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**TRANSNATIONALISATION OF NATIONAL
PEASANTS MOVEMENTS' ACTIVISM: the
case of the National Union of Small-Scale
Farmers of Mozambique's membership to La
Via Campesina**

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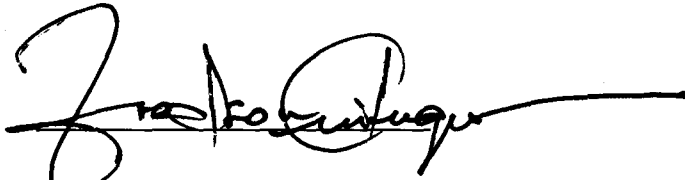
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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts by Research (Development Studies).

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Declaration

I do hereby declare that this research report is my own, original, authentic and unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts by Research (Development Studies) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any university.



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Date

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Abstract

In this master's dissertation report, I explore how the National Union of Small-scale Farmers of Mozambique (UNAC) transnationalised its activism through its membership to La Via Campesina (LVC), covering the period between 2004 and 2014, to understand the nature of transnational activism of national peasant movement organisations. I identify the factors behind national peasant movement organisations embarking on transnational activism, the structure put in place to secure their transnational activism and the possible opportunities and threats transnational activism poses to their national mandate. I applied ethnography and more concretely Michael Burawoy's approach to the extended case method to reconstruct (by extending) neo-Marxist approaches to the study of peasantry, peasant movements and social movements in general. Based on a qualitative approach to the data collected, the research conducted documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with relevant actors. Results suggest that peasants' national movement organisations transnationalise part of their activism through joining an already transnational peasant's movement organisation by adopting and campaigning for its political themes, building transnational peasant activists, and by practising transnational solidarity. Results also suggest that national peasant movement organisations transnationalise their activism precisely because they share a common interest of fighting capitalism with the movement organisation they affiliate with, they seek to expand their political messages and because they are looking for international solidarity. Added to this, results show that this type of transnational activism does not necessarily require specific administrative structures and does not pose major threats to the national mandate of national peasant movement organisations. More importantly, results suggest re-theorising the neo-Marxists' approach to social movements by accommodating transnational agency of national peasant movement organisations.

Keywords: agroecology, food sovereignty, social movements, UNAC, LVC, peasant, transnational activism, extended case method, social movement theories.

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List of Acronyms

ANAP	Small-scale Farmers of Cuba
AoA	WTO's Agreement on Agriculture
CCOUN	<i>Comissão Central de Organização da União Nacional de Camponeses</i> / Central Commission for the establishment of the National Union of Small-scale Farmers
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
CMA	Classic Marxist Approach
COPINH	Civic Council of Popular and Indigenous Organisations of Honduras
ERP	Economic Recovery Plan
ESRP	Economic and Social Rehabilitation Plan
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> / Mozambique Liberation Front
GATS	General Agreement on Trade and Services
GATT	General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade
GdM	<i>Governo de Moçambique</i> / The Government of Mozambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMD	Grupo Moçambicano da Dívida / Mozambican Debt Group
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
HIV-AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus-Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IC	International Conferences of La Via Campesina International
ICC	International Coordination Committee of La Via Campesina International
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IS	International Secretariat of La Via Campesina International
IWC	International Working Commissions of La Via Campesina International
LVC	La Via Campesina International
MINAG	<i>Mnistério da Agricultura</i> / Ministry of Agriculture
MST	<i>Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra do Brazil</i> / Landless Workers Movement of Brasil
MVIWATA	<i>Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania</i> / National Networks of Farmers' Groups in Tanzania
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NMA	New Movement Approach
NSM	New Social Movement Theory
OCPLP	<i>Organização Cooperativista dos Países de Língua Portuguesa</i> / Portuguese Speaking Countries Cooperativist Organisation
PPT	Political Process Theory

ProSavana	Japan-Brazil Partnership Programme for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique
PTT	Perspective Plan
RENAMO	<i>Resistência Nacional de Moçambique</i> / The Mozambican National Resistance
RLS - SA	Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung - Southern Africa Office
RMT	Resource Mobilisation Theory
ROSA	Rede das Organizações para a Soberania Alimentar / Food Sovereignty Organisations' Network
SACAU	Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions
TNC's	Transnational Corporations
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
TPPA	Transpacific Partnership Agreement
TRIMs	Trade-Related Investment Majors
TRIPs	Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UGC	<i>União Geral das Cooperativas Agropecuárias de Maputo</i> / General Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Maputo <i>União Nacional de Camponeses</i> / The National Union of Small-scale Farmers of Mozambique
UNAC	
UNCTAD	United Nation's Conference on Trade and Development
UR	Uruguay Round
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZIMSOFF	Zimbabwe Small Holder Farmer's Forum

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter provides the background to this study. It describes the context which prompted this investigation to be carried out and it's followed by the presentation of the objectives and the research questions which guided the present research. After the research questions, the chapter presents and discusses a set of reasons which prompted it to be conducted under the research rationale. Finally, at the end of the chapter, a short description on how the study is structured is presented.

1.1. Background of the Study

Neoliberal globalisation has produced a shift from national to transnational citizens (Tarrow, 2005). This process turned thousands of people who used to operate inside their own country borders to transnational activists with a mission of fighting supranational and global institutions in charge of defining politics around issues that affect and often determine their very existence. These issues include the economy, politics, food, environment and culture. Neoliberal globalisation has also been accompanied by changes at the national level particularly through the processes of privatisation and decentralization. Privatisation and decentralization have important impact on peoples' livelihood and their negative consequences are being experienced with incidence by the poor peasantry (Borras, 2010). The poor peasantry has seen its own survival under threat from the negative impacts of these forces to the extent that to be able to survive they have created their own social movements and adopted different strategies to different geographic contexts. While at the national level, peasant movement organisations decided to accompany the state process of decentralisation, by further decentralizing their own organisational structures, at the global level, they internationalised their movement advocacy and action (Borras, 2010).

In Mozambique, while the poor peasants' response to the economic reforms (liberalisation) which started in the early 1980's gave birth to the country's most vibrant peasant organisation, the National Union of Small-scale Farmers (UNAC), neoliberal globalisation resulted in the emergence of transnational peasant movements, such as La Via Campesina (LVC), in 1993. UNAC was founded in 1987 to promote and protect small farmers' rights, in the context of the partial withdrawal of the Mozambican state from the economy. Today, after nearly thirty years of existence, UNAC is regarded by some as the largest and most important

farmers' association in Mozambique (Funada-Classsen, 2013). La Via Campesina was founded in 1993, as a global peasant movement unifying peasants and small producers from America, Africa, Asia, Europe and Africa. Today, it is regarded by many scholars and activists, as the most important transnational social movement in the world (Borras, 2004; McMichael, 2006, Patel, 2005, 2006; Edelman, 2005, Martinez Torres and Rosset, 2008, Borras and Franco, 2009 cited in Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010).

UNAC formalised its membership to LVC in 2004 during its 3rd International Conference in São-Paulo, Brazil. Amongst other objectives, the peasant organisation from Mozambique was looking for a peasants' platform which would allow it to expand its actions and activism against the neoliberal forces. Joining LVC led to the transnationalisation of UNAC's activism. Its activism crossed Mozambican national borders and now includes programmed actions regionally and globally. Parallel to this, UNAC has been given the responsibility to host the Regional Secretariat of LVC in Maputo indicating the relevance and trust the global peasantry has in the organisation. In fact, the enjoyment of full membership rights of LVC by UNAC dates to 1998 when it started attending LVC global events and benefiting from access to relevant information and experience exchange activities.¹

Since joining LVC to date, the kind of struggle UNAC is currently involved in is the one defined by Peter Evans as a "globally organized project of transformation aimed at replacing the dominant (hegemonic) global regime with one that maximizes democratic political control and makes the equitable development of human capabilities and environmental stewardship its priorities" (2008: 272).

It is in this context that the proposed research aimed at studying the nature of transnationalisation of UNAC's activism. This analysis covered basically the period from 2004 to 2014. This period covers the main events that happened from the official affiliation of UNAC to LVC up to its tenth anniversary. The analysis is an attempt to fill the gap on the available literature on transnationalisation in general and on transnational activism of national peasant movement's organisations on the African continent, in particular.

¹ Diamantino Nhampossa, interviewed by the author, May 25, 2015.

1.2. Study Objectives

1.2.1. General

To study the nature of the transnationalisation of UNAC's activism through its membership to La Via Campesina, between 2004 and 2014.

1.2.2. Specific Objectives

- a) Identify and analyse the factors which motivated the transnationalisation of UNAC's activism through its membership to La Via Campesina;
- b) Identify and analyse the structure and mandate which allow this transnationalised relationship between UNAC and La Via Campesina to occur;
- c) Identify the threats and opportunities to UNAC brought by the transnationalisation of its activism through its membership to La Via Campesina.
- d) Derive lessons from the transnationalisation of the activism of peasant based movement through the experience of UNAC and La Via Campesina transnational relationship.

1.3. Research Questions

Based on these objectives, this research attempts to answer the following questions:

How has UNAC' activism been transnationalised through its membership to La Via Campesina?

What motivated UNAC to transnationalise its activism through its membership to La Via Campesina?

However, the proposed research also aims at answering other sub-questions such as:

- a) What are the dimensions of UNAC's transnational activism?
- b) What is the nature of power, ideas and interests in the making of this transnationalised relationship?
- c) How has this transnationalisation process affected UNAC structures and mandate at the national and local levels?

- d) What can one learn from UNAC's transnationalisation process and the agency of peasant based movements?

1.4. Research Rationale

Most of the existing academic literature on social (peasant) movements focuses on theorising social movements in general (e.g. Alonso, 2009; Cox & Nilsen, 2014; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; McAdam, 1999; Melucci, 1989 and many more). Many others scholars, who base their studies on existing theoretical approaches to social movements give privilege to the study of the genesis, development, character, and politics of transnational peasant movements as well as to the question of transnational activism (e.g. Tarrow, 2004, 2005; Friedman, 2009; Borras, 2010; Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010). A few scholars, however, focus on looking at the shift from transnational activism (understood as large mass events, mainly performed abroad) to the local activities and practices of the peasant movements as a way of countering dominant theories like the case of Voss and Williams (2011).

While studies of transnationalism, transnational social movements, transnational activism in general are, to some extent, abundant in available literature (e.g. Hannerz, 1996; Fonner, 2001; Evans, 2005 and many others) studies on how African national peasant movements transnationalise their activism through joining an already transnational platform are unavailable in today's literature. This context also reveals a gap in the existing scientific research studies on different forms of transnational activism and on the important role actors like peasant movement organisations from this part of the world play in the process of confronting neoliberal globalisation.

In the current era, characterised by intensified globalisation, activists (environmental, cultural, social and political) are increasingly operating beyond and across borders of their own states. The rural poor, particularly the small producers and peasants, are not excluded from the activists who use transnational activism as a fundamental strategy to fight supranational institutions which define current global politics. These transnational activists are turning the objective of understanding transnational activism not only of social movement scholars and transnational activists themselves but also of everyone who is interested in studying globalisation, international relations and many other relevant fields of social science (Piper & Uhlin, 2004). In the same context, understanding the process of transnational activism becomes an important tool for scholars to be able to understand current forms of

strategies social movements are adopting. Understanding current transnational activism by peasant movements allows scholars to identify the different strategies peasant movements are applying to defend themselves against the current push by neoliberal policies to turn the peasantry irrelevant or even to lead to its demise.

By focusing on transnationalisation of national peasant union's activism, this study offers fundamental knowledge which will allow scholars who are interested in theorising social movements, to understanding what in today's world motivates a national peasant movement to transnationalise its activism particularly through joining transnational platforms. This type of study is also important because it tries to uncover the tangible and intangible resources national peasant movement organisations apply to their transnational ambition including the organisational changes that both national and transnational movements need to put in place to allow their transnational activism and relationship to occur. Moreover, by trying to understand transnational activism by peasant movement organisations, this study provides significant input for transnational activists and their movements. It allows them to understand and deal with the opportunities and the threats transnationalising poses to them. Understanding these developments, in general, is a pre-requisite to understanding social movements, transnationalism and social movements' activism in general.

Burawoy's extended-case method applied to the objective of this study has never been applied before to the study of the agency of national peasant movement organisations from the African continent, limiting its testing to the study of other forms of organisations like his own study of the Zambian copper industry to elaborate Fanon's theory of post colonialism (Burawoy, 1998) and others. From the methodological point of view, Burawoy's approach applied here provides this study with a great potential to reveal both its strengths and weakness when studying the African peasantry. For example, the type of "participant observer" this method requires for the study of this particular social group.

Considering the above, it can be argued that the rationale of the present study is to explore both the agency of national peasant movement organisations while at the same time revealing the potentials and challenges of deploying an ethnographic method to the study of transnational activism by national peasant movements.

1.5. Structure of the Study

This study is divided into eight chapters. The **first chapter** consists of an introduction which discusses the background of the study, the research questions, the objectives which governed the study and the rationale behind conducting a study in the field of social movement and social science in general. **Chapter two** comprises the theory and literature review. It covers the main theories on the field of social movement and transnational activism. This chapter also includes a review of the dominant literature involved in the study of transnational activism, globalisation, peasantry and food sovereignty. The same chapter also provides definitions of the main concepts used in this study. In **chapter three** the methodology is discussed. The extended case method is unpacked and the respective data collection techniques are presented and explained. **Chapter four** discusses the processes of liberalisation and neoliberal globalisation and their relationship with the peasantry. **Chapters five and six** provide a mapping of the main objectives of this study: UNAC and LVC. It describes the historical evolution of both movements. **Chapter seven** presents and provides an analysis of the empirical evidence on the different dimensions of the transnational relationship between UNAC and LCV identified in this study. Finally, **chapter eight** covers the major conclusions of the study and the study's contribution to the reconstruction of neo-Marxist analysis of the peasantry in a neoliberal context and peasant collective action in general. However, at the beginning of each chapter another short summary to guide the reader on the content, organisation and aim of the respective chapter is provided.

Chapter Two: Theory and Literature Review

This chapter covers the review of the relevant literature involved in the study of social movements and collective action. It begins with an introduction and discussion of the dominant theories and/or body of theories of social movement and collective action and then proceeds with a synthesis of the diverse literature, definitions and conceptualizations in the areas of “transnational activism”, “globalisation”, “peasants” and “food sovereignty”. The aim of this literature review is to establish the significance and the relevance of the questions of the present research by discussing the main arguments, conclusions, gaps and/or limits of the dominant literature.

2.1. Theories of Social Movements and Collective Action

Social movement theories like the “collective behaviour”, “resource mobilisation”, “political process” and “new social movement” are the most influential theoretical approaches that have dominated the study of social movements as well as the study of collective action (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Although this discussion also tries to expose some strengths and weaknesses of the identified theory or body of theories, its aim is not to corroborate with a given theory or to simply abandon it for not adequately responding to the objective of this research. As put by Burawoy, in his approach to the extended case method, the “stance toward theory is kamikaze” (1998:20). Rather than corroborating with a theory or simply abandoning it for whatever reason, we try to focus on what a theory or body of theories fail to explain, to identify the major refutations about the theory or body of theories according to the existing scientific literature. In Burawoy’s approach, the exercise of improving a theory and making it stronger involves refuting the refutation about it (Burawoy, 1998).

2.1.1. Collective Behaviour Theories

The collective behaviour theories are also known as “strains” or “breakdown” theories. Their major proponents include Ralph Turner, Lewis Killian, Neil Smelser, Kurt and Gladys Lang (Morris & Herring, 1984). Social movements are defined in this approach as “collective enterprises to establish a new order of life” (Blumer, 1951:199 cited in Morris & Herring, 1984:5). Attributes of social movements in this approach include poor organisation and lack of structure particularly at the beginning (Morris & Herring, 1984). Social movements and other forms of collective behaviour are products of phenomena such as rapid social change, natural disaster or dramatic events. Collective behaviour theorists give much more attention

to psychological state of participants of social movements and collective actions together with emerging ideologies and forms of organisation than to pre-existing organisations and strategies (Staggenborg, 2015). They see social movements as non-routine forms of collective actions aimed at achieving social change. Hence, prior social organisations, culture and norms do not explain the genesis of social movements as movements acquire organisation during their life cycle (Herring & Morris, 1987 cited in Staggenborg, 2015). While most of its defendants and theories reject the view that defends the irrationality of collective behaviour, they seem to share a number of assumptions, including that 1) they see collective behaviour outside institutionalised structures; 2) that social movements result from rapid social change, dramatic events, natural disasters and other forms of “breakdown” or “strain”; and that 3) a shared belief amongst the members of social movements should play a central role in the analysis of how collective action and social movements emerge (Staggenborg, 2015). Different approaches to the collective behaviour include: Chicago School Approach; Smelser’s Theory of Collective Behaviour; Mass Society Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory.²

In “Theory of Collective Behavior (1962)” Neil Smelser proposes and discusses a “value added” model consisting of six determinants. It is considered a value-added model because each determinant adds value to the explanation and both together explain collective behaviour. Staggenborg (2015) summarises Smelser’s determinants as follows:

First, conditions of structural conduciveness permit or encourage certain types of collective behaviour. For example, panics occur in money markets, rather than in financial systems where property is tied to kinship and cannot be easily transferred (Smeler 1962:15). Second, conditions of structural strain create real or anticipated deprivation, this strain, such as the threat of economic deprivation, combines with the condition of conduciveness. Third, the growth and spread of a generalised belief makes the situation meaningful to potential participants in collective behaviour; the generalized belief identifies the source and nature of the strain and suggests responses. Fourth, participating factors, such as a dramatic event, give the generalized beliefs a concrete target for collective action. For example, an incident of police brutality might provoke a race riot when it occurs in the context of conduciveness, strain and generalized belief (Smelser 1962:17). Fifth, mobilization for action must occur, and Smelser notes that leadership is particular important in mobilizing participants. Sixth, social control may act to prevent the collective behavior, perhaps by minimizing strains, or to limit the scope of collective behavior. The potential or actual episode of collective behavior will be affected by the actions of police, the courts, the press, community leaders, and other agents of social control. (p.15)

² For a detailed account on these approaches see Staggenborg (2015).

Smelser's "value-added" model has been well received by scholars particularly its contribution in predicting collective behaviour. However, some critics like Bert Useem have argued that the approach lacks clear criteria for identifying "strains" or "breakdown" in a society. He argued it is always possible to find some type of "strain" once a collective behaviour occurs (Useem, 1975 cited in Staggenborg (2015). Useem (1985) later added that the main critics to the "breakdown" theories of collective action are researchers working with the "resource mobilisation theory". He summarised four major arguments against the model. First, that because grievances are constant and widespread through societies they cannot sufficiently explain specific variations in collective action. Second, resource mobilisation defendants argue that it is the resources that prevent insurgency from taking place and disorganised groups are more likely not to access resources that are required for collective action. Thirdly, they do not find consistent the argument that collective action occurs when groups become less rather than more organised. Finally, and based on the finding of the resource mobilisation theorists, collective action does not covary with indicators such as personal pathology, non-membership in secondary and primary groups, and deprivation changes. (Cf. Useem, 1985)

2.1.2. Resource Mobilisation Theory

The Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) argues that mobilisation of social movements requires opportunities for collective action, organisation and resources. Its major proponents include Charles Tilly, William Gamson, Anthony Oberschall, Mayer Zald and John McCarthy (Morris & Herring, 1984). The resource mobilisation theory derives from the experiences of social movements and collective action of the 1960's and from the criticisms of these movements to the classic collective behaviour theory. The central criticism is that because "strains" and "breakdown" are permanent elements of a society they do not necessarily explain collective action (Staggenborg, 2015). Resource mobilisation theorists also reject the deviant character of social actors as well as "the pluralist assumption that all parties willing to engage in the political process have a reasonable chance that their grievances will be heard and addressed" (Edwards & Guillham, 2013:1).

The RMT puts resources at the central position to successful collective action. Resources include both tangible and intangible. As indicated by Edwards, McCarthy and Freeman, resources include funding and commitment of participants, moral resources, cultural

resources, socio-organisational resources (see: Edwards & McCarthy; Freeman, 1979 cited in Staggenborg 2015). Staggenborg (2015) summarises other types of resources which in the view of RMT are used and created by social movements. These resources include: “*Moral resources*: such as legitimacy; cultural resources, including tactical repertoire and strategic know-how; *social-organisational resources*, including movement infrastructure, networks, and organisational structures; *human resources*, such as the labour and experience of activists, and material resources, such as money and office space” (p.18).

For some of its proponents like McCarthy and Zald (1977) these resources do not necessarily come from inside the movements themselves. Most of them may come from contributors who do not necessarily benefit from the impact or achievements of the movements’ actions. Social movements access resources by applying four particularly important mechanisms: self-production; aggregation from constituents; appropriation/co-option; and patronage (Edward & McCarthy, 2004). Self-production is when movements produce part of their own resources themselves. For example, human resources are produced by integrating and socialising their children in the values of the movement. This practice is very common in the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST). Movements also gain access to material resources by producing and selling items like T-shirts, posters, calendars etc. Aggregation refers to the act of converting resources that previously belonged to private individuals into collective resources at the disposal of the movements. Both monetary and human resources can become aggregated to fund collective activities. Examples of this type of resources include donations from individuals and the work of volunteers. Co-option/appropriation is when relationships with existing organisations are used by social movements to access or aggregate resources which were produced by those organisations. In some contexts, resources like staff, social networks, and discourses produced by other organisations are co-opted by social movements. Patronage refers to provision of resources to social movement organisations by individuals or patronage organisations. These resources may include: grants, donations, contracts, etc. (See Edwards & Guilloham, 2013)

The ability to secure resources may in some instances determine the effectiveness of the social movement (Staggenborg, 2015). The leaders and social movement organisations play a fundamental role in mobilising resources for social movements to the extent that formalised and bureaucratic structures have been found to have the capacity to better sustain movements when compared to informal organisations. Types of social movement mobilising structures

include formal and informal networks, groups and organisational vehicles (Staggenborg 1988, 1989 cited in Staggenborg, 2015).

For its theorist, collective action derives from “calculation of the costs and benefits influenced by the presence of resources – in particular by organisations and strategic interactions necessary for the development of a social movement” (Della Porta & Diani, 2006:14). Many studies have been developed under the rubric of RMT. However, the approach has been criticised for failing to clearly expose the actual relationship between resources and collective action. For Cress and Snow (1996) this is due to the following three aspects: “(1) the failure to clarify and empirically ground the resource concept, (2) the failure to examine the link between types of resources and various mobilisation processes or outcomes, and (3) the failure to clarify empirically competing claims about the sources of resources, in particular whether sources are external or internal” (p. 1090).

The concept of resource proposed by the resource mobilisation theory is vague and ambiguous in social science research. The relationship between resources and the process of mobilisation is very general. In terms of the source of resources, the theory defendants disagree on the primary source of resources as some argue that it is internal while others argue that it is external (Cress & Snow, 1996). The resource question continues to be at the centre of the critics of the resource mobilisation theory. A recent study on the role of social media in the 2011 Egyptian revolution proposed a further examination and incorporation of social media as an important resource for collective action (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011).

2.1.3. Political Process Theory

The central aspect of Political Process Theory (PPT) is the relationship it makes between institutional political actors and protests (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Its major proponents include Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, David Meyer, Hanspieter Kriesi, and Charles Tilly (Voss & Williams, 2011). The PPT emphasis is on the interactions of social movement actors with the state and the role of political opportunities in the mobilisation and outcomes (Staggenborg, 2015). However, Goodwin and Jasper (1999) have identified two most important strands of PPT based on the way they are understood (tautological, inadequate, trivial or just wrong). They categorise these strands as the *political opportunity thesis* and the *political process model*. The former argues that social movements “emerge as a result of ‘expanding’ political opportunities” (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999:30) and can be found in

Tarrow's argument that "people join in social movements in response to political opportunities and then, through collective action, create new ones. Thus, the 'when' of social movement mobilisation – when political opportunities are opening up – goes a long way towards explaining its 'why'" (see Tarrow, 1994 cited in Goodwin & Jasper, 1999:30). The latter, which has been considered as the most influential theory of social movements in the United States of America (Voss & Williams, 2011), addresses some of the difficulties of the former by adding to it elements such as social/ organisational and cultural factors. For example, in the view of Goodwin and Jasper, McAdam, "while extensively employing the political opportunity concept, has complained about 'mechanistic' theories that 'depict' social movements as the inevitable by-products of expanding political opportunity (McAdam, 1996 cited in Goodwin & Jasper, 1999: 41). Social networks and formal organisations are referred to in this model as mobilising structures and are recognised as dynamic elements in the process of movement emergence.

Sidney Tarrow defines political opportunities as those "dimensions of the political environment that provides incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure" (1994:85). This definition recognises McAdam's need to clearly distinguish culture from political opportunities as it allows us to understand cases where political opportunity does not necessarily lead to collective action and where collective action occurs in the absence of possibly favourable political opportunities (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Meanwhile, although specific definitions of the concept of political opportunity may differ, it is generally used to refer to "features of political environment that influence movement emergence and success" (Staggenborg, 2015:19). Doug McAdam's (1996) dimensions of political opportunity include the following: (1) The relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system; (2) The stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity; (3) The presence or absence of elite allies and (4) The state's capacity and propensity for repression (p.27).

However, McAdam's four dimensions cannot autonomously explain the rise of collective action. Other scholars have added other dimensions of political opportunity like state legitimacy, the international environment, informal procedures, prevailing strategies, etc.; (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999).

