

**“Seeking answers from below to the contemporary crisis of democracy: food
sovereignty and peoples’ sovereignty”
Report of the Siena Workshop – 22-24 October 2018**

I. Background

1. How the initiative was born

Reclaiming democracy and fighting corporate power were at the center of the discussions in a three-day workshop held from 22 to 24 October 2018 in the Italian hilltown of Siena. The initiative responded to a felt need coming from different organizations and forums - in this dramatic moment - to break out of silos, to converge and strategize around common threats and aspirations, and to build shared popular narratives rooted in the concrete experiences of communities around the world. It was born from concerns expressed in several spaces in which social movements and their allies network¹ about the imperative requirement to build better links among social movements with different entry points to same struggle – food sovereignty, extractive industries, infrastructure projects, violence against women and others – and more effective and respectful collaboration between them and engaged academics.

An initial informal core group including CSO, academic and social movement activists developed a first concept note describing what the process might look like and shared it with their respective networks. This group had no formal, institutional status. As more people and organizations expressed interest in participating, the planning group grew to involve some 40 persons, with a strong presence of social movements engaged in various kinds of struggles in different regions.

2. Preparatory process

The workshop preparation was planned with an eye to building engagement by all the participants on an equal footing. Ensuring their input to and ownership of the process was a key objective. The interaction was carried out over the six-month period prior to the workshop, principally through a series of international collective calls in English and Spanish that privileged verbal over written contributions and group discussion over individual inputs. All members of the group took part in at least one call, and more often several. The social movements led in framing the agenda and deciding how best to use the three days together.

During the preparatory process the planning group approached a number of potential funders to complement the facilities provided by the host institution, the Fondazione Monte dei Paschi di Siena, and worked with their specific needs to find support without compromising the open nature of the event.²

3. Objectives and methodological assumptions

Through the preparatory conversations, the participants identified the objectives of the initiative and key issues on which to focus, laid down important principles to be respected, and developed methodological guidelines. It was agreed that the ‘Siena process’ did not aim at establishing a new, separate entity but rather at supporting and enhancing the struggles of existing social movements. The people who attended would not necessarily formally represent their organizations, but the organizations would be informed of their

¹ Like the binding treaty process for Transnational Corporations in the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva and the UN Committee on World Food Security in Rome.

² The other organizations that supported the holding of the Siena Workshop were the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki, Middlebury university, the Fondazione Banca Etica and the Open Society Foundation.

participation in order to help ensure they would welcome feedback from the Siena process. The participants chosen would come from a variety of networks that don't usually find themselves in the same room. They would have shown willingness and ability to articulate their concerns and ideas in other forums. Most would be social movement activists with experience on the ground, complemented by CSO and academics activists. Regional and gender balance would be respected, and special attention would be given to young women and men.

There was consensus that the methodology should 'ensure that social movements speak their own language'³; should 'provide space for exchanging and sharing local social movement experience'; and should be attentive to softer voices that could risk being drowned out. At the same time, it was hoped that the Siena process could 'build a common analysis of how capitalism is advancing and a shared reading of our struggles', and contribute to 'making connections to construct from below an alternative project to capitalism in the world.' This would require finding mindful, effective ways of collaboration among SMs/CSOs/academics, who may not have many occasions to talk with each other and who often do not describe the world in the same way even though they may have similar assessments and aspirations. It was agreed to start off by exchanging communities' experiences in order to respect and enrich their perceptions and build solidly grounded networks of understanding and action.

In terms of content, the many suggestions made during the calls were grouped under three headings (see Programme in Annex):

- In the initial panel session and group work on ***Changes in the world order and their impact on democracy*** participants were asked to describe how they experience these changes in their own local situations and the impacts they see on democracy, people's rights and struggles.
- The second session and group work on ***Peoples' sovereignty and the future of democracy*** moved on to take a look at how people are reacting at the local level, their concrete experiences of initiatives to build another society, what has worked and what hasn't, and their aspirations and worries.
- The final session and group work, on ***Strategies moving forward***, was intended to build on the first two days' discussions and agree on strategic elements and next steps that could be taken.

