



## Effects of geographical indication registration and activation: thoughts on the Indonesian situation

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**Rural resilience and vulnerability:**  
**The rural as locus of solidarity and conflict**  
**in times of crisis**

**XXV<sup>th</sup> Congress of the**  
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# **Rural resilience and vulnerability:**

## **The rural as locus of solidarity and conflict in times of crisis**

### **A chance for reorientation**

The economic crisis has Europe in its hold. This crisis clearly affects its economic basis but goes far beyond that to touch upon the very substance of the European way of life. Yet, the crisis also presents us with the chance to rebuild our society, to create something better, more valuable and more sustainable. Resilience is often used to describe this capacity for successful adaptation, i.e. the ability to learn and change, to make use of emerging opportunities. But there are also risks as the crisis increases inequalities and internal tensions, at different levels (such as regions or nations).

The opportunities and risks associated with the crisis are played out in rural as well as urban places. Rural places and rural issues may assume a specific meaning in times of crisis, reflecting resilience as well as vulnerability. This conference aims at increasing our knowledge of the effects of the crisis in the different regions of Europe and beyond, and to add to our understanding of the processes that contribute to vulnerability and resilience of people and places.

The increasing attention to sustainability issues, to 'green' production and consumption is one example of the opportunities that the crisis has to offer. Step by step, norms such as frugality and moral appeals to restrict ourselves enter the dominant discourse. Calls for social, political and moral reorientation are getting louder as well and attracting a wider audience. They question the on-going economization of public life and seek support for other than economic values; they question remorseless competition and encourage cooperation. Citizens have begun to demand that politicians demonstrate personal integrity, absence of self-interest and ability to limit the power of the greedy global economy and rebuild a cohesive society. The reorientation of the EU 2020 agenda from sustainability toward resource efficiency and social innovation may be seen as confirming this trend.

### **The risks involved**

But there are also big social as well as political risks. The retrenchment in public expenditures has a profound effect on many citizens, and especially social groups with small and insecure incomes, or other vulnerable groups such as the young, the sick and the elderly. These groups are the most dependent on direct public support (for example child allowances and study grants), and they are most affected by cut backs in the budgets of (semi)public institutions such as in education, health care and social welfare. As a result social inequalities within countries are increasing.

Similarly, social and economic inequalities between countries are growing, and the widespread nature of these inequalities threatens European social cohesion. The crisis importantly affects our feelings of solidarity, increasing rivalry and conflict. Whereas previously united as equal Member States in the prosperous European Union, cultural differences become emphasized again with a focus on the darker sides of each other's presumed identity. It may even be argued that the European Union itself is at stake. This leads to accusations between countries of immoral behaviour and unfaithfulness, to the resurgence of old (national) prejudices and resentments

### **The rural as locus of both vulnerability and resilience**

The above mentioned dynamics influence the rural. Indeed, the rural is one of the places where cutbacks in spending are felt most severely. Rural poverty increases when it increases elsewhere. We may also expect the situation to be most difficult for the already poor,



remote rural areas where people lack resources to fall back on. In the course of the crisis, more rural regions may become impoverished causing more people to leave rural areas, reinforcing existing migration trends in what becomes a downward cycle. Given the difficult situation in southern Europe, migration routes may become redirected towards the northern and western Member States. This would add to the already existing tensions, reinforcing political unwillingness to accommodate inner-European migration.

However, 'the rural' is also a locus for social innovation and resilience, building on social capital and values such as thriftiness and solidarity. Indeed, urban citizens are moving to the countryside searching for a higher quality of life, a way of life that values time and places less emphasis on consumption. Young people are once more interested in agriculture and farming. The increasing outreach of urban food movements offers new, creative opportunities. They promote sustainable food production and consumption, while emphasizing issues such as social justice and food sovereignty. Overall, a wide range of innovative arrangements are being experimented with, testifying of the resourcefulness of rural actors, to their creativity and to their ability to recognize the opportunities that emerge from the crisis.

### **About these eProceedings**

All authors of accepted abstracts were invited to submit a Short Paper for inclusion into the eProceedings. The 400 participants at the Congress gave some 500 presentations, and 190 of these were submitted as Short Paper. The Short Papers were reviewed by the convenors of the respective Working Groups, and the authors revised their Short Paper based on these recommendations. Thank you very much to the authors for taking the time required to carefully prepare a short paper. A heartfelt 'thank you!' also goes to the convenors for their support in ensuring the quality of the Short Papers. These proceedings were not printed, but published before the Congress on the website ([www.florenceesrs2013.com](http://www.florenceesrs2013.com)). We hope the work on the short papers will enhance the quality of the discussions during the Congress, as well as serve to document the approaches and topics that are currently perceived as relevant by rural sociologists.

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**Welcome to the XXV<sup>th</sup> ESRS Congress!**

**Welcome to Florence!**



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# The global countryside: migrations in rural South of Italy

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**Abstract** – The global countryside has been made up of post-fordist restructuring process, in the agrarian sector as well. The migration dynamics in Southern Italy has to be analyzed inside the general framework of these rural and agrarian transformations structured in the last thirty years, but also considering the redefinition of that “Mediterranean Model” of migrations as conceived at the moment of its theorization on the basis of specific characteristics of migration flows as well as arrival contexts of Southern Europe. The research findings aims to contribute at a better understanding of agrarian relations and rural society inside neoliberal globalization.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper focus on the composition of migration labor into the agrarian sector in Southern Italy and specifically in rural Calabria. It analyzes the dynamics of the reordering and transformation of rural areas in relation to migration process and neoliberal globalization, and investigate mechanisms of racism and violence produced on different levels: the selective and stigmatizing differentiation promoted at a political and institutional level; the violence perpetrated by local criminality; and the socio-cultural dynamics of exploitation and exclusion. It will argue that political and institutional racism in modern societies is the result of policies of immigration, security, and asylum, generating stigmatizing instruments for the control and entry of migrants and differentiated inclusion dynamics.

The “global countryside” – recalling the definition of “global cities” by Sassen (1999) – has been made up of post-fordist restructuring process, in the agrarian sector as well. The migration dynamics in Southern Italy has to be analyzed inside the general framework of these rural and agrarian transformations structured in the last thirty years, but also considering the redefinition of that “Mediterranean Model” of migrations as conceived at the moment of its theorization on the basis of specific characteristics of migration flows as well as arrival contexts of Southern Europe (King et al. 2000). The process of intensification and liberalization of fruit and vegetables production has stimulated the hypothesis of the structural role of immigrant labor inside a division of labor on ethnic or racial basis (Berlan 2002). However the progressive autonomization of migrations from labor demand by the development of social networks, different forms of resistance and reproduction, spatial circulation and commuting among different works and agrarian systems are question-

ing the idea of migrations as labor reserve army of capital.

## METHODOLOGY

This paper builds on literature analysis and field research conducted over the last two years in Calabria, an administrative region in southern Italy. The empirical research has been carried out by qualitative methods in order to investigate and understand subjective process and relational dynamics that have been hypothesized to be the factors sustaining resistance and autonomization process of migrations.

The research has focused on the working and living conditions of immigrants in two specific areas of Calabria: the Plain of Gioia Tauro and the Plain of Sibari, basically characterized by citrus production. Although there exist differences between the two areas and between the immigrants who inhabit them due to factors related to the specific historical and social organisation of each area, nevertheless the discussion will also consider the single process of transformation of rurality that migration has led to in both areas. Because the conditions in each area are a result of a wider production process of rurality that has been underway over approximately the last fifteen years, many of the elements considered and some of the conclusions reached here are identical with those in other regions and rural areas of southern Europe as shown in recent studies (Colloca and Corrado 2013; Kasimis 2008; Morice and Michealon 2008).

The research findings aims to contribute at a better understanding of agrarian relations and rural society inside neoliberal globalization.

## RACIALIZATION AND DIFFERENTIATED INCLUSION

Much research into community, racism, and racialisation has been conducted in metropolitan urban settings, but it is only recently that race in rural areas has begun to receive attention. A key theme of existing research on race in rural areas is that of racial violence. This work will consider issues around the intersection of the global and the regional, and the fluidity of racialisation – as a process of differentiation and ordering based on the idea of “race” – in a setting in which many ethnic or national minorities and different migration categories are present in a transitory and mobile way due to ongoing political, economic, and socio-cultural changes. Racism and racialisation are embedded in discourses and pro-



cesses that differentiate immigrants' status or conditions also in relation to local communities and inside rural areas.

As in many other southern European countries, in Italy many immigrants working in the harvest are living or working illegally, receive very low salaries, and live in huts such that typically they are isolated from each other as well as from the local population. National and supranational immigration policies have led to the enclosure and territorialisation of some types of migrants in Western Europe. The expansion of the European Union has redrawn the map for international mobility.

The process of differentiation – or of utilisation and production of differences – arises not just between the immigrants and the autochthonous population, but also among the different national groups of immigrants and between legal and illegal immigrants. This process operates according to the existing mechanisms of exploitation and pigeonholing within the organisation of the production system. These mechanisms are represented by the form that the labour engagement or staying takes (legal/illegal), the way that the work is remunerated (per day/per piece), the structuring of the working relationship over time (turnover/continuity), and by the provision of services (transport, accommodation, food, work brokering). The utilisation of the differences passes not only through the ethnic segmentation of the labour market and of farm production itself, but also through the ethnic or racial fragmentation of the welfare state by means of denial, restriction, or unlawful acquisition of social security services and benefits. In southern Italy these exploitation mechanisms and stratification devices represent further tools for the expansion and fluidisation of an underground economy that is already part of the social fabric but which finds a rearticulation within the post-Fordist processes of restructuring and informalisation.

#### CONCLUSION

The presence of migrants in rural areas is driving important transformations that are tending toward the creation of a new social stratification based primarily on exploitation and parasitic rent-seeking but also based on the management of diversity, a social stratification that sustains the labour-intensification process in agriculture and facilitates its reproduction within a framework of neoliberal liberalisation processes.

Nevertheless the transformation of migrations, and the subjectivisation processes that this transformation produces, have resulted in a continuous dislocation of the function of reserve army of labour to which capital attempts to reduce such migrations. Complex forms of mobility, commuting between farming systems that may be dissimilar (between peasant subsistence farming and market-oriented capitalistic agriculture), and networks of cooperation between areas and between different social contexts act to transmit and produce resources, information, and experiences.

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# De-democratization of Labour Relations in Agri-food in the Global Era. The Case of Murcia, Spain

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**Abstract** – In the last decades, globalization of agri-food production has led to a dramatic increase of the agricultural wage labor in the territories in which agricultural production takes place. This has led to some of the specialized literature to argue that the increase in agricultural wage labor has had a positive impact on agricultural communities offering new employment opportunities. Other studies, however, have paid attention to the precariousness of the work that has been created. Paradoxically, the increase in volume of GDP and exports of the agri-food sector as a whole and the increase of the productivity and competitiveness of companies in the sector have not been accompanied by an improvement in working conditions.

This paper tries to explain the inequalities between workers and employers within the global agri-food chain considering the connection with inequalities in the social structure of the local territory in which production takes place.

The hypothesis is that inequalities in the social structure are transmitted to the interior of the chain. In order to assess the extent of this hypothesis we analyze the role of the main local actors in the process of configuring the labor market in the Region of Murcia, Spain<sup>1</sup>.

## INTRODUCTION

From Global commodity chain (GCC) and global value chain (GVC) approaches, it is usually said that the increasing of agricultural wage labor would increase job opportunities in the territories and that economic upgrading (improving of competitiveness and productivity of the companies of the sector) would entail automatically a social upgrading (improving of working and living conditions) (ie. Tipples, 2007). However, many studies have shown the precarious working conditions of agricultural wage workers in the agro-export territories.

These statements come from the relative disinterest of GCC and GVC approaches in labour in the global production chains. Only recently the role of labour has started to be studied and several studies have observed that the working conditions are linked to inequality of the positions of workers and employers in labor relations (ie Kritzinger et al. 2004, Selwyn 2009). In some of these studies the

strategies of workers and unions to reduce labor inequality by improving their working conditions have been considered.

However, this paper proposes to understand the precariousness of agricultural wage work considering not only what happens within the chain but also what happens outside of it. The idea is that inequalities between workers and employers within the global agri-food chain are connected with the inequalities of the social structure of the local territory.

The analysis of the strategies that, from their unequal positions, actors deployed both within the chain as in the local territory enables us to explore the complexity of the configuration process of agricultural labor market in the region of Murcia. Moreover, the analysis of the role of different local actors allows us to underline the political, and therefore contested, character of the process of configuration of labor market.

## METHODS

This paper is based on the results obtained after the end of the first phase of the fieldwork of an oncoming research<sup>2</sup>. That first phase has been made since October 2012 to February 2013 in the region of Murcia, and it was focused on the productive sector of grapes. Secondary sources has been used too, particularly the previous research and works by Pedreño (1999) and Gadea et al. (forthcoming).

Up to now, 30 semi-structure and open interviews have been made in different estates and municipalities to big companies managers and small entrepreneurs on their plantations and offices, as well as trade unionists and workers outside their work places.

Besides, when it was possible, we have analyzed working papers of the organizations and projects on their strategic plans. On the other hand, we have also used statistical sources in order to complete and corroborate the information obtained by the interviews.

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## FINDINGS

The agriculture sector in the region of Murcia has had a dramatic growth since the 90s due mainly to its export orientation to EU markets. This sector's growth has been accompanied by an increase of wage labor.

The sustained growth of the sector and of the employment for the past two decades has not allowed an improvement of working conditions. In fact, both in the field and packinghouses, workers have continuously adapted to the seasonality of the sector and to the needs of a permanent reshaping production process. Hence, the most important feature of the labour is its extreme flexibility. First, the flexibility is expressed in seasonality work. In the Region of Murcia seasons usually last between 7 and 9 months. The flexibility is also reflected in the strong presence of informal labor (about 40%) and the prevalence of temporary contracts (approximately 90%).

Moreover, it should be noted that wages tend to be low compared to the national average and that the working days are longer and more intense (62% works between 9 and 10 hours).

Finally, the health of workers is exposed to risks from the use of pesticides, from performing monotonous and repetitive movements and from working outdoors in extreme temperatures, among others.

These working conditions are plausible only in the context of an unequal social structure including highly vulnerable groups, who are more willing to accept the poor conditions in the sector. In the case of Murcia, these groups are migrants and local women.

In the context of this unequal social structure, and under the competitive pressure of the dynamics of the global economy, the labor market has been sexually and ethnically segmented since the 90s. The process of the configuration of the labor market involves many actors: firms and business organizations, workers and unions, and the local, regional and state governments.

Firms and business associations have contributed to this process through strategies of partial regularization of employment, of recruitment and of ethnic replacement of workers. These strategies have been facilitated by the successive reforms of labor and immigration laws by state governments since the 90s, and by the support programs for hiring foreign workers at source by the regional government.

Local unions have defended through several collective actions during decades the transition from Special Agriculture Regime to the General Regime of Social Security System. Moreover they have tried to achieve the extension of the discontinuous-fixed contract, to have workers' representatives in the firms and to increase union membership of migrant workers and local women.

Finally the labour strategies of the workers have also contributed to, though to a lesser extent, to configure the local agricultural labor market. For

example, the geographical mobility of migrant workers has consolidated several labour itineraries by several counties in the region which has allowed companies to have a constant flux of labor available.

## DISCUSSION

This paper aims to understand the precariousness of work exploring not only how global agri-food chain internally works, as does the literature on commodity chains that analyzes labour, but also how the chain is connected to what is happening outside of it, in the territory in which it is situated.

The territory has an unequal social structure in terms of gender, ethnicity and class that is transmitted in the organization of production processes within the chain and in the configuration of the labor market. Thus, precariousness of agri-food work depends not only inequality between employers and employees in the workplace, as often stated in the specialized literature, but it is rooted in the unequal social structure of the country.

This approach to the social structure of the territory may render visible the political and contested character of the process of configuration of labor market, in which employers, workers and institutions are involved from unequal positions and with different interests and sometimes conflicting.

The result of this process of transmission of inequalities between the territory and the chain is the reproduction of a subordinate position of workers in the food production chain.

Furthermore, precariousness of work is based on recognition of a reduced status citizenship to the most vulnerable groups. So they can speak of a de-democratization of labor relations

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# Employment in agriculture and economic development in the province of Parma

Cristina Mora<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The objective of this paper is to analyze the link among agricultural diversification on-farm and off-farm (including part-time employment in other sectors) for a selected area, Parma province. The approach taken was to analyze municipalities aggregate in the Local Labour Systems (LLS).

A list of indicators regarding farm labour has been used to highlight the approach which allows farming to remain in a socio-economic area that is rapidly assuming a model of development linked to tertiarisation.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the link among agricultural diversification on-farm and off-farm for a selected area. The pilot area is represented by the Parma Province, where the presence of typical and strong agribusiness activities help explain the development of the area. There is a rich agriculture economics literature on farm diversification since the early 1950s. It was emerged that the main purpose of diversification is to reduce the risk of overall return selecting a mixture of activities (Culas, Mahendrarajah, 2005). More recently the attention of economists is linked with the diversification on-farm rather than non-agricultural activities. In modern economies where the process started in the post-war industrialised countries, when the reallocation of labour from agricultural to non-agricultural activities is substantially finished, part-time farming and multiple job holding (off farm income diversification) have become strategies to support and stabilize income (McNamara, Weiss, 2004). The contribution of this pilot study is to highlight how farming remain in a socio-economic area that is rapidly assuming a model of development linked to tertiarization. In an economic system widely outsourced, these studies become particularly important because agriculture tends to be expelled from the local context both for economic and socio-cultural reasons.

## METHODOLOGY

The approach taken was to analyze municipalities aggregate in the Local Labour Systems (LLS). To achieve the above purpose it was necessary to analyze employment in various sectors for 47 municipalities at the administrative level that belong to the Province of Parma, then model the results at the level of local labour systems (LLS). The LLS "... represent the functional areas within which realizes the interdependencies between the system of families and the business ... territorial self-contained systems on the supply side and the demand for labor, and ... place where most the resident popula-

tion can find work (or change jobs) without changing the place of residence, and where employers recruit the majority of workers, creating a complex network of commuting from home to work, which is well known, are the basis empirical, as well as conceptual, urban systems daily". (Sforzi, 1987;)

## MAIN RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It has been known that activities of the province of Parma have been always linked to the agro-food industry. Analyzing the sectors in terms of weight on employment at the provincial level, agriculture now accounts for 3%, industry for 35% and other activities for 62%; in terms of added value percentages are respectively equal to 2%, 33% and 65%. The turnover of the food industry in 2011 reached 7,500 million euro (source: Studies Office of the Province of Parma), with 15,000 employees at the provincial level. According to the 14<sup>th</sup> Population Census (2001), the provincial administrative boundaries contain five Local Labour System (LLS Bedonia, SII Borgo Val di Taro, SII Fidenza, and SII SII Langhirano Parma). They are identified by the name of the common called "centroid" which is the one with the largest number of employees in the manufacturing sector. An analysis of employment by sector refers to individual municipalities in the province of Parma, from 1960 to 2011, shows that trend is detectable in the more general of the developed economies. Economies are increasingly based on "other assets" and not on those of the agriculture and industry. Among all the five LLS identified in the province of Parma, only one (Langhirano) is prevalent in industrial employment and, at the same time, agricultural activity still represents about 10% of the employed. If employment in agriculture and industry (which in these municipalities is mainly food industry) has been added, the quota increased to 55% of total employment. If we just consider the weight of the agricultural activity, the LLS of Parma presents data in line with national averages. All others LLS of the province show a ratio of jobs near or above 7%. Considering the data of the 6<sup>th</sup> General Agriculture Census (2010), there were approximately 7,100 active farms with a utilized agricultural area (UAA) of 126,000 hectares with a gross saleable production which was estimated in 520 million euro. In 2011 the worked days were 1,931,495, dropped 30% compared to 2001: it is the same reduction if we compared to the previous decade 1990-2000. Almost 90% of the work is done by family labour and 50% by farmer. With the exception of the municipalities included in the LLS localised in mountain areas (Borgo Val di Taro and Bedonia), where the share of work performed by the tenant reaches 70%. A key aspect of an agricultural system is represented by the composition of the labour force by age. The average age of the labour force is increased even

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though there was a slightly higher presence of "young" (less than 55 years) compared with 5<sup>th</sup> General Agriculture Census data (2001). Despite this signal, the potential for a generational change is modest. 65% of the Utilised Agricultural Area (UAA) has no successor, i.e. a person under the age of 55 years working in-farm at least 150 days. By analyzing this indicator according to the LLS, LLS of the mountainous area (Bedonia and Borgo Val di Taro) shows percentages close to 90%. Conversely, the LLS of Parma, Fidenza and Langhirano have a successor in the 30 -35% of cases. With continuity between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Agricultural census, the work is done mainly by the farmers in the Bedonia and Borgo Val di Taro LLS, meanwhile conducting business is definitely wider in the Fidenza and Parma LLS, among farmers, family and relatives. Hired work remain below the quota of 15% for the all province; analyzing the percentage for each LLS, the percentage rises to 21% for Parma LLS and to 17% for Fidenza LLS. The share remains between 5-10% for others LLSs. Another finding very important is the multiple activities of the farm household in-farm and out-farm.

According to the data of the sixth Agriculture census the average time devoted to annual activities of the farmers for LLS, shows that 10% of the conductors are in most marginal area of the province (outside the urban area of Parma and the mountain). This LLS, namely Bedonia, shows in-farm activities for more than 50% of the average annual time worked. These activities are mainly related to forestry and aquaculture, to woodworking, as with other LLS mountain (Borgo Val di Taro). On the other hand, LLS of Fidenza, which agriculture plays an important role in terms of total employment (with 10% of total employment), 98% of the conductors are involved in in-farm activities for up to 25% of average time. It becomes interesting explored what kind of activities are linked in this LLS and in those who gravitate to urban areas. As other studies have shown urban demand for rural goods and services represents a driving factor to adapt farm activities in a multifunctional way (Zasada, 2011). The activities are essentially represented by educational farms (recreational activities), and production of animal based products (milk) for the LLS of Fidenza and Parma, , farms in the hilly areas and tourism (LLS Langhirano). In particular, the task of processing of products (and subsequent sale) could measure the attention of new consumers who live in urban centres for products resulting from short supply chains. In the LLS of Parma, the subcontracting both for agricultural and non-agricultural activities has been revealed very important. Based on analysis of the areas of off-farm activities conducted on the latest available data (2001 14<sup>th</sup> Population Census), it is emerged that the part-time activities of the conductors or of the families are linked to industrial activity in the case of Langhirano and Bedonia LLS, while the service sector is related to the case of Borgo Val di Taro, another mountain LLS. While in S Fidenza and Parma LLS, the in-farm diversification activities were already important. By analysing data related to the spouse (active in the company), family members and relatives who participate in the company's activities show that hardly spouses who are active in the company have an extra-corporate (mainly pensioners and/or housewives) (Mora, 2006). The reason of this the fact that the farm is still based on the family and then the spouse in the company can play the role of real-conductor or otherwise assists the con-

ductor, in order to allow him to have a job outside the company. The spouses who are not active are unlikely to have an off-farm activity, with the exception of Borgo Val di Taro LLS. In this last case study where the spouse is not active, 40% of the conductors carries on a business in the service sector (tourism is the most important tasks of these rural mountain areas). It is important to note that the system with the highest share of both spouses of active family members and relatives who have no other active work is Fidenza. This finding indicates that, despite the availability of off-farm work, farms require all the work available in the family. The same LLS have high percentages, compared to the average, of non-family farms.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The study area which we have focused on is a rich area in terms of socio-economic and cultural environment, where agriculture has an important weight in employment. The contribution that agriculture development is giving the territory is twofold: economic-productive and multifunctional. From political point of view, it is important to continue with rural development policy focused on rural viability (Matthews, 2004) and urban-rural interaction.

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# Between Family Economy and Market. Labour Relation in Polish Agriculture

Hanna Podedworna<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The purpose of the paper is to provide description of the labour relations shaped in Polish agriculture in the conditions of market transformations and Common Agricultural Policy. The analyses shall use the data from the National Census statistical data and results of sociological research. The labour relations in the Polish agriculture are of dual character. On one hand they are still characterised by strong family ties and relations, but on the other – by the connections to the market and the formalised EU rules, being the instruments of the Common Agricultural Policy. The family ties determine the scope which one could consider to be the representation of the family farming, which is regulated by the social expectations contained in the traditional models of social roles. The connections to the market, on the other hand, are shaped by the developing commercial farming sector, which after the transformations started upon the collapse of the real socialism, has been developing dynamically. Both types of the relations are shaped in accordance with different patterns, are regulated by different norms, and build different social relations. It would be therefore interesting to determine what meaning these two types of labour relations in the Polish agriculture have.

## INTRODUCTION

The work of a farmer still retains two specific features: the dependence on nature cycles and its seasonal character, which makes it unattractive for hired work.

In Poland, similarly as in other European countries, farming work is performed mainly by farm owners and members of their families. This means a low level of formal institutionalisation of labour relations, lack of legal regulations and the function of the owner and the manager being held by the head of the family. Modernisation in the agriculture is accompanied by changing proportions between the manual and intellectual work. The work of the mind and the ability to make decisions become more and more important for the final effects and the market success of a farmer (Podedworna, 2002). The development of connections with the market goes in the direction of crystallisation of the managerial function, although it does not lead to dispersion of ownership. The process of farm labour externalisation (van der Ploeg, 1990) in the Polish reality takes places mainly as a result of the introduction of CAP regulations and development of the ties with the market.

The topic of this paper is an analysis of labour relations in the Polish agriculture, which are one of the important dimensions of the contemporary agrarian question. The labour relations model in the Polish agriculture is a hybrid composed of family relations and formal regulations shaped by factors external with respect to agriculture. As observed by

van der Ploeg, (2006) agriculture as employment is in deep crisis, which is demonstrated by marginalisation of small producers, low earnings of persons employed in agriculture and general stagnation. Work in agriculture is hardly attractive, low-paid and does not assure a satisfying level of income. In many countries it is performed as a part of the shadow economy, by illegal immigrants. On the other hand, farmers and small producers need to look for additional sources of income and occupation outside of farming, in order to be able to support their families, or engage in non-agricultural activity with the use of their farm's resources. An example of the former may be hired labour performed outside of the farm, pluriactivity, and of the latter – agritourism and direct selling of goods produced on the farm. Both forms of farming income supplementation are present in Poland.

## METHODS

The article uses secondary data, mainly quantitative analyses presenting the results of the Agricultural Census, the National Census and sociological research results.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

As it follows from sociological research (Halamska, 2003), the Polish farming sector is replete with unused labour resources, which causes hidden unemployment and additionally decreases the incomes of Polish farming families. Allocation of a part of labour resources on small quasi-peasant farms, means that they are not effectively capitalized.

In Poland the farming population is numerous, as compared to other EU countries. Persons working in the Polish agriculture in 2011 constituted 20% of all persons employed in agriculture in the EU (Frenkel, 2012). Their share in the employment structure was 12.8% of all persons employed in the Polish economy. This is a high share in comparison to the other EU countries. Therefore, agriculture is still an important employer although its share in GNP generation is decreasing and presently it is equal to 3%. Labour productivity in the Polish agricultural sector is very low and is equal to 30% of the EU-27 aggregate (Wilkin, 2012). More than 50% of the farmers' incomes are subsidies.

Labour relations in agriculture reflect the dual character of Polish farming. One prevailing model is characterised by dispersed family farming, which has many features of peasant farming. The other model is shaped in the modernized, commercial market sector, which is a domain of hired labour relations. The former covers most of the agricultural land and is a workplace for most of the farming population. The sector of commercial agriculture is expansive with respect to the land market, however it does not create workplaces, quite to the contrary – it reduces

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the number thereof. This is illustrated by the employment index per 100 ha of arable land, which decreases with the increase of the area of the farm (Frenkel, 2012). A vast majority (72%) of persons working in family farming works on small farms, smaller than 10 ha, where the labour relations are regulated by family relations. We have a different situation on farms owned by legal entities, where over 80% of workers are hired hands. Relevant data has been presented in tables 1. and 2.

**Table 1.** Structure of area cultivation in Poland in accordance with the area structure of agricultural farms in years 2002-2010

Farm area (in ha)	2002 (%)	2010 (%)
Below 5	16.8	14.4
5-10	18.4	16.4
10-30	31.2	29.8
30-50	7.2	8.8
50-100	5.0	7.6
Over 100	21.2	23.1

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Agriculture 2011*, Warszawa: GUS.

As it follows from the above data, in Poland there dominate small farms, below 10 ha, whose share in the area cultivation is gradually decreasing, which is also the case with medium-sized farms. Data characterising the agrarian structure confirm the thesis on prevalence of the family model of labour relations.

The structure of employment in Polish agriculture divided into family and hired labour force has been presented in table 2.

**Table 2.** Employed persons in agriculture by employment status (in %)

Employed status	2005	2010
Contract	4.8	4.2
Own account	94.5	95.3
Members of cooperatives	0.7	0.5

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Agriculture 2011*, Warszawa: GUS.

Hired labour force is employed on bigger farms, of the area over 50 ha, where it constitutes 29% of all employed labour force. The above data demonstrate only the official employment, illegal work, performed both by Poles, as well as by foreigners, mainly from Ukraine, still remains in the dark. An area of illegal work in agriculture is mainly the horticultural production, in particular the seasonal harvest of fruits and vegetables.

An important dimension of the labour relations in Polish family agriculture is pluriactivity of farming families. According to Eurostat data, in Poland the percentage of pluriactive farmers is equal to 39% and is similar to the EU average (*Other ...2008*). One in three farmers performs some additional activity apart from farming (Błąd, 2012). Research results indicate (Błąd, 2012) that a vast majority of Polish farmers treat the work outside of their farm as a permanent occupation and intend to continue it, and at the same time do not plan to resign from running a farm. Pluriactivity for farming families is therefore an often pursued fixed labour and lifestyle strategy rather than a temporary situation. This makes the socioeconomic situation of Polish farmers similar to the situation of farmers in many other EU countries.

## CONCLUSIONS

Social changes caused by the fall of real socialism and Poland's EU accession have been a source of particular external pressure on Polish agriculture. Restructuring and modernization thereof, occurring in such conditions is not efficiently enough, is a source of numerous social problems. Despite the specificity of Polish agriculture, many problems are similar to the problems observed in other, more developed EU countries. This confirms the thesis formulated by J. van der Ploeg that for the first time in the history, the agrarian question has gained universal character and is losing its local dimension (van der Ploeg 2006).

Growing dependency on the market, global capital, technology, agribusiness and CAP affect Polish farmers as well. Similarly as in other countries they are losing control over the production process and over their farms, also this is happening slowly. The family model of labour relations maintains the dispersed agrarian structure, yet it provides certain chances of survival of economically weak farms in economic crisis. This makes it possible to keep the ownership in the hands of the family, whose members supplement the incomes from the farm, engaging in work elsewhere. On the other hand, difficult labour market conditions, high unemployment and lack of workplaces outside of agriculture artificially retain a part of the labour force in the agriculture. This impedes land concentration processes, which however, are taking place after all.

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# Peasant political struggles in Ecuador. Tensions around the material constitution of food sovereignty

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**Abstract** – Food Sovereignty (FS) has been proposed by the international movement *La Vía Campesina* (LVC) as a way to re-think the agrarian question and affirm the right not only to food but also to produce appropriate food. It was institutionalized in the new Constitution of Ecuador in 2008. This declaration and the inclusion of guidelines aiming for a progressive transition towards a FS regime represents a victory for the local peasant and indigenous organizations (especially those linked to LVC) and their struggles over the last decade. Such outcomes would not have been possible without a political openness towards the *Buen Vivir* (BV). Thereby FS and BV achieved a greater legitimacy as concrete alternatives to neoliberalism in the context of global crisis. Yet now, more than four years after the approval of the Constitution by referendum, the balance of "Agrarian Revolution" in Ecuador is widely recognized as critical. The paper presents the collective actions for FS in Ecuador, as they were based on collective and individual practices of peasant resistance and their impact on the legal framework; then the analysis focuses on the gap between the formal and material constitution of the Ecuadorian agri-food strategies. It includes an overview of the ongoing tensions in the relationship between State and Peasant organizations.

The Ecuadorian Constitution, approved in 2008, declares FS as a strategic goal and governmental obligation, institutionalizing - although partially- the principles of the proposal put forward since 1996 by the international peasant movement LVC. The LVC's proposal is conceived as an alternative to the concept of food security, aimed to claim the right not only to food but also to access to the resources required to produce it locally and appropriately. The Ecuadorian Constitution considers the right to access to food (Art. 13) as part of the rights of BV<sup>2</sup> and establishes the need to head towards radical changes, by promoting: short chains; agro-ecological conversion, prohibition of GMO and free use of the agrobiodiversity; redistribution policies for access to land and water; fair economy (Art. 281).

The goal, though intermediate, reached with the constitutionalization of principles of FS can not be explained without retracing the previous process, which lasted for a decade and was led by local indig-

enous and peasant organizations. It consists of construction of territorial practices in contrast with the official agro-industrial policies at the time: diversified farms, agroecological training, fair economy initiatives for the food processing and commercialization. In addition, it includes the elaboration of alternative agricultural agendas and social mobilization (especially against regional integration as promoted by the United States, through ALCA and TLC). Altogether, these practices and collective actions represent the background of the constituent power exerted by social movements in the rewriting of the Ecuadorian social contract.

In this context, it is arguable a central role played by four Ecuadorian federations<sup>3</sup> - affiliated to LVC - that since the end of the 90s began to articulate themselves in a "space of concertation", called *Mesa Agraria*<sup>4</sup>, and to place FS as a specific priority of their political agenda. Until its dissolution in 2009<sup>5</sup>, this network was marked by a succession of periods of intense coordination and stages of "freezing", dictated mostly by the "external" political circumstances that influenced organizations, generating distance between them. However, it was able to combine and place in dialogue different dimensions; firstly, a territorial one, because it set up a bidirectional flow between national and local organizations aimed at processing proposals and actions. Secondly, it combined different "identitarian" constructions, due to the significant differences between the federations in terms of representativeness and self-representation, geographic coverage and affinity to political parties. Therefore, federations have been able to dialogue and regroup themselves around a shared innovative Agrarian Agenda, through a permanent process of negotiation and construction of *unity in diversity* (McMichael, 2008). That brings to goals and discursive practices - from which derives a complex repertoire of action (training of leaders, political advocacy and mobilizations) - which politicize and integrate different perspectives on the agrarian question and which, taken together, reflect the socio-cultural and ecological diversity of the country.

At the beginning of 2007, when Rafael Correa had freshly been elected as President, *Mesa Agraria* participated in the promotion of the Constituent

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<sup>2</sup> The BV is a concept borrowed from the Andean cosmovision and enriched by critical academics and movements; as alternative to development, claims the harmony between humans and ecosystems.

<sup>3</sup> "FENOCIN", "CNC-EA", "FENACLE" and "CONFENUNASSC".

<sup>4</sup> Integrated until 2003 also by ECUARUNARI. Some NGOs support it.

<sup>5</sup> Later federations recur to re-articulations, as in the *Red Agraria* that promoted the *Ley Tierra y Territorios* by citizen initiative (March, 2012).



Assembly gaining the election of two peasant leaders: Pedro De La Cruz and Guillermo Touma (respectively Presidents of FENOCIN and FENACLE). At this stage the *Mesa Agraria* focused its action on the signing of agreements with future Constituents around the promotion of FS, and on the internal elaboration of a proposal for the Magna Charta, with subsequent wider diffusion on a national scale. The proposal, in brief, was opposed to the neo-liberal agri-food model and included five guidelines: guarantees of FS, promotion of an Agrarian Revolution, construction of sustainable and equitable territorial development; compliance with worker's rights (especially in agriculture) and, finally, the need to re-establish a sovereign and intercultural State. Once the Constituent Assembly was installed, federations increased their actions, singularly as well as in coordination. A team of leaders was dedicated to the direct dialogue with the Constituent Work Groups, while many actions were implemented at the Assembly's headquarters and on the national territory.

At the conclusion of the process the balance is positive: the new constitutional text collects in a consistent way the proposals claimed by *Mesa Agraria*. This undoubtedly responds to an "external" favourable political trend, but at the same time gives evidence of the ability of argumentation and advocacy that federations exerted towards the Ecuadorian society, permeating with content and languages the rewriting of the social contract. In the post-constituent stage, FS emanates from the circumscribed battlefields of some social organizations to become a ground of dispute for the whole Ecuadorian society, especially in the ongoing process of legislative, institutional and economic reform.

Yet, five years after the approval of the Constitution, the "Agrarian Revolution" is mostly evaluated as weak, also by the governmental sector itself, although it was contemplated as a strategic component of the *Revolución Ciudadana* promoted by the "progressive" government of Rafael Correa. The strategies for FS implemented by Ministers of Agriculture since 2008 have shown a significant degree of uncertainty and marginality. This is true despite the launch of initiatives to promote access to credit and land. In the latter case, it deals with incipient strategies that might seem to be encouraging a status of peasant dependence, since they are not being associated to processes of productive conversion, while they include mechanisms that lead the peasants into debt in order to purchase land on the market. Meanwhile, in 2009 the LORSA<sup>6</sup> was approved; it ratifies the general principles of FS, however remaining on a programmatic level rather than regulatory. In fact, the debate around the controversial nodal points (especially: access to land and water, GMO and agro-fuels) has been postponed to the approval of subordinate laws linked to LORSA<sup>7</sup>, which has not yet occurred. This delay is probably

due to a lack of agreement among the parliamentary groups and between them and the executive function, as well as to avoid sensitive issues in the agenda of campaign for the presidential elections (February 2013). On the other hand, there are strong pressures by powerful economic groups (that control the agro-industry) willing to redimension the primacy of an approach based on FS. In the coming months, in the light of the overwhelming majority in the Parliament conquered by *Alianza País* (the coalition of Correa), an acceleration of the process is predictable, as well as a complicated resolution of the differences on nodal issues experienced by the same government and its parliamentary bloc. For his part, President Correa claimed recurrently the need to modernize the rural sector in order to increase productivity, also opening up to GMO. Finally, it is possible to notice a substantial reshaping of the organizational capacity and action of the social organizations, if not of their own autonomy. It is a contraction due in part to their inherent cycles (periods of latency and visibility) and the urgent necessity to redefine strategies in a radically changed context. On the other hand, a trend to centralism could gain force, promoting a direct relationship between State and peasants, undermining the political mandate and interlocutory capabilities of organizations.

The analysis of the Ecuadorian case could contribute to the reflection on the declinations of the concepts of autonomy, independence and sovereignty that result from the complex netting of interaction between individual, collective and public action. First of all, from the point of view of the conceptualization of FS itself, according to which a centrality of local food systems is suggested. They primarily consist of producers and consumers recognized as having a right and a sovereign power on food and on the ways and the means of its production. From this point of view, it's interesting to verify how FS is rewritten in the Ecuadorian legal framework with some divergences with the initial LVC's proposal, all resulting from the power relations that run across the local agri-food system. Here lies not only the analysis around the management of pivotal dimensions such as control over the means of production, but also about the State's reconfiguration as regulator of the market. It's necessary to problematize how it operates and what role it attributes itself, in relation to individual and collective social actors (and their autonomy), as well as compared to the opportunities for the promotion of a material constitution of FS.

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<sup>6</sup> Organic Law on Food Sovereignty Regime.

<sup>7</sup> Subordinate laws: Use and access to land, seeds and agrobiodiversity, agricultural development, agro-industry and agricultural employ, animal/plant health, public credit, insurance and subsidies.



# Perceived room for manoeuvre of farmers in a situation of limiting growth possibilities

Ron G. Methorst, Dirk Roep, Frans J.H.M. Verhees and Jos A.A.M. Verstegen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The relation between farm development and its direct surroundings is of renewed interest. Growing urbanization and changes in societal demands increase the need for farmers to integrate developments in their direct surroundings in farm development. Especially in densely populated regions with high natural or cultural-historical value, farmers are challenged to integrate changes in the biophysical and societal environment in farm strategy. Opportunities for farm development may lie outside traditional growth strategy, this makes opportunity identification more challenging. In this study we focused on the perceived room for manoeuvre of farmers, defined as the number of options the farmer perceives as viable to generate income on his farm. In a specific case study of Kampereiland, an area close to important nature reserves and a designated National Landscape, we send a survey to 102 dairy farmers. Using a two-step cluster analysis based upon a three component principal component factor analysis, we found four distinct clusters. When the clusters are related to actual current and preferred activities great similarities are found between the groups, indicating tensions between opportunities seen and activities preferred.

## INTRODUCTION

Farmers are more and more challenged to integrate changes in the biophysical and societal environment in their farm strategy, especially in densely populated regions with a high natural or cultural-historical value. An interesting issue where the research fields of entrepreneurship and of rural sociology meet, is the concept of autonomy, what freedom in farm development does a farmer have and perceive? Within specific biophysical and social surroundings different farming styles evolved (van der Ploeg 2003). The relation with nearby surroundings became less important to the farmer, farm location became an address for production, loosening the connection between product, production and location (Wiskerke (2009). New services and functions of rural areas for urban dwellers is another important development (OECD 2006; Horlings 2010).

The farmer, in his role as entrepreneur, needs to act strategically in order to reach the goals set. The room for manoeuvre for farm development reflects both exogenous and endogenous developments and as such depicts the number of opportunities the farmer perceives (sees) as viable in order to obtain an income. The verb 'to perceive' reflects the fact that it is a personal matter. We defined room for manoeuvre as perceived by the farmer in this study as the number of options for farm development the farmer sees (perceives) as viable for his situation (and is as such by definition perceived). Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework in which perceived room for manoeuvre (RfM) is a central issue towards strategy formulation and (future) farm practices.

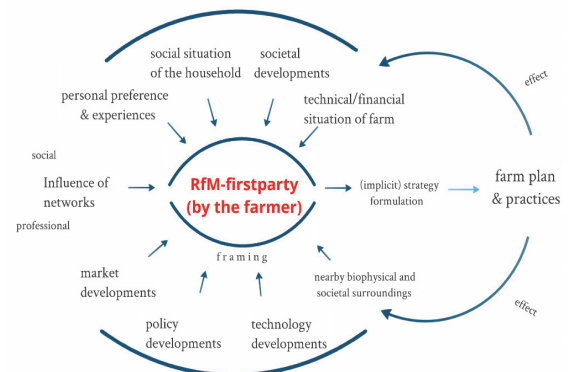


Figure 1. Conceptual framework RfM (Room for Manoeuvre).

RfM links to research fields of opportunity identification (Ardichvili, Cardozo et al. 2003), farmer decision making (Edwards-Jones 2006), motivation to change (McElwee 2006) and recognition of opportunities as suitable in general or as suitable for yourself as actor (McMullen and Shepherd 2006).

## RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

The central research question used in this study is the relation between perceived room for manoeuvre, current farmer's activities and farmer's preference within the perspective of farm development in a situation of limiting factors in the biophysical and societal surroundings. We selected a case study and developed a survey in which 15 options for farm development (see table 1) were presented to farmers, asking them to rank each option on a five-point Likert scale on the question 'how viable is this option for your situation to support your income'. Secondly farmers were asked to select the options they currently put in practice and to select the one option

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they would prefer to do given a situation of no limitations.

Out of 102 addresses in total 85 farmers responded to the survey leading to 79 completed surveys. Using a three component primary component factor analysis as starting value, we performed a two-step cluster analysis leading to 4 distinct clusters. We made cross tables to study the relation between the clusters and both current activities and preferred activities.

**Table 1.** Options (in short) as presented in the survey.

Extensive dairy	Dairy & customers
Intensive dairy	Dairy & care
Organic dairy	Dairy & recreation
Joint farming	Dairy & another company
Dairy & off farm job	Relocation outside area
Dairy & energy production	Quit milk, another company
Dairy & nature conservation	Quit milk, residential
Dairy & processing	Other option named by farmer

#### *Chosen case to study: Kampereiland*

Kampereiland is an area of 4,200 ha agricultural land given out in tenancy to mainly dairy farmers. The owner is the city of Kampen which reclaimed this land in the delta of a river. All farmers have been under the same tenancy policy of the lessor and the general national and European agricultural policies. Kampereiland is part of National Landscape IJsseldelta (designated to maintain the character of the landscape) and two Natura 2000 reserves are neighbouring the area. The lessor developed a policy to emphasize the special value of Kampereiland for the city of Kampen (in terms of nature, landscape, recreation etc.) These combined circumstances limit the 'normal' development path in scale enlargement and may open new opportunities and hence influence the room for manoeuvre. The relative unity in background and historic development of the farms, creates a good situation to study differences in perceived RfM.

#### RESULTS

We found four distinct clusters of farmers with a distinct set of options seen as viable for farm development: specialised dairy farm oriented towards intensive farming (n=29), specialised dairy farm oriented towards extensive farming (n=21), diversified farming oriented towards extensive farming (n=21) and off-farm focused farmers. All clusters fitted our observations during the initial interviews and study of the region.

Table 2 shows that current activities of farmers are reflected in the distinct clusters of perceived RfM, indicating that farmers in their current farm development on the RfM as perceived. Multiple activities could be selected by one farmer, hence the relative high number of diversification activities within cluster 3, supporting the finding that diversified farmers often develop a portfolio of activities (Alsos 2007).

**Table 2.** Current farm activities in relation to clusters in perceived Room for Manoeuvre (more options per farmer).

Option (in short) \ Cluster	1 Specialised Intensive n = 29	2 Specialised Extensive n = 21	3 Diversified Extensive n = 21	4 Off-farm Extensive n = 8
Extensive dairy <sup>1)</sup>	5	20	18	5
Intensive dairy <sup>1)</sup>	21	5	2	0
Organic dairy	0	0	1	0
Joint farming <sup>2)</sup>	8	0	2	1
Dairy & customers <sup>1)</sup>	0	0	4	0
Dairy & care	0	0	2	0
Dairy & recreation <sup>2)</sup>	0	0	3	0
Relocating outside area	1	0	0	0
Quit milk, other comp. <sup>1)</sup>	0	0	1	2
Quit milk, residential <sup>2)</sup>	0	0	0	1

<sup>1)</sup> P<0.01 <sup>2)</sup> p<0.05 (significant between clusters)

Table 3 indicates a strong preference for a specialised dairy farm (49 out of 79) with an intensive orientation as most preferred. Farmers differ in perception and are autonomous in seeing opportunities outside their own preference. Especially farmers in clusters with an extensive orientation may not perceive it as autonomous choice as their RfM is outside their own preference. We will conduct further research for a better understanding on the differences between clusters and the factors most of influence for the farmer in the perception of his RfM.

**Table 3.** Preferred activities in relation to clusters in perceived Room for Manoeuvre (one option per farmer).

Option (in short) \ Cluster	1 Specialised Intensive n = 29	2 Specialised Extensive n = 21	3 Diversified Extensive n = 21	4 Off-farm Extensive n = 8
Extensive dairy <sup>1)</sup>	1	9	3	1
Intensive dairy <sup>2)</sup>	18	9	7	1
Organic dairy	0	1	2	0
Joint farming <sup>2)</sup>	2	0	0	1
Dairy & nature conserv.	1	1	1	0
Dairy & care <sup>1)</sup>	0	0	4	0
Dairy & recreation	1	0	1	0
Relocating outside area <sup>2)</sup>	1	0	1	2
Quit milk, other company	0	0	1	1
Quit milk, residential <sup>2)</sup>	0	0	0	1

<sup>1)</sup> P<0.01 <sup>2)</sup> p<0.05 (significant between clusters)

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# The farmers of the associative movement “Terre de liens” in France: reshaping farming representations and identities

Pibou Elsa<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This article explores the ruptures and continuities in the farmer’s ways of being in a contemporary and activist organization called “Terre de liens”. This uncommon French structure, which buys and leases land to farmers, tries to raise public awareness of agricultural issues and to integrate members who are traditionally far away from land tenure issues. Even if the main purposes of this organization is to fight against land speculation, provide support to the setting-up of farmers and develop sustainable activities, the action of actually and concretely setting-up farmers raises many questions, among which the place and representations of the farmers in this process. This article will study the case of the farmer profile within “Terre de liens”, in order to highlight what being farmer in this structure changes or does not change. This study will try to show how the socio-professional identities of the farmers could be transformed.

## TDL FARMERS: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The strategies developed by project initiators in agriculture in order to access land tenure face several obstacles, especially when they lack sufficient financial, informational and relational resources. Since the end of World War II, the French government established various policies meant to help farmers bypass these difficulties and preserve the agricultural use of the land (Sencébé et al., 2013). But given the persistent problems and the context of multifaceted crisis that our societies face, some citizens—both farmers and civil society actors—have been involved, since 2003, in the creation of an associative initiative called “Terre de liens” (TDL)—literally “Land of links”.

TDL was initially created as an association aiming at helping farmers set-up their agriculture projects and providing advice and information on the best way to collaborate with other actors in several juridical forms. The association thus reminded the citizens and the regional authorities about land tenure issues and federated the various branches of the association through the French regions, allocating them resources. After this initial phase, TDL developed its own financial tools in order to provide operational help to farmers. These tools, called *La foncière* and *La fondation*, enable TDL to collect funds through public offerings. Thanks to these donations from

citizens and private businesses, TDL can able buy land and lease it to new farmers.

In return, the tenants must relinquish part of their independence. Indeed, they have to renounce entirely or partially their desire of becoming land owners. Furthermore, TDL implemented more or less systematized devices to control the proper use of land: a tenancy agreement with specific environmental clauses, an agronomic inventory of the farms, as well as several meetings taking place in the farms between TDL members, volunteers, donors, shareholders and farmers.

From a sociological perspective, I want to understand the reasons that led these farmers to become members of this organization (was it because of opportunities, reflective choices, pragmatism?). I also wish to grasp the impacts and the consequences of their commitment in the organization and their influence on the process of construction and reconstruction of their socio-professional identities. I will investigate the relations, the connections or the breaks between the objectives set by TDL at a broad scale, and the individual representations of the farmers who lease TDL land. Is there a significant gap between the collective ambition and the actual representations that the farmers finally have? For that matter, is it relevant to analyse the situation in terms of vertical or horizontal relationships between the farmers and the organization? Do TDL farmers knowingly waive their freedom of farming as they intend to, as well as their desire to own and to pass down land? What about their autonomy? Does the collective nature of ownership effectively preclude the farmers from developing an intense emotional connection with land (Hervieu, 2005: 95)?

## A POLYMORPHIC DATA COLLECTION PLAN

To provide some elements to respond to these questions, my study was built on several modalities of data collection. On the one hand, I organized a quantitative survey to analyse the profiles and the personal evolution of TDL farmers at a national level and I conducted long interactive interviews, with TDL farmers in one region (“Midi-Pyrénées”), to better approach and understand their representations and values. On the other hand, through participant-observation, I attended several meetings at different levels in order to grasp the implications and the real place(s) of the farmers within this structure.

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## RUPTURES AND BOUNDARIES IN TDL FARMERS POSITIONING

My analytic work shows that the organization highlights paradoxes inherent to the understanding of the farmer's place and work. On the one hand, one can observe similar patterns in the personal path of TDL farmers (education, work experience...) and in their practices. Most of them chose the profession, turned themselves into farmers and studied to that end. Furthermore, they developed practices in accordance with TDL's wishes: organic agriculture, often mixed farming, and products commercialised locally. My initial hypothesis—that TDL farmers do not opt for this organization by chance—was thus corroborated. They all chose first a profession before choosing a place where they would eventually practise this occupation. Generally, their farm research was not focused on one single region. This pattern breaks with the family and territorial continuum, which is a typical feature of French peasantry (Mendras, 1976, 1992; Hervieu, 2001; Rémy, 2008). Many farmers collaborated with TDL in order to ensure that they would pass down their farms to farmers who would respect the social and environmental principles supported by the organization. Nevertheless, these remarks should not lead to minimise their sense of belonging to one specific place: their roots and their territorial registration remains an important marker of their identity (Jean, 1997). All these elements suggest the development of the profile of the intermediary farmer (Dufour et al., 2003; Papy et al. 2012)—farmers who get into a territory and whose speeches reveal some "peasant" characteristics, as described by rural sociologists (Mendras, 1992; Rémy, 2008).

On the other hand, I did not expect to observe such diversity in their attempts, in their positioning and in the reasons encouraging them to call on this organization. The diversity that we traditionally find in the French farmers' profile—their values, representations and desires—is no exception and can be found within TDL. For some farmers, it is their militant path and commitment that led them to turn to the organization and not just their desire to settle. As a matter of fact, most of them wanted to access land in order to farm. They generally hoped to access land through a communitarian way and they do not make the property a priority. Actually, they lost the ability of owning their land but they have the right to be involved in the meetings of the organization and they have the possibility to sit on the decision-making structures. Nevertheless, this possibility as well as involvement and opening towards the entire society—such as TDL wants to experiment—did not necessarily correspond to the farmer's expectations. This could be observed in their relations with TDL: some of them seized the opportunity to commit themselves within the structure, to get their voices heard, but a lot of farmers did not want to make these commitments a daily priority. We can observe various degrees of farmer involvement: this depends on their ability to convert their systems of norms, to grasp the societal representations of their

profession, and to adopt the linguistic and organizational code of TDL. These elements especially resurface in conflict situations and in power struggles that such conflicts cause.

Thus, what can be observed in the structure leads to another question — that of the farmer's place. Actually, are we not witnessing the development of new ways of controlling farms, farming and agricultural practices? With this kind of structure, is not it this profession, which is generally described as considering autonomy as an important asset, becoming a new "object class" to quote Pierre Bourdieu (1977)?

Finally and contrary to what I expected to witness, the study of TDL and TDL farmers showed that power struggles between farmers and other rural actors do not disappear within this kind of structure, no matter how open it may be, but seem to crystallize on various topics that raise the question of the farmer's place in society, through a new point of view. At this stage of development, the organization that I observed does not seem to recreate new farming modalities but it recreates new types of solidarity and dialogue that are likely to transform the positioning of farmers in the public debate. Moreover, it recreates a situation of test of their desire of autonomy as well as their capacity of being involved in this debate. This kind of structure, the claims it defends and what it reveals are part of an international dynamic that takes the issue of access to land and the practice of farming profession and echo back other social movements or structures such as the MST in Brazil, the Via Campesina movement, the marches of access to land in India.

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# Solidarity and Splendid Isolation

Engaging Welsh farmers on Common Agricultural Policy Reform.

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**Abstract** – This paper approaches the tensions between autonomy, independence and sovereignty as a lens through which to view farmers' responses to the current EU Common Agricultural Policy Reforms. These reforms are not only a major economic juncture in the context of the euro-zone crises, they are also a critical political event for contemporary agriculture, which highlight the fractures between different visions of food production and producer politics. Herein the paper opens out the fraught dynamics of individual priority, to problematize one-dimensional notions of independence. Empirically, the paper draws on interviews conducted with farmers across Wales, to attend to the questions of subject-orientation which can underlie, and often contradict, farmers' responses to policy change.

## INTRODUCTION

The inspiration to write for this session came from connections between the session theme and a previous paper written by one of the authors (Wynne-Jones forthcoming) informed by J.K. Gibson-Graham's (2006, 2008) project on diverse economies and 'reading for difference'. This earlier work explored the potential of reading for difference to assess the ways in which farmers enact and perform more-than-neoliberal identities and sensibilities, as a means to critique a narrow focus on neoliberal priorities and behavioural norms in government policy. Employing this approach reveals both the plurality of farmers' identities and priorities, but equally the 'slipperiness' of certain signifiers, including the notions of autonomy, sovereignty and independence that form the focus on this conference session. It is the openness within these characteristics that this paper attends to.

Applying post-structural feminist theories, Gibson-Graham encourage us to unpack the subjectivities and affective processes that lie at the heart of different political orientations and understandings. But if we acknowledge the importance of the subject, processes of subjection and bio-politics as corner-stones of political manifestation, how do we engage with sensibilities that can align with both neoliberal and counter-neoliberal priorities?

This paper considers this question in the context of the current CAP reforms, and empirical research centring on farmers' responses to the associated political and economic upheaval. In particular, it is noted that the reforms represent a critical juncture for contemporary agriculture, which highlight the fractures between different visions of food production and producer politics - from food sovereignty activists to free-market advocates. But despite the apparent polarities in these positions it is

also clear that there is much middle ground in which many farmers reside. It is within this area of connection where we open out the fraught dynamics of individual priority, and problematize one-dimensional notions of independence.

## METHODS

The discussion of this paper is informed by a series of mixed method research projects conducted by the WRO from 2011-13. These include a survey, in 2012, of 2500 farmers across Wales designed to gain their responses to CAP reform, and 30 in-depth interviews with farmers in case-study areas following-on from this. Prior to this, in 2011, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 60 farmers across Wales as part of a project to study farmers' decision making processes (WRO 2012; Wynne-Jones 2013). Quantitative analysis of the 2012 survey provides useful figures on awareness levels and a broad indication of farmers' future plans. But, for the main part, the analysis of this paper has been informed by in-depth critical engagement with the 2011 and 2012 interview data. This has involved analysis of the ways in which farmers' express and align themselves with the priorities of independence, autonomy and sovereignty; as well as drawing out the connections and tensions between farmers' personal emotional responses to CAP reform and broader political programmes.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

One of the key points to emerge from our research is that farmers feel frustrated by their dependence on the subsidies delivered through the CAP, but do not see any alternative in view of the need to keep food prices down and the cut that is taken by the supermarkets, which reduces the percentage of profit available to them.

*"Well it would be nice to manage without the subsidies, if we could live ...You know when you're out somewhere and you're talking, and people will say, 'all the farmers get subsidies, they're all right'. It's not nice hearing that is it?" (Respondent 2: October 2011)*

Here, the connections between their dependence on Single Farm Payments (SFP) and derisory discourses surrounding welfare claimants in the UK are apparent. In this vein, some farmers were even critical of others who they saw to be more dependent on subsidies, or who were not running a business as 'proper' farmers and surviving off government payments. There are also clear links here with notions of the 'good farmer' and the

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importance of cultural capital as a determining factor on farmers' behaviour (Burton 2004). In this regard, farmers' frustration with subsidies also demonstrates their desire to be independent and self-sustaining business people, which is something that civil-servants are keen to push in the context of current policy reforms and wider cuts on the availability of public monies. However, despite associations with neoliberal subjectivity, this desire to be more independent and successful business-people should not be equated with a simple endorsement of neoliberal models of production and trade. Instead, it was evident that farmers were highly critical of many aspects of the current system, particularly the power that the supermarkets hold:

*"The stranglehold the supermarkets have over the government is threatening the whole industry...the government has to be a little bit more independent ...like the referee negotiating between the two groups..."* (Respondent 13: October 2011)

Read alongside recent protests against milk-prices and wider popular critiques against retailers, it is clear that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the way that agri-food markets currently function due to the grossly uneven power differentials and monopolies highlighted here. In addition, farmers have critiqued the continued prioritisation of export-orientation in an era when food-miles and carbon-reduction are becoming an increasing priority. As such, it is evident that farmers have a number of reservations with the way in which the agri-food system operates, despite their emotional accord with many of the priorities that civil servants set-out in defence of the current model.

Further outlining some of their concerns with the current CAP subsidy system, farmers noted the inflationary impact of SFP on land prices, but also on commodities such as agricultural machinery. Here, many outlined how they had made what would otherwise be extravagant purchases as a means to avoid income-tax deductions, to highlight the perverse nature of the system. The unevenness of this false market was also stressed, as many smaller farms (the majority in Wales) do not receive a high level of SFP. As such, they have become more vulnerable through these price hikes as they have reduced purchasing power.

Farmers' desire to be independent from the impacts of these distorting 'outside influences', was a key reoccurring message throughout the interviews. Yet, contrasting their interpretations with those of civil servants and senior figures in the management of agricultural-extension provision, it was notable that this lack of control was given as a justification (by non-farmers) to focus on "improving the only thing they can", i.e. their own stock/crops. Whilst this position could be critiqued, for effectively putting farmers in the position of having to run ever faster to stay in the same place, no challenge was made to the wider factors influencing production; "we are where we are" was the response we were

presented with on several occasions when asking about the potential to restructure food processing and shorten supply-chains. In this manner, the mantra of pursuing ever greater competitiveness and improving market orientation was given as the solution to current weaknesses.

Drawing these empirical reflections together, it is clear that farmers have a strong desire for independence in their work, to the extent that it could be seen as the main underpinning orientation in their livelihoods. It is also apparent that such priorities have a complex interaction with the political discourses being put forward around the current CAP reforms. Here we are reminded of the importance of emotions in the stabilisation of behavioural and identity norms, as a means to support political-economic rationales. However, it is critical that we do not lose sight of the ambiguity around such affiliations, and avoid normalising priorities such as independence as a justification to support otherwise destructive programmes of governance. This is because, as we have shown here, independence is a varied and complex desire, which is as much associated with ambitions for autonomy and sovereignty as it is an aspiration for success and status.

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# The solution is beyond the opposition.

Breaking down the fence between conventional and organic values to secure trust and integrity

Sibylle Bui, Claire Lamine and Marianne Cerf<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Organic farming is a good candidate to analyze sociotechnical transition processes towards alternative farming systems. Our hypothesis is that mid-scale business forms can allow niches to gain enough momentum to trigger a transition process. Studying the case of a French producers' organization whose share of organic products increased from 10% to 70% in the past twenty years, we analyze how this organization succeeded in maintaining organic farming's values through upscaling and outscaling processes. Our first results highlight how intermediate-business actors can apply conventional development tools and strategies, such as vertical integration and horizontal concentration, as a strong lever for organic agriculture.**

## INTRODUCTION

Considering its failure to meet the challenges of food sovereignty and natural resources conservation, mainstream agriculture has to perform a transformation towards more sustainable approaches. As organic farming is one such approach, it is a good candidate to analyze sociotechnical transition processes towards sustainable agriculture. Transition processes towards organic farming have been analyzed at the national level in several European countries (for example: Belz, 2004; Smith, 2006). These works are mostly led in a retrospective perspective and provide information and understanding elements on the macro-level interactions of passed transition processes. But they don't inform on the different roles and functions that actors have to perform to change agricultural practices and to change the institutional context in an on-going process. This calls for a deepened understanding of the role of actors in niche-regime interactions.

Most scientists focus either on localised initiatives leading to small niche markets or, from a critical point of view, on long distribution channels unable to secure organic farming's values. The main hypothesis explored in our work is that midscale organic food chains are more likely to move from niche to volume while maintaining these values. In a multi-level perspective (Geels, 2002), this leads to this research question: how can midscale business forms allow innovation niches to gain enough momentum to trigger a transition process?

