out small actions like planting a garden as a form of resistance to TNCs. These options were combined with a request of "creativity" to generate new strategies.

In 2013, the "Jakarta call" at the Sixth International Conference of La Via Campesina (Jakarta, Indonesia), begins to constitute a clear path of action linked to the ecological production and to the principle that the seeds are the heritage of the nations in the Service of Humanity.

Each year a large number of activities are generated worldwide in defense of the land, food sovereignty, the right of women and young people.

3.2. TSI dynamics

3.2.1. Dynamics of the social innovation

The international movement La Via Campesina has generated a variety of social innovations both to fight against neoliberalism (transnational corporations, free trade policies, etc.) and to strengthen farmers' knowledge on production and build new techno-productive alternatives that reflect their disputes against the agribusiness, like the case of agroecology.

La Via Campesina, as a social movement that articulates the peasant base internationally, has enabled socio-productive changes in rural areas. The LVC involved farmers and territorial organizations in large learning by interaction processes and training in practice. These processes gradually transcended the borders and the rural area based on expanding training strategies, communication and socialization of knowledge ("knowledge dialogue").

In recent years, the call for stimulating creativity has allowed the creation of new organizational forms in the territories, social and technical training of the bases of the social movement, and the design and implementation of technologies to materially sustain the narrative of *food sovereignty*. Several mechanisms for communication, advocacy and capacity building such as newsletters, videos, social networks, courses, seminars, conferences, collective practices or, from their training strategies: schools and institutes of agroecology, literacy groups, peasant universities, and partnerships with public universities, have made it possible to strengthen the socio-political base of La Via Campesina (see Figure 3).

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Figure 3: LVC’s instruments: (1) Newsletter of La Vía Campesina; (2) Radio of MOCASE-VC; (3) Film of La Vía Campesina; (4) Universidad Campesina



Source: Website and facebook of VC

In terms of a member of LVC:

“La Via Campesina believe that to address the major challenges (...) in the international struggle -in the struggle in defense of seeds, water, biodiversity ... we have to increase our analytical capabilities to work with the nature. (...)So we challenge ourselves to build an international struggle of peasants. We want to train in the way of La Vía Campesina and each organization will train their own way. We must make a collective effort to see how we will make it happen” (Edigio Brunetto in Documento MINAGRI, October 2015).

However, La Vía Campesina is also committed to generate social change in the policies of international organizations, states, and urban citizens. In these cases, the strategies are demonstrations, mobilizations and occupations as part of the process of LVC’s social innovation. Members of the movement have the freedom to act, always by peaceful means, and means to socialize the debates and reflections generated from using new strategies. For example, in 2006 in the United States, LVC persuaded the public service media not to broadcast information and publicity for Monsanto, and this strategy was later taken as a role model on how to restrain these companies and how to influence public policy from institutions that are not usually leading.

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Throughout the socio-political process driven by this social movement, some events coordinated globally have been generated and stabilized, such as:

- Peasant's Struggle Day (April 17)
- World Social Forum
- International Day of Struggle Against World Trade Organization (September 10)

And other measures under the slogans:

- World Bank and International Monetary Fund: It's enough!
- Say no to free trade agreements
- Say no to transnational corporations

These spaces are important because they disseminate the perspective of the VC at regional, national and local levels. At the same time, they allowed to add new issues and rural social groups to the agenda of the social movement, like the case of the role of women, which has gained strength on a quest to redefine the socio-productive policies with a gender perspective.

The VC has become one of the most important social movements of the world. In the past 20 years LVC has managed to call into question the system of economic production and reproduction, and has put in discussion the design and implementation of agricultural technology (GMOs, direct seeding, etc.), and the type of food consumption. The greatest LVC ambition is to generate an agrarian reform that would guarantee the land for the peasants. And, of course, to take their food sovereignty proposal based on the agro-ecological production to a global scale.

As a collaborative network, it generates cross-border support in an immediate, cohesive and collective way. This enables farmers' organizations to act with support from other organizations at local, national and regional levels. Its strength lies in the joint and coordinated action to achieve social change.

3.2.2. Conditions of the SI-initiative and its interactions

The main structures and institutions of the Via Campesina movement are the local peasant organizations. These changed their patterns of social organization to integrate at the international level, horizontally and vertically, realizing that, despite being isolated and scattered in the territories, they are a fundamental part in global food production, in the form and quality with which those foods are produced, and in the real possibilities of modifying the production system of agribusiness. Its resistance to give up their land or move to urban centers became a shared value.

Throughout the process of stabilization of the global social movement, some "milestones" were generated, like the land struggles of the 'Landless Workers' Movement (Brazil) or the demonstrations in 2003, when the VC mobilized against the V Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to block the negotiations and demand that the WTO did not intervene in agriculture. During the mobilization, Mr. Lee Kyun Hae, a Korean peasant, committed suicide as he held a banner saying: "WTO kills farmers".

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The relationship with La Via Campesina and also, the external and internal factors, changed the identity of the farmers, who no longer feel alone and dispersed. They understand that together they have the potential to subsist and improve their living standards. At the same time, globally, the SI-Initiative generated and installed the perception that there is a problem in the way that food is produced, that a change is required and that this change is related to who produces and how they do it. There is an organic structure, a social movement that holds a narrative and generates practices to consolidate as a viable production alternative.

3.2.3. Narratives of change

The narrative of social change in the VC, although it is based in the opposition to the agribusiness model, is propositive because it proposes to recover ancestral knowledge on agriculture and the appropriation of the principles of agroecology to enhance Mother Earth and the life and culture of the peasants. For VC, *food sovereignty* based on *agroecological peasant agriculture* offers solutions to the *climate and food crises* the world is facing and which were produced by capitalist development, and it also ensures a life of dignity for farmers.

3.2.4. Impact and ambitions of social change

The perception of VC members is that they are generating global social changes, in terms of:

- **economic structure:** reconstituting farmers as key actors in the form of production and proposing a more equitable distribution of the income of the land;
- **decision-making:** the inclusion of new actors -peasants- in the decision-making process of international organizations such as FAO-UN;
- **environmental sustainability:** to establish itself as an actor that drives the improvement of overall environmental conditions, because it inclines to agro-ecological land use by farmers.

The ambition of the SI-initiative is both the *socio-political change* and the *environmental sustainability*; that horizon has earned them adherents and supporters outside the rural sectors. And it has generated internal cohesion.

However, some strategies or social innovations also generate unwanted effects. The confrontation with international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund has made these agencies seek or design other strategies to divide the movement Via Campesina, from foundations providing funding for social organizations – for example, the International Land Coalition- as well as through the funding provided through the States with specific conditions aimed at moving the axis from the peasant and enhancing other rural actors.

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3.3. Agency in (T)SI

3.3.1. Empowerment / disempowerment

The vision of social transformation of the LVC movement seeks to empower farmers by giving them the tools and strategies to defend their rights to land, to preserve their way of life and to promote a global reform linked to a new production system and agro-ecology.

The **agency, at an explicit internal level**, refers to *empower the farmers* to generate social change in the form of production from collectively reflect and develop new production practices (such as agroecology) from questioning deeply who produce, for whom they produce and how it is produced in the world today. At the same time, and in this respect, it is intended that the struggle for "the land" is a flag understood in broad, shared, common terms, and both a means of production and a way of life.

At this level, the formation of "farmer to farmer" methodology to empower the peasants has been key, their knowledge and skills are conceived at the same level as the scientific and technological knowledge. They are different kinds of knowledge, but one does not prevail over the other.

The **agency, at an external explicit level** refers to *disempowering* large landowners and transnational agricultural and food companies from promoting a new form of sustainable and inclusive production, agroecology. In this sense, LVC has developed explicit strategies for agency:

- (1) Communication networks about the struggles in the territories to confront the media monopolies;
- (2) Collaborative networks on the agroecological proposal, linked to universities and other research and development organizations to support and validate the proposal;
- (3) Training networks for other social actors external to LVC.

At an **internal implicit level**, the main strategies to empower the peasants are:

- (1) The territorial articulation of each member. Stimulating creativity to generate new strategies of intervention and social change.

In an **external implicit level**, it is intended that LVC links with other social actors to permeate the existing techno-productive matrix.

LVC is one of the 11 global organizations constructing the International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty¹ (IPC) autonomous and self-organized global platform of 800 organizations and 300 million small-scale food producers, rural workers and grassroot/community based social movements. IPC aims to advance the Food Sovereignty

¹ IPC: <http://www.foodsovereignty.org/about-us/>

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agenda at global and regional levels by promoting diversity and the vibrancy of local food systems and by placing the perspective and needs of small-scale food producers at the heart of the global and international food policy agenda: the analyses and strategies to reduce hunger, malnutrition and rural poverty should be developed with the inclusion of the perspective of those concerned.

Beyond embracing the control of production and markets, organization in the food sovereignty movement claim for the Right to Food, and for people's access to and control over land, water and genetic resources, and the use of environmentally sustainable approaches to production (Windfurh, Jonsé, 2007).

As IPC represents the interests of small-scale food producers, providing 70% of the food consumed by the world's population. As these producers feed the majority of people, they must be included in the development of food and agricultural policies negotiated at a global or regional level. Representing the peasant farmers' constituency in IPC, La Via Campesina creates alliances with different civil society organizations including other small-scale food producer organizations, as fishers, (World Forum of Fishers People, World Forum of Fish Harvesters & Fish Workers) with indigenous people (World Alliance Mobile Indigenous People), with pastoralists, with agricultural workers and with other organizations, such as the World March of Women and the International Federation of Rural Adult Catholic Movement.

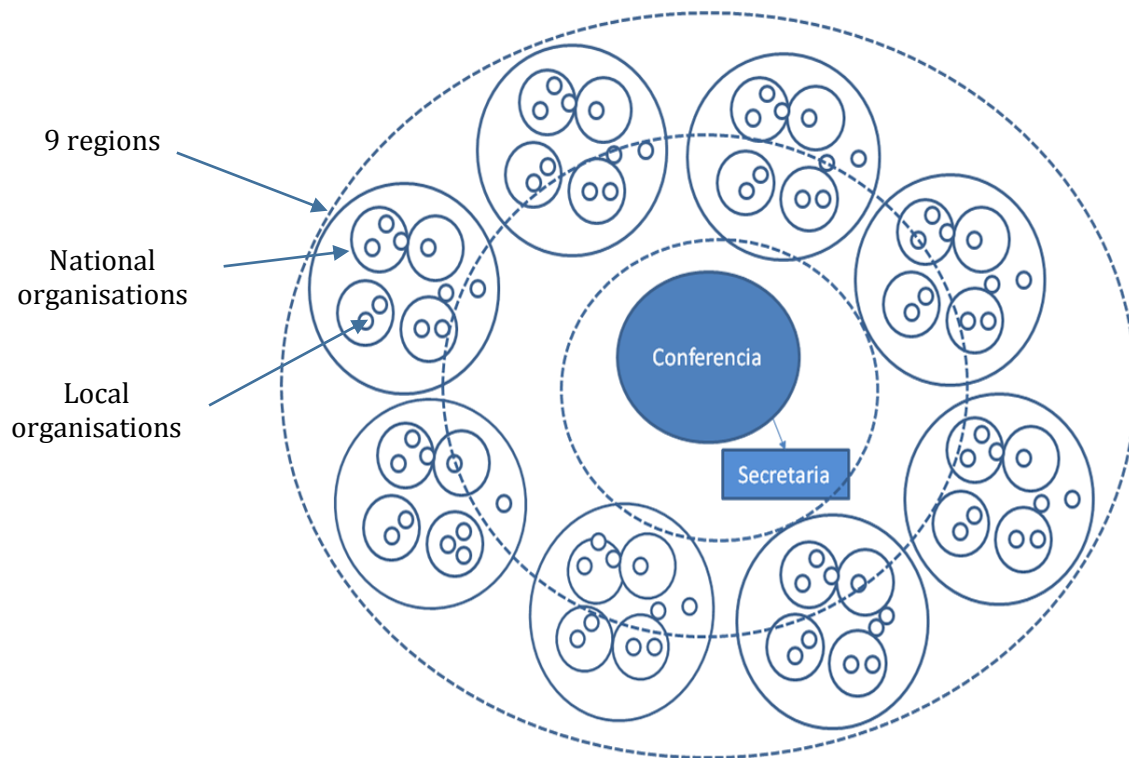
This global platform for food sovereignty facilitates the participation of small-scale food producers in global policy dialogues and ensures their representation in intergovernmental and global fora (such as FAO or IFAD). With its active participation and continuous contribution to the food sovereignty framework, LVC gains increasing recognition in institutional discourses about food and agriculture.

3.3.2. Internal Governance

The organization of the movement is "bottom up", for example, it starts from the peasant base at local and national level to reach the International Coordinating Committee. The structure is mainly horizontal, with a collective coordination, an operational rotating secretariat and work commissions assumed by the organizations themselves. The global movement of VC is decentralized in 9 regions, each region has a coordinating organization. For example, in Latin America it is the CLOC-Via Campesina.

Figure 4 - Horizontal Organization of the international movement of LVC

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Source: Paula Juarez and Florencia Trentini

Coordination between regions is carried out by the International Coordinating Committee which is comprised by a woman and a man by region, elected by the member organizations in their respective regions. At the same time, there is an International Secretariat which rotates according to the decision made every four years by the International Conference. The financing of the movement comes from the contributions of its members, private donations and financial support of NGOs, foundations and local and national authorities (website of LVC). Figure 4 shows the format of the VC organization.

3.3.3. External governance

VC gradually devised new issues on its agenda and brought together new sectors such as the case of rural women, environmentalists, vegans and others. This ability to show that the VC seeks deep social change is key to stability and growth.