A self-organized initiative by the group of Indigenous Peoples participants, placed at the very opening session, set the tone for the workshop and enacted the methodology the group was seeking. In the 'mística' which they offered us, a multi-colored cloth was spread on the floor with fruits, flowers and indigenous symbols placed on it. It was the day of fabric, we were told, woven by women, the start of everything, in which all is interconnected. The colors of the fabric represent all of us intertwined, not separate individuals as our enemies would want us to be. We are recovering traditional knowledge and understanding. We are part of nature. Life is circular like the flowers arranged on the floor, those who have gone and those still to come. Each of us held a flower to our heart and then placed it on the cloth with a wish for our collective work. The flowers and fruits remained in the center of our circle throughout the workshop and reminded us of our commitment to listen, to dialogue and to connect.

II. Listening to experiences at community level

1. Overview of specific experiences presented

A broad range of experiences were presented in the panels that set the stage for the first two sessions of the workshop. These included interaction with communities on energy in South Africa, the Guna peoples' history

³ All citations are taken from the notes on collective preparatory calls and the verbatim of the workshop.

of defense of their territory and culture, the World March of Women's work in Africa to help women understand their rights and find their voice, building food sovereignty in the Basque country, defense of territories and resources in Ecuador, food sovereignty and education in Mexico, food sovereignty and agroecology among the Mayan people, the Greater Kurdish Liberation Movement, organizing labor in the Philippines, supporting women and young people in Zambia, fighting extractive industry and defending natural resources in Honduras, trade and justice issues in Indonesia, and women's rights/sexual and reproductive rights in Asia. In the group work there was free exchange among these experiences and with others contributed by participants, ranging from threats to democracy and human rights in contemporary Brazil to migrants' movements in Italy and the alliances they are building with exploited Italian farmworkers. Many of these experiences will be captured in detail in video-recorded interviews.

2. Synthesis of how changes in the world order are experienced by participants in different places.

The two experiences presented in the first plenary session are briefly introduced in the boxes below in the words of their presenters.

Communities' territories and livelihoods under threat in South Africa

'We see an increasing level of greed to extract minerals, but not to the benefit of peoples. The starting point of resistance is for communities to acknowledge that there's a problem and they want to deal with it. 'Development' projects don't include ordinary people in decision-making even though they are affected. We support people to contest this. Industries are not held responsible for the destruction and health issues they cause. The impacts of coal mining are enormous: on agriculture and livelihoods, relocation of people, water, pollution and health. They also reach downstream to Mozambique and Botswana. If people understand their rights and how they could be infringed by the project they can exercise their right to say 'no'. The final authorization for mining to operate regards land use, which depends on local authorities. Here the communities have most force. We have stopped fighting with the mines and we now direct our attention to the governments. If decisions are taken without consultation, we push for review. We use court processes to at least delay the process so it becomes costly for the company. But there is a divide between what communities and the mine workers say. We push for the need to transition from coal to renewable, but the union is contrary even if coal mining has bad health impacts on workers since their priority is to save jobs. The challenge is to get them to engage with the reality that coal is a time-bound activity.'

The Guna Peoples defend their sovereignty

'First we underwent the Spanish occupation. Then Panama was a US colony for 150 years. We have suffered 25 military invasions. We are accustomed to fighting. Our ideology has to do with defending Mother Earth and the universe/solar system. Our political thinking isn't about 'liberal' or 'conservative'. We always look back to the past in order to talk about the present and interpret what happens today. We study our enemies, and the state is an enemy. Governments change but it's the same oligarchy today and the same neoliberal policies. The Guna people has resisted by maintaining our culture, our language, our traditions and fighting for recognition of our territory. The Guna territory is the only one where there is no mining. The territory and the sea belong to us. There are 50 communities of Guna people. Each is autonomous. We form a confederation that meets twice a year to agree on common issues in an Assembly formed of three representatives of each community. It took three assemblies for us to decide to say 'no' to a REDD+ project. Our activities are all collective. Food provisioning is for the community. But today we also have people who have embraced an individualist ideology and undertake activities that benefit just themselves. We are torn between these two worlds....'