## METHOD

Our analysis is based on a French agricultural cooperative case (i.e. a marketing producers' organization) of the Drôme Valley, whose share of organic product – this organization gathers organic and non organic producers – strongly increased in the last twenty years. We combined two qualitative approaches to analyze the determinants for upscaling and outscaling processes to allow the transmission of trust and integrity values. First, we conducted a six-month ethnographic study: we participated to the cooperative General Assembly and to several broader arenas in which other actors were involved, and we interviewed the director, administrators and other members of the cooperative. The ethnographic study aimed to collect the actors' conceptions and to see how they interact, including conflicts and confrontations. Second, we analyzed the evolution of cross-participation and partnerships under a network analysis framework, on the basis of project documents and official documents of the cooperative, of the local extension services and of the local public institutions.

## THE DIFFUSION OF ORGANIC FARMING'S VALUES THROUGH UPSCALING AND OUTSCALING PROCESSES

In the interviews we led with organic farmers, organic farming appears as associated to three main values. First, it is related to the conservation of natural resources (soil fertility, water and biodiversity). Second, it is based on the farm's autonomy regarding inputs, including genetic material. For these two reasons organic farming is based on highly diversified cropping systems. Third, it calls for stronger links between production and consumption, which implies relocating food chains. It should be noted that the area under study is considered as the birthplace of organic farming in France.

The cooperative under study is a small cooperative in view of the French agricultural cooperative landscape (550 members, turnover = 2,5M€, 3500 tons of collected cereals). The share of organic products rose from 10% to 70% in the past twenty years. The cooperative started collecting organic grain in 1994, but the real take-off took place at the beginning of the 2000's. In 2008, it set a target of 100% organic production.

This target is quite unusual for such a "traditional" actor of the French agricultural sector. Our analysis shows that one key element is that there is no strong opposition between organic and conventional farmers within the cooperative. Organic farm-

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ers have been increasingly participating in the cooperative's administration board since the 90's. They were two out of 15 administrators in 1996, 8 in 2008 and 14 since 2011. The increasing number of organic farmers in the cooperative's board shows that they are considered to be representative by both their conventional and organic peers. According to the interviews, the "100% organic" target could be set because it is a long-term aim and because the cooperative demonstrated it was a viable strategy for farmers, but most of all thanks to this specific context where there is no major opposition between organic and conventional farmers. Now, let's see how this cooperative succeeded in maintaining organic farming's values through upscaling and out-scaling processes.

#### *Vertical integration*

At first, the cooperative was selling organic grain to local transformation industries (grain- and oil-mills). Organic grain production remained below 10% until a strong conversion wave occurred in the late 90's, mainly due to public incentives. In 2002, the cooperative hired a director and merged with a supply-cooperative for practical reasons: they shared the offices and most of the staff worked part-time in both structures. The director was convinced that organic agriculture was a good opportunity for the cooperative's farmers, in this specific production environment, with low yields but also low pest pressure. In 2008, he convinced the administrators to set an "100% organic" target. One key challenge to develop organic farming is to create economic opportunity for rotation crops. That's why in 2009, the cooperative invested in an organic feed-mill. Even though importing organic grain from Italy was cheaper, priority was given to local supply in order to foster the cooperative's autonomy in regards to global market. In 2012, one of its major clients, a local egg-firm, happened to be for sale. The cooperative created a holding with other local cooperatives to buy it, to maintain this outlet.

#### *Horizontal concentration*

In 2000, the cooperative created a cooperatives' union with 3 other local cooperatives, aiming at structuring the organic sector, but this union collapsed rapidly due to opposed strategic visions. In 2008, the cooperative created another cooperatives' union with 4 other neighbour cooperatives which had a very low organic production. This operation aimed at structuring and professionalizing organic grain production through pooling storage and transport capacities, human resources and technical skills. In three years, the union's organic production capacity was tripled. This allowed increasing the local share of the feed-mill supply from 10% to 60%. Today, the feed-mill supplies 95% of the local egg-firm needs. By building these alliances with other cooperatives in order to structure the organic sector, the cooperative thus also gives impetus to a re-territorialisation dynamic.

#### DISCUSSION

Our results show how an initially conventional cooperative which progressively turned to organic production managed to maintain organic farming values through outscaling and upscaling processes. Complementary results regarding its management tools, which could not be presented in this short paper, are along the same line. Although this case study is quite specific regarding the French context, in terms of cultural and production environment, it shows how economic actors can make use of conventional strategies and tools to move organic food chains from niche to volume, while maintaining integrity. At the time of writing, further field work is needed –and scheduled, to study how trust is managed along the food chain.

One key element we would like to highlight is the progressiveness of the dynamic. In the area under study, organic grain production started in the early 70's, but only found impetus in the 2000's. The hypothesis we are working on at the moment –which seems to be confirmed by the first results of the network analysis–, is that the cooperative's targets and strategies could be set because of network activities of innovation brokers in arenas at the broader regime level, gradually leading to the alignment of values among conventional and organic farmers of the cooperative.

#### CONCLUSION

Our work highlights how intermediate-business actors can utilize conventional development strategies and tools as a strong lever for organic agriculture, breaking down the fence between conventional and organic agriculture. At the time of writing, part of the analysis is still on-going. It should inform on the different roles and functions economic actors can perform to foster niche-regime interactions and to contribute to transition processes.

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# Beating the economies of scale through local food

Leo Dvortsin<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Often local and organic food producers and their supply chains face two main challenges: high logistical costs and complex distribution, and establishing lasting relations with the consumers. Conventional supply chains drive the costs down through benefits of economies of scale and have therefore a competitive advantage over the small initiatives. At the same time the conventional supermarket chains are part of a bigger food system and cannot efficiently meet changing consumer demands. This creates a window of opportunity for the local and organic food enterprises such as the Dutch Willem&Drees case study shows. In order to seize this opportunity new ways of cooperation and communications are needed. This means creation of short food supply chains that are based on inclusive social values, which allow mainstreaming of these initiatives in the conventional food system.

## INTRODUCTION

In the recent past mass-production and standardisation of food production was the hallmark of the food system. Nowadays the consumption preferences seem to change once again (Baum, 2013). The conventional Dutch food supply chains are reacting slowly to new social, demographic and economic changes. According to Wageningen University local products provide an opportunity to catch up with these changes in the Netherlands through adjustments in the value chain. Therefore products should be more readily available, the price should not be much higher than for ordinary products and there must be a good story associated with these products (Vijn, Schoutsen and van Haaster - de Winter, 2013). Willem&Drees, an initiative from central part of the Netherlands, has designed an innovative alternative food supply system in order to meet these changes. The associated food network involves 80 farmers, 15 employees working for Willem&Drees, an annual turnover of 2 million Euro and 75 supermarkets of different retail chains involved in the project. The initiative was started from a dream to deliver local food to the local supermarkets, with a convenience of one stop shop opportunity for the consumers.

The central research question and objective of this short paper is to understand how to successfully integrate and manage short food supply chains within the conventional food system? And does success work both ways?

In this case mainstreaming can be seen as a desirable process. It is defined, as either replication of idea by others; growth in scale due to a larger

output or attraction of new consumers, farmers and supermarket chains; and translation of an Willem&Drees' ideas into the conventional Dutch food system (Seyfang and Smith, 2007; Seyfang and Hazeltnine, 2012). This also means pursuing goals of the main actors within the supply chain. Such as, greater than before consumer demand for local and organic products. This requests growth from the supermarkets of this segment within their businesses. Creating and seizing opportunity for sustainable, long-term profitable expansion for Willem&Drees. Increased profitability and reintroduction of producers' independence for the farmers. And at the same time maintenance of benefits and unique character of short food supply chains through its 'soft targets' of social proximity, transparency, and reciprocity.

## METHODS

The information for this paper was collected through participant observation at Willem&Drees premises in Cothen during the period of January and February 2013 with their full knowing of being observed. All of the observations were conducted on daily basis by observing the Willem&Drees employees performing their routine jobs and assisting them in these activities. The observations recording method reflects a qualitative study approach through narrative recording and diary keeping of work mode at Willem&Drees. Therefore they may reflect author's bias and subjectivity on the matter (Kumar, 2011) even though they have been tested in practice, commencing Willem&Drees' point of view.

## RESULTS

From the conducted observations two main dilemmas, which Willem&Drees face at the moment, come forward. Firstly, there is a challenge to create a match between their short food supply chain and the retail sector. Clearly their initiative affects conventional Dutch supermarket chains but it is difficult to find the right profitability balance. Secondly, the supply of local food requires integration with the conventional wholesale system in order to beat the economies of scale of distribution. At the moment of observations the delivery underwent the following steps (fig. 1): farmer selection; aggregation; order picking and storage; distribution to the supermarkets; presentation and storytelling.

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Farmer selection is the first and most fundamental step in the success story of Willem&Drees. Without excellent farmers who were willing to escape the rat race of mass-produced bulk foods the initiative could not exist. Instead they focus on production of quality, sustainability, biodiversity, seasonality, and transparency. Furthermore the selected farmers had to be willing to integrate their farms into the supply system set up by Willem&Drees and cooperate with other farmers.

Aggregation means collection of farmers' produce directly from their farms. The harvest is brought to the logistical hub of Willem&Drees. The warehouse is located in the village of Cothen, in the middle of the Netherlands.



Figure 1. The distribution process of local food at Willem&Drees.

Storage of products and order picking also happens at the same location. After all the orders of the previous evening and the actual working day have been received and processed fresh fruits and vegetables are packed in standardized packages and labeled in accordance with the criteria used by the supermarkets. Some products are being prepackaged and labeled, as demand flows can be predicted to a certain degree. After the orders have been picked they are placed on pallets and stored for their delivery to the supermarkets.

Distribution happens through internal delivery service of four vehicles, as well as by outsourcing one part of larger orders to a professional logistics company due to the lack of ownership of big trucks. At the moment Willem&Drees distributes the orders mainly in the middle and western parts of the country. These are the most urbanized and populous areas of the Netherlands.

Presentation and storytelling occurs through different communication channels. First of all on their home page Willem&Drees present what they call their heroes: excellent farmers who are showing their product and share their visions of agriculture. Secondly the information is spread on the shop floor through flyers, stands and labels that can be easily read by consumers. Also Willem&Drees organize special dinners for interested consumers and supermarket managers on distinct locations in order to bring the different actors (including the farmers) together. And finally, Willem&Drees organize farmer markets together with the farmers in front of or inside the supermarkets, which they supply with their local products.

These steps within the short food supply chain of Willem&Drees allow local food to reach a new market and scale of growth through the process of mainstreaming. Mainly this happens through growth of more outlets, by entering new supermarkets with their products.

## INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

The main drivers of innovation are the questions how Willem&Drees can enrich the life of supermarket chains; how to keep the unique advantages of short food supply chains in the conventional system; and how to optimize the logistics and distribution model for a better service delivery within the entire Netherlands in order to meet the growing demand.

From the observed results it appears that selection of the right farmers (based on farmers' reputation among their peers and intuition of Willem&Drees employees responsible for the selection process) and storytelling are the two core competences of the initiative.

They explain the success behind the growth of Willem&Drees. Traditionally, supply chains are coordinated by price and / or power but they perform better if a more balanced approach is applied, where reciprocity, trust and fair sharing between partners are important principles. This means that the selected partnering farmers are of crucial importance in setting up a short food supply chain and further upstream cooperation. At the same time farmers that participate in these kinds of chains need special entrepreneurial skills, which they often lack. In short food supply chains it is important to be able to communicate with the consumers. Willem&Drees combines the professional strengths of farmers with the market opportunities through telling their stories both to the supermarkets, as well as to the consumers and streamlining the supply flows.

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# Volume growth in quality food firms – Lessons and reflections from Norway

Gunn-Turid Kvam and Hilde Bjørkhaug<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – A review of research on growth processes in quality food chains in Norway shows that only a few studies have focused on growth in such chains. Studies look at food businesses as the focal unit and discover many challenges for local firms with growth ambitions. The main issues seem to concern distribution and follow-up sales, where communicating qualities of products to customers is a key challenge. Other challenges observed were developing and maintaining qualities of products to gain premium priced products, the financing of growth, developing the business organisation and establishing cooperation and networks for growth.**

## INTRODUCTION

Since 1990, almost 1500 small-scale food enterprises have been established in Norway. This can be seen as the result of a proactive policy promoting diversification in rural areas, which fosters and financially supports rural entrepreneurship in the start-up stages. A focus on local, environmental, organic, traditional and other specialty qualities has also been encouraged to increase opportunities for consumer choice in national markets. Producers' reaction against industrialisation and mainstream production, as well as farmers' innovation, has been driving the process from below. Of the many small-scale food enterprises established in Norway, most are micro in size and contribute little to regional development. Therefore, the government goal is to increase the size of food firms which may increase the positive effects on value added activities and regional development. In this paper, Norwegian research on growth strategies for local food firms is reviewed. The paper reflects on challenges, risks and opportunities found in studies of volume growth in quality food chains.

## METHOD

The combination of a literature search for Norwegian studies on quality food chains and growth, analysis of survey data from speciality food enterprises and public documents and statistics was employed for this study. The search for literature focused on research on Norwegian quality food chains (e.g. organic, speciality food such as traditional, geographical branding or other value added activities) on criteria such as growth processes and strategies, challenges for growth, product development, process development, distribution, market communication activities,

organisation and network/cooperation. The survey data analysis handles issues of business growth and challenges, while public reports and statistics provide contextual policy information as well as information about volume and development over time.

## RESULTS

Results show that little research has been conducted on growth since this "industry" was established at the end of the 1990s. Most studies of local food firms are case studies where the focus is on the businesses processing the food, and farm processors are the main players that have been studied. In such studies, "organic" is seen as a quality on equal terms with other qualities that food firms emphasise, such as local food, artisanal production, traceability, and animal welfare (Kvam et al 2013, forthcoming).

In a study carried out by Magnus and Kvam (2008) about 80 per cent of local food firms wanted to grow or were in a growth phase. Most firms wanted to grow in the local and regional market, while about 20 per cent aimed for a national market. Enhanced competence in the firm's own staff and board was considered by far the most important initiative within the organisation. Producers' perceptions of the most important barriers to growth included access to financial support, access to competent staff and efficient solutions for distribution, marketing and follow-up sales (Bjørkhaug and Kvam, 2010). In 2008, nearly half of the small-scale food enterprises were involved with organic products for either all or part of their production. These firms were not essentially different from the other local food firms in the survey (Magnus and Kvam op.cit.).

Since local food firms in Norway were first established, distribution has been a challenge. There were no alternative channels to the conventional ones, and producers of local food had to distribute their products themselves (Borch and Iveland 1997). Some producer networks for distribution and sale were soon established, but most producers still distribute their own products and plan to continue this as part of a growth strategy (Kvam and Magnus 2012). Reasons for this might be that they do not see any alternative distribution channel, that they emphasise direct contact with customers, or that the alternative is perceived as too expensive (Kvam and Magnus 2012; Haugum et al 2013). Some single firms and producer networks have signed distribution agreements with Tine, the dominant dairy cooperative in Norway. Other local firms use private players offering distribution capacity. Many firms

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were not satisfied with either Tine dairy or the other distributing partners. One main concern was that the follow-up of sales was not good enough and thus the sale volumes were not satisfactory (Kvam and Magnus 2012). Other firms emphasise activities in stores and communication with employees in the fresh food department as important. In one case studied, representatives of the food chains were invited to visit the firm and discover the history behind the products. The aim of these activities is to develop what they call “ambassadors” in the stores, which they consider vital for sales of this type of product. To reduce the costs of following up sales, they have partnered with three other firms in sales follow-up, so that qualities can be created more efficiently at lower cost (Kvam and Magnus 2012). Sales follow-up demands substantial resources, and smaller firms are usually not in a position to manage this function on their own.

Another result is that networks increase when firms grow, especially cooperation in distribution and sales. Research on producer’s networks established for such cooperation however shows that these networks are challenging to establish and run. Challenges are connected to organising the network, establishing economically sustainable networks and accomplishing the sale follow-up in a satisfactory way for members (Kvam and Magnus 2012; Kvam and Rønning 2012).

We clearly see that in some cases the growth processes will cause the production to become more similar to industrialised production, with a greater focus on efficiency as well as on more “objective” and measurable product qualities. Two businesses studied have not managed to distinguish their products from the conventional ones, and customers are not willing to pay a premium price for their products. Two more successful ones have been aware of retaining the food artisanship in production processes, which has been important for maintaining distinctiveness and a premium price (Kvam et al 2013 forthcoming). Some firms lack knowledge about the qualities for which consumers are willing to pay premium prices. They have invested a great deal of money in certification processes, processes for traceability, research projects to verify connections between the local circumstances and food, etc. to secure a premium price, but in many cases these efforts did not have any effect on price. According to organic production, research indicates that the additional quality obtained from buying organic products in Norway is not large enough or clear enough to the public, probably because conventional farming is perceived as clean and safe. Therefore organic producers of quality food also emphasise product qualities other than organic production in their marketing (Kvam and Magnus 2012).

There is a diversity of strategic options to choose for growth. The case studies conducted show that the national grocery market is the market that firms wishing to grow substantially focus on. This is also the most challenging market, because of the huge

competition, demands placed on producers for selling products and challenges in communicating product qualities. Another firm’s growth has been based on the regional institutional catering market and regional restaurants. These markets are not as challenging as a national grocery market, and may provide a good option for firms with lower ambitions and resources.

## CONCLUSIONS

Several success factors for growth have been identified in Norwegian research on growth in local food firms. They include a competent management team with a broad network, the ability to cooperate, a competent board, distinctive products, regular and goal-oriented contact with customers and consumers for communicating qualities and feedback, good solutions for distribution and for financing growth, and choice of the “right” market segment for growth according to the firm’s ambitions and resources.

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# Value based supply chains to meet the expectations of organic consumers

## A case study from Austria

Markus Schermer and Christoph Furtschegger<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – This contribution revisits the results of a case study conducted in 2009, eliciting quality aspects within a midscale-value based supply chain. Its main objective is to show how organic values can be combined with new forms of relationships in enlarged regional food supply chains beyond direct marketing. Actors along the supply chain employ similar quality argumentations and a similar understanding of fairness and social sustainability. Moreover their perceptions comply to a large extend with the expectations of consumers. Regional embeddedness and spatial proximity is a key element to achieve this synergy.**

### INTRODUCTION

For about thirty years, the global food chain has bifurcated into agricultural industrialization with “food from nowhere” on the one hand, and regional and value oriented “food from somewhere” (Mc Michael, 2009) on the other. These global trends are mirrored within the organic sector development, which was originally trying to focus rather on quality aspects combining a set of features, (i.e. small scale, animal welfare, regionality etc.). Direct and local marketing initiatives with low volumes but high consumer trust are juxtaposed to organic bulk products in large retailer chains, characterised by globalisation, conventionalisation and growing anonymity in production.

Midscale value based supply chains are proposed as a way out of this development. According to Stevenson et al. (2011) they handle substantial volumes of high quality differentiated products, involve a number of producers and associate values not only with their products, but with their relationships along the supply chain.

The case study focuses on dairy supply chains of the organic producer co-operative Bioalpin, which operates their own brand “BIO vom BERG” in the dominating regional (family owned) supermarket chain (MPreis) in the Tyrol (Austria). The cooperative was established in 2002 and assembles 40 organic farmers and small scale processing units (e.g. local dairies, bakers and butchers). About 500 farms

within the region are involved as suppliers. The brand has been very successful and growing steadily over the last 10 years.

The investigations combine two perspectives of the supply chain. The first one (Schermer et al., 2010) identifies the different perceptions of quality along the supply chain in general, adding value to the production. The second one (Steinlechner and Schermer, 2010) focuses on how the different actors along the supply chain relate to factors of fairness and social sustainability. Finally the view of the consumers completes the picture.

### METHODOLOGY

The case study involved a qualitative investigation by semi-structured interviews of 16 actors along the supply chain and a focus group discussion with organic consumers. The interview partners were farmers (5x), dairy processors (5x) representatives of the marketing cooperation Bioalpin (4x) and representatives of the retailer (2x). The focus group discussion included nine consumers (five women and four men). All interviews as well as the focus group discussion were transcribed verbatim and then analysed by using qualitative content analysis method. All investigations were conducted in 2009.

### RESULTS

Concerning perceptions of quality, the farmers, the processing managers as well as the representatives of the marketing cooperative Bioalpin and the retailers, unanimously mentioned the same points as characteristics of mountain and organic quality products. Consistently they related quality to the origin of raw materials - as far as possible - from the local mountain region and highlighted the unique composition of the fodder (i.e. silage free, less concentrated feed, composition of plant species etc.). They perceived this as a base for further transformation, which further enhances quality by the small scale structure of the processing units and their traditional artisanal methods. Other quality criteria that were named by several actors refer to animal welfare, short transportation chains or the specific taste. Especially in the experience of the retailer this is a crucial indicator because consumers evaluate and connect quality largely to the taste of a product.

Actors were also asked about the relationship to their partners. They emphasized the importance of

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amicable and friendly partnerships and a functioning communication between supply chain actors.

Besides, the representative of the retailer explained in detail how new products were developed in a joint process, which can be understood as a sign of cooperation which exceeds usual business relations.

Regarding the expectations of the different actors into the concepts of fairness and social sustainability, farmers and processors listed social recognition via direct feedback, personal development and the ability to earn a living as decisive factors. The importance of society's appreciation of their high-quality organic and silage free milk was considered being an important social criterion regarding satisfaction with work. Additionally, as farmers are members in the small dairy cooperative, they also feel a certain kind of co-ownership.

The retailers pointed out the regional provenance of dairy products as an important factor. As a result, the added value remains in the province and jobs are secured. This interpretation of fairness reflects the supermarket chain's efforts to establish itself as the largest supplier of regional products in the Tyrol.

The issue of fair prices came up as an indicator, not only for farmers but also for the cooperative managers. As selling regional products implies the willingness of consumers to buy them, prices for dairy products have to be orientated towards the market price. This implies that the price demands of the suppliers have to be reasonable. The price negotiations between the cooperative and the retailer were described by both sides as consensual and fair.

The issue of communication was raised by the marketing cooperative and the retailer, both of them classifying personal relationships and open communication in the fairness concept. Moreover for both of them short transportation chains and transparency among the actors are central points, linked to social sustainability.

Additionally, the study also included a focus group discussion with consumers to make out their perceptions and expectations with regard to social values. However, the focus group discussion did not specifically refer to "BIO vom BERG", but rather to a general supply chain for organic dairy products.

Consumers mentioned affordability and availability of organic dairy products as one aspect of fairness. They appreciate the fact that organic products are no longer reserved to well-to-do persons and are available in most supermarkets in Austria. Additionally, labels assure that dairy products are produced and processed with GMO-free and organic ingredients.

There was a general consensus that farmers currently do not receive fair prices for their products. Some participants agreed to pay higher prices, but associated this willingness with regional provenance, high quality, specifically GMO-free production and organic origin as minimum quality standards. Others demand fresh milk (no 'extended shelf life' milk) and silage free milk. Furthermore the consumers re-

quested that retailers and processors hand on the price premium to farmers without any deductions.

#### CONCLUSION

Strikingly enough, all actors along the supply chain emphasised the same quality characteristics, referring to traditional practices and breeds, silage and GMO renunciation etc. Furthermore, the relationship between the different actors seemed to be exceptionally amicable and on an equal basis.

The results exhibit a high consensus between the expectations of the consumers and the ability of the case study initiative to comply with them, when providing high quality organic products in the supermarket without compromising fairness and social sustainability.

In the case study presented, regional embeddedness appears to provide the key to achieve the goals of midscale value based supply chains. It successfully allows adding value to the product and maintaining respectful and fair relationships along the supply chain.

Regional embeddedness and proximity allow frequent personal communication, interaction and feedback between actors on different levels of the supply chain. Personal relations of trust lead to collectively shared perceptions of factors that are decisive for high product quality. A mutual respect and appreciation is finally a precondition for an equal distribution of added value and profit.

Additionally, the results indicate, that a collectively shared conception of quality is a precondition for long term growth and success. After all, the success of the supply chain depends on the degree of ownership that farmers feel over the final product in the supermarket shelf. Furthermore this identification is necessary for the willingness to produce, promote and sell a high quality organic product. This can be seen as a precondition for the success of regional marketing cooperatives such as "BIO vom BERG".

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# The Emergence and Development of Organic Agriculture in a Rural Region of Switzerland

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**Abstract** – With the emergence of organic agriculture, in which demand can be the same from place to place, the dynamic of local systems can be very different and influence the growth of organic production. In local systems of knowledge, which include the market and the social surroundings, the complex social interactions between farmers, extension officers, researchers, retailers, and consumers can create synergies or blockages for the emergence of organic agriculture in the network of actors surrounding farmers. This study identifies and analyzes the stakeholder network of the organic sector in the Canton of Grisons, a mountainous region of Switzerland. Social networks analysis (SNA) is used to investigate the causes of a significantly high rate of organic agriculture in this region (54% in January 2013). SNA is a method that facilitates the identification of dynamics between stakeholders and reveals the most influential actors in the emergence of a network that positively supports the development of organic agriculture.

## INTRODUCTION

### *Organic agriculture in Switzerland*

Organic agriculture in Switzerland started as early as the nineteen-thirties with pioneers giving courses and developing individual ecological cultivation practices (Aeberhard and Rist, 2009). In the seventies, organic agriculture was still being diminished for its lack of scientific fundament; but in 1974, the Research Institute for Organic Agriculture (FiBL) was funded on a private basis. In 1980, guidelines and a common label (the bud, registered as a trademark) were created, followed by the establishment of the Association of Swiss Organic Farmers (Bio Suisse) and market development by the two leading retailers. Thereafter, the adoption of organic guidelines by farmers increased regularly as they became more motivated by financial incentives in the form of federal direct payments. The proportion of organic farms reached a rate of 11.3% in the country in 2012 (organic agricultural area 11.6%).

### *Factors influencing the adoption of organic farming*

The early development of the organic sector in Switzerland has been explained particularly by the development of market demand. Indeed, the development of a niche for organic products in the market during the nineties accompanied an increase in the adoption rate. Beside economic incentives, farmers' motivations and interactions in the institutional net-

works supporting them were mentioned by several authors as important factors in the development of organic production. Moschitz and Stolze (2009) found that the network configuration of agricultural institutions was influenced by political environment and the resources allocated, and that the position and influence of the agricultural ministry and the organic farmers' organization in the network was crucial.

Padel (2001) used the adoption model to explain the diffusion of organic innovation. Organic farming is first adopted by groups of innovators, who are adventurous and not risk-adverse, then by early adopters, and finally by the majority, which needs additional motivations such as the influence of their neighbors or market incentives. Personal motivations of farmers to convert to organic agriculture were studied in Switzerland in a survey by Ferjani et al. (2010). The farmers' main reasons for changing to organic were "ecological conviction," followed by "animal well-being," and "personal conception of the domain".

### *Case study: canton of Grisons*

In Switzerland, a particular case was noted in the canton of Grisons, an eastern mountainous region, which has been counting a rate of organic farms around 55% since 2005. This canton with the largest surface in Switzerland counts 22% of all Swiss organic farmers. Other mountain regions show much lower rates: the cantons of Wallis and Uri count 9.6 and 9.4% of organic farms, respectively (Bio Suisse, 2013).

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question of this study addresses the configuration of the local system surrounding farmers and how it made it possible to reach such a high rate of organic farming in the precise region of the Canton of Grisons. We are particularly interested to know if this achievement can be traced to particular people or organizations that were especially successful in triggering innovation and change.

## METHOD

To get an image of the relationships between actors in the study region over time, we used the method of social network analysis (SNA) (Scott, 2004). The first step consists of the identification of an open-ended list of actors from the agricultural sector in the region, through documents research and semi-

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guided interviews with experts. A questionnaire, sent to the list of actors, aims first at collecting relational data for the SNA. The collection of relational data concerned the exchange of information between actors, their collaboration and the financial exchanges. Each time, actors had to answer questions about these relations during three time frames corresponding to key periods of the organic agriculture development in the area. In addition, they also had to select the most influential actors in the three time frames, which allowed the computing of the reputational score of each actor and understanding who played a major role during those time frames. Furthermore, the computation of relational data will provide centrality scores of actors (the number of connections of an actor) and density of networks, which is the proportion of links present in the network (Scott, 2004).

In the second part of the questionnaire, qualitative questions aim to characterize actors and their motivations for organic farming. This data will help us understand the diffusion of organic agriculture and the interactions between actors. The in-depth analysis of this set of data will be conducted in the second part of our study.

#### FIRST RESULTS

So far, the analysis of the qualitative answers shows that the Cantonal Office for Agriculture and the public extension service played an important role in the beginning of the diffusion of organic agriculture in the Canton of Grisons (1991–1992). Both of them had the commitment of individual actors, essential for the success of the initiative. These key-innovative agents recognized that producing organically could be an advantage of location, because many farmers were cultivating close to nature already before getting certified with the organic “bud” of Bio Suisse. The cheese dairies were crucial players as well. Because some of them decided to process organic milk only, the corresponding valleys converted to organic farming. There were also pioneers of organic farming in the canton of Grisons who loved the idea of organic farming and tried to make the philosophy understandable to other farmers. They acted as social vectors in motivating their peers.

The economic success of the organic initiative was, according to the respondents of the questionnaire, mainly due to the interest and action of one of the two large Swiss retailers, as Coop collaborated directly with the producers and processors and ensured profitable sale channels for organic food as early as in the nineties.

Interestingly, several actors quoted the same three factors as being essential for the triggering of the organic movement in the canton of Grisons:

1. Farmers were already producing in an ecological way so organic standards did not represent a big change.
2. The extension service reacted quickly and gave tailored advice.
3. Farmers in the region are said to be open-minded and market-oriented and seized the market opening offered by Coop.

Naturally, the pioneers and early adopters also faced difficulties. Not everyone in the canton was in favor of organic agriculture and not all producers were as economically successful as expected. The agricultural school started specific training of organic farmers only recently and the local farmers' association avoided collaboration with the organic farmers' association “Bio Grischun” for many years.

The quantitative social network analysis will represent the above-described observations into networks with quantifiable measures and show the different synergies and blockages among actors in a visual form. Furthermore, it should show which actors were or are in a central position within the network of organic agriculture in the Canton of Grisons and how they exchanged information with other actors. Financial flows will be analysed and the degree of influence of different actors over time will be identified in a second step.

#### OUTLOOK

In conclusion, three major drivers seem important for the development of organic produce supply. First, a market opening for the produce is essential for its outflow, as happened in Grisons with the initiative of Coop. Second, financial incentives help to motivate farmers to convert their techniques, as it was also promoted by direct payments in Switzerland. The third essential factor that contributed to the strong development of organic agriculture in the canton was the dynamic local system of knowledge and committed central actors surrounding farmers.

The actors are well aware of the two first factors as they responded that their aim is not to increase organic farming infinitely but rather to increase the added-value generated within the canton. Extension officers try to give incentives to convert to organic farming to farmers only as long as demand is rising and sales channels available for organic products.

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# Social sustainability in agriculture: Insights into the Sustainability Standard of the German Agricultural Society (DLG) as a part of the EU project SOLINSA

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**Abstract** – Economic and ecological sustainability are two major concerns accompanying farmers in their daily work. Social sustainability, in comparison, is normally not seen as equally important and thus, rather neglected in practice. Although there exists a broad variety of (international) standards or tools for measuring social sustainability, there remain open questions: Which are adequate indicators to measure social sustainability and how can acceptance among farmers be increased? The DLG Sustainability Standard was developed as a management tool "from farmers for farmers" to measure ecological, economic and social sustainability and by this, contributes to sustainable farm improvement. Important in this context is that each of these three pillars is weighted equally. The paper highlights the social pillar of this standard by showing relevant indicators for measuring social sustainability as well as their limitations. This information was obtained in the context of the triennial EU-research project SOLINSA (Support of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture).

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Since publication of the commonly known Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987), the term sustainability and its continuum of definitions ties together ecological, economical and social components. However, the practical implementation of this inherent feature - its inseparability and interconnectedness - often seems to take a backseat. Hence, it is not surprising, that integration of social aspects into the assessment of agricultural systems has only recently gained increased interest. Social aspects have, nevertheless, always played a vital part for agricultural society, as can be seen from experiences made from structural change in agriculture. Thus, the potential to shape working and living conditions as well as the embedment into the social environment was decisive for the development and stability of farms. Today, with modern agricultures' requirements for sound education, high and complex demands on agricultural workforce, the need to adapt agricultural measures in a rapidly changing environment etc., it is equally

crucial for agricultural enterprises and farm managers to develop a satisfactory social environment (Zapf et al., 2009b). Referring to the metaphor of the so-called three-pillar model of sustainability primarily advocated in the international sustainability discourse (Littig & Grießler, 2005), a systematic assessment of agricultural practices under the perspective of social sustainability and its continuous alignment with changing social conditions would therefore be as necessary as the consideration of ecological and economic sustainability. The DLG Sustainability Standard is a management tool "from farmers for farmers" and puts social concerns into perspective of the experienced social reality of respective farms.

## AIM OF THE PAPER, PROJECT AND PROJECT PARTNER

Aim of the paper is to give insights into the DLG Sustainability Standard highlighting the standards' component "social sustainability". It will be described exemplarily how social sustainability is being measured and what the first experiences are with the Standard. This should help to detect room for improvement. The paper is based on the experiences of a research-practice cooperation ongoing since end of 2011. The results were obtained in the context of the EU SOLINSA project (funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the EU). Aim of the project is to observe in agricultural networks, how innovations evolve and develop over time (Brunori et al., 2013). The German DLG is one of these observed networks and its Sustainability Standard is considered to be an innovation for the agricultural sector.

## METHODOLOGY

Data in this project was generated through personal qualitative interviews with DLG representatives and farmers applying the DLG Sustainability Standard, as well as by observations of meetings, conferences and seminars about sustainability arranged by the DLG. This was supplemented by meeting minutes, handouts and literature. As most interviews, especially with farmers, are still in progress, this paper only refers to preliminary results. The final results will be presented, among others, in the M.Sc. Thesis of the co-author.

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#### SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AS PART OF THE DLG SUSTAINABILITY STANDARD

The social pillar of the DLG Sustainability Standard comprises seven indicators. They are evaluated on the basis of a questionnaire which has to be filled out by the farm manager. Where possible and feasible, this self-reported information is supplemented with proof through respective documents. Most of the indicators – except corporate citizenship – are related to work-related conditions, to which farm employees are exposed to in their daily routine. The intention of the DLG, with regard to the evaluation indicators concerning working conditions, is to gear the calculation thereof in favour of those individuals or groups with a tendency to be a weaker link in farms (e.g., lower education and payment level). This means the threshold level for sustainability for an indicator (0.75) would be achieved if even the lowest value, rather than an average of the whole farm, has proved to be satisfactory. The various indicators are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** The DLG indicators to measure social sustainability

Indicator	Quantifiable farm data for analysis
Leave days	<i>Days/year</i>
Workload	<i>Hours/week</i>
Occupational safety and health	<i>Compliance with current safety regulations</i>
Employee participation	<i>Support of employee participation measures</i>
Remuneration of labour	<i>Employee salary (% of standard)</i>
Advanced training	<i>Employees participating (%)</i>
Corporate citizenship	<i>Social and regional commitment, public relations</i>

The indicator "leave days" serves as example described in this paper. It is expressed through days/year of absence from work in order to respect the need for rest and sustained health of workforce. It draws upon relevant legislation for leave entitlement. Groups of special concern (youth, disabled) are represented too through related national regulations. Data is provided by the farm manager for each of the on-farm employees, with retrospective information on the number of actual leave days within the last three years. An evaluation of 0.5 points is given for the legal minimum of 20 leave days, the threshold for sustainability is 22 leave days or above.

#### EXPERIENCES WITH THE STANDARD

From a DLG point of view, the organisation followed, as first and only one in Germany, the approach to include social sustainability from a farmers' perspective. Long discussions among the members of the DLG Working Group for Sustainability resulted in the selection of 7 measurable indicators. Nevertheless, much more desired indicators had to be left out because of immeasurability. The fact, that the evaluation happens on a template which has to be filled

out by the farm manager, leaves insecurity about the correctness of the data on social sustainability. From a farmers' point of view, there exists general satisfaction with the social component of the standard, as complying with the indicators is not perceived problematic because for most of the farm managers, good personnel management is anyway one key to success. Merely the indicator "corporate citizenship" is seen critically, as farmers complain about the continuously increasing social requirements considering agriculture.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The DLG as well as farmers seem to be satisfied with the inclusion of a social component into sustainability measurement. Nevertheless, measuring social sustainability is very difficult, as not all desired indicators can be included because of immeasurability. A further joint development of the social component could lead to a more profound analysis. The fact that the evaluation is based on data given by farm managers leaves room for speculation on the validity of the results. Including farm employees in evaluation (as they are affected by most indicators) could increase correctness in measurement and generate more trust in the standards' social pillar.

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# Assessing the contribution of agri-environmental collaboratives to sustainable landscape management

Katrin Prager<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper focuses on groups of farmers that voluntarily form agri-environmental collaboratives and their activities in the sustainable management of their farms and the wider landscape. These groups implement conservation activities on farmland, deliver environmental education, promote regional identity, and much more. Social sustainability is not perceived as a concept that can be measured in isolation but instead is intertwined with the full range of activities that farmers are involved in. The majority of groups already measure and record several indicators that can be linked to social sustainability but it is debatable whether these are appropriate indicators. Social sustainability appears to be easier to capture in descriptive, non-numerical indicators.

## INTRODUCTION

Rural landscapes are managed by both individuals and collaboratives. In order to investigate social sustainability of landscape management, it is preferable to take a group of land managers as the unit of analysis instead of investigating individuals' social sustainability because the concept of social sustainability implies the interaction and mutual benefit among a larger set of people. Farmers and other land managers that voluntarily form agri-environmental collaboratives are one type of such a collaborative. This paper reports on a study that set out to assess the activities of such collaboratives and how they contribute to the sustainable management of their farms and the wider landscape (Prager 2013). The population investigated covered the approximately 150 *Landschaftspflegeverbände* (LPV) in Germany, as well as the 150 *Agrarische Natuurverenigingen* (ANV) and 12 provincial *Landschapsbeheer* organisations in the Netherlands.

## METHODS AND DATA

Sustainability is commonly conceptualised as having three dimensions; an environmental, economic and social dimension (cf. European Landscape Convention). This study takes the approach that social sustainability should not only be measured by external experts but involve those who are concerned which is in line with a bottom up methodological paradigm (Bell and Morse 2001). Before embarking on measuring actual 'levels of social sustainability' it is im-

portant to agree on which indicators are suitable. Therefore, this study investigated how widespread the use of indicators is among the groups.

An online survey explored group members' perceptions of their contribution to the three dimensions of sustainability in general, as well as the indicators used to assess this contribution. The survey was complemented with data collected in interviews with 23 key informants and 22 members of agri-environmental collaboratives in Germany and the Netherlands between August 2010 and October 2011. The combination of the group members' perspective with the key informants' perspective allowed for a more balanced representation.

## RESULTS

The interviews had highlighted that it is difficult for practitioners to relate their activities to the conceptualisation of sustainability with its three dimensions. Therefore, examples for each dimension were provided in the questionnaire. Examples given for the social dimension were "cultural heritage, regional identity, social cohesion, accountable governance, education". The contribution to the social dimension is assessed as lower than to the environmental dimension but there are differences between countries (Fig. 1). The social dimension is rarely the *main* area of contribution for groups (7% of German groups and 4% of Dutch groups).

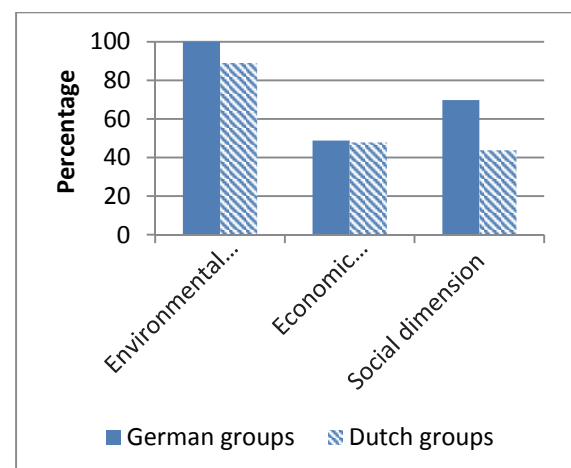


Figure 1. The percentage of agri-environmental groups who reported they contributed to different dimensions of sustainable landscape management (n=116, 43 German, 73 Dutch).

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In addition to this general assessment of sustainability contributions, the groups were asked to choose from a total of 41 indicators to indicate those they commonly use (i.e. measure and record). I derived these indicators from the types of activities groups were involved in. The top 12 indicators represent those indicators used by approximately 2/3 of groups but their ranking differed between German and Dutch groups. Several of the top 12 relate to social sustainability:

- Favourable feedback on our work from government authorities/ municipality/ mayor;
- Number of events to involve the public;
- Favourable feedback on our work from citizens;
- Number of projects jointly implemented with an authority;
- Members/ citizens that say they gained (e.g. knowledge) through involvement with group;
- Number of farmers involved in a joint application or project.

Other indicators that can be interpreted to describe the social sustainability are used by 25-50% of groups. These include 'Number of awareness raising activities'; 'Number of volunteers we regularly work with'; and 'Number of projects jointly implemented with an authority'.

Most groups keep track of how many members they have. We could argue that larger groups have a 'higher' social sustainability because it implies more social capital and larger networks. However, it could also just be a number on paper if most of the members are inactive. Similarly, 'Number of maps/ publications produced and distributed' can be an indicator for close collaboration between group members and other actors in their area (e.g. tourist boards, restaurants, farm shops) which supports social sustainability, or merely the result of a few phone calls by one office-based project manager.

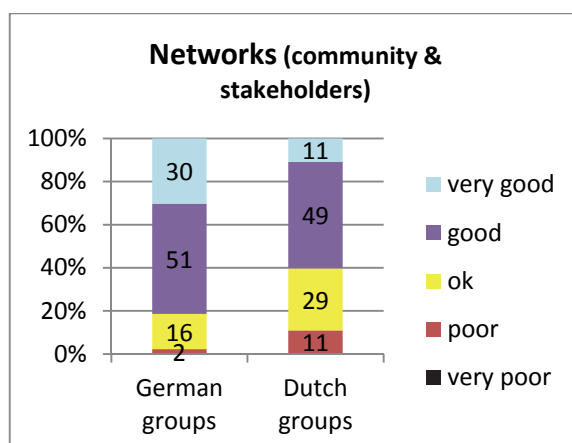


Figure 2. Assessment of networks within the community and with other stakeholders (n=116, 43 German, 73 Dutch groups).

The study shows to what extent groups currently measure indicators that we can link to social sustainability. This should inform any larger cross-country study on social sustainability because it

points to indicators that groups would find easy to gather data on. Reed et al. (2006) emphasise 'ease of use' as important for sustainability indicators. Groups tend to monitor the impact of the activities that are important to them and report them in ways that address their members' needs (Prager 2013).

Social sustainability could also be interpreted to refer to a group's resilience. The study investigated this by asking group members for their assessment of the group's health, their needs and the factors limiting their work. For example, 80% of German groups but only 60% of Dutch groups assessed their networks with communities and stakeholders as good or very good by (Fig. 2).

### CONCLUSIONS

This study highlighted some of the difficulties in assessing social sustainability related to 1) choosing the unit of analysis, 2) the fact that social sustainability cannot easily be translated into quantitative indicators, and 3) the different possible interpretations and understandings of selected indicators.

Social sustainability is not perceived as a concept that can be measured in isolation but instead is intertwined with the full range of activities that farmers are involved in. The majority of groups already use several social sustainability indicators but their usefulness depends on how social sustainability is defined and how an indicator is interpreted. A balance is required between objectivity criteria and ease of use criteria (Reed et al., 2006).

A study of social sustainability needs to triangulate methods, e.g. a survey needs the explicatory strength of qualitative interviews to 'make sense' of the data and enrich it with participants' understandings and interpretations. An unresolved issue is the trade-off between scales: Ideally one community would work to set goals, select indicators and then assess their (social) sustainability. But how can these assessments then be compared between communities if they have chosen different indicators, or aggregated at a larger scale?

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Networking Community-Engaged Scholarship: The European Experience

Anna Augustyn<sup>1</sup> and Gusztav Nemes<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper intends to raise discussion on the concept of community-engaged scholarship with special regard to networking between rural researchers and community development actors. We present some results of an Open Discussion workshop held at the 2013 ENRD LEADER Event in Brussels, organised for representatives of Local Action Groups (LAGs) and other stakeholders to provide quality input for the current programming of the new EU rural development policy. Our particular workshop was dedicated to identification of how researchers can support the work of LEADER LAGs and how they could do this more efficiently in the future under the new era of Community-Led Local Development (CLLD).

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of engaged scholarship is not a novelty in academic debates and can be practiced in diverse forms. Along with various disciplines and discourses, contrasted with the non-applied research, it periodically becomes an object of intensified efforts appealing to actors from academy and practice. Thus far, in the times of growing socio-economic vulnerability that affects European rural communities, it could offer promising solutions to overcome difficulties.

Boyer (1996), taking a critical view on academia, suggests to reconsider models of scholarship and promotes scholarship of engagement. In his view, the focus of scholarly activity should not be limited to an established academic merit through publishing papers and achieving academic titles, but it should also embrace a more dynamic role of researchers in certain communities and action. Thus, the scholarship of engagement is an approach linking theory to practice, that should benefit both researchers and 'real' stakeholders.

A parallel concept, the action research tradition, offers complementary assumptions (Lewin, 1964; Fals Borda, 1981; Freire, 2006). Action research advocates iterative processes in knowledge creation and learning, and greatly supports the involvement of diverse actors as co-researchers, thus turning the overall research process into a more emancipatory and participatory exercise. In our paper, we explore community-engaged scholarship (CES) through these lenses and try to outline some of its characteristics in the European rural development context.

## METHODS APPLIED

This paper presents preliminary results of an initiative in progress, aimed at stimulating discussions on engaged scholarship in the European rural development arena, as well as enhancing networking and mutual learning among stakeholders from various countries. The first step towards this was a screening of LEADER-related programme documents and ENRD analyses, and based on this – a dedicated workshop carried out during the annual 'LEADER event', gathering around 500 people in Brussels. Under the title 'Research & Local Development', the workshop brought together representatives of Local Action Groups (LEADER), National Rural Networks, Rural Development Programmes' Managing Authorities and researchers. The authors of the this paper facilitated the workshop and elaborated a brief summary (Nemes & Augustyn, 2013).

Our objective was to explore narratives of participants' experience in collaborative work as researchers and rural development practitioners. Yet, we also tried to explore, in a qualitative and participatory manner, what practical examples (*Success Stories*) can be found in our topic across the EU. Through various ways of 'brainstorming' we tried to capture existing research needs, possible forms of research activities, and issues occurring. Finally, proposals were jointly elaborated on possible ways forward, including references to the future Community-Led Local Development – the new EU policy framework.

## RESEARCH & LOCAL DEVELOPMENT:

### SUCCESS STORIES

Participants began exchange with discussion about their experiences in actual projects or initiatives that link researchers and practitioners under the LEADER 'umbrella'. This led to the identification of 7 *Success Stories*, pointing on varied practices in the following countries: Austria, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Spain and United Kingdom. As it turned out, research has been employed to address specific programming concerns of LEADER, such as methodologies for elaboration of Local Development Strategies (Poland, Spain) or impact assessment (Ireland), as well as broader topics of concern (governance models in Portugal, resilience in UK, learning and innovation networks in Hungary). In one of the countries (Austria), a systemic approach was observed – an intention to 'mainstream' research in the general LAG practice in the post-2013 EU programming period.

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We concluded that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to what research methodologies and tools can be applied in this context. They involve both qualitative and quantitative surveying, mixed methods, and – increasingly – participatory research.

#### COLLABORATION OF RESEARCHERS & PRACTITIONERS: KEY ISSUES TO CONSIDER

According to stakeholders, research can add significant value to rural development, however, there are barriers to success.

If looking at attitudes towards collaboration as dyadic relationships (Forthofer et al., 2010), the potential success of CES is influenced by the institutional embeddedness of researchers. The practitioners may perceive researchers either as individuals or institutional representatives (e.g. from universities, formal networks), or associate with a certain project framework. The workshop revealed that researchers often approach communities to carry out their academic investigations regardless actual needs of respondents and that this networking tends to be rather informal. In such cases research results are rarely fed back to the surveyed community, thus their applicability outside scholarly environment weakens. On the other hand, a more institutionalised framework – such as a project, including enhanced communication and facilitation between networks and research needs as dyadic counterparts – can greatly enhance the practical applicability of research findings.

As our workshop revealed, participatory research has a potential to bridge the communication gap between researchers and practitioners. Organising research as a project may also increase engagement and commitment of stakeholders. Insofar, however, European experience with action oriented networking of rural development research seems to be rather weak. According to our workshop results, LAGs mostly rely on personal connections with researchers and service outsourcing (e.g. tenders), and lack organised networks to help their work.

LAGs would need help for example with baseline studies on socio-economic circumstances, methodological support (e.g. SWOT analysis in Local Development Strategies), qualitative and quantitative surveying, market research or thematic investigations focused on rural heritage and tourism. In addition, researchers with animation skills (e.g. facilitation, community development, or an ability to look 'out of the box' on local matters) are also welcome. Another possible area of support could be evaluation. Stakeholders stressed here the contrasting evaluation needs at the central (Managing Authority) and local (LAG) levels. While the first aims mainly at political legitimisation of the policy through collecting quantitative data, the latter would need a more qualitative approach, directed at and self-evaluation, learning and improvement of the delivery of Local Development Strategies.

According to our workshop results, participatory and action research methodologies are often considered as experimental and many researchers lack experi-

ence or capacity in their application. At the same time, applied research has a marginal status within academia, and its popularity is constrained by the criteria of scholarly merit, based on an established hierarchic tenure process. Also, rural development research rarely has a high priority for donors. Preference is normally given to investigations on urban-biased topics or, as in the case of public extension, simply on agriculture. Thus, both, financial and human resources are scarce for applied research in rural development.

#### WAYS FORWARD

Intended as 'research in the making', our workshop explored potential solutions to overcome barriers associated with collaboration between researchers and practitioners. Issues were raised concerning more capacity building efforts in academia, enhancing networking between actors and increasing rural development research funding or integrating it with other financial mechanisms (e.g. under the CLLD). The dissemination of research results should also be reconsidered. Besides academic papers, CES should embark on other forms of dissemination (videos, social media, etc.), expanding application of research results to non-academic community. The capacities could be also built by creating a European network of faculties offering a knowledge-base and regular exchange between researchers and practitioners in rural development, and training young researchers.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to thank all participants of the workshop, as well as the European Commission and the European Network for Rural Development for providing us facilities to host it in Brussels. This paper cannot be, however, interpreted as an official position of these institutions.

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# Altering the evaluation design for rural policies – from standardization towards social innovation

Thomas Dax, Theresia Oedl-Wieser and Wibke Strahl-Naderer<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Integrating a larger set of instruments into Rural Development Programmes implied an increasing focus on monitoring and evaluation. Against the highly diversified experience with regard to implementation of policy instruments the Common Monitoring and Evaluation Framework has been set up by the EU Commission as a strategic and streamlined method of evaluating programmes' impacts. Its indicator-based approach mainly reflects the concept of a linear, measure-based intervention logic that falls short of the true nature of RDP operation and impact capacity on rural changes. Besides the different phases of the policy process, i.e. policy design, delivery and evaluation, the regional context with its specific set of challenges and opportunities seems critical to the understanding and improvement of programme performance. In particular the role of local actors can hardly be grasped by quantitative indicators alone, but has to be addressed by assessing processes of social innovation. This shift in the evaluation focus underpins the need to take account of regional implementation specificities and processes of social innovation as decisive elements for programme performance.**

## INTRODUCTION

Starting from Structural Funds reform in 1988 the programming approach of regional policy in the EU gained relevance. This implied an increased concern for evaluation issues which led to a tremendous challenge for regional policy and accountability of programmes in all EC countries. This was also particularly true for Austria as a new entrant where EC regional support for rural regions provided considerable momentum for rural development and incentives for programme evaluation. With the first experiences of evaluations of Structural Funds in many countries in the 1990s the need for a stronger theoretical base and practical guidelines for evaluations increased. The MEANS programme (Methods for Evaluating Structural Policies) concentrated on specific objectives to prepare tools for improved evaluations of Community Programmes at that time (EC DG Regio, 1999).

Applying the findings from the MEANS activity the indicator-based approach of the Common Monitoring and Evaluation Framework (CMEF) was developed since Agenda 2000. It mainly reflects the concept of

a linear, measure-based intervention logic that falls short of the true nature of Rural Development Programme (RDP) operation and impact capacity on rural changes (RuDI, 2010).

In this paper the results of different studies (see section methods) targeted at evaluation issues of rural development will be presented. The experiences of EU countries summarized in these studies point to the extension of evaluation considerations, a stronger focus on communicating evaluation potential and the need for a stronger involvement of local actors also in evaluation processes. In the following paper particular attention is on ways and good practice how rural regions could increase benefits from programme evaluations. The focus will hence be primarily on conclusions for changes in the evaluation design.

## METHODS

The FP7 EU-project RuDI looks at the rural development policy cycle as a whole, focusing on the governance structures surrounding design (context, conception of instruments and operational modes), delivery (modes of transaction and control) and evaluation (timing, procedures etc.). It extends beyond the evaluation framework (CMEF) of the EU (EC DG Agri, 2006), aiming at offering a wider and deeper analysis of the effects of rural development policy, including an examination of key institutional, social and capacity building processes and opportunities. Results of that project on the practice of policy formulation, delivery and evaluation in all 27 EU Member States and more detailed results from core thematic case studies (RuDI, 2010) will be used.

In addition results from the ESPON 2013 project "European Development Opportunities for Rural Areas" (EDORA) will provide a more thorough review of the policy process and a place-based focus of development options for rural actors. This addresses the diverse conditions for programme implementation in different rural regions (Copus et al., 2011). Both research projects apply quantitative and qualitative methods to assess RDP implementation at programme level and within selected case studies. Finally the paper will also link back to evaluation studies themselves that have been carried out for various stages of Austrian RDPs (especially for Leader and Axis 3 measures; Dax et al., 2011).

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## RESULTS

Effective and efficient evaluation of Rural Development policies faces many challenges and practical issues. Main findings from the above mentioned projects and evaluations are:

CMEF requires a formal contract of evaluation which limits the capability to capture key policy impacts. With the increased concern for identification and quantification of specific indicators, the assessment tends to be both too narrow and on the other hand too demanding.

Evaluation findings have limited influence on policy design as compared to other political and institutional factors (e.g. stakeholder influence, policy inertia). They may instead serve accountability purposes or support decision-taking.

Timely evaluations are an illusion. In practice the timing of evaluations contributes substantially to the limited use of their results. While ex-ante evaluation may provide important information on expected impacts (often in a qualitative way, as no quantifiable information is at hand at that stage), the relevance of mid-term evaluation often is limited by slow or delayed implementation. Mid-term evaluation may be of relevance in the preparation of upcoming programme periods. Ex-post evaluation, although being theoretically the most suitable to detect programme impacts, receives very little interest from authorities, especially if the new, on-going programme has been substantially changed.

The practise of evaluation in the CMEF framework has the primary purpose to generate impacts and effects of the *measures* of programmes, thus achieving a control function and supporting to a large extent self-interest of the bureaucracy. Despite the general interest in evaluation results, these are mainly used to support political decisions if they reveal positive feedback.

The structure of evaluation is targeted at programme accountability and not extended to regional impacts: Thus issues of benefits for local population are usually neglected.

While there is a host of evaluation studies with in-depth results available, synopsis of the results of various studies are scarce or prepared with significant delays.

In-depth surveys for evaluation studies are jeopardized by the multitude of interview series addressed to local actors within short periods.

## INTERPRETATION

As the results of RuDI, EDORA and the RDP evaluations in Austria suggest new approaches in the evaluation design are needed that correspond more directly with the needs of people in rural regions. A closer integration of local rural people in the evaluation processes seems crucial to avoid the impression of becoming an 'object' but rather be appreciated as acting 'subjects' in these processes. The results of evaluation studies should have the effect and the purpose to counteract inadequacies and failures and to improve the situation. The high evaluation standards of CMEF do often not grasp the

particularities, performances and special needs of rural regions and people. Therefore it is necessary that rural people are involved more directly as active agents in the evaluation processes. This engagement would at the same time provide incentives to gain knowledge and information about their region, to activate them to take part in development processes and to reflect about the future regional development.

## CONCLUSIONS

A multidisciplinary and systemic approach is needed for the evaluation of RDPs, which allows for an integrated assessment of the different processes and positions of actors involved in the complex European rural development policy cycle.

For RDP policy targeting and efficiency is not just about instrumental or technical criteria; it is primarily a matter of translating, adjusting and focusing RDP tools to reflect local conditions and contexts (social, cultural, in relation to other policies, etc.), in order to improve the effectiveness of rural development expenditure. Better targeting of individual RDP policy instruments, increasing their responsiveness to differentiated rural needs and making more effort to ensure the inclusion of the most relevant groups of potential beneficiaries can be actively facilitated through multi-stakeholder learning processes.

The findings of the paper underpin that relevance of assessments is to be enhanced by focusing on regional implementation specificities and processes of social innovation. Due to funding limitations for evaluation studies a concentration of efforts on a case study approach that makes use of in-depth analysis and participatory approaches seems inevitable and a useful additional tool for future evaluation.

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# Factors Affecting Capability of Rural Communities

Līga Paula<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – According to the endogenous and neo-endogenous approaches to rural development, current policies in Europe tend to promote involvement of rural communities in local development processes. This paper presents initial results of the qualitative study focusing on the capability of rural communities in Latvia. The objective of the research is to identify factors affecting capability of rural communities. The theory of communities of practice (CoP) has been employed to analyze how local community groups realize their initiatives. Interviews with community leaders and policy implementers reveal a number of internal and external factors affecting social, cultural, economic, and political capability of the rural communities. The same factors in one case encourage but in another hinder local activities. In many cases, realization of local initiatives is often based on efforts of a few key people without great and sustainable support by local people.

## INTRODUCTION

As it is discussed by Galdeano-Gómez et al (2011), endogenous and recently also neo-endogenous approaches tend to consider the meaning of rural areas as changed from traditionally agricultural to diversified economic activities and new lifestyles involving argument that every locality should develop by taking advantage of local specificity. This emphasizes local capacity building (institutions, skills, and infrastructure) to overcome exclusion; however, this approach is sometimes argued as unsuitable for contemporary Europe (ibid.). One of the main contemporary problems of rural development is lack of territorial and group's capacity to participate in economic activities. Though policies provide a number of instruments and opportunities to support local initiatives, rural communities often lack the capability to use them. Recent studies in Latvia (e.g. LVAEI, 2011; Kārklīņa, 2012; Cimdiņa, Raubiško, 2012) report on several aspects which support this argument.

*Capability at the community level* means that community is able to mobilize its resources and abilities, is aware of opportunities and recognizes them, and takes action actively, purposefully and according to the goals set by the community. Capability is influenced by ability of self-organization for achieving community's aims or interests, and for preventing from marginalization, poverty and other negative processes (e.g. Narayana, 2005; Alsop et al, 2006). In Latvia the following questions are often

raised: who actually forms the local community in contemporary globalized society when people (especially youth) tend to emigrate from rural areas and even the country? Who and how uses (will use) particular policy instruments provided to support socio-economic development in rural areas?

The objective of the study thus is to analyze the capability and involvement of the communities in rural development in Latvia by employing the theory of CoP. This paper in particular focuses on factors affecting capability.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to identify factors which affect capability of rural communities, the qualitative approach was chosen and semi-structured interviews were held in 2012 and 2013 with experts of the Rural Support Service and representatives of LEADER communities. Though intended research will focus on different initiatives as CoPs, which will be identified in rural communities according to the theory of CoP (Wenger, 2003), at the current phase of the study the author analyzes capability aspects within the framework of partnership experience.

The following themes were explored during the interviews: (1) community involvement in local decision making (elaboration of development strategies, resource management), (2) community initiatives as CoPs (topics, structure of the initiatives, involvement of formal and informal community groups), (3) community activities within the context of social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of the capability, (4) factors affecting capability in either a contributory or obstructive way. The data will be analyzed according to these four thematic groups of questions.

## RESEARCH RESULTS

*Community involvement in local decision making.* According to the legal norms in Latvia, when policy documents have been elaborated (e.g. development strategies of municipalities, partnership strategies) or development plans are going to be implemented, the public opinion and incentives are required at different stages of the process. However, in spite of a number of good practice examples, community involvement, interest, and contribution in many cases are insufficient. The interviewees revealed several reasons: adverse socio-economic conditions in rural areas or the lack of a job and regular income do not motivate individuals to take up an initiative

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and spend their time on behalf of community; local people are very much sceptical about their opportunities to influence any decision and this is based on arguments about dominance of local authorities or the lack of positive experience.

Another issue is that local people are either too optimistic about initiatives that might be implemented and propose unreal ideas (for example, to develop infrastructure or services which require too high maintenance costs for the particular locality) or they lack knowledge and understanding of realistic opportunities. This leads to consider mixed bottom-up and top-down approach as the best practice in the decision making.

*Community initiatives as CoPs.* In this study CoPs are both formal and informal groups of local agents involving local people and representatives of public, private and non-governmental sectors related to the particular initiative of interest (practice). In the LEADER partnerships initiatives which can be identified as CoPs are mostly related to social and cultural issues where private businesses more likely are not involved. In the partnership case realization of local initiatives is often based on efforts of a few key people who receive the support from the local people when the initiative is being carried out; however, according to the interviews the initiative's structure and process of its implementation do not witness great and sustained involvement of local community. This allows concluding that only exceptional initiatives can be defined as CoPs according to Wenger (2003).

*Community activities within the context of capability dimensions.* Analysis of the community incentives and activities show that social and cultural dimension of capability is represented stronger than economic and political dimensions though sometimes they are interrelated. Rural development policy instruments are used to resolve local social problems which are not adequately addressed by the municipalities or the state institutions. Interviewees report that involvement of private businesses is often undermined by formal obstacles which emerge from the requirements of the specific policy instrument (like the LEADER). Economic and political capability is obvious in the cases when local producers form representative bodies (e.g. cooperatives) which stand for their interests.

*Factors affecting capability of rural communities.* Both internal and external factors were identified; some of them were already emphasized above. Socio-demographic changes and processes in rural areas (migration, depopulation, unemployment, social problems), internal networks (bonding social capital) and structures, community's resources (natural, physical, human, financial), external links (bridging social capital), institutional environment and requirements of policy instruments have impact on activities in the communities. The same factors both encourage and hinder particular activities. For example, the lack of particular infrastructure can be considered as a serious obstacle to implement an initiative, but in other case it serves as a factor

fostering people to take up the initiative and to develop the infrastructure themselves. Presence of formal or informal opinion leaders is very crucial. When the key people leave the area and nobody takes over the leading role, there is a risk that new initiatives will be not developed or even existing ones will be interrupted. However, in many other cases local key people are the driving force and encourage others to take up an initiative; new CoPs develop in a result.