The PPT argues that both threats and opportunities can be used as source of mobilisation by creating feelings of outrage and urgency. However, threats provide more reasons for mobilisation than opportunities. “When threats arise or negative outcomes occur, there may be little opportunity for effecting change but great opportunity for mobilising as movement supporters become alarmed by unfavourable changes” (Staggenborg, 2015:19). The PPT and the RMT have been merged together into one which views the social movements as political entities aiming at achieving social change. The element “ideology” is offered by what is considered in this approach as cultural opportunity structure (Staggenborg, 2015). However, initially, the elements “grievances” and “ideology” had been given poor relevance in this synthetic approach as they were considered to have received too much emphasis by collective behaviour theorist, who had focused on individual discontentment as being behind the emergence of collective action (Staggenborg 2015). Theorists that are sympathetic to this syntactic approach developed the concept of collective action frames to be able to capture “the importance of meanings and ideas in stimulating protests” (Benford & Snow, 2000 cited in Staggenborg, 2015:20).

Collective action frames are interpretations which movement members give to issues and events that are used by them to be inspired by and to legitimise collective action. For Staggenborg, the framing perspective emphasises “the role of movements in constructing cultural meanings, as movements leaders and organisations frame issues in particular ways to identify injustices, attribute blame, propose solutions, and motivate collective action” (2015:20). Collective action frames are defined as “the purposively constructed guides to action created by existing or prospective movement organizers” (Tarrow, 1992, p. 177 cited in Choup, 2008). Collective action frames “provide a new cognitive understanding for the individual” (Tarrow, 1992 cited in Choup, 2008) and means “through which they can identify paths to changing unjust realities” (Choup, 2008:194).

Even though the PPT has been widely deployed for the study of collective action, it has not been immune to criticism. In fact, most of the identified weaknesses of the PPT approach are said to derive precisely from its popularity, particularly from the strong bias “in favour of a metaphor of ‘structure’” (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999:28). On the other hand, they argue that there is lack of agreement amongst PPT defendants on the approach’s basic concepts which makes it conceptually unclear (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Polleta and Jasper (2001) have criticised the emphasis of the PPT on studying the actual process of mobilisation (how)

instead of the motivations behind people acting collectively (why). Added to this is the PPT state-cantered focus of collective action and its overdependence on “rationalistic images of individual action” (p.283). Voss and Williams who have also recognised these critics, have also endorsed the “criticism from activists and community organizers as well as from scholars for their relative neglect of locally based, grassroots movements and for ignoring questions about how individuals and organisations gain the capacity to act” (p.5).

2.1.4. New Social Movement Theory

The New Social Movement Theory (NSM) is the theoretical approach which currently dominates the research on social movements (Fuchs, 2006). It has emerged fundamentally as a response to the so-called weaknesses of classical Marxism when trying to analyse collective action. Firstly, it has emerged against the so-called economic reductionism of classical Marxism which argues that “all political significant political action will derive from fundamental economic logic of capitalist production and all other logics are secondary at best in shaping such action” (Buechler, 1995: 442). Secondly, it emerged as a response to another so-called classical Marxism’s presumption that “most significant actors will be defined by class relationships rooted in the process of production and all other entities are secondary at best in constituting collective actors (Buechler, 1995:442). In terms of politics, the NSM is said to have broadened the definition of politics to include topics formerly viewed as being outside collective action. It has “challenged the conventional division of politics into left and right” (Scott, 1990 cited in Calhoun, 1993:386). The NSM is a product of efforts from the new left and students’ movements of the 1960’s attempting to “reform or reject Marxist theory and social democratic politics” (Calhoun, 1993:386).

The NSM belongs to the larger body of interdisciplinary theory named social movement theory which began in the late 19th century and refers to the study of social mobilisation (social, cultural and political manifestations). The most important contributors to the NSM include: Manuel Castells, Alain Touraine, Claus Offe, Alberto Melucci and Jurgen Habermas (Buechler, 1995; Fuchs, 2006; Flynn, n.d.). The emphasis of this theory has been on new types of social movements which have emerged in “advanced capitalist” societies or “post-industrial” societies. These movements include environmental movements, gay and lesbian movement, peace movement and women’s movement (Staggenborg, 2015).

However, while some theorists of new social movement focus their studies more on analysing the role large socioeconomic changes play in the emergence of social movements, others tend to look more at “changes in site of conflict and nature of civil society” (Staggenborg, 2015:22) in a global world dominated by a rapid exchange of information and technology. Those concerned with the effects of modernization have concluded that new social movements emerge because of new grievances in a post-industrial society that result in “new values, new forms of action, and new constituencies” (Klandermans, 1986 cited in Staggenborg, 2015). Those concerned with new sites of conflict which accompany large-scale transformation have argued that there are various processes involved in the construction of new social movements (Staggenborg, 2015). New social movements emerge as inevitable outcomes of social, political, economic and cultural change in the current society (Flynn, n.d.).

The New Movement approach (NMA) emphasises the process of collective identity, which is a shared sense of “we-ness” among individuals in a group, or a shared sense of the meaning and purpose of the group (Melucci, 1989). This is, to Albert Melucci, what distinguishes and separates traditional from the new social movements. Albert Melucci links collective identity to important social processes (Flynn, n.d.). Collective identity explains the emergence of movements and how interests get defined, how participants are motivated to participate in collective action, the way strategic choices are made and the impact of movements on culture (see: Polletta and Jasper, 2001 cited in Staggenborg, 2015).

While the NMA argues that movements are responses to post-industrial society or advanced capitalist (aspects such as bureaucratization, the intrusion of the state, and excessive reliance on science and technology prompt a resistance to these various forms of domination), as referred above, contrary to this approach, the Classic Marxist Approach (CMA) argues that social movements emerge as a response to the conditions of capitalism (economic, political, and social), and its participants come from the marginalized groups (working class), who pursue economic goals like, for example, higher wages.

Meanwhile, for Steven Buechler, there are four major debates that typify the new social movement approach. He summarises these debates as follows:

The first concern the meaning and validity of designating certain movements as “new” and other (by implication) as “old”. This involves the debate whether new movements are primarily or exclusively a defensive, reactive response to larger social forces or whether they can exhibit a proactive and a progressive nature as well. The third debate concerns the distinction between political and cultural movements and whether the more culturally oriented new social movements inherently apolitical. The fourth involves the social base of the new social movements and whether this base can be defined in terms of social class. These debates involve overlapping issues and are ultimately interconnected in various ways. The second and the third debates are closely related because they hinge on the ability to provide meaningful definitions of increasingly problematic terms like “progressive” or “political.” The first and the fourth are also related in that the definition of new movements implies the ability to designate a social base other than the old working class. (Buechler 1995:447)

2.1.4.1. Collective Identity

Alberto Melucci first introduced the concept of collective identity in his contributions to the study of contemporary forms of social movements (Melucci, 1995 cited in Monterde *et.al*, 2015). His construction of the concept of collective identity departs from the recognition that neither the dominant dualistic legacy of structural analysis as a precondition for collective action nor the analysis of the individual motivations could fill the analytical gap between behaviour and meaning and between subjective conditions and objective motives and meaning in their attempts to study social movements (Melucci, 1995 cited in Monterde *et.al*, 2015). He defined collective identity as “a process of constructing an action system’ (Melucci, 1995:44). In his own words:

Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. By “interactive and shared” I mean a definition that must be conceived as a process because it is constructed and negotiated through a repeated activation of the relationships that link individuals (or groups). (Melucci 1995:43)

Melucci’s notion of collective identity views collective identity also as a network of “active relationships between the actors, who interact, communicate, influence each other, negotiate and make decisions.” In this sense, “forms of organisation and models of leadership, communicative channels and technologies of communication are constitutive parts of this network of relationships” (Melucci, 1995, pp. 44–45 cited in Monterde *et.al*, 2015).

This notion of collective identity as a process comprises a cognitive definition of the ends (the sense the action as for the actor), the means (the possibilities and the limits of the action) and field of action where the collective actions take place including a “certain degree of emotional investment” (Melucci, 1995:45 cited in Monterde *et.al*, 2015). It is this emotional degree which allows individuals and groups to have a sense of belonging to a certain common unity. Collective identity involves the ability by individuals or groups to distinguish the “(collective) self from the ‘other’ and to be recognized by those ‘others’” (Fominaya, 2010:395).

As in their complex processes of interaction movement involve conflicts to affirm their identity (Melucci, 1995), these conflicts provide the “basis for the consolidation of group identity and for solidarity, rather than shared interests” (Fominaya, 2010:395). Collective identity establishes the limits of the actor in relation to the field: it regulates membership of individuals and defines the requisites for joining the movement (Melucci 1995:49). Collective identity also allows us to understand the motivations behind individuals joining or participating in social movement actions (Melucci, 1995). Collective identity is in this sense very important for social movements because it also ensures their continuity and permanence by establishing the limits between the actor and its social environment; regulating membership of individuals to the movements; defining the requirements for movement membership and the criteria for membership recognition. The collective actions result from the ability of actors to define themselves and the environment which surrounds them, not linearly but as a product of “interaction, negotiation and opposition of different orientation.” (Cf. Melucci, 1995:43 cited in Monterde *et.al*, 2015)

However, although it is true that identities govern the actions of social movements and actors in a particular period, its construction is not necessarily a precondition for collective action to occur. Action can be a product of the ability actors have developed to define themselves and distinguish themselves from social others. In fact, it is through the action that the sense of a common “we” is reinforced or weakened (Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

Meanwhile, Della Porta and Diani (2006) have summarised the dominant theoretical approaches to social movements in general as below:

The new social movements perspective can be regarded first and foremost as a theory of how the stakes and the central actors of social conflict are modified under changing structural

conditions; the collective behaviour approach mainly theorizes the role of symbolic production in shaping collective action and the conditions for the emergence of new issues and/or identities; resource mobilization theory explores the conditions leading to the emergence of collective action among people who might have more than one good reason not to engage in it; finally, the political process approach looks at the forms of collective action and their variation across different political regimes and different points in time. (p. 29)

Table 1: Summary of major theories of social movements

Theoretical Perspective	Origins of Movements	Important features and focus	Key outcome of movements
Collective behaviour	Social disruptions, strains, grievances, precipitating events.	Social psychology of protests; emergent organisation and norms; protests outside institutional structures.	New meanings and forms of organisation
Resource Mobilisation and Political Process	Pre-existing organisation; resources; political opportunities and threats; master frames.	Connections between social movements and political process; mobilizing structures; framing strategies; institutional and non-institutional forms of action.	New resources, organisations and frames; cultural and political changes.
New Social Movement	Large-scale change; everyday networks and organisational structures; new types of grievances.	Collective identity; submerged networks; new types of structures, constituents and ideologies.	New types of values, identities and organisations; cultural innovations.

Source: Staggenborg (2015:26)

2.1.5. Neo-Marxist Analysis

While it's true to admit that neither Marx nor Engels (the main figures of Classical Marxism) have devoted efforts into theorising the emergence, development and character of social movements – that is, a theory of “movements” – emphasising their work more on studying the strategic location of the working class in relation to the dichotomy labour versus capital, subsequent Marxists like Mao Tse-tung, Alexander Chayanov, Franz Fanon and more recently, neo-Marxist academic analysis by scholars like Henry Veltmeyer, Jan Douwe Van Der Ploeg, Henry Bernstein, Phillip McMichael, Saturino Borrás Junior, and many others, have produced extremely valuable analysis about the peasantry in general including collective action by the peasantry.

One of the key historical writers on peasant economy who has again become influential in the field of peasant studies is the Russian rural sociologist Alexander Chayanov (1986). Although less concerned with broader political processes, Chayanov's theory of peasant economy has expanded considerably our knowledge of peasant household dynamics and identified forms of economic rationality (Edelman, 2005). His work on peasant mode of production has inspired a “permanence thesis” which defends the existence of a distinct development logic of the peasant societies that supports their survival within capitalism (Araghi, 1995). His work, as summarised by Marc Edelman “sparked heated polemics over whether rural social differentiation produced distinct classes of wealthy and poor peasants or, alternatively, whether such differences resulted from the age and demographic makeup of rural households, with younger units having more dependents and fewer workers, and thus less wealth than older units.” (2005:333)

Contrary to Chayanov, for focusing on political processes, Franz Fanon (1963) has theorised on the role of the peasantry in revolutionary processes. He argued that when confronted with provocation and stress, peasants were capable of brutality and violence (Fanon, 1963). For the African continent, the peasants, he concluded, should be an integral part of the revolutionary elite, as they were the only true and spontaneously revolutionary force available. Fanon (1963) argued that in colonial countries:

The peasants alone are revolutionary, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. The starving peasant, outside the class system, is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. For him there is no compromise, no possible coming to terms; colonization and decolonization are simply a question of relative strength. The exploited man

sees that his liberation implies the use of all means and that of force first and foremost. (1963:60)

More recently, Henry Veltmeyer (1997) has juxtaposed post-modern interpretations of social movements in Latin America, particularly what has been labelled the “new peasant movements”. This perspective argues that current movements constitute the most dynamic force of contestation against neoliberal capitalism in Latin America and elsewhere. By looking at actions of the indigenous people in Chiapas (and elsewhere in Latin America), Veltmeyer (1997) concluded that, contrary to the “new peasant movement” perspective, current movements are constituted as class:

under the objectively given conditions of their relationship to the means of production, and to the state, the guarantor of this relationship. At the same time, these peasants and indigenous people have constituted themselves as a class in subjective terms, with reference to actions based on a clear awareness of them as a class and a people – seeking to liberate themselves (and others in the process) from the exploitative and oppressive structures of neoliberal capitalism in its Latin American form. (p.157)

Henry Bernstein (2009), who has adopted the peasant disappearance thesis, has argued, from a political economy perspective, that the peasants of today (smallholders or small farmers) who have managed to survive a complete destruction by capitalism and imperialist forces have done so by becoming “petty commodity producers”, as “they are unable to reproduce themselves outside the relations and processes of capitalist commodity production.” The agents of the petty commodity form of production are capitalist and workers at the same time “because they own or have access to means of production and employ their own labour” (Bernstein, 2009:29).

Jan Douwe Van Der Ploeg (2008) disagrees with the “disappearance thesis” of the peasantry endorsed by Bernstein (2009) and its transformation into petty commodity producers (which he blames on a negative connotation of the word “peasant”) but also argues of the existence of a considerable increase in terms of the number of existing peasants. He argues that there are more peasants today than ever registered before and advances three lines of reasoning. The first line is the contradictory nature of the peasant condition which he defines as “ongoing struggle for autonomy and progress in a context characterised by multiple patterns of dependency and associated processes of exploitations and marginalisation” (p.xiv). The second line is the critical role of peasants in the modern societies to the extent that millions of people do not have other alternatives to exist other than being a peasant. The third line of reasoning refers to how the dominant ordering (what he calls the ‘empire’) “tends to

marginalise and destroy the peasantry along with the values that it carries and produces” (p.xiv).

In the same line as Van Der Ploeg (2008), Saturino Borras Jr. (2004) looks more at peasant resistance globally, and argues that in the face of threats to their lives and livelihood, landless, land-poor peasants, wage labourers and small farmers, in the southern and northern countries, forge transnational movement organisations, to defend their peasant way of living. These movements, like LVC have a “certain degree of formal associational coherence and rules to provide the necessary face to the broader rural social movement it represents” (p.3). Among other issues, this movement advocates for food sovereignty, demands accountability from transnational corporations, resists and opposes corporate control over natural resources and technology and coordinates the peasant’s transnational struggle against neo-liberalism (Borras, 2004).

While credits should rightfully be given to these neo-Marxists for having drawn other scholars’ attention to important prevailing features of the current peasantry, such as class dynamics (Veltmeyer, 1997), peasants’ forced transformation into “double agents” (petty commodity producers) (Henry Bernstein, 2009), “peasant condition” (Van Der Ploeg, 2008) and finally, forging transnational movements (Borras, 2004), they continue to ignore a fundamental practice of the peasantry in a neoliberal capitalist context. Thus, their analysis cannot constitute a comprehensive neo-Marxist approach to the peasantry and peasant social movements, which is capable of explaining the agency of the peasantry (movements) in a neoliberal capitalist context. Neo-Marxist analysis to the peasantry, in the context of neoliberal globalisation, must also be able to cover agency of (national) peasant movement organisations, which deploy transnationalising part of (not all) their activism, through joining an already transnational peasant movement platform. Such analysis must look at this as a strategy of the peasantry to survive, maintain its autonomy, nature and power. Consequently, the neo-Marxist approach to social movement must be reconstructed by accommodating this fundamental element. Only then neo-Marxism can expand its scope of analysis to be able to better explain the agency of the peasantry in today’s world.

2.2. Literature review

2.2.1. Transnational Activism

The field of transnational activism as a research area has been subject to a vast amount of studies within different disciplines. International relations scholars have studied the role of non-state actors in international politics. International political economists have focused on issues of power and authority in the international system treating transnational activism as a form of resistance to neoliberal globalisation. Political scientists and sociologists have studied how social movements extend to either transnational or global levels. Politics and development studies scholars drawing from literature on theories of social movement study the activities of transnational non-governmental organisations. The field of political theories, by both liberals and neo-Marxists, tries to theorise transnational, global and international civil society. Finally, activists themselves also develop their own attempts to understand how the global civil society has emerged against the neoliberal globalisation (See: Pipers & Uhlin 2004).

This study endorses Piper and Uhlin's argument that even after numerous studies done in the field, transnational activism "has yet to emerge as a coherent multidisciplinary field of research" (2004:3). As with the case of Piper and Uhlin's (2004) study on transnational activism, this same recognition offered this present study an opportunity to contribute with its findings to the interdisciplinary studies of transnational activism. Contrary to other regions like Latin America, Europe and Asia, where studies of peasant activism are abundant, literature on the African peasantry's transnational activism is scant. This reality is even more evident with respect to studies about the transnational activism of Southern African peasant organisations. This study contributes to the fulfilment of this gap. Furthermore, the study also tries to offer a comprehensive analysis on the nature of power, ideas and interests in the context of a transnational relationship between an African peasant movement organisation and an already transnational movement organisation.

Meanwhile, transnationalism, broadly understood as multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states, is not necessarily a new phenomenon in the history of the human society. Practices such as interest in globalisation, knowledge of foreign languages, foreign travel including transnational networking can be traced further back to the end of the twentieth century (Tarrow, 2005). However, what

distinguishes current transnational activist practices from the previous practices are the resources and the opportunities which are specific to the current era. In the view of Tarrow (2005), these new forms of resources and opportunities include:

the availability of rapid forms of personal communication and cheap international air travel; wider access to higher education and widely diffused knowledge of what is fast becoming an international language (English); expertise and mobilizing skills gleaned from domestic activism; and the visible evidence that decisions that affect people's lives are being made in international arenas. (pp: 2-3)

Another relevant aspect which distinguishes the current transnational practices from their historical predecessors is the predominantly formal and organisational character of the predecessors in opposition to the current transnational social movements which are predominantly "organised in open, fluid, and informal networks, wherein membership criteria are vaguely defined; their mode of operation is elaborated in an ad hoc manner." (Maiba, 2005:45)

To better understand the practice of transnationalism it is important to distinguish the term "transnational" from the term "global". While "global" refers to the geographic spread of activists' groups to more than two continental regions, "transnational" refers to a cross-national organising process among movement participants. Thus, in a global social movement, participants operate in at least three continents. However, in transnational movements participation entails cooperation of participants and communication involving actors from at least two different countries (Maiba, 2005).

Transnational activist networks emerge when Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and social movements also act beyond their own state borders rather than acting only on domestic and local arenas (Piper & Uhlin, 2004). By doing so, these networks create the so-called transnational space. A transnational space or transnational spaces are "sites where the interchange between network participants occurs. In other words, transnational networks materialize in transnational spaces" (Maiba, 2005:46). These spaces can be real or physical spaces such as a conference or a summit or virtual spaces such as mailing lists, collectively constructed web pages, and instant messages. Maiba (2005:46) distinguishes the importance of the two spaces in the following way:

Physical transnational spaces are particularly important for establishing and revitalizing transnational networks as well as for the elaboration of a collective identity, whereas virtual spaces have proven effective in providing a cost-efficient

means for sustaining the transnational coordination and co-operation among already networked individuals and groups. They further provide a channel for the transnational diffusion of information.

When transnational activists' networks include relevant actors, who work internationally on a certain issue, are bound together by shared values, share a common discourse, and a dense exchange of information and services occurs with the overall goal of changing the behaviour of states and international organisations they fall under what Keck and Sikkink (1998) termed transnational advocacy networks. These networks are also political spaces in the sense that differently located actors negotiate the social, cultural and political meanings of their own enterprise (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). In the view of Keck and Sikkink (1998:9), major transnational advocacy networks may include:

(1) International and domestic nongovernmental research and advocacy organizations; (2) local social movements; (3) foundations; (4) the media; (5) churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, and intellectuals; (6) parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations and (7) parts of the executive and / or parliamentary branches of governments.

However, amongst these groups the international and the domestic NGOs are the ones which play the most central role. They initiate the process of actions to put pressure on powerful actors, they position themselves regarding issues, introduce ideas, provide and exchange information as well as do the lobbying actions for the desired changes (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Transnational activism by social movements makes use of the transnational opportunity structures to press their political demands and the supranational institutions which regulate global forces. These supranational institutions have gained political influence due to the acceleration of the process of global integration. In this process, nation-states have seen their capacity to regulate on political and economic matters reduced and shifting to supranational structures. Thus, social movements build new allies to be able to target these structures and institutions.

Another important consequence of the increased cross-border communication and networking which emerges from movement activism is a very high degree of transnational diffusion of tactics, ideas, frames and resources (Maiba, 2005). According to Maiba (2005) channels for transnational diffusion can be both intentional and accidental modes of diffusion:

At protest convergences, activists utilize those summit protests to consciously construct a space for information exchange and networking. These summit events almost always include educational activities ranging from lectures, reports about movement struggles, hands-on workshops, and strategy sessions to networking sessions among like-minded groups and organizations. Conscious transnational diffusion further occurs over the internet. This form of computer-mediated diffusion ranges from specially designed web pages for the diffusion of ideas and tactical approaches, to list serves chat rooms for activists, to internet media such as live streaming of radio and video programs (p.46).

Despite the lack of homogeneity which transnational movements express, in terms of social composition, tactics and issues, these movements are held together by “the construction of a shared imaginative and empowering collective identity” (Maiba, 2005:47).

2.2.2. Globalisation

Globalisation has been the focus of academic studies for a very long time involving various dimensions that include economics, politics and agriculture. Economists tend to focus their analysis on the impact of market deregulation over wealth and inequality (Kratou & Goaied, 2016; Bergh & Nilsson, 2014). Although disagreements remain in terms of the actual impact of globalisation on wealth and inequality, there is a dominant view that the poor are excluded from the real social and economic benefits from this process. Political scientists tend to look more at the relationship between the process of globalisation and the notion of the “nation-states” (Goldblatt et. al., 1997; Dhanapala, 2001; Stephen et.al., 2006). There is a general conclusion that the process of globalisation reduces the political and the economic autonomy of the states by transferring it to supranational structures. Scholars who have studied the impact of globalisation in agriculture and the poor (peasantry) have generally concluded that it forces farmers into integrating more commercialised agrifood systems both locally and globally (Von Braun & Diaz Bonilla, 2008). However, it is yet to be studied how globalisation is affecting the agency of national peasant movement organisations from Southern Africa. This study also aims to fulfil this gap.

Meanwhile, the concepts of globalisation, capitalism and food regimes should be treated as interconnected concepts. While globalisation creates opportunities for new forms of food regimes through further subordination of states to markets, capitalism itself, like food regime, also takes “various historical forms” (McMichael, 2013:21). Globalisation is understood here as a “a transplanetary process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multi-directional flows of people, objects, places and information as well as the

structures they encounter and create” (Ritzer, 2011:2). However, as pointed out by Bernstein (2010), in broadest sense, it includes features such as:

- Deregulation of financial markets and “financialization” of all aspects of economic activity;
- Increasing deregulation of international trade;
- Shifts in the production, sourcing and sales strategies and technologies of transnational agribusiness and manufacturing corporations; and
- Massive possibilities attendant on information technologies, not least for organizing economic activity (production and marketing) and for mass communications. (p.79)

On the other hand, capitalism is viewed here as a “system of production and reproduction based in a fundamental social relation between capital and labour: capital exploits labour in its pursuit of profit and accumulation, while labour has to work for capital to obtain its means of subsistence” (Bernstein, 2010:1).

An initial definition of food regimes stressed that it “linked international relations of food production and consumption to forms of accumulation broadly distinguishing periods of capitalist transformation since 1870” (Friedmann & McMichael, 1980:95 cited in McMichael, 2013:1). McMichael (2013) identifies three periods of capitalist transformation related to food production and consumption. The first corresponding to geopolitical-economic conjunctures dominated by the British State (1870s-1930s); the second to the period dominated by the United States (1950s-1970s) and finally the third, corresponding to the corporate financial power (1980s-2000s).