Despite the variety of experiences and the diversity of local contexts, many participants are experiencing similar forms of oppression. The working groups reported dramatic situations. There is land grabbing

everywhere, extraction of minerals, recolonization of the people, violence against women and LGBTQs. Inequalities are increasing among and within countries. Media and social media are used to manipulate information and legitimize the alliance among global capitalism, sexism, racism, and ethno-nationalism. Activists are branded as terrorists. Criminalization and murder of environmental and human rights defenders is a rising threat in the global North and South. We are witnessing a dispossession of society. Institutions can no longer do even the minimal things they used to do because they are manipulated by the alliance between corporations and states. The failure and dismantling of the State have allowed corporate capture of decision-making spaces and multiple abuses of human rights. Corruption and bureaucracy are huge. There is a crisis of representation, the result of poor policies in the past for which we too need to take our responsibilities. Radical right-wing parties are gaining momentum. The result is an absence of the rule of law and a proliferation of human rights violations of all kinds. Communities feel less and less protected. Neoliberal capitalism is breeding hopelessness and people are vulnerable to terrorism and migration. At the same time, some participants felt that this is actually the most hopeful situation in recent human history since the status quo is in structural crisis and there is a possibility of getting rid of the nation-state and delivering decision-making back to people.

The facilitators presented participants with three ‘triggering questions’ which had emerged from the discussions:

- *The state*: what is the role of the state in the struggle we are talking about? What’s the best approach regarding the state?
- *The capitalist system and TNCs*: what are the cracks in the armor of the system which we can exploit?
- *Democracy*: How can our movements organize and build peoples’ sovereignty in a capitalistic state system? What type of governmental system would be better than the one we have now?

3. Stories about initiatives being undertaken locally: what has worked and what has not.

Participants also had many stories to tell about local initiatives to resist and construct, despite the difficult situations in which communities find themselves. This was the focus of the second session. The experiences presented in the plenary are briefly described below.

Helping women understand their rights and find their voice in Kenya

‘In Kenya many women have to work to earn money for family meals. How to help them understand their right to own land to feed their family? We organized a women’s march to Kilimanjaro to advocate for women’s right to land and to help them gain the voice to speak for themselves. They are being abused. Their children are being raped by their own fathers. Women are being battered but they are afraid to speak up. They have internalized the idea of their roles. We try to advocate for the kids and defend women to fight against violence. When we tell these stories, people take it badly. These are people who drink lots of beer, whose families have been in this slum for generations, whose kids are not going to school. Others on the outside use the slum situation to their advantage. The activists’ space is shrinking. Our lives are at stake as human rights defenders. Who is defending my rights? I can take action but who will speak for me when I’m arrested? I go missing after demonstrations to be safe. We are losing our country. The Chinese come in with their own workers and take control. Even our police wear Chinese uniforms. We can mobilise to remove people from power, but the new people can’t make change. Yet despite the bad situation, we see that our work is bringing changes. Women are learning to advocate for their rights. They are gaining knowledge and skills to earn a livelihood. We have built an alliance with the peasant movement and are working on food production for families in peri-urban areas. More women are listening to us and joining the movement, even women in government and parliament.’