On the other hand, those international organizations such as FAO-UN, which initially had no interest in the "peasant" subject, began building strategies to include their demands. However, according to the VC, the way they performed this inclusion, through new policies in favor of the "family agriculture", actually sought not empower the movement Vía

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Campechina, renaming otherwise the "peasant" subject. However, gradually the political agenda of LVC became present at the United Nations. And it is the only international organization against which LVC has no strong intervention strategy. In general, members of LVC can participate in UN spaces.

In the case of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the fight with LVC is of full antagonism. In this regard, the World Bank has sought to create various mechanisms to disrupt the peasant movement such as soft loans, grants to purchase frontier technology, and other strategies that were frustrated by LVC.

However, the World Bank did not give up and supported the creation of an NGO called International Land Coalition, aimed at generating a space to talk about the land, gender and food sovereignty, but closer to the market outlook. Since some peasant organizations decided to participate in the ILC while remaining part of LVC, the LVC has not taken position against ILC.

3.3.4. Monitoring and evaluation

La Via Campesina has no formalized monitoring and evaluation system, but it does have an online register of all activities and events that are happening around the world. Each event has a document or declaration on the work carried out in every area, and in the conferences assessments about the movement and the work topics are generated.

3.3.5. Resources

The international movement La Via Campesina has a policy of not getting involved with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund on the grounds that these are the organizations that are generating strategies to move farmers off their land, whether through indebtedness of small farmers, or holding and strengthening transnational corporations and local agribusiness. In fact, LVC is not financed by any bank.

Neither do they accept resources that come from organizations linked directly or indirectly with transnational companies such as Monsanto and Syngenta Seeds.

Strategies to support the structure are especially personal donations, funding from peasant bases, companies or groups linked to agroecology and philanthropy of international foundations.

Financial resources are a problem for the organization, since it cannot provide its territorial base funding to sustain them. By contrast, it requires just the opposite. Both the World Bank and transnational corporations have taken this disadvantage to generate other peasant organizations closer to agribusiness logic such as the *International Land Coalition* (ILC).

3.3.6. Social learning

The LVC movement has generated organizations and farmers training strategies globally. The methodology of "farmer to farmer" that was generated by the Cuban revolution in the sixties, is now reported throughout the territories of the LVC, as a way to exchange

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knowledge, experiences and technical expertise from and between farmers. Both to have productive options as forms of struggle for the land.

Currently, some spaces are beginning to form and strengthen, such as SOCLA, associations of researchers from public and private universities that politically support the positioning for food sovereignty and agroecology, and they are systematizing experiences and producing new teaching materials and supplies for the movement.

Knowledge management is part of regional, national and local strategies. In the cases analyzed, such as Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero (MOCASE-LVC) agroecology schools have been developed, as well as rural literacy groups, universities, university exchanges, among other initiatives. They all seek to strengthen the peasantry, to learn from other farmers and to have the capacity of understand the global scenario in which they are immersed, in order to be able to operate.

3.4. Summary of La Vía Campesina

The IS initiative of Via Campesina emerged in 1993 as an international movement of peasants with the main objective of opposing the neoliberal economic system and advocate for a territorial development based on human rights and greater social equity.

This collaborative and horizontal network of peasant organizations seeks to build a techno-productive alternative to agribusiness, based on agroecology and the struggle for land. To achieve its objectives it develops diverse strategies for training, articulation, communication and advocacy in the policy of international organizations such as FAO, World Bank, and others.

The manifestation of the global strategies of LVC can be observed also at two local cases: the Peasant Movement of Santiago del Estero (MOCASE) in Argentina and MAGOSZ in Hungary. The first one is part of La Vía Campesina. And the second was earlier a registered observer member organisation under the coordination of the European peasant and rural organisation, Confédération Paysanne Européen (later renamed as European Coordination of La Via Campesina) that joined the global movement of La Via Campesina.

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Emergence of Social innovation (SI) and SI-initiative #1: MOCASE-LVC

4.1.1. Aims, goals and territorial coverage of MOCASE-LVC

The initiative IS of MOCASE-LVC represents a “socially innovative” case, because is an experience unprecedented in the farmers organization in Santiago del Estero, a state of the north in Argentina, which is historically characterized for not having a tradition about agrarian organization.

In this context, its ideas, objectives and activities implies a change in the social relations and shows new modes of doing and organization, in order to acknowledge the political visibility of the farmers and building networks with other sectors of society.

The MOCASE-LVC is the farmer organization with biggest visibility in Argentina. It was formally created the 4th of August of 1990, gather diverse farmers association of different state departments, which in turn were composed of several grassroots communities.

The MOCASE-LVC movement consists of a "hard core" of about 1000 farmer and indigenous families, functional to the movement; 5000 other families support and accompany the organization; and there are still some 10,000 or 15,000 families that are no integrated to the movement but they articulate with it in some way, primarily in the struggle for the defence of the land.

The main goal of the movement is the struggle for the defence of the land, understanding that it is not a mere individual ownership, but involves a complex system of life and always is part of the collective “doing and being” farmer. We might say, then, that the MOCASE-LVC is a collective tool of struggle for land. However, this struggle for the land does not have any sense for the movement if the "quality of rural life" do not improved, either by a greater appreciation of labour, the modes of production or by the own cultural identity of the farmer. Therefore, it becomes a central issue to aim the articulation with technicians, NGOs, government institutions, universities.

To fulfil this goal, its main social innovations are:

- *Social Organization* through the creation of “central” farmers, bringing together different communities and families to resist the evictions.
- *Social mobilization* to make visible and public what is happening in Santiago del Estero.



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- *Local support networks*, in a regional, national and international levels, in order to strengthen the possibility of develop an alternative production system linked to agro-ecology.

Figure 5. Different actions carried out by the MOCASE-LVC in Santiago del Estero, Buenos Aires and Europe



Source: Website of MOCASE-LVC

The 8 main issues addressed in MOCASE-LVC movement and that are also relate to the issues addressed by La Vía Campesina are: land reform and water; biodiversity and genetic resources; food sovereignty and fair trade; gender and feminism; Human Rights; migration and rural workers; sustainable farmer agriculture and youth.

The members of the movement define itself as a "life project" for a different field, for farmers, for indigenous communities, but also for the own territory and the environment. And they argue that this project is opposed to "project of death" of agro-business, industrial monocultures, agrochemicals and transgenic.

The way to dispute this hegemonic model is through the practice of a sustainable agro-ecology based on the traditional knowledge of the farmers. For farmers land is life, therefore, their struggle goes beyond the sense of ownership and is part of a more complex system of life in which the land is fundamental to the construction of rural identity. This identity allows them to trace a path that marks ideological boundaries, define actions and sets the values and principles inherent to the movement: 1) production and self-management 2) autonomy of the State and the political parties. The movement

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knows clearly that the construction of a farmer identity strengthens the organization and positioned them on the stage of a political and social fight more general of Argentina.

The goals of MOCASE-LVC are: to be able to generate a *comprehensive agrarian reform* that involve the return of lands that were expropriated by landlords after the agro-business; and to achieve the *food sovereignty* from the agro-ecological production. In this sense, the struggle of MOCASE-LVC is not only for the land but implies a *real social change*.

4.1.2. Evolution of MOCASE-LVC

The story of MOCASE-LVC could be divided in three different stages: 1) emergence of MOCASE, 2) formal establishment of MOCASE, 3) division and creation of MOCASE.

To understand how the MOCASE movement appears, it is need to know the permanent oppression suffer by the farmer families in Santiago del Estero. Their lives were severely disrupted in the late nineteenth century, due to the imposition of an agro-export production model that involved the looting of rural lands and the concentration of them in the hands of large landowners -national and foreign-, which concentrated also economic capital.

This process of illegal expropriation of lands, which some authors define as a “silence exclusion” (Barbetta 2006), has the complicity of the legal and political system of the province. This model continued throughout the twentieth century. In the 70s, with the valuation of provincial land, as a result of the expansion of the agricultural frontier, the illegal usurpation and the looting of land’s farmers increased (August et al. 2004), and therefore also increased their territorial disputes.

In this context, the 29th of October of 1986, a group of farmers from the town of *Los Jurías*, organized a mobilization to the Municipality to demand the intervention of the authorities in order to solve territorial conflicts that faced against powerful landowners. **This mobilization is known as “Grito de los Jurías” and is the first step in the process of the formation of MOCASE.** During this first phase was essential the articulation with a group of young priests and seminarians, who adhered to the Theology of Liberation, which supported the farmer mobilizations, and NGOs of rural promotion and development, as the Institute of Cultural Popular (INCUPPO, in Spanish *Instituto de Cultural Popular*) and the Foundation for Development in Justice and Peace (FUNDAPAZ, in Spanish *Fundación para el Desarrollo en Justicia y Paz*).

Also, during this stage were formed several cooperatives, unions and committees, such as the Central Committee of the Farmers of *Los Jurías* and the Central Commission for Small Producers of “AshpaSumaj”. To the end of 1989 these different association of farmers were articulating in regional organizations all across Santiago del Estero and established an organizational structure formed by regional delegates. This structure of cooperatives, unions and farmers committees from different areas of the province, formed the **MOCASE the 4th of August of 1990, when its first Board of Directors** was chosen in the town of Quimilí. Thus starting the stage of formal constitution.

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The formal constitution of MOCASE is in 1990, and is the result of the rapprochement and joint of diverse farmers organizations formed during the 80's in connection with the Catholic Church and NGOs. Its formation was the beginning of a new phase of farmer organization with a formal structure and triggered actions to a bigger territorial scope. Its creation represents a turning point in local history, starting with an organization for self-defence of settler, achieving political visibility of farmers and forming networks with other sectors of society.

A number of fixing points are established in the conclusions of the First Congress of MOCASE (1999) in which the "farmer identity", the role of the movement and its main objectives and activities are define:

- *Autonomy.* The movement must be independent of political and economic power.
- *Horizontality.* The leaders do not give orders, their role is to accompany people, working for the participation and objectives that organizations decide.
- *Identity.* Farmer culture and identity must be value.
- *Self-management.* The economic capacity must be defended.
- *Agrarian reform.* It must be propose and struggle for an integral agrarian reform.
- *Training / Education.* The farmers must be trained to know their rights and organize to defend them.
- *Complaint.* They must report publicly the abuses, discrimination and show the dangers of the agro-business model.
- *Dissemination.* It should give more importance to the mass media and to end the false allegations and stories about the movement.

In November of 2001, the movement –was the only one which represents farmers family in the province at that moment- was divided into **two distinct movements: the MOCASE-PSA, based in Los Juríes and MOCASE-LVC, based on Quimilí.** This division was due to the different proposals for strategies actions in each sector. The Central Commission Campesina "AshpaSumaj" of Quimilí and the Central Farmer Committee "Tata IaiaAshpacan" of Tintina, supported by the NGO CENEPP (Centre of Popular and Participatory Studies) held an assembly in the Diocesan House of Santiago del Estero, with members of zonal organizations from Pinto, La Simona, Guasayán, Tintina and Quimilí. This assembly gave rise to the formation of MOCASE-LVC (Desalvo, 2014).

MOCASE-LVC continues with the assembly-structure. The communities that conform have different forms of organization: some have commissions, some have offices, other cooperatives, other associations. The communities are grouped in unions and each of them have secretaries: work, women, health, education/training, land, and youth.

The social-economic crisis that exploded the 20th of December of 2001 in Argentina, contributed to multiply, create and consolidate new social movements emerged to face the consequences of a neoliberal model that had led to the country to the limit. Although some movements like MOCASE had many years of existence, due this crisis conjuncture of popular clamour achieved a stronger social recognition. In this context, the MOCASE-LVC

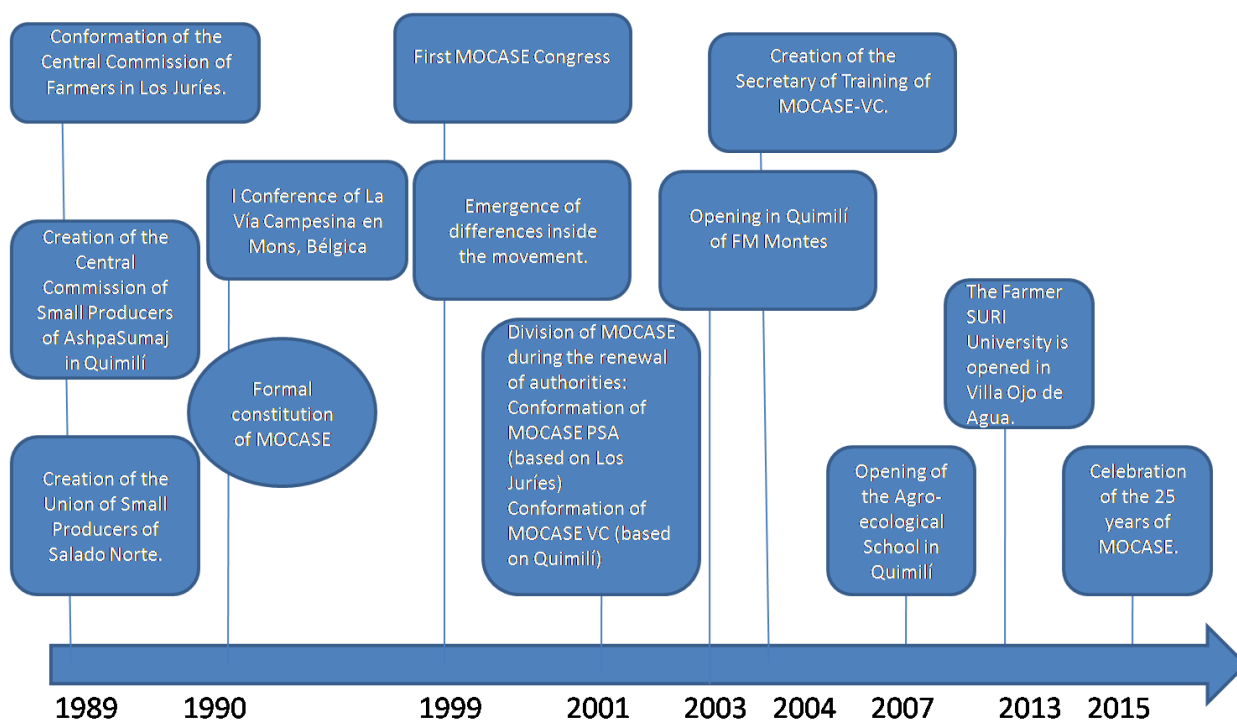
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became one of the most recognized social movements in Argentina and the most important and recognized farmer movement in the country.