The British-centred food regime was defined with the process in which the British combined colonial tropical imports to Europe with the ones from its settler colonies (e.g. U.S.A., Canada and Australia) to provide for the emerging industrial class in Europe. With the establishment with commercial agriculture sectors in settler states, the British shaped and modelled twentieth-century “development”. The US-centred food regime was characterised by the United States sending (surplus) of food to its strategic postcolonial partners’ states in the context of the cold war to secure their anti-communist loyalty and markets. The corporate food regimes are considered to have further deepened the process of food regimes by expanding the process into new regions, subdividing quality, standardizing food, dumping subsidised food, displacing producers and populations, etc. (McMichael, 2013)

As put by McMichael (2013:8) “the food regime and the history of capital can be understood as mutually conditioning”. It is based on this argument that for the purpose of this study, the

concept of food regime is applied in its four different dimensions (formally, substantively, abstractly and concretely):

Formally, the food regime concept defines a capitalist world order governed by rules structuring the production and consumption of food on a world scale (Friedmann 1993:30-31). *Substantively*, the food regime concept concerns the projection of power via food circuits arising from historically specific relations of production and accumulation of capital. *Abstractly*, the food regime may be understood as “the political face of the world value chain” (Araghi 2003:51). This refers to the political structuring of world capitalism, and its organization of agricultures to provision labor and/or consumers in such a way as to reduce wage costs and enhance commercial profits. *Concretely*, a food regime represents a particular world-historical conjuncture in which governing rules define a world-price-governed relationship of food provisioning. (McMichael, 2013:8)

2.2.3. The Peasantry and Food Sovereignty

2.2.3.1. Peasantry

Dominant studies about the peasantry have generally been developed under the classic and neo-classic Marxism. Classic Marxists have centred their analysis on the place of the peasantry in the transition to capitalism (Marx and Lenin), in the process of socialist primitive accumulation (Lenin, Bukharin, Trotsky, Stalin) as well as in the struggle of the classes under the conditions of emergent bourgeois democracy (Bernstein & Byres 2001). It is probably because of the influence of Maoism that studies about the peasantry started then paying attention to new dramatic events like the role of the peasantry in the liberation struggles by rural guerrilla movements in Asia, Latin America and Africa (Bernstein & Byres, 2001). More recently, however, Byres (Byres, 1994 cited in Bernstein & Byres, 2001) cited new studies which may have had an influence in the emergent peasant studies and summarized their contribution as follows:

Eric Wolf's textbook on Peasants (1966, and his equally seminal *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, (1969), Barrington Moore Jr's study of *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of a Modern World* (1966) and the first English translation of A.V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy* (1966, written in 1920). Wolf and Barrington Moore Jr were major figures of critical dissent from the mainstream orthodoxies of the American academy (...). Wolf's work was relevant to that of peasant social structure, Barrington Moore's to peasants and politics (as was Wolf 1969), and Chayanov's, of course, to the nature and logic of peasant agriculture. (Bernstein & Byres, 2001:4).

For Bernstein and Byres (2001) the works of these three authors established the major themes and issues that were going to inspire the studies of the peasantry particularly by the publishers like the Journal of Peasant's studies. More recently, however, academic Marxists like Henry Bernstein, Phillip McMichael, Henry Veltmeyer, Jan Douwe Van Der Ploeg

(2008) and others – which contributions are discussed under the theory section above (**Section 2.1.5. Neo-Marxist Analysis**) have made sophisticated contributions to the study of peasant/peasantries. Some view the role of the peasants today more as petty commodity producers (Bernstein 2009) and others as a “condition” capable of surviving and even expanding numerically under the dominant forces of neoliberal globalisation (Van Der Ploeg, 2008).

However, the terms “peasant”, “small”, “small-scale” and “family farmer” (including here the term “subsistence farmers”) have been applied so mutually in such a way that they became easily confusing (Bernstein, 2010). In this context, given the important analytical implication of the (incorrect) use of these terms, for this study, an effort has been made to analytically distinguish these terms. This effort becomes relevant in this study particularly because these terms have been applied here in opposition to the term “commercial farmers”.

In what he labels a “highly synthetic exercise for heuristic purpose”, Edelman (2013) distinguishes four different kinds of definition for the term “peasant”: Historical, social science, activist and normative definitions. Because this study does not constitute an attempt to develop a profound overview of the definition of these terms but rather their use in social science and social movements, we have applied the definitions in use both in social science and by the social movement activists (for detailed historical and normative definitions see Edelman, 2013). For Bernstein, the term “peasant” usually “signifies household farming organised for simple reproduction, notably to supply its own food (“subsistence”).” He adds that this basic definition includes “presumed qualities such as the solidarity, reciprocity and egalitarianism of the village and commitment to the values of a way of life based on household, community, kin and locale” (2010:3).

While Bernstein (2010) seems to view the “peasant condition” as a “statistic category”, Van Der Ploeg (2008) offers a continuum understanding of the “peasant condition”. For Van Der Ploeg (2008) there are important features of the “peasant condition” which are central elements to peasants in both developed and underdeveloped countries which determine their survival in the current global context. These features include: “minimizing monetary costs, crop diversification to reduce economic and environmental risks, cooperative relations that provide an alternative to monetary relations and market exchange, and a struggle for

autonomy which includes non-monetary forms of obtaining inputs and labor.” (Edelman, 2010. For further details, see Van Der Ploeg 2008).

LVC (LVC cited in Edelman 2013) offers a social movement (activist) type of definition for the term “peasant”.

A peasant is a man or woman of the land, who has a direct and special relationship with the land and nature through the production of food and/or other agricultural products. Peasants work the land themselves, rely[ing] above all on family labour and other small scale forms of organizing labour. Peasants are traditionally embedded in their local communities and they take care of local landscapes and of agroecological systems. The term peasant can apply to any person engaged in agriculture, cattle raising, pastoralism, handicrafts related to agriculture or a related occupation in a rural area. This includes Indigenous people working on the land. (p.10)

The terms “small, small-scale and small-holder farmer” have normally been defined considering either geographic (farm size) or sociological (type of farming) criteria or both (Bernstein 2010). For Bernstein (2010:4) some sources define “small-farms” as “those with less than 2 hectares of crop land” while other focus on low level of technology, the use of family labour and an orientation towards subsistence. These criteria can be identified in the definitions and/or characterizations of small farmers offered by various sources (e.g. Murphy, 2012; Hazell *et.al*, 2010; Wiggins, 2009; etc.).

Barnet *et. al* (1997 cited in Morton, 2007:19680) define subsistence farming as “farming and associated activities which together form a livelihood strategy where the main output is consumed directly, where there are few if any purchased inputs and where only a minor proportion of output is marketed.” However, the term “subsistence farming” has also been applied to refer to the rural poor population of developing countries and to “denote activity of self-provisioning with agricultural produce” (Morton, 2007).

At least up until ten years ago, the three types of circulating definitions for “family farming” and several *ad hoc* operationalisations of some definitions suffered from several limitations. These limitations included lack of formality, as they were too context oriented; and their operationalisation seemed to be ad hoc (Djurfeldt, 1996). In an attempt to provide social scientists with a definition of family farming that could be both formal and operationalised, Djurfeldt (1996) included the labour criterion in the formal definition of family farming and suggested its replacement with the notion of “notional family farm”. In this context, as defined by Djurfeldt:

1. The notional family farm is characterized by an overlapping between three functional units: (a) the unit of production (the farm), (b) the unit of consumption (the household) and (c) the unit of kinship (the family).
2. For its reproduction the notional family farm requires family labour, i.e., labour performed by members of the family/household, (and here we are not referring mainly to managerial work). This implies that, if the farm no longer requires family labour for its reproduction, it is no longer a notional family farm, although it may still be a farm family business in Gasson and Errington's terminology. (Djurfeldt, 1996)

However, after critically reviewing 36 different definitions of family farming, including the one suggested by Djurfeldt (1996), Garner and Paula de la O Campos (2014) offered what they understand to be a more consistent and comprehensive definition. For Garner and Paula de la O Campos (2014), "family farming," also known as "family agriculture" is a means of organising "agricultural, forestry, fisheries, pastoral and aquaculture production which is managed and operated by a family and predominantly reliant on family labour, both women's and men's. The family and the farm are linked, coevolve and combine economic, environmental, reproductive, social and cultural functions." (p.17)

Smalley (2013) identifies and discusses three distinct as well as overlapping commercial agriculture models. These models are: plantations, contract farming and commercial farming areas. Smalley (2013) defines and characterise these three models as below:

Plantations grow one main cash crop; require capital investment; are larger than an average-sized holding although some land may be left uncultivated; rely on hired resident or non-resident labour, often including migrant labour; and are centrally managed. Ownership may be foreign or domestic, private or corporate. With **contract farming**, farmers agree in a written or verbal contract to supply produce to a buyer, usually at a pre-determined price, on a specific date and to a certain quality. There are several variants. One that may involve large-scale land acquisition is nucleus outgrowing, where contracted smallholders complement production on a central estate. Lastly, a **commercial farming** area constitutes multiple private commercial farms of medium or large scale that are more or less contiguous in an area. Commercial farming areas or blocks have been documented in Africa throughout the twentieth century, and in recent years there have been signs of increased activity and political rhetoric around such developments. (p.3)

Smalley (2013) doesn't only recognise some analytical and descriptive overlap between these commercial agriculture models but also identifies some variations within commercial farming areas. These variations include large-scale commercial farms which are defined as "private or family-owned holdings that are far above the national average in size and employ a waged

labour force” (Mbilinyi, 1988, Mabogunje, 1989, Von Blanckenburg, 1994, Poulton *et al.*, 2008, Gibbon, 2011 cited in Smalley, 2013:12).³

2.2.3.2. Food Sovereignty:

The term food sovereignty emerged in 1980s but the food sovereignty project as we know today emerged in the 1990s in the context of “intensifying global agrarian crisis exacerbated by trade liberalisation and structural adjustment policies withdrawing support for domestic agricultural sectors across the global South” (McMichael, 2014:934). Academic - and non-academic- debates involving the concept of food sovereignty have been basically following two lines. One line is dominated by the proponents and supporters (e.g. La Via Campesina, 2016a; Wittman, 2010; Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010, 2014). The second line is dominated by those who are generally sceptical about it (e.g. Beuchelt and Virchow, 2012; Bernstein, 2014; Hospes, 2014). Food sovereignty proponents and supporters generally agree that the food sovereignty approach represents an alternative to the current neoliberal approach to food systems, a new rights doctrine to food production and consumption, a “common framework that would allow diversity and take the specificity of each different place into account (i.e. the right of all countries and peoples to define their own policies)” (Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2014:983). Proponents and supports of food sovereignty propose the principle of food sovereignty challenging the food security approach for not putting the food producers themselves at the centre of the food system. Scholars, proponents and supporters of food sovereignty see it as a central element to combat poverty and global hunger. And they believed that the theory and the practice of food sovereignty have “the potential to foster dramatic and widespread change in agricultural, political and social systems related to food by posing a radical challenge to the agro-industry model of food production” (Wittman et.al., 2010:4).

On the other side of the academic debate about the concept of food sovereignty are the sceptics. The sceptics have criticised it for, among other issues, being too focused on smallholder food producers aiming basically at protecting them, thus making it impossible to be operationalised at other levels (other than rural and local levels). For some, it lacks a comprehensive dimension capable of addressing hunger for both the urban and rural

³ For an in-depth analysis on commercial agriculture models, variations and theoretical approaches see Smalley (2013).

population (Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012). Sceptics have found it difficult for food sovereignty to be able to work as an alternative capable of (using a low input and labour intensive farming model) feed an increasing global population. Academically more relevant is the criticism of the failure of food sovereignty to “move it forward from its constitutive binary, thesis and antithesis, towards a synthesis that yields a programme of ‘transformation’” (Bernstein, 2014:1057). This failure comes intrinsic to the concept of food sovereignty given that it “discards crucial elements of agrarian political economy, of the political economy of capitalism more broadly, and of modern history, in order to establish its thesis and especially its antithesis: capital’s other.” (See Bernstein, 2014:1057)

Meanwhile, at least until the mid-1990s, Clay (2003) had identified 200 definitions for the term “food security” of which a number overlapped with the current dominant notions of “food sovereignty” (Clay, 2003 cited in Edelman, 2014). According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO, 2015) “food security” is defined as:

A situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Based on this definition, four food security dimensions can be identified: food availability, economic and physical access to food, food utilization and stability over time. (p.53)

As an alternative to the above definition, in 1996, La Via Campesina proposed the concept of food sovereignty (Edelman, 2015). For Borras, Franco and Suárez, La Via Campesina defines “food sovereignty” as “the right of peoples to produce and consume safe and healthy food in sustainable ways in and near one’s territory” (2015:60). However, when defined by LVC itself the concept becomes more comprehensive:

Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. It defends the interests and inclusion of the next generation. It offers a strategy to resist and dismantle the current corporate trade and food regime, and directions for food, farming, pastoral and fisheries systems determined by local producers and users. Food sovereignty prioritizes local and national economies and markets and empowers peasant and family farmer-driven agriculture, artisanal fishing, pastoralist-led grazing, and food production, distribution and consumption based on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty promotes transparent trade that guarantees just incomes to all peoples as well as the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition. It ensures that the rights to use and manage lands, territories, waters, seeds, livestock and biodiversity are in the hands of those of us who produce food. Food sovereignty implies new social relations free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and

economic classes and generations. (Declaration of Nyéléni 2007 quoted in Alonso-Fradejas, Alberto, Saturnino M. Borras Jr, Todd Holmes, Eric Holt-Giménez and Martha Jane Robbins, 2015).

LVC's definition of food sovereignty clearly reveals its political character rather than a simply administrative one as being the main difference from the concept of food security. Thus, its implementation poses significant political challenges at all levels (from national to global) (Edelman, 2015). This concept is also "anchored in a democratic rebuilding of domestic agricultures, where possible, to overcome processes of deepening food dependency and de-peasantisation inflicted by corporate marketing of cheapened 'food from nowhere' (Bové and Dufour, 2001 cited in McMichael, 2014:934).

2.3. Definition of Key-terms and Processes

2.3.1. Social Movements

Different theoretical approaches tend to approach the concept of social movement, differently too. However, because of its much broader reach, for this study, we have applied the definition of social movements which has been consistently suggested by Mario Diani, in numerous academic works (1992; 2003; 2004 and Diani & Bison, 2004 cited in Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Diani defines a social movement as "a distinct social process consisting of mechanisms through which actors engage in collective action" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006:20). This definition recognizes other relevant distinct characteristics of social movements such as: their involvement in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; that they are linked by dense informal networks and that they share a distinct collective identity (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Conflictual relations refer to the engagement of social movement actors in political and/or cultural conflicts to promote and oppose social change. Dense informal networks differentiate social movement processes from the various instances in which action takes place and is coordinated, particularly within specific organisational structures. Social movements happened when people share a sense of collective identity. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006)

Nonetheless, for scientific research purpose, the definition of the concept "social movement" must be distinguished from "social movement organisation". Social movements must not be seen as "organisations", not even of a particular kind (Tilly 1988 cited in Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Social movements are complex phenomenon "encompassing organizations, crowds, conscience, in-formal groups, and the interactions amongst all these elements"

(Oliver, 1989:25). A single organisation, regardless of its capacity to mobilise and of its dominant traits, should not be understood a social movement (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). A social movement organisation, however, is any organisation which is involved in a social movement dynamic (See Della Porta & Diani, 2006:26) like UNAC and LVC discussed in this research. It is the response to different dilemmas that will produce different types of social movement organisations.

Without attempting to generate any systemic typologies for social movement organisations, Della Porta and Diani (2006) suggest two types of social movement organisations considering their respective characteristics. Professional social movement organisations, for example, are those which display characteristics such as: a leadership which devotes full time to the movement, with a large proportion of resources originating outside the aggrieved group which the movement claims to represent; a very small or non-existing membership base or a paper membership – membership implies little more than allowing one's name to be used upon membership roll - ; attempts to impart the image of "speaking for a constituency" and; to influence policy towards the same constituency. This type of social movement organisations is characterized by little power by its ordinary members in policymaking and by a staff who determines the political positions taken by the organisation (McCarthy and Zald, 1987 cited in Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Participatory movement organisations comprise mass protest organisations and grassroots organisations. Mass protest organisations combine attention to participatory democracy with certain levels of formal organisational structure. Grassroot social movement organisations, however, combine strong participatory orientations with low levels of formal structures. Their existence is totally dependent on their members' willingness to participate. (See Della Porta & Diani, 2006).

2.3.2. Transnational Agrarian Movements

In this study, we have applied Borras Jr, Marc Edelman and Cristóbal Kay (2008) definition of a transnational agrarian movement. By transnational agrarian movements, Borras et.al (2008) mean: movements, organisations, coalitions, networks and solidarity linkages of the rural poor. The word "rural poor" applied in this definition includes "small owner-cultivators, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, rural labourers, migrant labourers, subsistence fisher folk and fish workers, forest dwellers, indigenous peoples, peasant women and pastoralists" (see Borras *et. al.*, 2008:170). Again, transnational (agrarian) movements should not be

understood as transnational organisations which are “international nongovernmental organisations engaged in explicit attempts to change some elements of the social structure and/or reward of society” as by the definition proposed by Smith (1999:591).

2.3.3. Transnational Corporations

As defined by the United Nations (UNCTAD, 2013), Transnational Corporations (TNC's) refer to:

Incorporated or unincorporated enterprises comprising parent enterprises and their foreign affiliates. A parent enterprise is defined as an enterprise that controls assets of other entities in countries other than its home country, usually by owning a certain equity capital stake. An equity capital stake of 10 per cent or more of the ordinary shares or voting power for an incorporated enterprise, or its equivalent for an unincorporated enterprise, is normally considered as a threshold for the control of assets (in some countries, an equity stake other than that of 10 per cent is still used. In the United Kingdom, for example, a stake of 20 per cent or more was a threshold until 1997.). A foreign affiliate is an incorporated or unincorporated enterprise in which an investor, who is resident in another economy, owns a stake that permits a lasting interest in the management of that enterprise (an equity stake of 10 per cent for an incorporated enterprise or its equivalent for an unincorporated enterprise). (UNCTAD 2013)

However, this definition has been employed in this research considering both its broad character and its lack of capacity to express the enormous transformative power such companies have in shaping the global and the local contexts regardless of their location as well as the lack of universally accepted definitions for this concept in available academic literature (Jenkins, 2013). In terms of terminology, we have given preference to the use of “Transnational Corporations”, as opposed to many other existing synonyms like “multinational companies”, “multinational corporations”, “multinational enterprises” and “multinational firms”. In fact, this same strategy has also been adopted by other scholars (e.g. Jenkins, 2013). Although the term has been used in many ways, there has been very little effort so far to trying to offer a scientifically approved definition of “transnational corporations”. Usually the term has been applied to refer to firms of production which control assets in foreign countries (Hood and Young, 1979 cited in Jenkins, 2013). Discussions around whether the term should be applied to designate state or privately own corporations have taken place within the United Nation’s structures (Jenkins, 2013).

2.3.4. Transnational Agency

In the last forty years, international relations, anthropology and migration studies, have been the only three disciplines that have dedicated efforts aiming at recognising and researching about the concept of “transnationality” or “transnationalism” as a modern phenomenon (Köngeter and Smith, 2015:3). Transnationality⁴ as a phenomenon is characterised by “the circulation of people, goods, money, ideas, symbols, and cultural practices across traditional national reference points. In the process, new patterns emerge in terms of biography, space and institutions.” (Köngeter and Smith, 2015:2). It is in this context that Pries (2002) defines transnationalism as “lasting, extensive, and institutionalised relationships that transcend national border” (Pries, 2002 cited in Chambon, 2012:2). However, he later expanded his understanding of the concept to refer to: “the sense of belonging, cultural commonalities, intertwined forms of communication, workplace context and everyday life practice, as well as to related social orders and regulations that transcend the borders of nation states” (Pries, 2010 cited in Chambon et al., 2012:2).

For Naila Kabeer (1999), while in social science literature, the term “agency” is normally operationalised as “decision-making” in the other fields of science, it can take different forms. Kabeer sees agency within the dimension of power – *the ability to make choices* - and defines agency as the “ability to define one’s goal and act upon them” (1999:438). However, agency is more than the observable actions; to the extent that it also includes the meaning, motivation and purpose which individuals (and groups) bring to their activity (Kabeer, 1999).

However, because the reference to “agency” is very often not well defined in transnationalism studies it is, therefore, crucial to rely on the already extensively elaborated conceptualisations of agency in social science and turn them into more productive conceptualisations for their use in transnational practices (Köngeter and Smith, 2015:7). It’s based on this argument that for the purpose of this study our understanding of “transnational agency” refers to one’s (individual or group) ability to define its goal and act upon them in transnationalised contexts (beyond national border).

⁴ Which should not be confused with the concept of internationality – which describes the relations between states, in which they present themselves as sovereign actors (Köngeter and Smith, 2015)

2.3.5. Agroecology

For Guzmán, Eduardo and Graham Woodgate (2013) any attempt to provide a definition for agroecology (as an applied science) which does not limit its ability to contribute to systems of food production, consumption and distribution which are sustainable must be able to problematise “capitalist relations of production or allying itself with agrarian social movements” (p.33). Thus, Guzmán and Woodgate (2013) define agroecology as system which:

Promotes the ecological management of biological systems through collective forms of social action, which redirect the course of coevolution between nature and society in order to address the “crisis of modernity.” This is to be achieved by systemic strategies ...to change [the] modes of human production and consumption that have produced this crisis. Central to such strategies is the local dimension where we encounter endogenous potential encoded within knowledge systems ... that demonstrate and promote both ecological and cultural diversity. Such diversity should form the starting point of alternative agricultures and the establishment of dynamic yet sustainable rural societies. (Sevilla Guzmán and Woodgate 1997, 93–94 cited in Guzmán & Woodgate 2013:33)

Although not having attempted to provide a detailed explanation to it, Guzmán and Woodgate (2013) recognise the existence of three core dimensions of the concept of agroecology for research purpose which emerged from various critiques to neoliberal globalisation and the capitalist model of food and fiber production, consumption and distribution. These critiques “seek to contribute to ecologically and culturally appropriate food systems and food sovereignty” (Guzmán & Woodgate, 2013:33). These dimensions are: productive/ecological, socioeconomic and sociocultural/political dimension. Wezel et.al. (2009) seems to also recognise similar dimension of the concept of agroecology when observing that amongst various uses of the term, agroecology has been applied to refer to science, movement and practice (Wezel et.al 2009 cited in Rosset & Martínez-Torres 2012)

In fact, agroecology is a very strong theme in the agrarian social movement and food sovereignty movement in particular. It has been offered as the alternative to the destructive capitalist and industrialised agriculture which has led to very negative environmental impact such as “soil degradation, nutrient losses, environmental pollution and loss of biodiversity” (Weis, 2010 cited in Guzmán & Woodgate, 2013:33). Agroecology is considered by some one of the key pillars of food sovereignty (e.g. Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2014).

In LVC the rise of agroecology situates in the context of its territorial disputes with capital and agribusiness. In this dispute LVC has been “addressing the roles played in the current

global disputes over natural resources by both *agroecology-as-farming* and *agroecology-as-framing*, as elements in the (re)construction of peasant territories.” (Martínez-Torres & Peter M. Rosset, 2014:980)

A part from considering a key pillar of food sovereignty, the broad definition offered by LVC to agroecology argues that peasant agroecology is:

A social and ecological system encompassing a great diversity of technologies and practices that are culturally and geographically rooted. It removes dependencies on agro-toxins, rejects confined industrial animal production, uses renewable energies, and guarantees healthy food. It enhances dignity, honours traditional knowledge and restores the health and integrity of the land. (...) Agroecology defends biodiversity, cools down the planet and protects our soils. Our agricultural model not only can feed all of humanity but is also the way to stop the advance of the climate crisis through local production in harmony with our forests and waterways, enhancing diversity and returning organic matter to natural cycles. (Via Campesina, 2013)

LVC attaches emotions to its definition of agroecology as it results from concrete examples of how peasant farmers related themselves with nature. Agroecology also represents the centre of the model of production the movement proposes to the world.

We can find examples of sustainable peasant and family farm agriculture all over the planet, though the names we use vary greatly from one place to another, whether agroecology, organic farming, natural farming, low external input sustainable agriculture, or others. In La Vía Campesina we do not want to say that one name is better than another, but rather we want to specify the key principles that we defend. Truly sustainable peasant agriculture comes from a combination of the recovery and revalorization of traditional peasant farming methods, and the innovation of new ecological practices... We do not believe that the mere substitution of ‘bad’ inputs for ‘good’ ones, without touching the structure of monoculture, is sustainable... The application of these principles in the complex and diverse realities of peasant agriculture requires the active appropriation of farming systems by peasants ourselves, using our local knowledge, ingenuity, and ability to innovate. We are talking about relatively small farms managed by peasant families and communities. Small farms permit the development of functional biodiversity with diversified production and the integration of crops, trees and livestock. In this type of agriculture, there is less or no need for external inputs, as everything can be produced on the farm itself. (LVC 2010 cited in Rosset & Martínez-Torres 2012)

For this research, we have applied the definition of agroecology which is offered by LVC. Although too broad for scientific purpose this definition covers the sentiments revealed by both UNAC and LVC when referring to the term agroecology, peasant farming and more broadly to sustainable models and techniques of agrarian and agriculture production.