The struggle for food sovereignty in the Basque country and the campaign against the Mondragon Corporation

'Our food production was traditionally family-based, serving the local market. In the 1970s the Mondragon Cooperative came in and started to unite families' production in order to market the produce. It began with a social approach but progressively it grew, took on other functions, became globalized and is now a corporation that exploits local producers just like Carrefour. From 2009 the EHNE/LVC peasant movement in the Basque Country began to build a food sovereignty strategy. We needed a critical population since we couldn't count on politicians, with the Basque party outlawed. So we started a bottom-up training initiative in agroecology. We asked the farmers what they needed for a transition process and built cross-cutting partnerships. We changed the marketing system, putting consumers and producers in touch, and it worked well. With the 2008 crisis, many people lost their jobs and young people began to return to the countryside, changing the narrative attached to farming. We have had some successes in building the movement. At the municipal level, transitional spaces and marketing facilities have been created. But we have also encountered difficulties and learned lessons. When politics is involved, there's a tendency to lose momentum and contact with the social base. We tried to address land issues, but we couldn't beat the power structures. The young people don't feel they have room in our structures, so they created parallel ones. Also, there is no feminist vision. For women to step forward, others have to step back and not everyone is willing to do so. This is a major challenge in our movements and in households as well. Food-related activities are carried out by women, and processed foods are for people without time. If we don't redistribute tasks inside households, who will cook healthy food based on local produce? The feminist perspective is mandatory.'

The working groups contributed a host of other experiences with their successes, problems and lessons learned. In Rojava the Kurdish Liberation Movement is putting into practice a paradigm for societies seeking to reclaim the functions that have been robbed by the State. Termed 'women-life-freedom', it entails creating a situation in which everyone works and takes decisions together in a constant process of doing, learning and moving forward, with women in the forefront. In Ecuador the matriarchal nature of indigenous societies has been re-evoked in a cleverly syncretic fight against mining companies' usurpation of water by mobilizing communities around a Virgin of the Water, defended by the women, who have found the strength to throw policemen into the river. In Guatemala the fight to save biodiversity is working on different lines at the same time: agroecological education at the grassroots level, political work to define national objectives, and collaboration with Mayan lawyers who understand the peoples' cultures and can advise the movement on how to defend itself in international treaty negotiations. In the Philippines there is an effort to rebuild trade unionism from below and seek to force the state to advance peoples' interests and hold corporations accountable. In Indonesia judicial review has been used successfully to change policies and laws and regain rights taken by TNCs. In Brazil communities threatened by land grabs are seeking to sensitize members of pension funds in the US, who have no idea that their money is being used to commit violence against peoples' rights. In Honduras artisanal fishery communities – with the women in the forefront - have built alliances with local government to defend their fishing rights. In towns in England the movement to make public procurement work for people is helping to create jobs and support local employment. One conclusion of the exchange was that we needed to leave the workshop with a good sense of the challenges we face in our regions and, at the same time, to build this into a sense of the global challenge.

The discussions also threw up a series of propositions that need to be considered in moving forward. Do we view our struggle against capitalism as a polarized movement from one thing to another, diametrically opposed, or is it more of a transition? Can the state be encouraged contribute to the transition, or do we need to cut off the tentacles that it extends into society like those of an octopus? Who defines social movements? Are we sufficiently open to diversity? Can we accept the self-mobilization of actors like migrants

or the poorest sectors of the population who are not included in our organizations? Indeed, can the structures of 'the left' – political parties, trade unions – be critiqued and reconstructed? Or do we need to leave left/right distinctions behind us along with the organizational structures and cultural dimensions they engender? The community level is clearly the one where it's easiest to 'weave the fabric', as the opening *mística* suggested, but don't we risk limiting ourselves to this level and ignoring the broader challenges? Are we reaching the limits of the dominant paradigm and those of capitalism to invent profitable solutions to the problems it causes? If so, how can people be convinced to make the fundamental changes in their lifestyles that will be necessary?

III. Looking ahead: strategies moving forward.

The facilitators opened the final day by proposing three questions that had emerged from the previous discussions of experiences in defending democracy and promoting peoples' sovereignty.