In the last 15 years, the MOCASE-LVC is definitely the reference of farmer's struggles in Argentina. The movement participates in many national and international activities, such as the Congress of Vía Campesina and CLOC, and meetings of the UN and FAO. Nevertheless, the movement has developed handicraft factories, packaged cheeses, butchers and own warehouses. Also had opened more than six FM radios approved by AFSCA²(the first one was opened the 17th of April of 2003 in Quimilí). Since 2013 in Quimilí works an agro-ecology school in which young people from different unions of the movement are welcome and also from other provinces. Next year will be open a school of communication from an agreement with the University of Journalism and Communication of the National University of La Plata, and the Farmer University with the support of the National Ministry of Agriculture and the National Ministry of Education; through several agreements with diverse national universities.

In August 2015 we celebrate the 25th anniversary of MOCASE-LVC with a great fair and festival that will be held at the House of History of Culture of the Bicentennial in Santiago del Estero.

Timeline 2. Local Manifestation: MOCASE-LVC



The MOCASE movement had to deal with the particular form that has characterized the relationship with the land in the province: concentration and foreign ownership. During the last time, in Santiago del Estero are happening two events: on one hand, the agriculture frontier is advancing regarding its territory; on the other hand, exist a complicity of the

² AFSCA is the National Federal Authority of Audiovisual Communications Services in Argentina.

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judicial system in all levels in the dynamics of plundering the farmers, who live mostly on public land (that belong to the State) and are recognized by the law as “owners”, in other words, they have right to use the land, but not the right to ownership the land they are using.

In this context, the modality mostly used to evict the farmers is to argue the ownership of the land, counting with the support of justice and security forces. Therefore, given this situation a court order is present or is pressed using the security forces (many private times). Given this scenario, **the main strategy of MOCASE-LVC is to resist evictions and make the situation public to receive support from different sectors of society.** This situation has resulted in permanent territorial conflicts that have come to culminate in the murder of farmers in the hands of the security forces of the landowners.

In this scenario, a feature that stands out the MOCASE-LVC is the **conviction that they must stop of being victims of the system and go in search of a true social change by transforming the way through the struggle itself, the organization, the mobilization and the coordination are carried out with a wide and diverse network of actors.**

4.2. TSI dynamics

4.2.1. Dynamics of the social innovation

MOCASE-LVC has generated *social innovations* at local and national level in the struggle against agro-business and the empowerment of farmers, assessing and disseminating their knowledge and traditional practices. Thus, in seeking to reverse the subjugation, exclusion and invisibility suffered historically by the farmers of Santiago del Estero, **the organization within the framework of MOCASE-LVC represents a fundamental change in the lives of these families.** Thus, although there is not an explicit use of the term “social innovation” in this case study, it has been reiterated during the interviews the idea of a “social change” that can be materializes in the possibility of building an alternative production mode, using agro-ecological practice.

The MOCASE-LVC aims to generate participation to overcome fear, paternalism and welfare, proposing instead a horizontal organization with the prominence of all, without bosses or owners. In this context, **social change is based on the construction of popular power and the recovery of dignity**, as a way to confront the hegemonic model. In order to achieve this goal, the main strategy of the movement is the grassroots training, focused on young people, through processes of “learning by doing” or learning through interaction; which both aimed to the political and productive aspects that occurs in different spaces, such as the School of Agro-ecology.

A fundamental change in the social context of Santiago del Estero, is that through a combination of practices of struggle, resistance and direct and indirect confrontation, the MOCASE-LVC made the evictions stopped being “silent” and that the territorial conflict become public and visible at a national level.

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The MOCASE-LVC, as a local **movement articulator of farmer's bases** has enabled **social change in rural areas and also at the level of the actors involved or related to the movement**. After empower farmers, the MOCASE-LVC was developing different learning and training processes based on practices. Also, these processes depend on the articulation with other sectors, social movements, technicians, universities, etc.; which makes it necessary the implementation of a dialogue among diverse knowledge and mutual learning. In this framework they have developed diverse methodologies that include: communications, broadcast video, participation in social networks, experiential internships in which those who are interested are invited to live 10 days in the territories of the movement.

The members of MOCASE-LVC also actively participate in seminars, conferences, and interviews. All this has allowed showing to society their problems, their way of life and has enabled the strengthening of the movement.

Looking for an **alternative model of agro-industrial production**, the MOCASE-LVC presents a new way to understand and connect with the land, based on the principle of *food sovereignty* which in turn is based on the principles of *autonomy and self-management*. Also it forms part of the paradigm of *sustainable development* in which economic development can take control of the preservation and care of the environment. Thus, the MOCASE-LVC aims to generate a ***new form of production and trading***.

A fundamental change occurred in 2001 due to the socio-economic crisis that strongly erupted on the 20th of December in Argentina, and that change helped to multiply, create and consolidate new social movements that emerged to face the consequences of a neoliberal model that had led to Argentina to the limit. In this new situation, the MOCASE-LVC achieved a strong social recognition at a national level, becoming one of the most recognized social movements in Argentina and “the” example of farmer organization and struggle. This situation consolidated its position as a central political actor in the dispute over the conditions of life in rural areas and for the rights of farmers and indigenous people.

4.2.2. Conditions of the SI-initiative and its interactions

The **main structures and institutions of the MOCASE-LVC are the bases of the movement: the farmer communities**. The movement argues that the idea and the value of “the collective” are no longer diffusing between farmers, but rather they are now connected through this initiative. This situation allows them, on the one hand, resist evictions in the territories; and secondly, to disseminate the problem that exists in the province and connect this with a global problem linked to the way of food production and who produce it. All these factors are canalised in the demands for *food sovereignty* and the need to implement an *agro-ecological model*.

The MOCASE-LVC was formally established as an organization when they gather different “farmer's unions” of diverse provincial departments which in turn were, also, formed several “grassroots communities. These communities choose their representatives that

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conform the farmer unions and each union chose a representative for the Assembly, in which the main decisions are taken and where the authorities of the movement are designated. The assemblies take place every three months in diverse places of the provincial territory, in order to strengthen the participation of local bases, the dissemination and the distribution of tasks, but also how to articulate actions at a national level along with other indigenous farmer and neighbourhood organizations, which were helping the consolidation of the MNCI.

The unions are formed by the articulation of organized communities that send delegates (sometimes also called cooperatives or associations) and three times a year the plenary of MOCASE-LVC is carried out for three, four or five days with approximately 200 delegates. Also, a smaller group of those delegates participates in the Assemblies of the National Movement Farmer Indigenous (MNCI). There are also international delegates that participate at the FAO-UN three times a year.

Inside the MOCASE-LVC there are different levels of organization and participation among different communities:

“The rural schools created by the Provincial Education Council of Santiago del Estero are 1178; I think they should miss about others 70 or 100 communities to organize, either inside or outside the MOCASE or the MNCI. We are still trying to incorporate them to the movement. There is a hard core of about 1000 families. There is a hard core of about 1,000 families, 5000 that are given supported and 10,000 or 15,000 that are not yet exactly inside the MOCASE but in somehow they articulate with us, especially in the defence of the territory”(interview with Angel Strapazzon, leader MOCASE-LVC).

Also, the movement is organized by areas/departments: Land, Training, Culture and Youth, Promotion and Organization, Production and Marketing, Health and Women, Ecology and Human Rights.

4.2.3. Narratives of change

This initiative represents a positive narrative of change because understands this new production model proposed, this new way of connect the land with the territory and natural resources, which presents **an alternative to the model of agro-business** and the indiscriminate development has led to an environmental crisis without precedents. The interviewees realized that MOCASE-LVC is a “life project” for a different field, for farmers, for indigenous communities, but also for the territory itself and the environment. The movement is against the “project of death” that characterizes the agro-business, industrial monocultures, agrochemicals and transgenic products. **It is through their own practices and actions that farmers dispute with the agro-business model, when they can control their own territories and practices of agro-ecology based on farmer’s knowledge, and the local knowledge systems.**

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The narrative of *food sovereignty* based on *farmer agro-ecological agriculture* offers solutions for the *climate and food crises* that the world is and that were produced by the capitalist development, which in turn ensures a *dignity* life for farmers.

4.2.4. Interaction with external actors

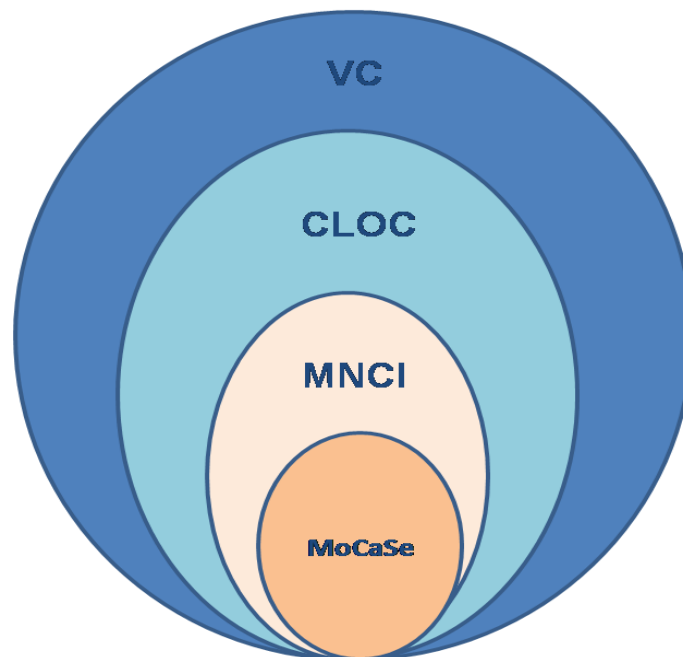
The MOCASE-LVC argues that the struggle cannot be only in a local level, for this reason, from the beginning has built national, regional and international networks that have allowed them to strengthen their local struggles. The aim to change society implies the need to articulate with other social movements at local, national, regional and international level. Thus, since 1996, the MOCASE is part of the National Board of Family Producers Organizations with Red Punain Jujuy, the Farmer Movement of Formosa (Mocafor), the Agrarian Movement of Misiones (MAM) and the Northern Association of Producers Córdoba (Apenoc), among others. Also maintains a strong relationship with the Landless Movement (MST) in Brazil, and articulates with farmers organizations in Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay.

Besides the MOCASE has relationship with NGOs related to development, which provide legal and technical assistance to the movement. Also establishes ties with the State through rural extension organizations, primarily with the National Institute of Agricultural Technology (INTA), that provide support for productive activities.

The MOCASE-LVC has been one of the main promoters of the rise of the National Movement Farmer Indigenous (MNCI) in 2010. At the continental level is a member of the Latin American Coordination of Rural Organizations (CLOC) and internationally adheres to La Vía Campesina (LVC). (See figure 6).

Figure 6- MOCASE in the organizational structure of LVC

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Source: Authors

The MOCASE-LVC is based on a strong **sense of unity**, which is opposed to the dispersion in which previously used to live the farmers of Santiago del Estero, a province historically characterized by the lack of experience in agricultural organization. This unit is not limited to farmers, because since its emergence the movement is oriented to the goal of articulate technicians, NGO members, members of Human Rights organizations, academics, that not only articulates actions with the movement, they are also a fundamental part it. Also, in last years, the importance of women and young people youth has grown inside the movement.

The narrative about *food sovereignty* has been central in this process of articulation among the movement and external actors. The movement known as *Vía Campesina* launched the idea of food sovereignty at the World Food Summit that took place in 1996 and it was retaken by the MOCASE-LVC at a local level. This decision allowed the formation of a popular movement that involve a variety of social sectors like poor of the cities, environmental organizations, groups of consumer, indigenous towns, fisherman, leftwing organizations; among many others.

4.2.5. Impact and ambitions of social change

MOCASE-LVC's ambition is to achieve, on one hand, a socio-political change, and on the other hand, an environmental sustainability, through an *integral agrarian reform* and *food sovereignty*. These ambitions are summarized in the possibility to develop an agro-ecological practice, based on farmers' knowledge, as an alternative model of production to the agro-business model. These ideas and practices, that represents the major MOCASE-LVC's ambition, are seeing as a new way of see the world with own values of *farmer knowledge and identity*.

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Furthermore, members of MOCASE-LVC explicitly link the need for this new form of production as a way to confront the *environmental crisis and climate change*, which needs new forms of sustainable development and are considered key players in this process of *social change*.

In the experience of MOCASE-LVC there is an explicit idea of “*societal transformation*”, but members of this movement refer to this as *social change*.