#### DISCUSSION

In comparison with similar studies, in this research the theory of CoP is used to explain how rural communities manage their resources and achieve their goals through networking and knowledge transfer processes. Implementation of an initiative encourages some processes important for both the CoP and wider community as local agents share their codified and tacit knowledge, strengthen their identity and place attachment, raise awareness of local issues, and manage local resources. Social and cultural dimensions of capability are more developed than economic and political.

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# The world of rural sociology and relations among participants in the Czech Republic

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**Abstract** – The aim of this paper is concerned among experts relationship with rural sociology in the Czech Republic. The research was focused on their troubles with cooperation and access to essential information for empirical and theoretical survey of the society in Czech rural space. The research is based on qualitative approach. As data collection, there were used semi-structured interviews with experts from scientific and academic sphere, and complementarily study of documents. Authors tried to find out answers and proposals for improvements and intensification of cooperation because members of rural scientific community represent a minority in the scientific world and sources for that research are limited. Especially in the time of crisis, there is a lack of means but contemporary situation, connected with urgent problems of countryside, cannot be solved without experts review.

## INTRODUCTION

Significant changes of rural sciences and also rural society have begun after the "Velvet revolution" in 1989. These changes plus other significant factors of rural development (e.g. geographical conditions, development of infrastructure as well as a process of migration) have formed Czech Republic (Perlín, Hupková 2011).

According to the regional typology of the OECD (2010), the Czech Republic regions belong to the second group territories – Intermediate. Rural area takes up 79 % of the whole area and about 30 % of the Czech population live there (CSO, 2009).

The sociology of rural knowledge involves a systematic study of rural society, its institutions, activities, interactions and social change. Rural sociology as the scientific study of rural society deals with the social relationships of people in a rural environment and it also takes urban surroundings into consideration for a comparative study (Sociology guide-a student's guide to sociology 2011). According to Cloke et al. (2006) the rural stands both as a significant imaginative space, connected with all kinds of cultural meanings ranging from the idyllic to the oppressive, and as a material object of a lifestyle desire for some people.

Czech sociology started forming approximately since the 80s of the 19th century. In this period, T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937) contributed considerably to its forming. However, before 1918 the institutional base of sociology was very modest (Majerová, 1989). Additionally, all the period of Czechoslovakia, Soviet occupation and after its collapse, rural and

agricultural sociology was facing a difficult period but scientists did not stop to study it. After 1989 rural sociology concentrated on empirical research as well as establishing its position as a subject taught at university level. But the long-lasting interval in contact with foreign countries caused an information gap. At that time rural and agricultural sociologists had to reinforce their status in the competitive environment in a country where old and new relations as well as organizational structures intermingled. In 1990's scientists reintroduced the teaching of sociological theory and methodology in the Czech Agriculture University, Charles University in Prague), University of J.E. Purkyně in Usti nad Labem and at the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences in the Czech Republic.

At the verge of the 21st century rural and agricultural sociology, there were added the actual topics regarding the historical and cultural heritage of the villages and the topics oriented on the European and world rural areas (Majerova, 1999).

And our research topic was – how it is with cooperation between sociologists in the Czech environment nowadays.

## METHODOLOGY

The research is based on secondary (study of documents) and primary data (semi-structured interviews). An interview schedule contained three main thematic blocks (identification of the workplace and its focus, problems in research and collaboration). For the pilot study 3 interviews were used, and after adding of 2 questions 9 specialised interviews were conducted focused on rural sociology.

For further processing, all interviews were converted into text format and analyzed using qualitative techniques (selective and axial coding).

## DISCUSSION

### PROBLEMS IN THE RESEARCH OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In our survey firstly we were aimed at the problems of technical or administrative nature.

Among the most frequently mentioned problems belong deficiency of time and money. According to the experts, they do not have enough time for their own research and also in generally view.

The financial requirements for research are related to another area with a self-interest in rural issues. There is no high demand for information about rural environment. The ambiguity is also related to rural difficult access data (statistics).

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Also respondents pointed to problem related to the lack of information.

The usual problem is also challenging the administration, which in turn is linked with the most frequently reported problem – lack of time own research.

#### COOPERATION

According to answers of experts, the beginning of cooperation is asked because of need of financial means and of the topic of research. Contemporary research is not possible to realize without finance and interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approach.

Also, for collecting empirical data the researchers need to start cooperation with somebody who knows local milieu. On the other hand, local organisations need sophisticated information and analyses for their practical policy but they are not able to provide them by themselves.

Research activities constitute key content of co-operation among academic institutions – that are projects and grants. It enables them to cooperate with other types of institutions on consultancy and exchange of information. Also organising of conferences and meetings belongs to the content of cooperation.

Next part of interviews with experts was focused on problems and obstacles during cooperation. All experts mentioned troubles with deficiency of time. The reasons are that the organizational system hampers intensification and building relationship. Also insufficient technical and service base leads to lose of time. The system brings also low specialisation and difficulties in looking time for cooperation. The second category of problems was found in limitation of financial means. This deficiency leads to harder competition and lower willingness to start cooperation. Grant and economic system in the Czech Republic presses on institutions to have high quantity of publications and cooperation means dividing sources.

Troubles in cooperation could be caused with personal features of partners and different views on object of cooperation.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In accordance with our own experience, we assumed that there is an unsatisfactory effort for cooperation in the Czech rural scientific space. Moreover there exist barriers which make researches hardly possible. Results of our study show two key factors affecting cooperation. The first one is a problem with deficiency of time, and another one is a limitation of financial means. They have to give priority to many activities that are more beneficial for their institutions. The second serious problem is limited financial support. Consequently the competitive environment increases within the scientist community. In fact, experts are not willing to share their results. On the grounds of that a problem with a lack of trust among researchers seems to be also significant. There exists cooperation particularly among experts who know each other personally.

It is obvious that researchers should work together in close cooperation to provide the best results and increase quality of scientific work.

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# Animation as a factor of development of a civil society: The example of non-governmental organizations activities in rural areas of Poland

Anna Sitek<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – There is no doubt that Polish rural society could be characterized by some designations of civil society. Therefore the main aim of this paper is to describe the importance of animation in a process of shaping the civil society in Poland within its rural areas. Since the idea of a civil society evolves in time, right now the main characteristic of a modern civil society is on the one hand participation in civil organizations, on the other hand the extent and form of social self-organization. Therefore, due to the fact that nowadays a tendency to express civil society in terms of non-governmental organizations occurs increasingly often, in this paper the importance of animation and knowledge in civil society in rural areas in Poland will be characterized through the prism of NGOs (one of the elements of civil society).

## INTRODUCTION

Twenty-first century societies should not be only considered in terms of modern technology, the Internet and so far. Above all it is a new type of social formation, in which the most valuable resources are information and the ability to use knowledge. It is the society in which knowledge allows for efficient and intentional acting as well as for taking optimal decisions.

Thus having the appropriate knowledge is a *sine qua non* condition for the existence of a civil society, which is characterized by openness and intellectual courage. A paradigm of citizenship establishes the all-pervading influence of knowledge on all areas of social life and the undisputed, because, society of today and tomorrow gives a new, great and important role to education (Walkiewicz, 2007: 46), key role of education. So a strong emphasis on the importance of knowledge is due to the fact that human resources are one of the most important factor in the development of civil society.

Furthermore, residents of rural areas constitute a large part of Polish society (about 40% of all population - according to the Central Statistical Office). This means that we have to remember it is impossible to animate all of them through traditional forms of teaching which take place in public institutions (schools, universities, etc.). That is why it is advisa-

ble to search for whatever non-governmental organizations (NGOs) may offer.

## METHODOLOGY

The basis of this paper are the results of an empirical study, which has been carried out between 2011 and 2014 by the Polish Rural Forum and the Institute of Sociology of the Nicolaus Copernicus University under the project "Good Start – support and innovation centre for non-governmental organizations on rural areas", funded by the Human Capital Operational Programme.

The main objectives of the project were to develop a methodology to promote active citizenship in rural areas, dissemination of good practices and to increase the scope and improve the quality of cooperation between public bodies and NGOs.

The questionnaire tool which was used had been developed by a team of representatives of the Forum and the University. The questionnaire was extensive, consisting of over 30 questions, which were divided into five blocks, and raised issues related to: profile, business, the environment, organization, management, developmental perspective and needs of rural NGOs. However, here the analysis concentrate upon some of the questions explicitly connected with education (questions about age, area of activity and members of NGOs).

Random sampling was carried out based on the information provided on the websites of all (330) *vivodeships* and data from the portal [www.bazy.ngo.pl](http://www.bazy.ngo.pl). In this way was a list was created of 14 500 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating in rural areas in Poland, which represents about almost 81% of all NGOs operating in rural areas and small towns. According to statistics there are 11 thousand NGOs in villages and 7 thousand in small towns (Ostrowski, 2010).

Selection of research sample took place in two stages, the first used quota sampling – it was assumed that for each layer (the layer is the same as the *vivodeship*) twenty-five non-governmental organizations will be tested (finally managed to gather material for the 376 non-governmental organizations). On the second random (stratified random sampling) – within the layers was running mechanism of the draw, thus, each of the respondents had the same chances of inclusion in the sample. Using

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the random selection insured a representative sample of the whole population.

#### ANIMATION AS A DEVELOPMENT FACTOR OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND RURAL AREAS

As it was mentioned, the main focus of this article is animation in the context of civil society in rural areas of Poland, based on research conducted by The Polish Rural Forum and Nicolaus Copernicus University within the project: "Good Start – support and innovation centre for non-governmental organizations on rural areas".

Nowadays society has to face many problems. One of them is domestic crisis (affected by world economic crisis) that has a huge impact on civil society. This is reflected, *inter alia*, into the need of finding a new model of development which can be seen in an increasing number of NGOs dealing with rural areas - what showed conducted research.

Similarly when examining the number of NGOs. Every year more and more organizations (associations and foundations) are created. As a complement to this, the number of NGOs is one of the main indicators of the good condition of civil society. In this context it will be necessary to mention that non-governmental organizations and their activity became more and more popular according to idea of local development. Thanks to them (NGOs), people who have not yet had the opportunity to act for their own community, they can do it now. Because NGOs on the one hand facilitate rural residents in improving their skills and on the other access to knowledge becomes more common.

More might be said about animation function of NGOs, however, if we look at their personnel issues as part of a wider issue, it should be noted that also people working for foundations and associations need specialized training to be more effective, what was reflected in the obtained data. And so, research shows that people involve directly in NGOs have to be trained. Generally the surveys data show the need of providing additional training and courses.

And lastly the research shows that NGOs provide arenas in which individuals (in this case rural residents) can acting for local communities.

#### Summary

Civil society and the idea of animation affects the face of the Polish countryside. Because opportunities arising from the life of civil society can be fully exploited only with full involvement of residents. But for this purpose, it is necessary to possess proper knowledge, which in the new-shaping society, could be gained in non-public institution, for example through non-governmental organizations, through targeted activities.

Therefore, in nowadays world the pursuit of development can take place not only in a public institution, but it can also be delivered by non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, local development can be looked at as a background of common good, because it is common knowledge

that NGOs play one of the leading roles primarily and allows for more efficient building of integrated community secondly. And finally, in their long-term goals non-governmental organizations can better adapt their activities to the needs of local communities.

In other words, animation through NGOs becomes a tool of social change. It is a good beginning, because we cannot change all world but we can start somewhere.

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# Learning to work together in rural Colombia

Wiebke Wellbrock<sup>1</sup> and Dirk Roep<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract – This paper deals with the question whether a research tool based on the learning region concept can be used to map, analyse and evaluate support for joint learning and innovation in non-European rural areas, such as post-conflict rural areas in Colombia. The framework served for mapping supportive arrangements, but it fell short on analysing supportive arrangements involving international organizations and interconnections not supported by public administration. A future refinement seems necessary.**

## LEARNING REGIONS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The learning region concept (see for example Florida, 1995) has greatly influenced regional development policies and facilitated the growth of knowledge-based industry clusters. Recently, the underlying assumptions of the concept have been criticised (Hassink and Klaerding, 2012). In particular, the assumptions do not seem to match the needs of rural areas (e.g. Wellbrock et al., 2012). Wellbrock et al (2012) revised the regional learning concept into a research tool to map, analyse and evaluate interfaces through which public administrators, knowledge facilitators and grassroots initiators learn to work together towards development. The revised framework was applied empirically to identify considerable differences in arrangements to support joint learning and innovation in six European rural case study areas (Roep et al., 2011). In this paper, we will investigate if the framework can also be used to study support for joint learning and innovation in a non-European context.

## SANTA CRUZ DE LA COLINA

Santa Cruz de la Colina is a rural township in Matanza municipality, Soto Province, Santander, Colombia. It consists of the village Santa Cruz and 13 rural settlements (veredas). It has an area of about 110 km<sup>2</sup> and a population density of approximately 11 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> (~ 1500 inhabitants in total) (data adapted from CDMB, 2008). The landscape is characterised by pastures, forests, and coffee and plantain plantations. The local economy depends mainly on agricultural activities such as coffee, plantain, cacao and blackberry production and cattle ranging. Farm sizes range from <1ha to >100ha with a common size of 5 to 20 ha (CDMB, 2008). The closest urban centres Rionegro and Bucaramanga can be reached via daily bus services. Yet, infrastructure is poorly maintained with nega-

tive effects on travel times and communication. The image of the township is further influenced by its history of conflict, lasting until around 2005.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Data was collected between November 2011 and February 2012. A combination of literature reviews and semi-structured interviews was used. A total of 21 key informants were interviewed, ranging from public administration, universities and NGOs (all at national and provincial level) to grassroots development initiatives in Santa Cruz de la Colina. Interview partners were identified using the internet and snowball sampling. The investigations entailed three steps: 1) an overview of public policies and available facilitators from the knowledge support structure; 2) an inventory of facilitating agents and grassroots development initiatives active in Santa Cruz de la Colina; and 3) an evaluation of available support for joint learning and innovation by supporters and beneficiaries. Interviews were recorded using a 'Sharp' Voice Recorder, transcribed and translated into English. The framework was used to map, analyse, evaluate and compare the interfaces found.

## SUPPORT FOR JOINT LEARNING AND INNOVATION

### Mapping

In Santa Cruz de la Colina, six grassroots development initiatives were inventoried that engaged in activities such as agriculture, opportunities for peasant women, motorcycle repair, human rights and nature conservation (see upper right corner of Figure 1). Public administrators interacted directly with these grassroots development initiatives through three distinct interfaces. The Ministry of Environment interacted with grassroots development initiatives through the environmental public organisation 'Corporación autónoma regional para la Defensa de la Meseta de Bucaramanga (CDMB)'. Secondly, the municipality of Matanza interacted with grassroots development initiatives through a local office in the village of Santa Cruz. The farmer organisation 'Centros Provinciales de la Gestión Agroempresarial' functioned as an interface between grassroots development initiatives and the Ministry of Agriculture. Support from the knowledge support structure was delivered through the 'Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA)' and the 'Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario (ICA)'. In addition, there were a number of (inter)national NGOs engaged with grassroots development initiatives in Santa Cruz de la Colina. These were also mapped in the pillar 'knowledge support structure' (see Figure 1).

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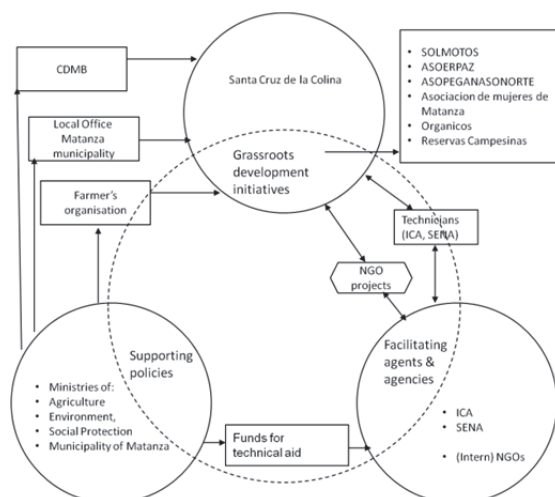


Figure 1 Public support for joint learning and innovation

## Analysing

Publically financed agents and agencies implemented distinct public development programmes. The CDMB implemented national nature conservation plans, the local office of the municipality implemented the social welfare programme 'Acción Social' and the farmers' organisation worked towards operationalizing the policy goals of the agricultural ministry. Public administration also provided funds to the SENA and ICA of the knowledge support structure to facilitate technical support. The NGOs included in the knowledge support structure did not receive funds from public administration. Their activities were funded by (inter)national NGOs or international governments. The lack of interaction with the pillar 'public administration' makes it questionable whether these NGOs can be included in the revised framework, because it does not connect to the original idea of the learning region concept.

## Evaluation

Grassroots development initiatives and supporters mentioned a lack of confidence and a lack of motivation by grassroots development initiators to learn to work together with potential supporters. This was first based on experiences with corruption, top-down policy implementations, frequent changes in policies associated with legislation periods and past experiences with the armed conflict. As an exception, the technical support provided by SENA was evaluated positively, because it was able to respond to the needs of grassroots development initiatives. Secondly, people were argued to be individualists who did not value collaboration. Third, there was a lack of trust between all development actors. In the case of NGOs, this was often grounded on the fact that they were competitors for funds or that they would work along different ideologies. Also, joint learning and innovation between grassroots development initiatives and NGOs was regarded with scepticism, because NGOs wanted to implement their own projects into the area instead of linking up with the needs of the people. Fourth, grassroots development initiators mentioned a lack of transparency regarding the different development policies, and a lack of organi-

sation amongst the implementing agents and agencies. One can therefore conclude that public support for joint learning and innovation between supporters and grassroots development initiatives was not well arranged and collaborative modes of governance not well developed. Yet, in cases where public administration and grassroots development initiatives shared a development interest or when there was a prospect of receiving particular development funds as a result of working together (for example water management), joint learning and innovation nevertheless occurred.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, we investigated if the revised framework proposed by Wellbrock et al. (2012) can be used to study support for joint learning and innovation in a non-European, post conflict rural area. Its application helped to understand that joint learning and innovation, and hence collaborative modes of governance are not (yet) developed in Santa Cruz de la Colina. The application also showed that the scope of the framework is too narrow to account for NGOs and other international organizations that are trying to fill institutional voids occurring between public administration, the knowledge support structure and grassroots development initiatives. It can therefore be argued that the assumptions underlying the revised framework are still too close in line with the assumptions of the learning region concept, envisioning close ties between public administration, the knowledge support structure and grassroots development initiatives. To better address joint learning and innovation in non-European contexts, and in particular in post-conflict areas like Santa Cruz de la Colina, the scope of the framework needs to be enlarged. A future refinement of the framework will therefore be necessary.

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# Creative rural areas – new spatial practices for development

Evija Zača<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Creativity and creative industries become more and more popular terms to use when cities describe themselves. Creativity is a trend that nowadays attracts inhabitants, employees and employers, and even investors to the place. But it seems that creativeness has always been a prerogative of the cities. This article will explore the idea that it is time to think about creative rural spaces both in economic and social way.**

## INTRODUCTION

The emphasis on the economic and social sides of the theme developed in the article is made because of the need to evolve these two as cultural side of creative industries could be assumed as already developed at least in sense of crafts that have historically developed as the signature of rural areas.

The markets for craft products have been principally driven by quality and design, together with their historical, artistic, ethnic and regional significance and the unique characteristics of the artefacts (UNIDO, 2007: 29). So it could be assumed that the cultural foundation in rural space is historically developed and fastened.

## CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AS DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The advantages that are brought by creative industries and creativity in general have been identified by more and more researchers in different fields – economy, culture, sociology, technology, anthropology etc. The advantages are discovered not only in the system, but also in the individual actors where most important ones are artists.

Artists are thus not simply earning income from local activities. They are contributors to what economists call the economic base of a region – goods and services exported out of the region that enable the producers to earn incomes that are in turn spent in support of local-serving businesses as well as on imports of yet other goods and services (Markusen and King, 2003: 6). Artists could be a new class of people being different from “typical” rural community not only by their occupation, but also by way of thinking and extrovert attitude to the space that they live in.

Creativity also implies an involvement – the involvement in creating, sharing and evaluating. And the involvement gives proof to people’s concern about the space and place they are living in.

But certainly we can conclude that the development of creative spaces brings also economical inputs. And these inputs sometimes are even more comprehensive than it could be planned at first. As the researchers of Tallinn University Estonian Institute for Futures Studies have researched, creative industries also have researched creative industries spillovers – the term that is used to capture the idea that some of the economic benefits of activities accrue to economic agents other than the party that undertakes these activities (Tafel-Viia et al. 2011: 7). The researchers have found three types of creative industries spillovers:

### (1) Production spillovers:

- market expanding spillovers or intra-market spillovers;
- market making spillovers or inter-market spillovers;

### (2) Knowledge spillovers:

- organisational knowledge spillovers;
- experiential knowledge spillovers;
- entrepreneurial knowledge or job mobility spillovers;
- interdisciplinary knowledge spillovers;

### (3) Network spillovers:

- agglomeration spillovers;
- cluster spillovers;
- attractive milieu spillovers (Tafel-Viia et al., 2011: 12-14).

Development of creative industries means also the development of wealth, knowledge and social capital/networks. So it means the development not only of economic goods, but it could also mean the development of civic society that is based on knowledge and wider sight to the processes that take place not only in their private life but also in their local space, region, country, and even globally.

## CREATIVE SPACE AS BASE OF GENTRIFICATION

The changes brought by development of creativity can bring also spatial changes. As changes can make the space more captivating to wider range of people, the space could also experience not only the stay of inhabitants, but also witness an inflow of new ones who would be positively influenced by the attractiveness of the place.

So the gentrification could take a place. Gentrification could be defined as the process whereby higher-income households move into low-income neighbourhoods, escalating the area’s property values to the point that displacement occurs (Levy et al., 2006: 1).

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Already now, for example in Latvia, it could be witnessed that citizens of biggest cities chose to build their houses in the countryside. That way there develops a wide agglomeration around the cities. But still these places could be called as “sleeping-berths” – where people spend their evenings and weekends. Still their everyday life, including both work and entertainment, is connected with the cities.

#### THE CHANGES NEEDED TO BE DONE

The main key to success of the development of the creative rural space is the development of appropriate social capital – the one that is opened to innovative and creative ideas.

Human resource development requires the institutionalisation of traditional and innovative training opportunities for creative industries, together with the further development of entrepreneurship, management and artisan skills for MSEs (UNIDO, 2007: 26).

Local community should be comprehended not only by the economic benefits of the changes but also social ones. That is when the community will reach not only for economical goods, but will also think wider about the influence of the processes to the community and the place.

Success is based deeply on talents and synergy in the local economy, and these may be better understood and tapped by identifying skill sets and talents embedded in occupations than by studying the organizations that employ them (Markusen and King, 2003: 7).

#### METHODOLOGY

This article will be designed as a possible action plan how the rural areas could make their change to creative space. It will be based on literature analyses that mostly characterizes the urban creative spaces and their development scenarios. In that way this article will try to show the possibility to transfer the practices from urban space to the rural one.

#### CONCLUSION

The economic crisis developed the aspiration for new models of development and thinking. It could be right time to change the attitude to rural space as only the space for agricultural and technical development. The current tendency of urbanisation shows that people yearn for some other values and processes.

Gentrification through creative development could be an answer to support people in their efforts to stay in their rural environment and be able to reach not only physical but also emotional benefits.

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# Solidarity Economy and networks: working against crises

Mario Coscarello and Carmela Guarascio

**Abstract** – The aim of this article is to focus on possible solutions proposed by solidarity economy, in different contexts, linked to the organization of an alternative system of production in the rural economy sector. This analyses would be possible thanks to the study of two different empirical case studies about networks of alternative economy and production, structured by civil society, both in the common framework of solidarity economy. The paper illustrates a comparative analysis between “*Gas Utopie-Sorridenti*”, a social purchasing group in the South of Italy, precisely in Calabria, to a similar experience, “*Redemoinho*” situated in the State of Bahia, Brazil. Even if contexts are different, the comparison is interesting because the values of these two experiences are similar. They are both networks of consumers and producers who decide to meet and exchange products directly. This has a strong impact in building a new kind of relationship and, moreover, in putting solidarity in economy. Peasants, in both contexts, have no possibility to reach the market, and so they sell their products through these networks. This sell becomes sustainable, for their families, territories and themselves. These experiences seem to teach something new in the building of an innovative including socio-economic system.

## INTRODUCTION

This research aims to carry out a study on issues related to agriculture and family farming (Ploeg, 2006; law on family farmers n° 11.326 24/07/2006) and alternative agro-food networks (Renting et al., 2003: 394). It intends to contribute to researches that have already been carried out in this field, considering two case studies of AAFNs (*Alternative Agro-food networks*) included in networks of solidarity economy (Laville, 1998; Mance, 2003; Razeto, 2003). It seems that previous research didn't focused on networks of solidarity economy in their complexity, but only investigated specific sectors of solidarity economy such as alternative agro-food chain, social tourism, micro-credit, etc. We assume that operating in wider networks of solidarity economy has a greater effectiveness in achieving objectives and paths to promote social innovation. This kind of network could be the so-called *novelties* (Ploeg, 2006). Thus, being in a network of solidarity economy, promotes sustainability not just from an

environmental point of view, but also from a social and economic one.

## METHOD

This research was carried out through the qualitative method.

We decided to use, as tools and techniques to collect data, structured interviews for consumers, in-depth interviews for the producers, and participant observation. In particular, we have conducted a field research.

We conducted 30 interviews in the city of Salvador of Bahia for the Brazilian case study, with many informal talks, in the period from January to August 2012. Data were collected through online interviews, sent by emails to members of “*Redemoinho*”. In order to collect data, we used an online method, because the main activity of “*Redemoinho*” takes place virtually, on its website. It is seemed a good solution because orders are made online every week and the participants were not always readily available personally.

For the Italian case study we analyzed 47 interviews in the city of Cosenza, in the region of Calabria. Moreover, we had some informal talks. The period goes from April to May 2012. We collected data through a direct relationship with members, and we processed them through *SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science)*.

## FINDINGS OF RESEARCH

Results of our research show that both case studies seem to initiate processes of environmental, economic and social sustainability, according to the values of the solidarity economy.

“*Redemoinho*”, the institutionalized one, seems to have the ability to promote social inclusion, creating job opportunities for some members and small producers, defined family farmers, who would otherwise not have space of selling on the market.

“*Gas UtopieSorridenti*” decided to not constitute itself legally. We observed that it seems to be characterized by a strong focus on the values of the solidarity economy by the members. They, finally, contribute to the maintenance of the network on a voluntary basis.

The interviews show that in both cases the direct relationship between consumer and producer is essential for the proper functioning of the network and for the transmission of the practices and values of solidarity economy.

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## DISCUSSING FINDINGS

Results show that both cases could create processes of social innovation. "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" was founded in 2004, while "*Redemoinho*" in 2008.

They are networks included in solidarity economy because they accept the values of solidarity economy, for example social justice, sovereignty, environmental and social sustainability, democracy, etc. "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" takes as reference the national network of solidarity economy, but it was making a specific one for the reality of Calabria. While "*RedeMoinho*" paper adheres to the values of the network of fair trade to which it belongs and has developed its own juridical statute establishing itself as a cooperative.

The analysis demonstrates how the relationship between consumers and producers is functional to the success of the experience. In the Brazilian network, in fact, in which the relationship is mediated by purchasing online products, consumers complain about the weak relationship with producers.

The "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" aim to a direct and personal relationship between consumer and producer, as evidenced by the results of the interviews. This is due also to the fact that members participate to "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" mainly because it is a form to spread out the values of solidarity economy, supporting peasant agriculture. This does not occur in the Brazilian network, in which the first value stated by members seems to be just the savings, even if indirectly network provides for the support of family farmers. Moreover "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" wants to ensure a natural and organic production. Members are interested in it not only because of reasons linked to active citizenship, but also in order to assure safe food. In "*Redemoinho*", seen the context of poverty, the first goal is to ensure sustainability to family farmers. Achieving a full organic production, although is one of the main objectives of "*Redemoinho*", is not followed by every producer.

During the study of data we discovered that a characteristic of these two case studies is that both are based in suburbs. The work of the network wants to contribute to make the space better. "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" occupied the space, while "*RedeMoinho*" bought it, but both expressed in the charter of values a will to valorize it as a common good. These processes therefore have not produced new buildings but have enhanced places that were already existing.

Both networks are discussing on certification of biological production. "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" is solving the problem proposing a self-certify of producers, based on a confident relationship between consumers and producers. Producers of

"*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" are all natural and biological, some self-certified, some certified by third parties.

Not every producer in "*Redemoinho*" is organic. It is, in fact, made up of 15 producers, each one is a group of family farmers specialized in special products. There are groups of only three producers, and groups of 600 producers. For this reason reaching the complete organic production is not immediate, while it is a goal of the network.

## CONCLUSIONS

Both are positive experiences which create social innovation through new forms of production and marketing, promoting direct relations between consumers and producers.

The originality and particularity of "*Redemoinho*" is related to its juridical position, while "*Gas UtopieSorridenti*" starts as a non-formal socio-political action made by civil society that influenced the formation of the regional law on social purchasing group (Law n° 83/9 of 2011 "*Regulations for the support of joint buying groups, GAS, groups organized for the demand and supply and the promotion of the products of short chain*").

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Civil society in transitions to sustainable food

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**Abstract** – Scholars from the field of science, technology and innovation studies have developed frameworks for understanding large scale and long-ranging shifts (or ‘transitions’) in patterns of food production and consumption towards sustainability. Although these frameworks tend to focus on state and market actors, recent attempts have been made to understand the roles played by organised groups within civil society. In this paper I will relate empirical findings from three UK case studies to these emerging ideas about the roles of civil society organisations (CSOs) within transitions.

## INTRODUCTION

Food is fundamental – as human beings, we all need to eat. And yet it is clear that current patterns of food consumption and production are unsustainable at a global level. Hence, calls for change towards sustainability are coming from all corners of society, and many attempts to drive change have been made by these same groups of actors over long periods of time. This paper focuses on the current attempts from civil society organisations (CSOs) in the UK to make food systems more sustainable – i.e. greener, fairer and healthier – and asks how they are seeking to drive change towards sustainability in the food system.

Academics have been engaging with parts of this problem for some time now, but none have addressed the whole picture. The literature on New Social Movements (NSMs) has shed some light on the power struggles between incumbent food system actors and advocates of alternative systems, but has been criticised for neglecting material culture and technology (Hess 2005). Meanwhile, studies of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) have paid more attention to the technical and material realities, but have not related this to theories of large-scale social change (Goodman and Goodman 2009).

In contrast, scholars from the field of Science, Technology and Innovation Studies have not traditionally been interested in civil society, but they have developed frameworks for understanding the different processes involved in large scale and long-ranging shifts (or ‘transitions’) in patterns of production and consumption towards sustainability. Although these frameworks tend to focus on state and market actors, recent attempts have been made to understand the roles played by organised groups within civil society. Studies based on one such framework known as the multi-level perspective, or ‘MLP’ (Geels 2002), attribute specific roles for civil

society in transitions: as source and incubator of sustainable systems innovations (Seyfang and Smith 2007), and as key actor in the destabilisation and reform of unsustainable regimes (Penna and Geels 2012).

However, the MLP has been criticised in ways that challenge its validity with respect to understanding civil society: firstly, for assuming that the actors involved share normative aims and intentions (Shove and Walker 2007), and secondly, for neglecting power and agency (Smith, Stirling et al. 2005). Hence, I have chosen to use and challenge this framework in my own exploration of the attempts made by three UK-based CSOs to drive change towards sustainability in the food system.

## METHODOLOGY

After six months of desk research, participation in sector events and involvement in conducting a survey of the food and farming sector of UK civil society (Food Ethics Council 2011), I selected the three specific organisations that would form my cases. My sampling strategy was to find organisations that seemed – according to various indicators – to be playing the following roles in a transition to sustainability: 1. as source of sustainable systems innovations (‘creation’), 2. as incubator of such innovations (‘development’), and 3. as a key actor in the disruption and reform of unsustainable regimes (‘disruption and reform’). The three organisations are: 1) Tablehurst and Plaw Hatch Community Farm, a co-operatively governed biodynamic farm located in East Sussex; 2) The Fife Diet, a citizens’ network based in Fife (Scotland) that encourages people to grow their own food and eat more sustainable diets; and 3) The Soil Association, the UK’s largest organic certification body and a campaigning charity.

I gathered a range of case materials, including key-actor interviews, archival records, and grey literature, from the three organisations and the other CSOs that they work with (identified through snowballing), as well as background information about policies, market conditions and socio-cultural trends/events. These materials were coded within Nvivo and used to map the strategic activities of each organisation onto the MLP. The coded data were also used to compare the apparent roles that the CSOs play in transitions against their own theories of change, intended impacts on food systems and visions of a more sustainable future.

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## FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

The mapping process revealed a few things that contradict the existing literature and provide improved understanding of the topic.

Firstly, the CSOs within the study rarely played distinct roles, but tended to engage in strategic activities that encompassed multiple roles simultaneously. This is illustrated well by the case of the Fife Diet, which runs experimental and pioneering projects in community food growing, seed sharing, crop trials, supply-chain adaptation, community dining, and eating local food ('creation'). The organisation is also keen to raise standards of practice across the sector and encourage replication and up-scaling by running cooking and growing courses, helping people to reduce their food-related carbon footprints, helping other initiatives get started, and reaching out to recruit new supporters ('development'). In addition to this, the Fife Diet has been campaigning to change public opinion and behaviours by setting up events and publicity stunts which have received attention from the media, and lobbying for policy changes by disseminating their food manifesto ('disruption and reform').

Secondly, the CSOs within the study were found to play different roles at different times; a point which is well illustrated by the case of the Soil Association (SA). In the 1940s-50s, the SA was mostly devoted to testing out new and radical agricultural techniques on their experimental farm ('creation'). By the 1960s and into the 1980s their focus had shifted towards growing their supporter base, professionalising the movement and expanding their markets ('development'). Then in the 1990s they switched mode again, focussing their energies on media battles in which they positioned organic food as the answer to rising consumer fears after several public food scares ('disruption'). Lastly, since the late 2000s, they have targeted their efforts on reforming food standards within public sector institutions and the food service sector ('reform'), although they currently engage a multivalent strategy that encompasses all four roles.

Thirdly, the mapping process revealed that CSOs work together to cover the whole range of roles between them. For instance, although Tablehurst and Plaw Hatch Community Farm itself is focussed on pioneering alternative systems of production and consumption at the local level, the Biodynamic Land Trust, the Biodynamic Agricultural College, the Biodynamic Association and the Soil Association between them provide training and certification for the sector, encourage replication and up-scaling, and generate resources in support of the wider biodynamic movement. In addition, Sustain and the Soil Association generate pressure on institutions and businesses to adopt more sustainable practices, lobby government to change legislation, and run public campaigns to increase support for biodynamic and community-supported agriculture.

Finally, whereas transitions scholars have been criticised for assuming that advocates of alternative systems share aims and an intention to disrupt and

replacing existing systems, the CSOs in my study address diverse issues and for many their aim is to find ways of fitting into existing contexts.

## CONCLUSIONS

By taking the MLP as a point of reference in this study I have highlighted some material and technological realities that are otherwise argued to be neglected in the analysis of social movements. In addition, I have shown that CSOs adopt multivalent strategies that span different contexts (i.e. from local projects to national policymaking); that they work together by adopting different, but synergistic, roles in transitions; and that they adapt their strategic focus over time in response to external and internal developments. However, I have also drawn attention to the mismatch between the way that their intentions are represented by scholars of transitions, and their own views. Moreover, in order to explain why CSOs adopt specific roles and strategies rather than others, and to explain why – despite their sustained efforts – alternative food systems remain marginal, I will (in my presentation) propose some elements of an improved theoretical framework for understanding CSO agency.

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# State and civil society in the construction of food security in Brazil

Catia Grisa and Georges Flexor<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper discusses the process of construction/shift of two food security public policies in Brazil: the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA) and the National School Nutrition Programme (PNAE). PAA was created in 2003 in the context of the Fome Zero Programme, articulating elements of food and nutrition security and agricultural policies. Through the Programme, the Brazilian government purchases food from family farms and donates it to provide people facing food insecurity and to support social service organizations, schools, hospitals, public stocks etc. PNAE was created in the 1970s but underwent a major shift in 2009 when it began linking school meals with the commercialisation of family farmers' produce. Since that year, at least 30% of the programme resources must be used in the direct acquisition of food produced by family farmers, a shift that triggers a series of changes in school meals (local, fresh food, consistent with the local culture etc.). This study analyses the actors, ideas, interests and institutions that have got into the construction/shift of these programmes.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper analyses the actors, ideas, interests, and institutions pervaded in the construction/shift of two innovative food and nutrition security policies in Brazil: the Food Acquisition Programme (PAA) and the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE) (Palier and Surel 2005; Fouilleux 2003; Hall 1997). Public policies as understood here result from conflicts and compromises among the interests involved in public arenas; they are influenced by inherited institutions; and they are formulated according to the cognitive frameworks of worldviews and problems constructed by the actors (Palier and Surel, 2005).

PAA was created in 2003 under Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) Programme and articulates elements of both food and nutrition security and agricultural policy. PAA allows the Federal Government purchase family farmers' produce (meeting the demand of support to commercialisation) with two main objectives: the donation of food to people facing food insecurity and to the social assistance network, or the use of the produce in the formation of strategic public reserves. PNAE, in turn, was created during the 1970's but it went through an important shift in 2009 when it began linking school meals to the commercialisation of family farmers' produce. Triggering a series of changes in school meals with the offering of local, fresh and healthy food, since 2009 at least 30% of resources from the Programme must be used in the direct acquisition of food items pro-

duced by family farmers. The two programmes have been gaining international notoriety, as in the case of the recent creation of PAA Africa (Purchase from Africans for Africa).

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY POLICIES IN BRAZIL

The construction of PAA began with a relevant shift in Brazilian government, Lula's election in 2002 for the presidency, which enabled politicians, government agents and broad segments of civil society identified under food security and family farming demands to participate in the processes of elaboration and construction of those public policies. It was not by chance that the fight against hunger and the Zero Hunger Programme became priorities in the first term of the Lula administration and one of his very first acts was the restitution of the National Council of Food and Nutrition Security (CONSEA), created in 1993 but extinct under Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration. Articulating representatives of social organisations associated with food and nutrition security, family farming, and agroecology, alongside academics, researchers and government agents, CONSEA started to discuss guidelines for food and nutrition actions including propositions related to family farming and food security. Concerns over hunger, national supply, food security and related propositions have already been manifested and defended since the 1990's by actors associated with the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT), the movement Citizens' Action Against Hunger and Poverty and for Life, the "first" CONSEA (1993-1994), and the Brazilian Forum on Sovereignty and Food Security, all actors whose presence was strong in CONSEA. Many academics and researchers participated actively in these formulations and also composed this public arena, some of which were later effectively incorporated in governmental bureaucracy. Even though family farming unions and social movements had a minor participation in the initial years of PAA – either because those were pilot experiments that fostered little social mobilisation or because movements prioritised rural credit back then – they were also active in CONSEA, presenting long-standing claims such as the guarantee for minimum prices, the support to commercialisation and to the public storages formation. Actors associated with agroecology, whose ideas were essential for PAA's guarantee of a 30% increase on prices for agroecological or organic produce, also composed CONSEA and defended propositions related to food security, family farming and agroecology. The assemblage of these actors and the discussion and negotiation of ideas and interests among them resulted in the document "Guidelines for Food Security and Agrarian Development for the Harvest Plan (Plano Safra) – 2003/2004" (technical subsidies of

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CONSEA), which, making use of a “narrative” affirmative of the increasing demand for food items by Zero Hunger Programme and therefore about the possible price increase for the consumer, proposed the constitution of a specific “Harvest Plan” directed to family farming, considering its social, economic, environmental relevance added to food security. This document highlighted the need to articulate subvention to consumption with the support to family farming that led to the creation of PAA in 2003. In this process, it was necessary for PAA to break connections with established institutions (e.g. Law of Public Bids), reproduce existing rules present in other Brazilian public policies (e.g. PRONAF Aptitude Declaration (*Declaração de Aptidão to Pronaf* – DAP) and create new institutionalities (operational formats and PAA modalities).

The political shift of 2002 in federal government, Zero Hunger Programme and the creation of PAA enabled a window of opportunity for the return of the debate on school meals and subsequent changes in PNAE. CONSEA equally became an important space for articulation and negotiation of this public policy. Still in 2004 CONSEA proposed the creation of a Working Group on School Meals that developed a new law project emphasizing the purchase of family farming produce for school meals. This law project expressed the ideas and claims for food and nutrition security and family farming that were held by a broad set of actors who have searched to intervene in this thematic since the 1990's, as shown above. Some experiences of food acquisition of family farming produce for school meals held by municipalities alongside the institutional learning provided by PAA all signalled to that assemblage of actors the possibilities, limitations and the virtues of articulating schools meals with family farming. Yet these actors and ideas also met ideas and interests contrary to the proposal mainly coming from the National Council of Education Secretaries and companies in the agri-food industry that already had their ways into this institutional market and began lobbying for political and institutional barriers to the approval of the law project. It's important to mention that a few segments and government agents were somewhat resistant and concerned with the new institutionalities being enacted which could demand breaking or fitting those ones established during PNAE's trajectory. Despite resistance to change, the alliance between PNAE and family farming could finally be settled in 2009 in the midst of negotiation among ideas, interests and institutions (Grisa 2012).

#### FINAL REMARKS

Therefore the construction of these Programmes resulted of the confluence and negotiation of ideas and interests held by an assemblage of actors interacting in an institutional environment that alternated between supporting and opposing institutional innovation. Favouring this context were factors as (i) broad social and institutional shifts that fomented the expression of new actors, ideas and interests in the public arenas, as in the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988 and Lula's election in 2002; ii) the coalition of actors that managed to use these opportunities to put the change or the creation of public policies on the government agenda; iii) ideas, claims and mobilisation by an assemblage of actors from civil society, acting in CONSEA and organised since the 1990's around food and nutrition security; (iv) the demands for public policy made by

unions and rural social movements that since the 1970's have been claiming for support of family farming produce commercialisation; (v) the presence of government agents involved with the implementation of Zero Hunger Programme; (vi) academic interpretations emphasizing the connectedness between family farming and food security; (vii) the construction of new interpretations and ideas that allowed reformulating the issue and that were appropriated by influent actors that managed to raise the debate in society and in the government; (viii) a distribution of interests that favoured the shift; and, (ix) the existence of institutions and effects of institutional feedback that opened the way for shifts in the public policies or for the emergence of new ones. These interactions between State and civil society, embedded in disputes of interests and in existing rules and norms, led to the emergence of these institutional markets that have been gaining attention from several countries in Latin America and Africa.

After being implemented, PAA and PNAE still meet ideas and interests favourable and contrary to them. Rules and norms also remain in a kind of path-dependence (Mahoney, 2001). They reproduce “old” institutions limiting the public policies' attendance of their initial aims or specificities of family farming. At the same time, new institutions were created to secure the exclusive participation and the attendance of family farming specificities. They are resources available to family farmers that aim to guarantee their participation and their differentiated access to State, demanding continuous reassessments in order to not become institutional constraints.

Hall (1997) and Palier and Surel (2005) affirm the analytical richness in articulating approaches that emphasize separately *interests*, *ideas* or *institutions* as this paper intends to. For these authors, public policies are determined concurrently by strategic behaviours, institutional logics, and cognitive dynamics, even though, at the same time and space, one the three *i's* tends to drive the movement at the expense of the other two dimensions.

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# Organic transition in Danish public kitchens: Can a top down approach capture practice?

Mette Weinreich Hansen and Niels Heine Kristensen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - This paper is addressing the attention towards organic transition processes which takes place in a Danish political context at the moment. With departure in the explicit propositions in an organic vision 2020 launched by the Danish government the practice in public kitchens is presented and discussed. The main findings in several recent studies address the lack of relations between key actors in the field and the challenges in embedding the change into a resilient practice. Especially the relation between kitchen staff and the public administrations seems to be lacking. The political aim is translated into an economic support program dedicated only the teaching of kitchen staff, but does not see the relational character of the transition. The methodological approach is discussed as an important part of the work with the empirical data. Situational analysis is presented and used to emphasize actors, objects and discourses in the field and their relations. Concluding remarks underlines the complexity of a transition approach and problematizes the narrow focus on educational activities as the primary initiative to make farmers and public kitchens convert their production to organic.

## INTRODUCTION

Organic transition has got a renewed focus in a Danish political context. This is shown by e.g. the newly formulated political initiatives and visions trying to encourage farmers to convert to organic farming through stimulating demand for organic products by subscribing the public kitchens as main drivers for this demand.

In this paper we will explore the political initiatives as they are stated in the organic vision 2020 paper launched earlier this year (Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, 2012), and discuss this vision in relation to two empirical studies in Danish public kitchens. The main purpose is to see how political goals are translated into implementation by the daily work practice of the canteen staff. Focus will partly also be discussing the economic instruments used to push a transition further.

In the analysis of the study Clarke's (2005) mapping methodology has been used to keep the analytical focus on actors, objects and discourses and their relations and power structures. The purpose of the paper is thus twofold. The first purpose is to discuss the implementation of a top-down policy instrument and which implications this seems to have on the practice, and the second purpose is to discuss the methodological approach of situational analysis with departure in the case.

The first topic is described by the 'zooming in-zooming out' metaphor used by Nicolini (2009) in the sense that it operates on different levels of understanding a transitions in public kitchens as the complex phenomenon it is. Three level are addressed; the meta-level as described by analysis of the political goals, the organizational arrangements of these goals and the practice level, which is necessary to understand the actual implementation of the political goals. All three levels are considered important in order to capture the rationale and the challenges of the real-life actions. The focus on the situation and on the equal attention to objects, actors and discourses as put forward by Clarke (2005) enable the analysis to reflect a change project on the different levels.

## METHODOLOGY

The complexity of food systems are illustrated by the many different approaches towards grasping the performed realities of them. Until now not much attention has been given in the Science, Technology and Society (STS) research regarding food, although Ren (2011) in a paper in the tourism research area use a food case to reflect ANT ontological issues (a Polish Cheese case) and Roe (2006) uses the STS framework to illustrate the transformative character of food. In this paper we argue for the relevance of contributing to the STS area within food studies by working with Adele Clarke's (2005) Situational Analysis. This methodological/theoretical approach has a substantial explanation force with regards to food enactments. Inspired by many theoretically important contributions from e.g. Strauss' social world theory (2004), Haraway's notion of situated knowledge, and focus on materiality (1988), and also Foucauldian power concepts and symmetry from ANT, Clarke has developed a mapping methodology, which includes actors, objects and discourses and their relations, positions and social worlds/arenas. From a food network approach the understanding presented by Clarke (2005) fits well with the understanding of food as 'matter' or objects; food as symbol or discourses and food as constructed and negotiated by actors in networks and social arenas. The focus on the complexity in situations and on the performance of realities rather than seeking the essence of one truth opens for an approach that enables the researcher to discuss the many different influences by actors, objects and discourses in actor-network dynamics of e.g. policy development and implementation versus practice. The different maps have been used in the analysis of the empirical data in order to open for reflections on the complexity. Two main studies is used here as the empirical basis. Both studies are focusing on mainly individual interviews and three focus groups. Observations have been done when possible in relation to the interviews.

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### Presentation of organic transition challenges in Denmark

In 2012 the Danish government decided to promote and support an organic transition with the main explicit goal of securing a market for organic farmers, but also to support a transition of the public procurement sector. The political statement 'Organic Action Plan 2020' was launched in June 2012 and described, among other things, a political goal of 60% organic food in all public kitchens in Denmark (Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries, 2012). The goal was supported by a financial support program to educate kitchen staff in public kitchens (NaturErhverv, 2012). Importantly the support is earmarked exclusively to educate kitchen staff, probably assuming that it is among these actors that the main challenge in a radical transition of this character is situated and with the hope of creating a public institution as a market driver for improving the organic farmed area. Initial research at AAU has shown that the kitchens indeed has some challenges, but that it might be other aspects of this transition that faces greater challenges (Krogh et al, 2013). Evaluation of political instruments to support school food has shown to be challenged lack of long-term survival of the systems (Brink et al, 2011). Empirical data showed a complex and multi-faceted network of actors involved in a transition to organic (Krogh et al, 2013). Also a lack of possible relations between actors in different social worlds such as kitchens, procurement officers at the municipality, suppliers or the lawyers constructing the procurement agreements was found. Different discourses thrive and make the relations difficult and challenging – especially the interpretation of the EU framework for making procurement agreements seems to be a contested issue.

One main conclusion in this report was that the relation between e.g. kitchens and procurement departments in municipalities are non-existing and even not considered as a direct communication line although the procurement officers in the municipality are the ones to construct the legal procurement agreements and thereby building the fundamental structure around the daily food production. 25 research interviews with staff, teachers and policy makers in Copenhagen Municipality also confirm a complex picture. All interviews confirmed huge challenges in the procurement agreements and their practical consequences in the relations between kitchens and suppliers which partly also relates to lack of sufficient skills building up good relations between suppliers and kitchens. Despite the identification of many different roles and actors involved in securing a successful transition the procurement officers, the administrations in the municipality, the consultants helping with the transition and the wholesalers are not included in the definition of the main groups or activities to be supported by the state-funded money for transition of public kitchens.

At the meta-level analysis the discourses of the ministry are confirming the expected presupposed link between the conversion of public kitchens and the growth in organic production area and number of organic farmers although also other areas are meant to be politically and economically supported by the vision statements. The largest amount of money put into the vision is still solely focusing on direct course activities to the staff in the kitchens.

The economic support program does not address the relations between the actors (or the missing

relations and blind spots) which might cause a failure in understanding the complexity of the field and thereby also a risk to overlook what it takes to build up a long lasting transition.

### DISCUSSION

The empirical evidence in this study of the implementation of political goals shows that complex processes can be understood and qualified through a systematic and complex approach, by thinking through the whole system in a transitional manner. The top-down approach seems to have difficulties addressing the practice level in the sense that the economic support program translating the political goal only focuses on the direct educational activities in the kitchens and thereby miss the relational aspects of the transition process in their networks. One important object to deal with in more systematical depth will be procurement agreements and their consequences in the daily practices in kitchens. Teachers of kitchens staff confirm a lack of attention to this aspect of the relational character of the actor-network in public food production. The agency of the objects such as the procurement agreements and the political/financial support programs emphasizes the direct impact on the actual practice in the kitchens and thereby the relevance of using a methodology and analysis that takes physical objects, actors and discourses into consideration. The mapping strategy in situational analysis, with an outspoken aim of capturing the complexity of reality rather than presenting reality as uniform, has shown to be an appropriate method in the empirical field. The challenges in using this methodology is the possible continued mapping that might end up being a too complex process and be quite time consuming.

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# Non-industrial seeds in search of qualification

Corentin Hecquet<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract - The aim of this paper is to summarize the current state of knowledge about non-industrial seed production in order to refine my research question. The idea is to understand how and on what foundations equivalences between seeds are established and to compare this with the same processes of industrially produced seeds. I shall end by presenting some empirical cases that will enable me to cover my question.**

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Agriculture has been guided by productivist principles since the aftermath of World War II (Bonneuil C., Demeulenaere E. et al. 2006). In this system, seeds are considered to be set scientific objects that have been standardized by three criteria, namely, Distinction, Uniformity, and Stability ("DUS"). This is seconded by a legal framework that allows the movement only of the seed varieties registered in the catalogue. Internationally, the convention of the International Union for the Protection of Varieties of Plants (UPOV) organizes seed developers' rights (Boy 2008). The basis of the food system, namely, seeds, is enrolled in a system that is straitjacketed by scientific, legal, and trade provisions.

This model is being reconsidered by two conflicting dynamics. In one corner we find those who demand market liberalization and a demand-driven economy. This trend is incarnated today by the introduction of a "non-DUS" category in European legislation in order to institute mutagenesis (Commission Européenne 2013). In the opposite corner are those who are calling for requalification of quality, local areas, and the environment, which challenges the various padlocks in the seed system. At stake are the re-appropriation of knowledge and the management of plant materials. The interaction between the genotype (G) and environment (E), i.e., G x E, along with each of its components, is being re-examined (Desclaux, Nolot et al. 2008). The process consists of going from *varietal fixism* to *cultivated biodiversity* in order to stem the erosion of biodiversity and the farmer's independence.

## CULTIVATED BIODIVERSITY PRACTICES

In Europe, plant improvement is achieved basically through participatory plant breeding. This practice comes from organic agriculture (Demeulenaere and Bonneuil 2011/2) ; (Conseil and Chable 2009) and is inspired by Asian, South American, and African experiences (Ceccarellin 2006) (Chiffolleu and Desclaux 2006). It breaks with standardization and the dele-

gation of innovation to scientists. E's place in the G x E interaction is reconsidered, given that each E is particular. Connecting these singularities in a network makes generalization possible (Demeulenaere and Goulet 2012). It makes it possible to build markets jointly (Desclaux, Nolot et al. 2008), to control diseases through *intra* & *inter* varietal work (Papy and Goldringer 2011). Networking raises questions of coordination and cooperation amongst the players (Allaire 2004). The concept of participation has limits when it comes to putting it into practice, one of these limits being the farmers' degree of involvement (Chiffolleu 2006).

Plant materials, knowledge, and know-how circulate within the network. Seeds become a go-between object that connects farmers in the wake of tests between the supplier and the requester (Cheyns 2003) (Demeulenaere and Bonneuil 2007) in order to achieve a relationship of trust within a small group or "club". This club is based on the reputations of two things, the goods and the people (who produce them) (Torre 2002). These practices, which are outside the market, are governed by the regulatory framework. Various initiatives try to circumvent this framework or to engage in civil disobedience. There are still others that find ways to protect their collective labour through a common licence (Kloppenborg 2012).

## QUESTIONS

To achieve internal and external equivalences, four types of qualification are established, namely, scientific, legal, seed circulation, and political. When it comes to the production of knowledge through participatory plant breeding and selection, it seems that the way that farmers and scientists produce knowledge together has not yet been studied. The same applies to the processes of equivalence between seed types and between types of methodology (*in situ* versus *ex situ*) in the scientific arena. Managing seeds as collective property raises the issue of governance. How do farmers organize to defend a good collectively from both the practical and legal standpoints? Does the way seeds circulate vary according to the collective's aim, e.g., conservation, marketing, or the development of a short circuit? On the political level, how are scientific, legal, and market qualifications mobilized to demand a change in the "varietal fixism" paradigm and how are they reflected in public policies? Finally, how does criticism develop (Hirscham's "voice" versus "exist" (Boltanski and Chapiello 1999))? Based on these questions, I developed the following research question: How do the projects that propose ap-

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proaches other than the science-market-productivism triad connect up the various types of qualification to establish equivalence amongst non-industrial seeds?

#### CASES STUDIES

To answer these questions, I am working on a selected sample of cases that backs of each of these qualifications.

Qualifications	Cases making it possible to characterize these qualifications
Qualification of plant material	- Participatory plant breeding by INRA (France) - Participatory plant breeding within <i>Associação do Semi-Arido</i> (ASA) (Brazil)
Legal qualification	- Criticism of changes in European legislation (Plant Reproductive Material Law, EU) - Kokopelli lawsuit (France/EU)
Qualification of seeds' circulation	- Kaol Kozh (France) - Croqueurs de carottes <sup>2</sup> (France/Belgium)
Political qualification	- <i>Maison des semences citoyennes</i> <sup>3</sup> (Belgium) - ASA (Brazil) - Bionatur (MST) (Brazil)

I chose them on the basis of their strong typologies in order to provide inputs for each of the types of qualification.

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<sup>2</sup> "Carrot Crunchers"

<sup>3</sup> "Civic Seeds" Centre



# Practice-research cooperation for a more conscious development? The example of an accompanying process of an agricultural women network in Germany as a part of the EU SOLINSA project

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**Abstract** – Practice-research cooperation represent a major challenge for both partners. Apart from common aims and working conditions, mutual trust and communication are essential for the success of cooperation. This paper shows practice experiences of such a cooperation. It will be referred to the different phases of relationship-building and maintenance, the understanding of the roles of the involved persons, and the methodological repertoire and its effects. This will be done by highlighting the cooperation of researchers with the Rural Women's Group inside the Bavarian Farmer's Union / Germany. Aim of this cooperation was to observe learning and innovation development in this women's network and furthermore to stimulate and accompany learning and innovation by cooperation. This cooperation is part of the EU project SOLINSA.

## INTRODUCTION: PRACTICE AND SCIENCE

Science meets practice and practice meets science with the aim to better understand learning for sustainable agriculture and beyond that, to support this learning. The idea behind that is to combine different competences and views with each other to reach results, which are unreachable for both partners without cooperation (see Probst et al. 2007). But it can also be observed that agricultural practice and research have been veering away from each other. The respective perceptions of success, unanswered questions and communication culture seem to be too different (Hoffmann et al. 2011). The frontiers between research and development work become invisible but at the same time, two systems get involved with each other which have different logics of success evaluation. These statements are at the same time challenges for practitioners and researchers engaging in such a productive cooperation.

## AIM OF THE PAPER: REFLECTION OF A PROCESS

This contribution reflects exemplarily on a practice-research cooperation which yielded in research and development work. The paper is based on the learn-

ing experiences of a particular practice cooperation, which is ongoing since November 2011. It will be shown which opportunities as well as challenges exist for both partners in such a project. This is discussed in depth based on the experiences in cooperation between the University of Hohenheim and the State Executive Committee of the Rural Women's Group of the Bavarian Farmers Union in Germany.

## BACKGROUND: THE RURAL WOMEN'S GROUP AND THE PROJECT SOLINSA

The Rural Women's Group, which is considered to be a community of practice, represents the interests of female Bavarian farmers. Since many years, they are strongly involved in producer-consumer dialogues (Helmle 2011). Current area of learning, and this is really a young process, is to introduce women's perspectives in the agricultural knowledge and innovation system. The State Executive Committee with eight voluntarily engaged women and a managing director are the practice partners in a narrower sense. They used the opportunity of being supported, accompanied and observed by researchers to allow this new field of learning. The cooperation is part of the EU SOLINSA project - Support of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture, funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the EU. In total, the project includes 17 such research-practice partnerships (Brunori et al., 2013).

## METHODS

The research is based on an interactive approach derived from participatory research. The data in this project were generated mainly through workshops. Group moderation, active listening, questioning, visualizing and summarizing of what has been heard turned out to be the core techniques. The workshops were supplemented by participatory observations of a conference as well as of the monthly staff meetings. Discussion courses and outcomes of the workshops were documented by visualisation techniques of group facilitation and finally assembled as annotated photo minutes (Bolliger 2007; Gerster-Bentaya et al. 2011).

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## RESULTS: FOUR PHASES OF COOPERATION

*Phase 1: work agreement / trust in advance*

Firstly, contact establishment and work agreements came to the fore. For all involved persons - practitioners as well as researchers - this phase was affected by insecurity, coupled with advanced mutual trust, but as well as by patience, because the whole process of cooperation request, project approval, first project presentation and finally, first actual working unit in Nov 2011, took approx. 1,5 years. The end of this first phase can be summarized by the following statement of one of the farm women: "You scientists can trigger something here, but we ourselves are responsible for the way we go, we have to decide on our own what we do."

*Phase 2: Negotiations / establishing trust*

In the second phase of the cooperation, interaction was more a process of exchange. Again and again the question was asked, what benefits the practice partners have by contributing their time to the project. At the beginning of each interaction stood the working out of the benefits which could be expected by the practice partners. This phase consisted of approx. six months. The main characteristic is expressed by the director of the group: "We give you the space for your questions, but what do we get in return?" The continuous presence of the researchers at the monthly staff meetings were interpreted as a signal of sincere interest. An important step was to offer an interactive working sequence during a two day conference, addressing farm women. In this phase, the women's group got an impression of the participatory working style of the research team. Theory and promised words about participatory methodology became clearly conceivable. The decision of collaboration with the research project was reconfirmed; the researchers became aware that their empathy is the basis for the mutual learning and developing aimed for.

*Phase 3: Real cooperation / vivid trust*

In the third working phase, the interactions take the following character: they are sought by the group; in the discourse, the topic for the next interaction is developed; reflections during the workshops are considered to be enriching; agreements which are made by the group itself are implemented; it is considered to be positive that researchers give direction by asking questions, that they stimulate reflection, and that they have unprepared answers. Agreed contents were questions about the changing challenges for women on farms, about the greater visibility and influence of the women's knowledge and perspectives within the Farmer Union. The discussions touch the desire for change – not to be longer in the background, and not to be responsible for so called women themes only. This also stressed the issue for how much change the women are ready. In this phase it became obvious that two partners bring in openness. The professional know-how of the women is being connected with the methodological know-how of the researchers. This clarity about the roles supports the research and development process. This working phase is not a

straightforward process. It is a learning process happening in spirals. Action and reflection are rather small steps forward, sideward and sometimes also backward.

*Phase 4: Fading out / success of trust*

The end of the research project is becoming visible. So far, the State Executive Committee has determined to continue this working process independently. From the practice partners' view, the workshops are considered as free space for thinking and reflection, and as a basis for a much more conscious planning. Decisive are the open-endedness and the own responsibility for the results. This is perceived as strength.

## MORE CONSCIOUS DEVELOPMENT? CONCLUSIONS

The research partners had the demand to accompany groups, to release pulses, to observe and understand changes within the groups and to understand how learning and innovations occur. Prerequisites for that were the long (and never ending) time of trust building, a high degree of openness, and a withdrawal of any content steering – without losing sight of the own interests. Researchers gain insights into how decision processes succeed and into the complexity of change processes. As a group process, this is not a single decision but instead rather a maturation process. In the described example, the practice-research cooperation was used as an opportunity window to take up a latently started change process actively and to use the protected area of research work for facilitated reflection. For researchers, the working process opens up an internal view into such groups and allows therefore much more realistic estimations about which innovations and how much change can be expected.

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# Towards sustainable food provisioning: the case of urban agriculture and short food supply chains in the city region of Zurich

Ingrid Jahrl and Otto Schmid<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – As societies become more urbanised, aspects of food and multifunctional land use are gaining increasing attention by different urban actors (civil society, policy and market). This contribution describes an exploratory study on the shaping of multifunctional urban and peri-urban agriculture and short food supply chains in the city region of Zurich, Switzerland. The study shows that shortening food supply chains, with aims including the reduction of negative environmental impacts and the reconnection of consumers and producers, requires collaborated efforts between civil society, policy and market actors. Furthermore, the study identified a need to understand what the term “sustainable food chain” actually means and implies.