2.3.6. Land Grabbing

Colonialism represents the first great land grab in Africa. During colonisation, millions of hectares were taken by settlers and colonial companies from the native population. This was followed by another great land grab after independence but this time through state-led land acquisition. In many African countries, the state allocated land which previously belonged to local farmers to parastatal companies. These two forms of land grabs were followed by acquisition of large scale of land by local prominent people (Politicians, army generals, former liberation fighters, government officials, business people etc.) and a growing middle class classified by Cotula (2013:31) as “land grabbing from below.” (See Cotula, 2013:27)

However, with the advent of the global food and energy crises which climaxed in 2007-2008, the magnitude of large-scale investments in foreign land made by Transnational Corporations (TNC's) has witnessed a remarkable increase. The major impact of this increase was on the African continent (Clements & Fernandes, 2013). The main reason current global investment is targeting mostly Sub-Saharan African land is the belief that the region has large unexploited agriculture potential and vast tracks of land can be acquired under long-term lease agreements (Cotula & Vermeulen, 2009; Clements & Fernandes, 2013). Figures on the scale of the land acquired so far must be treated with caution, as they differ depending on the nature of their sources. Although highly contradictory, some reports estimate that from 2005 to 2011 alone nearly 20,000,000 hectares were acquired in sub-Saharan Africa. Countries like Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Liberia, Ghana, Mali and Senegal are the most important recipients of land investments according to official and unofficial sources. In Mozambique for example, a national inventory for the period between 2004 and 2009 calculated a figure closer to 2.7 million hectares acquired (Cotula, 2013). Like some other African countries, in the Mozambique's context, acquiring land means a long-term lease as per its constitution all land is state-owned and only holding use rights is legal.

The BRICS countries (Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China and South Africa) are becoming significant investors in Africa (UNCTAD, 2013). Mozambique is in a strategic position in Africa-Brazil relations. This originates from a combination of different factors such as: historical affinities, common language (Portuguese), diplomatic bonds, increasing business opportunities and its convenient geographical location for exporting soya to China by ships crossing the Indian Ocean (Cotula, 2013; Cabral et al., cited in Chichava et al., 2013).

Between 2003 and 2011, there were twenty-two countries hosting Brazilian companies, some of which had already invested heavily in Mozambique (Vilas Bôas, 2011 cited in Schlesinger, 2014). At the end of 2011, Brazil's technical cooperation portfolio in Mozambique comprised 21 active projects, with nine new projects in the process of negotiation. Agriculture, education and health are the main areas of focus (Chichava et. al., 2013). However, in their rush to Mozambique, the Brazilians are not only searching for exporting capital to Africa, they also exporting an agriculture development model (Cotula, 2013).

For this research, we have applied Matias Margulis, Nora McKeon and Saturino Borrás's (2013) definition of land grabbing in which it is viewed as global land rush characterized by "transnational and domestic corporate investors, governments and local elites taking control over large quantities of land (and its minerals and water) to produce food, feed, biofuel and other industrial commodities for the international or domestic markets." Another important characteristic of such land deals is a "very low levels of transparency, consultation and respect for the rights of local communities living off the land" (Borrás and Franco, 2010; Cotula, 2012; Zoomers, 2010 cited in Margulis et. al., 2013:2).

Chapter Three: Methods and Procedures

This chapter describes the methodological efforts put in place to generate answers to the research questions proposed in this study. The chapter includes a discussion of the extended case method approach offered by Michael Burawoy, which has been applied to this research. It also describes the tools and procedures applied to gather and analyse the information collected during the fieldwork. Burawoy's approach to the extended case method goal is to reconstruct a theory or a body of theories by refuting it (Burawoy, 1998). Here, reconstructing and re-theorising meant accommodating neglected elements which allow a more comprehensive analysis and understanding of the agency of the peasantry in the context of advancing neoliberal capitalism.

3.1. Research Method

This study applied Michael Burawoy's approach to the extended case method. The extended-case method owes its origin to anthropology and more specifically to the works of the Manchester's School of Social Anthropology pioneered by Max Gluckman. In his works, Max Gluckman proposed the empirical study of actors through "particular incidents and then link the incidents as constitutive of the processes studied" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009:246). In his view, the task of social researchers should, therefore, be of documenting "a series of disputes, ruptures, and norm conflicts and record as much of the total context as possible" (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009:246). In this context, the process of building theories results from the exercise of putting together similar case reports of conflicts documented over time (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009).

For Michael Burawoy, while in the positive approach every effort is made not to participate in the world being studied, the extended case method applies reflexive science to ethnography, the recognition that the researcher is also part of the social world he is studying (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As Burawoy puts it, his reflexive approach to ethnography aims to "extract the general from the unique, from the 'micro' to the 'macro' and to connect the present to the past in anticipation to the future, all by building on pre-existing theory" (Burawoy, 1998:5).

Michael Burawoy defines ethnography as “writing about the world from the standpoint of the participant observer” (1998:6) and his definition of science means “falsifiable and generalised explanations of empirical phenomena” (p.6).

The role of an ethnographer has been defined in many ways depending on the field of science it is applied to. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), for example, who view ethnography simply as another social research method, argued that the ethnographer participates “overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions; in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned.” (p.2). Jan Savage (2000), who applied the method for health studies, (while defending that there is no standard definition for ethnography) stressing the role of the “participant observer” in the fieldwork argues that the “term ethnography can be applied to any small scale research that is carried out in everyday settings; uses several methods; evolves in design through the study; and focuses on the meaning of individuals’ actions and explanations rather than their quantification” (p.1400 cited in O’Reilly, 2012)

For Scott Reeves, Ayelet Kuper and Brian Hodges (2008), an ethnographic research should usually expose the following key features:

- A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomenon, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about it
- A tendency to work primarily with “unstructured data” that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection as a closed set of analytical categories
- Investigation of a small number of cases (perhaps even just one case) in detail
- Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions; the product of this analysis primarily takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations (p.512).

Meanwhile, Burawoy (1998) is not the only scholar to have applied the (ethnographic) extended case method. Many others have done it in the past (e.g. Garbett, 1970; Gluckman, 1958; 1961, 1964; Van Velsen, 1960, 1964, 1967; Mitchell, 1956, 1983, Epstein, 1958 and many others cited in Burawoy, 1998). Like this study, many have applied ethnography to study social movements in their respective political and economic contexts (Fantasia, 1988, Johnston, 1994, Ray, 1998 cited in Burawoy, 1998) and many others have used it to analyse global processes (e.g. Goldman, 2001; Hannerz, 1996, 2003; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2003; Tsing, 2005; Englund, 2002 cited in Lapegna, 2015).

Burawoy's reflexive approach to science is premised upon participation of the researcher in the world being studied. This participation aims at deploying multiple dialogues to reach explanations of empirical phenomena. This approach begins with dialogue which can be real or virtual, between observer and participants, it moves to another level of dialogue between local processes and extra-local forces that in turn expand to a dialogue with a theory with itself (see Burawoy, 1998). The goal of Burawoy's extended case method is to arrive at a theory reconstruction. Rather than confirming theories, Burawoy's approach to the extended case method focuses on looking at failures of a theory or of a body of theories in explaining certain social phenomena. In this context, the identified failures lead not to a complete rejection but to a process of rebuilding a theory or a body of theories which can result in producing stronger theories (Burawoy, 1998). In this sense, the emphasis of Burawoy's approach is to reject a theory to reconstruct it to make it stronger. Burawoy's approach looks at refutations which inspire progressive theory reconstruction. Progressive reconstructions, according to Burawoy, are those that "leave core postulates intact, that do as well as the pre-existing theory upon which they are built, and that absorb anomalies with parsimony, offering novel angles of vision" and, he adds "should lead to surprising predictions, some of which are corroborated" (Burawoy, 1998:16).

This method does not necessarily worry about the uniqueness of the case being studied since it is not interested in its "representativeness" but in reconstructing theories (Burawoy, 1998). The scientist begins his research by selecting his favourite theory seeking refutations to deepen it. The only requirement, according to Burawoy, is that the selected theory is worth developing. Theory is central to every dimension of Burawoy's extended case method as "it guides interventions, it constitutes situated knowledge into social process, and it locates those social processes in their wider context of determination" (Burawoy, 1998:21).

Contrary to the grounded theory method where a significance of a case refers to its statistical significance, the generalisation from a sample to a particular population, in the extended case method, significance refers to societal significance, the importance of what a single case can tell about a society as a whole. In this sense, the object of analysis of the extended case method becomes situations and not variable (See Burawoy, 1991:280-281).

In the present context, the researcher has used his own experience as a former employee of UNAC very closely related to its relationship with LVC and a current Programme Manager at

a partner organisation (RLS-SA) of UNAC. From 2008 to 2012 the researcher worked as UNAC staff member. He first took the post of International Relations Officer. In January 2012, four months before he left UNAC, he was promoted to the post of the Head of Advocacy, Cooperation and Communication Department. While working for UNAC, he was involved in the design and implementation of projects and programs for rural and organisational development. Apart from representing the organisation in and outside the country, he provided political and technical advice to the Head of the organisation (Executive Coordinator). His responsibilities extended to the organisation and representation of UNAC at local, national, regional and international conferences and training workshops. As the primary information resource at UNAC, he advised on national networks, international organisations (the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc.), national participation processes and on our relationship with the Mozambican Government, particularly to the Ministry of Planning and Development and Agriculture. Within these networks he advanced UNAC's agenda of food sovereignty as an alternative to the more neoliberal-orientated views on food security. The work involved mobilising Civil Society Organisations to embrace and recognise the critical need for food sovereignty. The quest was and remains the expansion of a coalition of like-minded activists to push a rural development policy in Mozambique (and in the Southern Africa Development Community region) that targets peasants to deliver viable livelihoods.

3.2. Research Techniques and Procedures

Firstly, the most concrete steps that led to the development of this study started from directly observing both organisations internally and studying the internal dynamic and process which led to relationship between UNAC's and LVC. The participant observation process occurred in various separate phases: more recently it occurred during the month of December 2015, January 2016 and March 2016. This observation period has been added to the previous four years (2008-2012) of another direct observation. This observation and participation phase was supported by interviews with actors who were directly and indirectly involved in the genesis of UNAC but also in the decision-making process which led to its transnational activism. These actors include UNAC founding members and former executive coordinators, UNAC former and current advocacy and international relations' officers, LVC regional personnel and UNAC members who were and some still are actively involved in its

transnational activism. The phase allowed the research to collect fundamental empirical data about the questions the present study seeks to answer.

Secondly, the exercise expanded to the study of the external forces which determined first conclusions obtained from the analysis of the collected data. Particularly the exercise expanded to the examination of external forces which influenced developments and decisions in both movement organisations. The forces are the processes of liberalisation for the case of UNAC and neoliberal globalisation for LVC. This phase was supported by the analysis of the available literature. This was basically a desk research aiming at digging back into the history of neoliberal globalisation and capitalism. It is this phase that Burawoy labels “extending out from process to force” (Burawoy, 1998:19). Finally, a dialogue was developed with **neo-Marxist approaches to social movements**. This dialogue is scientifically fundamental given the current academic context which suffers from lack of coherent theoretical and conceptual foundation for studying transnational activism in general (Maiba, 2005) and on transnationalisation of national movements’ activism.

In this study, Burawoy’s approach to the extended case method has been specifically applied to elaborate on the agency of national peasant movement organisations. More specifically, to explore on the strategy of national peasant movement organisations (UNAC) of transnationalising part of their activism through affiliating with an already transnational peasant movement (LVC) as way of confronting with and surviving the threats from neoliberal capitalism.

The ethnographic research method is basically a qualitative method (Reeves *et.al*, 2008). Moreover, due to the qualitative nature of the objectives, the questions it seeks to answers, and to the entirely qualitative nature of the data used and required, this study followed entirely a qualitative approach. It entailed not only drawing on extensive experience and very well established networks in these areas of study, but also the review of books, academic articles and academic papers as well as position papers in these and related fields.

Historical documents from UNAC were extensively consulted and deeply analysed. More importantly, however, was the role the ten long years of direct national and transnational activism of the researcher in the development field of which four have been dedicated to the targeted organisations (UNAC) and partially LVC. This experience was determinant in terms of accessing privileged and relevant sources of information (documents and basically people).

The interviews with relevant sources such as UNAC board members and staff, as well as the regional and the international staff of LVC were fundamental to consolidate the qualitative data collected from the extensive literature about the transnational movements and movement history in general.

Chapter Four: Agrarian Restructuring and Neoliberalism Against the Peasantry

This chapter is made up of an analysis of the major forces which influenced the creation process and evolution of both UNAC and LVC. It discusses how the process of liberalisation in Mozambique not only determined the origins of UNAC but also pushed it into looking for international alliances. The chapter also includes a short discussion about neoliberal reforms globally. These reforms were behind LVC's creation and have been the force behind its relationship with UNAC. It also covers the impact of industrialisation and free trade agreement in agriculture, some of the major threats against the peasantry today.

4.1. The Agrarian Transformation and the Agrarian Question in Post-independent Mozambique

The agrarian transformation and the agrarian question in post-independent Mozambique can be analysed and understood in the context of the food regime analysis proposed by McMichael (2013). More specifically, they can be understood in the context of the second and third food regimes: the United States – centered food regime (1950s-1970s) and the corporate food regime (1980s-2000s). While the former can help explain the country's agrarian question in the context of cold war and a centrally-planned economy the latter helps understand the reforms in the context of neoliberal globalisation and a market-led economy. It is in the context of the corporate food regime (1980s-2000s) that most of the neoliberal reforms targeting the country's agrarian sector took place aiming basically at fully subordinating the Mozambican state to the market control.

The type of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique involved a combination of a concessionary administrative system with European settler farms and indigenous peasant agricultural production (Amanor & Chichava, 2016). This was already a context in which the peasantry dominated the sectorial and territorial (regional) distribution of agricultural production (Tarp, 1984). In terms of the structure of production and labour use, the Mozambican peasantry accounted for about 70% of the gross value of total agriculture and about one third of the gross value of monetary agricultural output. The plantations and settler farms accounted for the remaining 30%. The colonial economy was structured and heavily dependent on forced labour and on forced cultivation of crops (basically cash cropping: cashew, cotton and food crops). The population was (and still is) predominantly rural with 80% living in rural areas performing and depending directly on subsistence farming. The

rural society was characterised, amongst others, by predominance of feudal and capitalist social relations, strong ethnic divisions, polygamy, and the role of traditional leaders as agents of the colonial government (Wuyts, 2001).

The newly independent Mozambique inherited an economy that was structurally deformed. The economy was principally built to serve the hinterland countries (South Africa and Southern Rhodesian - today's Zimbabwe) and to provide the colonial Portugal with power to extract from it as much resources as it could (Tarp, 1984). There was simply no economic link between the various sectors of the economy and the economy was very dependent on migrant labour from South Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa (Newitt, 1995). This coupled with the immediate destabilization efforts by South Africa and Rhodesia using the guerrilla movement *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique* (Renamo) to sabotage the country's economy because of *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique's* (Frelimo) support to nationalist struggles in these countries.⁵

Mozambique's most profound social and economic transformation started in the early seventies but it was further reinforced immediately after independence. Under the country's first Constitution, these transformations aimed at rapidly eliminating the colonial legacy. It aimed at eliminating the oppressive and exploitative colonial and traditional structures and changing correlated mentalities; extending and consolidating the people's democratic power; establishing an independent economy and promoting socio-cultural progress; defending and consolidating independence and national unity and establishing a people's democracy and constructing the material and ideological bases for a socialist society.

This projected radical change of Mozambique's political and socio-economic structure was to be achieved in two subsequent phases: *the stage of popular democracy and socialist revolution*. As part of these efforts, two years after independence (in February 1977) the ruling Frelimo defined the long-term strategies and policy guidelines for the country which were later crystallised into its Ten-Year Perspective Plan (PPT – 1981/90) projecting a 17%

⁵ **MNR** (today – Renamo) was founded by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) in 1976 to fight ZANU guerrilla operatives based in Mozambique. They were then recruited from the *FLECHAS* (arrows) formed by the Portuguese police (PIDE) when they were fighting Frelimo to maintain Mozambique under Portuguese rule. After the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 their support came mainly from the South African apartheid regime. After the General Peace Agreement in 1992 Renamo was transformed into a political party. Today it is the most important opposition party in Mozambique. Renamo still maintains military power.

economic growth per year (Arndt 1999). The PPT introduced a rigid system of central planning emphasising the state control of the economic production and investments as well as over wages, prices and transactions in foreign currency. It was with this means that the government centrally-planned economy, aiming at establishing a socialist society, introduced what was then called the process of “socialization of the country-side” through communal villages and cooperatives.

The introduction of communal villages (the engine of the rural development) had as its main purpose to “bring about a measure of co-operation and a pooling of resources in peasant agriculture and to indoctrinate the peasantry in the political or religious ideology of the rulers of the time” (Newitt, 1995:549). This process, because of the involvement of forced removal and reallocation of peasants from their own traditional to other villages (land) met strong resistance from the peasantry who would often abandon the communal villages and return to their own traditional villages (Newitt, 1995:549).

Amongst other radical measures Frelimo nationalised land and services (banking and health) and put in place measures to develop the state agriculture sector. Most of the land which previously belonged to the colonial estate and settlers was now under the use of the state farms and the family farmers who under the 1979 Land Law could get and use. While the cooperatives and communal villages could also acquire and use land for free, the private farmers’ use of land was subject to a rent under a predetermined and unalterable specific purpose (Tarp 1984).

The agricultural sector was divided in four distinct parts: the family farms, private farms, cooperatives and state farms. The state farms, which received 90% of the agricultural budget (Amanor & Chichava, 2016), followed by the cooperatives, were the ones which received government attention and were meant to produce food for the cities and provide foreign exchange for the government through export of surplus. To achieve these goals, the state farms concentrated the most important technological and modern industrial development (machinery and experts). The state farms were regarded as a people’s owned superior mechanism of production. Cooperatives were understood as the transition mechanism to advanced socialism. The private sector, however, was not seen as part of the new society and had to be extinguished through various established mechanisms. The socialisation of the country-side was, in this context, understood as a process of rapid transformation towards

modernization of the production units and the proletarianisation of the country's peasantry which was regarded as politically and economically conservative as well as socially individualistic and against the socialisation of the means of production (Tarp, 1984; Newitt, 2001; Mosca, 2011).

In the intended political and socio-economic context, the country's population was to live in communal villages based on collective ownership of means of production. In this context, the state farms and cooperatives of production would be the material/productive basis of the villages. The agricultural model of development was driven by the ideological objectives such as the socialisation of production and of the means of production, the collective ownership of property and the reduction or gradual elimination of non-socialist characteristics of production. The peasants would be transformed into the most important working class of the intended socialist model of production (see Mosca, 2011). Peasants and the state farms would also be expected to feed the urban class, provide the domestic industry with the needed raw agricultural material and supply its work force to the states farms and cooperatives (Dinerman, 2001).

Frelimo's Cooperativisation of agriculture was based on the experience of the liberation war (Mosca, 2011). Cooperatives were considered as socialist as long as they were governed by collective ownership of land, means of production and distribution. Under these units, people worked collectively with the promise of the state support of equipment, input, etc. Cooperatives were regulated by the 1979 Cooperative Law. However, they never received substantial government financial and technical support and production never exceeded 1% of the total production of the agriculture sector.⁶

However, the situation was much harder for the peasantry to the extent that during the first seven years of independence (1975-1982), out of the belief that the sector would be absorbed by the cooperative sector and the state farms, the peasant family sector was completely neglected. From 1977 to 1982 the sector reflected government's total neglect and the absence

⁶ Up until 1990 cooperatives received only 2 per cent of the total government agricultural investment and were considered poorly related to other sectors. They were placed in the second position after the state farms in terms of allocation of qualified personnel and machinery. Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), 557.

of even the basic technology resulting in its contribution to the economy decreasing consistently (Tarp, 1984; Newitt, 1995; Dinerman, 2001).

By 1980 Frelimo was forced to recognise the need for reforms. Various internal and external political and social factors forced it into revising its central planning approach and moving into a more market-oriented one. The civil war had become politically, military and economically unsustainable, a vast part of the territory had become a battlefield and all sectors of the economy were severely affected (lack of foreign exchange, shortage of input, irregular supply of electricity, etc.). By 1985 military expenditures amounted to 46,2% of total public investment. Agricultural production fell consistently, reaching 50% in terms of market production. Severe famine was reported due to fall in agricultural output owing to prolonged drought (1982-83). Frelimo's political peace initiative with Renamo through the Nkomati Agreement with South Africa in 1984 produced no desired effects with the war continuing to devastate the economy. With the demise of the cold war both Frelimo and Renamo were losing the support of their natural allies. Thus, it became extremely important for Mozambique to initiate negotiations with the Bretton Woods Institutions for discussions around the country's debt, influx of foreign direct investment, and humanitarian aid (Castel-Branco, 1994; Arndt, 1999; Mosca, 2011).

Mozambique's economic reforms started in 1983 and the country officially joined the Bretton-Woods Institutions – The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in 1984. By 1987 aid and credit become conditioned upon government implementation of the Bretton-Woods designed Economic Recovery Program (ERP) subsequently called Economic and Social Rehabilitation Plan (ESRP) with the focus put on social issues in 1980 (Arndt 1999).

In agriculture, the reforms were guided by the assumption that the rural production was partially affected by external factors (colonial heritage, the war, floods and draughts) and by the adoption of inadequate agriculture policies (administrative price fixing, overvalued currency, adoption of restrictive commercial policies, concentration of public investment in the state sector, etc) (Gibbon et. al., cited in Castel-Branco, 1994).

What followed was a wave of privatisation and liberalisation reforms with the former being at the core of the economic reforms (Cramer 2001; Mosca 2011). By 1989 products with fixed prices accounted only for 30% against the 70% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

recorded in 1986. Prices of cooking oil, maize meal and rice were liberalised by 1993. By 1996 the government had removed its control over administered consumer prices considerably. All these changes were aimed at aligning the agriculture product prices with the international market. In 1989 the government put in place a comprehensive privatisation programme which saw about 370 small and medium enterprises privatised. Most of the state farms were privatised and their land was transferred to the private and peasant sector. The private sector was given incentives to engage in food production and trade. (See: Castel-Branco, 1994; Arndt, 1999; Mosca, 2011)

Furthermore, cooperatives ceased to obtain the previous support (public investment, technical support, bank financing, etc.) and the communal villages were removed from the agenda of the now market-oriented government policies. The reforms led to a crisis in the cooperative and state sectors and an exponential decrease in terms of government support to these production sectors (Mosca, 2011).

However, the agrarian transformation in Mozambique was not only influenced by the country's geopolitical location, and the internal and external socio-political dynamics. Above all, it was primarily based on an inappropriate model of the inherited rural economy which failed to understand the real nature of the agrarian question in Mozambique and the extent to which the country's peasantry was shaped by the colonial legacy. While the post-independence centralised planning phase ignored the extent of dependence on agriculture (as a livelihood for farmers) in relation to the dictates of the market, the post-reforms market-led economy (after 1983) ignored the organic connection between household production and non-agricultural employment which defines the accumulation and social differentiation in rural areas in Mozambique (Wuyts, 2001).

4.2. Neoliberal Reforms

During the past decade, states have been subject to three forms of squeeze which occur simultaneously. Firstly "from above" through globalisation, with some regulatory powers being increasingly transferred to international regulatory institutions; secondly, "from below" via the process of decentralisation of central political, fiscal and administrative powers of the states to its local counterparts and finally "from the sides" through the privatisation of some functions (see Fox 2001). Out of this context, threats and opportunities have emerged which encouraged national rural social movements to further localise, as a response to the state

decentralisation process, and at the same time to internationalise their movements, advocacy and actions in attempting to respond to globalisation, while at the same time holding on to their national characters (Borras, 2010). One result of this complex adjustment is the emergence of more horizontal, “polycentric” rural social movements (Chalmers et al., 1997 cited in Borras, 2010) which simultaneously struggle to construct coordinating structures for “vertical integration” (Fox, 2001).

For Borras (2004) globally, it is the rural sector that has been negatively affected the most by these processes. The orientation of the world’s trade markets and technology and fiscal policies towards a neoliberalism has had actual and potential adverse impacts on poor peasants and small farmers. Many poor peasants and poor people have been exposed to the negative impact of the market forces due to the state’s withdrawal from its natural obligation to these people (Borras, 2004). This new context has presented the poor people with both threats and opportunities.

Neoliberalism is considered the most pervasive economic policy agenda and dominant in the current era. It is described as a powerful and expansive political agenda of class domination and exploitation; the manifestation of “capital resurgent”. Some have denounced it as the main driver of a great deal of inequality and suffering in the contemporary world (Hardin, 2014; Venugopal, 2015).

Historically, while before the 1980’s the term “neoliberalism” had almost been confined to the use of the economists to signify a category of economic ideas later it began to be used by many who applied and described it in many ways. Rajesh Venugopal summarises how it this term has been used more recently:

By the early 1980s, neoliberalism was used in a very different way, as it came to describe the wave of market deregulation, privatization and welfare-state withdrawal that swept the first, second and third worlds. It then went on to expand accretively as a concept to signify not just a policy model, but a broader political, ideological, cultural, spatial phenomenon. By the early 1990s, neoliberalism had become elevated to an epochal phenomenon and was often used as loose shorthand for a prevailing dystopian zeitgeist. This has led to characterizations of neoliberalism as ‘capitalism in its millennial manifestation’ (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000, p. 298 cited in Venugopal, 2015:168).