“It is an organized farmer movement, which seeks to fight for what belongs to them, for their lands, and also to think in another way to produce in the countryside and that contributes to social change because are others logics, in other words, against private property, against producing no matter what are the effect on the people, thinking that they can produce their own food, and that's a source of labour, empowering those people, organize they, because they are also one more actor in the process of change” (Interview to Ayelen, intern in MOCASE-LVC).

The *struggle for the land* is the base of the movement and the central concept of their demands, which are summarized in the motto: There are no man without land and no land without men. For farmers land is life. The farmer identity is related to a particular way to cultivate and live the land and is based on the struggle for *food sovereignty* and real *agrarian reform* that implied the return of the land that was expropriated by landlords. But also involves the development of an agro-ecological production model that opposes the monoculture, the use of agrochemicals, and the use of transgenic seeds, all of them associated with the agro-business model. The conception of the land is collective, this means that there are no individual plots or private property. In this sense, **the struggle of MOCASE is not for the ownership of the land, it is for a social change.**

“So we're at that stage where we have consolidated and we are consolidating, I do not say the design of a new society or a new system, but I say that in Latin America with the CLOC, because here is Vía Campesina is CLOC, and there we say ‘for a socialism of SumakKawsay (Good living)’, there we agree, and also we agree in something very strongly that it will not only be “green”, that it will be through the agro-ecology, but agro-ecology is also a political conception, because also a business man with money can turn to the ecological(...) and talk about agro-ecology, then there is no doubt that the dispute will be about “what-is” and “how-we” define agro-ecology (...), so we have to adjust and adapt the content of agro-ecology, the food sovereignty and the agrarian reform, including the content of comprehensive agrarian reform”(Interview with Ángel Strapazon, leader of MOCASE-LVC).

However, some strategies or social innovations also generate unwanted effects. Basically, to try to reverse the problems of financing the movement chose to associate to

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cooperatives, strengthen family consumption and access to credit and plans implemented by governmental agencies such as the Social Agricultural Program (PSA) and the INTA. Thus the origin of funding sources was one of the fundamental motives for the decision to divide the MOCASE in 2001. While some organizations started increasingly to do connections with various state agencies to access to programs of social rural development, especially PSA, others organizations went deeper into their links with NGOs (Desalvo, 2014). The background of this difference concerns to a more or less degree of autonomy regarding the State. Clearly, this division involved a disarticulation of the farmer movement.

4.2. Agency in (T)SI

4.2.1. Empowerment / disempowerment

MOCASE-VC seeks to empower farmers by giving them the tools to be formed politically, getting to know and defend their rights. This training involves a new paradigm that is contrary to the logic of capitalist production and development. MOCASE-LVC proposes a change in the way we produce and question who produces and how it is done. In this paradigm land is understood as more than a means of production, it implies a way of life and its property is communal and not private. **MOCASE-LVC's fight is not only for the property of the land but for social change that allows the construction of an egalitarian society. Therefore, the farmer's empowerment implies the disempowerment of large landowners** (domestic and foreign), and offers a glimpse of the possibility of a change in the way we produce and understand the bond and attachment to the land.

Although MOCASE-LVC has managed to make public previously “silent” evictions, this movement has yet to overcome the strong private media blockade that does not disclose the reality of life in rural areas; and even in public media there is little space to spread this problematic. At the provincial level, the MOCASE-LVC was built in the media as a problem for “social peace”, showing them as usurpers and as violent, consolidating a negative image of the struggle for land rights of these families and communities that have inhabited these areas for generations.

Faced with this situation MOCASE-LVC worked to build their own media, as spaces to spread their own struggles and problems. On the one hand, they have implemented a project of popular communication made possible by the joint communication with alternative spaces, such as *FM La Tribu* of the city of Buenos Aires. This project was conceived through various workshops that the radio organized for the movement and later became a reality with the opening of local radio stations in different peasant unions. A fundamental change is given by the fact that all these projects are implemented by the farmers themselves and rely on their practices, traditions and interests.

In 2011 there was a turning point regarding MOCASE-LVC's visibility and the territorial conflicts lived in Santiago del Estero. Cristian Ferreyra, 23, was killed by two men when he tried to resist eviction from the land where he had always lived. The movement publicly

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denounced the killers worked for an agricultural business owner in the area. Cristian Ferreyra's case was widely reported in the national media and revealed the situation of the province. Thus, this tragic event turned into national scale a territorial conflict in the province, allowing visibility and empowerment of MOCASE-LVC, which began a media campaign to denounce widely that Cristian was only one more death in the defence of peasant lands, and by continuing with this system his death would not be the last.

Figure 7. Media campaign against the murder of Cristian Ferreyra



Source: Website of Mocase-LVC

Likewise, movement's *empowerment* is given through their training strategies. At first, to the problem of access to formal education in rural communities, especially to continue high school and reaching tertiary or higher education levels, they began to think about the career of Teachers Farmers finally materialized through the Agroecology School. This space provides a basis for continuing education after the Rural University, which has the backing of the National University of La Plata, Quilmes, Cordoba and Rio Cuarto. From these spaces farmers are empowered, they dispute/disempower certain practices of the formal education system, from which they are mostly excluded.

In this sense, we can say that the main strategies to empower farmers are:

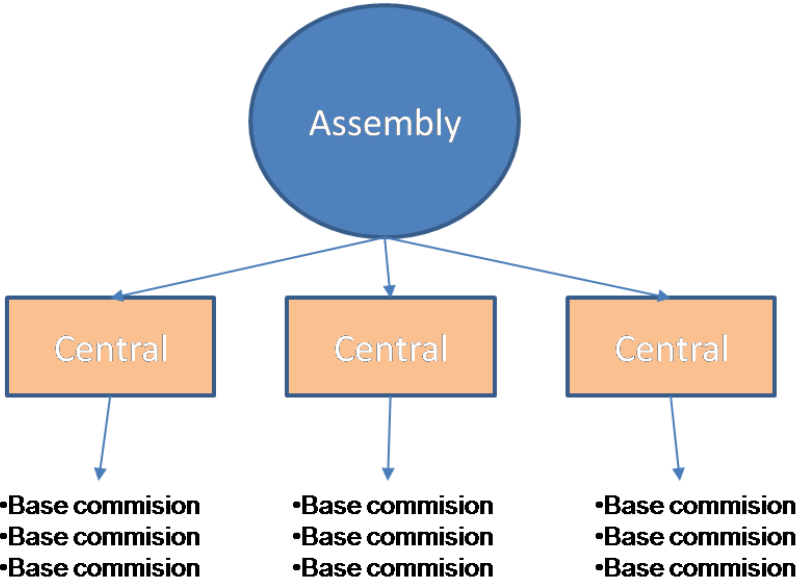
- Internal territorial articulation.
- Media coordination.
- Territorial based training with articulation with external actors.

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4.2.2. Internal governance

The organization of the movement is "bottom up", i.e. from local *peasant bases*, through the *peasant unions*, up to the *assembly* (see Figure 8). The structure is mainly horizontal, with collective coordination and different secretariats/areas. The movement works through assemblies and is organized in 12 unions located in different parts of the province. Around each union grassroots communities are articulated, with different work areas that structured on: youth, communication and training, production and marketing, land, environment and human rights, and health. The meetings take place every three months in various parts of the territory, in order to strengthen the participation of local bases, disseminate and distribute tasks, coordinate actions at the national level with other peasant organizations.

Figure 8. MOCASE organizational structure



Source: own elaboration.

4.2.3. External governance

MOCASE-LVC argues that the fight cannot be only local, therefore, from the beginning it has built national, regional and transnational networks that have enabled it to strengthen this local struggle. The aim of social change implies the need to coordinate with other social movements at local, national, regional and international levels. Thus, since 1996, the MOCASE is part of the National Board of Family Producers Organizations with Red Puna de Jujuy, the Peasant Movement of Formosa (Mocafor), the Agrarian Missions Movement (MAM) and the Northern Association of Producers Cordoba (APENOC), among others. It

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also maintains a strong relationship with the Landless of Brazil Movement (MST), and articulates with peasant organizations in Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay.

In addition, MOCASE-VC is related to development-related NGOs, which provide legal and technical assistance to the movement. In turn, it establishes ties with the State through rural extension agencies, primarily the National Agricultural Technology Institute (INTA), providing support for productive activities.

It has also been one of the key drivers of the rise of National Indigenous Peasant Movement (MNCI) in 2010. At the continental level is a member of the Latin American Coordination of Rural Organizations (CLOC) and internationally adheres to Via Campesina (LVC). Topics such as *food sovereignty* and *agroecology* allowed MOCASE-LVC articulating with diverse sectors.

For the movement it is fundamental to spread their struggle, with that purpose they have developed a particular methodology: the experiential internships. Every year, during the winter holidays it is organized a program that allows sharing the daily life of the peasant and indigenous communities and to publicize their problems, struggles, achievements and challenges. The main problems are land disputes, eviction attempts, spraying with pesticides, and their main struggles are for food sovereignty and a comprehensive agrarian reform.

This is an open call addressed to Argentineans and foreigners who want to live "inside the mountain" for 10 days. In order to travel to the internship applicants must attend the pre-meetings, which are informative meetings and workshops in which various topics related to MOCASE-LVC are addressed. The main objective is to share how the peasants live and how the movement is organized, so that those involved would feel the struggle as their own and spread it.

Another way of articulation occurs with the national universities and the professionals who temporarily or permanently join the movement, particularly in the areas of training as the School of Agroecology or the Rural University.

However, these articulations and exchanges have not always been positive. Basically, to try to reverse the problems of funding, the movement chooses to associate in cooperatives, strengthen family consumption, and access to credit and plans implemented by government agencies such as the Social Agricultural Program (PSA) and INTA. Thus the origin of funding sources was one of the main reasons for the decision to split the MOCASE in 2001. While some organizations started to increasingly articulate with various state agencies to access social programs of rural development, especially PSA, others deepened their links with NGOs. The background of this difference had to do with the degree of autonomy from the state. This division had a significantly negative effect, since it involved a disarticulation of the peasant movement.

4.2.4. Monitoring and evaluation

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MOCASE-LVC has no formalized system for monitoring and evaluation, but it does carry out "learning by interaction" processes (internships, school of agroecology) which results in a permanent and monitored teaching and learning scheme, where evaluations are collective.

This kind of evaluation is linked to the horizontal character of the movement, which is why the school has no teachers but coordinators and to the assemblies delegates are sent and not representatives.

Also, assemblies are a critical space of evaluation and monitoring where it is pondered how the movement goes, and are discussed the themes to work and how to do it.

4.2.5. Resources

MOCASE-LVC is based on the idea of political and financial autonomy, which is why strategies to sustain projects come mainly from NGOs, farmers' personal donations, and from foundations, businesses or groups linked to agroecology.

The issue of funding becomes central as from much of it often depends the opportunity of autonomy. Against the possibility of ending up being caught up in agribusiness logic, the movement uses various strategies, including fundraising through activities, selling products made by movement, and parties or activities in Buenos Aires. Here the members of the MOCASE-LVC Schooling Brigades have a fundamental role.

These brigades were formed by the interest of some trainees who decided to remain part of the movement mainly from the joint articulation with the School of Agroecology, shaping therefore the Schooling Brigades 'Monte Adentro' ('inside the mountain'), which mostly involved college students from Buenos Aires. The brigades reinforce farmers in the various school subjects (mathematics, biology, social sciences), during the week they assist with school in Quimilí, prepare reports, get school supplies. It is a space that is self-financing and seeks to secure funding for some activities to be carried out within the school framework.

4.2.6. Social learning

The main strategy undertaken by the MOCASE-LVC is the formation of grassroots activists, through which it seeks to train political cadres of the movement. The main objective of the training areas is to generate the *necessary changes in subjectivity*, allowing the *emergence of values and new ideas* that have the horizon the *transformation of society*. The training sought by MOCASE-LVC is a product of his own *social practice* and favors the possibility to *change reality and reverse the marginalization*, exclusion and invisibilization. Moreover in these spaces MOCASE-LVC built links with other social and political movements towards sharing and publicizing the experience of movement and the reality that is lived in the territories.

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As part of the Via Campesina, this local initiative shares the methodology “farmer to farmer” as a way to exchange knowledge, experiences and technical expertise from and between farmers, towards strengthening politically and productively the movement. Thus, for example, they are now beginning to engage in spaces as SOCLA, which are associations of confluence between researchers from different universities and public and private research centers, to support and share political positioning for food sovereignty and agroecology. They are systematizing different experiences and producing from them inputs and materials for the movement and to spread the peasant problem.

In this sense, for MOCASE-LVC knowledge management and training/articulating practices are a key part of their strategies at local, national, regional and transnational level. In this way they have developed the School of Agroecology in Quimilí, the Peasant University in Ojo de Agua, are conducting annually Experiential Internships and have established a permanent nexus with university students in Buenos Aires that conform the Schooling Brigades ‘Monte Adentro’. All these practices aim to strengthen and empower the peasantry, to publicize the peasant knowledge, and frame the local struggle on a global stage.

- **The School of Agroecology**

Based on the pedagogy of the Brazilian Paulo Freire, MOCASE-LVC develops what is known as “popular education”, seeking to revalue local knowledge and trying to ensure access of the population through a participatory dynamic. This view holds that no education liberates anybody, and that nobody is liberated alone, and that men are liberated in a community. Thus, it seeks to create the encounter and an atmosphere of dialogue and participation by developing collective activities.

In the School of Agroecology *productive and policy training* are condensed. It's a different conception of education, which seeks to provide tools to enable discussion and participation and the effective exercise of rights as fundamental factors to transform the everyday reality of the peasants. But also questions the dominant production model featuring youth an alternative model of production on the basis of rural agroecology.