## INTRODUCTION

Food is becoming an increasingly important issue for cities as they deal with food security and concern for sustainability of the agri-food system (Morgan and Sonnino, 2009). At the same time, new relationships between diverse actors of the public sector, regional food market and civil society can be seen (Wiskerke, 2009). Against this background, this contribution attempts to explore the agri-food dynamics and the challenges of food provisioning in the Zurich city region by asking: What are the current approaches, challenges, barriers and opportunities for action seen by different actors in shaping a sustainable short food supply chain? How is the aspect of food and multifunctional land use framed by these actors? What are the current forms of collaboration between civil society, policy and market actors and what kinds of collaboration are needed to create a sustainable urban food system?

## METHODS

We conducted 24 semi-structured interviews, each lasting around 1.5 hours, with key stakeholders from policy (e.g. city departments dealing with aspects of food, multifunctional land use), market (e.g. farmers, retailers, caterers) and civil society (e.g. urban gardening initiatives, consumer organisations). The stakeholders were chosen using a maximum variety sampling strategy (Patton, 1990). Furthermore, 14 key stakeholders were invited to participate in a workshop. The interviews focused on the stakehold-

ers' perspectives concerning their activities and/or businesses in the areas of food and multifunctional land use and services of urban agriculture. The workshop focused on the stakeholders' perspectives, ideas and challenges concerning the overall development of a sustainable food system in the city region. The interview and workshop data were analysed using the qualitative content analysis approach (Mayring, 2002) with the analytical focus on the different views around the topic.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The city of Zurich has taken different approaches towards food production and provisioning, but a collaborative and integrative urban food strategy is missing. Civil society organisations and market actors primarily recognise the land-based approach, in terms of sustainable food, of one city department. The main pillars are the binding regulations for organic farming practices for the city-owned farms (rented out to farmers) and allotment gardeners; the support and advice for e.g. agri-ecological measures on farms; and investments funds for farm construction. One of the main drivers of city policy for supporting urban agriculture and farms is the maintenance of attractive spaces for recreation of urban citizens. The city administration argues that maintenance is less costly when done by farmers than by gardeners who are employed by the city. Farmers perceive that the city has made a clear commitment towards agriculture and to assuring agricultural production and securing the agricultural green spaces. However, agricultural land in the Zurich city region is under pressure due to an increased land demand for construction.

The land-based approach is seen by diverse stakeholders from civil society, market, and public administration as pioneering, although they mentioned that other aspects in relation to food are either not considered or only marginally addressed by the city administration, such as procurement guidelines for public canteens. Purchasing activities in terms of public food procurement follow the publicised aim “Zurich buys good and reasonable”. Price pressure is a big issue. The first attempts to create a sustainable public, food procurement strategy are mainly framed as CO<sub>2</sub> reduction measures, which address an overall goal of the city: the development of the city towards a “2000-Watt-society”, including

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the reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Furthermore the city of Zurich has a strategic goal of becoming a sustainable city by the year 2025, and has defined goals and strategies in diverse fields. However, food is again not specially addressed, with several respondents arguing that a reason is the absence of a clear definition of "sustainable food". City administrators appear reluctant to push approaches such as organic, local, or fair trade due to uncertainty whether these concepts are really "sustainable". Furthermore, each department deals with different aspects of food, such as health, production, or ecological perspectives. So far, little communication or harmonisation of strategic goals has taken place. Current goals include reducing the energy expenditure of the food supply chain, ensuring the long-term viability of farming, and preserving biodiversity on farmed land. The difficulty of constituting a "sustainable food strategy" in the urban context lies in its complex multidimensional concept, which requires tradeoffs between social, economic, and ecological values (Morgan and Sonnino 2010).

Within the responsible field of activities, city administrators often maintain good contacts with private actors, such as farmers, although these are mainly on the operational rather than on the strategic level. Actors from the market and civil society expect policy action to create frameworks that ease their operations, such as creating an obligation that 10-20% of food procurement must be organic, dedicating farmland for urban gardening initiatives, or enabling access to public canteens. However, civil society initiatives lack the capacity to actively address public policy because they don't have the critical mass and resources to gain the public and private notice to cause change.

Some private actors have formed strategic partnerships with like-minded organisations/initiatives in support of sustainable food issues. However, such partnerships usually go beyond city borders and operate nationally. Examples include collaboration between the Swiss' biggest catering company and an environmental NGO to create a program to reduce food based CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by supporting vegetarian menus; and a collaboration between a consumer organisation and the biggest super market chain to market local food.

Respondents often define local food as that which is produced in a specific region, and expressed their concern that other (less-favoured) regions also need support if they are to stay economically viable. Switzerland is a small country and all food produced in Switzerland is often considered to be local. Market actors often purchase national produce, which is often cheaper than imported goods, *inter alia*, because of high import taxes and the significant support that Swiss farmers get through direct payments.

Farmers in the Zurich city region have diversified, found different ways of maintaining economic viability, such as through farm shops, and have a long tradition in direct marketing. Although direct marketing does not have a large influence on the

farm's revenue, it is considered to be very important, with potential for expansion: especially in canteens and restaurants. Other market actors and civil society representatives see more food processing or marketing at farmer's markets as future strategies for farms. However, this would need considerable efforts and investments on the part of the farmers. Farmers however perceive a lack of competence (knowledge and skills) to engage in new marketing and processing activities.

#### CONCLUSION

With the goals of a "2000-Watt-society" and the overall goal of becoming a sustainable city by the year 2025, Zurich has created a policy framework where steps towards sustainable food and short food chains have a potential to be considered. The missing criteria for "sustainability" could also be a chance to form a platform between the public and private stakeholders, and to develop a common vision for sustainable food provisioning. This platform could be linked with the discussions about the revision of the existing concept for agriculture 2030. The new urban gardening initiatives, which are already cooperating with each other, can also be seen as an opportunity to better link agriculture and food provisioning within multifunctional land use. The existing good cooperation between the local policy administration and their local farmers is a good starting point for the development of a sustainable food and agriculture concept. Farmers have gained experiences and have made attempts towards cultivating and fostering common marketing activities and cooperation with municipal and other market actors. There is a shared understanding between all stakeholders of the need to better place food and agriculture within the consciousness of the population. These shared priorities could be a basis for closer cooperation between public, market and civil society actors, such as for common campaigns and communication measures or the re-orientation of public food procurement policy, so that the different backgrounds and goals of the institutions and organisations could be complementary.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the interviewees of the city region Zurich for taking the time to share information and expertise with us.

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# Universities and businesses as collaborative agents in knowledge transfer – Example of organic food producers

Ginta Kronberga<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract - Weak knowledge transfer between universities and industry is among the most important issues in the research and development sector in Latvia. A topical issue is the quality of higher education and research as well as the need for more active involvement in the economic growth and innovation development. The goal of the paper is to analyse examples of good practice in which collaboration between new entrepreneurs and the Latvia University of Agriculture (LUA) has been implemented in the field of organic food in Latvia. Within the framework of a case study, the author carried out a qualitative research by conducting semi-structured interviews and analysing documents by examining the understanding of the process of knowledge transfer (incentives, obstacles) and the collaborative models among the interested parties. The incentives for collaboration are linked with the development of innovative products with their quality being the prior attention and other agents (Technology transfer centre, Business incubator); therefore, the process up to the moment when the product enters the market is quite long. It is due to the research process as well as the necessity to acquire the certificates of the organic products.**

## INTRODUCTION

One of the mechanisms used by the EU member states in the higher education and research policy is the collaboration promotion among science, society in general and, especially, between science and industry.

In the social sciences, the main theoretical models describe processes inherent in knowledge transfer in the framework of a particular social system, where exchanges and interactions are created by transfers between several actors (Faye et al., 2008).

Theoretically, the collaboration in knowledge transfer has been understood as: 1) investment transfer (stimulation of offer); 2) demand-based knowledge transfer (stimulation of demand) (Formica et al., 2008). The author believes that research on the collaboration in the knowledge transfer is essential, because research priorities in many countries are connected with innovative and entrepreneurship activities (Kenway et al., 2006).

The purpose of the paper is to analyse how the collaboration in the knowledge transfer has been implemented between universities and the new entrepreneurs in order to develop innovative products

in the field of organic food. What are the collaboration models, collaboration incentives, what are the strengths and weaknesses?

For new entrepreneurs (newly established businesses which have started production of new, competitive products within last three years), the processing of organic products is frequently a challenge where solutions for development of innovative ideas (a new product based on knowledge originated at the enterprise, or by collaboration with the research institutions, or field experts) are evolved by using various collaboration models.

## METHODS

The qualitative research approach using the case study method was used for the research of collaboration. The case study analysed in this paper has been identified within the framework of doctoral thesis.

Field study was implemented in 2012 and in February and March 2013. In this article, case study comprises 11 semi-structured interviews (7 PhD research interviews and 4 interviews specific for the article) with relevant actors (4 LUA scientists; 3 entrepreneurs; 2 agent from LUA Knowledge and Technology Transfer Centre; 2 actors from the Business Incubator) and analysis of document sources (LUA documents; information from web pages of businesses).

Interview questions were developed following such guidelines: what agents are involved, and how collaboration in the new product development has been implemented in the field of organic food; what collaboration models are functioning; what are the strengths and weaknesses of collaboration. Purposeful sample was used in research. The informants from LUA were interviewed at the beginning. Entrepreneurs selected for the interviews were defined as examples of good collaboration practice in the organic food production. The good practice entrepreneurs are those producing organic musli, organic sweets and Bio fruit and vegetable purees for children. They have developed their innovative products in collaboration with universities, research institutions, business incubators and other actors.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Typical university (LUA) and new entrepreneurs' collaboration models in knowledge transfer were

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identified. These collaboration models have promoted innovative products in the field of organic food: 1) Entrepreneur + Knowledge and Technology Transfer Centre + Researcher + Business Incubator; 2) Entrepreneur + Researcher; 3) Entrepreneur + Knowledge and Technology Transfer Centre + Researcher.

New entrepreneurs have been the initiators of the collaboration in the production of organic musli, organic sweets, Bio fruit and vegetable purees for children. Their ideas on organic food production were developed from personal experience and necessity, for example, to provide healthy food for their children, to have a healthy lifestyle and eating habits. They identified free business niches in Latvia and started entrepreneurship activities by using raw materials and products grown in Latvia, and promoting organic food production.

At the beginning, entrepreneurs were carrying out market research and looking for collaboration possibilities with specialists in food production at LUA (scientists of Faculty of Food Technology; Knowledge and Technology Transfer Centre), scientists of Latvia State Institute of Fruit-growing and actors who support business start-ups in Latvia (business incubators, Investment and Development Agency of Latvia, banks, etc.) The incentives for collaboration are linked with the development of innovative products with their quality being of prior attention; therefore, the process up to the moment when the product enters the market is quite long. It is due to the research process as well as the necessity to acquire the certificates of the organic products. The collaboration in product development can be characterized as regular (at the beginning – once a week, later – less), because both -entrepreneurs and researchers - are interested in product development *“...as soon as new creative ideas appear, the products are also interesting. researchers were eager to see how products could be improved”* (entrepreneur).

The described collaboration examples show the process of demand-based knowledge transfer.

This collaboration has two characteristic features, the first – collaboration depends on the needs of businesses. The second – collaboration is implemented by mutual interaction between knowledge suppliers and receivers. The better the collaboration, the more valuable is the knowledge transfer (Formica et al., 2008).

The following collaboration promotion factors were identified during the research: development of innovative ideas and products; functional interdisciplinarity (focusing on research object, developed product); formal and informal incentives; close social networking (reliable collaboration partners; personal initiative (“human factor”).

The incentives for collaboration could be formal as well as informal. Some informants admitted that personal contacts and informal collaboration networks are important for provision of collaborative activity, because the trust is an important aspect in

successful collaboration. *“Trust is the first aspect in successful collaboration”* (scientist).

*“Good personal contacts, positive attitude are the most important factors”* (entrepreneur).

The factors which prevent collaboration in knowledge transfer are: lack of time and financial resources; overload of academic staff; various internal and external structural obstacles for entrepreneurs preventing them to engage in the knowledge transfer; lack of new technologies and equipment for development of innovative products.

#### CONCLUSION

The most important precondition for the cooperation is actors' interest in collaboration.

Knowledge transfer from universities as collaborative actors is perceived by businesses as codified knowledge, technology transfer and knowledge commercialization. The knowledge should be applicable and understandable for entrepreneurs. The collaboration between universities and businesses in the uncoded knowledge transfer can be in the practice of giving consultations, organising negotiations and formation of other collaborations.

The support the businesses receive by collaborating with others may be in form of various consultations (on business establishment, finances, product development, etc.), participation in several exhibitions, attraction of collaborative partners, etc.

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# Local Food Networks: From Local Niches to a Global Transition towards Food Sovereignty?

Juliana Lutz and Christian Lauk<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Local food networks can be seen as socio-economic innovations that initially develop in local niches within the dominant food system. They have the potential to induce a sustainable socio-ecological transformation of the global food system. Many local food networks adopt the concept of food sovereignty as a kind of 'leitmotif'. At the core of this concept lies the question of how to create an agro-food system that allows for democratic participation and civic engagement and for setting up new qualities of relationships that avoid social inequity and exploitation of both humans and nature, while preventing a later assimilation of the new food networks to the global socio-economic food system. This approach opens up a number of challenges, relating both to the social and the biophysical layer of reality. By means of an Austrian case study, this paper sheds light on how a specific example of local food networks deals with these challenges. Besides the socio-economic challenges of local food networks, a particular focus of our work relates to the biophysical layer of local food networks, e.g. whether and under which conditions the aim of food sovereignty goes along with a reduced reliance of agro-food systems on non-renewable resources.

## INTRODUCTION

Facing a food system in crisis it is argued that food should not only be environmentally friendly but also fairly and locally produced, sourced, distributed and consumed (LaTrobe, 2011). This would lead to a seasonal, low meat diet and to significant socio-economic changes that allow for civic empowerment. These are the values that the local food movement stands for. Opposing 'green capitalism' (Friedman, 2005) that promotes supermarket-led agro-food capitals, social movements such as the Slow Food and Via Campesina movements are introducing and promoting new ways of organising local food supply chains. Following the concept of food sovereignty, they support small-scale, solidarity-based food networks at the local level in which producers, consumers and retailers closely cooperate and establish more equitable relations.

Addressing the challenges and requirements of these local food networks, it becomes evident that we need to carry out a careful, creative and reflective examination of the pathways such local food networks are taking. In this paper we look at the local food network 'SpeiseLokal', to shed light on whether and how local food systems might contribute to a socio-ecological transition towards food sovereignty.

## METHOD

Research questions and design were formulated participatory in conjunction with SpeiseLokal and the people involved with it. Data were collected by means of qualitative interviews with producers, consumers and retailers, and by participant observation in SpeiseLokal's activities and international meetings.

## MAIN FINDINGS

Following the sustainability triangle (Smetschka et al., 2013), we formulated indicators that capture a retailer's, producer's and a consumer-household's (i) economic performance, (ii) quality of life and (iii) resource use.

Looking at the *economic performance* of the actors involved in SpeiseLokal, we found that farmers engage with SpeiseLokal not predominantly because of economic benefits (such as better prices) but rather for ideological reasons as they wish to support local food supply and food diversity. Furthermore, all producers appreciate the close relationship to retailers and consumers and the fact that they decide in cooperation with SpeiseLokal what and when to sell, how much and at what price. Better prices and closer relationships do, however, ameliorate conditions for farmers but they do not necessarily change their overall economic performance. Farmers still require sufficient outlets for their produce, be they small and regional or large and global.

Families buying at SpeiseLokal change their habits of purchasing; only buying things they really need, eating everything they buy and planning their weekly diet. As families with both a low and high family budget buy their basic foodstuffs at SpeiseLokal, it is likely that it is not only their overall economic situation that dominates their purchasing behaviour, but rather the importance of food issues to the family.

Retailers at SpeiseLokal are facing the tension between the market-economy and alternative economic relationships. This is mirrored in the fact that wages at SpeiseLokal are currently low and none of the people involved can make a living from them. As regards to *quality of life* we found that for farmers delivering to SpeiseLokal requires extra work (mainly in packaging and transportation) for low returns, as they do not deliver large amounts of produce. To reduce the time spent on transportation, many farmers cooperate and make collective deliveries to SpeiseLokal. This cooperation between the farmers themselves as well as between farmers,



retailers and consumers is often experienced as a gain in the farmer's quality of life. For some farmers involvement in SpeiseLokal made it possible to produce and sell products which they would have liked but had been unable to produce before. That is to say that producers gained a greater amount of choice and sovereignty in their decision-making processes. Farmers also gain the satisfaction of seeing the products of their hard labour being valued by local consumers, and they appreciate the flexibility of SpeiseLokal's customers. Farmers and consumers value the opportunities SpeiseLokal's networking affords. However, the intensity of economic and social ties between producers, consumers and retailers differs greatly. Critical factors in this regard are the constraints of time, the quantity of produce that is sold and how frequently produce is delivered. Families often change their diet and their habits of preparing food after joining SpeiseLokal. Cooking, they say, becomes a challenge as they are encouraged to use fresh and seasonal ingredients only available at certain times of the year. People increasingly avoid fast food and become less reliant on processed foods. Eating local produce involves an increase in food diversity for most consumers as they eat things they had not known before. Due to their socialisation with convenience foods and the ready availability of a wide range of processed and packaged food, many consumers initially struggle with cooking and storage. It requires education to adapt to a new lifestyle and it also requires support. For retailers involved in SpeiseLokal the extra work they are facing is challenging to their work-life balance. The main question is whether this increased workload will lead to the exploitation of retailers. Still, the women who perform retailing duties at SpeiseLokal appreciate the healthy and fresh food made available, the contact with the farmers, the reflexive team work and the high degree of self-determination their involvement with SpeiseLokal brings.

Regarding *resource use*, it is evident that SpeiseLokal produces very little food waste. This is due to the fact that farmers only provide the amount of food that is actually ordered and consumers eat what they buy. Furthermore, most of the food is stored only for a short space of time: fresh produce is usually sold immediately after production and quickly eaten after purchase. Transport-routes are generally short (between 0 and 100 km) and farmers as well as consumers cooperate by regularly transporting food for others. The amount of packaging used is low. In particular the use of milk bottles and the absence or recycling of packaging for fruit, cereals, vegetables and eggs make most consumers experience a significant drop in household waste. The changes in consumption patterns, resulting in a seasonal, low-meat diet and fresh cooking is usually less resource intensive than a non-seasonal diet involving the consumption of ready-made meals. Finally, products are grown organically on small-scale farms with a rather closed substance cycle and none of the products are processed industrially.

## CONCLUSIONS

Faced with the findings of this paper one could argue that local food networks such as SpeiseLokal do at least challenge the socio-ecological system they are part of. They do so by firstly inducing behavioural changes in the actors involved: people alter their patterns of production, retailing and consumption. Secondly, they open up new (local) pathways for consumers, producers and retailers to interact with one another. So, if multiplied, strengthened and allied with various other actors and networks, local food networks seem to have the potential to affect the inherent dynamics and structures of our current food system in the long run (Gimenez & Shattuck, 2009).

It is however evident that given the current socio-economic conditions, local organic food supply can only be a niche activity for highly motivated people as a high level of engagement through solidarity-based cooperation and network-building between consumers, retailers and producers is required. Notwithstanding, individual and collective action on the local level is not sufficient. Strengthening local food networks and the food sovereignty movement economically and socially would require fundamental structural change. Most important would be measures that foster (i) a de-commodification of food, and that (ii) allow for labour-intensive production processes via taxing commodities rather than wages. Furthermore, infrastructure and hygiene regulations that serve the needs of small farms and retailers would be needed. Sharing knowledge and creating new forms of logistics that facilitate local food supply are essential for the long-term prospects of local food networks. People would have to become educated and encouraged to form networks of different shapes involving farmers, retailers, consumers and food processors. This is not about pushing entrepreneurship by giving loans. Rather, information and scholarships should be provided to empower citizens to get actively involved in local food networks.

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# Discourses as catalysts for changes in policies towards sustainable food systems at the global level

Maria G. Quieti<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

The question of whether trade liberalization contributes or hinders sustainable food systems has been at the core of much international activity since the WTO negotiations on agriculture. Implicitly or explicitly, this question underlies the major policy discourses on agriculture and food systems at the global level.

The liberalization promoted by the WTO Agreement on Agriculture through measures to reduce distortions in international trade (increasing market access, reducing domestic support and export subsidies) was based on the principle of comparative advantage, meant to result in increased world trade and increased benefits to the world economy. There is resistance, however, to liberalizing agriculture, and arguments are put forward to support domestic protection of agriculture, expanding beyond the support allowed by the Green Box<sup>2</sup>, as a means towards more sustainable food systems.

Alternative formulations of the problems and opportunities offered by international trade have been – and are still being – made and turned into ‘discourses’. For discourse I consider Hajer’s (2009:59) definition “...as an ensemble of notions, ideas, concepts, and categorizations through which meaning is ascribed to social and physical phenomena, and that is produced in and reproduces in turn an identifiable set of practices.” Discourses help to see how an issue becomes defined as a policy problem in the first place.

The aim of my research has been to show how discourses and the associated discursive practices influence policy formation at the global level and how they can become catalysts for policy change.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Through a constructivist interpretative structuralist approach and critical discourse analysis, with thematic reading, I have documented the discourses, with the associated discursive practices, on agriculture and trade liberalization in FAO, WTO and with

transnational civil society organizations since the year 2000. I gathered not only official statements and declarations but also other types of textual and communication materials. In order to organize and interpret the heterogeneous empirical materials, a heuristic framework of fora and arena was generated for discourse analysis; the organizational, technical, popular and moralizing fora showing the cognitive, emotional and moral matrices of knowledge construction and the political arena being the site for public legitimation. These fora and arena proved to be the places – both physical or virtual – where individuals interacted in the generation of ideas – spaces for coalescing different constituencies around what Hajer has identified as an “interpretive activity” (Hajer, 1997:22) whereby actors build knowledge and battle with different or competing claims with respect both to the causal factors and the solutions of a given policy problem.

## RESULTS

After the unsuccessful outcome of the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle with regard to the discourse on multifunctional agriculture, the technical forum of FAO took up the concept of food security, accepted by the political arena of the 1996 World Food Summit and the subsequent ones in 2002 and 2009, the Committee on World Food Security, the UN High-Level Task Force on the Global Food Security Crisis, the Global Agricultural Food Security Program of the World Bank, the IAASTD and even WTO. Food security is defined as “Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (CWFS, 2012:1). This has progressively become a discourse modulated differently by the fora, also operationalized for policy purposes. The analysis of the discursive practices and discourse formation shows that the political arena of FAO and now of the Committee on World Food Security, the locus of international decision-making and consensus building, have been fed by the technical forum of FAO and the High Level Panel of Experts, respectively, characterized by staff and epistemic communities with different disciplinary backgrounds. It also shows a constant interaction with civil society organizations through their capillary participation in programs, policies and regulatory

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<sup>2</sup> The Green Box of WTO allows a number of direct payment schemes which subsidize farmers’ incomes without influencing production decisions (e.g. environmental protection programs, provision of research, training and extension services, of basic rural infrastructure or marketing information).





ry frameworks related to food security<sup>3</sup>, culminating, in the political arena, in the Committee on World Food Security, where since 2009 civil society organizations are not just 'observers' but are 'non-voting participants'.

The definition of food security, with the attendant policy implications that do include the international trade dimensions, is now considered also by WTO (2013). The analysis of the organizational forum of WTO showed a small and weak organization for its broad mandate, both in terms of staff and budget, composed only of economists and lawyers, with only 14-16 staff in the agriculture sector, with consequent weak intellectual resources, working rather as an administrative body assisting the 'negotiating machine'. Food security was considered as belonging to non-trade concerns in the 1999 WTO Agreement on Agriculture. Even though in 2001 FAO recommended to the WTO Ministerial Meeting at Doha to endorse the definition of food security accepted by the 1996 World Food Summit, WTO continued to disregard food security (WTO, 2005). Nowadays, however, the food security discourse has a place in WTO political and technical fora.

Civil society organizations, for their part, rejecting the implicit acceptance of international trade and WTO regulatory role in the discourse on food security, through their networks, embraced the concept of 'food sovereignty'<sup>4</sup>, originally coined by Via Campesina in 1996, with human rights and social justice dimensions. Since its presentation at the 2002 NGO Forum, it has become the accepted discourse among civil society organizations, also supported by many in the academic community (McMichael, 2011). In 2012, food sovereignty was identified as an area of policy gap on which to seek consensus by the Committee on World Food Security (CWFS, 2012).

Therefore, in the words of Hajer (1997:22) the discursive "...problem closure': defining a set of socially acceptable solutions for well-defined problems" is not yet arrived at. Further elaborations are ongoing and attempts are being made to incorporate human rights and social justice dimensions, as expounded in food sovereignty.

#### INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

The heuristic framework of fora and arena has shown that the technical forum is the prevailing forum in conceptualizing the policy problem of agriculture and trade liberalization. However, the original policy problem formulation of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, driven by classical economics, has been progressively indented by other disciplines and theoretical resources which battle for pre-eminence and for breaking the monopoly of economics as sole policy problem owner, highlighting the

complexity of agriculture and sustainable food systems and the range of disciplines called for by such complexity. The other fora and the discursive practices in FAO and the Committee on World Food Security enabling inputs by civil society organizations and epistemic communities are also contributing to breaking the discursive hegemony of economics. Even though the discourse on food sovereignty has so far had limited political influence over multilateral institutions like FAO or WTO, the very fact that it is being discussed as an area of work of the Committee is significant. It demonstrates that the current discursive practices are dispelling the way of formulating policies as a solely technical and expert-led exercise and that civil society organizations and epistemic communities contribute with alternative discourses that over time affect global policy making.

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<sup>3</sup> E.g. International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources, Voluntary Guidelines to support the Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security, Code of Conduct on Responsible Fisheries and many others.

<sup>4</sup> 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 (Nyéléni, 2007).



# Urban food strategies in Central and Eastern Europe: what's specific and what's at stake?

Talis Tisenkopfs, Bálint Balázs and Gusztáv Nemes<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In the last years cities emerge as actors on food scene and develop their own food policies in interaction between civil society, researchers, policy makers, farmers, food companies etc. A growing body of literature analyses sustainable food strategies and initiatives in urban contexts mostly from Western European and North American perspective with examples from developing countries. In this paper we review this process in Central and East European (CEE) context comparing two emergent urban food strategies (UFS) in Tukums, Latvia and Gödöllő, Hungary and reflect on the underlying approaches, networks and processes. We argue that in CEE conditions with relatively weak civil society and fragmented policy networks a facilitation is needed to broker engagement of stakeholders in urban food policies. Researchers, activists and agricultural knowledge and innovation system (AKIS) can play a lead role in this.

## INTRODUCTION

In the last years there is a growing body of literature analysing the rise of sustainable food initiatives and policies in urban and periurban contexts referred to as 'urban food strategies' (Carey 2013), 'urban foodscapes' (Morgan and Sonnino 2010) 'community food sector' (Crabtree et al 2012), 'civic food networks' (Renting et al 2012) 'local food systems' (Feenstra 1997), etc. Urban Food Strategies take different forms since they are dependent on their local context which determines the aims, objectives and actions (Moragues Faus et al 2013). In this paper we review this process in Central and East European context comparing urban food strategies in Tukums, Latvia and Gödöllő, Hungary and reflecting on the underlying approaches and processes.

## THEORETICAL APPROACH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We use transformative boundary object approach (Tsurusaki et al 2012) to understand and analyse the formation of UFS. There are different kinds of people and organisations participating in creation of Tukums and Gödöllő food strategies, and both networks cross socioeconomic, political, knowledge, technological boundaries. We look at the actors in networks as boundary spanners, and analyse what kind of communities, value systems they connect with each other, what sustainable food visions and benefits result from the versatile nature of their interaction. Specifically we analyse UFS as:

- Boundary processes – How people in Tukums and Gödöllő align and interact about UFS? In what specific forms?

- Boundary discourses and practices – What value narratives they start, what interests and ambitions they attribute to UFS? What areas of concern (public health, environment, support to local producers etc.) are negotiated? How actors agree or disagree about objectives of UFS?
- Artefacts produced – Do actors produce tangible outcomes in terms of food infrastructures, networks, policy documents, strategy papers, entities that ensure development of UFS?

For the interpretation of results we turn also to social capital theories, the concept of local production systems and ideas of facilitation, as the lack of participation, deep rootedness of civic food values in localised economic and social settings and the need for support and facilitation of stakeholder participation shape UFS in CEE context.

## METHOD

The paper is based on longer term research collaboration with stakeholders of Tukums and Gödöllő urban food strategies. We started interaction with them in 2011 and continued it in workshops, discussion seminars, individual and group interviews, site visits and small targeted interventions over the last two years. The study is conducted in participatory action research manner and authors of this paper themselves are a part of local UFS initiative groups.

## FINDINGS: TUKUMS URBAN FOOD STRATEGY

The urban food strategy of Tukums started within the framework of FOODLINKS project. The municipality used it as an opportunity to develop its own food strategy as a part of the municipal development plan. Stakeholder discussion seminars were organised to decide on priorities. During consultations three priority areas were identified: to promote public health; to support the local economy; to reduce the impact of food system on the environment.

The municipality decided to use public sector procurement as instrument to achieve objectives. An assessment of local food system was carried out which highlighted food related concerns of the population and identified potential action fields. The assessment brought awareness of the existing good practices of sustainable food provision, for example: vegetable gardens at kindergartens, School Fruit Programme, educational activities about healthy nutrition in schools. The next step was a study of food procurement practices at municipal schools and elaboration of new criteria for public procurement



that would allow the procurement of more locally produced foods and reduce transportation distances.

Although the Tukums food strategy was initiated in top-down manner by the municipal council, the process gradually involved other stakeholders: schools, kindergartens, catering companies, farmers, food processing companies, Tukums hospital, local and national media, and the Ministry of Health. Stakeholder involvement was crucial to define the strategy objectives which notably focus on the issues of 'good food', 'healthy food' and 'local products'.

When the new procurement rules were adopted, a new challenge arose – how to mobilise local producers to respond to new opportunities and stimulate them to cooperate in supplies. In this instance the experts of Rural advisory and training centre offered some help to inform and organise farmers.

#### FINDINGS: GÖDÖLLŐ URBAN FOOD STRATEGY

The municipality declared to be an ecotown in 2006 and for long have been working on strategic documents on urban policy and planning concerning housing, employment, town development, tourism, waste management, environmental protection, transport and culture. The process to define a new sustainable food strategy in a participatory way for Gödöllő started within the framework of FOODLINKS project from February 2013. The Gödöllő local food council (G7) and Solinsa team in Hungary organized a series of stakeholder forums to facilitate the development of a sustainable food strategy. The process was started from the bottom up but has been also rapidly acknowledged by the municipality since a vice-mayor has become an active member of the coordination team. The mayor of Gödöllő previously gave the special mandate to G7 to help define a solid local food focus for the ecotown concept.

During the stakeholder workshop three priority action fields of the strategy have been identified:

- promotion and communication about local food;
- sustainable public food procurement;
- bringing together consumers and producers through local farmers' market and other forms.

During the workshop participants also decided that the food system assessment will be carried out in a participatory way through working groups along the above priority areas. The main questions that will be further developed by each working group relate the principles, aims and action points; the main actors to be invited, capacities that need to be behind the strategy, hindrances, threats, core values, national level policies, initiatives.

#### DISCUSSION

The two cases are quite different – Tukums is a top-down network, while Gödöllő - G7 is a very civilian, middle class, voluntary and bottom up initiative. Nevertheless, they fight similar problems, such as lack of resources, initiative, capacities, and similar communication problems with the official agricultural knowledge system too. In both cases there is no yet any coherent UFS. There are several transformative boundary objects created (e.g. new procurement

regulations in Tukums) but not yet transformative action has been established (e.g. farmers' cooperation for supply of sustainable local produce). Thus, both networks arrive to the same barriers from different starting platforms posing questions.

In our answer we develop an argument that the lack of capacity, resources, and partly the motivation among relevant parties are hindering factors. Social capital factors – difficulties to commit oneself, trust others, meaningfully collaborate, passivity may also explain some of the difficulties. The cultural factors, such as strong individualistic values and tradition of food self-provision in CEE should also be taken into account. We also find that the structure of the AKIS and the political cultural environment, thus the economic (and political) interest of some important local stakeholders may set barriers to the work towards Gödöllő and Tukums food strategies.

Involvement of 'ordinary citizens' in strategy formulation still remains a challenge. Empowering and appreciative facilitation is needed to give civil society a louder voice in strategy design. Equally, the mobilisation and maintenance of local political support is crucial for the strategy, development of an action plan, and its further financing. We also notice our (as scientists, action researchers) contribution added to the development of UFS (second layer learning). Several knowledge brokering activities have proven useful in UFS development: consultations with different stakeholders; learning from other cities; study tours; informal discussions between researchers and municipal administration.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# How are land managers adapting in Mediterranean areas in a transitions pathways context

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**Abstract** – European rural landscapes face today several changes due to market liberalization, price instability, energetic crisis, food quality and security, etc. These pressures result in changes, which might indicate that an ongoing transition process is taking place in rural areas, which could represent the emergence of a new agricultural regime characterized by a shift from the formerly dominant production goals towards a more complex, contested, variable mix of production, consumption and protection goals. Therefore, new ways of managing the land arise, no longer by the conventional farmers alone but by these, plus a multiplicity of other land managers. In order to better understand the diversity of processes going on in the mediterranean rural areas, a land managers typology anchored on the transition theory perspective is proposed. It aims to show the evidence of productivist and post-productivist or multifunctional strategies linked with transitions in place. This typology exploits the combination between the management practices in the holding and the expressed attitudes towards the holding management and the landscape role. To reach this typology, 373 questionnaires to land managers were made in South Portugal.

## INTRODUCTION

The changing role of agriculture is at the core of transition pathways in many rural areas. Productivism, post-productivism and multifunctionality have been targeted towards a possible conceptualization of the transition happening in rural areas. The productivism is characterized by increasingly capitalist agriculture described by a maximization of food production; the predominant role of the countryside as a site for production of food and fibre; state support for production; rationalization and segmentation of work and standardization of products (Ilbery and Bowler 1998, Evans et al., 2002; Jack, 2007; Holmes, 2006; Elands and Praestholm, 2008, Bjørkhaug and Richards, 2008). The Post-productivism or the multifunctionality born to reverse the negatives effects of productivism as, agricultural over-production or environmental degradation, (Bjørkhaug and Richards, 2008). Post-productivism as well as multifunctionality can be related to the growth of farm pluriactivity, re-orientation towards amenities and multifunctional outcome, the loss of the central position of agriculture in the rural, environmental regulation and a more diverse livelihood strategy (Bergstrom, 2002, Mather et al., 2006, Jack, 2007, Wilson, 2007, Elands and Praestholm, 2008). The factors of change, including productivist and post-productivist trends, are combined in various ways and have gone in quite diverse directions and intensities, in individual regions and localities. Even, in the same region, productivist and post-productivist strategies can co-exist spatially, temporally, structurally. Furthermore this complexity reflects different

orientations in land managers and farm management which can be more productivist, post-productivist or multifunctional (van der Ploeg 2008; Herzfeld and Jongeneel 2012; Kristensen et al 2001; Schmitzberger et al 2005), or something in between, based not just on factors exogenous to the land manager, such as new demands that society places on agricultural landscapes, the policies or the multiple landscape characteristics; but also based on endogenous factors such as their motivations, attitudes, ideologies and identities (Lichtenberg and Zimmerman, 1999; Burton and Wilson, 2006, Wilson, 2009). Therefore in this context of a multifunctional transitional period where the profile of the land managers is more heterogeneous, a description of the land managers diversity deserves a renewed attention to better assess the potential to adapt to changes and to meet the expectations that society articulates towards the farming sector (van der Ploeg et al., 2009). The concept of land manager's types could be very useful for the understanding the heterogeneity in agricultural structures, including the understanding of different attitudes among land managers towards different strategies (Van der ploeg, 2008). Nevertheless, usually the concept of land managers types is often based on the notion of the land manager as a producer (farmer) thus is a productivist point of view, therefore is based mainly in the farming techniques and the holding economy. In this paper we aim to incorporate, different factors that influence the land managers diversity and land management in place, such as the behaviours (farming techniques, production, etc.), the attitudes and motivations and the external factors as the policies or the biophysical conditions. The main goal of the paper is to understand the diversity of processes going on, and to understand which land manager type contributes more to the multifunctional transitions in place and also what land manager profile converge to higher multifunctional management strategies?

## METHODOLOGY

In order to analyze the land manager typology, three case-study areas in Alentejo (Southern Portugal) were studied. In order to assess how this transition is occurring specifically in this Mediterranean context with all its specificities, multifunctional transition indicators were developed based on the productivism and post-productivism dimensions, according to Wilson (2007) and adapted to the context of this study through literature review and consultation of experts. A survey based on a questionnaire was undertaken to a sample of holdings. In this questionnaire, different questions reflecting the productivism and post-productivism dimensions referred above were defined. Questions were formulated in order to position and polarize land managers answers from productivism to post-productivism. Fourteen dimensions were developed under five main topics (Fig. 3).

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Within the topic *External Factors*, four dimensions were considered: Policies & regulations; Markets & commercialization; Institutions, neighbors & associations and Governance and multifunctionality. Regarding the topic *Biophysical Factors, Farm and Landscape Framework*, dimensions as soil, slope, available water, farm structure, farm size, and landscape character areas were considered. Within the *Internal Factors-Attitudes* topic the focus was on dimensions (Values; Motivations and Personal profile) that revealed the thoughts, beliefs and ideas (what the land manager thinks), including the socio-economical profile (age, education, childhood, etc.). In the topic *Behaviours-Decisions* three main dimensions were included (Agricultural production; Farming techniques; Other activities) aiming to obtain the practical issues or actions that the manager decides for the holding - what the land manager does, their behaviour. Regarding the topic *Externalities*, indicating the outcomes of the holding management, three dimensions were considered (Environmental impacts; Products & services; Landscape). Sampling was stratified by holding area and n° holdings per parish in each study area. For a Total of 2622 holdings in the three municipalities, 373 direct questionnaires were made in order to be representative of the universe.

Basic statistics were employed for data analysis. In addition a multivariate analysis (Multiple Correspondence Analyses (MCA)) was made. In fact two different MCA were made since the active variables, which established the clusters were different (1- Active variables related with attitudes, 2- Active variables related with behaviours). As passive, or explanatory, all other variables. The objective to separate the behaviours with attitudes was to classify land managers within a productivist and/or post productivist action and thought. The MCA organizes all data in clusters of characteristics and responses, being the active variables those who define the groups and the passive those that illustrate the profile of the group. The principal aim of the analysis was to identify groups (land managers types) with homogenised profile related with the attitudes or the behaviour. So after the clusters were analysed, each of the land manager type was named according to their behaviours and attitudes and the way the managers are positioned regarding the productivism and post-productivism/multifunctionality.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Since the analysis was not already finished its impossible to present in this short paper the results of the study. But from what been observed this and other studies done before by the team we can already built some discussion. The land manager is the key policy target group when the multifunctionality of rural landscapes in under focus, therefore, understanding land managers self-concept and the different roles they are aiming at fulfilling, is of crucial importance. Nevertheless, analyzing the dominant farm sector discourse, both in politics and in individuals, shows that the concern is still focus on production (Pinto-Correia et. al. 2010; Robinson 2008), also as raised above even in practices and management most of times the emphasis is on production (Tilzey & Potter, 2008). Although at the same time new modes of rural occupancy, may are taking place in the rural areas as described by Holmes (2006), combining protection, production, and also consumption in

different ways, which in some cases can be the solution for the future management, mainly in areas where farming sector have a difficulty to be competitive in the world markets. So an understanding of the land managers types will lead us to a better understanding of what are land managers looking for in the landscape they use, and consequently, in the future with this knowledge, better oriented policies and management decision can be made, and will certainly be more easily accepted by land managers since were took into account their views, behaviors, attitudes and opinions.

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# Building on illegal value chains to achieve sustainable management of natural resources?

The case of indigenous aloe exploitation and trade in Baringo, Kenya

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**Abstract** – This paper explores the consequences of ignoring pre-existing un-official and illegal networks for external interventions with approaches to sustainable management of natural resources in marginalized areas of the developing world. To do so, it assesses the effects of a public Research & Development (R&D) intervention aimed at promoting sustainable exploitation and trade of aloe-based products in the semi-arid Baringo County (Kenya), and how it interacted with an existing illegal supply chain dedicated to the exploitation of indigenous aloe species. Data were collected through a qualitative and participatory assessment that was conducted between April and November 2012, using an analytical framework and guidelines derived from the innovation system perspective. The study shows that geographical disparities in the effect of external intervention are the result of unplanned interactions between project stakeholders and actors from the illegal supply chain. The Baringo aloe case suggests that networks involved in illegal trade of natural resources should not be ignored or sidelined by R&D interventions but should on the contrary be supported to allow them to evolve towards certified trade.

## INTRODUCTION

In developing countries, inclusive approaches to improve access to natural resources are perceived as a way for public action to break the 'downward spiral' of rural poverty and environmental degradation (Scherr, 2000). But livelihood strategies sometimes rely on illegal exploitation and trade of natural resource through non-official supply chains. Such configurations often lead to environmental threat that governments fail to mitigate (Ascher, 1999). Therefore a challenge for public action is to jointly address poverty and environment degradation by intervening at the supply chain level.

This paper explores the hypothesis that chances of success of public interventions with approaches to sustainable management of natural resources increase when external interventions build on pre-existing illegal supply chains. We illustrate this idea by reporting how official and non-official stakeholder

networks have been interacting with each other in Baringo (Kenya), within a six years period. During that time, a public Research & Development (R&D) intervention actively promoted sustainable production and export of aloe-based products as an alternative to illegal Wild Aloe Exploitation (WAE). Trade of all aloe species (except for *Aloe vera*) is regulated by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).

## METHODS

A qualitative and participatory assessment was conducted in Baringo between April and November 2012, with the purpose of analyzing the multi-stakeholder process in which aloe cultivation and certified trade were introduced as 2 innovations to replace illegal WAE. We used an analytical framework and guidelines derived from the Innovation System (IS) theoretical framework (Lundvall, 1992). The framework paid particular attention to how this innovation process unfolded over a 30 year period, and focused among others on stakeholders and their roles, the types of innovations developed, the triggers and drivers, the role of markets and projects. This study was conducted in the framework of the JOLISAA project (Triomphe et al. 2013), by a team comprising of researchers, students, and community representatives. Data were collected through individual interviews, group discussions, workshops as well as from published and unpublished documents.

## RESULTS

Baringo County lies in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. South-North geographical disparities lead to differences among farmers in terms of poverty, market access, and livelihood systems. WAE has been occurring without control from the 1980s in the drought-prone and poverty-stricken pastoral areas of northern Baringo. Demand for aloe sap created by traders supplying the growing international market for aloe sap derivatives triggered WAE in the early 1980s. Traders put in place logistical arrangement (decentralized processing units, storage facilities, transportation), and set up networks of aloe sap buyers/processors spread across the territory. They also played the role of knowledge brokers by developing a series of innovations in aloe harvesting and trade and by training local farmers on harvesting methods, sap quality tests and sap processing. In doing so, traders became the central node of a vibrant supply chain linking northern Baringo house-

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holds to the global market (**Fig.1**). In northern Baringo, the illegal aloe value chain offered marginalized stakeholders a fragile livelihood source, as traders offered low sap buying prices. But in their dire context aloe represented a diversification option and a drought aversion strategy well fitted with the social organization of pastoral households.

In 1986, uncontrolled commercial harvest was accused of destroying aloe populations and WAE was declared illegal through a presidential decree. Since this decree was not translated into law, nothing hampered the illegal supply chain with the exception of occasional custom seizures. In 2004, growing attention on the issues raised by unchecked WAE prompted the Kenyan government to try and establish a legal and administrative framework to enable the country to export aloe derivatives in accordance with CITES, with Baringo selected as a pilot area for aloe certified exploitation and trade.

From 2004 to 2009, public R&D interventions took place in Baringo to promote aloe cultivation and to build up a certified, sustainable aloe supply chain (**Fig. 1**). Most activities focused on the more accessible agro pastoral areas of southern Baringo, an area in which WAE had never occurred. In contrast to Northern Baringo, opportunity cost of harvesting aloe was higher because smallholders benefited from a relative diversity of livelihood sources and good market access. Smallholders received trainings and aloe seedlings, a sap-processing factory was built in partnership between a private trader and the communities, a farmer organization was empowered and Aloe Management Units (AMUs) were established. AMUs were delineated areas from where registered smallholders harvested and sold aloe sap to certified collection points following production rules and quotas. Despite this flurry of interventions, several challenges reinforced each other and contributed to the quick paralysis of the newly-emerging certified supply chain: low interest by southern Baringo farmers in aloe cultivation and sap selling, conflicts between project partners leading to market uncertainties and to limited development of certified trade.

Meanwhile, in northern Baringo unintended interactions between official and non-official networks had positive consequences, despite limited external interventions. Aloe cultivation met with a favorable interest from local farmers, and smallholders started supplying AMUs collection points before certified trade stagnated. Farmers perceived aloe cultivation as a strategy for reducing the risks linked to a fragile dependency on spontaneous aloe. Moreover, uncertainties in certified commercial outlet were reduced by relying on - or reverting to - the historically much more stable and effective non-official supply chain. Lastly, adoption of aloe cultivation was made easy by the anchorage of aloe-related activities in pastoral households' social organization, as well as by the knowledge accumulated on aloe harvest. On the negative side, the official/non-official networks interaction also led to price competition between the legal and illegal channels. This encouraged smallholders to harvest more spontaneous aloe than

usual, thus increasing the pressure on the resource (**Fig. 1**).

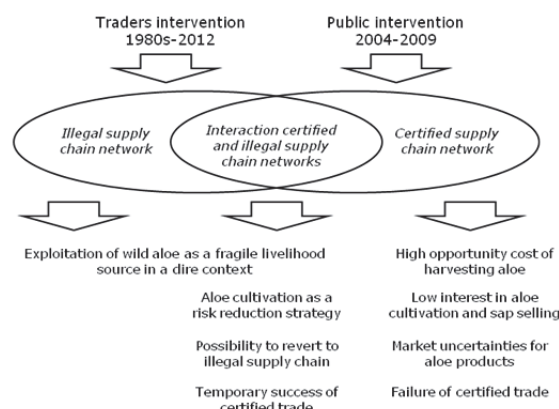


Figure 1. Interactions among illegal and public networks for aloe exploitation and trade.

## DISCUSSION

In northern Baringo, temporary success of public interventions was the consequence of unplanned hybridization between official and non-official supply chain. On the other hand, by ignoring prior existing practices and networks, projects were confronted by a double challenge: low interest from smallholders in the south, and competition with illegal supply chain leading to accelerated natural resource depletion in the north. The Baringo aloe case suggests that wild harvesters and illegal value chains' stakeholders are fully part of natural resource management systems, and that intervening agencies should explore ways of recognizing and incorporating their experience to allow them to evolve towards certified trade (in this view, innovation system theory provides relevant analytical framework). Doing so appears to have a greater potential to achieve sustainable management of natural resources and poverty reduction.

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# Innovation for sustainable agriculture: perspectives and potentials of learning processes in two case studies in Italy

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**Abstract** - The process of transition towards sustainability requires that the actors involved act in a collective dimension in order not only to learn about technical innovations but, moreover, to change well-known and established frames of reference for thinking. This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of these processes by drawing on insights from reflections and fieldwork undertaken within the EU project SOLINSA, addressed to explore transition towards sustainable agriculture. This article describes the paths of innovation and learning towards sustainability in two case studies carried out in Italy within the SOLINSA project: a network of organic farmers, fishermen, consumers' groups and consumers' associations in Tuscany (Crisoperla Association) and a consortium of breeders in Emilia Romagna that produces Parmigiano Reggiano cheese from milk of a local breed (Red Cows Consortium, RCC). Through analysis of the history, evolution, actions and organizational arrangements of the two initiatives, we highlight the learning paths that occur along with the development of the two networks and, through that, the definition of priorities and modes of action they have adopted to meet the common goals. Specifically, we question how the mechanisms of governance of the networks can influence the realization of the processes of innovation and learning towards sustainability. In fact, in analyzing these collective strategies, the focus is not only on the shared goal of the group, but also (and above all) on the process of social learning (and related framing processes), and on governance characteristics that can foster or hamper these processes, as mechanisms of responsibility sharing, distribution of power and leadership balance. We also explore the capacity of these networks to influence the social, economic and institutional context, highlighting the potential pressure on local dominant systems.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper reports some results of the research conducted within the EU (7th FP) project SOLINSA (Support of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture).

The recent literature on theories of transition and innovation in agriculture (Ploeg *et al.*, 2004; Seyfang

et Smith, 2006; Brunori *et al.*, 2008; Knickel *et al.*, 2009) highlights the development of a gap in the official Agriculture Knowledge System (AKS) to achieve the objectives of sustainability (economic, social, environmental) to which policies and public opinion have been aspiring for several years (Hall *et al.*, 2003, Knickel *et al.*, 2009). The research conducted within SOLINSA intends to contribute to part of this gap by studying networks of farmers, consumers, CSOs, experts, components of the formal AKS, local administrations, SMEs - called LINSA (Learning and Innovation networks for Sustainable Agriculture) -, as innovative forms of relationship, learning and innovation that can meet the challenge of sustainability. The deepening proposed in this article concerns the study conducted by the University of Pisa on two LINSAs with very different characteristics: a network of producers, consumers, associations, and institutions (Crisoperla) and a network of breeders, institutions and research institutes (Red Cows Consortium, CVR). The first one has developed outside of the conventional AKS, the second was initially hindered by AKS but then has gradually developed within this and with its support. This paper will focus on the structure of the two networks and on how the mechanisms of governance of the networks can influence the realization of the processes of innovation and learning towards sustainability.

## METHODS

From the methodological point, the case studies were developed through a combination of qualitative methods of investigation: structured and semi-structured interviews, with different networks members (20 in total); 5 thematic workshops, undertaking facilitated discussion on different topics of LINSA interest (internal rules, the concept of innovation, network history analysis); participation in internal meetings as observers, as well as participation in public initiatives and events organized by LINSAs. We carried out a parallel document study, by analyzing the flows of internal communication of networks (e.g. mailing lists), thematic papers and press articles related to their activities.

Combining the different methods described above, we analyzed some characteristics of LINSAs, specifically: scale, origin and functions, degree of integration, level of learning and innovation, rela-

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tionship with the AKS, efficiency and effectiveness on support, perception of sustainability.

### RESULTS

We have traced the development of the two networks, from their origin to their current form. Crisoperla is a young and expanding network, whilst the RCC was formed in the 1980s and now is consolidated, both from the point of view of the structure (main actors) and practices (methods of production and marketing of Parmesan cheese with Red Cows milk). Both are configured as Community of Practices (Cop) (Wenger, 1998), despite the fact that Crisoperla has over time expanded its network of relationships beyond the local context, taking on more the configuration of a Network of Practices (NoP) (Brown and Duguid, 2001). As LINSAs, the common basis of action of the actors is aimed at achieving sustainability goals: in Crisoperla they are understood as referring to the valorisation and diffusion of organic farming and lifestyles based on solidarity; for the RCC these goals refer to the protection of plant and animal biodiversity, as an engine of local development.

We found that the two LINSAs have very different organizational models: Crisoperla refers to a democratic system of shared decision-making (representatives of different groups - GAS, producers, consumer associations - attend the meetings and decide), with exchange between peers and an informal division of roles, and without any formal structure (e.g. Governing Council). On the other hand, the RCC is an organized group of producers, characterised by a well-defined leadership and a directive council, included within the larger network of the community of producers of Parmigiano Reggiano. Consequently, the governance dynamics which characterise the groups are different.

Due to the diversity of sustainability targets and fields of activity, the two LINSAs have also a different willingness and ability to influence the socio-economic environment: Crisoperla aims to change the environment in which it operates according to its own principles and to contribute to the change of the dominant system; the RCC challenged the AKS at the beginning but subsequently it obtained a recognized role within the local community of producers and has been legitimated by the scientific community.

### DISCUSSION

In both cases, the same growth of networks and the progressive structuring of relations in the area (by involving associations, institutions, research institutes, local community of farmers) have contributed to the creation of learning spaces, as well as new social capital. The different organizational forms affect the flow of information, the mechanisms of learning, actors involvement in decision-making and effectiveness of the LINSAs towards sustainability. In the case of Crisoperla, the case study has highlighted weaknesses in terms of management and organization (internal and external communication,

division of roles) resulting from the democratic governance of the network. In the case of the RCC, the hierarchical structure in some way reduces the participation of actors with respect to decisions and to the formulation of strategies of action of the group. In both cases, acting on the internal organization could improve the effectiveness of the LINSAs within the technical-institutional environment, which has already shown significant results. For example, these include respectively, recognition of the role of organic farming and solidarity economy as a tool for the development of marginal areas, and recognition of the socio-economic and environmental value of a local product.

### FINAL REMARKS

The analysis of the development process of LINSAs showed that at the basis of the ability to promote changes there are social learning processes that lead to the creation of new shared systems of knowledge and norms and, on that basis, to the development of innovative pathways, both at operational and at strategic level. The effectiveness of these processes of social learning is strongly related to network building processes and to the governance dynamics developing within them.

In a logic of necessary transition to more sustainable food systems, the understanding of the innovative potential of the network dimension and of the dynamics that allow its expression is fundamental, to be taken into account, together with an assessment of their impact, both in the research agenda and in public policies, including future Rural Development Regulation.

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# Can action research support sustainable innovation pathways?

Bettina König, Katharina Diehl, Anett Kuntosch and Sven Lundie<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In order to master global challenges like food security, climate change and sustainable use of natural resources etc. not only inter- and transdisciplinary knowledge, but also an in-depth understanding of innovation mechanisms in agriculture is required, as well as process and coordination competence, to support sustainable innovation pathways.

In this paper we present a meta-reflection of three case studies from Germany to present lessons learnt on the possibilities to promote sustainable innovation pathways in agriculture. To do so, we apply an innovation system framework to analyse topic specific regional innovation conditions and processes. Secondly, we used discursive action research methods to facilitate joint learning and promote innovation processes in the found heterogeneous and complex actor and interest constellation. The method applied allowed to develop a joint system view and the research team served temporarily as a process promoter to further stimulate the innovation process.

## INTRODUCTION

In order to master global challenges like food security, climate change and sustainable use of natural resources etc. inter- and transdisciplinary knowledge is considered to be a key factor (Kueffer and Hirsch Hadorn 2008). In promoting innovative inter- and transdisciplinary problem solving, an in-depth understanding of existing innovation mechanisms in agriculture is initially required. Secondly, an inter- and transdisciplinary process and coordination competence is needed to support sustainable innovation pathways.

Agricultural innovation systems currently face the challenge that they "... are often fragmented and not sufficiently responsive towards changes and to new societal concerns and demands" (Dockés et al. 2011). Yet, due to regional, national and EU funding schemes that have set incentives in previous years to produce sustainable problem solutions, it is to be presumed that actors within the traditional Agricultural Knowledge and Innovation Systems (AKIS) – universities, research organisations, experimental stations, extension services – produce knowledge and technologies potentially contributing to sustain-

able innovation pathways. The key question we address in this paper is if and how this knowledge and technologies can be transferred effectively into innovative solutions.

## METHOD

We designed an action research setting for three case studies to generate analytical and process knowledge on the possibilities to promote sustainable innovation pathways in agriculture. We follow Stokols analytical framework for transdisciplinary action research, as a topic of scientific study to "achieve a more complete understanding of prior collaborations and to identify strategies for refining and sustaining future collaborations (and their intended outcomes) among researchers, community members and organizations" (Stokols 2006, p1). We develop a greater understanding of our transdisciplinary action research approach through reflecting on our own experiences to derive knowledge on how future collaborations to improve knowledge and technology transfer for sustainable land use practices can be developed. We present three case studies, using qualitative and organization research methods (Yin 2009, Kühl 2002).

First we apply an innovation system framework to analyse topic specific regional innovation conditions, the specific context of relevant actors and existing interaction processes (Malerba 2002, Bokelmann et al. 2012). Secondly, we draw conclusions for discursive action research methods in workshops to facilitate joint learning and promote innovation processes in the value networks in the case studies.

The first example is the biological regulation of Verticillium wilt on strawberries (Lentzsch et al. 2007). The second case is an almost closed water circulation aquaponic system for fish and plant production (Drews et al. 2008). The third example is a water management decision support system for vegetables (Paschold et al. 2010). All case studies are seen as examples for typical knowledge and technology transfer and were suitable to undergo an innovation process in order to identify their potential value for sustainable land use practices – namely biological pest management, resource saving food production and water saving irrigation management.

## RESULTS

Results indicate that all three studied cases had a heterogeneous actor constellation with fragmented pre-existing knowledge about each other's activities.

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Knowledge for further development was retrieved from participants both in science as well as in practice. This was found to be the result of little innovation targeted interaction mechanisms. Lack of a promoting coordinator has been the main barrier to move toward innovation implementation in all three cases before the analyses and workshops were conducted in this study.

The case for improved biological regulation had been strongly influenced by the closure of an experimental research station and the abolishment of publicly funded extension services. This had led to a limited innovation oriented knowledge exchange among the actors in the regional strawberry production value chain. Further reasons for this general non-action "waiting" constellation around innovation-oriented knowledge exchange can be found in restructuring processes due to changes in the traditional Agricultural Innovation System as well as sufficient economic success of the existing economic activities and little market incentives.

More complex innovations, as shown in the aquaponic case, were dependent on value chains. In this case a value chain had not yet developed. The workshop clearly showed the limitations of the present actors to influence this setting from their position, without interchanging knowledge with the other actors in existing and potential future value chains. In the irrigation example, actors from other branches – namely information and communication technologies – were not involved, resulting in little user value of the developed solutions. Also, feedback loops of growers experiences with the prototype were not organized effectively. The workshops in all three case studies revealed that new knowledge about user requirements that were not previously incorporated was obtained due to the facilitated discussion. Hence, new or adapted goals for the following research and development activities could be formulated. All three case studies lacked an immediate promoter of the innovation process. This function was partly replaced by the action research team during the time of this study. Due to the high attention that was generated by the action research team for all three cases, the promoter function was partly taken over by the involved research institutes (two cases) and/ or experimental stations after the study. Thus, we showed that the promoter role could be made recognizable to the actors involved. Even though in the end the actual success of each case to become an innovation took very different courses, we showed that the promoter role could successfully be transferred to other actors following an action research intervention.

#### CONCLUSIONS

An adapted innovation and knowledge system approach is a suitable analytical basis for action researchers to support actors forming of a joint system's view and system thinking and is a useful starting point to develop a facilitation concept for strategic visioning and planning of further knowledge and technology integration and development. The action

researcher takes over a temporal coordination, structuring and integrating function that was missing in the case studies prior to our research. Action research can support innovation pathways temporarily by providing actors with collective problem structuring, moderating, documenting and the integration of new knowledge and actors. The long-term effects of action research is a critical success factor in whether or not actors of the studied system take over process responsibility. Instability of regional AKIS, limited personnel and finance resources, limited incentives and capacities for innovation orientation are a limiting factor for the studied traditional AKIS actors, such as extension or experimental stations, to take over a long term process promoter function. Incentive structures in the science system are barriers to long-term process moderation and engagement of knowledge and technology producing research organizations and universities, and there remains a career risk for the researchers involved, which has to be communicated to science policy decision makers.

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# The role of participatory methods in accompanying Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture (LINSAs): The example of two networks in France

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**Abstract** – Participatory methods have an essential role to play to support innovative networks. In the frame of the EU project SOLINSA, the Charter for Good Agricultural Practices and the Sustainable Agricultural Network contribute to a practice-research work on the development of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture (LINSA). This paper illustrates how participatory methods can facilitate learning or reflection processes. Firstly they are used to create discussion and exchange between participants. Secondly they facilitate involvement and mind shift. Thirdly they have an impact on involvement of stakeholders in decision processes. Finally they form original ways of learning, teaching and interacting.

## INTRODUCTION

Agricultural systems must move towards more sustainable ways of production and organization. Innovation is considered as a key to this transition and is often carried out within networks, far from the traditional model of the linear development from researchers to practitioners (Klerkx et al. 2012).

The EU-SOLINSA project focuses on practice-research interactions with 17 Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture (LINSA) in 8 countries. LINSAs are defined as networks of stakeholders, mutually engaged with common goals for sustainable agriculture and rural development - cooperating, sharing resources and co-producing new knowledge by creating conditions for communication (Brunori et al. 2013). The project aims at identifying barriers to their development, in order to define cost-efficient and effective supports.

As part of this project, a set of recommendations, dedicated to the support of LINSA, is being developed and will be tested in a pilot training course. To ensure their lasting, their growth and their spreading, LINSAs have various needs, depending on their states of development. At the beginning they mainly need nursing, whereas later on facilitation and networking skills are crucial. To support innovative networks, there is a need of collective reflections and learning process among the LINSA's members. Participatory methods have an essential role to play.

In this paper we focus on the impact of the use of participatory methods carried out with two LINSAs.

## BACKGROUND : FACILITATION METHODS TO SUPPORT CHANGE MANAGEMENT IN TWO NETWORKS

Moving towards a more sustainable agriculture is a transition process which involves four main change factors: knowledge elaboration, individual and collective attitudes or representations, social groups and practical aspects or artefacts (Dockes et al. 2010). Our goal in this analysis was to assess the strengths and weaknesses of different facilitation tools and methods in supporting transition processes. Throughout the SOLINSA project, we carried out workshops and interviews within two networks to reach two principles: accompanying the LINSAs in their expectations, but also studying them. We chose to work with a network dealing with radical innovation and with another aiming at incremental changes.

*The Sustainable Agricultural Network* gathers groups of farmers and promotes economic and ecological farming systems, with a real paradigm shift from the productivist model of agriculture. This network is accustomed to participatory methods (Lusson 2010) and has recently been involved in the development of the "forage Rami", a strategic and technical game whose goal is to experiment in a virtual way live-stock farms' adaptation to climate change or other stresses (Piquet et al. 2013). This tool aims at placing users in management situation and its originality is based on the articulation of scientific and empirical knowledge. The Rami constitutes a boundary object for players who co-design their forage systems and more generally for the network.

*The "Charter of Good Agricultural Practices"* promotes the quality of the profession and practices of cattle farmers. It is a national quality scheme which was launched after the mad cow crisis, in a context of mistrust between farm production and society. The Charter aims at slowly facilitating incremental changes in the practices of most of the French farmers through a set of 41 items connected to six areas (animals' identification, animal health, feed hygiene and traceability, animal welfare, dairy production hygiene and environment protection). This set, co-

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built by the network's members is its main boundary object. About 105 000 farmers commit to the Charter. Their practices are assessed every two years by 3 000 advisers specifically trained and who provide support to farmers when necessary.