However, regardless the different ways neoliberalism can be understood, its impact on the world’s rural poor and on poor farmers is unquestionable. New forms of deregulation, privatisation, open markets, and free trade, have opened avenues for transnational financial

capital and TNC's to invest in new and old enterprises worldwide. Corporate companies are in desperate search for new investment opportunities. Currently, investors are increasingly looking south especially focusing on rural natural resources (Rosset & Martínez-Torres, 2012). One of the most important and multidimensional asset to the world's poor people to have been deeply affected by neoliberalism was "land" and consequently the policies over its ownership and use. Some dimensions of land include political, economic, cultural, social and spiritual (Borras, 2004). Neoliberal economists advocated for an efficient allocation and use of land. To achieve the aims of the neoliberal policies, neoliberal economists pushed for the creation of farms which were in their understanding competitive and efficient in economic terms. For Borras (2004:6) these neoliberal economists introduced several reforms to the pre-existing agrarian structures which, amongst others, also included:

First, is to carry out massive privatisation and systematic (individual) private titling of public/communal lands in order to make use of the capital 'sleeping' in the form of land. While most countries of Africa have been and will be affected by this initiative, this policy also applies in many upland and indigenous communities of Latin America and Asia. Second, is to privatize and parcel out state and collective farms in 'transitional economies', such as those in Eastern Europe. The first two broad policies are directed towards non-private lands. The succeeding ones are directed towards private lands. Third, is to promote share tenancy or land rental arrangements as a way to maximize the efficiency potential of land resources. This option means that pre-existing laws that prohibit ownership of land beyond a certain farm size and prohibit share tenancy have to be abolished. These three broad policy prescriptions are founded on the neo-liberal assumption that individual private land-owners will use clear legal land titles as collateral to secure bank loans, thereby increasing capital inflow in the countryside, which would in turn stimulate capital accumulation, and so reduce poverty (...). The fourth policy prescription is most controversial because it involves private landholdings and calls for a stop to conventional state-led approaches to land reform. The main neo-liberal policy toward private farms is to promote share tenancy arrangement, and only in circumstances where there are 'willing sellers' and 'willing buyers' should land sales be allowed. The neo-liberal 'land reform' that rests on the 'willing seller-willing buyer' principle has features quite opposite to those of the conventional state-led land reforms. This policy, more popularly known as Market-Led Agrarian Reform (MLAR) is a voluntary land reform whereby landlords are paid 100 percent spot-cash for 100 percent market value of the land.

In the table below (Table 2), Borras (2004) has summarised the key elements of both State-Led and Market-Led Approaches based on (pro-market) neoliberal explanations and claims.

Table 2: Key-elements of both State-led and market-led approaches based on (pro-market) neoliberal explanations and claims

Issues	State-Led	Market-Led
<i>Getting Access to Land</i>		
Acquisition method	coercive; cash-bonds payments at below market price, and so landlords oppose it resulting in policy failure	voluntary; 100% cash payment based on 100% market value of land, and so landlords will not oppose
beneficiaries	supply-driven; beneficiaries state selected and so includes economically non-efficient and non-competitive households	demand-driven; self-selected and includes only households that are economically efficient
Implementation method	statist-centralised; transparency and so accountability – low degree	privatised-decentralised; and so accountability - high degree
pace & nature	protracted; politically & legally contentious	quick; politically & legally non contentious
land prices	higher	lower
land markets	land reform: cause of/aggravates land market distortions; progressive land tax & land titling programme not required	land reform: cause & effect of land market stimulation; progressive land tax & titling programme required
<i>Post-Land Transfer Farm & Beneficiary Development</i>		
Programme sequence;	farm developments plans	farm development plans

extension service	after land redistribution. protracted, uncertain & anaemic post-land transfer dev't; extension service statist-centralised = inefficient	before, pace of dev't & redistribution. quick, certain & dynamic postland transfer dev't. extension service privatised-decentralized = efficient
credit & investments	low credit supply & low investments	increased credit & investments
exit options	none	ample
<i>Financing</i>		
mechanism	state "universal" subsidies; sovereign guarantee; beneficiaries pay subsidized land price; "dole-out" mentality among beneficiaries	flexible loan-grant mechanism; cosharing of risks; beneficiaries shoulder full cost of land; farm dev't cost given via grant
cost of reform	high	low

Source: Borras (2004:8)

Borras (2004) groups neoliberal land policies in four broad types: 1) privatisation and individual titling of public and communal lands; 2) privatisation and parcelling out of state and collective farms in transitional economies; 3) promotion of share tenancy arrangements, and; 3) implementation of the market-led agrarian reform.

However, these policies, which some scholars had predicted would lead to disappearance of the peasantry due to penetration of agriculture by capitalism (Kaustky, 1899, Hobsbawm, 1994 cited in Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010), have been responded to by social movements in different ways at global, regional and national levels (Reitan, 2007 cited in Girvan, 2012). Farmers organised and mobilised locally, regional and internationally to taking the lead in the struggle against neoliberalism, capitalism and globalisation (Bello, 2009). Locally, farmers have decentralised their actions to mobilise and respond more effectively. Regionally they

built and joined regional platforms and globally they transnationalised their activism. It is against this background that LVC emerged internationally as a movement for small producers, small and poor farmers from the Global South and North (Borras, 2008).

4.3. Industrialization in Agriculture

Industrialization of agriculture refers generally to “the application of modern manufacturing production, distribution and coordination methods to the food chain” (Boehlje, 1996 cited in Tweeten, 1998:2). It was due to the process of industrialization which began some 300 years ago in England that the transition from “agrarian societies to a new production pattern based on large-scale, machine-assisted production of goods” finally occurred (Erb et.al., 2008:687). The agrarian industrialisation process, apart from having fundamentally altered the “patterns and magnitude of socioeconomic metabolism” it is also linked to other fundamental changes including in how land is used (Erb et.al., 2008:687), how food products are processed before finally reaching the consumer.

The classical development paradigm which was a dominant paradigm until 1960s and 1970s argued consistently that agriculture growth was the key element for the industrial growth. After having experienced failure under “import substitution industrialization policies” and after having seen its protection mechanisms neglected under the Washington Consensus policies (which led to 20-years neglect of agriculture), a new form of the classical development paradigm seems to be returning to the global agenda. This return is attributed to the most recent financial and global food crises (De Janvry, 2010). The return of agriculture into the current development agenda has been accompanied by the assumption that to be able to effectively respond to the increasing global demand for food products, agriculture and food productions must become more and more industrialised. Industrialisation has provided the world with mechanisation and agrochemicals, the two principal means for increasing agriculture productivity, especially via the use of inorganic fertilizers and pesticides (Woodhouse, 2010). Thus, for the proponents of the agriculture industrialization agenda there is no alternative to agriculture “except further industrialization” (Van der Ploeg, 2008:6).

Van der Ploeg (2008) identifies the corporate farming - understood as the type of farming which relies almost exclusively in salaried workers and the primary function is of profit maximization - as the main driver behind the process of agriculture industrialisation. The other driving force includes the entrepreneurial type of agriculture - understood as the type of

agriculture mainly built by financial and industrial capital - for its highly specialized and market oriented agriculture production. Meanwhile, the creative destruction perspective identifies other specific drivers of change behind global agriculture industrialisation. These drivers include: changing consumers; customers and continual improvement; societal accountability; farmers as endangered species; technology and precision agriculture (Sonka, 1995). Changing consumer refers to the pressure resulting from increasing demand by consumers for excellence and variety of products provided in the market place. Consumers and continual improvement refers to the role of food suppliers as the intermediaries between the food producers and the consumers to demand for continues improvement of the products they get from the producers as they have learnt the type of demands consumers have. Society accountability refers to the pressure by the consumers for additional information regarding the product they expect to consume. Thus, as “these pressures increase, the commodity market becomes less effective in responding to consumer needs” (Sonka, 1995:17). Farmers as endangered species refers to Steven Sonka (1995) assumption that the global overall number of famers and people interested in becoming “independent family farmer” has been constantly reducing requiring a different production structure for agriculture. Finally, technology and precision in agriculture refers to the role technology and information plays in allowing information collection, production processes and decision making to be with more precision. These factors are forcing the agriculture sector to further industrialize (Sonka, 1995).

Meanwhile, the process of industrialisation has altered agriculture in many ways. It has altered by the way agriculture production is performed and the decision-making process of (the small) farmers in ethically ways (Hendrickson & James, 2005). The ability of farmers to produce in an environmentally-friendly way is being severely restricted by the current economic environment dominated by the advance of industrial production systems. The genetically modified seeds, for example, limit farmers from producing using traditional techniques. The ethical attitude of farmers towards production techniques becomes under threat due to market pressure and other growing constraints. (Cf. Hendrickson & James, 2005)

In fact, in other ways, industrialisation has been disconnecting the process of food production from its process of consumption. “Spaces of production and consumption (understood as localities) no longer matter.” (Van der Ploeg, 2008:6) Agriculture industrialisation is driving

agriculture production away from the ecosystem; “the once organic unity that characterized the agriculture production process is broken down into isolated elements and tasks that are combined through complex and centrally controlled divisions of labour, space and time.” (p.6). in this same context, Van der Ploeg (2008) also recognises a disintegration and a reconfiguration of food products per se to the extent that there are no longer produced but “engineered”. The process of agriculture industrialisation also coincides with further capitalist control of the food production and consumption processes in search for high levels of profitability. The agenda behind this process is in the words of Van der Ploeg (2008:6): “globalisation, liberalisation, a fully-fledged distribution of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), and the claim that the world has never had safer food at its disposal than now are key elements of that agenda.”

4.4. Free Trade Agreements and Agriculture

The first international rules to have been agreed upon and established with the objective of governing international trade come into force on 1 January 1948, in a post Second World War political and economic context. They were introduced a year before in 1947. At the time, these rules did not include agriculture due to the United States and the European Community successful efforts to securing an exemption to their agriculture sector from General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (Burnett & Murphy, 2014). The signatories of GATT decided to enter a series of mutual agreements aimed at substantially reduce not only tariffs but also other barriers to trade. They committed to working together to eliminate discriminatory treatment in international commerce.

The objectives of GATT were established under the recognition that trade and economic deregulation should be conducted with the objective of “raising standards of living, ensuring full employment and a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, developing the full use of the resources of the world and expanding the production and exchange of goods”. GATT is regarded as being the most important instrument that regulates global cooperation on free trade to date (Richard, 2011).

Agriculture remained exempted from the GATT up until the Uruguay Round (UR) with the conclusion of a revised version of GATT in 1994 (Burnett & Murphy, 2014). The UR required in its final Act a global reduction of “domestic agricultural production subsidies, export subsidies, and import tariff” (Teixeira, 1998: 442). Because of this round the World

Trade Organisation (WTO) was established in 1995 with fully accepted membership (Hartman, 2013). WTO's Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) is basically based anchored on three pillars: market access, export competition and support from domestic governments. In this context, governments were required to make commitment to allow developments in these areas.

The revision of the GATT also included other new agreements such as Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs), Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs), and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS). This move represented a shift from a scenario in which the state and some private trade grain traders were the ones who dominated and made decisions regarding international agriculture markets (Burnett & Murphy, 2014). The TRIPs, which came into force in 1995 are considered the most comprehensive agreements and the most important legal document on intellectual property (Rehber & Grega 2008; Hartman 2013). TRIPs cover many other areas including:

copyright and related rights (i.e., the rights of performers, producers of sound recordings and broadcasting organizations); trademarks including service marks; geographical indications including appellations of origin; industrial designs; patents including the protection of new varieties of plants; the layout-designs of integrated circuits; and undisclosed information including trade secrets and test data (WTO, 2012 cited in Hartman, 2013: 419).

However, disagreement between developing and developed countries over TRIPs concern principally healthcare "where the underdeveloped nations claim the cost of many patented medicines are unaffordable, and they, therefore, seek generic drugs that can be made available at affordable prices" (p.19). Thus, many development countries argued that TRIPs favoured developed countries and TNC's by facilitating bio-piracy. They argued that "corporations can discover and patent biological resources and their use" (Rehber & Grega, 2008:473). These disagreements led to the initiation and adoption on the Doha Declaration on November 2001 by developing countries which allowed spaces for TRIPs member states "circumvent patent rights for better access to essential medicines" (p.419).

The argument of the free trade theory, as viewed by Brunett and Murphy (2014), is that the division of labour and specialisation encourages systems of production and exchange based on "comparative advantage, maximizing efficiency and reducing costs." They add that the claim of free trade is that "the removal of government interventions such as tariffs, subsidies and market protections will allow consumers and producers to follow their economically

rational self-interest, which in turn will create a 'first best' single market in which welfare is maximised" (p.1074)

In line with this argument are tariff theorists too. For tariff theorists, free trade should be pursued because it brings benefits for both the small and large scale economies. While for the small economies it reduces domestic welfare, the large country economies "can be better off with smaller tariffs, which generate terms of trade effect larger than the deadweight loss caused by a tariff" (Helpman & Krugman, 1989; Vousden, 1990 cited in Teixeira, 1998:443).

Some of the most recent trade agreements include the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between the United States and Canada, the Transpacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). These types of agreements represent an expansion of free trade in the form of bilateral free trade agreements basically promoted by the European Union and the United States with developing, emerging and developed countries (Choudry, 2014).

However, the outcome of free trade has been asymmetric. Amongst other outcomes, agricultural trade, for example, has been characterized by economic and political asymmetries and dominated by models of production which threaten the environment (Clapp, 2009 Koning and Pinstup-Andersen, 2007, Morrison and Sarris, 2007, UNCSD, 2011, UNCTAD, 2013 cited in Brunett & Murphy 2014). Recent findings suggest that while it is true that the underprivileged population can benefit from free trade, it is the underprivileged from the developed and not from developing countries that benefit from free trade (Kratou & Goaid, 2016).

However, it is not completely wrong to assume that international trade can also bring positive impact to agriculture. It can protect local crops against crop failures; it can provide regions suffering from scarcity with surplus from other regions; it can make life possible for humans in regions with food production limits by making food from other regions available; it can enrich people's diets by making available different types of food crops including diversifying economies by trading food for other goods. (Brunett & Murphy, 2014)

While it may seem that LVC is against trade *per se*, when demanding that WTO should stay out of agriculture it is the "privileged place given to trade in food and agriculture policy and law," and the ruling of trade by multinational corporations that the peasant movement is

firmly against. As observed by Windfuhr and Jonsén the food sovereignty framework “is not directed against trade per se, but is based on the reality that current international trade practices and trade rules are not working in favour of smallholder farmers...” (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005 cited in Brunett & Murphy, 2014:1068)

Chapter Five: La Via Campesina: Globalizing the Struggle, Globalizing Hope!

This chapter covers the history of LVC. It starts with describing its origins and how it defines itself. It then moves to exposing the composition of LVC in terms of its membership and structure of the organisation, covering the challenges it faces to maintain its autonomy and nature. The chapter finishes with a summary of the themes and messages proposed by the organisation.

5.1. What is “La Via Campesina”?

La Via Campesina (LVC) is an international movement constituted of organisations of small and medium scale farmers, peasants, farm workers and indigenous agrarian communities from Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas (Desmarais, 2008). The movement defines itself as an autonomous, pluralist and multicultural movement, independent from any political, economic or other type of affiliation (Via Campesina, 2011). It is regarded by many scholars as the most important transnational peasant movement in the world (Borras, 2004; McMichael, 2006, Patel, 2005, 2006; Edelman, 2005, Martinez-Torres and Rosset, 2008, Borras and Franco, 2009 cited in Martinez-Torres and Rosset, 2010).

La Via Campesina (in Spanish language) which in English literally means “the Peasant’s Way” was officially established in April 1993 during a conference held in Mons, Belgium by forty-six representatives of various organisations ranging from indigenous peoples, peasants, small farmers and workers from Asia, America, Europe and Africa (Desmarais, 2002). Despite the derogative connotation attached to the term “Peasant” in English, at the LVC constitutive conference in Mons, its founding members decided to maintain the term “Peasant” as the term “Farmers” “did not capture the nature and character of the farm sector we do represent” (Borras 2001 cited in Desmarais 2008:140).

In its constitutive conference, which came to be assumed as the First International Conference of LVC, participants committed formally to work collectively to defend their rights in the context of trade liberation (globalisation) and defined and agreed on a mission statement, a structure for the organisation and came up with a very general policy framework to protect their rights (Desmarais, 2002; Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010). However, the idea of the actual constitution of such an organisation dates back to 1992, when different peasant organisations from Central America, Caribbean, North America, and Europe met in

Nicaragua (Managua) to discuss the impact of neoliberal policies at the Second Congress of the *Unión Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos*. This conference too was a product of a series of previous meetings and a process of experience exchange amongst peasant organisations which had begun in 1981 with Latin American Conference on Agrarian Reform and Peasant Movements, held again in Managua (Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010).

Farm producers who joined together in Managua to start with LVC already demonstrated a very clear and profound understanding of the challenges facing them including the future threats that the world should pay attention to. As expressed in Managua's final Declaration, such challenges included:

- Neoliberal policies representing a dramatic constraint on farmers throughout the world, bringing us to the brink of irredeemable extinction and further aggravating the irreparable damage which has been caused to our rural environs.
- Farm communities represent the majority in most regions of the world and it is our work that ensures the food base and life of all societies.
- We demand real participation in the formulation of policies which affect the fundamental condition of our sector in order to overcome the injustices which we bear.
- We draw your attention to lack of respect which has been shown to our productive culture. It is essential that we pay due attention and strengthen our lives as generators of agriculture as the fundamental and strategic base for the survival of all people. (Managua Declaration 1992)

The profound level of consciousness of Managua's participants also extends to the challenges and commitments made not only to address neoliberal policies *collectively* but also to building *together* an effective alternative model to neoliberal policies which had to be inclusive, democratic and environmental-friendly (Managua Declaration, 1992). The agrarian crisis, the rural poverty and hunger resulting from the implementation of neoliberal policies are the actual reasons for the creation of LVC (Nicholson, 2008).

5.2. LVC Membership and Structure

In 24 years of existence, LVC has had a notable organisational and thematic development. In 2000, it was composed of 101 member organisations. By 2004 this number had risen to 143 (Nicholson, 2008). As the interest to join the movement continued (and continue) to consistently grow, by 2007 149 farm organisations from 56 countries belonged to LVC (Desmarais, 2008). Currently, the movement comprises about 183 local and national organisations from different countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas representing about 200 million small and medium-scale farmers, producers, indigenous people's

movements, women's movement, urban movements, landless people's movements and others (Via Campesina, 2016b). The table below (Table 3) contains LVC member organisation per each region.

Table 3: La Via Campesina member organisations per region

Region	Countries	Number of member Organisations
Africa 1	Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe.	7
Africa 2	Congo-Brazzaville, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo	8
North America	Canada (2), Mexico, United States (4)	7
Central America	Costa Rica (3), El Salvador (8), Guatemala (3), Honduras (6), Nicaragua (2), Panama (3)	26
South America	Argentina (5), Bolivia (4), Brazil (7), Chile (4), Colombia (3), Ecuador (5), Paraguay (6), Peru (3), Uruguay, Venezuela (2)	40
Caribbean	Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic (7), Grenada, Haiti (3), Puerto Rico, St. Lucia, St. Vincent.	13
South-east and East Asia	Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Palestine, Philippines (2), South Korea (2), Taiwan, Thailand (2), Timor-Leste, Vietnam	14
South Asia	Bangladesh (3), India (13), Nepal (4), Sri Lanka	21
Europe	Austria, Belgium (3), Denmark, Finland, France (2), Germany, Greece, Italy (3), Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Scotland/UK (2), Spain and The Basque Country (4), Sweden, Switzerland (2), Turkey	27
Total		163

Source: Via Campesina (2016b)

Members of LVC display heterogeneous characteristics which at the same time are unifying communalities. Borras (2004) describes these characteristics in the following way:

Via Campesina has a highly heterogeneous membership, ranging from small dairy farmers in Germany to landless peasants in Brazil, from farm surplus-producing farmers in Karnataka (India) to land-poor peasants in Mexico, from farm workers in Nicaragua to rice farmers in South Korea. The ideological persuasions of its member organizations vary too, from those coming from the communist party-based frameworks to those of the anarcho-syndicalist tradition, from those of broadly liberal provenance to those arising from environmental

activism. Despite the seemingly great differences among these groups in terms of their world views, political agendas and methods of work, there are important unifying commonalities. The most significant is that all of these organizations more or less represent sectors in society that are economically and politically marginalised in their own national or sub-national context, as well as internationally. (p.9)

Apart from its heterogeneous membership composition, LVC puts in place a series of efforts to maintain its peasant status. Proponent members whose applications must be considered by current members from their respective regions are made clear right from the beginning that LVC is not a funding partner.⁷ Instead, they are made clear that the movement financially depends on its members, private donations, from some NGOs, foundations, local and national authorities. Desmarais (2008) describes other efforts that the movement puts in place to maintain its authenticity, in the following way:

All Via Campesina representatives are either farming themselves or they have been selected, appointed, or elected by farm organizations. Membership is restricted to authentic organizations of peasants, farmers, rural women, farm workers, indigenous communities that formally must demonstrate agreement with the positions of La Via Campesina. In this way, the movement has succeeded in clearly articulating and firmly placing in the international arena the demands and visions of those who actually produce food. (Desmarais, 2008)

In terms of its structure and functioning, LVC has a democratically decentralized structure defined during its IC's in which power is decentralized between 9 regions that make the movement. Although it possesses a clear organisational structure, LVC defines itself as a *movement* and not as a *coordination structure* (Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010). The International Conference is the movement's highest decision-making entity. It takes place every three to four years and it is a moment when members engage collectively to define the movement's political direction and strategy including collective analysis and policy development on issues which affect their members. The role of coordinating these regions, evaluating the decisions made at ICs, analysing the situation in all the regions, defining plans for joint action and advocacy falls under the responsibility of the 14 members of the International Coordinating Committee (ICC), which meets two times a year. This Committee is composed of one woman and one man representing each region. These people are elected by the member organisations from their respective regions. The International Secretariat (IS) rotates according to the collective decision by the members made every four years during the

⁷ Diamantino Nhampossa, interviewed by the author, December 8; Ismael Ossemame, interviewed by the author 22, December 2015; José Júnior, interviewed by the author 10, December 2015 and Renaldo João, interviewed by the author 10, December 2015.

International Conference. It was first based in Belgium (1993-1996), from where was then transferred to Honduras (1997-2004) and in Indonesia until 2013. Currently, it is based in the Zimbabwean capital city of Harare (Since September 2013) (Desmarais, 2002; Martinez-Torres & Rosset, 2010; Via Campesina, 2011). The table below (**Table 4**) is an attempt to summarise the major decisions/outcomes of the international conference held by LCV so far.

Table 4: Summary of La Via Campesina international conferences outcomes/decisions

Ord.	International Conference	Date	Hosting Country	Major outcome(s) / decisions made
1	Mons	18-21 April, 1993	Belgium	The movement was constituted and defined the struggle against neoliberal policies and for Peasant's model of agriculture as its target.
2	Tlaxcala	18-21 April, 1996	Mexico	The commitment to create a rural economy based on peasants, earth, and food sovereignty and on fair trade and to ensuring rural development which recognizes and includes the important contribution women make in food production and a genuine agrarian reform.
3	Bangalore	3-6 October, 2000	India	A commitment to building alliances with other who shared the same vision to change the direction of the world's economic order.
4	São Paulo	14-19 June, 2004	Brazil	Commitment on fighting for the banning of the modified seeds and for advancement of Food Sovereignty.
5	Maputo	16-23 October, 2008	Mozambique	Commitment to create new gender relations and eradicate violence against women.
6	Jakarta	9-13 June, 2013	Indonesia	Commitment to expand its work on: Food Sovereignty, agroecology, Social and climate justice, and solidarity, A world without violence and discrimination against women, Peace and demilitarization, Land and territories, Seeds, the commons and water, Building on its strengths

Despite all its efforts and mechanisms put in place to maintain its autonomy and democratic functioning, LVC is not exempt from internal challenges. The process of admission of new organisations into the movement, which depends upon approval of new candidates by the current members of the respective regions of the applicant due to difference in capacity, internal divisions, leadership style, and political differences amongst them can end up blocking participation of new members whose contribution could significantly benefit the overall movement (Desmarais, 2008).

Recently, UNAC was barred from hosting the movement's International Secretariat in Maputo because of having adhered to the Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions (SACAU), with whom LVC have profound ideological, political and strategic differences. This decision reveals an important deficit within LVC superior structures in terms of understanding the African context and history as they demand from all the regions the same level of ideological understanding as the Latin Americans, who already a long experience. By barring UNAC from hosting its IS, LVC did not consider that the decision to join SACAU was made by most UNAC members who have a poor understanding about the ideological conflict of this relationship.⁸

5.3. LVC Themes and Messages

Up until 2013 LVC relied on its issue-based International Working Commissions (IWC) for carrying out its work. For Martinez-Torres and Rosset (2010) these commissions were: (i) Agrarian Reform, (ii) Food Sovereignty and Trade, (iii) Biodiversity and Genetic Resources, (iv) Climate Change and Peasant Agriculture, (v) Human Rights, (vi) Sustainable Peasant Agriculture, (vii) Migration and Farm Workers, (viii) Women and Gender Parity, (ix) Education and Training, and (x) Youth. In addition, the Vía Campesina has campaigns that address some of the issues: (i) the Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform, (ii) Seeds: Heritage of Rural Peoples in the Service of Humanity, (iii) the Campaign to End All Forms of Violence Against Women, and (iv) The Campaign for an International Charter of Peasant Rights.