This has a fundamental relationship with the country-city relation. For MOCASE-LVC an aspect linked to the idea of a comprehensive agrarian reform means that they can return to the field those who were expelled and evicted. In this sense, it avoids uprooting generated by having to leave the territory.

Currently the school has about 100 partners (among graduates, coordinators, students and organization fellows involved). It consists of a 1st, 2nd and a 3rd year, plus the modality for finalization and literacy. Classes both in the classroom and in the field are made, doing work in rural communities (which may or may not belong to MOCASE-LVC).

Various courses are dictated which change every four months: animal production, animal anatomy, history, territory, animal and plant physiology, economics, native forest, popular education, communication, orchard, infrastructure, carpentry, construction, and beekeeping, plus language and mathematics, which are permanently dictated. Those who

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give the lessons are not called teachers but coordinators and they belong to the same movement, also other professionals from different national universities are invited.

The school is also a meeting place and exchange that is in full swing and is built by all. It is a fundamental instance in the MOCASE-VC, as at the same the training of its activists is performed:

"The school of agroecology is a school to train grassroots activists, and also shows you that we ourselves have to be protagonists of the story, there we are included in the right and choose the school because we feel ourselves and we know that is a way of being ourselves (...) it gives you opportunities for rural people and neighborhoods that have a complicated life (...) it projects you forward, is a space of opportunity to show that we can, that your voice is worth to fight for our rights" (interview with Margarita Gomez, coordinator of the School of Agroecology, member of MOCASE-LVC).

- **Farmers University SURI (Peasants Rural University Systems)**

On April 17, 2013, the International Day of Peasant Struggle, the MNCI opened the Farmers University SURI in Villa Ojo de Agua, in order that peasants could be formed in four educational tracks: Agroecology and Rural Development, Human Rights and Territory, Music and Popular Culture and Management of Popular Media. It is a project that has the support of National Universities and the Ministry of Agriculture's Office and the Secretariat for Family Agriculture and numerous social organizations.

Pedagogical itineraries were developed from different instances of coordination between the MNCI, National University of La Plata and Quilmes and rural schools of agroecology of Santiago del Estero, Cordoba and Mendoza. It will begin operating next year as a three-year technical degree with an alternating system that articulates the curricula developed at the UNICAM facilities in Ojo de Agua with territorial practices.

Like the School of Agroecology, the UNICAM-SURI is intended as a space for making progress on food sovereignty and popular agrarian reform, to further strengthen the role of farmers as political subjects as fundamental drivers of social change.

- **Experiential Internships**

Every year, during the winter break experiential internships are held as an instance to share the daily life of the peasant and indigenous communities and to publicize their problems, struggles, achievements and challenges. The main problems are the land dispute, eviction attempts, spraying with pesticides, and their main struggle is for food sovereignty and integral agrarian reform.

This is an open call addressed to Argentineans and foreigners who want to live "inside the mountain" for 10 days. To travel to the internship applicants must attend the pre-meetings, which are kind of informative meetings and workshops in which various topics related to MOCASE-LVC are addressed. The main objective is to share and live the peasants

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and how the movement is organized, so that those involved feel the struggle as their own and spread it.

Year after year, more than 100 trainees travel to Quimilí to live a formative experience linking with the knowledge of peasant life and ancestral knowledge. 10 days are divided into five days in the middle of Quimilí and 5 days in the home of a MOCASE peasant. In the central about 200 people gather and presentation activities are done with the leaders and the referents of the movement.

“as in general are college students the ones that attend, [they] try to make those future professionals and researchers approach the movement and coordinate with them from there, even many people after graduation went to live there and sat there and others make that articulation from Buenos Aires and the province where they live (...) then you go to a family home, I was in the house of an old lady who lived with the girl who took care of her, but another boy who traveled with us had to get up at dawn to defend a land, then in some cases you live a little their militancy them and in other cases you don't” (Interview with Ayelen intern).

- **Schooling Brigades**

From their participation in internships, a group of students was organized to remain part of the movement and articulate with School of Agroecology, shaping thus the Schooling Brigades ‘Monte Adentro’. It is a group of university students from Buenos Aires and Cordoba contributing to agro-ecological process, understanding that it involves a new harmonious relationship with nature, a new way of production and the construction of a more just and solidarity society. The brigade reinforces farmers in the various school subjects (mathematics, biology, social sciences), during the week attend school work in Quimilí, prepare reports, and get school supplies. It is a self-financing space.

MOCASE-LVC seeks to empower farmers by giving them the tools to be formed politically, getting to know their rights as to defend them. This training involves a new paradigm that is contrary to the logic of capitalist production and development. MOCASE-LVC proposes a change in the way we produce and questions who produces and how it is done. In this paradigm land is understood as a means of production, it implies a way of life and property is communal and not private. MOCASE-LVC's fight is not only for the land ownership but for social change that allows the construction of an egalitarian society. Therefore, the farmer empowerment implies the disempowerment of large landowners (domestic and foreign), and the possibility of a change in the way we produce and understand the attachment to the land.

4.3. Summary of MOCASE-LVC

MOCASE-LVC is the peasant organization with greater visibility in Argentina. It is formally conformed on August 4, 1990, from the articulation of various peasant organizations of various departments of the province of Santiago del Estero. It participates in many national and international activities. It is part of La Via Campesina and CLOC and

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integrates national MNCI. The main strategy of the movement is basic training, focused on young people, through processes of political and productive “learning by doing” or learning through interaction, and that occurs in different areas, such as the School of Agroecology or Farmers University.

The main objective of MOCASE-LVC is the struggle for the defense of the land, but understanding that it is a complex system of life and is always part of the “doing” and “being” of the group of farmers. We could say, then, that the MOCASE-LVC is a collective tool of struggle for land, towards improving the “quality of rural life”. To meet its objectives, major social innovations are the *social organization* through the establishment of peasant unions bringing together different communities and families to resist evictions; *social mobilization* to make visible and make public what is happening in Santiago del Estero. And *building* local, regional, national and international *support networks* to strengthen the possibility of developing an alternative production system linked to agroecology. In this sense, this move represents a “socially innovative” because it is an unprecedented experience in organizing the peasantry in this province, which has historically been categorized as having little tradition of agricultural organization. In this context, their ideas, objectives and activities involve a change in social relations and new ways to display and organize, achieving the political visibility of the peasants and forming networks with other sectors of society.

The members of the movement define it as a “life project” for a different land, for farmers, for indigenous communities, but also for the territory itself and the environment. And they say this project is opposed to “death project” of agribusiness, industrial monocultures, agrochemicals and GMOs. The way to play this hegemonic model is by practicing sustainable agro-based traditional farmers’ knowledge. For this, MOCASE-LVC aims to generate an *integral agrarian reform* that involves the return of land that were expropriated by agribusiness landlords; and achieve food sovereignty from the agro-ecological production. In this sense, the struggle of MOCASE-LVC is not the land ownership but involves a real *social change*. Thus, although there is no explicit use of the term “*social innovation*” in this case study, it has been reiterated during interviews the idea of a “*social change*”, which is embodied in the possibility of constructing an alternative mode of production through agro-ecological practice.

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5. Local Initiative #2: Magosz in Hungary

5.1. Introduction

This case study seeks to understand the presence of La Vía Campesina in the Hungarian civil sphere with special regard to Magosz (National Association of Hungarian Farmers' Societies and Co-operatives), an earlier registered observer member organisation under the coordination of the European peasant and rural organisation, Confédération Paysanne Européen (later renamed as European Coordination of La Via Campesina) that joined the global movement of La Via Campesina.



Family and smallholder farming have always existed, small scale producers gained high level of adaptability; while issues of land ownership and food sovereignty have taken on different political significance with historical transformations of agriculture. In accordance with worldwide civil society organisations, the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) emphasizes the crucial role of family and smallholder farming as important bases for sustainable food production aimed at achieving food security. The family and the farm are linked, co-evolve and combine economic, environmental, social and cultural functions, so family farming represents an opportunity to boost local economies, especially when combined with specific policies aimed at social protection and well-being of communities. 'Family farming is much more than a mode of food production; it is also a way of life' (Legacy of IYFF and the Way Forward, FAO, 2014).

Since World War II, the development of Hungarian agriculture, of the farmers' society in Hungary and of their representation of interest is greatly different from those in other countries in Western Europe or the Global South where La Via Campesina (LVC) is present. The main difference in the construction of the civil sphere is that the political sphere in postsocialist Hungary essentially managed to usurp the civic autonomy, social self-organisation, and mobilization for collective action. Furthermore, it undermined trust in civil society organisations and finally hindered the civil sphere to perform a meaningful control function over the political sphere (Harper, 1999).

La Via Campesina does not have member organisations from Hungary, but farmers' associations and civil society organizations are playing an important role in advocating small-scale family farmers. One can find only one single Hungarian farmers' association, the Magyar Gazdakörök és Gazdaszervezetek Szövetsége (National Association of Hungarian Farmers' Societies and Co-operatives), here after Magosz, that was registered under the coordination of the Confédération Paysanne Européen (CPE), in a list of 2006, functioning as observer members. CPE, the European peasant and rural organisation was created in 1986 and was initiated by 18 organizations from 11 (EU and non-EU)

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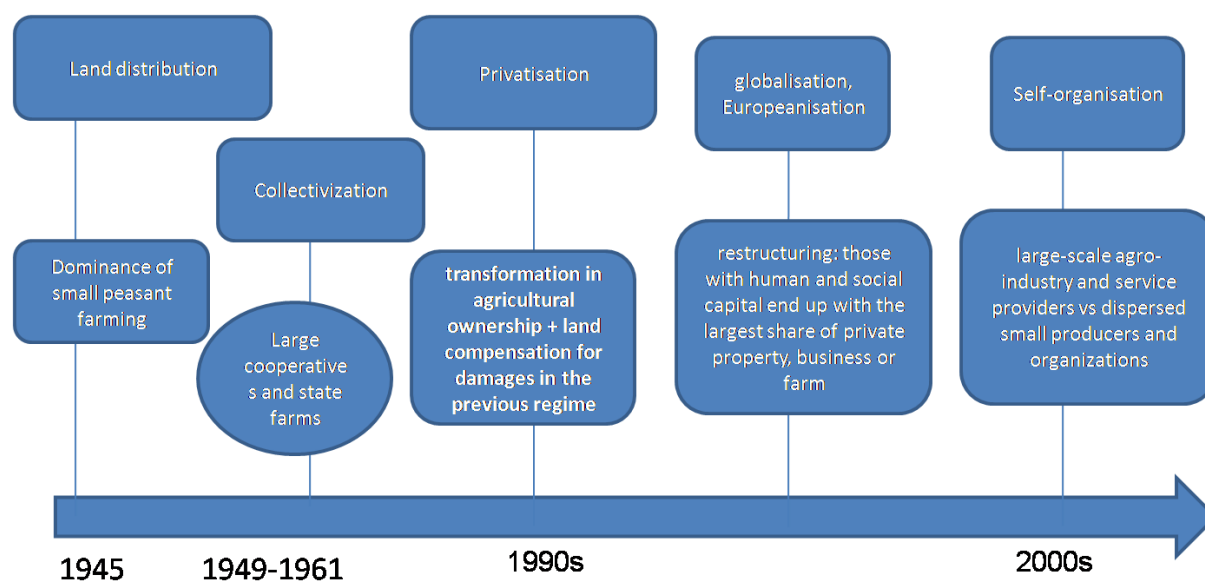
countries³. In 2008, CPE decided to join to the global movement of LVC and changed its name to European Coordination of La Via Campesina (ECVC). Thus, ECVC is the umbrella for the peasant organisations wanting to join the work of LVC⁴.

Regarding the main goals, issues, objectives of LVC and Magosz, however, one may identify significant overlaps between the two organizations. Other Hungarian civil society organisations, among others Kisléptékű Termékelőállítókés Szolgáltatók Országos Érdekképviseletének Egyesülete- hereafter Kislépték (National Association of Interest Representations for Small-scale Producers and Service Providers), Szövet (Alliance for the Living Tisza) the Tudatos Vásárlók Egyesülete (Association of Conscious Consumers), Greenpeace Hungary, Magyar Természetvédők Szövetsége (Friends of the Earth, Hungary) Reclaim the Fields Hungary, currently taking forward the issue of Food Sovereignty keep only occasional contact with LVC and its supporting allies.

Despite not being formal members of LVC, farmer and other civil society organizations are meaningfully contributing to social transformation and they, in the end, are in line with the goals of the worldwide peasant movement, as they also aim to support the autonomous self-organized way of farmers in their fight for their rights.

5.2. Emergence: Resistance and Success

Small-scale family farming and land ownership issues have been deeply influenced by economic policies in agriculture during the last six decades. Below we present four dramatic turnarounds (regime changes) that have been distinctive in the mobilisation, capital and production experience of farmers: collectivisation, privatisation, globalization and self-organisation.