#### METHODS: A CHOICE OF ADAPTED FACILITATION TOOLS

After a first joint analysis of the expectations of each of the networks, we carried out two different processes of participatory approaches. Evaluation was conducted after most workshops to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the methods.

##### *Answering the lack of participatory advisory tool in forage production*

The Forage Rami has been tested during the summer 2012 in the West and South West of France through nine Workshops involving two to four farmers and two workshops with agricultural students. We assessed the game through a video in which farmers and facilitators who took part to the workshops express their views and opinions.

##### *Foreseeing to define new strategy*

After 12 years of existence of the Charter, we engaged a foresight exercise involving 25 to 90 people to identify strategy and actions to be set for the next years, and also to allow the group to open their mind to different views or different futures. Firstly the participants analyzed the key-factors which can have an impact on the Charter's future. Secondly, based on this first shared vision, different scenarios of the Charter for the next 10 years were built. Finally, actions in favor of the privileged scenario were designed.

#### RESULTS

##### *Constructive and open minded discussions*

The evaluation of the two processes shows the interest of the participants for sharing and discussing results. Indeed the materialization of a place where people can express themselves and interact is very important. The Forage Rami triggers off constructive discussions about farming management, technical and economic lines and practices. Farmers can interact and share views and experiences. The collective approach offers new ways to answer to the problems that livestock systems have to cope with. As such the tool facilitates the very practical co-design of sustainable farming systems (like in Klerckx et al. 2012). The foreseeing approach enables the board of Charter to make decisions by taking into account the points of view expressed during the workshops. Cohesion is also reinforced within the group: everybody is working together to find development axes. New or alternative views can be revealed.

##### *An innovative learning process*

As a game, the Forage Rami enables participants to virtually test different solutions without taking any risks or investment on their farm. It offers new horizons for training with students and teachers but also with the technical board of agricultural organizations. Some side effects however need to be taken into account: the Rami needs special skills regarding its development for one specific area (providing adapted data) and its coordination during the work-

shop is not so easy (facilitation skills). It seems also specifically adapted to farmer groups in search of new approaches and new systems.

##### *Involving actors in decisions processes*

"Participatory methods" directly involve people into the discussions and give participants the opportunity to bring their own ideas. In addition, the actions, services, tools that have been collectively built are more relevant for the participants. And the group is empowered. In the case of the Charter, the steering committee had to take strategic decisions, especially considering financial cuts. The scenario analysis showed which issues had to be stressed and help to make people accept difficult changes. Nevertheless strategic decisions were neither easy to make nor always as creative as the discussions were.

##### *Difficulties to reach the different goals*

As participatory methods involve the participation of people, we met some difficulties to reach in the same time LINSAs' and researchers' needs. Indeed LINSAs are not always interested in researchers' questions. This difficulty is due to the double goal of the SOLINSA project: accompanying the LINSAs (meaning answering to their questions) and studying them (meaning answering researchers' questions). Actors' availability may also change during the project, causing changes in the program.

#### CONCLUSION

To conclude, participatory methods provide space to share knowledge co-build knowledge mixing scientific and empirical approaches. They allow people to tackle with different views and make their representations evolve. Through the co-design of boundary objects they materialize the practical aspects of innovation. LINSAs' expectations and availability have to be taken into account to reach everyone's goals. A transition towards a more sustainable agriculture require at the same time new systems or practices and new views on the farmer profession. Participatory approaches help to reduce the ambivalence that sometimes exists between attitudes and practices and therefore facilitate the shift.

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# Supporting innovation partnerships in rural areas – lessons learnt from an Innovation Network in Germany

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**Abstract** – The common goals of the Innovation Network for Climate Change Adaptation Brandenburg Berlin (INKA BB) are to ensure the sustainable use of land and water resources in north-eastern Germany under changing climatic conditions and to empower actors in business, administration, public agencies and civil society to react to the emerging climate change with strategic flexibility. An action research approach is used to systematically implement and assess methods of transdisciplinary cooperation and innovation development. The 'SWOT analysis' tool (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) is applied to structure and guide the multi-stakeholder knowledge exchange and decision-making processes among network partners. We will show examples of how it is used in group processes in order to support the collection and integration of diverse perspectives. The findings give a differentiated picture of the possibilities and limits of the SWOT tool to support (natural) scientists in transdisciplinary cooperation.

## INTRODUCTION

In addition to climate change mitigation, adaptation strategies are getting increasingly important for dealing with the challenges of climate change. Adaptation to climate change requires regional and local approaches (Laukkonen et al. 2009) and thus close cooperation with practice partners is necessary since regional and location-based knowledge is required for the development of measures such as adapted cultivation methods.

In Germany, one example for the support of a regional adaptation process is the Innovation Network for Climate Change Adaptation Brandenburg Berlin (INKA BB) in north-eastern Germany. The common goals of the R&D project are to ensure the sustainable use of land and water resources under changing climatic conditions and to empower actors in business, administration, public agencies and civil society to react to the emerging climate change with strategic flexibility (Knierim et al. 2010).

Since we presume that the complex problem of climate change adaptation can be best addressed in partnerships between diverse actors, the process of innovation development in INKA BB is methodologically based on an action research approach. Here, practice partners participate in the design, testing,

and evaluation of adaptation measures, as these common steps are central to facilitating change and learning in a network of various stakeholders.

The aim of the paper is to present and discuss the methodological approach for process management in INKA BB.

## THEORY AND METHODS

The action research approach in the project is based on concepts of organisational development (Nagel and Wimmer 2002) and learning and innovation processes in networks (Wielinga et al. 2008).

For the interaction processes between science and practice partners in transdisciplinary modules in the project, we assume group work needs to be supported methodologically. Firstly, the project course is designed in different phases with regular situational analysis and evaluation steps for joint planning and decision-making processes and, secondly, the group work is supported through the introduction of facilitation techniques, workshop planning skills and self-evaluation tools for reflection phases. In particular, the 'SWOT analysis' tool (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) is applied to structure and guide the multi-stakeholder knowledge exchange and decision-making processes among the network partners.

The tasks of the action researcher in the project are to realize methodological interventions, such as support for and training in methods for cooperation and communication in groups, and at the same time to realize research through qualitative and action research methods like participant observations.

## RESULTS

The main results from the initial situation analysis (2009) and the mid-term evaluation (2011) of the project are summarized in the following for the procedural design and the methodological intervention and support.

The procedural design of the project in phases following the action research approach (planning, action, reflection) was helpful in guiding the cooperation processes. The procedural design in the modules guides the active integration of stakeholders by facilitating group work processes in transdisciplinary workshops.

The SWOT analysis has proven to be a useful tool for the evaluation steps with practice partners in the

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reflection phases. Most scientists recognized it as a supportive instrument. It was applied in a flexible manner in the modules using it in group discussions, in interviews or just as an implicit structure for discussions about results and objectives.

An important precondition for common activities is identifying the interests of the actors involved. Here the situation analysis at the beginning of the project helped to articulate the demand of the stakeholders as well as of the scientists: a) the problems and demands of the practice partners based on their knowledge and experience and b) the needs of scientists in identifying new research questions and, at the same time, compiling them with the requirements of the funding organization.

For example, in the module on organic farming the different interests were merged by adding the farmers' stated problems with crop yields in crop rotations to questions of climate change adaptation by adding different sowing dates and reduced tillage methods. As a result, innovative tillage devices were tested to provide flexible options for farmers to adapt their production systems.

In the mid-term evaluation, the application of the SWOT tool supported the revision of objectives as well as the adjustment of activities by, for example, revising the experimental topics. In particular, the identification of weaknesses helped the modules to draw conclusions for future activities. For example, one aspect of the analysis was to check if relevant partners are lacking to achieve objectives.

In addition, looking at external factors such as 'opportunities' and 'threats' helped focus on the situation of practice partners, who have to deal with these framework conditions and, as a result, it further links research activities to real world requirements. Consequently, the perspectives and risk assumptions of practice partners are taken into account here.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In addition to positive feedback on and successful application of the methodological approach, there were also critical comments on the procedural design and the use of the SWOT analysis: a) In the course of the project, some partners criticised the rigidity of the procedural design as they were not open to adjusting the timing of their module to the overall framework and b) the SWOT tool was seen as being too formal and theoretical among practice partners and too time consuming in its preparation and implementation.

In general, it remains a challenge in a natural science-dominated network to realize the process-based approach with joint synthesis and reflection steps as a basis for transparent planning and decision-making processes with practice partners, in addition to joint activities, such as implementing the experimental measures.

We observed to what different degrees the actors are involved in the innovation development processes. One particularly critical point is the involvement of practice partners in the decision-making steps. As

a result, the discussions on conclusions from the SWOT analysis were not always realized as a joint step, but rather scientists decided how to proceed.

It can be concluded that the SWOT analysis applied in group processes allows the collection and integration of diverse perspectives within the qualitative order structure. Its successful application in group contexts requires competencies for communication and facilitation, especially for subsequent decision-making steps. These competencies need to be supported from the beginning of the project to establish a sound foundation for cooperation and communication. One additional option would be to support the processes with external facilitators.

Additionally, the facilitation of innovation processes implies various roles for innovation brokers and action researchers (summarized by Klerkx et al. 2009; Leeuwis and Aarts 2011, recently published in Klerkx et al. 2012, 474 f.) to support:

- demand articulation like innovation needs and visions achieved through problem diagnosis und foresight exercises;
- network composition with relevant actors and facilitation of linkages amongst these actors;
- innovation process management by enhancing the alignment in heterogeneous networks. This includes facilitation tasks which ensure that networks are sustained and become productive, e.g. by establishing trust, setting up working procedures, and promoting learning.

The action research approach chosen in INKA BB fulfils the main functions of promoting networks and partnerships but the experiences showed that successful implementation requires support and continuous learning for methodical competencies and reflection of role(s) in the process.

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# Lifelong learning to cope with change: the needs for competence among farmers in north-eastern Germany

Judith Specht, Charis L. Braun, Anna M. Häring and Katrin Wenz<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** –Transition processes in society as well as in agricultural systems require an enlarged set of competences among individuals and institutions. Since the reunification in 1990, the eastern federal states of Germany have had to deal with major processes of change. The first radical change of the social and political system, which followed the reunification, has meanwhile been replaced by demographic change and structural changes of farming systems. As a consequence, neither existing knowledge and coping strategies nor common learning opportunities ensure successful economic and social activities. Findings from empirical research highlight specific needs for competence that have the potential to enable farmers and inhabitants of rural areas to act resiliently. The identified competences are described as knowledge, skills, such as social competences, and autonomy and adopt the taxonomy of the National Qualifications Framework for Germany. As a basis to conceptualize an innovative programme of further education, they contribute to the creation of a lifelong learning opportunity within the agricultural scientific system.

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout Europe, rural regions and their inhabitants experience processes of change that call into question formerly successful strategies regarding economic and social welfare. Some regions, however, have already successfully developed coping strategies as transition processes are no recent challenge, but have continued to occur in the last decades. One example can be found in the eastern federal states of Germany. Particularly rural regions have had to cope with radical changes in policy, economy and social life since the reunification. Additionally, they suffer from selective migration: the society is not only shrinking and getting older, but has to reinvent itself as especially young, female and well educated inhabitants leave rural areas (Maretzke et al., 2009). These regions can therefore serve as an "observation laboratory", since they are

facing a situation at present which is yet to come in other regions (Weiß et al., 2011).

Giving people the opportunity to learn and thus to create innovations themselves is one option to generally enable them to secure their livelihood in a changing environment. As formal learning it can be implemented either as vocational training (Bauernschuster, 2008) or within the scientific system (Minks, 2011). However, the question is what should be taught and how should the teaching be effected in order to create a learning outcome which enables people working in agriculture or living in rural areas to cope with the mentioned change processes. This paper wants to tackle this overall question by asking whether there are specific needs for competence to implement already identified coping strategies, such as the diversification of agricultural production, and how they can be systematised into competence categories on the one hand and learning approaches on the other.

## METHODS

Five different diversification strategies such as offering opportunities for rural tourism or artisan food processing including the specific necessary competences have been analysed. In this paper, results from research on "Alternative marketing strategies" will be presented. They were generated by a literature review that was combined with empirical qualitative research (three semi-structured guided interviews with selected farmers) to open the field and get an insight into individual needs and learning strategies. The farmers were selected according to the rule of maximum contrast to cover a broad segment of manifestations. The interviews were conducted in the federal state of Brandenburg, situated in the north-east of Germany.

The interviews were audio-recorded and have been transcribed in full length. The analysis followed criteria of the qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2010). It combined deductive steps with inductive ones and thus openness with structured analysis.

The taxonomy of the German Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning (AK DQR, 2011) – the national implementation of the European Qualifications Framework EQF – was used to describe the identified competences. Accordingly, they were classified as professional (knowledge and skills) and personal competences (social skills and autonomy).

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## RESULTS

A number of specific competences is necessary in order to implement an alternative marketing strategy (i. e. community supported agriculture (CSA), farm shops or rented gardens where people can grow their own vegetables with professional support from a farmer). These competences include a combination of professional and personal competences and all in all represent the action skill of the individual. The basic agricultural know-how (professional competence) can be achieved either through scientific or vocational training and is deepened by working practice. For the implementation of alternative marketing strategies, however, additional knowledge and skills are necessary, such as general knowledge in business administration and management (resources management, financial planning and accounting, and marketing) as well as specific knowledge in terms of food chain management and food processing.

Personal competences are of major importance but proved not to be adequately taught within existing courses of study. Diversification strategies that go beyond a "pure" additional income generation and aim at building networks or communities (e. g. CSA) or at offering services to the public which were formerly provided by state-owned agricultural companies, require personal competences on a high level. These include aspects of autonomy such as discipline, the ability to make decisions and lifelong learning. In terms of necessary social competences, particularly the face-to-face contact with customers requires communication skills, empathy, and the power of persuasion.

In order to acquire these identified competences or to make them available for agricultural holdings, there are three options which include two different learning approaches. Two options belong to the formal learning sector: an advanced training focusing on the "new" necessary competences (either professional or personal) and the employment of a professional from the selected field (e. g. accounting or food processing). However, the second option is suitable only in case of a lack in professional competence. Although a lack in social competences or autonomy of the farm manager is a minor problem for those only dealing with agricultural production, it becomes a central challenge that can hardly be compensated by a new employee when a farmer wants to start an extra-agricultural occupation. The third option includes informal learning strategies such as the exchange of experiential knowledge and the creation of networks among farmers using alternative marketing strategies.

## DISCUSSION

The identified competences / competence categories can be translated as fields with a need for additional knowledge for those starting alternative marketing strategies as extra-agricultural diversification. To acquire these competences, two of the described ways are of further relevance. The first contains the conception of advanced training possibilities within

formal education (i. e. extra-occupational courses in higher education which convey the identified competences). The second is about encouraging and supporting professional networks which promote and facilitate informal learning. Both tackle the increasing relevance of personal competences to lead knowledge and skills to an enhanced action skill. For the system of higher learning, they serve as a guideline to design sustainable courses addressing not only the needs of (young) fulltime students but also those of older or employed students who are interested in or need options for lifelong learning.

Strengthening small unities, e. g. via regionalism, self-efficacy, for example by creating networks, and the ability to learn are common elements within the discussion on how farmers and inhabitants of rural regions can improve their ability to act resiliently (Hubenthal, 2012). The findings presented show how science can contribute to this process by implementing offers for lifelong learning which, once they have been established, can become part of the multitude of actions aiming at creating resilience and remaining active in a world in transition.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# The influence of regional actors on the success of an interregional learning and innovation network for sustainable agriculture.

Laure Triste, Lies Debruyne and Fleur Marchand<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The Interreg project DAIRYMAN is an interregional learning and innovation network for sustainable agriculture with the aim to set up networks to connect knowledge, to exchange tools and to create innovations, focusing on improving dairy farm resource management in a profitable way. Within this interregional network differences between regional networks emerge, which might influence farmers learning. This is what we aim to investigate with the methodology described in this paper. Some first preliminary results on the networks in the Netherlands and Northern Ireland are discussed.

## INTRODUCTION

Knowledge is embedded in social ties by which individuals and groups learn about innovations, opinions and perspectives, learn new tasks or reinforce or question previously held ideas (Prell et al., 2008). Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture (LINSAs) are based on such social ties. The European Interreg IVB project DAIRYMAN aims to set up networks to connect knowledge, to exchange tools and to create innovations, focusing on improving dairy farm resource management in a profitable way. The overall goal is to strengthen rural communities leading to a more competitive dairy sector, stronger regional economies and an improved ecological and economic performance in the 10 participating regions. A network was set up consisting of 130 commercial dairy pilot farms, 9 Knowledge Transfer Centers (KTC), and an agricultural school, extended with other stakeholders like policy makers and farm advisors.

Now the 4 year project is coming to an end, the results of the actions taken emerge, thereby revealing differences between the existing networks in the regions. For instance, we observe differences in the network structures and the actors involved. We assume that these differences might influence the success of the DAIRYMAN network in these regions. To analyze this success we will focus on the pilot farmers, because of their central role in the network. To define success in this project we start from the concept of adaptive expertise, defined as an individual's ability to deal flexibly with new situations (Fazey et al., 2005). To develop this adaptive expertise, an individual needs to vary and reflect on expe-

riences and take different perspectives to question his current understanding (Fazey et al., 2005). These skills enable a learning cycle transforming a learner's experiences, evolving from (i) concrete involvement in an experience, to (ii) observation and reflection, through (iii) formation of abstract concepts, and (iv) testing in new situations (Kolb, 1981). Based on this, the learning outcome of adaptive expertise in DAIRYMAN can result in increased self-reflection by farmers towards his farming system or a growing insight in his own situation, and the way he deals with new technologies on his farm. Our main hypothesis is that the regional network structures and the actors involved influence the learning outcome in the different regions. To test this, we formulate three research questions. First, what are the differences in network structure between the regions? Second, what are the differences in learning outcomes between the different regions? Third, how does the structure of the network influence this learning? To answer these questions we will analyze 4 regions involved in the DAIRYMAN-project: Brittany (France), Northern Ireland (United Kingdom), The Netherlands and Flanders (Belgium).

## METHODS

To be able to answer the research questions we will use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection and analyses.

We will use three sources for data collection: in depth semi-structured interviews with regional key partners and pilot farmers, documents on the regional networks and a structured survey with pilot farmers. The interviews with key partners will deal with questions about the overall functioning of the network. The interviews with pilot farmers will question how they perceived the network as a help to improve their farm resource management, what they learned from the project, and which actors in the network were of importance for the knowledge acquisition. We will use the interviews to set up the survey that will be distributed to all pilot farmers in the four selected regions of the DAIRYMAN network. The methods used to analyze the acquired data will be either qualitative or (semi-) quantitative, depending on the research question.

At this moment we are still working on the first step of our proposed methodology: what are the differences in network structure between the regions? In May 2013 we interviewed two Dutch key

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partners (the scientific coordinator and the project coordinator of the Dutch regional network) of Wageningen University (WUR) on the DAIRYMAN network in the Netherlands. Next to this we analyzed a document of the project partners of Northern Ireland on the selection of pilot farms for the network and we organized a Skype interview with a project partner from CAFRE (Department of Agricultural and Rural Development) to ask additional questions about the structure and functioning of the Northern Ireland network. The document and interviews have been analyzed in Nvivo 9 (QSR International, 2010) using open coding. Consequently our results section will only deal with data from The Netherlands and Northern Ireland.

### RESULTS

The current document and interviews reveal that the regional networks can be described based on following features: the maturity of the network, the actors involved, the actor roles within the network, and the way relations between these actors are established. The Dutch DAIRYMAN partner is WUR and is also the project leader. Their regional DAIRYMAN network is based on the national network 'Cows and Opportunities' (Koeien en Kansen; 1998), a public-private partnership dealing with nutrient management issues and working with 16 pilot farms. In practice, the Dutch general public knows both projects 'Cows and Opportunities' and 'DAIRYMAN' by the name 'Cows and Opportunities'. Because of the years of experience the national network 'Cows and Opportunities' can count on a complex network with tight relations between an array of actors.

Northern Ireland only got actively involved in the DAIRYMAN project from 2011, due to a change of the AFBI regional contact person. From that moment on CAFRE has also been involved. They provided a pilot farm network of 9 farms, that were selected out of a network with 60 farmers involved in the earlier regional VISION –project on dairy farm nutrient management. Northern Ireland experiences some competition between the DAIRYMAN pilot farm network and other existing network initiatives in Northern Ireland.

The actors involved in both regional networks are quite similar, although their roles within the network and the ties between them differ. The core group of actors in both regions are the pilot farmers, the scientists and the advisors. Also government is an important actor in both regions, although there seem to be differences in the level of participation. Ties with more distant actors, e.g. agro-food supply chain, education, farmers' unions, dairy farmers, also seem to differ in level of participation between both networks. However, we need more data to clarify this.

### DISCUSSION

The main actors in the Dutch and Northern Ireland network are very similar. However, despite these similarities, individual leading personalities or personalities mastering very specific knowledge can

play a crucial role in the success of projects (Dockès et al., 2009).

One of the remarkable differences between both regions is the lifespan of the network, as it is running for almost 15 years in the Netherlands and only 2 years in Northern Ireland. These differences in maturity are reflected in the network structure. It seems that in the younger network the core group is more introvert, where the mature network's communication is also strongly oriented outwards. Because of its juvenility it was for the Northern Ireland network not yet possible to communicate results towards other stakeholders outside the core group. Our preliminary results deliver information about the regional network structures and their differences, but do not provide enough insight in how the pilot farmers are influenced by this network. Therefore interviews and surveys with pilot farmers are necessary to clear this lack of insight.

As mentioned by the respondents, we are aware that also other actors than pilot farmers involved in the network can learn. However, keeping the aim of the DAIRYMAN project in mind, which is improving nutrient management on dairy farms, we will focus on learning effects on farmers in the second stage of the research.

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# Educational and healthcare basic services and demographic dynamics in rural France

J. Escribano and J. Esparcia<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The aim is to explain the role of the basic local level education and health-care services and facilities in demographic dynamics to certain rural areas of *Département de la Manche* (Lower Normandy, France). Our analysis attempts to differentiate between the main population profiles which participate in the aforementioned dynamics temporarily (immigrants, foreign tourists, etc.) as well as permanently (local population, returnees, etc.). The analysis is basically qualitative. Empirical information was extracted from 47 semi-structured interviews with various key persons. The physical presence of the education and/or health-care services at a municipal level is not crucial for choosing the place of residence (at least not in the initial stage). However, with time the influence of these services regarding residence increases but not equally for all profiles.

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVE

Until recently, many rural European areas experienced an obvious demographic revitalization thanks to the combination of multiple and diverse factors, among which was the relatively wide and varied provision of services to the population. But the ongoing deregulation and privatization is significantly reducing its presence in rural areas. There are many studies that refer to the role that these services, as basic education and health, play in rural demographic processes. But when we ask to the rural population about their real decisions that lead them to leave their villages, almost never mentioned the school closure as an example (Forsythe, 1984). Something similar happens if we want to know the reasons that the urban population has to migrate to the countryside (Pasca and Rouby, 2012).

So we see that there is some divergence between what people think may affect their decision to stay and / or go to rural areas, and the causes that in fact appears to determine their actions. This is the more significant when we consider the demographic heterogeneity of rural areas: returnees, foreigners, immigrants, etc. Accordingly, we intend to explain the value that the presence of those services have on locational decisions of the most representative demographic profiles.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to approach the plurality of European rural areas, we take as a study area the Department of Manche (Basse-Normandie, France), interesting due to the favorable spatial organization mix of a number of towns of very different sizes, and a wide range of small cities (INSSE, 2005). Then, we use as case studies several municipalities able to show rural territorial contrasts and differences that the organization of basic education and health may generate on the territory. For the first aspect we rely on the local population size since a priori, the larger the population, the greater the chance of being a "dynamic" territory. For the second aspect, we rely on the different types and local presence that combines the services analyzed in rural areas. Finally, the obtained empirical data derived from 47 semi-structured interviews, conducted between October 2006 and November 2007, to several key actors: 17 from the political-institutional arena, 3 territorial development agents, 11 health professionals, 6 professional of education, and 10 representatives of local health or educational associations.

## RESULTS

The interviews show that, first, the basic education and health services barely are involved in the processes of attraction and / or maintenance of the population, especially if it comes from outside the rural areas. That is, there are other criteria that usually determine residential decisions (landscape, environment, housing, social, etc.). However, this general answer can be adjusted according to the different forms of use / consumption made major population profiles present in studied rural areas, and to temporary or permanent residential links that they keep with the area.

### "Seasonal" population

In general, there are two population profiles associated with these spaces through short stays, so that none of them fixed their principal residence in the analyzed area: a) international migrants in search of employment and b) foreign tourists of "residential" character. Overall, the provision of educational and / or health services counts scarcely to decide where to settle. For first people job is the main objective, so that is most common and easiest to find them in the surrounding towns (more jobs, public transport, housing, thanks to the presence of immigrant neighborhoods attraction with a call effect, etc.). For the

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latter group of people, finding post-material traits and decreased transport price (low-cost airlines), are factors that help us to understand their presence in these areas. However, its precise location will be conditioned by the existence of specialized real estate agencies and social and family networks, logically providing housing and / or land to build, or a family atmosphere.

#### "Permanent" population

This –largest- set of population differs, first, to reside permanently in rural areas, and second, because although in principle the educational and health services scarcely explain the reasons for choosing one of another municipality, with the passage of time these basic services increase in value so that at the end their presence or absence raises questions about whether to continue or not in the chosen village. We distinguish five profiles: foreign "residential" population, returnees, local people with or without a car, and the neo-rural.

The first case is that people who came to these areas first as residential foreign tourists, permanently installed after increasingly extend their vacation periods, or on the other hand, after visiting and meeting briefly the environment for established permanently since the beginning. Consequently, basic education and health services are scarcely initially involved in residential decisions. For returnees social and family networks (by which to retrieve or access values associated with rural life), is the primary reason that certain areas recover some population. However, since this population has relatively advanced age, presence of services supporting everyday life reaches a higher importance. Then, despite the broad and diverse range of motivations driving the neo-rural, the interviews show that in general basic education and health services are complementary. For example, urban skilled professionals conceive rural areas as a shelter, seeking healthy, calm, etc. But for other families living in the countryside is a pragmatic way to solve limited - residential-, space or other economic limitations. While in other cases it may also be a way to change their way of life and approach to alternative ideologies that privilege roots with nature (Rivera, 2009).

Finally, the local population living in these areas has also different assessments of the importance to have in the place of residence the basic services of education and health. The two positions collected vary by rate of car ownership:

- For the local people having private car the presence of these services in their place of residence has a reduced value. This does not mean they do not demand local educational and / or basic health, but their increased mobility allows them the location thereof is not decisive. They are therefore other factors that determine the residence (housing, close location of job, social and family relationships, etc.).
- For local people without private car availability of these services in their residential environment has a

critical importance. In fact, the benefits derived from both services are the only means to meet their daily needs (some even adjacent, such as relational). It is true that the possibility of having public transport tempers that value, although its scarce presence and poor organization often prevent them from being a real alternative access to basic services. Thus, for this population to have access to local services is the factor that will ensure its permanence.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

For most of the "new" rural people with easily mobility (living temporary and / or permanent), basic educational and health services scarcely affect residential location decisions (attraction). Another thing is to live for a long term, because as well as for local people without private car, it is clear that these services have in the place of residence becomes of a fundamental value. This is especially true as the increasing physical dependence and / or relational activities in their living spaces.

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# Incomers as potential contributors to the renewal of the rural periphery in Finland

Maija Halonen, Eero Vatanen and Juha Kotilainen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This study examines the contribution of incomers to community resilience in peripheral rural villages. The paper assesses the importance of incomers for general community resilience through cultural, social, economic and environmental capitals. The research focuses on a remote rural area in Eastern Finland, in the vicinity of the closed border towards the Russian Federation. This peripheral wilderness has experienced massive out-migration since the 1960s when small-scale farming and labour-intensive forestry collapsed.

In this case study, we apply both quantitative and qualitative sources as our research material but the emphasis is on qualitative methods and analysis. The main data consists of interviews with local residents as well as participant observations at the focus villages. The analysis has revealed several findings to be important. Firstly, while there has been a massive out-migration, people have also willingly migrated into these villages from the south of the country and from other countries. Secondly, the analysis reveals that most of the incomers have a personal history in an urban environment, and they have moved after an open space and the specific natural environment in the wilderness. Thirdly, the incomers and their interests form a variety of possibilities to create a life in such a place.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the contribution of incomers to community resilience in peripheral rural villages. In theory, incomers could have an impact on cultural, social and economic resilience and capitals, and they could be persuaded to the region by the attractive qualities of the natural and cultural environment. The study assesses the importance of these sub-dimensions of resilience for general community resilience.

As Simmie and Martin (2010) point out, the nature of 'resilience' is more than recovery to equilibrium after a shock, and therefore, resilience can be understood as an evolutionary process. This process needs impulses including the creation and exploitation of new knowledge. In this study, community resilience is understood to develop within a transformation process which includes evolutionary dichotomies such as traditional-modern, old-new, unidimensional-multidimensional, quantity-quality. In theory, these dichotomies transform through processes including resistance, recovery, re-orientation and renewal (Martin 2012). As Wilson (2012) stresses, these last two – re-orientation and renewal – are rarely emphasised in socially oriented community studies in which a shock is rather

conceived as a potential for a change than as a compulsive attempt to return to a previous social system. This transformation process is reviewed through an analytical frame where cultural attitude is seen as an impulse for development which affects how other capitals – social, economic and environmental – are organised and utilised in a community.

The research focuses on a relatively remote rural area in Eastern Finland, in the vicinity of the closed border towards the Russian Federation (the nearest international crossing-point is in the distance of about 150 kilometres). This peripheral wilderness has experienced massive out-migration since the 1960s when small-scale farming and labour-intensive forestry collapsed (Kotilainen et al., 2012) which we consider as an initiating socio-economic shock in this case study.

## METHODS

The study is an empirical case study with a focus on villages located in a remote area of a Finnish rural municipality, Lieksa. The analysis is largely based on qualitative data and research methods but statistical data has been utilised as background information. The main part of the data consists of interviews with local residents and participant observations, carried out between 2011 and 2013.

We investigate, firstly, the background and basic characteristics of incomers who have migrated to the research area. Secondly, we discuss different characteristics with their outcomes within a framework which is structured after dimensions of resilience (Martin 2012) and linked with four different capitals (Wilson 2012). Thirdly, we compare the contemporary state of the communities reconstructed from incomers' interviews and our observations to previous situations drawn from literature and previous observations. Finally, we analyse whether incomers have diversified lifestyles or livelihoods in the villages, and whether these elements have contributed to community resilience.

## RESULTS

Preliminary analysis has revealed several issues to be important. First, while there has been a massive out-migration, people have also migrated into these villages from the south of the country and from other countries. Secondly, the analysis reveals that the incomers have migrated voluntarily; most of them have a personal history in an urban



environment, and they have moved in search of an open space and the specific natural environment in the wilderness. Moreover, the incomers and their interests form a variety of characteristics, backgrounds and reasons to migrate to as well as possibilities to create a life in such a place.

The contemporary situation of the community appears to be more complex and multidimensional than it was previously. According to literature and folk memory supported by statistical data, the community appears to have been socially and culturally closed and organised around small-scale farming and labour-intensive forestry. The value of the natural environment consisted in the production of timber and economic value of land. In this sense, the entire community collapsed after these forms of work and a number of communal key actors broke down. If only these features – a number of residents and traditional forms of businesses – are taken into account, the community has not recovered from the shock, let alone re-oriented or renewed.

However, if we focus on more qualitative and contemporary features, the community has developed towards states of re-orientation and renewal. The features to be considered include characteristics and backgrounds of the residents; lines of businesses and sources of income; forms of work; and exploitation of the natural and built environments. We can then see that the diversification of people and businesses as well as revaluation of the environment has expanded possibilities for housing, social networks and self-understanding among the inhabitants of the communities. These qualitative characteristics are valuable for a community which cannot rely on the power of a large number of people or one extensive field of business.

Even though the small communities lack many local services and can be considered as marginal areas for habitation and entrepreneurship, they are not isolated in the sense of lacking access to modern facilities and outward connections. Through reciprocal movement of people and goods via roads and internet, the communities are physically and virtually more and more globally linked.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The case study has shown that resilience, especially when the evolutionary aspect is connected with the social context (Simmie & Martin, 2010; Wilson, 2012), is a usable concept and tool for analysing multidimensional processes in communities. The need for the utilisation of an evolutionary orientation turns the focus not on the existing situation alone but also on habits and customs, and on questions of how the communities are investigated, how re-orientation or renewal processes are recognised, and how these findings are utilised as drivers for future development of communities and their resilience.

The results of the study also have indicated how and why this remote periphery can be desirable, and how incomers reform, diversify, and complement community resilience. The old cultural, social,

economical and environmental layers of the communities still exist in the minds of elderly people, in stories and traditions transferred to younger generations and incomers, and in the surrounding landscapes. In order to reassert community resilience in the future, these older layers form significant foundations for the process of resilience but cannot be understood as the determinant characteristics of the community. Departing from the idea of an original equilibrium organisation of a community, the new habits, values, know-how and other features of incomers can be positively exploited as complementary and renewal capitals for communities.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Extrafamilial farm succession and its specifics in contemporary Austrian family-based smallholder farming

– Visualised by a qualitative model with relevant sociological parameters

Anna Korzenszky<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Although smallholder farming is of vital importance for the world's food production, a lot of family farms lack of successors. The traditional form of farm transfer, when the farmer's child hands over the farm, often fails because of the different career interest of the next generation. Due to the modernisation and liberalisation of the agricultural trade and the globalisation of economy, smallholder farmers are facing new living conditions necessitating adaptation. Extrafamilial farm succession, by offering a new transfer mode and innovative ideas, can be of help with the adaptation and survival of the family farm. In this paper I am intending to discuss the issue of extrafamilial farm succession as a so far not profoundly delineated research topic in social sciences. The main intention of this paper is to raise awareness on the lack of attention on this kind of transfer mode, as a potential way of maintaining smallholder farming.

## INTRODUCTION

After recognising the facts of the ageing of European farmers (33.5 % of the farm holders are 65 year or older) and the shortage of young farmers (only 7.5% of the agricultural workers are under 35 years in the EU-27) (Zagatar et al, 2012), during the past few decades rural sociologists began focusing attention on demographic processes. Though the unfavourable age structure of European farmers has been highlighted by several researchers, the issue of farm succession as a more dynamic component of the current situation of rural areas has not been analysed profoundly until now.

In Austria, a continuous decrease in the number of holdings can be observed: the last Agricultural Structure Survey in Austria in 2010 recorded 173.317 agricultural and forestry holdings, which, when compared to a previous exhaustive survey of 1995 showed a 27.3% reduction in the number of farms. During the same time period ca. 4400 farms closed their gates in Austria yearly (Statistik Austria, 2010, 22). One of the reasons for this reduction lies in the anomaly of farm succession: after a survey by Vogel in 2006, 11.7 % of Austrian full-time (Haupterwerb) farmers, and 24.2 % the part-time (Nebenerwerb) farmers haven't designated their successor, and the lack of successor often leads to giving up farming and selling the holding (Vogel, 2006).

The future of smallholder farming depends on successful farm succession: on the new farmer generation entering into farming and taking over the role of old farmers. If a farmer has no children (kin) or the farmer's children (kin) are disinterested in working in the agricultural sector or/and don't want to take over the family business, intrafamilial succession is prevented. In this case, only extrafamilial farm succession by young people with farm backgrounds, or by young people without farm backgrounds coming from rural or urban areas and interested in farming, can ensure the survival of the smallholder farm. The number of traditional farm transfer modes, transfer from father to son, is declining, though many young people with agricultural degrees, without any chances of inheriting a farm are simultaneously searching for possible ways to settle down on a farm.

In my dissertation project (entitled: *Extrafamilial farm succession and its specifics in contemporary Austrian family-based smallholder farming – Visualised by a qualitative model with relevant sociological parameters*) I am investigating farm succession processes in the case of non-kin relations. Although many national and international research projects analyse the process of transferring farm within the family (cf. the FARMTRANSFER project<sup>2</sup>), extrafamilial farm succession has not been profoundly investigated in the social sciences so far. Only, one ongoing research project „Höfe – gründen und bewahren. Ein Leitfaden für außerfamiliäre Hofübergaben und Existenzgründungen in der Landwirtschaft /Farms to be changed and preserved. Guidelines for extrafamilial farm succession and business start in agriculture“, led by Dr. Christian Vieth (Department of Ecological Agriculture, University of Kassel) at the University of Kassel in Germany, is focusing on the financial and legal aspects of the extrafamilial farm succession. Their Guidelines provide practical infor-

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<sup>2</sup> The widest international research in the field of farm succession, the so-called FARMTRANSFER project has been initiated by Professor Andrew Errington (Research Chair in Rural Development, Department of Land Use and Rural Management, The University of Plymouth, UK) in cooperation with John R. Barker (Beginning Farmer Centre, Iowa State University, USA). analysed the pattern and process of farm succession, the intergenerational transfer of managerial control, the gender inequalities of the process and the characteristics of a successful transfer was researched in England, France and Canada between 1991 and 1997. Further countries were involved, and the survey of FARMTRANSFER project was conducted in Austria and North Germany (2003), Australia (2004), Pennsylvania and New Jersey (2005), North California (2005), Iowa, (2006), Romanian (2009), and in Tennessee (2010).

mation for farmers and farm succession advisors alike.

Extrafamilial farm succession in Austria has only been studied by Andrea Heisteringer and Evelyn Klein. Their short study entitled „*Ich habe mir mein Erben selbst gesucht. Höfe neu beleben – Möglichkeiten eines Einstiegs in die Landwirtschaft/ 'I searched my heirs myself to revive farms – Possibilities to enter into agriculture'*“ (2011) is relying on Austrian statistical and demographical data including case studies of five Austrian small-scale farmers.

The greatest challenge in the farm succession process is that strangers should find each other, understand the expectations of both sides, create a family-like community and keep managing the “family” business. In the frame of my PhD project I am intending to explore the special characteristics determining and influencing extrafamilial farm succession from the aspect of the direct actors facing farm succession – both from the point of view of the elderly (donors) and from that of the young generation (recipients) – and to realise the properties of the transfer itself (Fig. 1). Sociological parameters like the age of donors, the degree of recipients, the timing of transfer, the change of duration of the transfer, the mix of assets transferred (Iaguinta et al., 1999) and the interrelationship between them are to be analysed. *Specificities of extrafamilial farm succession in Austria* should be visualised by a qualitative model (Przyborski, 2009) based upon the results of fieldwork. A complex system of two overlapping ‘step-by-step’ models of extrafamilial farm succession (one from the aspect of the old farmers, and the other from the aspect of the young farm-seekers) could provide a more accurate insight in the process.

The elaboration of an exact model of extrafamilial farm succession has practical aims within the frame of the project of *Österreichische Bergbauern- und Bäuerinnen Vereinigung, ÖBV- Via Campesina Austria* with the objective of constructing an extrafamilial farm succession advisor system in cooperation with the Austrian Chamber of Agriculture.

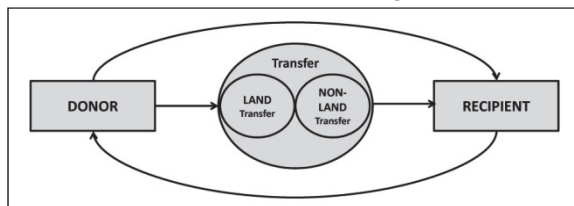


Figure 1. Succession process and its elements to be analysed in my PhD project (Korzenszky, 2013).

#### METHODS

My analysis of extrafamilial farm succession is based on qualitative research at 15 “succession processes” in different regions in Austria. The units of analysis are “successions” chosen from different phases of the succession process. With no existing database of non-familial farm transfers, I used the snow-ball method for sampling.

According to Roeckl et al. (Roeckl, 2008), I classified the succession processes into five phases: 1.

‘want’ (decision about beginning a succession process); 2. ‘form of succession’ (information gathering about the different forms of succession); 3. ‘searching’ (looking for a successor); 4. ‘handing over’ (active succession process); 5. ‘completion’ (realisation of a successful succession process), and made interviews with all relevant actors. By using the methodology of semi-structured interviews in the frame of methodological triangulation (Flick, 2011) I combined data from three different standpoints (those of the two farmer generations and as a third edge of the triangle the standpoint of the researcher). Respondents in the first 3 phases of the succession (“Want”, “Form”, “Searching”) have been asked to describe their motivations of taking/handing over the farm, define their visions, expectations and wishes concerning possible donors or recipients. Actors from the phases “handing over/taking over” and “completion” should also reflect on the process of succession they experienced. The interviews will be analysed by the methodology of “qualitative content analysis” (Mayring, 2000).

#### DISCUSSION, PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE ANALYSIS

Although the model is still to be developed, and cannot be used for representative statements yet, the research in progress, mapping interesting or sensitive issues, it can provide an excellent starting point for a more profound analysis of the special aspects of the extrafamilial farm succession process.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# The demography of economic change: impacts of industry closure on small rural towns in southern Australia

Fiona McKenzie<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper presents findings from a study on the impacts of industry closure on selected small regional towns in southern Australia. Qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to examine a total of nine case study locations: three of these were analysed in greater depth using qualitative interviews, while the other six were investigated using quantitative and desktop research sources. Analysis of the towns' demographic characteristics before and after a closure event formed an important basis for exploring the nature of social and economic impacts. Many assumptions are attached to the impacts of factory or sawmill closure. There is an expectation of flow-on effects such as: outmigration; population decline and declining house prices. This paper challenges some of these assumptions by showing the divergence in the experience of towns dealing with such shocks. Reasons for different outcomes include: the specific geographical and social context of towns; the relative importance of industry shocks compared to less visible background trends (such as demographic and social change); and the ways in which individuals may already have adapted to a new economic and social reality, for example, through commuting.

## INTRODUCTION

Economic restructuring creates changes in the spatial distribution of economic activity. For rural towns, the impact of such change can be large and government agencies are often called upon to respond and support such communities through the transition. Literature which reviews the specific impacts on communities is fragmented. Individual case studies exist (see for example, Chapain and Murie, 2008; Maré et al., 2009; Grimes and Young, 2011), however reviews that incorporate a number of cases across time, space and industry type are limited. Hence it is difficult to gain an understanding of regional impacts of ongoing structural shifts in the spatial economy.

## METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

This paper presents findings of a study which used nine case study towns in south eastern Australia to explore the range of experience of industry change over a 10-year period (McKenzie et al., 2012;

McKenzie, 2013). This period was characterised by structural economic change and the selected towns had each experienced the loss of a resource processing facility (either forestry- or dairy-related). Quantitative analysis was under-taken for all towns with three being selected for in-depth qualitative analysis via interviews of key informants. The project aimed to investigate ways in which regional communities were impacted by, and responded to, such economic shocks.

## FINDINGS

Many assumptions are attached to the impacts of such closures. There is an expectation of flow-on effects such as population decline and declining house prices. Yet the nine case studies examined in this report often challenged such assumptions.

Impacts from a single economic shock (like a factory closure) may not be the biggest contributor to demographic change. Structural population change and generational effects of large or small cohort sizes can have long term impacts on whether a town is growing, declining or ageing. Furthermore, population change can be affected by adaptive decisions of individuals. Out-migration proved to be a less common response than expected. Where commuting offered a viable alternative, then this tended to be the preferred option as it avoided the social and economic costs of relocating. Changing industry sector, retiring, or working part-time were options taken by those for whom commuting was difficult (for example in locations remote from large employment centres).

While labour mobility is often seen as a desirable economic outcome, it can have negative social consequences for a town. Towns where commuting rather than out-migration was an adaptive response often fared better because social stability was maintained. Conversely, small towns suffered greatly from the loss of key people who had contributed income and social capital (leadership, volunteering) to the local community.

The study found no clear pattern in housing market responses to an economic shock. Yet some towns reveal ways in which housing markets can play an important role in determining the trajectory of change following a shock. Of some concern is the situation where a small town with existing low house prices experiences selective

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population churn after an economic shock. Even a small change in the social mix can trigger a discernible change in the character of the town. For two of the case-study towns, this had negative consequences for community wellbeing.

#### DISCUSSION

For some communities, an economic shock represented a short-term difficulty from which the town recovered well. For others the shock was not an isolated event, but was seen as part of a series of changes, some occurring many years before. The memory of widespread closures and service rationalisation in the early 1990s remained an important part of the (negative) narrative of change in some towns.

Changes in governance are an under-appreciated factor in how towns cope with change. Loss of a municipal office or increasing distance from local government centres can create feelings of disempowerment which remained a topic of discussion in three of the case study towns nearly 30 years after they had been affected by local government amalgamation. In contrast, the town of Camperdown retained not only its municipal role, but a level of community trust in local government and its ability to speak and act on behalf of the community.

#### CONCLUSION

This paper challenges some of the assumptions which policy makers (and the broader community) may have regarding the impacts of industry closure. Out-migration is not the most common nor immediate response to such change. Leaving one's community is difficult and alternatives such as commuting will be sought where possible. If out-migration does occur, usually as a result of a limited local labour market and the absence of commuting opportunities, then the disruptive impact on local communities can be very high. The assumption of labour mobility in many economic models has tended to result in migration being seen as a desirable outcome of economic change, yet the legacy of out-migration, especially where it is age-specific or skill-selective, can be felt for decades and can constrain economic development and social wellbeing.

A single industry closure is rarely the only factor at play – demographic structure (age profile) and distance from centres of economic and municipal activity can be subtle but significant contributors to the growth or decline of towns. The nine towns reviewed in this study experienced diverse trajectories of recovery and adaptation following an economic shock. Factors influencing the speed and success of this process include: the specific geographical and social context of the town; the relative importance of industry shocks compared to less visible background trends (such as demographic and social change); and the ways in which individuals may already have adapted to a

new economic and social reality, for example, through commuting.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### DISCLAIMER

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and should not be regarded as representing the views of the Victorian Government nor the Department of Transport, Planning and Local Infrastructure.

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# Moving south, going rural?

## Understanding the diachronic evolution of northern European migration to rural areas of the Algarve, Portugal

Dora Sampaio<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – After decades experiencing population decline, high-amenity rural areas seem to be emerging as increasingly attractive destinations. Northern Europeans moving (at least seasonally) to southern European countries seem to embody this trend, particularly as they tend to be no longer geographically limited to the urban seafront and touristic areas, increasingly choosing to settle in rural localities. Focusing on the rural areas of the Algarve, the southernmost region of Portugal, it is intended to present a diachronic analysis of the arrival and settlement patterns of northern European migrants in the region. The analysis is based on data from the 1991, 2001 and 2011 Portuguese censuses, complemented with evidence from a questionnaire-based survey carried out in 2011. Results suggest that, throughout the period under analysis, the rural parishes of the Algarve have gained increasing relevance as places of settlement for northern European expatriates, particularly those at a more advanced stage of life, as shown by more positive growth rates found for rural areas when compared to their urban counterparts and the Algarve region as a whole. Furthermore, a cross-national comparative analysis of the three main groups of northern Europeans residing in the Algarve – British, German and Dutch – reveals significantly different trajectories of evolution.

### INTRODUCTION

Rural areas across Europe have been undergoing, for decades, large outflows of young adults towards the major urban centres. Nevertheless, more recently, amenity-rich rural areas have become increasingly attractive locations for the settlement of (pre)elderly mostly driven by lifestyle, family or amenity aspirations (King et al., 2000; Stockdale, 2006; Brown and Glasgow, 2008). Generally, the search for quality of life seems to represent a key element in understanding this north-south migration since, as traditional urban destinations become increasingly transformed, rural areas tend to emerge as attractive sites of unchanged landscapes, a pattern which is visible in the settlement of northern Europeans in places such as the Mediterranean regions of Tuscany, Provence or some inland areas of Andalusia and the Algarve (King et al., 2000).

Considering this latter region, it is interesting to note that its rural areas have played, since fairly early, an important role in the settlement patterns of

northern Europeans. By 2000, King et al. underlined precisely the establishment of mostly permanent, but also seasonal, northern European migrants in the Algarve's rural hinterland, either in its more densely populated, although still largely rural, southern parts, or more to its northern and predominantly agricultural, hilly and rather inaccessible areas. In 2011, the Algarve alone accounted for almost half (46%) of the 43 459 northern Europeans<sup>2</sup> officially residing in Portugal, of which 11 137 were British (63% of the national total), 3 514 Germans (38.8%) and 2 182 Dutch (44.9%) (SEF, 2011). An intra-regional analysis, only possible using the Portuguese 2011 census data, reveals that, at that date, there were 7 162 individuals from northern European countries living in rural parishes of the Algarve, representing nearly half (47.0%) of the expatriates established in the whole region according to this statistical source. From these, 3 925 (54.8%) were aged 55 or older.

Following this framework, this paper aims to examine the patterns of arrival and settlement of northern European migrants in the Algarve using a twenty-year period. Furthermore, given the regional relevance of the individuals comprised in the upper age cohorts (i.e. those aged 55 or older), particular attention will be devoted to them, as well as to the three major northern European groups in the region.

### METHODS

The analysis presented is mostly based on data pertaining to the 2001 and 2011 Portuguese censuses. Moreover, for a broader understanding of recent trends, background information from the 1991 census will also be used as well as additional empirical evidence obtained through a questionnaire-based survey applied to northern European retirees established in low density areas of the Algarve (Sampaio, 2011).

### RESULTS

The number of northern Europeans residing in the Algarve increased very rapidly between 1991 and 2001 (92.9%). Over the subsequent decade (2001-2011), though, the growth rate in this migrant population declined to 41.8%. Overall, throughout this latter decade, northern European migrants preferred

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<sup>2</sup> Northern European countries refers to EU-15 countries (excluding Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece), Switzerland and Norway.



rural locations, with a variation rate of 47.9% compared to 36.8% to urban parishes. The same tendency was not observed a decade earlier, during which the urban parishes showed a slightly higher growth rate in comparison to its rural counterparts.

Focusing specifically on older northern European expatriates, an analysis for the period 2001-2011 reveals their preference for rural areas as they increasingly tended to choose rural locations as their place of settlement. Growth rates varied between 103.7% for low density rural areas and 94.0% for urban parishes. In the previous decade, the situation had been quite the opposite with a variation rate of 106.1% for the rural parishes compared to 143.2% for urban areas.

Concerning the evolutionary patterns found for the three main groups of northern Europeans residing in the Algarve over the period 2001-2011, a higher growth was registered for the British (82.8%) in comparison with the Germans (0.3%) and the Dutch (13.2%), a trend opposing that of the earlier decade, when the last two groups displayed stronger relative increases. Territorially, higher growth rates were generally found for rural parishes in both intercensal periods. However, comparing the preference patterns for both rural and urban areas among these groups, different trends emerge. While the British presented similar patterns of preference for rural and urban parishes between 2001-2011 (variation rates around 80% in both cases), the Dutch registered a slight preference for rural areas and the Germans, on the other hand, showed a clear distinction between the two realms with a growth rate of 12.5% for rural settlements and a negative variation of -11.7% for the urban parishes.

#### DISCUSSION

Overall, in light of the evolutionary patterns found for the period 2001-2011, it can be acknowledged that the northern Europeans moving to the Algarve are not only moving south but also, increasingly, going rural. A primary explanation for the more positive variation regarding rural areas in comparison to its urban and more touristic counterparts may be related to the increasing transformation that the latter have experienced during the last decades. Indeed, if a broader timeframe is used, it can be observed that, in the decade from 1991 to 2001, growth rates were slightly higher for urban than for rural parishes. The tourism development that took place in the coastal parishes of the Algarve, since the mid-1960's, accompanied by the increasing arrival of northern European expatriates, have contributed to the growing urbanization of the southernmost urban centres that have hence gradually become less attractive for northern Europeans in search of quality of life. In this context, amenity-rich rural areas have emerged as increasingly appealing.

Considering the different age groups, the growing representativeness of later-life migrants in rural areas, throughout both inter-censal periods, may be related to a process of ageing in place reinforced by

lower arrival rates for younger northern Europeans compared to those in the upper age cohorts.

Looking more closely at the settlement patterns for the three main groups of northern Europeans in the Algarve, results from a survey conducted locally may help understand some of these tendencies. In fact, a stronger preference for more scattered areas was observed for the Germans, as this group particularly emphasized the importance of contact with nature and integration into rural communities. Conversely, the British and the Dutch were normally likely to be concentrated in more accessible areas with a higher concentration of co-nationals.

Finally, in terms of the general arrival patterns to the Algarve, an analysis of the annual increase of the three groups from 2001 to 2011 (SEF, 2001-2011) shows that, from 2008 (the year in which the economic crisis erupted in Portugal), declining immigration rates were registered for all these groups, particularly the Germans. As a possible response to this, but still demanding further research, some international media accounts have recently pointed out that a rising number of northern Europeans appear to be electing Florida's Gold coast, in the United States, as an investment option for their later life as a result of the uncertainty posed by the economic crisis in southern European countries (including Portugal and specifically the Algarve). In this context, the instability of the housing market and the higher economic volatility in Southern Europe seem to be highlighted as major factors pushing northern Europeans away from these destinations<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> See for example: "Markets Insight: US 'snowbird' effect is what Europe needs" by Gillian Tett (March 21, 2013). [www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com).



# Neo-rural population: diverse social discourses, diverse life projects

María J. Morillo, Juan Carlos de Pablos and Joaquín Susino<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This study analyses the immigration process in a group of rural municipalities of Andalusia, Spain. We focus on the neo-rural inhabitants, defined as a group of ex-urban population who choose rural environment in order to develop a new life. First, using census data, a quantitative portrait of the population was developed in order to understand the sociodemographic situation. This information served as a point of departure for a sociological discourse analysis. On the one hand, we focus on multiple life projects of neo-rural immigrants; on the other hand, the centre of our attention is how the rural area is affected and transformed with the arrival of new inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

From a long time, the transformation of migratory movements has been highly controversial. In the United States, Berry (1976) coined the term counterurbanisation, referred to a population deconcentration process from large metropolitan regions towards smaller, less dense and less urban towns. Thus, the term was used to refer to a general process of population deconcentration, the opposite of urbanisation. But, the others authors used this concept to refer to a specific type of migration which affected specific territories, involving certain social groups and linked to rural revaluation, principally (Arroyo, 2001).

This evolution goes hand in hand, with modifications of rural representations and imagination. The rural concept of an agrarian production space, has given way to other ideas which give it new functions, especially those related to consumption. Consequently, the rural environment has become more attractive, due largely to the capacity for satisfying demands related to quality of life. And so, this new use or consumption of the rural environment goes beyond a growing interest in rural tourism or ecological or natural products, becoming the chosen place to live by some people who come from urban environments. There has been much debate, especially in British literature, surrounding the different participation of social groups. According to Cloke and Little (1990) the process of migration towards rural areas presents a clear social selectivity, with the main participants being members of the "new service class", comprised of professionals and managerial workers. Halfacree (1994) refers to the potential attraction of the rural environment to this class,

which is associated to certain social values. This identification with a specific social class has led other authors to apply the term *gentrification* to the rural environment (Phillips, 1993, 2005; Solana, 2010). Migrations to the rural environment are not understood as a simple transfer of residence from the city to the country, but encompass other elements: they signify a desire for lifestyles that are in touch with nature, which represent the search for the "lost Arcady" (Nates and Raymond, 2007). On the other hand, other authors use this term to refer to alternative lifestyles (Nogué i Font, 1988). We use the term following this line of thought to refer to a specific type of rural migration. In any case, this concept refers more to the sphere of culture and consumption than to class differences.

## METHODOLOGY

Although in the recent years urban-rural migration in Spain has been analyzed by a number of studies, a little is known about profiles of migrants. In light of this, we focus on multiple life projects of neo-rural immigrants, defined as a group of ex-urban population who have chosen rural environment in order to develop a new life.

The paper presents the results of a study of the immigration process in a group of rural municipalities in Guadalfeo Basin (Granada), in the South of Spain, a relatively extensive rural area, but above all it is more diverse. The source of the River Guadalfeo can be found on the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and flows through the Alpujarras of Granada before flowing into the Mediterranean near Salobreña. When it leaves the Alpujarras it collects the water from the Lecrin Valley which is also located within the Basin. There are, therefore, three clearly differentiated parts: the Alpujarras, the Lecrin Valley and the Coast. Only a portion of the former and the latter form part of the Basin under study. As for the Lecrin Valley, two towns, those closest to Granada participate in the metropolitan expansion process surrounding the city.

First, using census data, a quantitative portrait of the population was developed in order to understand the sociodemographic situation. This information served as a point of departure for a sociological discourse analysis (the analyzed material included 24 non-structured interviews and 2 triangular groups with neo-rural immigrants and native population).

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## RESULTS

The defining feature of the pioneers of neo-rural migrations was their thirst for a renovated social and political system, their search of an alternative way of life. Over the years, these migrations turned less radical, and nowadays are conceived as an escape of the city, and the desire to live in a rural environment due to the characteristics and potentialities that it offers, especially those related to an improved quality of life, is usually taken as a main reason. Therefore the countryside is perceived as a healthier place in which there are more opportunities for involvement in diverse activities and it is seen as a place characterized by the existence of community with strong intragroup ties. Nonetheless, an in-depth sociological analysis of discourses of interviews carried out with newcomers and local population of the Guadalfeo Basin area (Granada, Spain), reveals a significant heterogeneity among neo-rural population, in terms of the reasons for migration and their way of life. Several testimonies of neo-rural migrants expressed the desire to break with his previous life, which could involve renovated consumption patterns, different social relationships and new practices in work and leisure time. A new job tends to cause an interruption of their employment careers, and a down-shifting process. Some the neo-rural residents interviewed conceive the rural environment as a place for new economic opportunities and live dedicated to traditional rural activities. In other occasions, the new inhabitants, due to the nature of their work, are able to develop it in a non-urban environment with hardly any professional tie with the new area in which they live. Additionally, self-employment projects are proliferating in the last years due to economic crisis: rural tourism, ecological agriculture, handicraft activities, etc. In short, this geographical movement also implies social mobility, a dual process we will try to analyse.

However, recreational and consumption opportunities are important for many migrants, who tend to choose destination localities which seem to correspond with popular discourses of on rurality. Furthermore, there are a number of migrants motivated by a quest for a new lifestyle or simple escapism, both of which reflect their association with a desire of an individual life change.

## CONCLUSIONS

If pioneers of this social phenomenon looked for a radical and alternative way of life, at this moment – although with common characters- we found an important and increasing heterogeneity among them. However, the interviews carried out with newcomers and native population of the Guadalfeo Basin area (Granada, Spain) reveal a common neo-rural lifestyle, expressed on a number of discourses that reflect the neo-rural imagination and practices. In fact, the lifestyle of these new inhabitants of rural areas is an issue that goes beyond the particular interest in this group, considering that allow us to explore the possibility of taking the rural migration to a genuinely distinct phenomenon of suburbaniza-

tion process, and if the attraction of neo-rural population is sustainable over time.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Rural mobilities in the context of individual wellbeing

Stine Piilgaard Porner Nielsen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - This paper explores the relationship between individual wellbeing and mobility with special focus on the wellbeing and mobility of people with another ethnicity than Danish in rural areas. Studies exist on integration of people with another ethnicity than Danish into urban areas; yet, little knowledge exists on the integration of these people in rural areas. The paper discusses how immigration into rural areas of Denmark contributes to development, both in the rural areas and on a personal level through social integration. Quantitative methods are applied in order to map out the nationality of immigrants in rural areas of Denmark and identify the development of immigration on these areas during the last five years, from 2008 to 2013. Qualitative methods are applied to understand the integration process from the perspective of different actors; local government workers, company owners and immigrants. During the last five years, rural areas have been increasingly depopulated as some Danish citizens in these areas have moved into larger cities. The immigration of foreigners may therefore contribute to growth and sustainability of the rural areas.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the relationship between individual wellbeing and mobility with special focus on the wellbeing and mobility of people with another ethnicity than Danish in rural areas. Studies exist on integration of immigrants into urban areas; yet, little knowledge exists on the integration of these people in rural areas (Labriandis and Sykas, 2009).

Existing literature shows that the potential for moving increases when one's characteristics do not match the neighbourhood characteristics; this evidence is strongest for ethnicity. Neighbourhood dynamics are driven through mechanisms of residential mobility, yet, intensive in- and outflows lead to instability in neighbourhoods. Thus, increased housing satisfaction leads to stability (Diaz-Serrano and Stoyanova, 2009). This calls for social inclusion and integration of immigrants into rural areas.

This paper is an in-depth study of the contribution of immigrants in rural areas to the development of these areas. Marsden (2009) argues that the key challenges facing rural areas are mobility, vulnerability and sustainability, stating that flows of people, capital and knowledge poses challenges for the sustainability of rural areas which 'threats' the traditional notions of rural embeddedness and continuity. However, as Marsden points out, increased tourism

and labour migration constitute new opportunities to the social structures of rural areas. The immigration of foreigners into rural areas may also lead to increase in population and possibility for growth (Bayona-i-Carrasco and Gil-Alonso, 2012). Yet, some studies suggest that these rural areas are not well-equipped to manage an integration process (McAreevey, 2012).

Housing satisfaction and match with neighbourhood characteristic increase the potential for residence over a longer period than if one's individual characteristics do not match or if one is dissatisfied with the area of residence. Longer periods of residence enhances the stability of villages, thus, increasing the citizens' satisfaction with their home area leads to stability (Diaz-Serrano and Stoyanova, 2009).

Another aspect of importance is the skill of the villagers to form networks and associations in rural areas and through these decrease vulnerability and increase sustainability (Marsden, 2009, Labriandis and Sykas, 2012). In Denmark, an example of this could be the yearly announcement of Village of the Year, Årets Landsby, which is an award given to a village that manages to act innovative to enhance sustainability, to facilitate a social life in the community, and through this integrate its villagers, ensuring a possibility of individual wellbeing.

Taking a starting point in the above, the paper seeks to investigate how immigration into rural areas of Denmark contributes to development, both in the rural areas and on a personal level through social integration.

## METHODS

The methods applied are both quantitative and qualitative; quantitative data from 1980-2005 is used to map out rural areas with higher level of immigration and to assess the mobility of immigrants in these areas. Qualitative data is applied to investigate the individual wellbeing and social integration of people with another ethnicity than Danish in the mapped rural areas.