- What advocacy spaces exist at local, national and international levels to push forward peoples' sovereignty? Are they linked? How can we strengthen transversal spaces?
- How do we build power to counteract a failing system? What is the interrelationship of old (including leftist) and new power structures?
- How do we build and scale out and up our struggles and proposals? How can we weave together values and interests to build a better society with the leadership of women? What kinds of new relationships should we seek? What decision-making processes? What categories help us to analyse the transition?

The first part of the morning session revolved around two interlinked concepts that had been central throughout the workshop: the future of the state and democracy. Views were divided, but perhaps not as much as appeared initially. For some participants the two terms are radically opposed. 'We describe democracy to be non-state. Self-governance without the state is democracy.' Put a different way, it's representative democracy that 'is a farce. We are trying to create states that are pluricultural and horizontal, with various dynamics of assemblies in which every part of the population is consulted.' Some 'see democracy as a tool, not a goal.' Others, thinking in similar terms, 'prefer to think not of democracy as a thing but of democratization as a tool for radical change and empowerment, a process that becomes a way of life.' Similarly, others reminded the group that the 'crisis of democracy' is also within our own popular institutions and the practices of leaders, not just outside us. A cautionary note was sounded. Granted that formal democratic institutions have failed at all levels, 'is it opportune to demonize them?' In situations of human rights violations, people hold on to the hope that formal institutions can be forced to perform. 'Are we ready to replace them with peoples' assemblies? Is there a short-cut or is it inevitably a long process?' What about the international level, where we have advanced on some fronts but find ourselves confronted with phenomena like the Sustainable Development Goals (which sideline human rights) and multistakeholderism (which gives the illusion of democracy while allowing corporations to invade governance spaces)? Moving ahead, we need to assess the results achieved by movements investing energy in 'semi-democratizing' some UN institutions in order to obtain guidelines and narrative changes that could protect communities' rights and initiatives. We should consider defining what we mean by 'democracy', building on popular democratic practice as we did with food sovereignty at Nyéléni, and agreeing on specific principles and shared ideas about how it should work.

The subsequent session began to identify some of the big questions and principles. Among the potentially unifying principles figure those of respecting diversity while striving for coherence in all that we do; placing the web of life (including people) at the center of everything rather than the death-dealing that capitalism privileges; practicing an idea of solidarity that puts demands on all of us, wherever we are; walking together and not leaving behind those who can't keep up the pace. We asked ourselves where the 'fresh currents' of

transformation come from and found sources in the force of feminism, the dynamism of youth, giving space to cultural and spiritual dimensions of transformation, and practicing reflective self-criticism.

We spoke about some of the questions we can continue to explore, seeking to think holistically about topics that help to link different groups. These include, in addition to ones already raised in the previous sessions, issues such as:

- How does the imminent threat of increasing climate change affect what we're seeing and doing? Can it be an opening, as more people begin to experience phenomena such as ecosystem degradation and species death?
- What can we learn from the most 'radical' social visions and practices (such as indigenous cosmologies and the Kurdish Liberation Movement) that is relevant to transformation in other settings?
- What approaches to conceiving and managing territory – such as bio-regions or commons – can allow us to evade the impositions of the nation-state and the concept of private property?
- How can we re-imagine the economic dimensions of our visions of society? What approaches to ensuring livelihoods are different from those that capitalism foresees, and what do they look like on the ground?
- How should we understand geopolitical changes taking place today, such as the growing role of China in Africa and Latin America as well as Asia, and attacks against multilateralism?
- What are the impacts of growing numbers of forced migrations and displaced people? How might they link politics across borders?
- Getting a better understanding of how the capitalist system is working today. How are financialization, Big Data and digitalization affecting people's movements?