However, at the 5th International Conference in Jakarta (Indonesia) which took place from 9th to 13th June 2013, LVC's CCI decided to change the designation of the **IWC** into what they

⁸ Ismael Ossemame, Interviewed by the author 22, December 2015.

call “collectives of work” or simply “collectives”. Other than “commissions”, collectives reflected more inclusiveness and a sense of collective ownership of work and decision making over the tasks being carried out or approved by the specific thematic group.⁹ A part from changing the designation, the movement’s themes assigned to the newly-formed “collectives” gained new configuration. These themes now include: i) land, water and territories; ii) Migration and salaried work; iii) Peasants’ rights; iv) Public policies on Food Sovereignty, Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) and other relevant actors; v) Transnational Corporations and agro-toxics; vi) Seeds, Biodiversity, Peasant Agriculture and Agroecology; vii) Climate and Environmental justice; viii) Alliances; ix) Capacity building and Research; x) Internal Functioning; xi) World Trade Organisation (WTO) and Free Trade Agreement and xii) Crosscutting Issues (the International Articulation of Youth and International Articulation for Women).

These collectives play an important role in the functioning of the movement. They give a follow up to the decisions made by the international conference; develop and propose action plans for the movement within their areas of involvement and to be carried out at the global level upon approval by the movement highest structure and they follow and monitor the political developments of their respective thematic areas. The collectives do not have the mandate to decide, thus their proposals must be approved by the ICC. Members of the ICC are indicated to integrate the collectives. At the regional levels, each region has the right to create their own regional collectives of which a member is indicated to be part of the International Collective.¹⁰

For the coming years, the movement has decided to expand its focus on the following issues: Food sovereignty, agroecology, social and climate justice, and solidarity, a world without violence and discrimination against women, peace and demilitarization, land and territories, seeds, the commons and water, building on its strengths (Via Campesina, 2013). However, it is the movement’s work on building food sovereignty which has been attracting most of the global attention since its adoption in Nyéléni in 2007 (Akram-Lodhi, 2015). A search on Google Scholar generated 333 000 hits while on Google (general) it generated 564 000 hits as

⁹ Mateus Santos, Interviewed by the author 16, March 2016.

¹⁰ Mateus Santos, Interviewed by the author 16, March 2016.

of March 2016. Employment of the term can be found in discussions of relevant global agencies such as: the FAO, the World Food Programme (WFP) and IFAD. Countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, Mali, Nepal, Senegal and Venezuela have even inserted the term within their constitutions (Akram-Lodhi, 2015).

The principle of Food Sovereignty as proposed by LVC is a rights-based principle. It is the right of all peoples, nations and states to effectively gain control of food and agricultural systems and policies. It is through this control that everyone will have adequate, affordable, nutritious and culturally appropriate food at their disposal. Thus, this principle requires that the right to define and control food methods of production, transformation, distribution both at the local and international levels be given to the small producers. The method of food production LVC proposes is the “Peasant agroecology”. Agroecology alongside agrarian reform, the defence of land territories and of the national and local markets are considered the key pillars in the construction of food sovereignty for LVC, as it has been reaffirmed in the movement’s Nyéléni meeting (see Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010; Martinez-Torres and Rosset, 2014).

Meanwhile, judging by the character of its statements and strategies, LVC is, above all, a rights-based peasant movement. The various dimensions of rights occupy a central place in the movement’s statements and they can be found at all levels (from local to international) on the movement position papers on themes such as seeds, land, territories, resources, trade and investments in agriculture (Claeys, 2015). While this strategy has provided a movement with political, cultural and ideological differences like LVC with a common language, for the future it is yet to be seen whether the movement will be able to effectively “move beyond making ‘reactive claims for rights’ to build on both food sovereignty and human rights, to elaborate, together with other social groups, an alternative vision of the common goods” (Claeys, 2015:461)

Chapter Six: UNAC and the Struggle for Mozambique's peasantry

This chapter covers the history of UNAC's origins and its evolution to the present days. After presenting UNAC's history the chapter moves into describing and analysing the most relevant characteristics and socioeconomic challenges of the social group that UNAC represents and defends in Mozambique. The chapter then moves to present the expansion of UNAC alliances both domestically and internationally which occurred between the 1990's and 2000 and finally ends with a short summary on how the political and executive structures operate.

6.1. The Origins of UNAC (1987 – 1993)

The National Union of Peasants of Mozambique (in Portuguese: *União Nacional de Camponeses* – UNAC) is the main, the largest, the most relevant and the most vibrant peasant organisation in Mozambique (Chabal, 2001; Funada-Classen, 2013). It is an important mechanism for communication and information sharing between the government and the country's peasantry, a mechanism for coordination on all agrarian development related issues and a key-player in the context of agricultural and of the overall development of Mozambique (GdM, 2006; MINAG, 2007). Globally, it is a key member of the largest peasant movement in the world - LVC (e.g. Borras et.al., 2010).

UNAC defines itself as a “movement of peasants from the family sector, which fights for the active participation of [*peasant*] farmers in Mozambique's development process” (UNAC, 2012a). Its origin dates to 1987 when from the 13th to 18th April, the General Union of Agro-pastoral Cooperatives of Maputo (in Portuguese: *União Geral de Cooperativas Agro-pecuárias de Maputo* – UGC) hosted in Maputo, the first national seminar on the role of the cooperative movement of Maputo. The seminar aimed at discussing and analysing the situation of the cooperative movement in Maputo, from its beginning, to understand its future in the context of the civil war and of the country's structural adjustment process. However, because the participants of the seminar also comprised representatives from other regions of the country, discussions extended to a nationwide perspective (CCOUN, 1991).

Participants of this seminar, who revealed a very strong understanding of the need for self-organisation and unity amongst their own group, committed to devote efforts to build autonomous peasants' unions all around the country. These unions would then be turned into a national organisation with the role of permanently defending the right of the country's

peasantry (UGC, 1989). Thus, the seminar tasked UGC to coordinate the process of building a national union of peasant farmers' organisations. This included building capacity of the country's remaining cooperatives from the socialist era to be able to operate autonomously, expand experience exchange amongst peasant organisations, and provide organisational support to cooperatives and resource mobilisation capacity. Amongst other objectives, the programme also included consolidating and strengthening unity amongst peasants countrywide (CCOUN, 1991).

With the financial support of the UGC, a Supporting Unit (in Portuguese: *Núcleo de Apoio*) was established to carry out these tasks. This Unit worked countrywide meeting not only other cooperatives but also NGO's and international donor organisations spreading the idea of building a national union of peasant organisations as well as looking for future support. In 1991, it was recognised that the necessary conditions to establish the national union had been created. Thus, the Central Unit to Organize the Constitutive Assembly of the National Union of Organized Peasants (in Portuguese: *Comissão Central para Organização da União Nacional de Camponeses Organizados*) was established. It was the work of this Unit that culminated with the Constitutive Assembly of UNAC which took place from the 21st to the 24th April 1993 where UNAC's first programme and statutes were approved. However, the legal recognition of the organisation only came a year later in 1994.

Currently, UNAC officially claims to have eighty-six thousand individual members grouped in more than two thousand cooperative associations. Due to poor internal statistics gathering capacity, accurate numbers are hard to come by. The reality on the ground could reveal different numbers. UNAC member associations are organized into higher structures amounting to some eighty-three district unions and their respective subdivisions (UNAC, 2012b). But, UNAC membership doesn't confine to the numbers it officially claims. UNAC's members title is defined as "organized or not organized associations, cooperatives and other local forms of organisations as long as they adopt the organisation's statutes without discriminating others based on colour, race, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, region, education, social position, physical condition, mental and political orientation" (UNAC, 2012b).

6.2. Who does UNAC Represent and Defend?

Mozambique is essentially a rural country and 60% of its rural population has some relationship with agriculture. This is perhaps one of the reasons why agriculture has always been constitutionally referred to as the backbone of the country's economy (Mosca, 2009). Some are even of the opinion that because of the concentration of the biggest part of its population in rural areas, rural development should be the central question of the country (Castel-Branco *et al.*, 2010). Others argue that the country's overall development depends upon a sustainable use of its rural potentialities (Castel-Branco, 1995; Negrão, 2003; Mosca 2005; Adam, 2006).

It is perhaps for the same reason that the agrarian sector is the most regulated sector of all the economic sectors in Mozambique. Almost all the country's policies and strategy papers have a direct or an indirect link to agrarian and specifically family farming agriculture development. However, the agrarian sector in Mozambique should instead be regulated by a single strategy. The abundance of different strategies is a result and reflection of the state identity crisis. This crisis began during the two and a half decades of the country's liberalization and emerged in the process of its search for abrupt and highly radical political and economic changes. This crisis was exacerbated by the influx of numerous state-building ideologies (e.g. the state of social contract, the nation-state, the Party-State, etc.) and by the state of dependence on external financing (see Castel-Branco *et.al*, 2010). **See appendix four** for the list of the major policies and strategy papers directly or indirectly linked to the agrarian sector in Mozambique.

In Mozambique two actors or main agrarian production systems are recognised: *the commercial sector* and *the family sector*. The commercial sector is particularly insignificant (Mucavel 2009). The family sector is basically composed of 2,5 million families and covers 90% of the total area cultivated in the country. 75% of the country's total population is said to belong to the family sector. This sector is considered very heterogeneous as it comprises various agrarian production systems. These systems include different types of crops. The main crops are: maize, sorghum, sweet-potatoes, rice and beans. But the family sector is also involved in the production of some market-oriented crops such as: cotton, sesame, sunflower and tobacco. These crops are produced in a system which involves production in small and medium scale. Small producers in Mozambique are the main contributors of the entire domestic agrarian production. They are responsible for 95% of the total agrarian production

of Mozambique. Although the total area of land they possess is estimated to 25 hectares, the total cultivated area, however, is estimated to only 10 hectares. Women represent 52% of the country's total population of which 72, 2% live in rural areas. Women are the driving forces of the agriculture sector in general but of the family sector, in particular (MINAG, 2011).

The family sector relays basically in the deployment of family labour force. This labour force is or not expanded depending on the family needs. This sector has historically been marginalised and continues facing enormous challenges because of this marginalisation and poor understanding of its historical colonial heritage (Wuyts, 2001; Mosca, 2009; Mosca, 2010). The most important and the most visible challenges of the family sector in Mozambique are its low productivity and its limited ability to generate savings and food insecurity. Another dominant characteristic of this sector is its geographic isolation. Family sector farmers live disperse, they reflect poor organisation, lack the access of even the simplest technology, poor access to both local and international markets, lack of access to improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides and a very low level of education (Tarp, 1984; Mucavel, 2009; Benfica & Tschirley, 2001). These are basically the major characteristics of agriculture sector and family farmers that UNAC claims to represent and to fight for.

Although UNAC claims to represent the family sector countrywide, it is the organised family farmers that the organisation targets directly. Members are organized in similar structures all over the country (See **table 5**: UNAC membership at all levels). These structures represent the physical spaces of concentration and dialogue of its members on a daily-basis (Nuvunga, n.d.). Several political and ideological capacity building sessions are organized at different levels of these structures. Family farmers at all levels gather not only to learn how to better organize themselves but also to be exposed to ideological and political training. The outcome of these capacity building sessions is a member who is actively engaged in several political issues which affect his life and that of the whole country. UNAC's political engagement goes from associating the country's economic challenges to government's lack of investment in the family farming agriculture to raising public awareness about the impact of large-scale investments on their control over land (see: UNAC, 2012a; UNAC 2015).

The leadership of the provincial and district unions are the ones who benefit the most from the political training and experience exchange with similar organisations from other countries (e.g. *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra do Brazil*- MST). Particular attention

is given to female members. Based on the political interventions by UNAC's members one can conclude that the family farmers in Mozambique are politically active.

A prominent female leader defines her membership status to UNAC with the following words:

To be a member of UNAC means an honour for me in this country being someone with no other knowledge other than of the countryside. It makes me feel respected by other people. Through UNAC, I gain political experience and I learned to know better about myself: a female family farmer. To be a member of UNAC means not only to be able to know other peasant farmers but also to know the challenges they are facing. Now I can defend myself and my social, political and economic rights: the right to be accepted in the society as a peasant farmer, the right to have access and control of land and the right to gender equality.¹¹

A male UNAC's leader and founding member describes himself and the advantages of being a member in the following way:

I am a family farmer and I feel part of a movement that not only I helped creating but which I belong too. For me UNAC defends all my interests as a family farmer. This includes defending me against land grabbing and other threats to my life as a family farmer. If I wasn't a member of UNAC I would be feeling myself exposed to several threats. Being a member of UNAC I have the privilege to access other movements and forums where the present and future of family farming is discussed both nationally and internationally.¹²

Another young male member describes being member of UNAC with the following words:

Being a member of UNAC means for me to be a defender of the rights of male and female the peasants. UNAC issues position papers against any public or private move that threatens my rights as a family farmer. Being a member of UNAC means to be self-organized and prepared to fight for the rights of the male and female peasants. It also means to be well-informed and to be an example of peasants fighting for their rights. To be a member of UNAC means to have a feeling of protection by other farmers' movements. For being UNAC's member I am also able to participate in some decision-making forums which must do with my future where my voice is also heard. The conferences and debates that we organise help build awareness of our members of the threats which surround them.¹³

A female district leader describes being a member of UNAC as follows:

Being UNAC member means everything to me. It means being part of a family: A family which allows me to feel that I also have a voice. It makes me feel that I have a voice which I use to defend the right to be a female peasant farmer. Some of these rights are access and control of land and to be heard by the policy-makers. Being a member of UNAC is

¹¹ Rabeca Mabui, Interviewed by the author, May 31, 2016.

¹² Lino Nassone, Interviewed by the author, May 31, 2016.

¹³ Augusto Rasse, e-mail communication with the author, May 31, 2016.

particularly important for me because it makes me feel protected and it helps me to defend my right as a female peasant farmer in a context dominated by men.¹⁴

Table 5: UNAC membership at all levels

Province	Provincial Unions /General Unions	Provincial Commissions	District/Area Union	Associations/ Cooperatives	Individual members		
					Male	Female	Total
Maputo Cidade	1		12	261	2903	16450	19353
Maputo Província		1	4	121	4536	10583	15119
Gaza		1	2	45			1808
Inhambane		1	3	182	3130	4507	7637
Sofala	1		13	183	2496	3051	5547
Manica	1		7	177	3309	2206	5515
Tete	1		4	158	1417	1701	3118
Zambézia		1	5	84			4528
Nampula	1		16	176	1024	945	1969
Cabo Delgado	1		10	199	1965	1472	3437
Niassa	1		8	536	7380	8148	15528
Total	7	4	84	2122	28160	49063	83559

Source: Nuvunga (n.d.)

6.3. Expanding National and International Alliances (1990's – 2000's)

In 1997 UNAC and MST initiated discussions and preparations of UNAC's adherence to LVC which included UNAC attending the LVC's Third International Conference in Bangalore (India) in 2000 as an invitee. In 2004, it led to UNAC's official affiliation to LVC at the Fourth International Conference, in São Paulo (Brazil). However, in 2001 UNAC officially joined a platform of Cooperatives for the Portuguese speaking countries (in Portuguese: *Organização Cooperativista dos Países de Língua Portuguesa – OCPLP*) seeking for other similar international partners with whom it shared the Portuguese language. Prior to 2001 UNAC had already travelled to countries like Zimbabwe and Senegal with the objective of learning from the experiences of other similar organisations.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ancha Geraldo, interviewed by the author, May 31, 2016

¹⁵ Ismael Ossemane, interviewed by the author, October 10, 2016

Domestically, with the advent of a new generation of advocacy-oriented NGO's in Mozambique in the 1990's, UNAC helped creating and started developing partnership with (and eventually joined) some networks with which it shared some common goals. It joined the initiative to build platforms like the Mozambican Debt Group (in Portuguese: *Grupo Moçambicano da Dívida – GMD*), the Women's Forum (in Portuguese: *Fórum Mulher*) and later ROSA (in Portuguese: *Rede das Organizações da Sociedade Civil para a Soberania Alimentar*), a NGO network pushing for Food Sovereignty in the country. GMD is a Mozambican civil society coalition created to promote development policies in Mozambique and to participate in the process of poverty eradication in the country. *Fórum Mulher* is a coalition basically composed of women NGOs that fight for gender equality and women's human rights in Mozambique. In these forums, UNAC helps advancing its agenda around public accountability and reallocation of debt services into public investment in peasant agriculture and education, advocating for expansion on women's rights and for its agenda of Food Sovereignty.¹⁶

In 2000 UNAC started developing an internal process of reflection about its organisational character and the strategies applied. It recognized that while it had started operating as a social (peasant) movement it was gradually losing its essence and moving towards an NGO like organisation (UNAC, 2003). Other relevant issues the movements recognized included the following:

1. The concern about lack of connection between the bases of the organisation and the headquarter and vice versa;
2. Lack of capacity to build local strategies able to assist the organisation in solving the problems of the peasants without having to rely on externally funded projects which although should be regarded as necessary projects, punctual and functional these projects should also be providing limited solution;
3. The concern about linking the national and international activism of UNAC and the need to come up with a strategy to strengthen advocacy by UNAC's members at the local level. (p.2)

For UNAC the aspects above had the potential to affect the overall sustainability of UNAC. Thus, they immediately led to changes in the organisation strategies reflected by the design of its first ever Strategic Paper, covering the period from 2003 to 2008 (UNAC, 2003). UNAC's new strategic approach committed to focus on topics such as expanding local community's capacity to be able to meet their own challenges; consolidate local community's control over

¹⁶ Ismael Ossemane, Interviewed by the Author, March 29, 2016

land fighting against all forms of land conflicts; expand local community's capacity to trade local agriculture products; develop programs of participatory rural extension; expand local community's advocacy capacity as well as considering issues such as food sovereignty, HIV-AIDS and gender as cross-cutting issues.

However, seven years after implementing a strategy in which achieving food sovereignty was regarded as an autonomous objective, UNAC dropped this objective out of its 2011 – 2015 Strategy Paper. An evaluation of its implementation found that it was not clear why “Food Sovereignty emerges at the same level of other objectives. Thus, activities implemented seemed duplicated” (Zhou, n. d). It suggested that UNAC should treat food sovereignty as a high-level objective which depended upon successful implementation of other objectives to be treated as lower level ones. On the other hand, not only the “slogan” was not clear for most of UNAC's local members as there was no need to stress this objective in the organisation's strategy. Without mentioning explicitly, the term “food sovereignty”, by fighting for the peasant's rights to water, land and biodiversity UNAC had always been fighting for it transversally.¹⁷ This, couple with the recognition that (although relevant and central for UNAC), this term including others like “Food Security” and “Neoliberalism” were too abstract for UNAC to affectively advocate around (Nuvunga n. d).

Although having dropped the reference to the principle of “Food Sovereignty” from its Strategy Papers, UNAC never abandoned its practice and it still is the central message of the organisation's struggle. UNAC is by far the LVC member in Africa which implements most of the LVC related activities and events, from commemorative dates to specific actions such as training in agroecology practices, food sovereignty, and farmers experience exchange programmes etc.¹⁸

But UNAC's relationship with its most important international ally LVC was severely challenged by its unilateral move into joining SACAUI in 2011. From a merely an “observer” of SACAUI's events during the same period it was preparing to join LVC, UNAC's members voted in favour of and formally joined SACAUI during their 25th commemorative

¹⁷ Ismael Ossemane, Interviewed by the Author, March 29, 2016

¹⁸ Ismael Ossemane, Interviewed by the Author, March 29, 2016

Anniversary and general Assembly in 2012. This decision was principally based on the financial benefits that SACAU provided to UNAC and not on ideological reasons (Greenberg, 2013). It prompted immediate contestation and a strong reaction from the LVC. At its VI International Conference in Jakarta in 2013, the international movement confirmed a decision to place its Office of the International Operative Secretariat (IOS) in Zimbabwe instead of Maputo as it had been previously planned for. Moving its IOS to a member that was also affiliated to an “enemy” (SACAU) would send a wrong message to the movement and to the world about the real ideology of the LVC.

LVC and SACAU are clearly two networks with opposed ideologies. While SACAU is openly part of and advocating for a “mainstream project to advance capitalist expansion in African agriculture” (Greenberg, 2013:27), LVC is for the advancement of a socialist peasant-led agriculture development. In this regard UNAC membership to both organisations is a strategy of overlapping representation. For while its membership of SACAU is intended to provide it with the opportunity to access other relevant regional forums and processes (e.g. the New Partnership for Africa’s Development-NEPAD) where it can seek for the much-needed financial resources for its members, LVC represents its source of ideological support (e.g. food sovereignty, agroecology, etc.).

Food sovereignty, land and agroecology are at the centre of the organisation’s actions. These actions are developed in parallel with the capacity building related activities and organisational development ones. Most of capacity building is directed to expand local members’ capacity to advocate for their rights to access and control of land while the organisational development is directed at the leadership and local members training on management of local organisations. However, it is for its struggle against biofuels and land grabs in Mozambique that UNAC has been expanding its domestic and international visibility. UNAC has firmly opposed the plans of the Mozambican government for corporate-led biofuel production model suggesting as an alternative a community based production model which considers different local purposes of agro fuels (Borras et.al 2010; Franco et.al. 2010). The organisation has been leading a national campaign on raising awareness and stopping land grabs on Nacala Corridor by foreign investment also by firmly opposing to Brazilian-led agribusiness project named Japan-Brazil Partnership Programme for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique (ProSavana) (Chichava *et.al*, 2013; Ikegami, 2015; UNAC 2015). Its work has also tried to relate the daily challenges

of the Mozambicans with the lack of the government peasant-led development approach to agriculture (UNAC, 2010).

6.4. UNAC's Operational Structure

UNAC functions with two structures: the political and the executive structure. The political structure is considered the most important structure of the organisation. Its membership is based on democratic principles. It comprised the General Assembly, Board of Directors, Treasury and Parallel and Complementary Forums. The General Assemblies are held annually. But there are also electoral assemblies which are held every five years. Only elected delegates from each provincial union and members of UNAC's political structure can attend. They elect the members of the political structure, deliberate on documents and strategies and monitor the work of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors is another organ made of elected peasants. Its role is to manage UNAC administratively, represent the organisation in various forums, prepare and present to the General Assembly the plans and the respective narrative and financial report annually as well as to make sure that the objectives of the organisation are carried out. The fiscal Board or treasurer plays the role of an internal auditor. Finally, the Parallel and Complimentary Spaces are periodic consultation meetings that are held in which members and non-members are invited to discuss on specific matters of the organisation. These meetings also include thematic seminars on several issues such as agrarian policies and development programmes, climate change, national and international trade, gender and women's political participation, HIV/AIDS, food security versus food sovereignty, foreign aid, FAO policies and programmes and other bilateral and multilateral institutions. Special groups of Youth and Women have also been allocated specific forums to discuss the challenges related to their groups and come up with specific action plans. Most of such spaces are used for experience exchange amongst peasant women and youth from different parts of the country.

UNAC executive structure is composed of four departments, internally designated "Teams" to capture the idea of working collectively. These teams which carry out the daily activities of the organisation are under the overall management and supervision of an Executive Coordinator appointed by the Board of Directors. The Team of Advocacy, Communication and Cooperation is the one which oversees the implementation of the entire advocacy and lobby related activities. This includes drafting UNAC position papers, organizing conferences

and seminars and expanding advocacy and lobbying capacity of UNAC to all organisation levels. It is this same Team which oversees the daily activities related to most of the international engagement of UNAC including with LVC. The Capacity Building Department is the one responsible for training UNAC members on organisational development-related issues such as how to build and effectively run a peasant association and cooperatives and production techniques like agroecology. The Department of Rural Development does the developmental work of the organisation like a donor NGO. This includes management of projects related to seed production and distribution, construction of community irrigation schemes and local buildings which are locally managed by UNAC; etc. All the personnel and the daily administrative and financial management of the organisation fall under the responsibility of the Department of Administration and Finances. All these departments are run by contracted workers some with short and others with long-term contracts and not by the member themselves. See **appendix two** for the organogram of UNAC.

After almost thirty years of existence UNAC has managed to maintain a relative political autonomy from the Mozambican state (Borras, 2004). However, it still faces enormous challenges at various levels. Its overall functioning is 100% dependent on donor projects most of the time not aligned with the organisation overall objective turning it into a project-driven organisation. Even with the government's own recognition of the relevance of UNAC in the context of Mozambique, the organisation doesn't benefit from any public funds. The existing capacity (and political awareness) amongst majority of its members to rapidly understand the context and to advocate locally in favour of structural economic and political transformation in Mozambique is still very poor. Thus, most of all the advocacy and lobby interventions of the organisation which were supposed to be performed by the members are confined to the members of the staff sitting in Maputo.

Chapter Seven: The Transnationalising Dynamics between UNAC and LVC

This chapter discusses the empirical evidence which relates to the interconnected transnationalising dynamics between UNAC and LVC. This discussion has been organized under themes. The first theme is designated “*the common interest, the new political message and the international solidarity*”. This theme deals specifically with the motivations which led UNAC into transnationalising its activism in general, by joining LVC in particular. This is followed by a discussion of the empirical evidence on how the transnationalising relationship is processed. This process is discussed under the three following themes; “sovereignty campaigns”, “building transnational peasant activists” and “peasant transnational solidarity”. The chapter then moves into a discussion of the empirical evidence on the structure within UNAC which directly deals with the transnational project under the theme “responding to transnational demands”. Finally, it discusses the empirical evidence on the threats and opportunities the transnationalising relationship has brought to UNAC under the theme “going global: a threat to national activism?”