The quantitative data is extracted from the Danish data base, Statistikbanken.dk, an online statistics bank free of charge providing statistics on e.g. the development in the Danish population. For this study, statistics on both Danes and immigrants with another ethnicity than Danish were needed. As the object of the study is to investigate the integration of immigrants into rural areas, statistics on immigrants in these areas were necessary. Denmark is

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divided into 98 municipalities, 16 of these being so-called outer municipalities and 30 being so-called rural municipalities. Both kinds of municipalities are of interest to this study as immigration by foreigners into these areas has not been object of study before. In order to investigate the development in the number of both Danes and foreign immigrants in the rural areas, statistics from 2008 and 2013 are acquired. 2008 has been chosen as Year1 as Statistikkbanken.dk does not allow going further back in time. 2013 has been chosen as Year2 to provide an update overview of the current status in the rural areas. To provide an example of the approach described above, a search was made by the use of Statistikkbanken.dk, marking Lolland, one of the 16 outer municipalities, marking 2008K1, marking immigrants and nationalities. A search result then revealed how many immigrants with different nationalities came to the municipality of Lolland in the first quarter of 2008. The same search was made for 2013K1 – the first quarter of 2013. A search was then made for Danes, both Year1 and Year2. This data overview is used to select cases for an in-depth study of the integration of foreigners. For example, the outer municipalities, Morsø and Thisted, and the rural municipality, Hjørring, have been chosen as the group of immigrants varies these three places. Therefore, it is of interest to this study to investigate how the integration process is being managed in these municipalities.

Qualitative data is collected by conducting interviews with different actors, e.g. local government workers, immigrants and Danes from the civil society. Firstly, local government workers were identified for an interview with the purpose of understanding how the municipality approaches integration. Interviews with these actors thus concentrate on the municipality's perspective on integration and the initiative taken to manage the inclusion of immigrants. The local government workers also functioned as so-called door openers as we applied a snowball method, asking them to direct us to other actors of relevance such as volunteers in the civil society, company owners who hire the immigrants etc. The qualitative method thus supports the quantitative and provides a deeper understanding of the statistics.

## RESULTS

The study is still in process, as we continuously seek to investigate the integration and social inclusion of immigrants in the rural areas of Denmark. However, preliminary results show that in both the outer municipalities and rural municipalities experience a decrease in Danish citizens and an increase in immigrants with another ethnic background than Danish. As Bayona-i-Carrasco and Gil-Alonso (2009) point out, foreign immigration may be the solution to rural depopulation, and according to local government workers in Denmark, the immigrants contribute to growth in the municipality as most of them reside in the areas due to work. In the municipality of Morsø, this is particularly the case within the metal industry where immigrants with an Eastern European back-

ground are hired as e.g. welders. As mentioned, McAreavey (2012) argues that municipalities in rural areas may not be equipped to manage integration; yet, the municipalities that constitute our cases all have integration policies and taken initiative to further the integration of immigrants into the local civil society.

## CONCLUSION

The preliminary conclusions are that the Danish population in the rural areas decreases while the number of immigrants increases. The municipalities seek to facilitate the integration process through integration policies. Most immigrants move to the rural areas to work, other as a result of marriage with Danish citizens. The integration policies all stress the importance of active participation in the civil society and consider the integration process to be cooperation between the local authorities, the immigrants and the local civil society. Therefore, the qualitative methods of this study are concerned with interviewing actors on different levels in the selected municipalities.

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# International migration in rural Europe in a context of crisis: A case study of Moroccan immigrants in the Algarve, Portugal

Dora Sampaio and Rui Carvalho<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The process of economic modernization in the “Western” countries has entailed a significant restructuring of their agricultural sectors. In many of these countries, and particularly in those of Southern Europe, a trend of incorporation of international immigrants in the agricultural sector appears to be increasingly visible. Such is the case of Portugal and, particularly, of its most southerly region, the Algarve. Considering this and focusing on the Moroccan community – a residual immigrant community in Portugal overall, but one of the most representative working in agriculture in the Algarve – this paper aims to, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, examine how the current economic crisis has affected, and/or will potentially do so in the future, the social and spatial mobility patterns of these migrants. Results suggest that the implications of the crisis among Moroccan immigrants are more noticeable in terms of their labour profiles, migration patterns and also in the increasing precariousness of their working conditions, rather than in what concerns other (expected) variables such as their overall employability in the regional agricultural sector. Furthermore, these migrants’ representations of the crisis do not appear to translate directly into intentions to redefine their individual or family migration projects.

## INTRODUCTION

Even though international labour migration to rural areas does not constitute a recent phenomenon, research carried out in Europe has focused mainly on outward movements such as rural exodus (and their implications for the sending communities) rather than on rural areas as recipients of migrants (Kasimis, 2005). Several factors from both the employee and employer perspectives help explain the increasing incorporation of an international migrant labour force in agricultural activities. On the one hand, there is the decline in the number of native workers available in rural areas as well as their lower willingness to accept poor working conditions; and, on the other, employers’ preference for migrant workers, to whom they can more easily impose low salaries and longer working hours while avoiding social security contributions.

Similarly to what was already taking place in Northern Europe, since the 1980’s southern European countries have also been experiencing a rapid transformation of their economies which resulted, *inter alia*, in an increasing demand for a young and middle-aged, low-skilled workforce in labour-intensive activities such as tourism, construction and agriculture (Fonseca, 2008; Kasimis, 2009). Considering the case of Portugal, in 2009 16% of the workforce employed in agriculture was foreign-born, mostly from Ukraine, Romania and Moldavia. For the Algarve, in addition to these groups, Moroccans and Brazilians also stood out respectively as the third and fourth most representative nationalities working in agricultural activities (MSSS, 2009). Moreover, it is also relevant to note that, in 2011, nearly 30% of the 1 796 Moroccans residing in Portugal were concentrated in the Algarve, as opposed to the majority of the immigrant groups which tend to cluster in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (SEF, 2011).

Bearing this in mind, this paper seeks to analyse how the current economic crisis has, and/or will potentially affect, the social mobility and settlement patterns of the Moroccan immigrants established in the Portuguese region of the Algarve. For this purpose, two major analytical dimensions will be discussed: first, these migrants’ socioeconomic (e.g. sectoral job shifts) and territorial (from international to local) trajectories; and, secondly, their socioeconomic and spatial representations of the crisis, used as a proxy for future intentions of mobility.

## METHODS

The analysis presented encompasses both qualitative and quantitative data gathered in the ambit of the THEMIS project<sup>2</sup>. The information examined, comprising a set of 15 interviews and 120 questionnaires, addresses solely Moroccans working in agriculture-related activities in the Algarve.

## RESULTS

Concerning the patterns of employment and sectoral mobility among the Moroccan community established in the Algarve, it is possible to highlight that, from the 120 individuals surveyed, 98 were always employed in the agricultural sector whereas 22 have

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<sup>2</sup> THEMIS (Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems) is a European project coordinated by Oxford University. For more information: <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research-projects/themis>.



moved from other activities to agriculture. If the immigrants arriving until 2007 (a total of 74) and those who did so from 2008 (46) are analysed separately, an even higher tendency for concentration in agricultural activities is observable for the latter group, as 87% of them have always worked in agriculture (compared to 78.4% for the first ones).

Territorially, stability after migration seems to be the prevailing pattern among the Moroccans surveyed as almost half of them (55%) have not experienced any sort of inter-municipal residential mobility since their arrival in Portugal. For those who have, their mobility paths are generally circumscribed to the Algarve (36.7% of the total sample), particularly (47.2% of these cases) between its most important agricultural localities (Silves and Faro/Olhão). Only a fairly low number of respondents (10) have lived in another region of Portugal.

An analysis of these migrants' representations of the crisis, drawn from a content analysis of the interviews, shows that their overall negative perceptions about the economic turmoil in Portugal do not seem to be directly translated into a redefinition of future intentions of mobility. In line with this, 71.7% of the respondents of the questionnaire stated their intention to stay in Portugal, compared to only 5% that are considering returning to Morocco or 6.7% that believe it is better to move to another country.

#### DISCUSSION

Overall, the Moroccans surveyed are characterized by relatively stable mobility patterns both in terms of employment and settlement. These patterns do not seem to have been substantially affected by the crisis. Cultural aspects may provide a primary explanation for this as the traditional background and low levels of education of the respondents, mostly originating from rural agricultural areas in Morocco, may hinder their aspirations to move (either internally or abroad) in order to further improve their socioeconomic condition. Despite their generalized awareness regarding the low salaries practiced in the Portuguese agriculture, the respondents emphasized the permanent availability of work in the sector, by the combination of various activities throughout the year (e.g. harvesting, tree pruning, warehouse work, etc.), as a positive feature. This tended to be particularly valued in comparison, for example, with the more seasonal (although better paid) agricultural work in Spain. Moreover, the presence of family and acquaintances already working in agriculture in the Algarve facilitates the provision of work contracts to newcomers (especially spouses and grown-up children) which also contributes to the group's overall "immobility". This also helps understand the growing importance of the agricultural sector as a source of employment for those arriving after the eruption of the crisis (around 2008) as well as their marked residential concentration in the more agriculture-oriented municipalities of the Algarve. Furthermore, in a context of increasing competition for job opportunities bolstered by both organised recruitment campaigns targeting other immigrant groups (mostly

Ukrainians and Thai), and the arrival of co-ethnics from other European countries (chiefly Spain), Moroccans in the Algarve appear to increasingly value work stability, even if this means accepting gradually informal and deteriorating labour conditions. In light of this, the respondents revealed awareness and concern about the crisis affecting Portugal, which they find visible, for instance, in the decreasing number of formal labour contracts available, which degrades their working conditions and hampers their possibility of legally staying in the country and/or bringing their family and acquaintances.

Nevertheless, and even though in some cases this conjuncture leads some of them to hypothesize a re-emigration to other economically more attractive European countries (particularly after being granted a Portuguese permanent residence permit), for most Moroccans particular features associated with Portugal and the Algarve are emphasized and seem to overcome the overall disadvantages, thus justifying their permanence in the country and, more specifically, in the rural areas of the Algarve. In this context, Portugal's tranquillity and safety as well as its less discriminatory society, when compared to other European countries such as Spain or Italy, are strongly valued, as is the easier access to legal documentation. In respect to the Algarve region, idiosyncratic features such as the climate, the scenery and the type of agriculture practiced are also highlighted as promoting a (highly-valued) regional and local sense of belonging and well-being. Altogether, these positive aspects seem to prevail and contribute to a strong willingness to stay in Portugal, and in the Algarve, in the future despite the present context of economic crisis.

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# The Future of Taipana: Rural Development and New Inhabitants

Angela Alessio<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The migrant flow to the municipality of Taipana deals only marginally with the rural vocation of this village, yet rural development and immigration are strictly connected in building a possible future for its territory.

The municipal administration fight against the transformation of this delightful village into a ghost village is being carried on two patterns. On one side, rural development is considered by the administration a strategic choice. On the other side, the municipality is fighting depopulation by attracting the settlement of young families with children.

At the moment, the rural development and the repopulation project appear to have few contact points. The families who have recently settled here are not farmers, nor have the intention to become farmers. But their presence increases the village population and thus allows the survival of some basic services.<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Taipana is a municipality of the Torre valleys, in the Eastern Julian Prealps, in the province of Udine (Italy). It borders Slovenia in its eastern part. Its territory covers 65,47 square kilometres, between 295 and 1.636 meters above the sea level. It includes the administrative centre and seven other hamlets. The population density is of about 10 inhabitants per square kilometre.

It can legitimately be considered as a fragile area. It is a small mountain off-centred village, is located on a borderline, it has been abandoned by many of its inhabitants in the past, it is affected by a long lasting economic depression and its inhabitants belong to an ethnic minority whose protection is a most recent and still questioned victory. All of these characteristics give it a precarious balance, between a natural paradise and human society collapse.

One element seems to mismatch with these generally depressing considerations. Since a few years, the percentage of foreign residents in Taipana has grown up to become an amazing part of the total residents. According to data by the Italian Institute for Statistics, updated on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2011, Taipana has 699 inhabitants. 14% of them are foreigners, coming from 16 different countries.

The present research is a part of the author's PhD dissertation in Transborder Policies for the Daily Life. It was discussed at the University of Trieste (Italy) in April 2013. The original hypothesis wondered if a migration flow that is strongly encouraged by the

municipal administration can have a positive impact on the indicators of well-being of a territory, like its economy and its services. Moreover, its impact on the receiving society was also questioned. The receiving society is in this case study an ethnic minority, thus a peculiar process of migration impacted on a peculiar kind of community.

## METHODOLOGY

The present work is the result of a theoretical analysis of the considered territory, combined with an empirical research carried on the field.

The field research consisted in semi structured interviews with representatives of the different social groups of Taipana: return migrants, internal migrants, "simple" economic migrants and autochthonous people. The questions focused about their life experiences. Representatives of the involved institutions were also interviewed about their jobs.

## A FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

The population characteristics are similar to many other mountain off-centred villages. Few if any children are born every year; the population is mostly composed of elderly people. Transport connections are inadequate. The services situation gives living there a scarce appeal.

The ethnic discrimination against the Slovene speaking minority, labelled as communist during the second post-war period, together with a regional economic planning that always privileged investments on the lowland, led in the past to massive emigration from the area. Between 1961 and 1971, the municipality of Taipana lost almost the half of its inhabitants.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The fight for survival of the present municipal administration is following two strategic patterns. On one side, economic development, in order to restart a stagnating production and keep the remaining inhabitants in place. Many off-centred communities aim at development through the application of the newest products of modern technology, connecting operators with faraway placed jobs. Taipana administration, instead, chose for development through the exploitation of the existing skills, abilities and potentialities. Investments were thus made in traditional activities like agriculture and breeding, and in tourism.

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The privatization of common rural properties, carried out under the Napoleonic government, originated the extreme fragmentation of land property which still affects this territory, and is one of the main hindrances to rural development. A general reorganization of the property system is thus strongly needed, and is one of the tools the municipal administration chose to restart rural development.

Winning ground to agriculture also requires an upkeep of the long deserted territory. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, traditional farming and breeding activities were progressively abandoned as not affordable enough to earn a living. The territory ground was thus deserted and quickly turned into wild. As a result, nowadays 75% of the municipal surface is covered by woods. Even if considering the environment protection a capital for a possible touristic development, the administration is, at the moment, using European funds to cut some woods in order to create new grazing.

Apart from the administration investments, most of the few productions show the same vocation to agriculture and breeding, often mixed up with tourism.

People involved in such traditional activities are at the moment exclusively Italian. Most of them are autochthonous inhabitants, who spent here most of their lives. Some belong to the return migrants and internal migrants categories.

#### THE REPOPULATION PROJECT AND THE NEW INHABITANTS

The second pattern of fight against disappearance is a repopulation project.

We are used to situations where local administrations start dealing with immigration only as a consequence of law and order problems, and start managing it when it is much too late. In Taipana, instead, the immigration flow was actively fostered by the municipal administration, which considered newcomers as a necessary solution and not as a problem.

The village could count on a significant pull factor: due to emigration, and to the presence of buildings which had been erected to face the emergency caused by the 1976 earthquake, many houses were empty. The administration announced a new ranking for the attribution of public housing, whose main criterion favoured families with children. This simple decision changed the characteristics of Taipana population. The ranking didn't include any citizenship requirement, and it ended up privileging foreign families.

The municipal administration is aware that the purchase of a dwelling is an important step in the stable settlement of the new inhabitants, and therefore is doing what possible to support it. When they can buy their own house, new inhabitants contribute to the upkeep of the existing real estate.

Measuring the foreigners' impact in terms of revenues is quite difficult, since no banks are present within the municipal territory. Their impact on the economic structure is quite important, instead. Of the 18 enterprises having a seat in the municipal

territory, four are owned by foreigners. So as the other numbers dealing with this municipality, also this one seems to be just a very little number. But this territory must be thought of in terms of micro dimensions, thus one shouldn't be surprised in noticing that enterprises owned by foreigners represent 22% of all the existing enterprises.

At the moment, Taipana foreigners seem not to be involved at all in the rural development project. Most of them work in the building, outside the municipal territory, and do not seem to be concerned with commuting. Encouraging the new inhabitants to take part in the rural development project is possibly another step that should be taken by the municipal administration.

Beyond the impact of the repopulation project on the village social structure, it is clear that its main result is, at the moment, the contribution of the newcomers to the survival of the few institutions present in Taipana. Since the first available data, in 2002, foreigners raised the population with a percentage up to 16,7%.

The school has a key role in the success of the repopulation project. It has, in fact, first of all a social function: it is possibly the only place where so different persons meet and share a communal goal. The same municipal administration has great expectations on the capacity of the school of letting the repopulation project succeed.

#### CONCLUSIONS: THE FUTURE OF TAIPANA

The hypothesis about the positive impact of the migration flow on the well being of the territory was confirmed: immigrants in Taipana are ready to invest in this territory. They buy houses, improve the upkeep of the real estate, open enterprises. They do not create law and order problems and do not burden on the social services and on the institutions. They do not take part in the rural development project yet, but their simple presence grants the survival of several services. And they contribute to fighting the ageing of the population, constituting thus also an investment for the future.

Much depends on the course of time: as time goes by, and upon unchanged conditions, the foreigners' settlement has more chances to become more stable or definitive. At the moment, the project was implemented too recently to state if it succeeded or failed. Surely, it seems to have succeeded in attracting young families. Thanks to the bonds within the children group, the youngest inhabitants of Taipana have the chance to grow up serenely, and naturally feeling to belong to this territory. They can develop an identity which is disconnected from their being Italian, or Romanian, or whatever. They have the chance to be, simply and only, the Taipanese of the future.

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# Governance challenge of converting second homes to permanent homes in Finland

Asta Kietäväinen and Seija Tuulentie<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Internal migration in Finland has been from rural to urban areas. In many rural areas, especially in lake districts, population increases seasonally in summertime and in Lapland also during winter holiday season because of the abundance of vacation homes. Currently, there is a weak but existing trend that people who have retired are moving permanently to their vacation homes. This is a challenge as well to national as to regional and local governance. Especially small rural municipalities are eager to support the conversion of second homes to permanent homes as they get new tax payers. For municipalities there are both costs and income due to new residents. There are big differences, however, how eager municipalities are to enhance these changing trends, and how regional governance reacts to these changes. For example, the second home owner may get a permission to change the status of his or her vacation home into permanent accommodation but regional officials can overrule the communal decision. Building second homes are regulated by the Land Use and Building Act. In this paper, we ask how municipal and regional governance react to these pressures and in what ways the phenomenon is governed? Our data consist of newspaper articles, municipal administration documents, and orders of the Supreme Administrative Court.

## INTRODUCTION

For many decades, the course of internal migration in Finland has been from rural to urban areas. Currently, there is a weak but existing trend that people who have retired are moving permanently back to countryside to their vacation homes. Those people on the threshold of retirement who are still in good physical shape, have future plans of spending more time on or even to move to their second home (Tuulentie, 2006). In Finland, a national migration study by Nivalainen (2003) has showed that retirement migration is an integral part of urban-to-rural migration and being a retiree significantly increases the probability of an urban-to-rural move. Second home ownership may sometimes represent a precursor to permanent domestic or international migration (Hall & Müller 2004, 13).

There are about 500 000 vacation homes in Finland, and the average age of cottage owners is 62-years. Many vacation-home owners are on the age of retiring and thereby there is potential for migration to rural areas in the near future in Finland. There are plenty of vacation homes in many rural

communities. In the most popular second home areas population is doubled or even tripled in summertime compared to non-holiday season.

There are municipalities whose policy is to tempt vacation home owners to move permanently to the municipality, because they have problems to produce public services. Municipalities get new tax payers but the new residents do not bring only incomes but also costs to local administration. Anyhow, former out-migrated individuals who decide to move 'home' in conjunction with retirement can be a vital injection to otherwise declining areas (Müller & Marjavaara 2012).

There are big differences, however, how eager municipalities are to enhance the new trends. Before newcomers can get a permanent resident status they have to change the primary use of their real estate from holiday home to a main residence. Municipality grants building permits but the regional environmental centre guides and supervises land use and building activity. Building of second homes and the possibility to change their status is regulated by the Land Use and Building Act (2000). This is a challenge as well to national as to regional and local governance. In this paper, we ask how municipal and regional governance react to these pressures and in what ways the phenomenon is governed? What are the rights of vacation-home owners and why especially retired people want to move permanent to vacation-home?

## DATA AND METHOD

Our data consists of newspaper articles, municipal administration documents, and orders of Supreme Administrative Court. From the documents and orders we identified who were the complainers, why did they complain, what were the decisions, and whose interests did the decisions support? The newspaper articles were analyzed in order to figure out the public opinion on this issue and to find out what is second-home owners' motivation to move. We applied qualitative content analysis and organized the data to categories. We discuss the results of governance challenges in the perspective of conflicts, and vacation-home owners' preferences to move to countryside as a part of way of life.

## RESULTS

We found three main contexts of conflicts: 1) administrative, 2) interpersonal and, 3) juridical. In administrative conflicts municipalities are more often

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willing to accept the change of the primary use of vacation homes to a permanent residence. In sparsely populated areas, municipalities wish to have more inhabitants, and hope that newcomers regenerate municipal economy and help to keep up a good level and variety of services. There are differences between regional environmental centres in how they act; some do support municipalities and some are strictly against the changes of vacation homes and assume that municipalities solve the problem in the first hand by land use planning procedure. In practice, people living in different part of Finland may get very different treatment. The aim of governance perspective is centralize housing structure. For same reason some municipalities are unwilling to support the change of the status of vacation homes while others are really eager. Therefore, people are treated differently depending on which municipality they have their vacation home.

Interpersonal conflicts can emerge when municipality has a local shore master plan and have therefore, according the Land Use and Building Act, a right to make a decision to change a vacation home into a primary home when the owner applies for it. It may happen, that the neighbors of the applicant complain about the decision to administrative court. Typically the neighbors argue that the general atmosphere of the area is changing, restlessness is increasing and environmental threats arising. Finally they can invoke the principle of equality: if one citizen gets an exceptional permit then all the others should have the same rights. A common argument by the complainers is that changing second-home for permanent housing is a big risk for the sustainable use of environment or the nature values.

Juridical conflict appears if someone is dissatisfied with the decision and appeals to the Administrative court. All parties can complain about the decisions that they are not satisfied with. They may lodge an appeal to the Administrative court and onward to the Supreme Administrative Court, which is the highest level court in administrative matters. Though the exceptional permit procedure is widely used in practice, the administrative court has aligned that all permits granted by municipal decisions that aim to changing vacation homes into permanent residents are illegal. This system is causing issues and new law cases all the time.

Second-home owners who have moved to their vacation-home or are going to move in future are mainly retired people. They belong to the so call baby boom generation that was born soon after the Second World War, mostly in the countryside. In a way they are moving back to their roots. According the data, their most important reason for moving to countryside is to get a peaceful environment. The nature and beautiful scenery by the lake or sea side is important. They want to change their urban way of life more towards nature based way of life. They have planned to move permanently to their vacation home when retired and have built the vacation home to suit the first home standards. It is a big disappointment if the court finally forbids the change.

## CONCLUSIONS

The interpretation of Land Use and Building Act causes problems. According to the law, municipal inspector can grant an exceptional permit of changing vacation home into permanent resident. Nevertheless, the same law also pronouns that all kind of building, which is against the zoning tags is illegal. This leads to interpretation problems of law. Along the complaining process it is common to refer to the principle of equality though it leads to opposite decisions and to inequality. That paragraph of law in the Land Use and Building Act that governs statutory land use planning should be developed in order to reduce conflicts and ensure equal treatment for all citizens.

People want to improve the quality of their everyday life by the amenity of nature and peaceful environment. The nature has come one part of their identity, and they experience better wellbeing. If they can't fulfill their plan to move, they experience inequality. Altogether, common opinion is that people should have a right to turn their vacation homes into their first homes

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# What future for the post-soviet institutional arrangements in agro-industrial sector after the WTO accession of the Russian Federation?

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**Abstract** – This communication examines agro-industrial supply chain transformations in Russia focusing both on the post-soviet structural changes and the recent accession of Russia to the WTO. We analyse conflicts and compromises in the Orel Oblast', making the assumption that the actors' behaviours depend on social, economic and political institutional changes. Then we explain why the WTO accession could be very detrimental to the agricultural sector.

## INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades, the nature of conflicts and compromises between actors in Russia considerably evolved. We analyse institutional changes in Russian agro-food sector making hypothesis that social forces may intervene on current circumstances and rearticulate them actively in order to bring about possible new trajectories (Nielsen & Alii, 1995; Federowicz, 2000). If the uncertainty stemming from recomposing an economic system can promote the reproduction of old behaviours by individuals and organisations, it may trigger deliberate actions caused by anticipating the emerging order by "instituted" agents and associates within more or less tightly-knit groupings. The result of this institutional process is the institutional arrangements that we observed. Indeed, on the basis of interviews with 52 agricultural players and public officers, we identified two specific institutional arrangements in several districts of the Orel Oblast' between four kinds of actors: investors (1. new operators which own economic, social and relational capitals; 2. food-industry operators); rural population (owners of land resources in collective property according to the new land tenure regime); agricultural workers; local politicians.

## THE POST-SOVIET COMPROMISES IN RUSSIAN AGRO-FOOD SECTOR

The first arrangement was developed by new operators. In this configuration two elements are linked together: the financing of some collective goods (primary schools, housing, etc) by the new investors in return for the favourable regulation of the food market by the regional and national authorities. This arrangement is based both on the new land tenure

regime and on the post-soviet credit access conditions. We demonstrate that new investors easily accessed the land in the Orel Oblast'. They created agro-holdings, rented land parcel to collective-land owners and offered social services to the rural population. The governor helped new investors to access public local credits and to sign renting contracts with rural population in exchange for paternalistic behaviour of the new operators towards local community (Grouiez and Koleva, 2011; Grouiez, 2012). Yet, operators invested in production with fast return on investment (poultry meat, pork, sugar beet and grains), which indicates that they are familiar with the capitalist model of investment (Ryl'ko and Jolly, 2005). Then, to enforce the compromise, the Russian agricultural policy-makers took trade policy measures that limited import competition by the way of quotas on meat importation (see table 1). Consequently, it is the Russian consumers who paid for this protectionist policy because new operators could raise the price of their products.

Years	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
<b>Poultry</b>	<b>744</b>	<b>1050</b>	<b>1090</b>	<b>1130.8</b>	<b>1171.2</b>	<b>1211.6</b>	<b>1252</b>	<b>780</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>580</b>
Import taxes within the quota and outside the quota limits	25 % with a minimum of 0.26 €/kg ; imports forbidden outside the quota limits	25 % with a minimum of 0.26 €/kg ; imports forbidden outside the quota limits	25 % with a minimum of 0.26 €/kg ; imports forbidden outside the quota limits	60 % (instead of 25 % within the quota) with a minimum of 0.48 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	50 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.4 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	50 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.4 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	40 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.32 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	80 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.7 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	80 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.7 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	80 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.7 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)	80 % (instead of 25 %) with a minimum of 0.7 €/kg (instead of 0.2 within the quota)
<b>Beef (frozen)</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>435</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>445</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>530</b>
<b>Beef (fresh)</b>	<b>15</b>	n.d.	n.d.	<b>27.8</b>	<b>28.3</b>	<b>28.9</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>
Import taxes within the quota and outside the quota limits	60 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.6 €/kg (instead of 0.15)	60 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.6 €/kg (instead of 0.15)	60 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.6 €/kg (instead of 0.15)	55 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.7 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	50 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.65 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	45 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.6 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	40 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.53 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	50 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	50 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	50 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1 €/kg (instead of 0.2)	55 % (instead of 15 %) - no limit
<b>Pork</b>	<b>337.5</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>467.4</b>	<b>476.1</b>	<b>484.8</b>	<b>493.5</b>	<b>502.2</b>	<b>472.1</b>	<b>472.1</b>	<b>425.1</b>	<b>400</b>
Import taxes within the quota and outside the quota limits	80 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1.06 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	80 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1.06 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	80 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1.06 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	60 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	55 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.9 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	50 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.83 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	40 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 0.55 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	75 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1.5 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	75 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1.5 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	75 % (instead of 15 %) with a minimum of 1.5 €/kg (instead of 0.25)	65 % (instead of 0 %) - no limit

**Table 1.** Russian Import tariffs of meat between 2003 and 2013 (1.000 tons). Source: Russian trade ministry

This quota policy was unfavourable for the second kind of institutional arrangement we identified: the economic relationship between independent corpo-

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rate farmers and food-industry operators. The former found new outlets into the food-industry and helped owners of plots of land to obtain contracts with industrial operators (Ioffe and Nefedova, 2001). But food-industry operators also bought a large part of their inputs within the international food market. By this way, they considerably reduced the cost of their production in comparison to the cost of the production supported by the new operators in the first institutional arrangement. In response to this competitive disadvantage, the Russian government adopted a quota on meat policy between 2003 and 2012 to protect his national production, especially the one produced by new operators.

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WTO ACCESSION FOR THE PREVIOUS INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The accession of Russia into the WTO in 2012 may be considered as a real source of destabilization for the above-mentioned institutional arrangements, especially for the one established between new operators, rural population and local politicians. One of the crucial effects of WTO membership is the need to radical change in the structure of the government agricultural support. WTO rules prohibit some forms of support (those which make barriers to free competition). Nowadays the feature of the Russian state support is that the biggest part of the transfers to agricultural producers is made by consumers and not by federal government as in the EU or the USA (Uzun 2012). Tariffs make imported food more expensive, therefore Russian producers can also raise the price of their products. It means that Russian consumers pay this surplus to agricultural producers. The accession to WTO will make such methods impossible. So federal transfers should increase greatly otherwise it will be very difficult for the new operators to compete with import agricultural production and the food-industry operators.

The threat from the foreign companies to the Russian producers will only increase after WTO accession. It concerns especially livestock products because even before WTO accession the share of import here was very high. Generally, Russian producers are less competitive than their EU counterparts because of the lower productivity and subsidies (including export subsidies) received by European producers.

On the other hand, WTO accession will reduce trade barriers for the Russian exporters (Kiselev and Romashkin, 2012). But it won't be easy to seize this opportunity. First, the efficiency of production should be raised in order to make the exported goods competitive. In this respect the WTO rules will make the access to modern efficient agricultural machinery easier for Russian producers. Second, as trade barriers from the EU - an important trade partner for Russia - will remain, the Asian markets could constitute a promising export channel.

In this context, the Russia's WTO accession could be very detrimental to the agricultural sector (Wegren, 2012). Firstly, most of the integrated corporate farms (agro-holdings) are specialized on

wheat production for the export market. In the near future, to keep their world advantage, these agro-holdings have to realize significant investments in capital equipment. These investments should affect animal feed costs of the breeding farms if the grain producers transfer their costs to the breeding farms. But, the fact that integrated breeding farms look after a fast return on investment (see above) could lead them to reduce their investment. Secondly, Russian agricultural supports (national project between 2005 and 2008; program on agricultural development 2008-2012) largely disadvantaged independent corporate farms and small farms which are the country's biggest producers of milk and vegetables. After the WTO accession these farms should be unable to compete with world milk and vegetable prices.

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# Two decades of rural areas transformation – the case of Poland

Marek W. Kozak<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Rural areas in Poland are to a large extent dependent on both low-productive agriculture and agricultural policies. Poland as the only Central and Eastern European countries survived the period 1955-1989 with 70% of agricultural land in private hands. Against expectations, it turned out to be not an asset in market-economy building, but – after 1992 - a burden in development (over two millions of farms, over 70% below 5 hectares, mostly subsistence farms). Due to outcomes of a set of policies (national and CAP) towards agriculture and rural areas, taking mostly forms of (hidden and open) social transfers, the changes in rural areas were limited to improvements of quality of life and slowly decreasing employment in agriculture. Agrarian structure, dominated by subsistence farms, remains stable (average farm size below 10 hectares, in some regions NUTS 2 below 5 hectares). As a result rural areas are still in need of deep restructuring and modernization of economic structure.**

## INTRODUCTION

The situation in Polish rural areas is regionally differentiated but in general it is to a large extent dependent on agriculture. It is socially and politically important (14% share in employment), very costly due to expensive policies oriented first of all on agriculture rather than rural areas, and yielding less than 4% of the GDP (GUS). Among writers prevails official opinion, that the policy towards agriculture and rural areas brings desirable results and should be continued, as small family farms are not only a value, but also a chance to develop organic farming. There is a growing number of authors who suggest the need to put more emphasis on restructuring and potentially reduction of privileges (Halamska 2012; Stanny 2010; Wilkin 2011). And few who say that the policies employed bring more unwanted results at the expense of most taxpayers than benefits (Kozak 2011). Main thesis of this paper is that the current situation is being shaped-up by 1) spontaneous processes taking place in countryside and overall socio-economic environment and by 2) incoherent national and European public policies addressing agriculture and countryside.

## METHODS AND SOURCES AND INFORMATION

The method is based on desk research, using public statistics, documents, scientific reports and literature review referring to Polish agriculture in the period of

1989-2011. As EUROSTAT uses national statistics based on information provided by Central Statistical Offices, statistical data are limited to Polish CSO.

## MAIN RECENT FEATURES AND CHANGES OF RURAL AREAS

The complex system of support directed to the farmers population (much less to rural areas dwellers not working in the agriculture). De facto the system could be described as a set of privileges (farmers are the only large vocational group benefiting from so high privileges). First is connected to legal status of individual farms which – as not business units – do not come under competition and consumer protection laws, what limits bureaucratic burden, however at the expense of customers). Second is related to the fiscal system: farmers (if not registered voluntarily as business entity) do not pay CIT, but significantly lower agricultural tax. Third, the social insurance system for farmers is in 90% subsidized by the state budget (what costs the budget circa PLN 15 billion a year; pensions and other social payments in this system are rather low, but medical insurance provided is highly valued). Fourth, after 2004 accession farmers were the first socio-economic group supported financially by the Common Agricultural Policy (unconditional direct payments to every farm over 1 ha plus other benefits and subsidies) and support to rural areas development – circa PLN 14 billion a year (Halamska 2012:221; see Jarosz 2013: 40). However, there is a cost: all members of agricultural household are by law treated as employed persons. As a result in regions with small farms dominating in the agriculture there is clearly significant hidden unemployment.

Limited contribution of EU policies employed in rural areas (in particular in agriculture) to restructuring and modernization of economic structure has a number of reasons. First, all programmes (policies) are insufficiently coordinated what results in competition of various programmes for beneficiaries. Second, despite the fact that farmers represent on average only up to 40 per cent of rural areas population, most of CAP financing goes to farmers, simultaneously largely ignoring questions like environment protection or human and social capital development (Rowiński 2008). Third, due to poor quality monitoring indices and implementation reports it is next to impossible to identify all the support (and results) to rural areas. Fourth, positive influence of CAP on modernization of farms is limited

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only to small percentage of farms large enough to supply to the market.

Due to aforementioned set of policies' outcomes the agrarian structure remains rather stable. In the year 2000 overall number of farms was 1880,9 thousand,<sup>2</sup> but share of small farms (1 -4,99 hectares) increased to 56,4% (GUS 2011: 27). Only smallest (1 – 2 ha) and largest (15+ ha) farms reported increase (at the expense of share of medium sized farms 2 – 14,99 hectares). In 2011 there were 1655,3 thousand farms (excluding 0,6 million farms under 1 hectare)(GUS 2012: 126). High regional differences exist: in Małopolskie region there are 0,117 million farms, in Podkarpackie 0,122million, and in Zachodniopomorskie, dominated with rather large farms, there are 0,012 million (ibidem)

There is a significant gap between agricultural (and rural) and urban households (by 1/3). Disposable income per person in farmers household almost doubled in the years 2005 – 2010, from 606,17 PLN to 1024,53 PLN, however income from a private farm in agriculture grew from 408,45 PLN to 732,01 PLN (GUS 2011: 208). Undoubtedly accession to EU had significant impact on it (Wilkin 2011: 120; Halamska 2011:17). Productivity matters: the number of employees per 100 hectares of agricultural land was equal to 14 employees in 2007 compared to 8 on the EU average (MRR 2011: 167). Against widely shared notion, Poland imports circa 10% more than exports (in 2011 export was worth PLN 558,7 billion, import: PLN 623,4 billion)(GUS 2012a: 44).

There is increasing depopulation process in particular in peripheral areas (Eastern Poland). Share of agriculture in regional labour market makes these regions unable to create enough highly qualified jobs to absorb regional school leavers. Unlike in most better developed countries poverty tends to concentrate not in cities, but in rural areas, where social exclusion is seen as major problem among rural areas dwellers (Czapiński 2011: 346).

#### CONCLUSIONS

Most of policy towards rural areas *de facto* is directed to agriculture, ignoring the fact that farmers, though still numerous, are minority in the countryside. A system of *de facto* privileges contribute to improvement in the level of life; but – with exception of few owners of large farms (over 50 – 100 ha) – they do not reduce the gap between income of those employed in agriculture and outside of it (or gap between rural and city income). And most importantly, they cannot guarantee satisfactory income, as it may happen only as a result of restructuring and modernization of local economies (agriculture first of all). Instead, what the privileges do is a visible slowdown of transformation in rural areas.

Cumulative impact of these policies (to a large extent privileges) make most farmers not willing to sell their lands. As a result picture of Polish agriculture and farmers is mixed: despite significant hidden and open social transfers from public sector, they remain poorer than urban dwellers and are strongly dependent on the state support.

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<sup>2</sup> as previously, the figure of farms in 2011 did not take into account ca 600 thousand of farms up to 1 ha.



# Challenges for rural enterprises: a study of Estonian rural enterprises' problems and the impact of economic and political developments of the last decade

Anne Põder<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The aim of the paper is to study the assessments of Estonian rural enterprises on their problems and on the impact of major economic and political developments in the last decade. Based on the data of a questionnaire survey of 1825 Estonian rural enterprises one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the scores of enterprises of different economic activities. The biggest problems were the lack of suitable labour and for the primary sector the condition of its fixed assets. The food industry can be considered as the branch with best competitive ability. The development of information society was considered to have had the most positive impact on rural economy in the last decade.

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of the paper is to study Estonian rural enterprises' problems and on the impact of major economic and political developments in the last decade. Rural enterprises typically face own set of challenges like lack of agglomeration and economies of scale (Besser, Miller, 2013), distance from suppliers, markets (Smallbone et al., 2003) etc. In former Soviet countries the impact of the transition has also had its effects. At the end of the Soviet era half of Estonian rural population was employed in primary sector. Another distinctive trait of collective farms was that they also provided a number of rural services and were often engaged in secondary activities. In the 1990ies Estonia implemented free market philosophy and with rapid privatisation and reforms was considered an example of success (Smallbone, Welter, 2009). However, the very liberal economic policy had devastating effect on newly re-established farms and it brought along new challenges to the privatised non-agricultural units transformed into rural tertiary and secondary enterprises. Presently tertiary sector accounts for half of Estonian rural enterprises and employs more than half of rural population (SOE, 2013). As enterprises play a key role in the economic development and the rural economy has changed with tertiary sector becoming the main employer, the different problems associated with different activities are highly relevant research topic.

## DATA AND METHODS

The data used is from the questionnaire survey "The Rural Enterprises' Situation, Development Trends and Need for Support" (2012) of 1825 Estonian rural enterprises. The enterprises were divided into 7 seven groups by their activity: 1) accommodation and food service; arts, entertainment and recreation; 2) all other services; 3) agriculture; 4) forestry; 5) manufacture of food, beverages, animal feeds; 6) manufacture of wood and furniture; 7) all other manufacturing activities. The goal was to study the different activities in more detail, especially as tourism, food industry and wood processing enterprises are considered to have the highest potential for creating rural jobs and economic growth.

In the survey the respondents were asked to evaluate different characteristics of their enterprises in a Likert type scale of 5 (from 5 "very good" to 1 "very bad") and the impact of 10 major economic and political developments of the last decade (from 5 "very positive impact" to 1 "very negative impact"). In the present analysis ANOVA is used to study whether the mean scores of enterprises in the different fields differ. To study the nature of differences *post hoc* Tukey HSD test was used.

## RESULTS

Enterprises evaluated 10 characteristics (table 1) giving highest scores to the skills of managers, their location and competitive ability as those were mostly assessed as being rather good. The most problematic were the condition of buildings and construction and sufficient labour availability.

The ANOVA showed that the differences in the groups' mean scores were significant in all cases. The food industry had the highest scores on their competitiveness, value added, profitability in comparison with agricultural and forestry enterprises. The enterprises in the primary sector gave the lowest scores on their equipment and facilities in comparison of the three groups of manufacturers. The lowest mean scores on the sufficiency of labour were given by wood manufactures in comparison with the tourism and other service enterprises and the other two groups of manufacturers. The tourism enterprises were most satisfied with their location in comparison with forestry enterprises and other manufacturing enterprises.

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**Table 1.** The current situation of the enterprise.

Characteristic	Mean score
Skills and knowledge of management/owners	3.53 <sup>a</sup>
Suitability of current location	3.52 <sup>a</sup>
Competitive ability of products/services	3.42 <sup>a</sup>
Value added to products/services	3.01 <sup>a</sup>
Skills and knowledge of labour	2.94 <sup>a</sup>
Modernity of machinery and equipment	2.92 <sup>a</sup>
Profitability of current products/services	2.93 <sup>a</sup>
Possibilities for production enlargement	2.81 <sup>a</sup>
Sufficiency of labour	2.68 <sup>a</sup>
Modernity of buildings and constructions	2.62 <sup>a</sup>

Differences in ANOVA model <sup>a</sup> P<0.01, <sup>b</sup> P<0.05

**Table 2.** The impact of the economic and political developments of the last decade on the rural enterprises.

Development	Mean score
Development of information society (e.g. Internet, Skype etc)	4.05 <sup>b</sup>
EU accession in 2004	3.65
Increase in no. of tourists	3.65 <sup>a</sup>
Economic growth 2004- 2008	3.62 <sup>b</sup>
Estonia joining the euro zone in 2011	3.13 <sup>a</sup>
Media coverage of rural life	3.13
Concentration of retail sales into chain stores	2.51
Decline of jobs in primary sector	2.36
Economic recession in 2009- 2010	2.36
Concentration of public services into larger centres	2.17

Differences in ANOVA model <sup>a</sup> P<0.01, <sup>b</sup> P<0.05

The positive impact of the development of information society was appreciated most (table 2). It was followed by the EU accession and its effects, including the increase of tourism and economic boom that were regarded rather positively. Several trends (economic, service concentration, decline of primary sector's jobs) were assessed as still continuing to have negative impact on rural economy. In the comparison of the scores the agricultural and forestry enterprises stood out with giving lower scores to almost all the statements, but in 4 out of 10 statements the mean scores differed significantly in ANOVA. The enterprises of tourism related activities gave higher scores than agricultural and forestry enterprises to the impact of development of information society, effect of the economic boom and tourism developments. The primary sector enterprises saw also the joining of the euro zone in rather negative light with lower scores than the manufacturing enterprises.

#### DISCUSSION

Structural labour issues are continuing to be among the biggest problems in Estonian rural areas. Enterprises like wood manufacturers, that could be a considerable source of rural jobs, fail to find suitable labour. It is somewhat less of a problem for service enterprises; however, they have also been more affected by the economic cycles. As most of the rural

enterprises are already the service enterprises, it means that they are very open to the impacts of the changes in economic growth rate.

Among the most positive developments in the last decades are the opportunities offered by information technology. In Estonia the service and economic concentration trends are still continuing and having a negative impact to the rural economy.

The nature of the agricultural and forestry activities generally requires considerable investments into fixed assets, especially in comparison with service enterprises. With the EU accession a number of agricultural supports for the investments into machinery and facilities became available for Estonian primary sector enterprises and food industry. While the enterprises in the food industry considered their facilities to be in relatively satisfactory condition, the failure to modernize was still considered a problem by a number of primary sector enterprises indicating that the lag in investments in the 1990ies still continues to be a challenge for the primary sector.

While generally enterprises considered their competitive ability to be relatively good, it is worrisome that there is a gap with assessments on value added, profitability and enlargement possibilities. It indicates to weak growth prospects and to a possible overestimation of the competitive ability. The food industry can be considered as the most competitive branch in rural economy with best competitive ability, value added and profitability.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Polish peasantry and the perpetuation of the class from the Past

Ruta Śpiewak

**Abstract** – Polish rural areas in last decade has undergone process of serious changes such as decreasing the number of farms and farmers, increasing the number of rural inhabitants having no income from agriculture at all. Access of Poland to the EU in 2004, only accelerated the changes, at least in the view of quantitative data. Nevertheless the peasants, who throughout the ages dominated the Polish rural areas, are still present. Many sociologists try to define who the peasants are. Over 10 years ago, recognized Polish sociologist - Edmund Mokrzycki, pointed the most important attributes of this social group: exceptional attachment to the land and the place where they were born, moral and professional conservatism, as well as a low social status and mobility. This article attempts to verify, if this class still exists in rural areas in Poland and what is their attitude toward ongoing necessary, sometimes painful, process of social and economic changes in rural areas.

## INTRODUCTION

In 2001, a recognized Polish sociologist Edmund Mokrzycki published, "Non sentimental Balans" in depth study of the transformation in Poland's social strata in the decade after the fall of communism. Mokrzycki's work focuses on changes within particular social classes, including one chapter dedicated to the peasantry, hereby called "a class from the past". For Mokrzycki, Poland's peasantry is a class belonging to history, even though it still existed throughout the 90s. Among the main attributes of this "class from the past," Mokrzycki cites the peasantry's exceptional attachment to the land and the place where they were born, moral and professional conservatism, as well as a low social status and mobility. In his opinion, peasantry is a legacy of Communism, as well as impediment in the necessary process of economic change in

Polish rural areas. Mokrzycki also considers the persistence of a peasant class in Polish society during the 90s as proof of Poland's economic backwardness.

The goal of the paper is to examine whether the peasantry still exists in Poland more than a decade after Mokrzycki's book was published, what are the implications of its persistence. The research is based on the qualitative data collected in 2010 in Kraina Rawki - one of LAG's in Lodzkie Voivodship, one of a rural regions of Poland. A case study is applied as a research method, since in opinion of author it allows better understanding of directions and mechanisms of the ongoing social process.

Since the publication of Mokrzycki's study Polish rural areas have undoubtedly changed, which is reflected in quantitative data. For example the average size of farms has grown from the 6,6 ha to the 9,6 ha and the number of people working as a farmers has decreased by over 600 000 within a decade (compare Rural Development Report, 2012). The transformation of rural areas in Lodzkie goes in the same direction, but is slower compared to the average trend observed for Poland. The important question is whether the attitude of the small-scale farmers toward ongoing multilevel process of change in rural areas also changes?

## MAIN ATTRIBUTES OF PEASANTS - CASE STUDY RESULT

If education attainment may be considered as an indicator of social status, we can observe that those who consider themselves farmers stand lower on the social ladder compared to the rest of rural inhabitants in the considered region. Less than 1% of farmers achieved higher education, comparing to the 15% in the remaining part of the surveyed population.

The research shows that small farms operate against the economic logic, and the farmers show irrational attachment to the land. They choose to maintain small-size farms, (5- 15 ha), and reject all innovative approaches such as organic farming or producing renewable energy. Most farmers do not even consider quitting agricultural sector - they'd rather combine farming with some other economic activities to achieve the necessary income. Although their approach seems irrational from the economic point of view, it is shared or at least accepted within the rural society. This attitude delays the inevitable structural change in Poland's rural economy.

On one hand the farmers associate life in rural areas with hard work, on the other, more often than non-farmers living in rural areas, they appreciate the benefits of living in the countryside. They are also less enthusiastic toward new inhabitants than the rest of rural population - 17% of farmers (comparing to 5% of the other rural inhabitants) indicated the answer: new inhabitants take away job places from other inhabitants and cause conflicts. This can be explained by the fact that farmers, show greater anxiety toward the world outside their community than people not involved in farming.

It was determined that the Polish peasantry does still exist as a subset within the farming industry, and that the ways in which they behave and think are still deeply rooted in Communist life. The results

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of the research show that not only are a majority of farmers in this region less educated than the rest of the population, but they are also more dependent on the state, including state financial aid. Furthermore, their attitudes toward deep structural changes in farming, as well as towards methods of rural development, are less enthusiastic than the rest of rural inhabitants.

Rural Development Report (2012). Warsaw. FDPA

#### THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Mokrzycki argues that the fact that we can still find peasants in Poland is because the state offers poorly organized and archaic methods of aid to these rural inhabitants. In fact, the state's aid provides no motive for progress or change, and thus it cause very slow development in these regions, where the number of peasantry has no real incentive to change. In examining the spending of Polish government within the Program of Rural Development between 2007 and 2013, it was identified four major categories in which the government has invested the most. One of these is the area of "social transfers," where the government subsidizes the income of farmers without any requirements beyond need. About 29% of all public funding is focused on these social transfers (Rowinski, 2010), which do not create incentives for farmers to improve their situations, but have the opposite effect by encouraging a dependency on the state.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ultimately, the research shows how Mokrzycki's thesis that state spending in rural areas works to conserve the impoverished situation of Polish peasantry rather than incentivizing positive and self-sustained change within the social stratification of rural areas. Mokrzycki argues that the fact that such class exists is a proof Poland's economic backwardness. In more recently published book, van der Ploeg underlines that now all over the world is ongoing process of repeasantization which is "fight for autonomy and survival in a context of deprivation and dependency" (van der Ploeg, 2008). This two scholars attribute very different meaning to the existence of peasants. As it was showed above polish peasants are quite passive and willingly accept state aid, which has no incentive to change. It leads to the situation that polish rural areas don't change fast enough, since the number of inhabitants are not prepared for necessary changes.

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# From Totalitarianism to Public Participation in Rural Environmental Issues: The Case of Wild Boar Management in Latvia

Joanna T. Storie, Simon Bell and Mart Kylvik<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The change from a totalitarian state to one that uses participatory processes is a difficult one to make and this can be seen in Latvia in the move away from the state-led management of wild boar in the former Soviet era to the establishment of local hunting organisations and devolved, even privatised management. Conflict in certain areas between hunters and landowners can, in part, be considered a legacy of the Soviet era, where inhabitants had little say in decisions affecting their environment. This paper highlights the divide between the authorities and rural inhabitants using a case study regarding the conflict of wild boar management in Ērgļu Novads, a district of Latvia, and traces the contribution of the Soviet era legacy.

## INTRODUCTION

The Ērgļu Novads area has seen a significant increase in wild boar activity leading to conflict between hunters and landowners and a frustration with the authorities over the handling of the management of the wild boar species (*Sus scrofa*) (Storie 2012). As in many wildlife conflicts, there is a discrepancy between those who benefit and those who bear the costs (Macmillan and Phillip 2008, Conover 2002: 9). An investigation was carried out to determine the reasons for the conflict and the contributory causes.

## METHODS

Semi-structured interviews using the snowball method and convenience sampling (Marshall, White and Fischer 2007, Sjölander-Lindqvist 2009) were conducted with hunters and those in authority at national, regional and local level and with farmers and landowners in Ērgļu Novads and surrounding areas. A literature and media were also carried out for information regarding evidence of conflicts over the wild boar, with the information used to verify information reported.

## FINDINGS

### GENERAL BACKGROUND

During Soviet times hunting management was organised in 5000ha blocks. Quotas were set for venison and moose meat by the authorities, which were then exported to Scandinavia. Wild boar, however, was not exported, but used for local consumption, with the boar often being fed from surplus grain from the Kolkhoz (collective) farms.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Kolkhoz farms were dismantled and Latvians could once again own the land. This meant wild boar were no longer damaging Kolkhoz land, but farmers own fields, threatening their livelihood.

At this time the authorities permitted locals to shoot the wild boar without regard to age or gender and this action coupled with two severe winters, a reduction in grain supplies due to the dismantling of the Kolkhoz farms and disease caused numbers to dwindle dramatically. Some hunters then took steps to bring about a recovery in wildlife populations through supplementary feeding and rearing of animals in animal parks.

Landowners today, in Latvia, own the hunting rights to their land, however they are unable to exercise this right unless they have a hunting license, more than 1000ha to hunt wild boar (land areas required varies with species) and a quota from Latvijas Meža Dienests (State Forest Service, LMD). Most estates are less than 10ha therefore necessitating the landowner to make an agreement with a hunting organisation, which aggregates hunting rights to the minimum area required. Many agreements were drawn up in the 1990's, when the population were poorly educated in the writing of formal contracts, resulting in many landowners being locked into lifetime contracts that benefitted the hunter more than the landowner.

### FARMERS

Farmers have become frustrated with their lack of options to deal with wild boar damage on their land  
*"Farmers need to have the right to protect their own land"*

Some were tired of fighting with the authorities over the issue. They explained how members of the Government and national authorities would come and inspect the damage but nothing ultimately changed.

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Many were scared of one particular hunting organisation, requiring anonymity and were initially cautious in interviews. More generally hunters were considered arrogant and appeared unsympathetic to their losses

*They shoot for a hobby not to control the wild boar and they don't feel bad that the pigs are digging your land*

They believed some hunting organisations had raised wild boar and released them, resulting in wild boar that were not afraid of people and increasing the risk to farming communities of injury.

#### HUNTERS

Hunters felt blamed for what they perceived as laziness or lack of responsibility displayed by the farmers. They felt that the farmers could do more to protect their land, although farmers argued they had tried everything and new techniques only worked briefly. Some hunters did agree with farmers that hunting was the most effective method in reducing damage and were more willing to undergo dialogue with farmers regarding wild boar management.

#### AUTHORITIES

The authorities were aware of the issues involved in the conflict, which came as a surprise to local farmers. At the time of the investigation the agricultural ministry were conducting a national debate on the role of hunting in controlling wildlife damage, however it did not involve those suffering the most damage, but national organisations representing farmers and hunters.

Those in the ministries responsible for hunting feared that giving local landowners the right to deal with wildlife on their own property would be detrimental to wildlife and that "one big campaign" would ensue. Those in the ministries also felt that local hunters were not the best means of keeping data on animal densities, as they were "bad experts" and felt the hunters were not concerned with being involved in planning management strategies.

#### DISCUSSION

In the Soviet era, the authorities and not the community owned the farmlands. When Latvians regained land, wild boar damage became a personal loss. Once a supply of meat for local communities fed off the surplus of the state, wild boar became a pest with the change of ownership and management styles.

Transition to the capitalist state with binding contracts has proved difficult, which was recognised by those in authority,

"And now there is a situation where the landowner is like a hostage of hunter"

However, there seemed little appreciation of financial restrictions faced by farmers to protect themselves from wildlife damage. Landowners on the other hand were still looking to the authorities or the courts to solve their problems, rarely coming together to work on local solutions.

Inhabitants experiencing damage to property felt largely excluded from the national debate on

hunting, demonstrating not all stakeholders felt able to contribute. There was little faith that the authorities would take meaningful steps and on the authorities' side an assumption that the farming community would not deal responsibly with the wild boar if allowed to shoot them on their own property. Better communication between the authorities and the local people experiencing the damage, would have enabled the local people to understand the processes and given them wider access to provide feedback and suggest local solutions to the problem, as well as making it clear their thoughts on wild boar. Improving the ability of communities to enter into dialogue is crucial. Involving hunters and farmers to monitor animals and devise management plans would help resource-constrained authorities.

#### CONCLUSION

Top down initiatives and lack of trust between individuals, groups and the authorities is, in part, a legacy of the Soviet era and requires positive actions to overcome these. Whilst it is generally acknowledged that participatory methods should be incorporated into good practice guidelines, the investigation showed that there is still a long way before active engagement of the public in decision-making is achieved. Overcoming the Soviet era legacy of an acquiescent population, unused to deciding their future and the expectations of top down solutions, requires the authorities to not only identify and engage with stakeholders but also to be aware of power structures that hinder engagement if effective solutions are to be reached.

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# Understanding rural community resilience: Lessons from rural leadership patterns in Benue State, Nigeria

Simon A. Ejembi and E.P. Ejembi<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This study was conducted to examine rural leadership as a principal factor for community resilience. To facilitate a comprehensive examination of resilience, the nature of leadership in rural communities, leadership succession patterns, social and economics profile of the leaders and the relationship between leaders and the led in Benue State, Nigeria, were investigated. Previous disasters and how they were handled vis-à-vis leadership influence were studied. Data were collected using Focus Group Discussion. The results show that traditional leadership patterns were predominant in all communities; the leaders in most cases had very low level of education and were autocratic. It was concluded that members of the rural communities were fatalistic because of their inability to evolve coping strategies at those times they had disasters. It was recommended that leadership succession patterns should be liberalized to allow for competent individuals on leadership positions.

## INTRODUCTION

Rural communities in most parts of the world are predisposed to disaster due to incapacitation arising from social, economic and cultural factors. Every rural community is characterized by ways of life that clearly distinguish it from others. These cultural factors define the leadership patterns, ways of solving problems as well as adapting to the environment (Ekong, 2004; Daskan, 2010). Leadership patterns are important for the achievement of efficient and effective functioning of such social system.

Leadership may be exercised through authority, power, and influence (Peil, 1982). However, the exercise of leadership through any of the ways outlined above depends on the cultural provision for leadership patterns (Ejembi, 2004). It is the nature of leadership patterns that also determines the degree of resilience in a social system. Resilience is the ability to withstand, adapt to, or rebound from extreme challenges or adversity (George, 2010). Put differently, Hans (ND) recounted that it is not what happens that matters; it is how it is taken. This is why development of positive attitudes toward all human situations is cardinal to building psychological immunity through a well focused leadership system which is the precursor for community resilience. Many communities in the area of study have been

unable to withstand disasters probably because the members have been unable to mobilize the available human resources due to poor leadership. This paper addresses leadership influence on community resilience in Benue State, Nigeria. To do this, historical trends of natural disasters, measures taken by communities to stabilize after such disasters and leadership patterns which determine succession and interaction between the leader and the people were examined.

## METHOD

The study was carried out in 11 communities, Benue State. Fifteen to 20 members of various strata in the communities served as the respondents. The study employed focus group discussion (FGD) to elicit pertinent information for the study.

## RESULTS

### *Socio-economic profile of the communities*

Socioeconomic-enhancing amenities of the communities were studied and results presented in Table 1. The data show that Majority (6) of the communities had secondary schools and only two communities had no school system. Communities that have schools may attain a fair literacy level which could facilitate the understanding of group goals, thereby simplifying leadership tasks. Avarichi, Otukpo and Taraku were the only communities that had good-sized markets where economic activities can be transacted. This means that the other communities were compelled to do their business in makeshift markets where operations are usually at the subsistence level. Respondents indicated that this has been responsible for perennial poverty. As for the availability and functionality of health facilities, only two communities (Otukpo and Taraku) had access to modern health facilities. This means that most of the people may have no chance against any epidemic which is usually fierce and sudden. When people are helpless, they become hopeless; this in turn may lead to fatalism and ultimate indifference to leadership.

Only four communities had electricity; three had either federal or state roads passing through the localities; no other community had good access from or to the area. In most cases of natural disaster, the relevant authorities could not be reached fast

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enough, causing devastation of lives and property before any intervention.

**Table 1.** Distribution of communities according to their socio-economic profiles.

Communities	Socio-economic profile				
	Educational facilities	Market facilities	Health services (hospitals)	Electricity	Access road networks
Akunu	Primary school	None	None	None	Not passable
Edikwu	Primary school	Small and local	None	None	No access
Avarichi	Secondary school	Big	Available	Available	Good
Apa-Agila	Secondary	Big	Available	Available	Very bad
Edi-Adum	None	None	None	None	Very bad
Aiona	Secondary	Small and local	Available (small)	None	Very bad
Atusa-Nyam	None	None	None	None	Very bad
Atuhazua	None	None	None	None	None
Otukpo	Secondary	Big	Available	Available	Good
Taraku	Secondary	Available	Available	Available	Good
Okpafie	Secondary	None	None	None	Good

#### *Historical account of disasters experienced in the communities*

The response of the communities to natural disasters was examined. Rural dwellers do not keep dates, so they stated their experiences based on the number of times such disasters occurred. Respondents reported that the previous disasters were drought, flood, insect invasion, disease epidemics and fire outbreaks. This results show that no particular community was immune to natural disasters. Consequently, it is clear that communities must evolve a more resilient disposition to secure the environment in the event of natural disasters.

#### *Leadership patterns and community resilience*

In the area of study, there are two cultural groups: Idoma and Tiv. These two groups do not have the same leadership succession patterns at the community levels. Among the Idoma, local leaders are appointed by the elders of the community; at the village level, ascension to leadership position is rotated among the clans. For every clan whose turn it is to produce the leader, the approach was primogeniture. The Tiv people recognize as the head/leader the eldest male of the settler-family. When he dies, the next eldest person takes over. Most of the communities did nothing to help avert the disasters and were always at the mercy of God for a miracle. However, the communities, reported disease outbreaks to the Local Government Authorities whose interventions were usually late for those that ever did. This was blamed on ineffective leadership since most leaders were not sufficiently educated, just as other members of the community. Respondents also reported that the leaders lacked

the courage to pressurize or influence the higher authorities. This delayed interventions and sometimes none at all (Ejembi, 2009).

#### *Leadership profiles*

Every group of people is regulated by what it possesses, this is because according to Igbago, (2008), people's actions, reactions and general operations should be perceived bearing in mind socio-economic endowment of such people as nobody can do better than his/her best. As a result the general profiles of the people in leadership positions were examined. It was noted that they have very low level and in some cases no educational qualifications, their major occupation was farming at its subsistence level, low annual income, large family sizes of between 12 and 20 members within a household. Most of the leaders were non cosmopolites so there is the risk of genetic mutation in ideologies. These weak personal profiles may guarantee proactive actions on the part of the leaders or even enable them to sustain an action that is ventured. This is because, they will rather channel efforts in trying to make ends meet, in this case, at the weakest point of resistance they may give to pressure consequently, unable to resiliently lead their followers to surmount a disaster.

#### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It was concluded that the leadership of the communities studied could not influence the followership to be proactive and strategize to cope with disasters of any nature. The leaders of the various communities were not socio-economically empowered and in both ethnic settings, the leadership succession patterns were defective, tradition bound and not proactive. Consequently, it was recommended that leadership succession patterns should be liberalized to allow for competent individuals on leadership positions.

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# Crisis and resilient rural communities. Evidences from the Biosphere Reserve of Sierra de Bejar and Francia (Spain)

J. Esparcia and J. Escribano<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The crisis of traditional agriculture in Spain, during the 60s and 70s, plunged most rural areas in a deep social and economic crisis, as a result of the breakdown of their productive systems and local societies. Rural development policies from the 90s to the present have allowed alleviate that situation and, in some cases, stop and even reverse some tendencies of that regressive rural crisis.

In this paper we analyze a case study in Spain, the Sierra of Bejar and France (province of Salamanca in Spain), an area that suffered particularly severe effects of that first crisis of traditional agriculture and in which have subsequently been implemented rural development policies. These policies are a first instrument to become more resilient local societies. Nevertheless, the particularity of this territory is that it was declared a Biosphere Reserve in 2006. Much of the local population and rural stakeholders greatly appreciate this declaration as another tool to improve their resilient strategies and fighting the new and deeper- rural crisis.