We noted strategic elements that had emerged across the various contributions. The local, territorial level is where strength is built and reconnecting takes place. Municipalism can be an umbrella under which to practice 'territorial acupuncture', sticking needles in strategically where we can obtain results. Free Prior Informed Consent is a mechanism that we need to use to defend and strengthen all that is local. Litigation can be adopted to turn claims into laws and open up spaces. Agroecology is an example of a strategy not just to transform the food system but also the way in which communities are organized and rights defended. Liberating the full transformative power of feminism is essential, as is making real space for young people in decision-making today, not just as a resource for tomorrow. The terrain for regaining peoples' sovereignty regards also our bodies and our health. Building alliances across different arenas – such as unions or parliamentarians – is important. It is fundamental to construct and consolidate our popular narratives to gain strength for the fight against dominant discourse and oppose it with a vision of hope in the current atmosphere of hopelessness. Key to this is building links between social movements and educational systems that put different kinds of expertise into dialogue and critique the false myths propagated by dominant discourse.

Finally, participants suggested some concrete tools and projects in which they would be willing to invest time and energy to continue our collective work. Some examples were:

- a web-based 'lab' in which to share and collectively monitor how the democratization process is going;
- taking advantage of an offer of space in the review *Globalizations* to jointly deepen the reflection on key issues;
- videos in multiple languages to share key messages from the workshop;
- a tool box on core concepts and transversal topics;
- collaborative work on deconstructing false narratives and building our own narratives;

- sharing and developing educational curricula and approaches to educate the public and youth, connected with political training;
- mapping who is working on similar resistance efforts where and how;
- repeating 'Siena-like' experiences locally and internationally;
- taking advantage of planned activities already underway that can help take our project forward;
- reaching out to others not in the room in Siena;
- linking solidarity networks, including academics and lawyers, in support of rights-defenders.

The session closed with a round of reflection on what we had learned from the experience of this workshop. Generally, people were positive about the process and felt they were going away enriched by the exchanges. The inclusive preparation had helped to build a collective attitude in which all were trying to analyse the situation and find solutions without attempts to dominate the conversation. The fact that we spoke not only about politics and policies but also about feelings, spirituality and personal needs was rare. As one participant put it 'we have given birth to something' that can be replicated at different levels. At the same time, lessons were learned to improve the process in the future. In the end the emphasis on hearing from social movements, which the movements themselves had urged during the preparation, was carried to a point of imbalance in which academics felt inhibited from engaging in the dialogue. In the future, once an experience-centered base has been laid and an atmosphere of mutual trust has been achieved, it would be preferable for discussion to move forward on collectively determined thematic and strategic issues in order to deepen the analysis. A better balance/relationship between working groups and plenary sessions should be devised. Working groups allow for exchanges that could not take place in plenary, but it is difficult to report back from them and capture the richness of the discussions. Language is also a barrier to inter-regional exchange unless resources are available for full interpretation. The *mística* was acknowledged as a fundamental contribution to building the 'Siena community'. The discrete and effective support of our host institution was celebrated in a final encounter between the Siena participants and people working on an incipient territorial movement to build food and people's sovereignty, adding another 'local' to the global exchange we are building.

Annexes

- Programme
- List of participants

Workshop Reclaiming Democracy and Fighting Corporate Power

22-24 October in Siena, Italy

DRAFT PROGRAMME REV. 1

Two groups will follow the workshop from start to end:

1. The **'reporting group'** will be responsible for ensuring that the flow and outcomes of the discussions are captured, including 'minority voices', and that key ideas and experiences are identified and recorded. It will prepare synthesis reports at the end of Day 1 and Day 2 to present at the opening of the successive day.
2. The **'methodology group'** will be responsible for facilitation during the plenaries and working groups, and for following the overall dynamics of the workshop. It will meet every evening to take stock of how the day has proceeded and make any necessary adjustments in methodology and programme for the following day.

The membership of the groups should reflect gender and regional balance and include all categories of participants. The two groups will be interlinked to ensure that content and process move ahead together.

Sunday 21 October

Arrival of all participants at the Certosa di Pontignano, Siena.

Evening: Over dinner, round of participants' presentations, introduction to the initiative, and the programme of the next 3 days.