³ Confederation Paysanne: http://rhone.confederationpaysanne.fr/coordination-paysanne-europeenne_105.php

⁴European Coordination a Via Campesina: <http://www.eurovia.org>

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Collectivisation

Before World War II, 40 percent of the land in Hungary was owned by great landowners, 60 percent by family farms (Harcsa-Kovács-Szelényi, 1994). Two main collectivization campaigns between 1948-1961 aggressively replaced autonomous peasant farms by state cooperatives, and along the actions called 'sweeping of the attic', food, feedstuffs and seed grains were confiscated by the state irrespective of the size of farmers' holdings (Szabó – Virágh 1984: 168- 171). The state and private land ownership Act (No. IV, 1967 on Lands) created the possibility of a separate cooperative type of land ownership. The ratio of private land steadily decreased, and led to 1980s that more than half of the land owned by cooperatives, almost one third by the state and only 10% belonged to small farmers (as half-private household farms, homegardens). By the end of 1980s, agricultural collectivization led to a highly polarized farming structure along with the development of two different production systems: in one hand there were 133 large state farms, 1253 large collective farm enterprises mostly producing cereals with bovine and sheep rearing, and on the other hand over a million small plots were cultivated by part-time family farmers producing labour-intensive farm produce, vegetables, fruit, pork, poultry eggs, etc. on their plot close to their house.(Oberschall, Hanto, 2002, p:81). Production in the small farm sector was more intensive and market-oriented. After a period of prosperity in the 1960s and 1970s caused by favourable market conditions, after 1983, however, negative effects of the Green Revolution, the contraction of external and domestic markets, the rigid production and commercial structures and the lack of the necessary financial sources, innovation and professional qualification led to quick recession and a serious crisis in Hungarian agriculture (Harcsa, Kovács, Szelényi 1994). As for the land ownership, data from 1990 show that 35 per cent of all arable land belonged to private owners, while 34 per cent was owned by the state and 31 per cent to cooperatives. Analysing the structure of land use, however, showed a very different picture: individual and complementary (private) farm plots used only 14 per cent of the land, state farms 26 per cent and cooperatives 60 per cent (Varga, 2007).

Privatisation

At the time of the political transition, the establishment of democratic institutions and a market-oriented private economy in 1988 and 1989, land ownership gained symbolic meaning. The key political issue was the compensation of the former owners in the form of land privatization (often called reprivatisation). According to the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum it was crucial '*to do justice to the peasant population for the significant damage they have had to suffer in the past.*' (Kurtán, Sándor, Vass, 1990: 454).The restoration of the original assets was impossible. Many of the former owners had died in the meantime, and their heirs consisted largely of workers and intellectuals living in towns, so compensation vouchers were given to formal owners which could be exchanged for state-owned assets scheduled for privatization in the form of land auctions in 1993-94. A lot of assets, during auctions, ended up in the property of non-resident, non-farming 'outsiders' (Oberschall, Hanto 2002: 92).With the Cooperative Act passed in 1992, cooperative property was divided among members. Cooperatives were usually transformed into limited liability companies. As a result of privatization, by 2005, 86 percent of all arable land was in private property, small individual farms holding 55

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percent of the land. 89,5 percent of the individual farms, however, were below five hectares (Varga, 2007: 45). Food processing industries were also targets of privatisation, involving significant foreign direct investment in the agro-food sector.

Facing globalized market economy – Europeanisation - agrarian crisis

Several unfavourable economic conditions (lack of capital and equipment, termination of subsidies paid to agriculture, lack of credit, high inflation, the rising gap between agricultural and industrial product prices, rising taxes, the lack of technological modernisation, privatisation and disintegration of the agro-food industry and commerce, insufficient market coordination, lacking integration of production – processing – distribution) contributed to the worsening situation of farmers (Szabó, 2010:6). Adapting to market economy, farm enterprises cut the workforce to increase efficiency which dramatically increased rural unemployment induced poverty and migration from peripheral rural regions to urban centres. The new land ownership system ‘weakened agribusiness without strengthening middle and small independent farming.’ (Oberschall, Hanto, 2002: 92) Agro-managers, skilled farm workers, possessing human and social capital were the most effective in starting a private business or farm. ‘Despite land compensation and common property division, those with human and social capital will end up with the largest share of private property and with the good jobs.’ (Oberschall Hanto 2002: 99). Right from the outset demonstrations followed the creation of the new land ownership system. Administrative and financial constraints imposed on smallholder farmers after the start of the negotiations to join the European Community in 1998, and then new taxes and regulations between 2002-2010, which further increased the burdens of smallholder farmers, conserved this dualistic farm structure⁵.

Self-organisation: resistance and success

In 2002, demonstrations of farmers against the agricultural policy favouring large industrialised farms and capital investors lined up 790 tractors. Blocking roads took place in 14 counties in Hungary. It was organised by Magosz, the National Association of Hungarian Farmers’ Society.

Farmers’ societies, the organisations representing small farmers were banned in the communist regime. Smallholder farmers gaining back their autonomy after 1989, started to re-organize themselves and re-establish the farmers’ societies at local levels. (The predecessor of Magosz, Hungarian Farmers’ Union (Magyar Gazdaszövetség) was established in 1896 by Count SándorKárolyi, the pioneer of Hungarian cooperatives and unions.)

The main decision making body is the assembly of delegates that elects the president and six vice-presidents for five years. Since 1989 the re-organized association has gathered

⁵In 2010 there were 8,800 farms functioning as commercial organisations (cooperatives and commercial farms) and 567,000 managed by private individuals. Legal entities (farm enterprises) used on average 337 ha of land, while the average size of individual farms was 4.6 ha. Only 4 per cent of commercial organisations used 1 ha or less, while two thirds of farms managed by individuals were equal to or smaller than 1 ha. The latter were mostly managed using low-intensity methods without and no agro-chemicals. 60 per cent of the 567,000 individual farms produced for self-consumption (KSH, 2012).

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more than 40.000 members in more than 800 member societies (local farmers' circles and farmers cooperatives). Full members of the Association can be farmers, but also other civil organizations or legal entities, those who accept and comply with the Statutes of the Association - while regularly paying membership fee. Several supporting members belong also to the Associations. Magosz acquires the resources for its work from member fees. It is organized through its county associations which are the intermediate level between the national and independent groups of local farmers. According to its Statutes, the association's main objectives are to *'safeguard and promote farmers' societies' interests, support and harmonise their activities advances farming and professional development, and to create and promote information flow between the Hungarian farmers' societies, county associations and the countrywide associations.'* (Statutes, Magosz, 2009). In its statements it emphatically represents the opinion, and defends the interest of the Hungarian small and medium farmers and promotes their self-organisation.

According to its Statutes,

Magosz represents the Hungarian farmers' societies as well as the farmers grouped together into them. It appears for the members of the union in state organizations, courts, institutions and other third persons. Proposes and represents the opinions, recommendations and requests of Hungarian farmers' societies as well as the farmers grouped together into them for the country political and economic decision makers. Assists the members of the association to obtain information of EU knowledge, in the organization of professional and scientific lectures, exchange of experiences, meetings and study trips, organises national and regional meetings. Informs continuously the members of the association about the changes of the European Union and national legislation, possibilities of agricultural and rural development support programs, EU research results and development opportunities and production, trade and financial constructions related to these activities. Informs continuously the members and the member organizations of the association about the activities of MAGOSZ representatives in each committee's work and the results of the decisions (Statutes, Magosz, 2009.).

The activity of the organisation gathered special momentum during the agrarian demonstrations in 2005 and 2006 against the heavy austerity measures of the socialist-liberal government. According to their Petition, in agreement with other participating and supporting organisations they demanded the re-assessment of the agricultural framework favouring Hungarian smallholder farmers (Petition, 2005). Farmers' demonstrations with 1000 tractors in the country and the capital, embedded into the general dissatisfaction with global capitalism, neoliberalism and social unrest in Hungary, found sympathy of and gained wide support from rural and urban population. Foreign civil organisations facing the collapse and bankruptcy of millions of farms in the EU also expressed their solidarity with the demonstrations.

A 3-week-long negotiation between representatives of the government and the coalition of farmers' organizations gave impetus to self-organisation and subversive potential: besides Magosz, the farmers' coalition included 11 other organizations, such as AGRYA, FialaGazdákMagyarországiSzövetsége (AGRYA, Hungarian Association of Young Farmers),

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MagánErdőtulajdonosokésGazdálkodókOrszágosSzövetsége (National Association of Private Forest Owners and Managers), Magyar BérkilövőésFüggetlenVadásztársaságokOrszágosSzövetsége (Association of independent Huntig Organizations), Magyar KertészekEgyesülete (Association of Hungarian Gardeners), Magyar TermelőiÉrtékesítőésSzolgáltatóSzervezetek/Szövetkezetek HANGYA Együtműködése (Association of producer and sales cooperatives), MezőgazdaságiGazdaságiTársaságokSzövetsége (Association of Agricultural Cooperatives), Magyar Parasztszövetség (Hungarian Peasant Union), Magyar ErdőgazdákSzövetsége (Association of Hungarian Foresters), Magyar Kis- ésKözépbirtokosokEgyesülete (Association of small and medium size farms), BiokultúraEgyesület (Association of Organic Farmers). Being independentof party politics the coalition led technical discussion with the government about jointly identified 39 targets.

Magosz, together with its member organizations, has also drafted a holistic vision statement of sustainable rural development. As emphasized by President István Jakab in September 19, 2006,

'Agriculture in general cannot be a base of rural development but only of its certain types and systems, nor can it be the singular economic sector in rural areas. Hungarian agriculture and farming will successfully contribute to rural development – provided, that it produces valuable, non-toxic, healthy and safe foodstuff and other farm products while preserving the soil, water supplies, surface and subsurface water stocks, biosphere, landscape and the population of that land in their communities and culture. A diverse, multicolour agriculture of rural areas is the most important pillar of rural development. At the same time, rural development must comprise non-agriculture sectors which are basically connected to land and farming, and other economic activities which process agricultural products or provide service to agriculture, and rural development must embrace the support of micro, small and medium size enterprises as well as rural tourism and the preservation and management of nature heritage. It is also important to pay attention to the unions of producers and consumers, to the support of local and regional markets and to the economic independence of regions and sub-regions. In order to improve the quality of rural life, basic public services (school, post office, health care, local transport) must be generated or maintained, and developed, which are necessary for rural economy and society as these services strengthen the identity of the local community.'

With the decline of the role of the Independent Smallholders, Agrarian Workers and Civic Party (FüggetlenKisgazda-, Földmunkás- és Polgári Párt) losing its seats in the national assembly in 2002, the significance of Magosz, later winning 5 seats in the national assembly in strategic partnership with Fidesz, national-conservative party at the 2006 elections, increased. From a farmers resistance movement Magosz institutionalised as a political actor: it did not seek to come out as a party, but it maintained political dialogue with parliamentary parties as a civil organisation representing farmers' interests: *'In 1998 we invited all parties to our national forum but only one represented itself through the*

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president, Fidesz and personally Viktor Orbán'. (Interview with István Jakab, 2006/50. Magyar Narancs)

When the Fidesz government won the elections in 2010, Magosz increased the already existing cooperation with the government in order to bring in farmers' claims into the decision-making processes. Magosz won five seats in the national assembly, and the President of the Magosz became Vice President of the Hungarian National Assembly since 2010. The main aim of Magosz (supporting family farming) has become the slogan of the government and the ruling party also co-opted the policy target to increase competitiveness of small-scale family farmers. The agro-food policy of the ruling government as developed by Magosz lies in the unity of agriculture and rural development, aiming at reconnecting agro-food production, processing and sales.

5.3. Dynamics: Top-down and Bottom-up Engagement

Currently the most important dynamic around Magosz is related to maintain economic independence and right to develop of Hungarian farmers e.g. in the political game around the **expiry of land moratorium**. Before the parliamentary elections in 2010, Magosz signed a partnership agreement with the Fidesz, Hungarian Civic Alliance and further organisations. Among the most important goals they listed the retaining of the population of rural areas, by reorganisation of rural infrastructure and institutions, the support the development of family farms by the integration of production, processing and distribution and the protection of Hungary's land and water resources.

Upon joining the EU, the ownership of agricultural land by foreigners has also become a symbolic political issue in Hungary. The low prices of the agricultural lands justified the policy to ban on speculative land purchase and ensure that rural communities have effective access and control over the land and its benefits. Hungary's Land Act (Act LV of 1994) has prohibited foreigners to acquire land in Hungary. Upon joining the EU, Hungary was granted a grace period in which to open up its market for agricultural land to all EU/EEA member states. This period ended on 30 April 2014. Therefore, in 2013 a new act (Act CXXII coming into effect on 1 May 2014) was adopted, stipulating that, private individuals and legal entities are not allowed to acquire unlimited ownership of agricultural land. Only Hungarian citizens and nationals of EU and EEA countries who hold a qualification as farmers (of agriculture or forestry) or have carried on agricultural activity in Hungary at least for three years are entitled to acquire ownership of agricultural land. Such Hungarian citizens and nationals of EU and EEA countries can acquire ownership of a limited area. Nationals of third countries are generally barred from acquiring land. Farmers can hold ownership of 300 hectares of agricultural land in total. Farmers can possess additional land in other forms (e.g. leasehold). This new policy was meant to reconcile the defence of the Hungarian land with Community law and to defend the interest of small and medium producers.

Magosz initiated to stop foreign land speculation, land-grabbing and pocket contracts, and to ensure that rural farmers have access and gain increased control over the land. The farmland reorganisation program – called '**Land to Farmers**' – initiated the lease and

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distribution of 250 thousand hectare state-owned farm lands managed by the National Land Management Fund Organisation (NFA). With the tenders, the government aims to raise the proportion of land farmed by smallholders from 50 percent to 80 percent. In October 2015, auctions for state-owned farm land, initiated by MAGOSZ were started by the government. Simultaneously, a preferential loan facility was developed by the state-owned Hungarian Development Bank MFB to help farmers buy areas from the 380,000 hectares of state-owned farm land. The purchased farm land will be subject to a 20-year ban on resale and encumbrance as well as the state's right to repurchase.