The methodology is based in an analysis of the historical and recent social and demographic trends, and mainly on primary information from more than fifty personal interviews conducted with stakeholders from public, economic and social sectors in the area.

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVE

In inland Spain the crisis of traditional agriculture during the 60s and 70s was especially intense, followed by a demographic crisis due to the migration processes and the consequent aging population.

The study areas are the mountains of France and Béjar, two contiguous areas about 1,250 km<sup>2</sup>, with an average density of 25 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>, but with important disparities. Sierra of France is much less populated (14.3 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>) than the Sierra of Béjar (36 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>). In the Sierra of Francia the most important problem is the strong depopulation that has suffered the territory, which contributed in turn decisively to the crisis of traditional land use (agriculture, grazing and forestry) as well as the disappearance of a large number of services (Bustos, 2005). These same processes are present in the Sierra of Béjar, but with the distinct feature of the presence of a town of

14,500 inhabitants, Béjar. This village, being the functional and administrative capital of the territory (maintaining certain level of public services) has brought some population from the small neighbor villages, partially slowing migration. But this sub-regional capital is not enough to boost the economy of the region.

The objective of this work is to explore this context and the -resilient- strategies that local actors have been putting in place over the past two decades, with different level of success. LEADER programme, and more recently the management of the Reserve of the Biosphere (UNESCO) are just two of the initiatives being part of these -resilient- responses of local communities coping with the crisis and facing their future. The second objective is to analyze the networking processes present in the study area, since cohesive social networks are a critical potential element for a shared and resilient development processes and strategies, facing the main challenges of these local communities.

## METHODOLOGY

This study was based on a preliminary analysis of the literature on the evolution and social, economic and demographic study areas. Second, it has been conducted a primary data collection from interviews with stakeholders in both sub-regions, collecting two types of information. First, the assessment of the situation and recent changes in their areas and sectors (enabling us to detect and define the "discourse" of each actor, which is the base to later carry out a textual analysis). Second, using the methodological approach of Social Network Analysis, we analyze the networks of personal relationships in which it is involved each relevant local actor.

We have identified an initial network of stakeholders, with more than 40 people with supra-local relevance. After the interviews they have been identified new actors considered relevant, and incorporated into the system of actors. A total of 57 interviews were conducted (over 90% of the identified stakeholders).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Crisis and resilience: the civil society*

When we asked local stakeholders on the "impact of the crisis", the answer is clear: "What crisis?, Here we are in crisis during the last 60 years." And they

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were right in these claims. In the *Sierra* of France the agriculture, livestock and forestry activities are in crisis since the 50s and 60s, and only in recent years there are detected signs of a slight recovery. Meanwhile, the *Sierra* of Béjar has had since the Middle Ages textile craft that became in the XIX century in a significant industry based on the production of cloth (from sheep's wool), but this industry could not adapt to foreign competition and their lower costs.

A part of civil society, nonconformist with the situation of crisis and the processes of social and economic decline of the territory, were organized in the 80s (Salmantina Association of Mountain Agriculture-ASAM, founded in 1986) to implement actions with a dual purpose. First, retrieve the dynamic (and especially the role) of civil society in development processes (unlike other rural areas, where the initiative has been in the hands of institutional actors or, just in case, economic ones), and secondly, foster actions that would allow slow down the exodus of population and also provide job opportunities to the area's population.

ASAM was responsible for the management of LEADER programme between 1991 and 2006, and since 2008 is responsible for the management of the Biosphere Reserve of *Sierras* of Béjar and France. ASAM promoted a development strategy committed on building up complementary activities and, in some cases, alternatives to traditional ones in the countryside, based largely on the rural tourism, valorization of local crafts and products, and small businesses.

#### *The Reserve of the Biosphere: instrument for local resilience*

This dynamism of part of civil society since the 80s, experience in the management of LEADER programme, and the fact of having an enormous natural wealth heritage, led these groups to seek the declaration of a large part of the territory as a Biosphere Reserve (achieved in 2006). It covers an area of nearly 2,000 km<sup>2</sup>, and nearly 50,000 inhabitants in 88 municipalities. Following the declaration of the reserve, from ASAM has continued to work with civil society, with institutional stakeholders, economic and, in general, with the local population. For example, the participatory process launched between 2007 and 2008 led to participatory assessment under the Strategic Plan. Meetings were held in 80 municipalities, with 12 discussion forums, and a number of experts and local development agents involved, plus 10 associations and social networks. The Strategic Plan runs between 2008 and 2013, carrying out numerous actions. However, lack of funding and institutional commitment seriously threatens the continuity of the whole process of management of the Reserve which takes place from ASAM. By June of 2013 there is not guarantee the continuity of the managerial team after December 2013.

#### *Power elites and networks: stopping resilience?*

But the territory of *Sierra* of Béjar and France is an area in which different groups of actors and elites maintain power struggles, since actors are not neutral. The immediate result is that in the period 2007-2013 rural development program-LEADER Axis 4 is headed by the Association for Integrated Rural Development of the *Sierras* of Salamanca (ADRISS LAG), a structure dominated predominantly by public-institutional actors and counting with political harmony with the regional government. The result is that we have two territorial development structures working in almost the same territory, but led by different local power elites. In both cases structures became instruments of power

In terms of social networks we approach through interviews relevant actors involved, linked or beneficiaries of ASAM projects (33 actors) and ADRISS (25 actors). Working almost in the same territory, with a similar type of initiatives, and theoretically counting with the long tradition of cooperation, we expected to find a unique social strong network. However, the number of matches is about 5 %, with two separate clusters belonging each of them to ASAM or ADRISS, with very scarce bridges and, as a consequence, very little cooperation. The historical presence of ASAM in the territory has a result a more cohesive network of social actors than the one of ADRISS' actors (not surprising since ADRISS is working just from 2006 to the present).

However, ASAM faces criticisms as not to be sufficiently inclusive with all sectors of the local population, neglecting part of the private sector. The result has been that the project has not been sufficiently shared by the entire local population. The alternative structure (ADRISS) is still too young, but also faces criticisms (for example to be the result of clientelism patterns by the regional government). The final result is that with both -almost confronted- structures and separate social networks, and the lack of cooperation, the rural area is moving away from a coherent and resilient answer to the situation of crisis, also far away of the wished win-win situation.



# The Welsh Marches, a resilient farm community? Farmers' vulnerabilities and resilience to extreme weather events

Rebecca Griffiths<sup>1</sup> and Nick Evans

**Abstract** – As a result of climate change, extreme weather events including - floods, intense rainfall, droughts, heat-waves, blizzards, severe frosts and severe storms - are likely to significantly increase in both frequency and intensity in the UK throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This paper explores the Welsh Marches as a case study to identify UK farmers' vulnerability and resilience to extreme weather events. Themes have emerged from archival research spanning from 1981-2011, completed using local newspaper articles and meteorological data, to identify impacts of specific events resulting from the most extreme conditions experienced in this region. Key vulnerabilities of the farm community have been identified; notably the specific dangers to the farmers' livelihoods, livestock and life threatening situations that they are faced with in times of rural crisis in an extreme weather event. The rural isolation of such communities is considered as a key factor in encouraging rural community resilience, as several farm communities are found to become self-reliant in assisting each other in an emergency situation, rather than relying on emergency services alone. Specifically the emergence of farmers acting as the fifth emergency service, demonstrates a neglected resilience.

## BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH

Climate change is a fundamental pressure on the global food system (Amber-Edwards et al., 2009). As a result of such climate change, it is highly probable that a significant increase in both frequency and intensity of extreme weather events will occur throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Defra, 2012 and IPCC, 2007).

Scientific and policy-making communities are concerned over agricultural vulnerability (Reid et al., 2007). Farmers' local knowledge is a vital influence in land use outcomes (Wynne, 1992). Certainly, it is imperative that farmers and farm communities as a whole develop their resilience; in order to better cope and recover from such events, yet this can only be strengthened after the identification of key vulnerabilities of farmers have been identified in respect of the main impacts upon a farm system, derived from an extreme weather event. Over the past 30 years a notable shift in awareness, attitudes, and resilience to extreme weather events has been observed (Reid et al., 2007). However, the specific resilience of rural communities, in particular farmers are yet to be established in the UK.

The objective of this paper is to identify the scale and type of impacts of extreme weather events upon local farm communities in the Welsh Marches, in order to explore farmers' specific vulnerabilities and resilience to increasing extreme weather events in the UK.

## METHODS

The Welsh Marches refers to the English borderland along the political England-Wales boundary, (Evans, 2009). Within this the counties of Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire were chosen as the research area for this study, due to the diverse range of agricultural systems in a small proximity.

Secondary data was provided by the Met Office, from weather stations based in: Shawbury, Ross-on-Wye and Pershore. The weather records span from 1982-2011, consisting of maximum temperature, minimum temperature and precipitation received in 24 hours. A statistical analysis was conducted using Statistical SPSS software. Standard deviation was calculated upon each weather condition from the local records, to create an index of the most severe weather conditions recorded in each county.

The dates established in the severe event index were then investigated in local newspaper archives to allow for the identification of the impacts experienced by the local communities. Newspaper archives of the Shropshire Star, Hereford Times and Worcester News were explored. Articles referring to the extreme weather published shortly after the date identified in the extreme weather index were recorded, accumulating in a total of 205 articles. Only articles that referred to the farm community or that mentioned specific rural impacts of the extreme event were copied and uploaded onto NVivo. In-depth qualitative analysis utilising NVivo 10, was utilised to identify emerging themes across the articles. A total of 163 articles were analysed, creating 216 nodes. The nodes were then condensed into 18 themes, 6 groups and 3 dominant attributes.

## FINDINGS

Of the 18 themes, 10 demonstrate identifiable attributes of farm communities' vulnerability or resilience. Table 1 shows the themes identified, and the further categorisation into groups and dominant attributes. The categorisation of themes is based upon the chronological process within the disaster cycle (Alexander, 2002, 6). All findings are considered to be of equal value however the scope of this paper will discuss the most prominent findings to farmers' vulnerability and resilience.

Vulnerability is often displayed in local newspaper articles demonstrating the effects, damage, and opinions of the local community in an extreme weather event. Key vulnerability themes in Table 1

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are categorised as 'impacts upon the farm system', and 'impacts upon the farmer'; as the two ways in which vulnerability is displayed in the context of a farm.

A significant theme is the evidence that farmers' lives are often put at risk during an emergency situation. Reports include occurrences where farmers were reported as missing 'assumed dead' during the 1982 severe snowfall and the 1998 Shropshire floods (reported in Shropshire Star 1982 and 1998). In both incidences, this is after the farmer's had attempted to move their cattle to higher ground during the extreme weather. Several other 'near misses' were also found, including a farmer who escaped with severe burns from a tractor blaze started by an engine spark lighting the dry hay in transportation (reported in the Shropshire Star 2003).

**Table 1.** Vulnerability and Resilience Results.

Dominant attribute	Group	Theme
Vulnerability	Impacts upon farm system	1. Immediate farm impacts
		2. Farm sector divide
		3. Rural isolation
Resilience	Impact upon farmer	4. Farming as a way of life
	Emergency response	5. Farmers lives at risk
		6. Response & recovery
	Mitigation and Adaptation	7. Farmers as emergency service
		8. Life goes on...
		9. Preparing for the worst
		10. Future proofing.

Resilience is also apparent in local newspaper articles where triumphs and praise are also given to community members who have 'battled' against extreme conditions. Rural isolation of such communities is a key factor in escalating an emergency situation; yet it is also considered the key factor in encouraging rural community resilience as communities are found to become self-reliant in assisting each other in an emergency situation, rather than relying on emergency services alone. Frequently farmers have been found to take it upon themselves to form an essential service as part of the rescue operation, often using their tractors and machinery at the forefront of local rescues in times of weather crisis. It is considered that farmers providing this service create the fifth emergency service, providing essential assistance to remote communities.

#### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Vulnerability of an agricultural system is dependent upon the exposure sensitivity of the system to a hazard, combined with the adaptive and coping capacity of a system (Reid *et al.* 2007 and Smit and Pilifosova 2003). Vulnerability of farm communities across the Welsh Marches, is apparent during the scale and nature of the impact upon the farm system and vulnerability displayed by farmers themselves. It is the emergence of under-researched vulnerabilities such as farmers' lives being at risk, that signifies further research is required to further understand the problem and help provide support to help reduce such vulnerability levels. Certainly, farming has long been considered a risky business

(Barnett and Coble, 2009), with an average of 1 fatal accident on UK farms every week (Health and Safety Executive 2012). Yet the safety risk of extreme weather on farmers has so far been unrecognised, therefore they are unlikely to be reported as direct accidents resultant of the circumstances of extreme weather in which they were caused.

Agricultural resilience consists of three characteristics: the amount of change a system can undergo while maintaining its functions and structures; the degree of self-organisation; and the capacity for adaptation and learning (Milestad 2003). Farm resilience is demonstrated in this research to derive from farmers' capacities to utilise their machinery and knowledge of the local environment to assist in local emergencies. Certainly, this informal assistance that they provide appears to provide a crucial service to the recovery and rescue of the local community. If such a service was formalised, creating a network of farmers willing to assist in the rescue and recovery operation in extreme weather events – particularly in low lying areas prone to flooding and isolation in extreme snow fall events, as many communities in the Welsh Marches are – then formal training and assistance could be provided. This will enable farmers to access formal support, equipment and recognition of the vital service that many already provide.

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# Developing a resilience framework to assess rural community-led initiatives

Fiona H. Heesen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper outlines the development of a conceptual framework to assess resilience in the context of community-led initiatives in rural areas. Community resilience is constructed as a method with which to analyse capacity-building for community and individual scales. Through research into community-led broadband initiatives the framework identifies key stages in the organisation process and feedback loops that inform community actions. The analysis is based on primary data, as well as on past research and models of resilience. Areas for capacity-building are identified through which community practitioners can trace the creation and enhancement of resilience characteristics. This paper concludes with a discussion of future work, and the applicability of the framework across a broader spectrum of initiatives for identifying resilience.

## INTRODUCTION

The research aims to develop a resilience framework by examining the role that community led initiatives, specifically community-led superfast broadband initiatives, may play in enhancing rural community resilience.

Community resilience can be viewed as both a reactive and proactive process, addressing how communities adapt and thrive during times of disruption, as well as developing new trajectories for the future. Wilson (2012) investigates the impacts of globalisation on resilience, and determines that scalar interactions need to be balanced to maximise resilience. The local scale is investigated here in community organisation development, which may be crisis driven, or on-going. The question thus becomes: How do we identify “resilience” in communities and why does it really matter?

Drawing specifically from the superfast broadband adoption debate, this paper demonstrates the potential for resilience to act as a framework for analysing rural communities’ adaptivity, flexibility and development processes. It will add to our understanding of resilience in the community context, and specifically the influence of community-led groups on resilience during every-day change.

## RESILIENCE AS A CONSTRUCT

Resilience as a social concept is consistently in flux and highly dependent on the discipline, authorship and audience. Ecologically, resilience refers to the development of ecosystems and their ability to absorb changes and maintain structure in times of disturbance (Holling, 1973). Successful social resili-

ence correlates with a community’s ability to withstand shocks due to external factors (Davidson, 2010). The complexity of the term, coupled with the wide range of uses, poses challenges to researchers attempting to use it as a framework or tool for community-based research; however its increasing presence in policy encourages its use. An holistic approach identifies the most applicable resilience definition in relation to community-based organisations: “Community resilience is the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise. Members of resilient communities intentionally develop personal and collective capacity that they engage to respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the community, and to develop new trajectories for the communities’ future” (Magis, 2010, p. 402). This research aims to use a conceptual framework, developed through desk and field based research, to apply this understanding of resilience in practice.

## METHODS

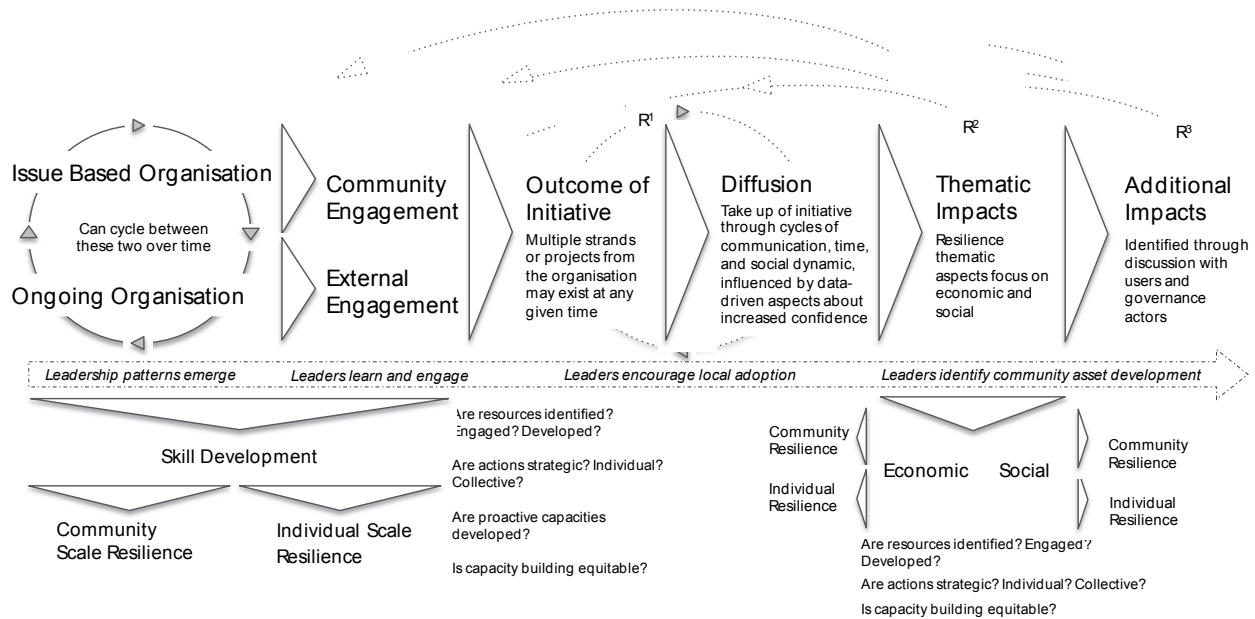
This paper develops a framework that contextualises resilience capacity-building in relation to community organisations. Two community-led broadband organisations in Britain served as case studies to build this framework: Broadband for the Rural North (B4RN), and Broadband for Glencaple and Lowther (B4GAL). The identification of resilience as a process dictated that any research must follow a longitudinal approach to capture resilience capacity-building at various time scales. It is also a consistently iterative process, so including feedback loops are important for recognising the forwards and backwards process, inherent to the community’s own processes.

Drawing from existing resilience debate (e.g. Cote and Nightingale, 2012; Wilson, 2012), the framework encompassed three concepts: past resilience models in keeping with analysing community led broadband or community led infrastructure development; diffusion of innovation concepts; and evidence-based research into community-led broadband initiatives through the case studies.

## RESILIENCE FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

The following figure depicts the cycle of resilience capacity-building through community initiatives. This has been built through research into community-led broadband initiatives and a desk study of community organisations, resilience, and diffusion of innovations.

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**Fig. 1** Community Initiatives and Identification of Resilience. 'R' refers to return feedback loops where  $R^1$  is the influence of diffusion practices with the development of new outcomes.  $R^2$  and  $R^3$  are the influence of thematic (social and economic) and additional impacts on the development of new initiatives, outcomes and diffusion tactics

The organisation of community-led initiatives is broadly incentivised by either a specific issue, or crisis, or formed in an on-going process to respond to multiple directives. This was reinforced in data collected in interviews in both case studies of the research when discussing community initiative organisation past and present. Communities then identify their outcomes through community and external engagement, reflecting a participatory democratic process. Both the formation of a group and the development of outcomes are potential resilience building exercises on two scales, individual and community. Diffusion of community outcomes, defined as ideas, products, or practices new to the individual, follow principles set out by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). However, diffusion is also influenced by increased confidence in the outcome since the community itself created it.

Past research has identified resilience as a multi-dimensional concept with thematic aspects of social and economic resilience at individual and community scales (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013). Wilson (2012) proposes resilience as deriving from the interaction of social, economic and environmental capital. Thus following these principles, this model identifies thematic impacts derived at the two scales.

Further, leadership plays a strong role in the proliferation of community organisations and their ability to develop resilience characteristics within the community. Leadership and empowerment are identified as pivotal in community resilience (Skerratt and Steiner 2013). Thus it is vital to acknowledge the role of key actors within these organisations throughout each phase.

#### CONCLUSION

This paper depicts one framework for understanding the relationship between community-led organisations and resilience capacity-building. Continuing

work with the existing case studies will further validate the framework and identify additional areas for capacity-building. Further application across a range of organisation types will ensure transferability.

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# Rethinking rural community resilience

Márton Lendvay<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – ‘Rural community resilience’ is a concept that has gained popularity in recent years, but the wider notion of ‘community resilience’ has a longer history of use in fields such as community development, community health and studies of resource dependency and sustainability. This varied heritage, and the legacies from it, inform the definition and application of ‘community resilience’ in a rural context. This paper examines how rural community resilience has been conceptualised and its meaning transformed, taking on different forms as a feature of contemporary rural development policy, a degraded metaphor, and a catchword in the post-2008 economic crisis. What is more it offers three constituents to be considered when thinking of rural community resilience.

## INTRODUCTION

Resilience is a broad topic with many parallel approaches in different contexts. ‘Rural community resilience’ is a complex concept and is situated on the crossroads of the two main approaches to resilience. In the past years a number of papers were published with the explicit aim of analysing resilience of rural regions and communities and at first sight they may seem to explore a new research area. What they did however was on the one hand limited to the introduction of new way of thinking about change as the topics they cover have a long heritage. On the other hand they created a hybrid of ecology and psychology that is easily applicable to many contexts but has a limited meaning. There are authors who aim at being critical (e.g. Amundsen, 2012) but I do find it useful to apply an even broader perspective.

The aim of this paper is to critically discuss the added value of “resilience thinking” and point out those features that need cautious consideration - I call these the constituents of *rural community resilience*. This may help future work on the topic to become more considerate.

## METHODS

The research is based on the critical analysis and review of a wide array of journal articles and policy documents from the past four decades. The analysed papers were within several fields: firstly, from community development, psychology and health, secondly, from studies of rural economy, resource management, sustainability and thirdly, from recent papers on ‘community resilience’ in a rural context. My interest was both in theory based and in the

more application driven community development literature.

In this paper I analyse how work from the above topics handle and approach change and persistence – as key ingredients to resilience – from a disciplinary and temporal aspect. In order to do so I set up juxtapositions of major approaches and placed components of rural community resilience between them. I also investigated what tensions and debates emerged among them and what attempts were made to dissolve or settle them.

## RESULTS

*Different ways of thinking: attributes of social-ecological-systems and community psychology approach*

Works on rural community resilience originally apply one of the two significantly different approaches. Social-ecological-systems (SES) and community psychology are two coexistent ways of thinking about change in rural regions and have many implications on how community, change and resilience are viewed. Authors often claim the two approaches evolved simultaneously in the 1970s from the fields of ecology and child development psychology, therefore those applying them either acknowledge Holling (1973) or Garmezy (1973) as founders of resilience thinking (Carpenter et al., 2001; Brown and Kulig, 1996/97).

SES approach is based on the idea that instead of focusing on only one subject, we should view a complex system that is built up of many interrelated components placed on different scales. Economy-related studies such as those on resource dependent communities often apply this approach. Community psychology much more focuses on the adaptive capacities of individuals and groups. Their ability to recover after a disaster is a common theme for this view. Interestingly, deliberate attempts were made recently to integrate the two approaches (e.g. Berkes and Ross, 2013).

Many papers – especially earlier work – however only tacitly apply these approaches when analysing features of change and adaptability in a rural context and investigate resilience without explicitly mentioning the term. Nevertheless recently ‘resilience’ became the fixed term of the research questions for which the actual research subjects and examples are selected. Studying change and adaptability directly from ‘resilience’ perspective and sticking to the rules of the above approaches is benign in many ways but has its disadvantages.

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### *The three constituents of rural community resilience*

Either way we look at rural community, it is important to differentiate three constituents. Following Carpenter et al. (2001) we shall consider 'resilience of what to what' and, due to the social context, I add 'and what is meant to be preserved'. The importance of the third component lies in normativity of the human sphere where relying on the laws of the nature is not sufficient anymore. Without defining where the tipping points are and what the type or level of operation (with same attributes of functioning, feedback and learning) is that shall be maintained constant adaptation may mean loss of function or even extinction of some elements of the 'rural community'. Resilience is not only about following change and adapting but maintaining stability and it shall be decided what features we consider to stay steady. I discuss these constituents in detail.

### *Resilience of what? – The rural community*

*Rural community* has multiple functions in resilience and when analysing the literature, but this is not a fixed term. In general the attribute *rural* implies dependence on resources and the environment, and particular social relations. The question is if community is a) the synonym of rural region, the site of certain events in an economic context, or b) as a metaphorical entity, is the object of resilience that shall be preserved in a changing environment. Or is it c) an assemblage of interacting individuals and their engagement through social networks that is the key to personal wellbeing via social support systems it offers to individuals (Magurie and Cartwright, 2008). As it recently appeared in rural development studies *community* is often understood in the latter way: a tool for individual health and so the smallest entity of 'rural community resilience' is not the group but the individual. This implies a downward rescaling. To illustrate this juxtaposition a community of farmers who switch from a traditional product to due to market trends to one selling better may be considered resilient for their ability to adapt, the traditional production may cease however.

### *... to what?... – Drivers of change*

Originally, to be able to speak about 'resilience' we need to assume certain disturbances. Be they slow-burn processes or abrupt shocks from temporal point of view, moving on a global or local scale, generated by external or internal source, perceived as good or bad etc. certain forces need to exist that we may generalise as the *drivers of change*. Originally these drivers do more or less recognizably appear in work on rural community resilience. In the post-2008 economic crisis however *rural community resilience* became a policy and development objective that does not anymore take into consideration any drivers of change in particular, but focuses on adaptive capacities. The consequence of this simplification is however that resilience becomes no more than a catchword and an incomprehensible and handicapped metaphor.

### *... and what is meant to be preserved?*

When speaking about *rural community resilience* we cannot clearly apply a systems understanding and a think of the 'general resilience' (Berkes and Ross, 2013) due to the many agents, stakeholders and interest groups involved. As Berkes and Ross (2013) put it "increasing resilience of particular parts of a system to specific disturbances may cause to lose resilience in other ways" (p. 14) – there is not actually one resilience but there are *many resiliences* within a community. The SES approach is useful however, as it is highly profitable to find threshold limits or the type of operation that shall be considered normal. Too much adaptability may mean that the whole community or rural system to transform to an extent that is not advantageous. Resilience therefore is the interplay of change and persistence and is highly normative: it shall be selected what shall have an ability to transform and what properties shall stay stable. Especially the most recent work involving lay and policy discourses seems to forget about the highly normative manner of adaptability and once again, oversimplifies the concept.

### CONCLUSIONS

'Rural community resilience' has many sources and is a concept applied in many ways and disciplines. As it has grown in popularity, its application has become less rigorous and less unitary. This paper recommends consideration not only of 'resilience of what to what' but also 'what is meant to be preserved'.

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# Resilience and rural change: conflict or synergy?

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**Abstract – Starting from the concept of resilience and its application in rural socio-ecological systems (SES), this work explores the development pathways within a rural SES (consisting of four representative linked communities) over a sixty year period. The results of the study show an array of different pathways which contrast with the accepted perception of a homogeneous local territory. These results provide valuable insights for more responsive policy-making which is better suited to the specific community contexts which sustain resilience in the SES.**

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of resilience has been used to explain the dynamics at play in rural areas, as rural areas are complex socio-ecological systems which are subject to multiple impacts ranging from rapid and profound changes (such as climate change, processes of desertification) to slower-onset changes (such as globalization, changes in land use, economic crises) (Ambrosio-Albalá and Bastiaensen, 2010; Heijman et al., 2007;). Rural resilience can be defined as the ability of a rural territory to adapt, maintain or re-configure the balance between its environmental, economic and social components and functions following shocks to the system (Heijman et al., 2007).

Socio-ecological resilience is therefore predicated on an understanding that a socio-ecological system, such as a rural territory, for example, cannot be considered in isolation but rather as a complex interplay of interdependent components and processes acting and operating across multiple spatial and temporal scales where change in one component or process can lead to change in others and ultimately to change in the resilience of the SES. Wilson (2012), for example, shows that strong community resilience is linked to a balance between economic, social and environmental capital components. Maintaining such resilience in a rural SES is vital for its long-term survival.

There is also currently much debate on the applicability and usefulness of the various theories, and

“inspired” policies, that have emerged to explain development in rural areas (namely exogenous, endogenous and new-endogenous theories), and the usefulness of concepts such as resilience in better understanding the intrinsic variability of rural areas. The different strategies for development seen in rural territories are, in fact, under scrutiny in order to determine which factors have the greatest influence on building greater or lesser resilience (Simmie and Martin, 2010).

Analysis of the capacity of policies to support resilient rural development is also currently under way (Schouten et al., 2012) although until now, efforts have been limited to ex-ante analysis of policies. The objective of this study is to contribute to the debate on the link between the quality and forms of development of rural areas and their resilience, through the diachronic reconstruction of the different development pathways undertaken by a rural SES in the South of Italy over the past 60 years. The final objective was to provide useful recommendations for the development of policies which enable the development of rural areas without stifling their resilience (Deveson, 2003). Policy formulation for the social, economic and environmental development of rural areas has recently become focused on the factors influencing community resilience. That being said, the implementation of truly effective policies very much depends on a more practical understanding and measurement of resilience and a better understanding of how resilience can be best enhanced.

## METHODS

The study was carried out in four communities (Vellina, Ceraso, Stella Cilento and San Mauro Cilento) which constituted a defined SES in Southern Italy using data covering a sixty year period (1950-2010). For each period a series of indicators were developed. The principal indicators included: expansion/contraction of land under agricultural use in the SES; population dynamics; and diversification of economic activities. Quantitative statistical data from official sources was integrated with qualitative data collected from extensive local stake-holder interviews and work-shops. The quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection provided for a much deeper and more nuanced understanding of the changes that had taken place within the SES than statistics alone could have provided. A detailed analysis of each of four communities within the SES allowed for the identification and comparison of

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specific trajectories of development under way in the SES.

### RESULTS

The macro-scalar development of the SES has followed a trajectory which is common to all rural Italian areas and is predominately the product of the modernization imperative, carried out both through processes of land re-distribution, with land reforms, and later through efficiency-drives and the intensification of farm production in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. During this period the area of land used for agriculture was dramatically reduced and there was significant migration (increased out-migration and internal migration within the SES), whilst the economic system remained largely un-diversified and closely linked to the agricultural sector. The beginning of the 1980s marked a new phase characterized by greater public investment in the local area and the diffusion of part-time work which started processes of integrated development, consolidated in the 1990s and which also led to the start of administrative decentralization. The three main indicators remained largely stable, although a greater dynamism is seen in the economic sector with the advent of diversified tourism activities and the expansion of the construction sector. The following years were marked by policies aimed at promoting bottom-up approaches to development and the valorization of endogenous resources. This period also saw a dramatic decline in the total area of land used for agricultural, a sign of further processes of de-activation of primary activities. However, the abandonment of large portions of land, with ensuing land maintenance problems, was complicated by other land-use changes in this sector associated with different economic activities (tourism and craftsmanship). The reconstruction of the four communities' story-lines, which are inevitably embedded within the context of events at higher spatial scales, and the analysis of the dynamics and interrelations of natural, economic and social capital, has allowed for a focus on the individual development pathways taken by each community, representative of the different micro-scalar dynamics at play.

### DISCUSSION

Beyond those differences in the SES which are based on geographic conditions (altitude, resources, access to road networks etc.), further differences within the SES emerged in terms of the ability of the different communities to adapt to external conditions. The communities of San Mauro Cilento and Stella Cilento, for example, which are representative of the inland areas of the SES, show different levels of performance in terms of development and processes of environmental degradation despite having the same environmental conditions. This is explained by the ability of local actors in the San Mauro Cilento community to utilize economic and social capital in innovative ways, whilst Stella has been more passively "moulded" by external events (especially in terms of EU subsidies affecting the community's principal activity, olive farming). In San Mauro more robust

social capital, re-investment in land and the promotion of cooperative models of production, has counterbalanced the effect of policies which promoted maintenance of the status quo rather than innovation.

In the case of Velina and Ceraso, paradigmatic of the development which is seen in the plains, the differences can be interpreted in terms of potentiality. Velina has made strong use of its natural capital (coasts and plains). The development of both the tourism sector and that of intensive agriculture, has "locked" its natural and economic resources into structures which are not easily re-converted for other uses. In Ceraso, however, more extensive use of the local territory has created a range conditions with high potentiality for multifunctional use and, therefore, greater resilience, allowing the local territory to assume a new role. The role of policies, especially those directed at rural development, has been to encourage innovation based on community participation in order to create associations and networks for the greater flow of ideas and capacity available in some areas of the SES to the benefit of the whole system (Ambrosio-Albalá and Bastiaensen, 2010).

### CONCLUSION

The study, which combines the concept of resilience and theoretic paradigms of rural development, interprets the evolutive dynamics of a SES in the south of Italy, providing important points for reflection for the formulation of policies able to sustain the resilience of rural territories.

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# Exploring rural community resilience: Can external interventions enhance the capacity of rural places?

Dr Artur Steiner, Dr Mike Woolvin and Dr Sarah Skerratt<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Communities in Scotland and in the UK are encouraged to become more resilient. Policy documents argue that, in order to thrive, communities should become more active and proactive, adapt to economic and social transformation, and possess the ability to change. However, how this change might happen is not clear. It is often wrongly assumed that all communities are equally able to adapt to changing socio-economic circumstances. Also, there is lack of reliable measurement tools which would identify whether communities become more resilient. This means that some communities might find it problematic to develop their resilience and that, even if they do so, it is difficult to measure or recognise it. The aim of this paper is to explore the concept of *community resilience* and verify whether resilience always occurs naturally or whether the process of building resilience can be supported. In addition, the paper seeks to identify a measurement tool that enables the measurement of resilience in both quantitative and qualitative ways.

## INTRODUCTION

There is an increasingly strong policy focus on measures to enhance the resilience of communities through community engagement and capacity-building. Across the UK, a number of public policies and strategies are being implemented to support these developments. Drivers for this include the need to increase the efficiency of public sector spending, and to enhance inclusion, self-reliance and sustainability at the community level.

However, measuring community resilience, and the social and economic outcomes of community-focused policies and projects, remains highly challenging. There is a lack of easily adaptable and practical tools which enable the aspects of 'change' to be captured, whilst inadequate assessment methods make it difficult to measure how effective these community-focused policy and project investments are.

This paper addresses those challenges with particular reference to rural, place-based communities. In so doing it reflects on findings from the Capacity for Change programme (C4C) – an initiative developed as a key part of, and led by, Dumfries and Galloway's LEADER programme in Scotland. Through community engagement and empowerment, C4C seeks to enhance the capacity of

rural communities to develop the inclusivity and resilience of themselves and the place in which they live. The programme specifically targets small, less-resourced rural communities who have not engaged with LEADER or other major funding streams in a significant way to date.

The paper explores rural community resilience in Scotland and it offers a model of measuring economic and social aspects of resilience. This harnesses quantitative and qualitative methods enabling the measurement of change over time. The paper questions whether external interventions can enhance the capacity of rural places. Finally, it offers conclusions and raises a number of essential questions relating to community development.

## METHODS

The paper is based on the *hybrid evaluation* approach that links existing research evidence and findings from a scoping stage study. This is used to build a model enabling qualitative and quantitative evaluation of resilience and its different aspects. In addition, to test the model and present data from rural Scotland, face-to-face, semi structured interviews have been conducted across four villages in rural Dumfries and Galloway. Findings of the paper draw, therefore, on data from over a hundred interviewees identified through snowball sampling which aimed to consist of people with diversified socio-demographic characteristics. In addition, the paper comments on the practical work of the C4C project manager who acts as an external expert supporting the development of local projects.

## FINDINGS

Key findings indicate thematic aspects associated with social and economic resilience at individual and community levels.

Of all the resilience components, the individual social resilience dimension received the highest self-reported score amongst all villages. Respondents claimed that they are happy with their life in the villages because of a good atmosphere, no major socio-economic problems, and less crime than in cities. Respondents appreciated beautiful natural surroundings, a good quality of life in a peaceful, quiet and safe area, friendly and supportive neighbourhood where people know and support each other. Knowing and being known by residents was important in scoring individual social resilience highly. Interviewees indicated that, in many cases,

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rural life represents a life choice i.e. some people are ready to give up on economic advantages offered by urban areas in order to take advantage of life offered by rural locations.

Self-reported economic resilience of all four villages received much lower scores than social resilience, with individual economic resilience being the second weakest dimension of overall resilience in three out of four villages. Respondents stated that there are limited opportunities to use their existing knowledge and expertise and that there are very limited opportunities to develop new skills within their villages. Interviewees highlighted that there are few resources in the villages that can help to improve their personal economic situation and that there is a lack of services that would make their life better. Consequently, in order to access some services, villagers are exposed to additional expenditures associated with transport.

Community social resilience was found to be stronger than either individual or community economic resilience and weaker than individual social resilience. Across the four villages there was generally a feeling that all villagers have an opportunity to engage in community life. However, interviewees claimed that many people in the villages do not have enough time and, therefore, do not participate as fully. Also, some respondents indicated that there are limited opportunities for socialising and this has a negative impact on community cohesion and community integrity. As noted by many respondents, there are community leaders who constantly 'do things' for their communities. Although in itself it could be perceived as positive, some interviewees felt that new ideas that emerge from those that usually do not engage in community life are not welcomed. These can, potentially, lead to disagreements amongst community members or lack of democratic community engagement.

Community economic resilience received the lowest scores of all resilience dimensions in all four villages. Respondents claimed that current services do not meet existing and future business needs. Although opportunities for business development were identified, limited demand for services was highlighted as a major challenge. The majority of respondents did not see significant opportunities for development of new jobs in their villages. In general, respondents did not have high expectations relating to the economic performance of the villages.

Although presented as separate, all components overlap and interact with each other and, therefore, all are essential in developing resilience in the community scenario. It is interesting to note, however, that self-reported economic resilience (at both individual and community levels) scores lower than self-reported social resilience and, consequently, programmes which primarily address this component may have a particularly significant influence on overall resilience.

## CONCLUSIONS

This paper contributes to the current discussion about community resilience which is still in its early stages and brings a number of implications for academia, policy and practice. The paper identifies a contemporary resurgence in interest regarding resilience, but also significant confusion and uncertainty in its definition, measurement, development and appropriateness. The paper bridges evidence from international research and new empirical data from Scotland. In reviewing key academic, policy and practice literature it identifies elements of resilience. It highlights that these accrue at multiple scales and that they change over time according to the social and economic circumstances. The paper also develops a conceptual model which has been translated into a robust qualitative and quantitative research tool to explore the changing self-reported levels of individual economic, community economic, individual social and community social resilience over time.

In illustrating a real-life example of its deployment, findings indicated that levels of social resilience were higher than economic resilience, and that resilience reported at the individual level was generally higher than resilience at the community level. Therefore resilience is multi-scalar, multi-sectoral and interdependent.

The proposed model of measuring resilience can help to 'capture' a level of resilience and create a tool which enables us to compare resilience across different locations. This allows for the identification of the impact that interventions seeking to enhance resilience may have on the communities within which they are deployed. In addition, programmes which do not specifically seek to enhance resilience but are likely to have positive influences on perceptions and experiences of life in a village can also be assessed in this way.

Finally, the paper identifies the way in which interventions may be targeted to address particular challenges within communities, at the economic or social and/or at the individual or community level. In this way, and in such challenging economic times, this may present ways in which investments in communities might most effectively be made. Of course, such an approach recognises that interventions are unlikely to influence only one element of community resilience, but have significant spill-over events. Consequently, the paper makes a substantial practical contribution to existing knowledge and debate on community resilience.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Place attachment versus resilience: *the influence of place attachment on resilience building in rural communities*

Saskia Zwiers, Marianna Markantoni and Dirk Strijker<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Although recent research on resilience acknowledges the importance of place attachment and claims that place is often the basis for community development, this relationship has not yet been explored in great detail. We explore this research gap by means of surveys, face-to-face interviews and mental maps with rural residents in two remote villages in south-west Scotland. The results reveal a direct connection between place attachment and individual resilience. This connection is bilateral as both place attachment enhances individual resilience and individual resilience strengthens place attachment. A direct relationship between individual resilience and community resilience was not found. This connection is influenced by place attachment, history with place and the different components of community resilience: personal, economic, social and physical. This research adopts two types of place attachment, 'preservative' and 'adaptive'. Adaptive place attachment, like resilience, is able to bounce back after disturbance and has positive influences on individual resilience levels. Preservative place attachment, contrarily, can result in protective behaviour and fear of loss or change of existing place aspects. These attachments are not adaptive and consequently result in a lack of resilience.

## INTRODUCTION

Place attachment and resilience are two complex concepts both mainly discussed in relation to community well-being. Community is often claimed to be a successful scale for both personal identification and local participation, which are two important factors for building resilience. Early studies on resilience ignored the place-based and personal component of resilience, as shown in figure 1. McManus (2011, p.9) is one of the first to recognise the place-based component as he states that individual rural resilience is "an outcome of people's perceptions of the physical environment, their sense of belonging and job opportunities".

A basic notion about place attachment is that it increases over the years; people whose family has lived in one place for generations seem to be rooted

most. Consequently, Norris *et al.* (2008) state that "place attachment often underlies citizens' efforts to revitalize a community and thus may be essential for community resilience". This assumes that people with a strong attachment to a location contribute to a resilient community. However, prior to this study, this relationship has not been explored in great detail.

This study explores the relation between place attachment and community resilience and more specifically asks what the influence of place attachment is on rural (community) resilience. Here, community resilience is defined as the ability of a group to cope with external treats and adjusting to changes whilst balancing its economic, social and physical functions. As a personal connection to place appears to lie at the heart of community resilience, we argue that place-based community resilience includes all four components; economic, social, physical and personal (as shown in figure 2).

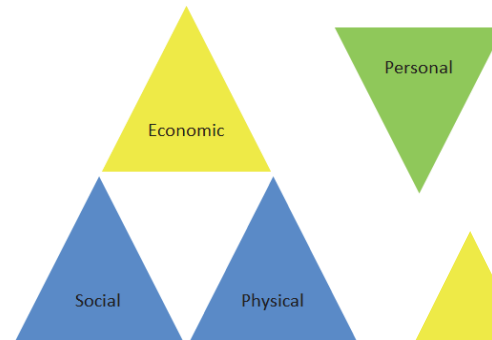


Figure 1. Community resilience aspects

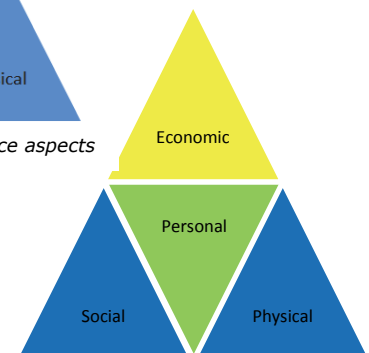


Figure 2. Place-based community resilience

## METHODOLOGY

The relation between place attachment and community resilience is explored in two remote villages in south-west Scotland. Whereas most research on place attachment is quantitative, this study used a qualitative approach, as Davenport & Anderson (2005) and Boğaç (2009) claim that this creative approach allows interviewees to express better lived

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experiences. The data were gathered by means of an extensive survey with 40 residents, 21 face-to-face interviews, and mental maps drawn during the interviews.

## RESULTS

### **Individual resilience components**

The results reveal a direct connection between place attachment and individual resilience. This connection is bilateral as both place attachment can enhance individual resilience and individual resilience can strengthen place attachment. Place attachment and resilience are both based on the willingness to invest. For example, people invest personal time in a place, which creates place attachment. Place attachment consequently has positive associations with individual resilience because this is often seen as the primary reason for making investments in a community.

A direct relationship between individual resilience and community resilience was not found, as this is influenced by variables such as place attachment, personal history with the place and the four resilience components.

Social and personal aspects receive most attention in both place attachment and resilience. Physical place aspects serve as a common ground for community bonding, as all interviewees expressed positive connections to the natural surroundings. However, it is not the case that strong attachment to place leads to overall more resilient individuals. For example, those with a social attachment to place are often also only socially more resilient. Social attachments reach further than having local contacts. It also results in resiliency aspects such as local activities, supporting each other and a sense of community.

Although economic aspects are not included in place attachment, they are an important aspect of resilience. For some local residents, economic resilience leads to strong place attachment. This may appear as a local job provides not only income but also social contacts, which are important for creating place attachment. Furthermore, villagers take pride from the local services which they offer. In this way, economic resilience seems to be beneficial for place attachment.

Personal resilience on the other hand is influenced not only by personal health or the dependency on services, but also through the personal history with the place. A strong connection to the land can have both positive and negative influences on place attachment and consequently on resilience.

### **Implications for community resilience**

Based on place attachment theory those who are most rooted in a location are more likely to be involved in the community life and to contribute to community resilience. However, the results indicate that long-term residents are more likely to have preservative place attachments which do not seem to be beneficial for community resilience. Therefore, length of residence is not a condition for community resilience.

Adaptive place attachment is positively connected to individual resilience. However, this does not necessarily add to community resilience. Newcomers are often social and economic resilient, independently from the village's resilience level.

Newcomers are strongest attached to the natural place aspects. It is more likely that they will leave the village if their place attachments are disrupted, for example due to drastic landscape changes. If place attachment is not being disrupted, newcomers can positively add to the community by sharing their knowledge gained elsewhere.

Long-term residents on the other hand share their extensive place knowledge and history to keep community activities alive. Rooted residents are often perceived as trustworthy and good community leaders and therefore full-fill an important role in creating community resilience.

## CONCLUSIONS

When linking the place attachment and individual resilience results to the community level, no direct positive relationship was revealed. The relationship between an individual's place attachment and community resilience is influenced by the type of place attachment and the level of individual resilience. Place attachment can influence community resilience in both positive and negative ways.

In terms of broader implications, this study recognises that place attachment can have negative implementations for community resilience building which is a useful insight when policies are aiming at 'managing and measuring resilience'.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Suburbanization and the environmental risks in Romania. The case study of the rural-urban fringe of Bucharest

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**Abstract – The rural-urban fringes of the large cities in Romania experienced in the last decade important changes from the demographic, social, economic and urban planning point of view. It is important to analyse these processes and understand their characteristics, the way they evolve, freely or controlled by the local authorities. The paper is analysing in detail the suburbanization process and the environmental risks induced in the northern part of the rural-urban fringe of Bucharest, the capital of Romania. The study is also focusing on the risk management actions undertaken by some local authorities and on the lack of actions in other settlements.**

## INTRODUCTION

During the past two decades, Romania has undergone a complete metamorphosis, a major transformation that has led to a profound change of the entire political, social and economic systems. As a result, both the rural and the urban spaces in Romania have been undergoing tremendous economic, social and environmental changes. This transformation has been fed by intense population mobility. Due to the fact that agriculture is no longer the sole economic base of rural areas, these communities are socially and economically changing, mainly in the rural-urban fringe (RUF), where the dominance of productive activities is giving way to a mixture of production and consumption-led activities. This rural-urban fringe is losing its traditional image as a farming space by partly turning into middle-class suburbs, inhabited mainly by urban migrants who move in search of quality lifestyles. The outcomes are new land-use patterns, designed for residential, commercial and leisure activities, which proliferate. In this context we also discuss about the emergence and evolution of metropolitan areas in Romania, based mainly on suburbanization process (Guran, Sofer, 2011).

What is the metropolitan area (M.A.), how it is formed, how big it should be, what conditions lead to its creation, and, especially, how functional is this type of organization of geographic space are important topics that must be discussed and studied in relation to the conditions of each country.

The Romanian legislation has already created the framework for the setting up of the metropolitan areas and the process is in progress. We are mainly interested in Bucharest Metropolitan Area, especially in its uncontrolled evolution.

## ENVIRONMENTAL RISKS IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS

The study on the definition of this concept, which is present in numerous scientific papers and in the Romanian legislation, underlines the necessity to introduce another concept, the sustainable development, aiming to highlight its importance for the new evolving area.

Many discussions and analyses on the need to set up metropolitan areas prove the existence of a sense of fear about possible inequities in the development process. In this process, the city around which the metropolitan area is developing will be the first to benefit if the central authorities will only be at this level. By contrast, smaller urban settlements, aspiring to be included in the M.A., will have less advantage, being shadowed by the great city.

The rural settlements neighbouring the central city will gain more value if the urbanites will migrate being attracted by the advantages offered by the much less polluted natural environment. The communes placed at larger distance, having less development potential will be burdened by the new tax system, which will increase the economic difficulties they already face.

Nevertheless, there are already 13 metropolitan zone type associations in Romania without Bucharest, all developed around some of the most important cities, proving that they overpassed these fears. Some of them are successful in developing proper infrastructure and a large variety of activities, while others are still prospecting this type of collaboration. Everything depends on the level of expectation and understanding the local authorities have on the new administrative situation.

Here are for example, some issues that delayed the setting up of Bucharest Metropolitan Area (B.M.A.). In terms of its establishment there are several proposals, of which 3 are shown in Figure 1. One of these, that of Vasile Gherman, former Mayor of District 1 of Romania's capital city, has already been presented in Parliament but not yet enacted (Andreescu, 2011).

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Another subject of our study is related to the type and degree of impact a metropolitan area has on the environment. Sustainable development cannot be conceived but in terms of environmental rehabilitation followed by preserving actions.

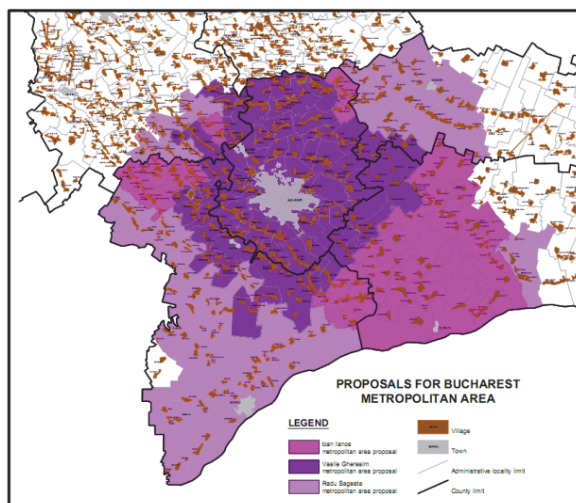


Figure 1. The development of the rural-urban fringe of Bucharest. Three proposals for B.M.A.

There are several risks resulting from extreme behavior of human communities in relation with the natural environment. One issue that will increase during the metropolization process is the waste disposal. The legislation in this case is particularly well done and sometimes very rich, but the ground realities are much more complex.

It is encouraging that in the rural-urban fringe of Bucharest the waste collection is 100%. But there is a problem concerning the selective collection. The highest selection level does not exceed 25%. The urbanization process and the development of the consumer society favored the exponential increasing of the amount of waste. Where is it stored? Obviously there are landfills (for garbage), scrapyards, banks of rivers, lakes, forest fringe (for demolition waste). All landfills should be ecologic. In the vicinity of Bucharest only three meet this criterion (<http://www.pmb.ro>). Over 30 landfills are unapproved and unmanaged, their location being in the villages placed around the city (Source: State of the Environment Report, 2002, Ilfov County).

Another negative environmental impact results from the process of changing the agricultural function of large rural surfaces through placing them within the built-up areas. Development in the vicinity of a powerful urban center makes many of the villagers to move away from their main activity, farming, which currently involves great difficulties and low profit. This trend involves changing rural settlements functionality, reducing the productive activities for less productive ones. The overgrowth of services, such as expanding the number and area occupied by warehouses is becoming more prevalent in rural areas. In this context, in addition to the agricultural land reduction there is the decrease of the surfaces with natural vegetation (forests, pastures), making way to new constructions and

new residents, who suburbanize and produce more waste by their consumerist behavior.

The third negative impact, associated somehow to that described above, is related to the widespread use of pesticides. The desire for easy profits determines many rural residents to use pesticides, herbicides, chemical fertilizer in excess. The major effects are: the pollution of water resources (surface and underground waters, especially the first level aquifer), and the non-organic agricultural production for personal consumption and for the urban markets.

## CONCLUSIONS

There are a lot of discussions about the development of the metropolitan areas in Romania. It is an important subject from social, economic, territorial and environmental point of view. Some of these new administrative territorial structures are already functional, and others are still looking for directions and forms of evolution. But, we may say that there is a political and administrative will for the development of these structures.

Nevertheless, there are a lot of problems to be solved, some of them representing a heavy legacy. We believe that the environmental problems are the most important, as they reveal a wrong behavior of the society and a strong pressure on the future development if the new authorities do not prove the will of changing the present situation.

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# Agriculture in peri-urban areas – Between urban influence and perception, farm adaptation behavior and multifunctional development

Ingo Zasada<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The presented dissertation project examines the multifunctional development of peri-urban agriculture (PUA). Farming structures and agricultural land use in their spatial dimension as well as activities and adaptation behaviour of individual holdings in metropolitan regions across the EU were analysed. Results indicate tendencies of intensification and specialisation of production and environmental and leisure orientation at the same time. Both suggest prevailing urban demands and multifunctional farm response which implies potentialities of PUA as green infrastructure.

## INTRODUCTION AND STATE OF THE ART

Peri-urban agriculture is defined as the agricultural land-use in proximity to, and the under influence of, nearby urban areas. In this context PUA is on the one hand exposed to socio-economic and land use transitions as well as urban pressures, such as land and labour market limitations, mutual neighbourhood conflicts and regulatory barriers, which hinders actual farm operation, reduces its viability, profitability and margins. On the other hand, the proximity to the large urban consumer market and main loci of innovation can be also regarded as comparative advantages for peri-urban farmers. It is hypothesized here that PUA interacts with its prevailing spatial framework conditions at the urban fringe by adjusting their activities and income sources to urban demands, particularly if seen against the background of increased urban conciseness for local, environmental-friendly and quality food and demand for non-productive services from agriculture.

When reviewing the literature on multifunctional peri-urban areas, contrasting services and functions provided by PUA with the demands and requirements of those values in the urban society (Zasada, 2011), it has been found that multifunctional agriculture has been commonly recognized in peri-urban areas as a multi-faceted phenomenon that includes a heterogeneous farming community with a large variety of farming types, adaptation strategies, activities and diversification approaches within the context of environmental,

social and economic functions of agriculture. However, still there is only limited empirical evidence on the peculiarities of PUA and the underlying farm decision making processes.

## RESEARCH APPROACH

At this point the dissertation project “Peri-urban agriculture and multifunctionality: urban influence, farm adaptation behaviour and development perspectives” (Zasada, 2012) approaches. Using a cumulative approach of several individual research papers the dissertation work sheds light on PUA from different perspectives, focusing on the spatial observation of actual agricultural systems and agricultural land-use activities, the examination of framework conditions as well as elaborating the perception and response of individual farm holders. Therefore multiple spatial-analytic and social-scientific methodologies have been applied to obtain a comprehensive picture on the multi-faceted research issue. The empirical research has been carried out in the metropolitan regions of Copenhagen and Berlin, two areas which to a larger and minor extent are confronted with the intensity of urban pressures and adaptation processes of the peri-urban agriculture.

The picture is completed by an EU-wide examination of peri-urban farming systems in urban and metropolitan regions. Both, qualitative and quantitative research methods have been applied as these urban-rural interactions are either significant through the spatial configuration and distribution of agricultural structure and activities or through individual farm-level activities or household decision-making processes.

## SPATIAL EVIDENCE

Investigating farming systems of Rural-Urban Regions (RUR) in the European Union (EU), follows the attempt to identify typical features of agriculture in metropolitan and urban-centred regions and in peri-urban areas (Zasada et al., 2013a). The results provide evidence that metropolitan agriculture compensates shrinking land bases by increasing the intensity of the labour and turnover generated and degree of specialization. Farms are smaller and there are significant concentration pattern of horticultural

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production in metropolitan regions and peri-urban areas, indicating an orientation towards urban consumer markets. However, expected differences in land ownership (as one of the obstacles of PUA) could not be observed between urbanized and rural regions.

Similarly, but on a cross-municipal comparison using the Copenhagen metropolitan region as a case study, the spatial occurrence of certain farming structures and activities in relationship to different types of peri-urbanisation, distance to the urban core, population density and other spatial determinants has been examined (Zasada et al., 2011a). The European results could be confirmed on the regional level, as a significant influence of peri-urbanisation factors on the occurrence of intensified, small-scale agriculture, focusing on horticultural products with higher income revenue generation has been found alongside extensified, environmental-oriented grassland cultivation and quality and organic food schemes associated with lifestyle-orientation and the prevalence of equine service. In conclusion of the spatial analysis, it was found that PUA distinguishes itself by the prevalence of two elements – an intensified, high-value production on the one hand, and extensified, lifestyle and environmental-driven land-use on the other. High-income revenues, small-scale farm structures and the parallelism of horticulture and grassland cultivation represent typical characteristics.

#### PERCEPTION AND ADAPTATION

The examination of individual perceptions of peri-urban framework conditions by farm holders and their response behaviour revealed a clear acknowledgement of urban market opportunities by specialized horticultural (Zasada et al., 2011b) and horse-keeping farms (Zasada et al., 2013b) in the Berlin metropolitan region. Applying questionnaire survey and purposeful in-depth interviews in the metropolitan region of Berlin-Brandenburg, perceived urban pressures and opportunities and the adaptation behaviour of farmers are investigated and distinguished for different types of farming. Results suggest that opportunities related to the urban influence clearly outweigh the disadvantages from farm holders' perspective. Accordingly, guided by their awareness of the urban consumer demands, they have either deepened or broadened their activities to comply with the multiple urban demands and desires by making adjustments to their farming activities along the food-supply chain.

#### PERI-URBAN AGRICULTURE AS GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE

Using these key findings, it can be argued from an urban view point, that the agricultural land-use at the city's doorstep is (to some extent) adapted in a way, that it contributes to the quality of life in urban regions, as it provides a broad range of ecosystem functions and services demanded by the urban areas nearby. This includes food production as well as the

provision of recreational services or the management of the cultural landscape, which in turn contributes to the ecological capacity of the landscape and the role of PUA as valuable green infrastructure within metropolitan regions.

#### POLICY AND PLANNING

To valorise this role as green infrastructure, it will be necessary to enhance coordination of the interests and conflicts of land-users within and beyond agriculture, but also by generating synergies by bringing together demand and supply for certain ecosystem services to be provided by PUA. This will require an understanding of the peri-urban as the common policy arena and the implementation of governance-oriented and place-based approaches. The main fields of action are the preservation of farmland and encouragement of multifunctional land-use, the strengthening of urban-rural relationships and the enhanced consideration and targeting of agriculture in peri-urban areas to be implemented on multiple levels – from municipal planning and regional governance to European agricultural and regional development policies.

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# Gendered access to natural, economic, social and cultural resources in the context of placed based development of Zlatibor region in Serbia

Marija Babovic<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Unlike many rural communities devastated by the incapability to generate sustainable local development during the post-socialism (particularly in the region of East Serbia), the Zlatibor mountain region is the example of relatively successful place-based development. This development was enabled due to the specific combination of modern and traditional, endogenous and external resources. However, developmental processes have important gender aspects. These gender aspects are observed in two dimensions: through access to endogenous and exogenous resources, and the processes of territorialisation. Preliminary results from the first phase of qualitative research conducted in the region indicate the presence of significant gender differences in both hypothesized dimensions.

## INTRODUCTION

Globalization and post-socialist transformation have brought significant changes to the rural communities in Serbia. Potential of rural communities to transform traditional peasantry (predominant self-subsistence production) into the modern farmers (market oriented, specialized agricultural production), to diversify local rural economy and link it to the global economic chains and channels, is considered as precondition for rural development (Bogdanov, 2007, Cvejic et al, 2010, Babovic, 2009, Zivkov et al, 2012). However, within the sociology of regional development, the approach of endogenous rural development (ERD) brings new perspective in the fundamental understanding of rural development and policy-making focused on fostering it. Within this framework, exogenous development is mostly understood as initiated outside of a local region (externally), modernist, Fordist and top-down, while endogenous is initiated and controlled by the local community, and is seen as bottom-up, as reaction to modernization, and development that accommodates niche-marketing of value-added product and flexible specialization, valorizing local culture, tradition, artisanal production and regional typical food (Vanclay, 2011).

Observation of the trends and patterns of rural development in Serbia during the post-socialist phase, points to conclusion that the embeddedness

of local economies in historically determined structures and the features of the territory, locally and regionally available resources (natural, economic, social and cultural) have determined the chances for sustainable development of rural communities. Namely, rural communities in Serbia differ in their developmental patterns due to the various factors: the availability and features of natural resources, path-dependent practices in economic activity, features of socio-cultural capital, proximity of external resources, etc. In the major part of Central Serbia, prevalence of small land-holders, strong reliance on the state subventions in agricultural production, traditional modes of production within the private household economies, disappearance of cooperatives and privatization and liquidation of public (socially and then state owned) agricultural enterprises, have significantly limited prospect for sustainable rural development (Zivkov et al, 2012, Cvejic et al, 2010).

Unlike many rural communities that were devastated by the incapability to generate sustainable local development (particularly in the region of East Serbia), the Zlatibor mountain region represents the example of relatively successful place-based development despite the fact that was marked by the similar structural limits. This development was enabled due to the specific combination of modern and traditional, endogenous and external resources, those that are locally embedded, but nationally and internationally available (such as agricultural products, food production, rural and mountain tourism, but also industrial productions developed during socialist period).

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Gender aspects of development are important at all levels: from macro perspective the engagement of men and women in the processes is shaping the development, while from micro perspective, their inclusion in the development processes defines their quality of life. Main assumption is that the access of rural population to the natural, economic, social and cultural resources is gendered, as well as value attribution to these resources and their use. These gendered relations towards resources are examined through two dimensions: (1) differentiation between

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endogenous and exogenous resources and processes (Stimson, Stough and Njikamp, 2011) and (2) process of territorialisation that includes three basic stages: symbolisation, reification and organization (Bataglini, forthcoming).

Exogenous resources and processes are those that are brought from outside the region, and which are employed, generated and valued in accordance with modernization principles (exchange value, economy of scale, market production, specialization, etc.), while endogenous are understood as place-based resources and endogenously generated processes employed, generated and valued in accordance with pre- or post-modernization principles (use and non-use value, small scale production, diversification, etc.).