Monday 22 October

Breakfast at the Certosa

08:15 am – Bus collects participants and takes them to Siena. 10 minute walk through the old town to reach the site of the workshop, Sansedoni Palace.

09:00- 09:30 – Opening

- Welcome by officials from the Foundation and the City of Siena
- Round of introductions by participants
- Presentation of the workshop programme

Session 1 - Changes in the world order and their impact on democracy

Changes in world order and power that have evolved under the umbrella of “neoliberal globalization” have shaken democracies. What are the implications of structural changes of contemporary capitalism for the analysis of social classes and other social categories? What scenarios are likely to emerge from the global expansion of investment (business as usual, free trade), pressing against planetary and ecological limits? What changes in inter-state power are underway? How are institutions of democracy being manipulated and used against the people? What will be the implications for the achievement of human rights?

9:30 – 11:00 - Introductory Panel

3 participants (from different regions, genders, types of social movements) will respond to these questions:

- How do you experience the changes in the world order, in your local situation?
- What are the impacts you see on democracy, peoples' rights, and struggles in your situation?

The purpose of this plenary is to illustrate the methodology which will be followed also in the working groups, whereby all of the participants with experience in local level community empowerment are given an opportunity to share their perspectives with the others.

11:00 – 11:20 - Health break

11: 20 – 13:00 - Working groups

Participants share additional experiences from the local level responding to the same questions as those of the plenary. Discussion to unpack the world as it looks from each community perspective and identify common points, differences, and interlinkages with regional and global trends.

13:00 – 14:30 – **Lunch break** at the University of Siena cafeteria

14:30 – 16:00 – **Working groups (cont.)**

16:00 – 16:20 – **Health break**

16: 20 – 18: 00 **Plenary: reporting back panel**

The panel will be composed of one participant from each of the working groups. The facilitator will elicit inputs from the panelists and throw the discussion open to all participants leading to a composite bottom-up understanding of how the world is functioning today.

19:00 – Dinner at the University of Siena cafeteria

20:30 – Bus back to Certosa

Evening

Informal sharing at the Certosa after dinner

Reporting group prepares a synthesis for presentation the following morning.

Methodology group meets to discuss the next day's programme.

Tuesday, 23 October

Session 2 - Peoples' sovereignty and the future of democracy

The idea of peoples' sovereignty (with economic, ecological, and political dimensions) as a basis for a renewed practice of democracy is a key element of the debate. What are the limitations of our inherited institutions and territorial borders in terms of expressing new forms of peoples' sovereignty from the bottom up? What approaches – e.g. based on principles of food sovereignty - are best suited to regulate how we use nature and in fulfillment of human rights? How we use and advocate for open democracy? International binding agreement and other global instruments.

The programme for Day 2 follows the pattern of Day 1 but is subject to tweaking by the methodology group.

Breakfast at the Certosa

08:15 am – Bus collects participants and takes them to Siena. 10 minute walk through the old town to reach the site of the workshop, Sansedoni Palace.

9:00 – 10:30 - **Plenary**

Synthesis report from Day 1.

Introductory Panel followed by discussion in plenary

3 participants from different regions, genders, types of social movements present concrete experiences at local level of initiatives to build another society.

10:30 – 10:50 – Health break

10: 50 – 13:00 - **Working Groups**

Participants share additional experiences. Discussion to draw out why participants are doing what they are doing, what has worked and what hasn't. What are their expectations and their worries. The discussion should also elicit what participants understand by 'democracy', 'peoples' sovereignty', 'popular mobilization' and other key terms.

13:00 – 14:30 – Lunch break at the University of Siena cafeteria

14:30 – 16:00 – **Working groups (cont.)**

16:00 – 16:20 – Health break

16:20 – 18:00 - **Plenary: reporting back.**

Groups report back. Discussion to further explore the questions raised in the groups.