7.1. The Common Interest, New Political Messages and International Solidarity

UNAC joined LVC because it was looking for a global ally with whom the organisation shared *the common interest* of defending the peasant agriculture. UNAC regarded LVC as the ally that it could count on in the struggle for this common interest. Although UNAC had a national mandate, it became clear from the creation of the organisation in 1987 that for it to be able to effectively fight for the interest of its members (even nationally) it had to build both domestic and international alliances under regional and global likeminded NGO platforms, public institutions and social movements. After several meetings and internal discussions which involved both the executive staff of UNAC and the political board, the organisation concluded that it shared with LVC a similar vision but more importantly the principal objective to defend the “peasant class” in the context of expanding capitalism and globalisation. More than seeking for another partner organisation UNAC was looking for an ideological partner to exchange experience under a similar agenda of fighting neoliberalism.

UNAC also believed that, by joining a global actor like LVC, it would further improve and *develop its political messages* by benefiting from the more developed intellectual resources which LVC already possessed. UNAC understood from the beginning that LVC worked on alternatives and proposals which it presented to relevant UN institutions like the FAO aiming

at fighting and defending the rights of the peasants all over the world including the African peasantry.¹⁹ Thus, an immediate result of its membership to LVC was that UNAC started having more and new arguments to present to the government of Mozambique as it benefited from training materials (e.g. books), position papers on new topics (e.g. GMO seeds) provided by LVC which UNAC discusses at all levels of the organisation.²⁰ Another important political change and benefit was the adoption by UNAC of the principle of Food Sovereignty immediately after its affiliation to LVC. In fact, it was through its exchange with LVC that UNAC came to know about the principle of and adopted “food sovereignty” as part of the organisation struggle for a model of agriculture development based on the peasantry.²¹

The other important aspect which motivated UNAC into joining LVC was the search for *international solidarity* from another peasant organisation with a global mandate which was composed of members who were also being affected by the same negative impacts of the neoliberal policies although in their own countries in their own dimension but were being affected by similar aspects such as land grabbing of peasants’ land and privatisation. According to Diamantino Nhampossa, UNAC’s former Head of Advocacy Unit and later its Executive Coordinator:

What impressed UNAC was the international solidarity we could get being part of LVC and we then also realised that there were other peasant organisations that were being affected by neoliberalism elsewhere as they were also losing farmers land, suffering from privatization etc. We understood that there was even a global organisation which protected our rights. The most important threatening factor for Mozambique was the withdrawal of state support from agriculture and other resulting consequences to the peasants. But for the MST in Brazil were land grabs and the need for an effective land reform. What motivated us the most was international solidarity as we were feeling isolated for not being part of a global alliance. We felt that with our affiliation to LVC there would be international solidarity and cooperation but never financial resources.²²

UNAC understood that in the context of a global struggle it needed to count on international solidarity from a global peasant movement. It recognised from its inception that the so-called “enemy” came from abroad. To be able to effectively confront an enemy coming from abroad UNAC needed to actively engage with the international organisations like LVC. “We did not

¹⁹ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, December 10, 2015.

²⁰ José Júnior, Interviewed by the author, December, 10, 2015.

²¹ Ismael Ossemane, Interviewed by the author, December 22, 2015

²² Diamantino Nhampossa, Interviewed by the author, December 8, 2015

want to continue being isolated in our struggle against the capitalist model of development.”²³ The advantage of international solidarity by joining LVC has been identified before UNAC’s formal affiliation to LVC as during the exchange visits by UNAC to other LVC member organisations (e.g. MST) these organisations would point to their local challenges and to the support they could get from the LVC secretariat and from other affiliated organisations.

7.2. Food Sovereignty Campaigns

UNAC started its involvement in LVC’s coordinated events even before its official affiliation to the transnational peasant movement organisation in 2004 when it was still playing the role of an observer or candidate. Observers or candidates are those organisations which participate in LVC events during their application phase to become a member organisation. However, during this phase UNAC enjoyed all the rights of effective membership.²⁴ For example, it was in this capacity that from the 25th to the 30th of January 2001, UNAC participated in LVC’s coordinated activities of the World Social Forum, in Porto Alegre (Brazil). The main focus of the discussions of participating farmers in Porto Alegre was on how to stop land grabbing by multinational corporations.²⁵ In the same capacity, in August 31st, 2002, parallel to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (South Africa), integrated in a LVC’s delegation, UNAC activists marched in favour of the establishment of development policies which allow small farmers to produce sustainably and for the immediate establishment of fair prices for small producers’ products. Again, in 2003 UNAC activists participated in the in the LVC demonstration against WTO involvement in agriculture in Cancún, Mexico.

However, after its official affiliation UNAC’s transnational activism expanded considerably and it has been continuously involved with all the major local, regional and global events organised by LVC. These events, apart from dealing with organisational aspects of the movement organisation like the meetings within and between member regions or organisations, also include the meetings on the LVC’s overall theme of food sovereignty (land, water, seeds, agroecology, women’s rights, climate etc.) during major transnational

²³ Renaldo João, Interviewed by Fredson Guilengue, December 10, 2015.

²⁴ Ismael Ossemane, Interview with the author, September 30, 2016

²⁵ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

platforms like the World Social Forums, the Conference of the Parties (COP) processes and meetings with or parallel to meetings of actors such as the FAO and IFAD. A considerable amount of time and political efforts has been invested by LVC to create a voice of small-scale producers at both FAO and IFAD. This task has been allocated to the International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty. A significant outcome of this work was the recent recognition of the role of the civil society as part of the renewal of the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS) in 2009. (Brem-Wilson 2010; Burnett & Murphy 2014)

In 2009 a delegation of four activists from UNAC attended the 9th edition of the World Social Forum which took place in the Brazilian City of Belém (in the Amazon rain forest), between January 27 and February 1. Some two thousand people attended this edition of the World Social Forum. This Forum took place in a context whereby some Latin American Countries were under the leadership of progressive leaders. These leaders included Presidents Hugo Chavez (Venezuela), Fernando Lugo (Paraguay), Evo Morales (Bolivia) and Rafael Correa (Ecuador) who were also present at the Forum and had a discussion with representatives of social movements on coordinated initiatives. UNAC's activists together with representatives of other LVC's member organisation participated in several planned activities including on topics such as food, finance, the economy, climate, energy, population migration, and a debate against the Israeli occupation of Palestine where UNAC exposed the role of the Mozambican peasantry in the struggle for independence. It was out of this forum that the Brazilian government decided to start a project of revival of native seeds in Africa. For the Mozambican territory UNAC was chosen as the native seeds project leading partner.

During the 15th edition of the COP process, which took part in the South African city of Durban together with other farmers from LVC, on December the 5th 2011, UNAC activists marched from Durban's Botha Park to City Hall to hand over the people's memorandum demanding the state leaders to implement food sovereignty in their countries and proposing agroecology as the solution for the current climate change problem. Issues such as farmers control over seeds, land ownership for the poor farmers, women's right and decent wages were also being discussed all as part of LVC's demand to shift to a peasant-led agroecology model of production. Together with other farmers they demanded organic farming and refused the adoption of genetically-modified seeds and fertilisers.

In 2014 in Rome (Italy), from the 18th and 19th of September, UNAC was also present as LVC member organisation when the International Symposium on Agroecology for Food and Nutritional Security was held at the headquarters of the FAO. It was the first time ever the FAO had officially addressed the topic of agroecology with peasant organisation representatives. In this event LVC stressed the need to use agroecology as an alternative to industrial agriculture. UNAC has subsequently been involved in most of the events organised by LVC on FAO. LVC's engagement with the FAO and other global decision making actors is part of the overall project which aims at socializing the global economy and articulate more strongly the role of states and science. For LVC this can only be made possible by bringing global actors like the FAO under popular control (Jansen 2015). An outcome of LVC's engagement with the FAO is an agreement which has recently been signed between them on a programme which aims at supporting local small-scale farmers by using sustainable agriculture to tackle climate change. For Mozambique, UNAC is also going to be the beneficiary of this project.²⁶

After UNAC officially joined LVC it began participating in several meetings on IFAD. These meetings were aimed at advocating for the channelling of IFAD funds to the peasant sector and peasant-led agroecology which is proposed by LVC as an answer to the global food and climate crises. LVC has been advocating that IFAD decentralizes its funds towards working directly with peasant organisations instead of governments.²⁷ For to LVC (2012), its expectations also include that IFAD supports actively:

- programmes looking to develop and strengthen peasant production that is durable and agro-ecological, as a response to the food and climate crisis
- the reinforcement of government public investment programmes for research and training for peasants and basic services,
- initiatives and programmes looking to implement the results of the International Conferences on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development 2006, as well as the implementation of the Voluntary Guidelines on the responsible governance of tenure of land, that will soon be finalized at the CFS
- programmes that look to increase access to land and other productive resources
- the creation and implementation of an international charter of peasant rights
- initiatives that look to improve small scale producer's access to local and national markets. Via Campesina (2012)

²⁶ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

²⁷ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

These demands, for example, were drafted and published during the Fourth Global Meeting of the Farmers' Forum that was held in IFAD, in Rome, from 18 to 23 February 2012 where UNAC was also represented by Renaldo Chingore João who was between 2008 and 2012 member of the CCI of LVC. Many other similar meetings with FAO took place.

Since 2012, UNAC has been leading the local and more importantly the regional and the transnational campaign against land grabbing through a programme which started in 2010 and is generally known in Mozambique as "ProSavana Project". Locally, UNAC is part of a national platform that it helped create which advocates against this project. Transnationally it has been taking the campaign against this programme to the international arena. ProSavana is a triangular cooperation programme involving the governments of Japan, Brazil and Mozambique. Its original name is "Japan-Brazil Partnership Programme for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannah in Mozambique" (Funada Classen, 2013). It is difficult to figure out the real objectives of the programme (Funada Classen, 2013) apart from the commonly referred to development of agriculture in Nacala Corridor in Mozambique. The project has been strongly contested by the Mozambican civil society including UNAC. Their main argument is that the programme design and implementation was not transparent because it did not follow a consultation process involving local communities where the project is being implemented especially the local farmers. Critics also argue that the programme is inspired by a similar agribusiness initiatives conducted in Brazil by the governments of Japan and Brazil in the 1970s, which they believe to have had significant negative social and environmental impacts on the local population. If implemented in Mozambique in a similar way, the project is potentially capable of destroying the livelihoods of many rural communities, result in landless communities in the country, increase poverty, social convulsions, corruption and pollution (UNAC, 2012c).

UNAC activists took the campaign against this project to the countries of origin of the project (Brazil and Japan) and have mobilised support against it in many other countries (e.g. Zimbabwe, Sweden, Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania, and Italy). In Brazil activists visited the areas where a similar programme had been implemented and mobilised support from other Brazilian movements and progressive NGOs. In Japan during the Fifth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD V) on May, 2013, together with twenty-two different organisations they submitted a letter calling for the immediate suspension of the programme. The outcome of transnationalising this campaign was very

significant. As referred by Agostinho Bento, a former UNAC staff member “the implementation pace of this programme was reduced due to our internationalisation of our campaign”.²⁸

Regionally, apart from playing an active role in the regional platform “the People’s Dialogue” (a South-South dialogue platform comprised of progressive NGO’s and movements from Latin America and Africa to promote action and democratic participation processes), as a member of LVC, UNAC activists have been mobilising during events parallel to the SADC Head of States Summits which take place annually. For example, more recently, in 2013, UNAC activists attended the SADC’s People’s Summit in Lilongwe (Malawi). The same happened in 2014 in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) where they participated in and shared their proposal of agroecology and UNAC’s campaign against land grabbing in Mozambique.

7.3. Building Transnational Peasant Activists

The process of expanding capacity of LVC members is basically carried out using two mechanisms. One is through what is designated by pedagogic schools. These schools involve the process of exchanging and transmitting knowledge without the necessary use of a traditional school infrastructure.²⁹ The main method for transfer of knowledge used in these schools is farmer-to-farmer training. Farmer-to-farmer training involves transfer of knowledge and experience from one farmer or group of farmers to another. Some pedagogic schools are especially organised for learning and teaching. Others happen parallel to specific events (e.g. seminars, conferences). The process may involve member and non-member organisations. These organisations identify specific aspects to learn from each other. These aspects may be political, ideological or practical which are considered worth sharing for expanding the member’s capacity. Some specific themes that these exchange address include: agroecology production techniques, strategies to fight land grabbing, native seed production and conservation, fair trade, organisational and institutional development of peasant organisations, and many others. This mechanism allows successful practical and theoretical experiences to be disseminated among the movement organisation members. The other mechanism, which is training involving traditional school infrastructure also occurs.

²⁸ Agostinho Bento, Interview with the author, October 3, 2016

²⁹ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

Currently, LVC has a network of forty schools around the world dedicated to the promotion and transmission of peasant-led agroecology knowledge (Via Campesina 2016c). Most of the farmers trained in these schools are expected to take the knowledge back to other farmers. These schools also involve training on educational, political and organisational aspects.

Before its official affiliation to LVC, UNAC already participated in some experience exchange and capacity building initiatives with similar organisations within and outside the African continent. In 1999 four UNAC activists visited Brazil and learned about political and organisational aspects of the MST. They learned how the MST mobilised its members for land occupations, the production aspects of the movement in Brazil, cooperativism, associativism, leadership, political training of social movements, gender, etc.³⁰ Apart from these initiatives, specific experience exchange initiatives were carried out with the objective of learning from the experiences from other small farmers on how they were organized and how they promoted peasant-led agroecology and food sovereignty in general.³¹

However, like the case of transnational forums discussed in **section-2** above, it was after the official affiliation to LVC that experience exchange initiatives aiming at expanding UNAC's capacity on organisational issues and relevant LVC themes expanded exponentially. UNAC specific projects and annual activity reports contain and describe a very substantial amount of these types of events. In 2011 for example, a delegation of two women activists from UNAC, Ancha Geraldo and Alifa Aide, attended lessons on political issues including on political theory of Latin America. The activists stayed for four months in Brazil, being exposed to theoretical and practical training, which also counted on twenty other participants from different countries. As referred by Ancha Geraldo, after this event "I understand much better about the politics of Transnational Corporations and the role of the peasant movement."³² Alexandre Mucucheque and Albino Virone who attended a forty-day political training for peasant movements from Latin America and Africa militants in 2012 have too concluded that after the exchange they now understand better the complexities of neoliberalism and how the peasants from different continents are fighting a common struggle (UNAC 2012d).

³⁰ Alexandre Mucucheque, Interviewed by the author, October 3, 2016

³¹ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

³² Ancha Geraldo, Interviewed by the author, September 30, 2016

Apart from building peasants' capacity on understanding capitalism and neoliberal globalisation, these experience exchange help understanding each other's reality. They involve activist leaders and non-leaders and have, as another benefit, the fact that they allow time and space to discuss issues which normally cannot be discussed over the phone, substantially reducing costs.³³ More importantly, however, for UNAC is how these exchanges have built peasant leaders and activists who not only understand global dynamics related to their own struggle but also know how to act in transnational forums. As referred to by a UNAC activist leader, Lino Pita Nassone:

It is thanks to the lessons I learn in these initiatives that I am now capable of better understanding local and global issues like for example the climate change and how as a local farmer leader I can act to transfer this knowledge to my peers and collectively we can ask for responsibility from the perpetrators of these global problem in international forums I participate like what we did in COP 17 in Durban, South Africa³⁴

In 2007, a male facilitator from the National Association of Small-scale Farmers of Cuba (ANAP) stayed in Mozambique for a year where in trained UNAC activists on agroecology practices. In the context of this same initiative, four activists from UNAC travelled to Cuba in October 2007 to participate in the international agroecology forum as well as to continue with the process of experience exchange on agroecology that had started in Mozambique. This initiative is considered by UNAC as having left important knowledge amongst its members on agroecology and food sovereignty in general which has been multiplied even in the present days.³⁵ UNAC relies heavily on these multipliers to prepare other activist members countrywide sometimes for periods as long as six months.³⁶

Another exchange took place from 06 to 12 November 2012 when representatives from LVC including two UNAC activists met in Surin (Thailand) for the global meeting on agroecology and seeds. The principal objective of this meeting was to allow different LVC members to share experience, build a common strategy and vision for their struggle for agroecology. Similar events followed, like for example, when from 09 to 16 December 2012 another four

³³ Mateus Santos, Interviewed by the author, September 22, 2016

³⁴ Lino Nassone, Interviewed by the author, September 28, 2016

³⁵ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

³⁶ Inácio Manuel, Interview with the author, September 30, 2016

activists from UNAC travelled to Morogoro (Tanzania) where they were joined by two representatives from the Zimbabwe Small Holder Farmer's Forum (ZIMSOFF). The visit aimed at exchanging experience with *Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania* (MVIWATA) – another member of LVC – on agroecology practices. The group was exposed to techniques on organic fruit production, fruit processing, and organic pesticides production. These and other related initiatives not only have expanded UNAC capacity to understand the issues discussed but also boosted its interest in the issue of trade in general and how local commercialization of farmers' products is an alternative against unfair trade.³⁷ Because of this exchange commercialization gained an important relevance within UNAC although a proposed plan to draft UNAC's commercialization strategy paper has never been materialized.

When Ismael Ossemame looks at UNAC individual members who have benefitted from these experience exchanges and capacity building initiatives he concludes, with no doubt, that “coupled with the global technological development and continuous UNAC's capacity building initiatives these people now possess far more capacity and knowledge ranging from global to local issues than they possessed before their exposure to these initiatives”.³⁸

7.4. Peasant Transnational Solidarity

Expressing solidarity to other peasants, peasant organisations or to a particular group or even to particular country is a central element of the peasant's movement struggle. Solidarity is, apart from internationalism, one of the principal founding values of LVC (Via Campesina, 2016d). A search for the word “solidarity” on LVC's English website generated 50 hits as of the 10th March 2016. Solidarity is, according to Ismael Ossemame, one of UNAC founding members, also one of the founding values of UNAC.³⁹ The same search on UNAC's website, in English, generates 7 hits, as at the very same date, even when considering that UNAC's website is not its main vehicle of information.

William Gamson has referred to solidarity in social movements as the “strength of our loyalties and commitment to a movement collective identity” (1991:45). Expression of

³⁷ Renaldo João, Interviewed by the author, September 23, 2016

³⁸ Ismael Ossemame, Interviewed by the author, October 11, 2016

³⁹ Ismael Ossemame, Interview with the author, September 30, 2016

solidarity is a central element in collective action as it reflects “the belief that the group is capable of unified action in pursuit of the group’s goals” (Rochon, 1998: 98). The role of solidarity in collective action has also been exposed by Jackie Smith when he argues that:

The efforts of social movement organizations to promote shared ideologies and create opportunities for interactions among activists help cultivate a sense of unity that is essential to group solidarity. Moreover, to the extent that they engage their members in collective actions involving the public sharing of risks (such as police repression) or costs (such as traveling long distances to participate in a meeting or protest), they enhance group solidarity. (2002:507)

In LVC, solidarity is expressed targeting various groups. Solidarity actions or events can be directed to individual members, like in the context of the recent assassination of Berta Cáceres (General Coordinator of the Civic Council of Popular and Indigenous Organisations of Honduras - COPINH) on 3rd March 2016 (Via Campesina, 2016e). It can be addressed to a particular social group suffering from a specific problem, like the ongoing refugee crisis in Europe, where LVC denounced the inhumane treatment being given to refugees in some European countries (Via Campesina, 2016f). Solidarity in LVC can also be addressed to other small farmers suffering from police brutality or excessive use of force by the police when demanding respect for their own rights, like the repression of a farmers’ march, who were demanding an appropriate implementation of the country’s land law in Mozambique, on 29th February 2008 (Via Campesina, 2008). In LVC it can also be addressed to a particular people or country suffering from a political problem like the Israeli occupation of Palestine in which a global boycott of Israeli products is demanded (Via Campesina, 2016g).

Solidarity initiatives in LVC take essentially two forms. One involves issuing a solidarity document (letter, a specific call for international solidarity) or referring to the case on a given declaration paper. The other involves sending a delegation to express it directly to a victim or victims of a given circumstance. Generally, in both formats perpetrators are denounced and action and justice are demanded.

As member of LVC, UNAC has literally endorsed all of letters expressing and calling for solidarity to other members and other groups experiencing a particular challenge including joining specific events, whenever possible, aimed at solidarity purposes.⁴⁰ During the period between 2004 and 2014, various solidarity initiatives were organised by LVC. Among some

⁴⁰ Ismael Ossemane, interviewed by the author, October 12, 2016

of the most important transnational solidarity events which being a member of LVC UNAC has participated includes the 8th March 2006 women's march Rio Grande do Sul (South of Brazil). On this date, the International Women's Day, about 2000 women from LVC occupied a plantation of Aracruz Celulose. Protestors denounced the social and environmental impacts of growing eucalyptus monocultures. They occupied and destroyed a plantation in the main production unit of seedlings of eucalyptus and pines of the biggest company in Aracruz (Via Campesina, 2016h). The principal objective of the march was, according to Ana Paula Tauacale, a peasant leader from UNAC, to express solidarity to the Brazilian small farmers who were "demanding that support from their government be given to the peasant agriculture instead of investments in the expansion of monoculture plantation"⁴¹

At the regional level, in 2012, when twenty-four mineworkers were murdered in Marikana (South Africa) while striking for a decent wage, Ana Paula Tauacale, on behalf of UNAC, joined a group of activist women who travelled to the region, met with the local community and the widows to expressed solidarity to the families of the victims and demanded that justice be done against the corporations that are involved in similar crimes not just in south Africa but globally.⁴² This initiative also aimed at raising the world's attention to the violent acts committed by or on behalf of transnational corporations. Other similar initiatives followed.

More recently, in 26 February 2014, UNAC published an article expressing solidarity and support to the Venezuelan Government of Nicolas Maduro when it was facing widespread anti-government popular demonstrations. In their article, UNAC accused the Venezuelan ultra-right of trying to capture the sovereignty of the people and the Bolivarian revolution. The same document accused the ultra-right of trying to regain control of the Venezuelan natural resources by attempting to remove a legitimate and popular government from power. UNAC also reiterates solidarity to the Venezuelan government and peasantry who, in their actions, are oriented to the consolidation of food sovereignty in Venezuela (UNAC, 2014).

⁴¹ Ana Paula Tauacale, interviewed by the author, October 3, 2016

⁴² Ana Paula Tauacale, interviewed by the author, October 4, 2016

Ana Paula Taucale, who has taken part directly, in most of the solidarity initiatives organised by LVC, on behalf of UNAC, has no doubt about the importance of expressing solidarity to other groups experience a particular challenge. As she describes in her own words:

We fight similar struggles and suffer the same consequences wherever we are. What happened in Marikana is like what happened in Tete, in Mozambique, where farmers where not killed but suffered from extreme violence by the police. When we express solidarity to the others we also get their own solidarity when we are facing a particular problem. It's thanks to this that we have been getting a lot of international support in our struggle against ProSavana especially from Brazil. Others are supporting us because we also support them.⁴³

7.5. Peasants Responding to Transnational Demands

Within UNAC no formal structures have been established with the specific purpose of supporting its transnational activism thought its relationship with LVC. All internal departments or units, depending on the nature of the issue they are formally in charge of such as Advocacy, Cooperation and Communication Unit; Capacity Building Unit and Rural Development Unit; play a role in this process and in the relationship with LVC in general. However, transnational activism demanded from UNAC expansion of the residing knowledge. Thus, it had to expand the intellectual capacity of its personnel to be able to effectively understand and deal with new topics brought by its relationship with LVC and neoliberal globalisation in general. This expansion also included considering a good command of English as a prerequisite for hiring new project managers for the advocacy Unit. English is the main language of communication used in transnational forums. As the national language of Mozambique is Portuguese, understanding and communicating in English became an important prerequisite.

Although all internal Units are involved in its transnational activities, it is the Unit of Advocacy, Cooperation and Communication which does most of its transnational related activism due to its direct internal responsibilities. This Unit is, amongst others, responsible for understanding and analysing the impact of global events on the peasantry. The role of this Unit also includes exchanging information with LVC member organisations and preparing members countrywide for UNAC and LVC joint transnational activities and events. This Unit is the most exposed one to political affairs nationally, regionally and globally. It is the Unit at UNAC which concentrates most of its intellectual capacity.

⁴³ Ana Paula Taucale, telephone communication with the author, October 18, 2016

UNAC has also benefited from its proximity to the LVC personnel in Maputo. After being officially accepted as LVC member in 2004, being its first African member organisation, UNAC was given the mission to expand LVC in the region. For this purpose, the Via Campesina Africa region Secretariat was established, with its headquarters in Maputo (Mozambique) in 2008. This Secretariat, which was under the coordination of UNAC and the National Coordination of Peasant Organisations of Mali (CNOP), had the responsibility of expanding LVC to other African countries, mobilise other progressive organisations to join LVC, coordinate regional activities and events and build capacity amongst LVC regional members including UNAC. Because of its location in Maputo, this Secretariat also provides direct day-to-day support to UNAC's national and transnational activism. It is involved directly in activities including mobilisation of UNAC members to events locally, regionally and globally; it provides UNAC members with relevant information and political training before attending transnational events and prepares all logistics related issues.

The type of transnational activities which UNAC engages with through its membership to LVC include both regional and global dimensions. Regional transnational engagements include mobilisation around Civil Society parallel meetings to the Southern Africa Development Community Head of States Meetings, regional events of Platforms such as the People's Dialogues and BRICS FROM BELOW. At the global level, transnational activism takes place at forums to address the question of legitimacy and accountability of transnational institutions (international development; financial institutions) such as the World Bank (WB), IMF, WTO, IFAD and the FAO (Borras 2004). Due to its financial and technical limitations UNAC very rarely takes the initiative of planning on its own transnational activities. Even when activities are planned their actual implementation are fully dependent on partners' funds and LVC involvement to materialise. It is LVC that coordinates activism at available regional and global platform to UNAC.