Since its re-establishment, as a bottom up organisation of farmers' societies in 1989, Magosz has been working in very close cooperation with national-conservative parties. In its strategy to ensure empowering of smallholders, Magosz, however, has chosen to channel farmers' claims into the decision-making mechanisms through the program of these parties, and induce a supportive environment for them through top-down processes. Although, after the declining role of Independent Smallholders, Agrarian Workers and Civic Party (Független Kisgazda-, Földmunkás- és PolgáriPárt), the party advocating for policies favouring small-scale agricultural structures, Magosz, was offered to transform into a party, the organization has been decided to keep its independent format while having members in key strategic positions, i.e. the Hungarian National Assembly, ministries and agricultural institutes. To strengthen its cooperation with Fidesz, Hungarian Civil Alliance, Magosz signed and repeatedly renewed its **strategic partnership** with the party (2006, 2010, and 2015). This way, Magosz aims to target the highest level of decision making processes with its initiatives and proposals concerning agricultural and rural development in order to be implemented by state organs. Magosz's cooperation with the government is emphatically communicated in the media. The activity of the organization, however, is also accompanied by critical voices.

Magosz played a major role in the reform of the agricultural chamber in 2012 (Act CXXVI). The renewed, united and professionally prepared Hungarian Chamber of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development (short name Hungarian Chamber of Agriculture) provides more effective interest representation for producers, processors and traders of the agricultural sector and offers legal advice and professional training for farmers. Currently, Magosz is taking an active part in the process of developing a new act for the Chamber aiming to improve the locally organized advisory system for farmers.

Bottom up initiatives for food sovereignty and related struggles for food justice, the right to food, civic food networks have been often initiated by other civil society organizations. In order to support and strengthen local smallholder food production and to slow down farm-to-city migration, 53 civil society organizations launched an advocacy campaign for the modification of Smallholder Decree that was adopted by the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development jointly with the Ministries of Health and Social Affairs and Employment in 2006 (Nr. 14/2006, II.16). According to the innovative ambition, regulations related to food production, processing and marketing by small-scale family farmers put obstacles impeding the development of direct marketing and contained unreasonable quantitative and hygienic restrictions on certain product categories such as processed vegetables or fruits, fresh meat as well as on the slaughter of pigs or sheep. It

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also banned the marketing of processed products of smallholders in local shops and restaurants.

Based on farmers' experiences, this reform was initiated in 2009 by the Hungarian organisation, called SZÖVET – Alliance for the Living Tisza (Szövetség az Élő Tiszáért) representing all groups of society aiming at advocating the interests of local communities living along the river Tisza and to improve conditions of small-scale family farming with the respect for natural environment, and to improve the local population's living conditions. The exemplary collaboration between civil society organizations from different parts of the country allowed to the enactment of the new smallholder decree on 15th May 2010. The new Decree is more favourable for small farmers and enables them to take 'full advantage of the continued use of traditional methods at any of the stages of production, processing or distribution of food specified by regulation on the hygiene of foodstuff'⁶.

After the success of this reform, a similar continuous work is undertaken by the Kislépték civil society organization. Through direct contacts with smallholder farmers, Kislépték consciously receives new questions and requests from the field in relation to food production, processing and marketing of artisanal local products.

Bottom-up engagement of farmers' and other civil society has been initiated by the Nyéléni Europe Forum for Food Sovereignty, held in August 2011 in Krems, Austria. A loose network of civic organisations has been created to support Food Sovereignty in Hungary. The meeting and the more than one-year-long preparation process for the Food Sovereignty Forum led to social learning and new links between national and international organizations. For many participants of the Forum, mostly from Eastern European countries, it was the first time to learn about the concept of Food Sovereignty and understand the vision and strategies of reorganizing the way how our society is related to food and agriculture. The declaration of the forum emphasised, that

'Food Sovereignty in Europe is directly related to the ability of its people to decide how and by whom agricultural resources – including, land, water, seeds and livestock – are cared for. In Europe, the commodification and privatisation of natural resources as well as increasing financial speculation has expanded to extreme levels, impeding the possibility of redistributing common goods through democratic processes. As a result of the lack of regulation of these markets, we have witnessed a continually shrinking number of players in the food system as transnational corporations grow. Moreover, the low wages of agricultural activities do not, in most cases, allow access to these resources, especially land. The disappearance of thousands of European farms every week, the concentration of resources in large farms and the rural exodus show that a change is urgently needed' (Nyéléni Europe Declaration, 2011).

This first European Forum was, originally, planned to be organized in Hungary, as it was initiated by Géza Varga, former Magosz-member in 2011. Géza Varga became the leader of

⁶http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/hjegy_doc.cgi?docid=A1000052.FVM

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Galgafarm, the first Hungarian ecovillage with a 300-hectare organic farm in North Hungary, and he is considered as one of those Hungarian pioneers, who brought and introduced the concept of Food Sovereignty in Hungary. With regard to his political activity in the radical nationalist Jobbik Party, the steering group of the Forum (including ECVC representatives) decided to hold the event in Austria. The preparation process of the Forum took more than a year, allowing civil society organizations from all European countries to map and organize their national network. Although after the forum, the network did not remain in strong working relation, at different occasions, events and issues these organizations re-connect and support each other.

The successful efforts towards the reform of the smallholder decree (New Smallholder Decree, 2010), also reveals similarities with efforts of LVC concerning Food Sovereignty. Similarly to LVC and other small-scale food producers, Hungarian civil society organizations have realized that *'farmers and food producers have been trapped with a sole outlet for their production, forcing them to accept an unacceptable marginal reward for their product'* and the need for *'supportive food safety rules and local food infrastructure for smallholder farmers.'*(*ibid.*)

In reality there is no direct connection between Magosz and LVC. In 1993, Magosz joined to the umbrella organization of European farmers, COPA (Comité des Organisations Professionnelles Agricoles, Association Committee of Agricultural Organisations in the European Union) and in 1995 became also member of the European umbrella organisation of cooperatives, COGECA (Comité Général de la Coopération Agricole de l'Union Européenne, Committee for Agricultural Cooperation in the European Union). Both organizations gather farmers' federations, and different agricultural institutions, such as agricultural chambers, associations from EU countries⁷. Magosz is represented in Copacogeca indirectly, through the Hungarian Chamber of Agriculture. Since 2013, the vice president of Copacogeca has been the previous chairman of Magosz's Young Farmers' Division.

Hungarian institutions and civil society organizations were actively participating in events of the International Year of Family Farming, launched by FAO in 2014. The year aimed at raising awareness family farming and its significant role in eradicating hunger and poverty and providing food security and managing natural resources while protecting environment⁸. From Hungary 360 civil society organizations joined to the celebration and were supported by the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture, to highlight the strategic role of the more than 460 family farms in agriculture and rural development⁹. From the aspect of family farmers, activities were organized and undertaken by the organization Kislépték.

⁷Copacogeca: <http://www.copa-cogeca.be/Main.aspx?page=CopaMembers>

⁸<http://www.fao.org/family-farming-2014/home/what-is-family-farming/en/>

⁹<http://www.mnvh.eu/node/590139>

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5.4. Agency: Regaining Voice in Decision-making

The aforementioned collective and cooperative-based structure of Hungarian agriculture led to economic dependence and an 'employee mentality' of farmers (Oberschall, Hanto, 2002:98). Despite existing awareness raising and capacity building programmes, offered by various institutions, Hungarian farmers do not have the capacity to actively participate in decision making processes, actively initiate transformations in the society. As one of the interviews put it:

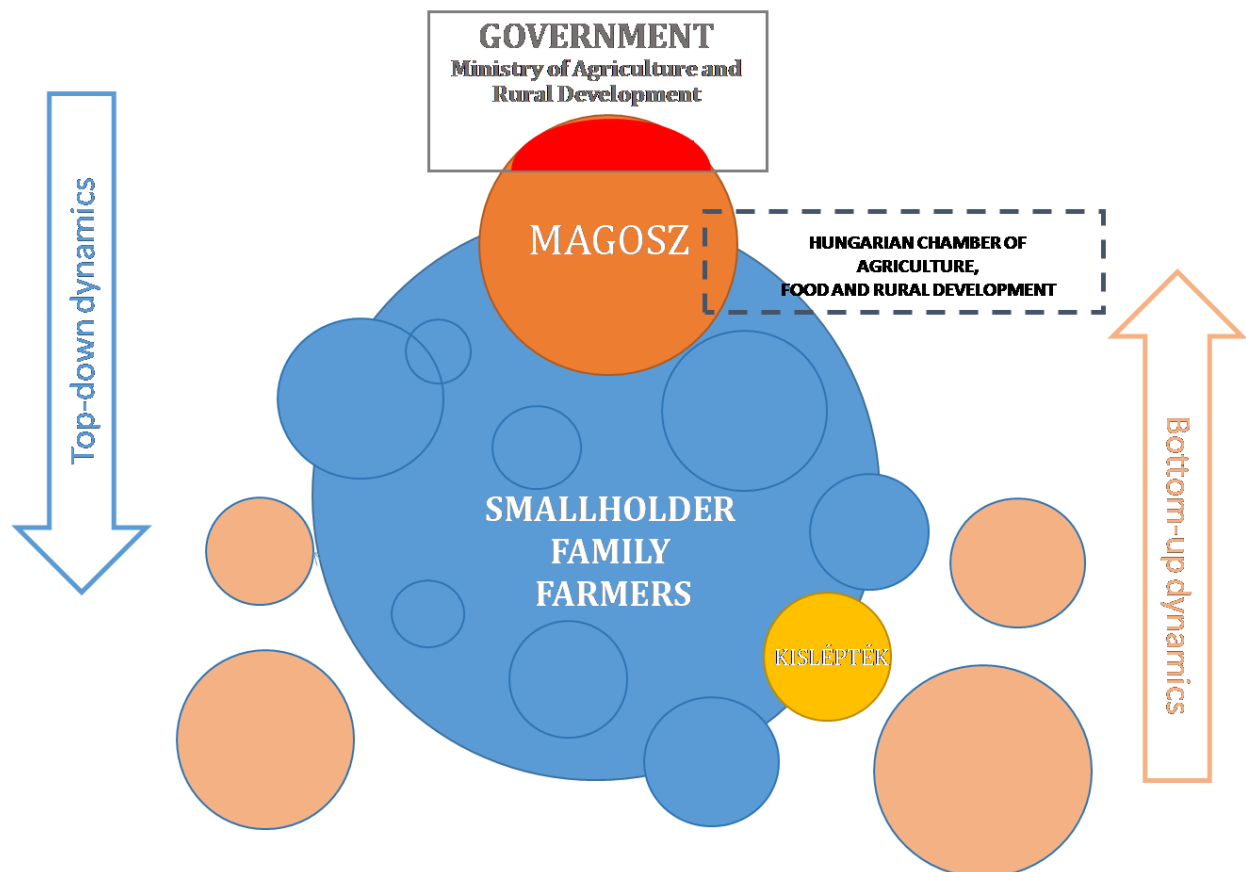
'Hungarian farmers are not pro-active, it is a real miracle, once you manage to mobilize them for an issue, which, in fact would support them. They have neither time nor the capacity, and lack the communicational channels of promoting themselves. Due to the existing low margin between market prices and the amount of investment, smallholder farming is unable to support itself and the family working the land and have extra resources required for its advocacy'.

Autonomous and collective agency of farmers is therefore not significant. Intellectuals however have been traditionally playing a leading and inducing role in rural movements. Academics, lawyers, qualified legal experts and researchers have been collaborating with smallholders to collect and interpret necessary information about issues hindering farmers in producing, processing and selling their products. During such process explicit and implicit forms of social agency are being created: the ability to organise and mobilise, share know-how and experiences, developing a community. In the EU-accession process and after the entrance, special effort in law harmonization was taken by intellectuals who identified the strategic importance of building up a more supporting legal framework for farmers. In this work (as e.g. process of developing the new Smallholder Decree) the collection and adaptation of good practises from other countries were of great help. Based on the information collected, civil society organizations asked for the help of lawyers in introducing their suggestions and argumentations for consideration of political decision makers. Given the co-existence of farmers with lacking capacity and supportive groups of intellectuals with an advising role, empowerment of smallholders occurs in a collaborative network without rules of internal and external governance. This network of actors from academics and civil society organisations has occasional connections with decision makers, mostly upon the raise of key issues.

Social agency builds up through awareness raising events that also develop personal experiences in international arenas (e.g. the International Year of Family Farming, the Nyéléni Europe Forum for Food Sovereignty) and could be of major help in inducing transformation in Hungary. Such events could enable social actors in exploring and identifying new issues and discovering successful ways of aiming to support sustainable agriculture and food production. Participating in such networks or at international fora, could be a good occasion for getting involved and engage in dialogues about smallholder related issues and observing well-functioning collaboration among organizations from other countries. Increased efforts are to be dedicated to the awareness-raising of Hungarian consumers towards smallholder farmers' products. Transformative innovation of Hungarian society can only occur, if there is a solvent demand by the broader society for local fruits and vegetables and artisanal products.

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Actors Map - Hungary: Magosz and other civil organisations in the interest representation of Hungarian smallholder farmers



Source: Authors

5.5. Summary #2

La Via Campesina does not have member organisations from Hungary, but farmers' associations and civil society organizations are playing an important role in advocating small-scale family farmers. Magosz was created in the post-socialist context of Hungarian politics and became a registered observer member under the coordination of the European peasant and rural organisation. It all seems that the autonomous and collective agency that created this organisation during the farmers' protests in 2005-2006 contributed to further success in seeking autonomous self-organized way of farmers in their fight for their rights. Intellectuals and urban-based activists have a leading role in this reformist movement by collaborating with smallholders to collect and interpret

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necessary information about issues hindering farmers in producing, processing and selling their products. During such process explicit and implicit forms of social agency are being created: the ability to organise and mobilise, share know-how and experiences, developing a sense of community. Social innovation primarily appears in the structural land-related fights of Magosz (to oppose neoliberalism, defend food sovereignty by adopting food policies, gain constitutional guarantee the right of peoples to food sovereignty, stop foreign land speculation, land-grabbing and pocket contracts) that are fully in accordance with the objectives of the transnational agrarian movement, La Via Campesina and other small-scale food producer organizations.