19:00 – Dinner at the University of Siena cafeteria

20:30 – Bus back to Certosa

Evening

Informal sharing at the Certosa after dinner

Reporting group prepares a synthesis for presentation the following morning.

Methodology group meets to discuss the programme for Day 3.

Wednesday, 24 October

The programme for Day 3 is subject to tweaking by the methodology group based on the experience of Days 1 and 2.

Session 3 Strategy Moving Forward

What values and visions are expressed by social movements, with emphasis on their experiences from the ground? What existing and new strategies can social movements embark on? What does alliance building and convergences offer for the struggles on the ground? Which different actors/sectors can be involved? How can academia and social movements improve working together in pursuit of common overall goals? How to use litigation to open up spaces? what is the alternative, social ownership or the commons. what are sources of funding and the role of different stakeholders, e.g. government, community/CSOs and private sector?

Breakfast at the Certosa

08:15 am – Bus collects participants and takes them to Siena. 10 minute walk through the old town to reach the site of the workshop, Sansedoni Palace.

9:00 – 10:30 Plenary

- Synthesis of the first two days by the reporting group responding to questions like these: what is useful that has emerged from the first two days and what do we need to do that's new? Are the tools we have been using to analyse society and the economy useful? Are there basic principles we need to adhere to? How to balance autonomy and alliances? How to bridge gaps e.g. urban/rural, land/oceans? What other groups/experiences do we need to reach out to? What new forms of social organization, technology do we need to address? What other key issues need to be discussed?
- Frank reactions from the participants: are there missing elements? Are the instruments adequate? Does it make sense? How might the different categories of participants, including academics/researchers, contribute?
- Reactions from one or two major social movements, sharing their forward strategies

Discussion in plenary – identification of questions for groups.

10:30 – 10:50 – Health break

10:50-13:00 pm Working groups

Participants discuss the elements of a strategy moving forward, the missing pieces, and the next steps to be taken by each organization in its own situation and together.

13:00-14:30 Lunch break at the University of Siena cafeteria

14:30 – 16:30 Plenary

Groups report back. Facilitated discussion to agree on next steps in follow-up to the workshop.

16:30 – 16:50 – Health break

16:50 – 17:00 **Plenary** - Closing of workshop

17:00 – 19:00 - **Meeting with Siena Groups**

Dinner in a typical Sieneese neighborhood association.

Thursday, 25 October

Departure

Workshop
Reclaiming Democracy and Fighting Corporate Power
 22-24 October in Siena, Italy
 List of participants

Nº	Name	Organization
1.	Molly Anderson	Middlebury college
2.	Nora McKeon	Terra Nuova
3.	Harriet Friedmann	University of Toronto
4.	Barry Gills	University of Helsinki
5.	Gonzalo Berron	Rede Brasileira pela Integracao do Povos/Transnational Institute/ Vigência
6.	Brid Brennan	TNI
7.	Felipe Bley Folly	FIAN
8.	Carsten Pedersen	Masifundise
9.	Isabel Alvarez	Urgenci
10.	Antonio Gonzales	MAELA Guatemala
11.	Olisias Gultom	Indonesia for Global Justice
12.	Flavio Valente	FIAN International
13.	Jorge Mani Stanley	Treaty Council
14.	Priscilla Settee	USC-Canada Board
15.	Francisco Hamlet Estrada	LVC
16.	Thomas Mnguni	Ground work
17.	Yajaira Hernandez	CODDEFFAGOLF
18.	Yaku Sacha Perez Guartambel	Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas
19.	Florence Odiambo	World March of Women
20.	Maria Melina Flores Ando	Women's rights Activists
21.	Havin Guneser	Rojaya grassroots experience (Kurdish)
22.	Michael Ibañez	Labour movement
23.	Joseph Purugganan	Focus on the Global South
24.	Rachael Kalaba	MIJARC
25.	Daniele Messina	The Monte dei Paschi of Siena Foundation