7.6. Going global: A Threat to National Activism?

UNAC's mandate is to struggle for "a more protagonist female and male farmer in building a just, prosperous and solidary society" (UNAC, 2012a). To achieve this goal, the organisation has committed itself to struggle for access and control of land by the peasants, to strengthen peasant local organisations, to defend the common goods (water, seeds, environment, biodiversity), to promote active participation of peasants in policy design processes, to

promote local markets, to promote active participation of women and youth in political processes, expand awareness and promote strategies to fight against HIV-AIDS and to build political capacity among the peasantry (UNAC, 2016) in and outside the Mozambican borders.

UNAC's transnational activism through its membership to LVC has been providing it with constant and relevant forums to internationally expose local challenges like the struggle for control of land by the peasants, to access information with immediate impact in local areas like the advent of large scale investments in Mozambique, to expand capacity to understand and to fight local struggles through the trainings provided in transnational forums and to access more external resources to be invested locally by expanding its access to funding partners.⁴⁴ These opportunities have helped UNAC fulfil significantly its national mandate. For example, it is via transnational forums that UNAC exposed the threats to land grabbing by the ProSavana project and biofuels expansion in Mozambique, globally. ProSavana and Biofuel projects are of a great concern to UNAC local members, particularly in the northern Mozambique, as they threaten directly their access and control over resources like land and water. Thanks to the international exposure by UNAC the Mozambican government was forced to reduce the implementation dynamic of ProSavana Project for possibly accommodating demands of local peasants.⁴⁵ The same activism resulted in both projects attracting substantial attention from national and international scholars (e.g. Borras et.al., 2010; Franco et.al, 2010; Chichava et.al, 2013; Funada-Classsen, 2013; Mosca, 2014), Governments (Brasil, Japan, etc.), from progressive international NGO's (UNAC 2015), including from the international media.

The political and practical lessons learned at the transnational level like on the politics and techniques of agroecology have been fundamental in helping UNAC increasing capacity of its members towards meeting production challenges. The relationship between these trainings and local mandate have been emphasised by Renaldo João when he argues that "We now have at our disposal a group of trainers who after benefiting from training on seed

⁴⁴ Renaldo João, interviewed by the author, October 27, 2016

⁴⁵ Agostinho Bento, interviewed by the author, October 10, 2016

conversation and production techniques are transmitting their knowledge to other local members. Thus, the beneficiaries are expanding their autonomy over production.”⁴⁶

Because of UNAC’s reduced internal intellectual and financial capacity to organise regular political schools, transnational forums have also played the role of political education platforms for UNAC’s activists. Fifteen of the most active UNAC’s trainers and multipliers on various political and practical issues were trained abroad. Political education is a central element for UNAC’s struggle locally and transnational forums are valuable sources of intellectual capacity that is applied to UNAC’s struggle nationally.⁴⁷

Financially, by adhering to transnational activism through its membership to a radical movement like VLC, UNAC feared that it would be abandoned by some non-radical financial supporters. However, this fear did not materialise. On the contrary, most of its former partners remained. More importantly, the organisation expanded its partnership to include other funding partners who had been either referred to or recommended by LVC contacts (e.g. Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung; The Basque Country; CS Fund and many others).⁴⁸ The projects financed by these partners include training in agroecology (CS Fund), studies on land grabbing (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung) and initiatives on promoting food sovereignty and better gender relations (Basque Country). All these projects support the development of local initiatives by UNAC members creating a significant impact locally.⁴⁹

However, UNAC’s relationship with some sectors of the government has not always been the same. In 2013, the government of Mozambique publicly accused it of trying to impose a “foreign” agenda in Mozambique. In June 2013, in reaction to a public letter addressed by UNAC to the Government of Japan to halt financing ProSavana, government officials questioned how “illiterate peasants” could write a letter with such a political content. In August 2013, José Pacheco, Minister of Agriculture, soon after the First Triangular Conference of the People on ProSavana, accused the organisers (including UNAC) of

⁴⁶ Renaldo João, interviewed by the author, October 27, 2016

⁴⁷ Inácio Manuel, interviewed by the author, October 27, 2016

⁴⁸ Ismael Ossemane, interviewed by the author May 12, 2016

⁴⁹ Eugénio Chilengue, interviewed by the author, October 27, 2016

conspiring to maintain Mozambique's dependence on food imports (Folha de São Paulo 2013).

While some argue that the remarks also led to UNAC's isolation from government held national debates on (agriculture) development (Mosca, 2014), empirical evidence (and UNAC itself) shows exactly the opposite. UNAC's activism, particularly on ProSavana, further projected UNAC international giving it more visibility and reiterated its relevance as a key actor in the debate of agrarian development in Mozambique. For its members, UNAC's leadership of anti-ProSavana reiterated its commitment to fight for its member's right to land. In fact, government invitations for UNAC to discuss agrarian issues increased exponentially with UNAC also being invited to be part of different platforms where agrarian issues were being discussed. UNAC was officially invited by the government to be a member of the national committee for seed development in Mozambique, National School Meals Programme (PRONAE) and many others, in which it still has a very strong presence and voice.⁵⁰ UNAC continues to develop its struggle against neoliberal forms of production in both locally and in transnational forums. As reiterated by Renaldo João:

We have never felt that our transnational activism was affecting negatively our national mandate or that we are now paying less attention to our local responsibilities. On the contrary, we have always linked our struggle to other international movements when we faced particular challenges domestically. By bringing local issues to other LVC members we know that they will make sure that our local grievances are discussed globally.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Jeremias Vunjanhe, interviewed by the author, October 28, 2016

⁵¹ Renaldo João, interviewed by the author, October 27, 2016

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This study used Michael Burawoy's approach to the extended case method to fundamentally explore how UNAC's activism has been transnationalised through its membership to LVC. The significant empirical evidence it offers allows us to have a better understanding of the transnationalising relationship of peasant movement organisation in general and of peasant movement transnational activism in particular. More importantly, the empirical evidence offered here contributes to the process of re-theorising the neo-Marxist approach to social movements to be able to accommodate the agency of national peasant social movement organisations, in the context of neoliberal globalisation.

The empirical evidence of the present study supports the conclusion that although UNAC participated in international events before its affiliation to LVC, its transnational activism – understood (helping) organise or coordinate ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of Mozambique - started and expanded considerably with its affiliation to LVC. Evidence supports the existence of three major dimensions of UNAC transnational activism through its relationship to LVC. These dimensions can be classified as political, human and social. The political dimension involves the adoption and commitment to fight for LVC's political themes under the overall concept of food sovereignty, for example, the peasant-led agroecology and the peasants' right to control assets like land. The human dimension is represented by the expansion of capacity of individual peasant members to be able not only to understand but also to confront capitalism in local and transnational forums. This dimension is operationalised by the pedagogic and non-pedagogic schools. Finally, the third dimension, the social dimension, is reflected by the acts of transnational solidarity which takes place within LVC.

Empirical evidence gathered by the present study also supports the conclusion that national peasant movement organisations transnationalise their activism through joining global peasant platforms, in the context of neoliberal globalisation, basically because of three reasons. First, because they are seeking global alliances with whom they share a common interest of fighting capitalism and neoliberal globalisation. Second, because they are in a process of expanding their political messages and alternatives to be able to better confront a context dominated by advancing neoliberal capitalism which demands concrete political alternatives from the peasantry. Third, national peasant movement organisations

transnationalise their activism through joining global peasant platforms because they are looking for international solidarity which is essential to their struggle both locally and transnationally.

The empirical evidence also suggests that transnational activism of national peasant movement organisations through joining a transnational movement does not necessarily require from the national peasant movement organisation any specific administrative structure to operationalise its transnational actions. This type of transnational activism relies on the existing administrative structures that national peasant movement organisations already possess and use to carry over their national mandate. However, transnational activism requires that national peasant movement organisations expand the intellectual capacity of their staff members, for example, in terms of speaking international languages (e.g. English language). In this transnational relationship, national peasant movement organisations benefit from the structures created by its counterpart (the transnational platform) to operate transnationally but also national. For example, LVC established the Africa Region-1 Secretariat to coordinate its members' activities regionally and globally. UNAC also benefits from the location of this Secretariat in Maputo in terms of its support to also organise local events.

Transnational activism does not pose major threats to the national mandate of national peasant movement organisations. In fact, it helps globalising local struggles, expanding access to (material and financial) resources by local structures and expands capacity of local activists to understand local challenges, by exposing them to global platforms and actors experiencing similar challenges. In sum, it can be concluded that, contrary to posing threats, transnational activism becomes a resource that national peasant movement organisations use to fulfil their national mandate.

In terms of the theoretical contribution of this study, based on Michael Burawoy's approach to the extended case method, the empirical evidence and its corresponding analysis suggest that the neo-Marxist approach to peasantry and peasant organisations must be re-theorised (expanded) to accommodate elements which allow a comprehensive analysis and understanding of the agency of national peasant movement organisations in the context of advancing neoliberal capitalism.

The neo-Marxist theory must also recognise that, when faced with threats from the advance of neoliberal globalisation, national peasant movement organisations tend to transnationalise part of their activism. This transnationalising occurs through joining an already existing transnational peasant platform and covers basically three dimensions (political, human and social). Furthermore, while adopting this strategy, national peasant movement organisations do not necessarily require the establishment of new administrative structures to manage the newly adopted form of activism, as they continue relying on the existing structures. Moreover, this form of transnational activism does not pose any threat to their national mandate as they maintain their autonomy and nature. National peasant movement organisations maintain their national mandate of fighting the local challenges, keeping their nature of national peasant movement organisations as well as the autonomy to make their own decisions particularly on topics and alliances.

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Appendix 1: Guideline Questions for the Field Work and Expectations

Issue	Guiding notes	What I expect to find in the field
Identify and analyse the factors which motivated the transnationalization of UNAC's agency through its membership to La Via Campesina	1. When did UNAC decide to join La Via Campesina 2. Why did UNAC decided to join La Via Campesina 3. How did this process occur? 4. Who was involved in this process 5. Where the members involved in the decision-making process 6. In which ways, the members were involved (informal meetings, ordinary meetings: general assemblies, etc.) 7. What role did non-members (executive staff, etc.) involved play? 8. Is there any financial or material aspect which motivated this relationship to be stablished? 9. Is there any political aspect which motivated this relationship to be stablished? 10. When did UNAC start working outside Mozambique (regionally or internationally) using LA Via Campesina as a platform 11. Why is it important to act inside or outside Mozambique using La Via Campesina as a platform	UNAC came to know about LVC when LVC representatives decided to visit UNAC to negotiate its expansion into Africa after having expanded from Latin America to Asia. LVC wanted to become a real transnational platform and to achieve this goal it needed to expand to Africa too. UNAC decided to join la Via Campesina during the 90's when Mozambique expanded its privatisation process and it started feeling the impact of globalisation nationally. In Mozambique, privatisations started in the 80's. Privatisation and globalisation brought large scale transnational companies into Mozambique which threatened small scale farming. Before these processes farmers would have a strong socialist-oriented state support in terms of land and input for production. The process of entering LVC involved several previous discussions between UNAC secretariat and LVC representatives. UNAC grassroots members were not involved at the very beginning of the entering process because the secretariat didn't believe they had a relevant role to play due to their poor knowledge of transnational processes and its impact in the daily challenges farmers were experiencing. UNAC's entering process into LVC involved several informal meetings between both organisation secretariats which then expanded to UNAC's leadership in the form of information sharing for legitimization. Both organisations would invite each other to meetings such as: gatherings, seminars, workshops, field visits and conferences to learn better about each other. For both LVC and UNAC these meetings and visits aimed at understanding each other's ideology and strategies. Non-UNAC members played a fundamental role as they oversaw gathering information about LVC and identifying the threats and benefits to UNAC for entering LVC. UNAC was motivated both financially and materially. Although the financial benefit was less important than the material benefit it also played a very important role in motivating UNAC entering LVC. UNAC expected that by joining a transnational organisation would attract funders which would see it as a global actor too. This was happening in a context of privatisation and withdrawal of government

		support in terms of input to small scale farming in Mozambique. UNAC expected to attract funders which supported organisations which were fighting for food sovereignty as they already had been supported by funders which were for food security. Before joining LVC UNAC had no clue about what food sovereignty was and the practical political, organisational and economic implications of following this principle. However, it had to change its approach of food security into the one that LVC was fighting for which is food sovereignty. UNAC was also motivated by the fact that it would start accessing global platforms such as the world social forum and the African social forum thought out its membership to LVC. This also included access of staff capacity, information and international solidarity. However, the main motivational aspect for UNAC was political and not financial as they also feared losing some of the existing partners which looked at UNAC's move into LVC as radicalization of UNAC principles and strategies. Globally UNAC was motivated by an increasing role of LVC in fighting global corporations on behalf of the peasantry. It felt like it needed a global ally with a strong voice and position internationally. UNAC saw in LVC a partner to access global platforms and to influence global actors. UNAC started with joining LVC events organised globally without having a clear strategy of using the forum to expose local and national issues in globally.
Identify, describe and analyse the structure and mandate which allows for this transnationalised relationship between UNAC and La Via Campesina	1. Is there any formal or informal mechanism established for coordinating this relationship within both organisations? 2. How does this mechanism work? 3. What kind of activities are planned and executed jointly? 4. How do they organise transnational activities? 5. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the established structure	At UNAC there is no formal structure established with the specific purpose of linking the UNAC to LVC. All departments, depending on what they oversee (cooperation and advocacy; capacity building and rural development) play a role in this partnership. However, informally, the cooperation and advocacy department because of its responsibilities global events and organisations plays the most important role. Its role ranges from exchanging information with LVC member organisations and prepare UNAC and LVC joint activities. There is no department, with specific terms of reference regarding UNAC and LVC joint activities, which has been created within UNAC not even with the role of organizing UNAC activities globally under the LVC platform. However, UNAC and LVC agreed that UNAC, being LVC first African member, was going to host LVC's regional secretariat. This secretariat has the responsibility to

		expand LVC to other African countries, mobilise other progressive organisations to join LVC, coordinate regional activities and events and build capacity amongst LVC regional members including UNAC. However, because of its location at UNAC, this secretariat also performs specific tasks related to this partnership. These activities include: mobilise UNAC members to LVC related events, provide UNAC members with political training before joining global events. The activities both organisations organise together include: mobilization, research, advocacy and organisational development related activities. In relation to UNAC activities organised abroad, LVC, via a local member organisation helps with all logistics associated with the respective activity. When the same organisation has funds available they also cover some costs. Due to its financial limitations UNAC very rarely takes the initiative of planning own activities regionally or even globally. It is LVC that takes the responsibility of providing a regional and global platform to UNAC. While the platform seems to be available for UNAC its financial and technical capacity to explore it is very limited. Any participation by UNAC in regional and/or global events depends on funds from its partners. The agency of UNAC at the global level is affected by its lack of capacity to understand global issues and provide alternatives to dominant approaches.
Identify the threats and opportunities to UNAC brought about by the transnationalization of its agency through its membership to La Via Campesina.	1. According to the members how was UNAC before joining La Via Campesina 2. According to the members how is UNAC now after joining La Via Campesina 3. What are the positive aspects of this relationship? 4. What are the negative aspects of this relationship?	Before UNAC jointed LVC the organisation was dominated by local issues such as: seed, input and credit for local farmers. Any mobilization, capacity building and advocacy were around these issues. Regional and global struggles were only mentioned as examples. Local allies (platforms and processes) no longer play a role. Government accuses UNAC of trying to impose a “foreign” agenda into Mozambique. However, by joining LVC UNAC expanded in all areas: politically, economically and organisationally. Politically it embraced the principle of food sovereignty and its implications. It changed allies and enemies. Some former allies because enemies, former strategies were abandoned. Economically it expanded its partners which started to also include radical oriented funding partners. Thus, the budget increased as non-radical funders never left because of this move. Organisationally it hosted the regional secretariat of LVC including its offices. Thus, it started benefiting from the technical

		support from this secretariat for both UNAC's activities and the ones aiming at global/transnational changes. The organisation expanded its allies. More international press came to report on local grievances thanks to this alliance with LVC. Local challenges were now being discussed in global platforms and organisations (world social forums, IMF, WB, UN, etc.). Because of this, the transnational companies operating locally started recognising the influence of local actors and now take them more seriously. However, many other things changed. Local members started feeling that their local grievances were not being properly addressed by UNAC. For them, UNAC became an organisation too focused on global issues rather than on local issues. Local members started identifying themselves less with their own organisation and with the topics it was raising. Global issues now dominate UNAC's agenda and meetings between UNAC and its local members. UNAC now discussed issues which are difficult to understand by local members such as: carbon trade, climate change, transnational corporations, commodification of common goods, Extractivism, etc.;
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UNAC's organogram

Levels of the Organisation

NATIONAL

PROVINCIAL

PROVINCIAL

The organogram illustrates the organizational structure of UNAC across three levels: National, Provincial, and Provincial. At the National level, the General Assembly is at the top, followed by the Board of Directors, and then the Executive Coordinator. Below the Executive Coordinator are four teams: Finance and Administration Team, Capacity building & Follow-up Team, Rural Development Team, and Advocacy, Cooperation & Communication Team. These teams are connected to the Provincial level, which includes FACILITATORS and the Provincial Union. The Provincial Union is connected to the District/local union, which in turn connects to the Provincial level. The Provincial level includes Associations and Cooperatives, which are part of Rural Communities. The organogram uses solid and dashed arrows to indicate the flow of information and resources between these levels and entities.

Appendix 3: List of Interviewees

#	Name of interviewee	Position	Date (s) of interview
1	Agostinho Bento	UNAC staff member (2013-2015)	3 and 10, October, 2016
2	Alexandre Moruela Mucucheque	UNAC staff member	October 3, 2016
3	Ana Paula Tauacale	UNAC founding member/President (2015-)	3, 4 and 18, October, 2016
4	Ancha Geraldo	UNAC member	May 31, 2016 and September 30, 2016
5	Augusto Rasse	UNAC member	May 31, 2016
6	Diamantino Leopoldo Nhampossa	UNAC staff member/Executive Coordinator (1998-2011)	December 8, 2015; May 25, 2015
7	Eugénio Chilengue	UNAC staff member	October 27, 2016
8	Inácio Maria Manuel	UNAC staff member	September 30, 2016; October 27, 2016
9	Ismael Ossemame	UNAC founding member / Executive Coordinator (1987/8-2011)	December 22, 2015; March 29, 2016; May 12, 2016; September 30, 2016 and 10,11 and 12 October, 2016
10	Jeremias Vunjanhe	UNAC staff member (2013-2016)	October 28, 2016
11	José Boquisso Júnior	UNAC's advocacy officer (1998-2004)	December 10, 2015
12	Lino Pita Nassone	UNAC founding member	May 31, 2016; September 28, 2016
13	Mateus Santos	Secretariat of LVC Africa Region-1 (2013-2016)	March 16, 2016; September 22, 2016
14	Rabeca Mabui	UNAC member	May 31, 2016
15	Renaldo Chingore João	UNAC founding member /President (2002-2012)	December 10, 2015; September 23, 2016; October 27, 2016

Appendix 4: Major Policies and Strategy Papers Related to the Agrarian Sector in Mozambique (1995-2019)

Order	Period	Police Paper	Specific objectives
1	1995	Agrarian Police Paper and its Implementation Strategies	a) The transformation of subsistence farming into a more integrated type of agriculture in terms of production and processing to; b) Develop a subsistence farming able to provide its surplus to the market; c) A diversified and productive production model which will assure food security for the family unity.
2	1995	National Environmental Police Paper	a) To ensure an adequate quality of life for the citizens; b) Ensure the management of natural resources and the environment in general, in order to maintain their functional and productive capacity for present and future generations; c) Develop an environmental awareness of the population to enable public participation in environmental management; d) Ensure the integration of environmental issues into socio-economic planning; e) To promote community participation in planning and decision-making on the use of natural resources; f) To protect the ecosystems and essential ecological processes; g) To better integrate regional and international efforts to be able to find solutions for environmental problems.
3	1996	National Land Policy Paper and its Implementation Strategy	a) To Recover food production in order to achieve previous levels of for food security; b) To create conditions for the family sector agriculture to develop and grow, both in terms of volume of production and productivity rates, without guaranteeing access to its main resource: land; c) To promote private investment, using land and other natural resources in a sustainable and profitable way without harming local interests; d) Keep the areas of ecological interest and manage natural resources in a sustainable way that can guarantee the quality of life of present and future generations; e) Update and improve a tax system based on the occupancy and use of land that can support public budgets at various levels.
4	1997	Land Law	To encourage the use and enjoyment of land, so that this resource, being the most

			important of the country is valued and it contributes to the development of the national economy
5	1997	Policy and Forestry and Wildlife Development Strategy Paper	a) Economic goal: promote the role of and the private sector intervention in the management and sustainable use of forest and wildlife resources, and the development of forest plantations; b) Social Purpose: To increase participation of rural people and communities, as direct agents in integrated management, fire protection, use and conservation of forest and wildlife resources; c) environmental objective: improving the protection, management and use of forest conservation and wildlife areas, to contribute to sustainable national and local development, appropriate land use and biodiversity conservation; d) institutional objective: improving the organisational and operational structure of the sub-sector to enable it to carry out its core mandate of policy formulation, planning, programming, technical guidance, program management, monitoring and evaluation / strengthening of the organisation and functional capabilities at the provincial level , district and local levels in accordance with the requirements of participatory management of natural resources decentralization / consolidation of vocational training and vocational skills development and formulation of formal and vocational training programs.
6	1999-2004	Agriculture Development Programme (PROAGRI I)	a) Strengthening government institutions to enable them to develop and advocate for policies that enable the development of agriculture and the family business sector in Mozambique. b) Strengthen the management capacity of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries providing transparent and sound management practices. c) To assist in providing services to communities, such as research, extension, animal healthcare, etc. and finally; d) support the sustainable management of natural resources through provision of best practices in forest management, wildlife and land.
7	2001 – 2005	Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction (PARPA I)	The reduction in the incidence of absolute poverty of 70 percent in 1997 level to less than 60 percent in 2005, and less than 50 percent by the end of the 2000s.
8	2006-2009	Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction (PARPA II)	a) The reduction of absolute poverty levels, and; b) The promotion of rapid, sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

9	2006 - 2011	Agriculture Development Programme (PROAGRI II)	To contribute to the improvement of food security and poverty reduction by supporting the efforts of small farmers, the private sector and government agencies and non-governmental organisations to increase agricultural productivity, agro-industry and marketing within the sustainable exploitation principles of natural resources.
10	2007	Concept, Principles and Green Revolution Strategy in Mozambique	To induce increased production and productivity of small farmers to a greater food supply for a competitive and sustainable manner.
11	2007	Rural Development Strategy Paper (EDR)	a) improving the competitiveness, productivity and accumulation of rural wealth; b) productive and sustainable management of natural resources and the environment; c) expansion of human capital, innovation and technology; d) Diversification and efficiency of social capital, infrastructure and institutional; e) Good governance and planning for the market
12	2008-2015	Strategy Paper and Action Plan for Food and Nutritional Security	Ensure that all citizens have, always, have physical and economic access to necessary food, so that they have an active and healthy life, realizing their human right to adequate food.
13	2007 - 2016	Master Plan for Agricultural Extension.	a) Improve the implementation capacity of extension programs within a pluralistic and participatory framework b) Improve the technical and management capacity of producers for planning and monitoring and evaluation, and the provision of services c) Provide agricultural extension services at provincial and district level to promote agricultural productivity and sustainable use of resources
14	2009	District Development Fund	To provide financial support to: a) Measures to encourage entrepreneurship at the local level, of poor but economically active and who have no access to bank credit; b) activities of production and commercialization of food, creating jobs, permanent and seasonal, ensuring the generation of income; c) Other actions aimed at improving the living conditions, relating to the economic and productive activities of the communities.
15	2009	Biofuels Policy and Strategy Paper	a) To encourage the sustainable production of biofuels based on local energy resources to supplement imported fuels; b) reduce the country's dependence on imported fossil fuels, as well as the weight of the bill of imports on the national economy; c) Diversify the energy matrix;

			d) To promote rural development by investing in biofuels and support of small-scale producers; e) To encourage rural incomes by expanding cultivated areas and increasing productivity; f) To promote sustainable development and preservation of the environment; g) Increase exports, contributing to improving the balance of payments; h) To participate in international cooperation exploitation of available markets, in particular in the SADC region, to promote greater integration; i) encourage the involvement of teaching and research institutions and the national scientific community in research work and development of technologies, promoting the development of scientific capacity; j) To promote food and nutrition security; k) To stimulate and encourage the development of local community initiatives technologies; l) To reduce fuel costs to the end consumer without creating other financial impacts in the form of subsidies; m) To protect the economy and consumers from instability and printability of fuel prices and against energy insecurity.
16	2010-2019	Strategic Plan for Agriculture Development	Increase agricultural production and productivity and its competitively Improve infrastructures and services for markets and marketing Use land, water, forest and fauna resources in a sustainable way Establish a legal framework and policies that are conducive to Agricultural investment Strengthen agricultural institutions
17	2001 – 2005	Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction (PARPA I)	The reduction in the incidence of absolute poverty of 70 percent in 1997 level to less than 60 percent in 2005, and less than 50 percent by the end of the 2000s.