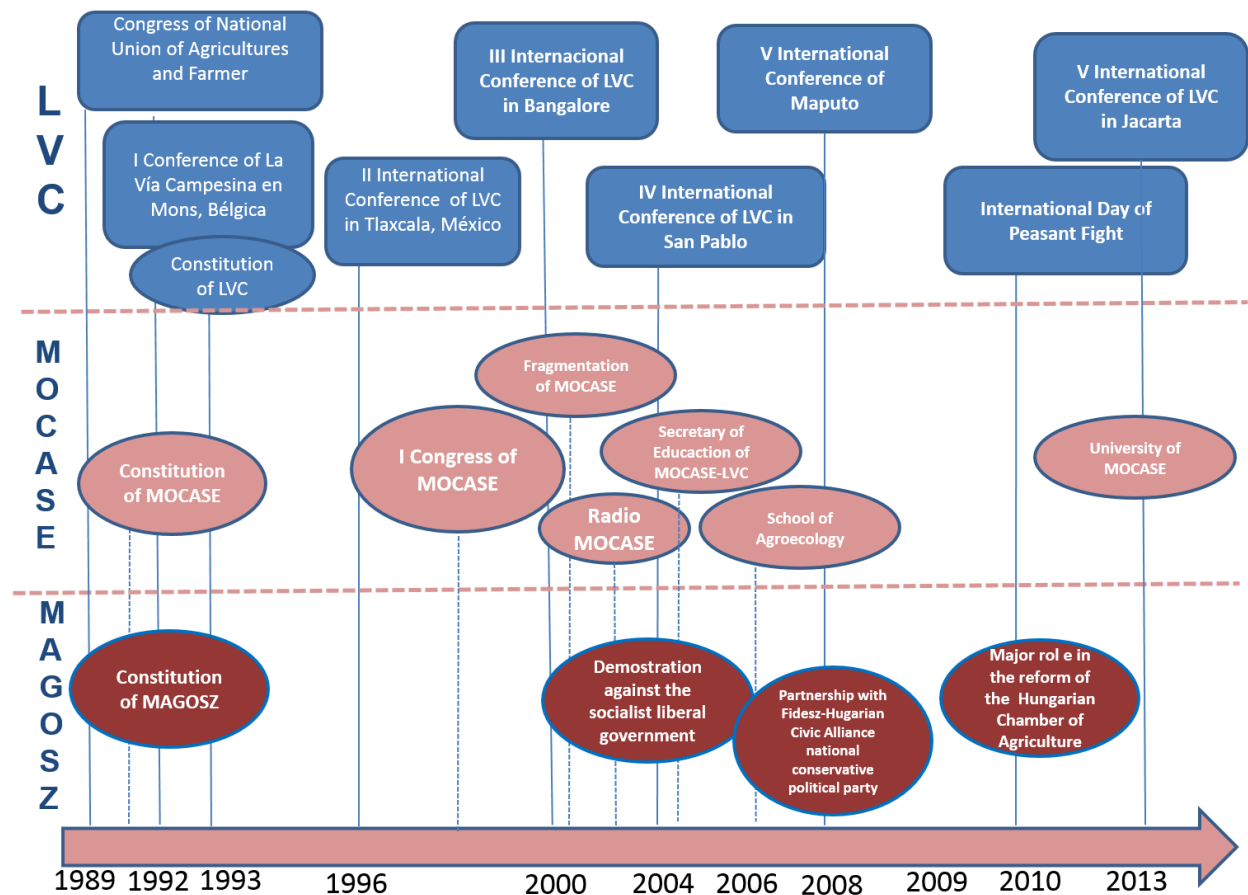
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6. Synthesis

6.1. Emergence of Social innovation (SI).

The IS initiative of La Via Campesina (LVC) emerged in 1993 as an international movement of peasants, small and medium producers, rural women, indigenous people, landless people, rural youth and agricultural workers in order to oppose the economic system – neoliberalism- and to advocate for territorial development based on human rights and greater social equity. Its main social innovations are social mobilization and building support networks to strengthen an alternative food production system based on sustainable rural development, which seeks to achieve food sovereignty from the strengthening of local identities.

Timeline 4. Historical Process of LVC, MOCASE and MAGOSZ



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In this context, the two local experiences analyzed represent strong peasant organization experiences in Argentina (MOCASE-LVC) and Hungary (Magosz). The emergence of both organizations involved a change in social relations and showed new ways of doing and organizing, achieving visibility of farmers and forming networks with other sectors of society.

Both organizations provide support and containment structure for local communities / groups, in ongoing coordination with regional and transnational networks in the struggle against global capitalism and neoliberalism. It is worth mentioning that Magosz (Hungary) is not a direct member of La Via Campesina, some of its members were/are in strong collaboration with the European Coordination of Via Campesina, and the objectives of this local organization are closely linked to the objectives of LVC and their dynamics of social organization: organization and collective mobilization; sharing the "know-how" and develop a sense of community belonging.

Both in the case of MOCASE-LVC as Magosz, social innovation is linked to these experiences of organizing for the struggle for the land, as opposed to neoliberalism and in defense of food sovereignty. This is fully aligned to the objectives of the transnational movement of LVC.

6.2. TSI dynamics

The international movement LVC has generated various social innovations, both to fight against neoliberalism and to strengthen farmers' production knowledge and build new techno-productive alternatives that reflect their disputes against agribusiness. In this sense, LVC, as an international social movement articulator of peasant base, has enabled socio-productive changes in rural areas, at the level of the players that make the same move or are linked to it. LVC involved farmers and territorial organizations based in large interaction processes of learning and training in practice. These processes were gradually transcending the borders and the rural areas based on expanding the training strategies, communication and socialization of knowledge ("knowledge dialogue").

In this framework, local cases allow to highlight the social innovations generated at local and national level in the fight against agribusiness and the empowerment of farmers, enhancing and disseminating their knowledge and traditional practices. In both initiatives can be seen how organizations allow to stop (and make visible) eviction attempts (in the Argentine case) and land speculation (in the Hungarian case), ensuring that peasants and farmers have access to land and more control over it. Therefore in both cases the organization within the framework of these initiatives represents a fundamental change in the lives of rural families, a social innovation that is embodied in the possibility of constructing an alternative production involving participation, organization, mobilization, local / traditional knowledge.

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6.3. Agency in (T)SI

The vision of social transformation in the LVC movement seeks to empower farmers by giving them the tools and strategies to defend their land rights, to preserve their way of life and promote a comprehensive reform linked to a new production system and agro-ecology.

The agency to an explicit internal level refers to empower the farmers to generate social change in the form of production based on collective reflection and development of new production practices (such as agroecology), from questioning deeply who produce, for whom they produce and how it is produced in the world today.

At the same time, and in this sense, it is intended that the struggle for "the land" is a flag understood in broad, shared, common terms, and both a means production and a way of life. At this level, the formation of "farmer to farmer" to empower peasants has been key, their knowledge and skills are conceived at the same level as the scientific and technological knowledge. They are different kinds of knowledge, but one does not prevail over the other. The agency at an external explicit level refers to disempower large landowners and transnational agricultural and food companies from promoting a new form of sustainable and inclusive production. In this sense, LVC has developed explicit strategies for agency:

- (1) Communication networks about the struggles in the territories to confront the media monopolies;
- (2) Collaborative networks on the agroecological proposal linked to universities and other research and development organizations to support and validate the proposal;
- (3) Training networks for other external social actors to LVC.

At an internal implicit level, the main strategies to empower peasants are:

- (1) The territorial organization of each Member
- (2) Encouraging creativity to create new intervention strategies and social change.

At an external implicit level, it is intended that VLC is linked with other social actors to permeate the techno-productive existing matrices.

As can be seen in local initiatives, the participation and coordination in communication networks, collaboration and training becomes fundamental in social transformation of these processes. Participation in international forums, congresses and assemblies involve formative experiences that offer opportunities for local involved to know about new issues and find new ways of doing with the aim of further strengthening and developing sustainable agriculture / agro-ecology and achieve food sovereignty. Participation in these networks also allows these experiences to be made visible, contributing to the transformation of society to disseminating alternative forms of production and consumption. Thus, both initiatives empower peasants as part of a new logic that disputes with capitalism and neoliberalism.

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In this sense, what is clear from the cases analyzed (both international initiative as local initiatives), is that the dispute over the territory, food sovereignty and sustainable agriculture / agro-ecology, seeks social change that allows the construction of an egalitarian society. Therefore, empowerment of farmers implies disempowerment of large landowners and companies (domestic and foreign), and presents an innovation in the way we produce, consume and connect with the land and the environment.

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8. Annex

A. Bibliography of La Vía Campesina

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CSA (Comité de Seguridad Alimentaria Mundial): <http://www.fao.org/cfs/cfs-home/es/>

MSC (Mecanismo de la Sociedad Civil del CSA): www.csm4cfs.org

CIDSE: www.cidse.org

FIAN Internacional: www.fian.org

CIP: www.foodsovereignty.org

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Observatorio del Derecho a la Alimentación y a la Nutrición: www.rtfn-watch.org

Equipo de Tareas de Alto Nivel de las Naciones Unidas sobre la Crisis Mundial de la Seguridad Alimentaria (HLTF): www.un-foodsecurity.org

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Videos

“We are La Via Campesina”

<http://tv.viacampesina.org/We-are-la-Via-Campesina-776?lang=en>

Agroecology: Voices From Social Movements (Long Version)

<http://tv.viacampesina.org/Agroecology-Voices-From-Social?lang=en>

¡Juntos podemos enfriar el planeta!

<http://tv.viacampesina.org/Nuevo-video-Juntos-podemos-enfriar?lang=en>

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Documental SEMILLAS Capítulo 2

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HY1PGV0ytLE>

Spot juicio Cristian Ferreyra

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Toda esta sangre en el monte (Documental completo)

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B. List of interviews

Inter-viewee ID	Position	Name	Date(s)	Dura-tion	Interviewer(s)	Relevant for cases:
1	MOCASE-VC Leader	Angel Strapazzón	Oct 7	Buenos Aires (ARG), 1 hour La Plata (ARG), 2 hours	Paula Juarez and Florencia Trentini	LVC International Movement and MOCASE
2	Coordinator of Peasant School MOCASE-VC	Margarita Gómez	Oct 7	La Plata (ARG), 1.30 hours	Florencia Trentini and Paula Juarez	MOCASE
3	Trainee at MOCASE	Ayelen García Chávez	Sept 12	Buenos Aires (ARG), 1.30 hours	Florencia Trentini	MOCASE
4	Member of MOCASE	Miguel Gómez	Oct 6	Buenos Aires (ARG), 2 hours	Josefina Moreira	MOCASE
5	Attourney of MOCASE	V. Maldonado	Nov 3	Buenos Aires (ARG), 2 hour	Florencia Trentini	MOCASE
6	Trainee at Brigadas de Escolarización of MOCASE-VC	Lucia Pugliese	Sept 12	Buenos Aires (ARG), 1 hour	Florencia Trentini	MOCASE
7	Researcher LVC Mexico	Peter Rosset	Oct 7	La Plata (ARG), 30 minutes	Paula Juarez and Florencia Trentini	LVC International Movement
8	President of SOCLA	Miguel Altieri	Oct 7	La Plata (ARG), 45 minutes	Paula Juarez and Florencia Trentini	LVC International Movement
9	LVC Costa Rica Leader	José María Oviedo	Oct 7	La Plata (ARG), 30 minutes	Paula Juarez and Florencia Trentini	LVC International Movement
10	President of Magosz	Istvan Jakab	Oct 30	Budapest, (HUN) 2 hours	Anna Korzenszky	MAGOSZ
11	Member of Kisleptek	Szabadkai Andrea	Sept 18	Budapest, (HUN) 50 minutes	Anna Korzenszky	MAGOSZ
12	Member of Kisleptek	Dr. Agnes Major	Sept 18	Budapest (HUN) 45 minutes	Anna Korzenszky	MAGOSZ
13	Member of Vedegylet	Borbala Simonyi	Oct 26	Skype, 85 minutes	Anna Korzenszky	MAGOSZ
14	FAO Permanent Representative of Hungary	Zoltan Kalman	Sept 24	Rome (IT), 35 minutes	Anna Korzenszky	LVC International Movement

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C. List of meetings and events attended

Table

Meeting and events attended as part of data collection, dialogues, etc.	Purpose of attending	Date and duration	Attending from the research group
MOCASE Brigadas de Escolarización	Participate in the dynamics of MOCASE-LVC	2 hours - Set 12 2015	Florencia Trentini
Congreso de Agroecología	Participate in event of LVC international. Interviews.	3 days- Oct 7-9	Paula Juarez and Florencia Trentini
Tri-national meeting of the American Women's Collective Chaco	Participate in event of Argentinean peasant. Interviews.	3 days- Sept 25 - 27	Florencia Trentini
FAO event in Rome	Identification and Dissemination of Family Farmers' and Peasants' Experiences on Agroecology and Farmers' Seeds	2 days- Sept 29 - 30	Anna Korzenszky
GLOBELICS 2015 Cuba	Participate in conference of Cuban LVC about the perspective "peasant-to-peasant"	3 days- Sept 23-25	Paula Juarez