The access, value attribution and employment of resources unfold as a three-stage process of 'territorialisation' (which is, however, not linear): symbolization (attribution of meanings, values, individual or community interests to the place and resources), reification (activities, practices, through which place is transformed and living conditions shaped) and organization (establishing boundaries, norms, and rules which shape its development and people's identities) (more in Bataglini, forthcoming).

Due to the fact that gender specific perceptions and practices are strongly rooted in the local gender regimes (Babovic, Vukovic, 2008, Blagojevic, 2008, 2013), it can be assumed that there are gender related differences in the both observed dimensions. Firstly, the assumption is that, in general, less powerful gender (women) has lower access to exogenous resources and processes which are related to a higher incomes and more decision-making power (within the household and the community), and are more focused on the endogenous resources and processes. Secondly, it is assumed that patterns of territorialisation processes of men and women differ due to the differences in ownership rights over land, but also due to their integration in exogenous processes, and mediated by social and cultural capital. Gender related differences are also observed in relation to the intergenerational differences.

The research of place-based development in Zlatibor region based on described analytical framework is part of a broader empirical research which combines quantitative (from secondary sources) and qualitative (original research) components, and is conducted in several stages. The analysis of gendered access to resources and processes is based on the results of the first stage of research, conducted through in-depth interviews with 10 stakeholders (representatives of institutions and organizations in the region), and 10 men and women (biographical method) from the village Sirogojno.

#### PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

At this stage, research still has the exploratory character, and findings obtained are used only as preliminary results. According to these results, gender differences are observable in the both hypothesized dimensions. Due to the weaker access to the exogenous resources and processes, women

are more oriented towards endogenous, and therefore are agents of more traditional, but potentially of post-modern developmental processes. However, the opportunity to be more engaged in the external processes offers them higher incomes, better position within the household and better quality of life.

Gender differences are present in the processes of territorialisation as well. However, these processes are very complex, unambiguous, and should be interpreted carefully, taking into account broader determinism of natural, economic, social and cultural factors at all levels (of individual, household, community and the region), as well as inter-generational differences.

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# Environmental embeddedness in animal food systems localization: a comparative analysis of initiatives in France, Morocco and Senegal

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**Abstract – This paper aims at analyzing the ecological embeddedness (EE) of localized animal food systems. We compare five initiatives in France, Morocco and Senegal which aim at differentiating food products by their origin. This analysis shows three different levels of EE and confirms the ecological heterogeneity of these food systems.**

## INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at analyzing the place of environmental issues in initiatives of animal food systems re-localization. We use the concept of ecological embeddedness (EE) and the analysis framework developed by Morris and Kirwan (2011) to compare different initiatives based on the creation of a link between a product and a specific place in three countries, France, Morocco, and Senegal.

'Alternative Food Networks' intend helping consumers to make connections with the place of production, the production methods and/or people who produce food (Renting *et al.*, 2003). The concept of embeddedness is used to study these connection processes at work and the dynamics of food systems (Chiffoleau, 2009; Bowen, 2011). Three overlapping conceptions of embeddedness are generally used - social, spatial, and ecological (Morris & Kirwan, 2011). However, while social and spatial embeddedness have been widely studied, the ecological dimension received less attention. Yet, the literature largely points out the importance of environmental or ecological dimensions in the process of food systems localization (Murdoch *et al.*, 2000; Ilbery *et al.*, 2005).

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND DATA

EE addresses the issue of the status of nature in food systems and aims at reconsidering it as a key component. Morris and Kirwan (2011) argue that this concept needs to be refined. They identify four dimensions to analyze how, why and to what extent environment influences the development and shapes economic relationships within food networks: (1) the way in which producers understand and conceptual-

ise the ecological dimension of their production, (2) the way producers attempt to realise ecological benefits through specific practices, (3) the way ecological dimension is utilised for differentiating products, (4) the way consumers' choices are influenced by this information.

In this research, we mainly focus on the dimensions 2 and 3. The paper utilizes five cases, three in France, one in Morocco, and one in Senegal. The case studies are essentially based on bibliography and semi-structured interviews with actors directly involved in the initiatives (farmers, processors, retailers, ...) and that revolve round the initiatives (institutions, public organizations ...).

## CASE STUDIES

The *French case 1* is about a tripartite contractual partnership between 19 cow milk producers, a dairy in *Livradois-Foréz* and a supermarkets chain to supply two PDO blue cows' cheeses satisfying stricter specifications than the 'standard' PDO. In particular, cows have to be fed only by direct grazing or hay. The cheeses are sold in the French retailer's supermarkets with an own private quality label.

The *French case 2* focuses on the *Bleu du Vercors-Sassenage* PDO officially recognized in 1998 which certifies that the product has specific qualities associated with a specific alpine "terroir" (soil and climatic conditions, know-how ...). In the specifications two dimensions are notable: three breeds traditionally farmed in this region are permitted and cows must be fed essentially by direct grazing or hay (all fodder must be produced on the PDO area; hay silage is banned but wrapping remains permitted). It concerns 80 farmers, one cooperative dairy and 10 milk producers who process their milk on-farm.

The *French case 3*, concerns the small *Moissac Cooperative* located in the Cévennes National Nature Park of which the pastoral landscapes has been classified by UNESCO as World Heritage of Humanity in 2012. It collects and processes goat milk from about 20 farmers to produce PDO Pélardon cheese. In 2010, the co-op decided to limit supplying conventional supermarkets chains and to develop new distribution channels.

The *Moroccan case* focuses on the project to create a certified Geographical Indication (GI) of *the kid of the Arganeraie*. A first attempt failed in 2005

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because of the opposition of the Association of the Argan Oil GI supported by the Water and Forest Department. In the traditional model, goat farming and oil production, used indifferently for cooking or cosmetic usage, are intertwined but the traditional goat farming activities are presented as a threat for the ecosystem and for its economic value. In 2012, the reflections have been re-initiated. The challenge is to show that the livestock farming activities participate to the ecosystem preservation.

The *Senegalese case* concerns a dairy, the *Laiterie du berger (LDB)*, in the North of Senegal which collects cows' milk from about 900 farmers. LDB created in 2004 processes 'local' milk and try to limit the use of imported milk powder. The challenge is to secure the supply in quantity and in quality. This partly lies in the settlement of the livestock farming activities. The herds are fed by direct grazing during rainy season and mainly with supplementary concentrated feed during dry season. Moreover, zebus, traditionally used, tend to be replaced by more productive European breeds.

#### COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

We observe three different levels of EE. The *Moissac co-op* case shows the highest level of EE. The objective is to differentiate the products by communicating on the locally and ecologically embedded characteristic of the supply chain, specifically on livestock farming practices that participate to shape the landscapes, and developing distribution channels, outside the production area, that enable this communication. For this, the co-op considers associating with the Nature Park to build up this image.

The Moroccan and the two other French cases show an intermediate level of EE. Livestock farming practices that may have a positive impact on environment, through the feeding of cows especially, are not explicitly highlighted but they are associated to intrinsic qualities of the final products and, thus, implicitly used for differentiation. In the French cases the "terroir" dimensions are, currently, more used to differentiate the products. Specific feeding practices or the use of specific breeds are more linked to the intrinsic qualities of cheese than to the ecologies. The case of the Arganeraie kid represents a very specific situation in which a farming activity which is historically and ecologically embedded in a specific ecosystem is excluded from it because it is presented as a threat for its preservation. The stakeholders of GI initiative need to "re-legitimate" these practices in regard to the environment preservation. However, in terms of communication, the defenders of the kid of the Arganeraie GI tend to not use explicitly the argument of environment preservation to increase the value of the meat. The differentiation strategy is essentially based on nutritional qualities of the meat (fight against cholesterol and diabetes).

In the Senegalese case, EE of the system is constrained. It seems that the constraints tend to drive the system to an ecological 'dis-embeddedness'. The traditional production system for 'local' milk is based

on practices that may be considered as environment-friendly. However, it seems incompatible with the creation of an industrial processing unit which needs to be regularly supplied the whole year. Another constraint is due to the fact that the main part of the consumers is more demanding of a national and healthy food product than of environmental issues.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This analysis confirms Morris and Kirwan's idea that food systems are ecologically heterogeneous. The analysis of the EE focuses on the way the information about the ecological conditions of production are used by upstream actors of the supply chains. The available data did not enable to analyze in detail the dimension of EE associated to the consumers' perceptions. Some data suggest that the lack of communication about the link between the food systems and its environment could be explained by a weak awareness of the consumers regarding environmental issues. However, their increasing awareness and the increasing concern of upstream actors of food supply chains, in particular retailers, regarding the supply of environment-friendly food products could lead to an evolution of the actors' discourses.

The analysis of collective initiatives involving different actors enables to consider the part they play in the EE of the systems. Analysing the positioning of organizations in charge of environment protection like Nature Parks could be stimulating.

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# Building resilient territories in the face of changes: a co-evolutionary approach to understanding the role of local communities

A. Cavallo and D. Marino<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The aim of the paper is to identify the conditions that link communities to their territories, and determine the capacity for resilience of some areas in the face of environmental and socio-economic changes. How should care for territorial resources be organised? Which actions describe the relationships that tie local communities to their territory, determining their capacity for resilience? In this work, we will attempt to answer these questions, by identifying some of the analytical properties that define the relationship between community and territory. We will then present two study cases linked to mountain contexts, to help illustrate the dynamics being described.

## INTRODUCTION

Co-evolution has been recognized as a key framework for understanding change in complex, socio-economic and ecological systems (Costanza et al., 1997, Kallis and Norgaard, 2010). This leads to the necessity of identifying the set of anthropic and natural relationships that influence change within these relationships, determining their destiny or, in other words, whether these territories are conserved or lost. These dynamics can be due to natural causes, such as adaptation and mitigation management in response to climate change and the associated risks, but they can also be caused by social and economic factors, such as the question of depopulation. This environmental and economic crisis underlines how some parts of a territory, for example its internal areas - with their wealth of environmental resources, knowledge, manufacturing, and potential uses - are reservoirs of resilience that can be called into play in future relationships with less resilient areas. The need to protect local resources, and conserve the functions that come from natural capital, determines processes that can be guaranteed in a more efficient and sustainable way by local communities.

## CARE FOR TERRITORIAL RESOURCES

Protecting the territory means defining the optional value generated, involuntarily, by the processes of underutilisation of natural resources. However, safeguarding must be understood in a wider sense, as relating not only to natural capital, but also to the processes and functions deriving from it and, therefore, to the ecosystem services provided, connecting

the investment in natural capital to the services it can provide. An initial aspect linked to care for territorial resources is that of maintaining natural capital, that is, the natural resources within the territory and the processes that generate them. These processes can either be natural or caused by human action - and are often a combination of both - proving that there is a tight interconnection between safeguarding natural capital and the conservation of material culture, local knowledge and wisdom, and the identity of places. Identity in this sense is linked to both social capital and anthropic capital, especially for its aspects relating to settlement and infrastructure.

There is a tight connection between maintenance and prevention, that is, awareness of possible external pressures. By this we mean the prevention of disorders, or damages, connected to the natural world - hydro-geological instability, fires, loss of biodiversity - or to socio-economic factors such as changes linked to various kinds of developments, that may be political-normative, infrastructural or even technological. As part of the wide theme of safeguarding a territory, its safety is a further precondition - together with basic services - to reviewing settlement models. We can consider these models as the set of relationships that tie a territory to the identity of the people who live there and change it, to the relationships that take place there, to the history that over time has taken root there.

The second, central, question is how to structure in an innovative way the relationship between the management of the territory and its resources, and the production of goods and services? How can we go from safeguarding a territory to creating production processes - for goods and services - that have a significant impact on the local economy? What are the economic organisations whereby the natural and social capitals of the territory become the input for production chains with added value, especially at local level?

Engraved within the human territorial space are what Augé (1993) defines as rules of residence. They represent a content that is, at the same time, both spatial and social, so that the quality of the space depends on the relationships that take place within it. Social capital established in that relational space creates a favourable environment for the rules of residence to be learnt and circulated, thereby, through processes of exchange and sharing, encour-

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aging new knowledge and contributing towards increasing the social capital itself. This process of acquiring knowledge is helped by the diversity of the players' fields of interest and their cross-fertilisation, by means of their openness to new relationships, knowledge and practices, setting the bases for new innovation processes at an operative and strategic level. Within these processes, the actors involved negotiate principles and objectives, they mobilise and share resources, stimulating a virtuous mechanism that is transmitted at territorial level to all the stakeholders, to civil society, to the economic actors and to the institutional framework. Among the dimensions that we have identified, relocation covers a key role: active, efficient protection means local management, access to resources and self-government (Ostrom, 1990). Cases of abandoned territory are determined, not only by demographic or social aspects, or those relating to settlement issues, but also by the lack of a local resource management, leaving room to external management, as is the case, to give an example, of access to land or the management of water resources. Relocation management allows local inhabitants to choose the intended use of their resources and make the decisions, such as whether the primary sector should produce food or energy. Local resource management is more efficient. It carries, for example, a lower cost, connected to knowledge of the territory, local wisdom, cultural capital and the optimisation of benefits. Examples of such cases include the multifunctionality of companies, the role of local supply chains and their impact in terms of local benefits, above all, those linked to employment. A key role is covered by the creation of new collective knowledge by organising intense knowledge brokering (Nowotny et al., 2003) between the specialised expertise domains that people and services have developed over the years and which today, on the contrary, need to be integrated more closely in order to face and solve the emerging issues. Another dimension that can explain the function of local communities within the conservation of territorial resources is linked to the co-production of innovative services (Ostrom, 1990), where the integration between public and private players has the aim of promoting a better mobilisation of resources available locally and co-designing practices that are more in line with the trends in change taking place and with the needs of the different kinds of local players. Strongly connected to the topics covered up to this point is the necessity of a different governance to manage local resources, capable of promoting positive effects in economic terms, through new procedures or technologies, by transforming positive external factors (mainly involuntary) into services (voluntary operations), in particular, services tied to the environment. In this perspective, there is a role for new models of allocation involving subjects already within the territory, for example farms, and for public functions relating to the environment or landscape. On top of this, there is the role played by new forms of management and private-public gov-

ernance, which ensure that work rules are shared, that government actions are put to best use, that there is complementarity between resources and public and/or private behaviour in order to achieve the contextual production of public goods (health, environment, knowledge) and private goods (value creation, access to food, and free choice, including hedonistic choices, on how to behave). Such mechanisms can be started through re-allocation processes, using appropriate application methods at local level that involve quota mechanisms with exchange markets at territorial level or between different territories, or through compensation mechanisms.

#### HOW CAN RESILIENT TERRITORIES BE BUILT? TWO STUDY CASES.

Castel del Giudice is a small town in High Molise with a population of 350, set at an altitude of 800 metres. The town tried out various sustainable socioeconomic stimulus programmes, starting from conditions of social exclusion. In fact, the high percentage of aged population, the neglect of farmland and livestock farming have become the spearhead for launching new economic initiatives. The process was started through the synergy between the local administration and a local entrepreneur with the capacity for innovation, with the active participation of the inhabitants. Popular action was carried out on three territorial projects, the restructure of a disused school building to be converted into an old people's home, the conversion of around 50 hectares of abandoned farmland into orchard for growing organic apples to be sold through short supply chains, the recovery of old abandoned stables to create a multi-building hotel.

Cerreto Alpi is a small mountain village of only 80 inhabitants. In the 1990s, the few remaining young people, in an attempt to revert the tendency of abandoning the land, tried to revive the social and economic life of the village through the direct involvement of the entire community, which now manages a collective woodland of 600 hectares through a commission for rights of common. In 2003, they created a cooperative called "I briganti del Cerreto" ("*the brigands of Cerreto*"), which carries out initiatives to promote the territory and agriculture, and to preserve the environment. The Briganti di Cerreto experience is an example of an innovative way of understanding cooperative entrepreneurship and the initiatives to rebuild local micro-economies aimed at self-sustainability, based upon the correct, non-dispersive use of local resources.

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# Rural/Urban Dichotomy and the Role of Human Capital in Affecting Growth: the Case of Sardinia (Italy)

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**Abstract** – A large literature shows that disparities in standard of living and income exist between rural and urban areas. Human capital is one of the main factor that affects economic and social growth due to inherent effects in increasing work productivity and in producing positive externalities. This study aims to estimate the determinants of pro-capita income differences between urban and rural areas in Sardinia (Italy). A “mincerian” model was separately applied on rural and urban groups of municipalities. Findings suggest that human capital and experience significantly affect pro-capita income today in both areas and that differences in human capital stock explain income disparity between urban and rural areas.

## INTRODUCTION

Similarly to the most of world developed and developing countries, a great difference in pro-capita income exists between inhabitants of rural and urban areas in Sardinia. According to the OCDE (1994) classification, inhabitants of rural municipalities (< 150 people/Km<sup>2</sup>) in 2010 recorded a pro-capita income equals, on average, to 7,996 Euros, whereas this value amounts to 11,790 in case of urban inhabitants (MEF, 2013). This difference might depend on several economic, social, cultural and policy factors (Ecosoc, 2001). Among these, human capital is the main factor that generally affects incomes due to inherent effects in increasing work productivity (Schultz, 1963; Becker, 1964, Lucas, 1988). Furthermore, it produces positive social externalities, improving stock of knowledge and skills in people. For these positive effects, provision of public support to educational training is substantially legitimized throughout the world.

This study aims to quantify the role of certain factors in affecting income differences between rural and urban areas in Sardinia, putting particular attention on the specific role played by the human capital. Indeed, according to several statistical databases, it is found that differences in human capital stocks exist between rural and urban realities in favour of the latter ones (ISTAT, 2006). Some suggestions on what kind of educational policies should be promoted in both areas for improving population incomes can derive from this study.

## CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND, MODEL AND DATA

Regarding the “rurality” concept adopted in this study, we took into account both criteria formulated by OCDE (1994) – based on demographic density – and by Mipaf (2007) – based on weight of agriculture in land use. Municipality (LAU2) is the territorial unit for our classification and we individuated 241 and 136 rural and urban municipalities, respectively.

The model proposed by Mincer (1974) was used in order to evaluate efficacy of human capital investments on income distribution. It assumes an earning function in which individual incomes (or earnings) are related to their schooling and experience. However, additional variables that can affect pro-capita incomes were involved in the earning function (Table 1). These are explicative of quality of educational system, socio-economic context, structure of agricultural/industrial “milieu”, and labour market.

Data were collected taking into account a physiological lag of time between independent variables (based on 2000-01 values, source: ISTAT) and the gross pro-capita income (based on 2008 values, source: MEF) as to reduce the potential risk of considering endogenous effects. Concerning human capital, this lag is useful to better explain the postponed effect on economic growth caused by human (and not) capital accumulation. Finally, it must be underlined that the “mincerian” model was applied separately on rural and urban groups.

## RESULTS

For both groups of observation, model fits well the data (see corrected R<sup>2</sup> values in Table 1). Among the variables used to explain level and quality of schooling, only the “*Number of alums/classroom*” does not appear statistically significant, vice versa the other two variables – “*School drop-out rate*” and “*Weight of graduated on population*” – are significant and affect positively the pro-capita incomes in both groups. The latter one is the variable that shows the higher magnitude in both analyses. It suggests that incidence of graduate is the factor that mainly affects income differences among municipalities. However this effect appears more sizable in the urban areas than in the rural ones.

The experience component of human capital – estimated through the “*Average age of inhabitants*” – results significant only for the rural municipalities. It might depend on relevance played by *learning-by-*

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doing issue in the rural areas due to its influence in determining agricultural economic performances.

Among the others, the "incidence of agricultural employed / total employed" affects negatively and sensitively incomes in both groups. This is an expected result for the urban areas, but it raises eco-

nomic and policies questions on the role played by agriculture in conditioning development of rural areas in Sardinia. In fact this suggests that agriculture – the economic sector that mostly characterizes rural areas in Sardinia and elsewhere – produces depressive effects on rural inhabitants income.

**Table 1.** Variables estimation from applied model on rural and urban areas.

Variables	"Rural" municipalities (N. 241)			"Urban" municipalities (N.136)		
	Coeff. st.	Sign.(p)		Coeff. st.	Sign.(p)	
Constant	-	0.048	***	-	0.095	**
Graduated / total inhabitants (%)	0.399	0.000	***	0.432	0.000	***
School drop-out rate (%)	-0.263	0.148	*	-0.455	0.015	***
N. alums / classroom	0.016	0.812		0.075	0.274	
Average age of inhabitants	0.177	0.057	**	0.079	0.348	
Demographic density	-0.150	0.005	***	0.096	0.100	**
Agricultural employed / total employed (%)	-0.226	0.000	***	-0.206	0.002	***
Labour force / total inhabitants (%)	0.107	0.205		0.430	0.000	***
Unemployed / total inhabitants (%)	-0.115	0.088	**	-0.215	0.006	
Public employed / total employed (%)	0.038	0.563		0.050	0.846	
People moving Index	0.310	0.002	***	-0.186	0.139	*
Rural SLL	-0.019	0.708		-0.043	0.433	
Unemployment SLL	-0.061	0.267		0.030	0.568	
R <sup>2</sup>		0.432			0.691	
Corrected R <sup>2</sup>		0.402			0.660	
F variation (sign.)		0.000			0.000	

\*\*\* significant at 0.05;

\*\* Significant at 0.10;

\*\*Significant at 0.15

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing, findings suggest that disparity in human capital stock between Sardinian rural and urban areas sizably affect income differences between the two territorial realities. It implies that the aim of promoting a less unbalanced development between rural and urban areas gets through increase of human capital investments in the rural communities. According to Goetz and Rupasingha (2004), policies should encourage both demand and supply of human capital as to reduce entity of the "vicious circle" in the rural areas that moves, to one side, people to scarcely invest in schooling and knowledge because of the below par income expectations and, to other side, firms to not invest in rural areas because lacking in sufficiently educated and skilled people.

Supply-side policies should also aim to strengthen the schooling system. In the rural areas, this should happen putting more attention on (public and private) social and economic benefits than on cost. These are logically higher in the rural areas than in the urban ones due to poor infrastructural endowment and to evident social isolation. On the other hand, demand-side policies should aim to support increase of firms in rural areas through adequate fiscal policies measures and implementation of human capital accountability criteria for employers recruitment. Furthermore firms that operate in rural areas should tend to achieve greater dimensional scale since they are often too small-scale firm to significantly invest on innovation and knowledge. At the same time, a more competitive environment needs in order to stimulate accumulation of innovation and more skilled workers, especially in the strategic sectors of rural economy (agriculture, agro-food industry, small-scale manufacturing) that often appears to strongly depend on public financial aids.

Finally, a more competition environment might forces firms to improve quality of production as to adopt strategies more oriented to expand revenues

rather than minimizing labour costs, that – as obvious – often forces firms to reduce human capital stock among employers, with negative implication on productivity and profitability.

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# Place-making and Governance in LEADER

Petra Raue, Kim Pollermann and Gitta Schnaut<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – In the field of regional development place-based approaches have a growing importance. However, studies on people-place relationships seem to be stuck in definitional questions and attempts to fit together various place-related concepts. So more empirical evidence would be advantageous. Based on empirical findings extracted from the ongoing evaluation of Rural Development Programs (RDPs) in 6 Federal States in Germany we look at the process of place-making in more than 100 LEADER- and LEADER-like Regions. The preliminary results show that generally place-attachment and commitment to further engagement is high and has even grown from 2009 to 2013 and that a strong link between Place-attachment and commitment exists. So the ideal model found in literature that collective action leads to a higher place attachment of the participants and a higher place attachment favours more future commitment can be found to some extent in reality.**

## INTRODUCTION

A Literature analysis about people-place relations conducted by Lewicka (2010) show that the number of publications systematically grows. Also in the field of regional development place-based approaches have a growing importance (Tomaney 2008). However, studies on people-place relationships seem to be stuck in definitional questions and attempts to fit together various place-related concepts, such as place attachment, place identity, rootedness, sense of place (Lewicka 2010). So more empirical evidence would be advantageous. The development from space to place – “place-making” can be seen as a collective process of shaping space with the aim to develop social-emotional ownership and improve living conditions Fürst et. al. 2004). So place-making refers to a kind of space which can be determined e. g. by physical, historical, cultural or economic characteristics. Place-making is a collective process of appropriation of space by the stakeholders involved which then take over responsibility (Healy, 2001). Stakeholders therefore need a sense of place or belonging and a readiness to take over responsibility as well as an opportunity to act.

The intensity of place attachment depends on personal, community and natural environment connections (Raymond et al. 2010). In an ideal model of placemaking the collective action leads to a higher place attachment of the participants and a higher place attachment favours more future commitment (Fürst et al. 2006)

LEADER is a bottom-up orientated rural development approach cofinanced by the EU that attempts to improve local steering processes (governance), to mobilize endogenous resources and thus stimulate the development of viable regions (places).

Core elements of LEADER are

- an integrated local development strategy based on the specific strength and needs of the region and elaborated with broad participation of local stakeholders

- a Local Action Group (LAG) as a kind of a public-private partnership with decision making power on financial support for projects contributing to the development strategy.

By focussing on the specific characteristics of a certain space, bringing together stakeholders from different backgrounds and promoting cooperation LEADER can stimulate place making which may lead to new or changed rural identities. At the same time the establishment of LAGs should introduce new modes of governance in rural development policy.

The new governance arrangements should contribute to more appropriate solutions for local problems than prevailing top-down funding procedures

LAGs were set up in some regions already in earlier funding periods (LEADER II, LEADER+) while in other regions LAGs were established in the beginning of the current funding period (2007 – 2013). Also LEADER-like regions have been promoted by some national rural development policies.

## SCOPE OF RESEARCH AND METHODS

The empirical findings are extracted from the ongoing evaluation of Rural Development Programs (RDPs) in 6 Federal States in Germany (see [www.eler-evaluierung.de](http://www.eler-evaluierung.de)). In one Federal State exists also a LEADER-like policy approach which leads to Governance arrangements that differ for example in the scope of decision making power and the involvement of civil society. These regions are also included in the analysis.

In the ongoing evaluation process we used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods. The findings presented in this paper are based on two surveys using written questionnaires for members of the LAG and LEADER-like regions in 2009 and 2013 and one survey for LAG managers (2010). Comparing the results of the two surveys for LAG-members conducted in 2009 and 2013 (1500 members of 100 LAGs and 120 steering group members of 16 LEADER-like regions), we can analyse changes over time as well as differences between different kinds of

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governance arrangements. The presentation will focus on the following questions:

- What differences can be observed in the kind of border setting used in the different LEADER regions? And is there a relation between place-attachment and type of border setting?
- Is a strong place attachment also related to a strong commitment for further engagement for the development of the LEADER-Region?
- Is there a notable difference between LAGs already set up in the last funding period (2001 – 2006) and “new” ones which started in the current funding period?

## RESULTS

### Border setting

Figure 1 shows the relevance of different criteria for border setting of LEADER-regions, seen from the point of view of the LAG-managers. The most relevant criteria were district boundaries, natural homogeneity and tourism destination. Historic boundaries (like former administrative borders) and economic relations were less important. Only in about 10% of the regions protected areas play a strong or very strong role in border setting.

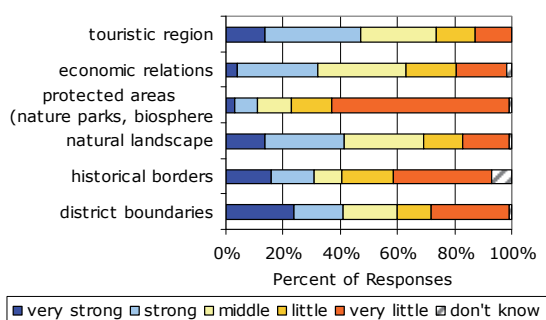


Figure 1: How strong is the border setting of “your” Leader-Region based on the following criteria? (Survey of LAG-managers, n=110)

In one Federal State we found a significant difference between old LEADER-Regions (founded already in 2001 or earlier), new ones (founded at the beginning of this funding period) and LEADER-like-Regions (without obligatory involvement of civil society in steering). In old LEADER-regions natural landscape is an important criterion for border setting whereas border setting in new LEADER-regions is mainly determined by the tourism destination and also historic borders.

### Place attachment

The surveys show that generally place attachment and commitment to further engagement is high (see fig. 2 for place attachment) and has even increased a little over time. No clear differences between old and new LAGs could be found.

There is a strong link between Place-attachment and commitment (Pearson correlation  $r=0.59$ ) which is even a bit stronger than the link between satisfaction with the process and commitment ( $r=0.53$ ).

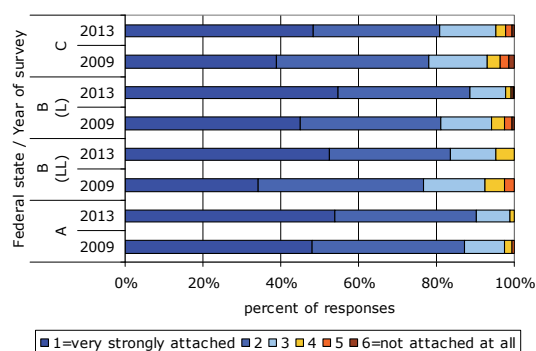


Fig. 2: How attached do you feel with your LEADER-region? (Survey of Members of LAGs (L) and LEADER-like regions (LL), n= 926 in 2009 and 971 in 2013).

## CONCLUSIONS

The results presented above show that the ideal model mentioned by Fürst et. al (2006) can be found to some extent in reality of rural development. The joint action “steering the LEADER-process” led to increased place attachment which is then linked to further commitment.

The paper gives only a rough inside in our empirical research. Further in depth analysis will be done to condense the data to indices for each LAG in order to identify links between the different aspects of place-making at a single LAG-level and to link process and outcome (results of implementation of development strategies).

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# Cultural landscape policy in Brandenburg and North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany – governance approaches to initiate place-based territorialisation processes

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**Abstract** – The integration of cultural landscape in regional development strategies in Germany (initiated by European concepts and formulated in the Concepts and Strategies for Spatial Development) led to different policy approaches at the level of the German federal states. This paper focuses on the cultural landscape policies of the federal states (Bundesländer) of Berlin-Brandenburg and North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) and their capacity to initiate and strengthen place-based territorialisation processes. In North Rhine-Westphalia place-based territorialisation processes have been successfully initiated in preliminary projects within the regional structural programme "Regionale 2010" in the Cologne/Bonn area. In Berlin-Brandenburg an innovative approach aiming at cultural landscape-based territorialisation processes has been integrated in the formal regulations of the new state development planning framework. The development of both policy approaches started from different conceptual backgrounds and led, in different ways and with different institutional support, to place-based territorialisation processes. The paper analyses the challenges of the conceptualisation and implementation of the cultural landscape policies in Brandenburg and North Rhine-Westphalia to initiate and govern place-based territorialisation processes. This is done using approaches from institutional theory.

## INTRODUCTION

The European Spatial Development Perspective (European Commission 1999), the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000) and the new Concepts and Strategies for Spatial Development in Germany consider cultural landscapes not merely as something to be protected but as a force to promote cooperative sustainable regional development. Common historical roots, special landscape features, typical products, cultural traditions and innovative projects are possible starting points for place-based territorialisation processes. In the face of economic and demographic changes, territorialisation can strengthen a regional resilience based on endogenous potentials.

During the past years, a variety of territorialisation processes have taken place; e.g. the establishment of regional parks, large-scale reserves, regions of rural development, tourism regions and inter-municipal networks of cooperation. They are in different ways place-based, focused on various endogenous potentials and pursuing diverse goals of resilience strategies. They were initiated either in a top down manner through diverse, frequently sectorally, adjusted policies or bottom up by regional stakeholders. Often this was carried out in complementary fashion. These territorialisation processes led to overlapping and partly competing spatial and governance structures.

The paper attempts an analysis and comparison of empirical and theoretical problems and challenges of cultural landscape policy in Berlin-Brandenburg and NRW. It is focussed on two questions. How was the cultural landscape policy developed and which approaches shaped the policy concept? In which way have place-based territorialisation processes been initiated and governed?

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The paper mainly combines the following theoretical approaches. The departure point is the study of the cultural landscape concept (Gailing 2008) integrated in different ways in strategic policy approaches. The institutional diversity and the different sectoral cultural landscape policies require approaches from institutional theory which are concerned especially with problems of fit, interplay and scale and the specific formal and informal institutions (Young 2002). Territorialisation processes based on a holistic social construction and the perception of the physical and immaterial landscape features are analysed in relation to the concept of region-building (Paasi 2003). The comparative analysis of cultural landscape policy in NRW and Berlin-Brandenburg was carried out using policy documents and interviews at the state and regional level.

## EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In NRW the cultural landscape approach (in preparation for the future amendment to the state development plan) was elaborated in a report by the Regional Councils of Rhineland and Westphalia-Lippe

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(LWL and LVR 2007). The aim of the proposal was to achieve the "preservative development of cultural landscape". This was to guarantee the protection of cultural heritage and the adaptability of cultural landscape development in the context of landscape change and rival projects of spatial development in the large urbanised areas of North-Rhine Westphalia. This approach provided the background to the development of a cultural landscape concept within the regional structural programme "Regionale 2010" in the Cologne/Bonn region. This integrated programme was based on a master plan developed jointly with regional actors and supported by coordinated sectoral funding. The projects, created by regional and local actors, pursued different strategies of cultural landscape development: e.g. the rediscovery of a historical cultural landscape and the maintenance of its specific landscape structures through husbandry regimes or region-building processes based on the identity establishing potential of existing impounding basins to solve cultural landscape conflicts between recreational potential and water management.

In Brandenburg an innovative approach aiming for cultural landscape-based territorialisation processes has already been implemented in the formal regulations of the new State Development Plan for Berlin and Brandenburg. It aims to ensure the cooperation of diverse regional actors so as to constitute cultural landscapes as action areas and develop cultural landscapes in a sustainable manner (MIR and SenStadt 2009). The concept has been developed in the context of the overlapping of different cultural landscape-related region-building processes (e.g. Nature parks, Regional Parks, LEADER-Regions, Tourism region) in some regions and the lack of cooperative arrangements in other regions. Although the approach is an aspect of the formal planning system there is in general a lack of institutional and financial support to initiate region-building processes at the regional level. However, as a result of the new challenges of climate change and landscape transformation through renewable energies, two preliminary projects to deal with these challenges have recently been initiated in two cultural landscapes in Berlin-Brandenburg.

#### DISCUSSION

When discussing and comparing the conceptual approaches of both cultural landscape policies and their implementation different processes but similar results can be detected. The "preservative development cultural landscape" planning approach in NRW was developed from the deterministic perspective of historical geographers as a classical formal planning instrument. In contrast, the Berlin-Brandenburg cultural landscape approach followed a priori place-based concept of territorialisation as an informal instrument. Action areas based on cultural landscape features, identity, networks and projects should be defined in this concept by regional actors. In NRW results of the "deterministic" landscape analysis have been used to develop cultural landscape con-

sciousness and to create preliminary projects for the "Regionale 2010" through an actor- and project-oriented approach. In this way, place-based territorialisation processes have been initiated through a "politics of institutional linkage" (Young 2002). In Berlin-Brandenburg the lack of coordinated support for bottom-up activities and the competing strategies of sectoral policies hindered the implementation of the concept, although it was integrated in the formal regulations of the state development planning system. As a result, place-based territorialisation processes have to solve problems of interplay between sectoral state policies at the regional level.

#### CONCLUSION

Place-based territorialisation processes cannot be centrally governed by formal instruments, but they do need to be supported by coordinated policy concepts. These policy concepts are often not the result of consistent collaborative strategies but of incremental processes. Consequently, diverse conceptual approaches and different cultures of politics can support or hinder place-based territorialisation processes at the regional level.

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# Rural Multiple Identities

G.Fabiola Safonte and Gianluca Brunori<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The study aims to assess the lived experience and the quality of life (QoL) perceived level by residents of an high complexity rural area. The paper introduces the concept of rural capital as an effective tool for rural well-being and local rural development analysis and measurement, as well as the rural quality of life (RQoL). The proposed theoretical and methodological approach allows, in fact, its analysis in order to understand what dimensions related to territoriality are connected to the perceived level of RQoL at local level.

## INTRODUCTION

The peculiarity of the contemporary countryside, which distinguishes it from other territorial contexts, is its heterogeneity, that unfolds in the diversity of the landscape, in the different development levels and in the various standards of living, in different social and economic structures of rural communities (European Commission, 2008).

In this context, to measure and to assess the RQoL is not easy, due to the absence of a unified methodological system and shared operational tools for its measurement, since it is a concept that, on the one hand, possesses a strong subjective valence and, secondly, it summarises the complexity of the problems which characterise the human life in material and existential terms.

From these assumptions follows, first, that it is not sufficient to consider the objective dimension of the phenomenon, but it becomes necessary to deal with the subjective perception that individuals have of the condition in which they live and, furthermore, that a multidimensional approach to the measurement of RQoL involves identifying indicators that cover different dimensions of rural well-being in line with the local context analysis.

## BACKGROUND

If the concept of well-being has to be contextualised and related to the socio-territorial systems within an area, the attention towards the rural specificities focuses on those that, in the *post rural studies*, are defined as *repertoires of development* (Ray, 1999), i.e. the sum of the resources and the characteristics associated with a territory, and that, the territorialist literature identifies, instead, as *territorial mass*, with qualitative and quantitative traits, made by the historical accumulation of *territorialisation acts* (Rafastin, 1984; Turco, 1988; Magnaghi, 2011).

The element that distinguishes these settings, as well as the *approach of sustainable livelihood* (Hann, 2000; Knuttsen, 2006), is the interest focused on accessibility to resources which refers to the *capabilities approach* of Sen (1993 e 1996). In this literature, the crucial question is given, on the one hand, by the awareness of local actors about the allocation of local resources and, on the other, by the relationship between the different local actors, in terms of *networks*, which determine the real access to the available resources; the use of the term *network* (Latour, 2005; Brunori, 2003 e 2006) is a metaphor to analyse and to interpret the processes and the activities that take place in rural areas.

In this perspective, the analysis of territory, which is essential for an active description of the territorial heritage, must be aimed not to the simple cataloguing of resources and of assets, but rather to the understanding of the rules of *environmental knowledge*, of the processes that gave rise to the type and personality of the place and of relational and co-evolutionary systems among physical environment, built environment and anthropic environment. Since the territory is the result of a relational process temporally located between these components, spatial analysis must necessarily make use of special analytical operational methods.

To this end, several studies use the concept of *territorial capital* (LEADER European Observatory, 1999; OECD, 2001; European Commission, 2005). This is the set of local resources that can be mobilised to create value, broken down into further sub-dimensions, each of which is used in the production process to increase the amount of capital itself.

However, since the measurement unit of the territorial capital can't be independent by the nature of the processes that itself contains, it follows that the territorial capital of a rural area will have to be assessed with a metric other than that which would apply to the analysis of capital of urban and / or urbanised contexts.

The concept of *rural capital (RC)* allows to overcome this limitation, since it is the set of dimensions that involve the combination of components and of the tangible and intangible peculiarities of this territorial context that make up the total assets.

In literature timid attempts can be traced to conceptualise, none of which seems to follow our approach. A similar term, "*countryside capital*", is used for the first time since the United Kingdom Countryside Agency, which gives a first definition in terms of "*the fabric of the countryside, its villages and its market towns*" (Countryside Agency, 2003: 43). According to Garrod (2006) its intangible dimensions

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concern countryside villages and country towns, considered the functional elements of the rural economy as well as the Heritage Village Shopping (Mitchell, 1998). Other features are discussed in detail by Garrod *et al.* (2006), and more recently, by the Americans McClinchey and Carmichael (2010). These frameworks, however, are exclusively aimed to the enhancement of rural resources to add value to specific aspects of rural tourism.

The rural area has its own strong identity that is actively involved in the individual and collective existence: in the cognitive, linguistic, perceptual, sensorial processes. According to this approach, it is clear that we should not report to rural area as a uniform and undifferentiated space that can be treated with generalised models, through the use of simplified variables and purely statistical and quantitative procedures and that, from the analytical point of view, the RC can not be analysed exclusively through a list of indicators that quantify the allocation of a particular resource at a given time, but it is rather necessary to analyse the territorial allocation in its temporal becoming in terms of quantity and quality.

#### METHODS

The dimensions of rural territoriality, and, consequently, of the RC, constitute and reconstitute themselves as resources only if and when they are recognised, interpreted, and used by a given community. In this sense, the rural area has a double meaning: it is made, at the same time, by *objective dimensions*, that are its properties and characteristics, and by *subjective dimensions* that define instead the value and the meaning assigned by the community at a local level. This implies a cognitive alternative to the traditional functional approach, in which prevail the deterministic cause-effect relationships that, in the new setting, they must leave the field to more complex relationships, based on how economic agents interact and perceive their reality (Halfacree, 1993).

The methodological approach - which followed the *capabilities approach* of Sen - provides that the assessment of rural well-being and RQoL perceived level is the final step of a process that begins from the recognition, at the local level, of the tangible and intangible dimensions of RC. In order to assess the level of perception among residents and local actors, operationally the research saw the application of the model to a rural area, with a strong socio-economic marginality, falling within the centre of Sicily, that is connoted, by many empirical studies, as *territorial drifts*, occupying the last positions in the comparative ranking between territories. The analysis is performed both through the examination of benchmark indicators, and through observation of lived experience by rural residents, detected by sample survey that, in order to ensure the representativeness of those residing in the countryside, will use a complex sampling design, to contain the sample size and achieve more accurate estimates. A representative sample of rural residents is constructed, starting

from the identification of the respondents through an inversely proportional fixed stratified sampling plan, therefore applying, in all the strata, the same sampling fraction, a technique which, in the literature, is used just to deepen the knowledge of small layers of the population.

These results are integrated by a multi-case study carried out by a qualitative survey detected both through desk analysis and in field observation, and through in-depth interviews with stakeholders and focus groups with local actors, all asked to assess in a participative way.

#### RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical framework and the methodological approach have permitted the understanding of the different dimensions of territoriality and of RQoL, allowing, on the one hand, to draw up a taxonomy of the different dimensions and, on the other, to identify a mixed indicators system (benchmarks indicators available at LAU2 level and satisfaction and accessibility indicators detected locally) able to analytically describe the rural capital dimensions at the local level. The results show that the concept of rural capital and its dimensions are well suited to the assessment of perceived levels of rural well-being and RQoL. In fact, at the local level, the life environment assumes absolute centrality. It is perceived in its procedural long-term dimension, as a result of the meeting between the tangible and intangible elements of rural capital as a whole, in which the specific dimensions of this territorial typology play a crucial role. They consist of: *a) living-landscape rural capital* - resulting from the interaction between the actors, who insist on the area, and the landscape and environmental assets and in which the role played by the primary sector is an essential element, and *b) socio-relational rural goods*, which, in rural areas, take on specific and pervasive forms.

Secondly, the proposed approach has demonstrated how the knowledge of RC contributes to determine the competitiveness of a rural local system as being crucial for its ability to foster learning processes. The active involvement of local actors, within each of the sampled municipalities, has allowed the activation of democratic processes of partnership and collective social learning and has also contributed to the construction of new forms of civic accountability until then unknown.

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# Social Farming and sustainable rural development

Patrizia Bordina<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

The research aims to analyze the role that the Social Farms can play in the dissemination of new practices of sustainable development and solidarity. The hypothesis of the research is that these subjects are organized from the "crisis" of the model of agricultural modernization based on the market economy to move towards a model of development that starts from the strengthening of local economies in a sustainable social and environmental.

This model is related to the project that will give the different actors operating in a territory and not depend exclusively on the external conditions. At its base there is the drive to maintain and to increase the autonomy with respect to integration of the agri-food system. In this type, the natural resources are heavily involved in the production process, also the work is valued more intensely because they played "with care", not only to achieve a quality product but also to preserve a good company (Van Der Ploeg, 2006).

## PROBLEMATIC PICTURE

In Europe, we are discovering how rural and farming communities are not limited to the activity of "conservation" of natural resources but have given life to experience "innovative" to promote various forms of assistance and social inclusion, solidarity and care. In recent years it has been used the term social farming (social / care farming and / or green ones) to describe those farming practices that support recovery rehabilitating, the employment of disadvantaged people (eg people with mental and physical disabilities, prisoners, drug addicts, children, migrants), education and services for everyday life.

From the point of view of the production world, we are witnessing the disappearance of aid systems guaranteed by the Community, and the search for new ways of placement of its offer, the exploitation of internal resources necessary to compete in the markets. In the social services are witnessing the transition from a model based on public intervention, strongly institutionalized, to one that has yet to find its full spread and where the world public and private, are having to organize their way to operate.

The transformations taking place, see where on the local system to organize the necessary services to meet local needs. This observation leads to the need on the part of individual locations to involve

more actors to allow the sharing of objectives, strategies and actions that form communities prepared to handle the changes with coherent answers. Hence the need to reflect on the future roles that agriculture can provide to support their local communities and on the possible link that can be established between agriculture and the scope of services to the person

## OBJECTIVES

The specific objective of this work is to verify whether the enterprise social farming practice that it was a part of the production model farmer, using the resources of rural areas for prevention and rehabilitation services for the benefit of urban and rural communities and improving their economic performance, differentiating business activities that enhance human labor employed in the company and retain some of the value added produced in the entire process chain.

## METHODOLOGY

The empirical cases, taken as a basis of research, refer to the national context, and in particular to five case studies in one Italian region with the subsequent comparison of case studies of Green Rehabilitation in England. The information collected, through participant observation and semi-structured interviews with actors, allows us to make some considerations: the experiences of social farming analyzed is the result of different strategies pursued by manufacturers that lead to different styles of business management, the result of the involvement of both aspects of the business' production the material and the social. Within this co-production so much material that the social organizing, mutually influencing their development.

Inside of social farming is carried out that particular "style" as a coherent set of assets (land, livestock, water resources, equipment), social and cultural resources (tacit knowledge, customs and tradition in a modern key), and finally the "external networks" which is being implemented through a particular business strategy.

Strategy made of progressive reduction of uses of chemical fertilizers, introductions of rotation techniques of land in order to increase the production capacity of the soil nitrogen and progressive integration with the environment regenerated and local communities, with consequent increase of biodiversi-

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ty, through which create new opportunities for product differentiation and market.

From the wide variety of experiences analyzed, is manifesting a new paradigm that restores the relationship between agriculture, nature, society, and the prospects of agricultural producers (Van der Ploeg, 2000). The integration between agricultural practices and social services allows new forms of income for farms, while improving the image of agriculture in society, and encouraging the development of new relationships between rural and urban centers.

This' does not exclude, of course, that these processes are effectively supported by agricultural policies and social innovation. The multi-policy approach turn out to be the most 'innovative, as they are based on the integration of policies and recognition of the social economy as a component of the first floor of the entire production system, which is essential to produce services and to generate employment opportunities . It is the task of policy makers in the implementation phase involving the social partners in the implementation of interventions that are the result of careful analysis of the needs that the community expressed through the application of experience and knowledge gained through continuous interaction with active citizenship.

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# Economic crisis and the situation of rural families in Poland

Michał Dudek and Agnieszka Wrzochalska<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The crisis influences the socio-economic situation of rural population. However, its effects could be different among rural families. Traditionally, due to farm ownership the farming families are perceived relatively resistant to shocks and changes in the macroeconomic environment. There has been few research analysing ongoing economic downturn from the perspective of rural families. The paper aims to answer the question whether and how the current economic crisis affected rural families in Poland. In addition, we investigate what were the dominant strategies among them to overcome or alleviate its negative effects. Using the field surveys data, the results indicate that the economic crisis affected only part of rural families. We found that many of them did not plan special activities to mitigate or overcome its consequences.

## INTRODUCTION

Events on the American financial markets in 2008 gave rise to one of the largest and unexpected economic crisis in recent decades. The negative social consequences of the economic downturn, such as rising unemployment, worsening of standards of living and increasing pessimism also affected Polish households.

What is interesting in this context is the answer to the question of whether and how the current economic crisis has affected the situation of rural families in Poland. This has not been the subject of many studies so far. Generally, what is investigated are the effects of the economic downturn in the macro dimension: for the economy, for its specific sectors and for the society as a whole (Wenzel, 2009; Chechelski, Judzińska, 2011). In the literature of the subject, the issue of the economic crisis and its impact on rural families is, however, not new (Czajakov, 1966). It was usually claimed that the impact of the economic slowdown may vary according to the type of household. In times of recession or economic turmoil, for the sake of greater flexibility, farm owning families are in a better position than other rural families (Gasson, Errington, 1993). They can increase sales and/or consumption of food produced, as well as take advantage of the relatively greater number of sources of income (or opportunities for increasing them), which involve the possession of an agricultural holding and its constituents (e.g. land,

agricultural machinery, buildings)<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, it shall be assumed that these resources bring more stability to the budgets of farming families, especially during the economic downturn. In this context, it was expected that farming families will suffer the consequences of the current economic crisis relatively less frequently. An attempt is made in this article to verify that hypothesis.

The occurrence of adverse effects of the crisis was usually accompanied by the need for their elimination or mitigation. From the perspective of households, these consequences are generally felt by the fact of reduced income. What becomes a challenge is to increase the income to the satisfactory level. The paper assumes that rural families affected by the current economic crisis will strive to improve their financial situation. Therefore, in the paper we identify the most important actions thereof.

## METHODS

The empirical evidence used in the paper came from IAFE-NRI surveys conducted in 2011 on a sample of over 8 477 rural families<sup>3</sup> in 76 villages situated throughout Poland (0.18% of total settlements)

The sampling of villages for the surveys was purposeful and reflected the socio-economic features of population and the land structure of agricultural holdings<sup>4</sup>. One of the questions contained in the questionnaire refers to the assessment of the impact of the economic crisis on the financial situation of the household. Strategies for overcoming and/or mitigating the adverse consequences of the crisis were identified on the basis of responses received to the question how to improve the income situation of the family<sup>5</sup>. In the paper, the method of comparative analysis of statistical data was used.

## RESULTS

The IAFE-NRI data have revealed that the economic crisis has affected the situation of only a part of the rural families (table 1). In 2011 36% of the respondents declared the negative consequences for their households. The largest group, however, were

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<sup>2</sup> In addition, owning a farm is linked with the option of using public aid under the CAP, including mainly direct payments.

<sup>3</sup> The sample covered 3 331 farming families; i.e. families owning farms with an area of more than 1 ha of agricultural land, and 5 146 non-farming families.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that, in the course of studies comprehensive data were collected and these were related to the families' features and actions undertaken by them.

<sup>5</sup> For both questions, the respondent was the head of the family.



families who had no opinion on this matter. Their proportion in all respondents amounted to 41%. Households in which both the lack of negative or positive impact was declared accounted for 22% of all interviewed.

The empirical evidence analysed also proves that in 2011 there were no distinct differences in the perception of the effects of the economic recession between the farming families and non-farming families. Slightly more often, as evidenced in the opinion of the former, the economic crisis resulted in adverse consequences for the position of their household (38 compared to 34%). On the other hand, a few more non-farming than farming families had no opinion on the issue in question<sup>6</sup>.

**Table 1.** Influence of the economic crisis on rural families situation in Poland

Specification	negative	positive	neutral	lack of opinion
non-farming	34,2	1,5	22,2	42,1
farming	37,9	1,5	21,7	38,9
total	35,7	1,5	22,0	40,8

Rural families affected by the crisis had a strategy of improving their income situation more often than the rest of respondents. Usually they declared finding a job (24% of all households affected by the crisis), much rarely – setting up own business (6%) and providing agrotouristical services (2%) (Fig. 1). However, almost a half of households who suffer from the negative changes in the economy did not see any possibilities to increase their income.

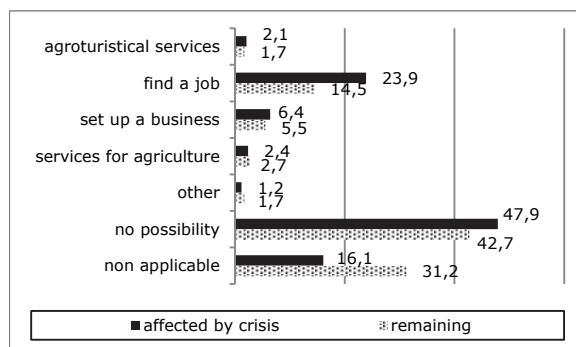


Figure 1. Dominant strategies of rural families in the times of economic crisis.

## DISCUSSION

The data presented in the paper proves the fact that the current economic crisis had no significant effects for the majority of rural families surveyed. The respondents could not determine its impact on their situation or did not refer to it as a change-causing factor. This fact should, in part, be associated with the good economic situation of Poland<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, the negative consequences of

the crisis were not as much experienced socially as it was in the case of other European countries. We should undoubtedly suppose that the situation of the families surveyed has not deteriorated, and if it has, the reasons for this should not be sought in the current crisis.

In the context of the existing literature, as well as the assumptions we made, the relatively more frequent declarations about the negative effects of the economic crisis for the situation of the households reported for rural families may seem surprising at first. However, it should be noted that the vast majority of farming families surveyed did not sell their agricultural production or did it on a very small scale. Public aid for them was also insignificant. Hence, in their case, the negative consequences of the crisis would be relatively more severe than for families having economically strong, market-oriented agricultural holdings or non-farming families, whose budgets were based on supplementary sources of income<sup>8</sup>.

Additionally, a relatively significant proportion of rural families suffering from the crisis, who did not have a plan of improving income situation, above all, we could ascribe to the situation in Polish rural areas. There were insufficient number of job opportunities, as well as the amount of capital for establishing new enterprises. Undoubtedly, it was often a matter of inadequate qualifications and skills or simply lack of business idea.

## SUMMARY

The research showed that the current economic crisis has affected the situation of a little more than one-third of Polish rural families. Most of the interviewees were unable to translate crisis impact into their situation or declared no changes caused by it. The declared negative consequences of the crisis affected non-farming and farming families almost to the same extent. In this context, an important conclusion that can be drawn from the analyses undertaken is the fact that owning a farm did not have a significant impact in the mitigation of the negative consequences of the economic crisis. When it comes to the strategies for overcoming its adverse consequences, over two-third households affected by it did not have thereof. The rest of families declared to find a job for their members or, much rarely, set up own businesses.

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<sup>6</sup> In both group of households, we note the same proportion of families in the opinion of which the crisis had either neutral (22%) or positive (2%) impact on their position.

<sup>7</sup> In 2011, we reported GDP growth (4.3%) as well as higher disposable income of households and individual consumption. The

unemployment rate increased only slightly in comparison to previous years.

<sup>8</sup> In 2011, households with income based on non-agricultural sources experienced a slowdown in income growth to a relatively lesser extent.



# Social networks, leadership and resilience in times of crisis. Some evidences from rural Spain

J. Esparcia and J. Escribano<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The working hypothesis of this paper is based on the crisis and socio-economic changes taking place in rural areas in the past two decades in Spain, which are derived, among other factors from the dynamics in the relational capital. Theoretically, the presence of social capital translates into relatively dynamic and well structured social and institutional networks. Networks are fundamental channeling development efforts and resilient strategies. Within social networks, it has a strategic role the presence and performing of leaderships, a key element defining in practice the day to day resilient strategies facing the crisis by local communities. Moreover, leaderships could facilitate social changes and adaptation strategies at local scale, especially important when local communities have to face times of crisis.

The present paper provides a comparative analysis from the study of social networks in two rural areas in Spain (in the provinces of Albacete and Teruel). We analyze social networks and leaderships from relevant social, economic and public actors. The methodology is based on Social Networks Analysis (SNA) with the primary information provided by more than fifty personal interviews in each area. The results highlight the structural characteristics of the different social networks, the different dynamics in each of the stakeholder groups, the presence of leadership with even different models and the role of these leaderships conforming and conducting different types of resilient responses facing the crisis of rural areas.

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

Given the socio-economic decline of many of the rural areas in Europe it is necessary to analyze the processes of change deepening in the social dimension. Our working hypothesis is that these processes are largely dependent on social networks of key players and leaderships emerging and/or operating within the territory.

We have two objectives, to assess the stock and the characteristics of relational social capital in different rural areas, and to analyze the role of power elites and leaderships in these territories. The conceptual framework turns around social capital, social networks and leaderships, following Bourdieu's concept of social capital (1980), who focuses more on the individual rather than on the social group. This conception is useful to analyze dynamical systems in which different actors interact but also

competing within it for control of resources. This idea helps explain a basic aspect of our work: dominance and control that the elites exercised through social networks and power structures. In this context and from the conceptualization of social relations, our paper contributes to the measurement of social capital through network analysis (Borgatti et al., 1998).

## METHODOLOGY

Our study areas correspond broadly with LEADER Plus territories, although the analysis have been done since 2010 to 2012. The relational capital come from the relationships of social, economic and institutional actors playing a leading role in regional development processes in selected rural areas.

The research is based on a first selection of relevant actors (about 25-30) from interviews with qualified informants, usually LAG managers. From personal interviews to this initial group, we gain new stakeholders who are interviewed in a second phase. The total number of interviews stands between 50 and 70 for each study area, covering more than 90-95 % of relevant actors in the area.

We collect information on the following aspects: a) activities of each actor and the institutions or organizations in which they participate, b) their networks of personal relationships, c) assessment of various features of the most prominent actors that are part of their network (capacity for consensus, innovation, leadership ...), and d) knowledge that the actor has on the rest of the initially selected actors.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of social networks is performed from a series of indicators (Borgatti et al., 1998) using UCINET 6.

### *Properties of networks: low density and cohesion disparities*

In both study areas we are dealing with networks with a relatively low density. But if we analyze the social network of the different sub-regions these values increase, in some cases significantly. The conclusion is that we have networks better articulated in at sub-regional scale. By groups of actors there is no clear pattern indicating that a type of actor is more articulated and/or resilient than the other in both study areas.

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The distance indicator highlights differences between the two study areas: Albacete's rural area has larger distances (lower degree of cohesion), i.e., the effort the actors need to reach all others is greater than in the study area in Teruel, where we have a more cohesive network. Thus, global resilience capacity derived from local actors in SACAM (Albacete) appears to be lower than in ADIBAMA (Teruel).

*Centrality: concentration of prestigious and power positions*

The degree of centrality is the first used indicator. Since we have not a pure square matrix, we should differentiate between out-degree (direct connections or relationships that each actor says to have with other actors in the network) and in-degree (connections that each of the other actors says to have with each concrete actor). Out-degree shows the position that actors have in the network from their own point of view, meanwhile in-degree shows the position that actors have in the network from the point of view of the others members of the network. It is noteworthy that both areas have a similar in-degree, but when we disaggregate by sub-regions or groups of actors, the differences are intensified, with low-middle in-degree in some cases (both sub-regions in Teruel) and high in-degree in other cases (sub-regions in Albacete): globally those actors in areas with higher in-degree have better positions of prestigious and/or power.

When analyzing social networks based on groups of stakeholder, it highlights the concentration by some institutional actors (Albacete) of positions of prestige-power (and resilience capacity). In other cases this bigger capacity do things (and to be resilient) is in hands of social actors (Andorra, Teruel, due to the tradition of trade union since the mining tradition in the area).

The second used indicator of centrality is closeness, defined as the average distance of each actor with respect to all others. We also differentiate out-closeness and in-closeness. The results show that in the two study areas there is a small centrality level and high dispersion, and this in turn may be interpreted in the sense of a relatively low overall articulation.

How actors use their positions of prestige-power is obviously variable, i.e. some actors receiving a high flood of -incoming- connections, may just maintain a reduced number of -outgoing- relationships (scarcely resilient attitude).

*Capacity of intermediation in the social network: not always mean resilient attitudes*

To explore more in deep this question we use the degree of intermediation. The global results obtained highlight that we are in systems characterized by a low capacity of intermediation, which obviously may limit the development processes. But there are differences if we analyze these results in more detail. In some sub-regions (Lower Martin, Teruel) there are a number of actors with central position

and a greater ability to intermediation (higher capacity to stimulate and foster development process). In other cases (Albacete) it stands that institutional actors tend to concentrate more overall power of intermediation. A final result is that social actors tend to have a lower intermediation capacity. The last significant indicator is the centrality of flow, able to take into account all the relationships within the network. A lower value shows that there are few alternatives to the interrelations through intermediaries with more power, then a part of the actors are conditioned to use such intermediaries if they want to access to other actors or to reach somebody else (or some specific information) through them. This trend is observed, though not dominant, in both areas.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

SNA is a useful methodological approach in the study of rural dynamics but also on the resilient capabilities of local actors. The results show that LEADER programme is not getting a spectacular articulation of local actors. The relatively low levels of density in the study areas and high distances (in terms of relationships), show insufficient levels of cohesion (and probably also resilient capabilities) at the scale of LEADER areas. But that cohesion increased when descending in scale or by different groups of actors, states that major advances are still pending at the scale of LEADER. Results obtained show a generally low ability to intermediation. From here we may infer that this trend expresses underachievement in the territorial governance advocated by LEADER. As lower are cohesion of the networks and territorial governance mechanisms, probably we are in front of lower resilient capacity by the local communities facing their challenges. Nevertheless deeper and wider analysis are needed to complete our view, particularly on the efficiency of LEADER as element of social networking and social networks cohesion as key aspect for higher resilience of local communities.

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# Which mobility practices can we expect for the future in rural areas?

Marie Huyghe, Hervé Baptiste and Jean-Paul Carrière<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - Our communication deals with the daily mobility practices in rural areas, in a context of increasing fuel prices and public policies which encourage the development of the most accessible areas. We study two categories of mobiles: the "vulnerable", characterized by modest incomes and long and expensive daily commuting trips; the "other mobiles", or "non-vulnerables", households without economic difficulties. Our objective is to learn more about the practices of those populations (essentially solo-drivers), and to compare them. We also want to see whether they could adopt new mobility practices, more sustainable and less car-dependent.

First, we characterize three categories of mobiles, and explain why their mobility practices are unsustainable, and should be tackled. Then, we analyze the numerous transport services existing in our study area, and show why only a few of them can be a good alternative to the car. Finally, we study the daily mobility practices of several rural households, which we followed through two methods: we interviewed 37 households, and set up a several-month-long experiment with 19 of them, which is a "personal accompaniment" of their mobility.

## INTRODUCTION

This communication presents some results of the French research-project MOUR (Mobility and rural planning) which studies mobilities in sparsely populated rural areas. It aims at developing mobilities which are more sustainable and less car-dependent. This two-year-project started in November 2011 and is co-led by the CNRS-CITERES laboratory of the Tours University, and the Parc naturel régional<sup>2</sup> Loire-Anjou-Touraine (PNR LAT).

Our choice to study mobility in rural areas is led by two phenomena, which could hinder rural population' mobility practices in the next years: the environmental recommendations of the French law "Grenelle 2" that encourages development of the most accessible areas only and the increasing cost of energy and fuel. In this context, excessive reliance on car for mobility is not a solution anymore: poorly-served areas may have to face recessive dynamics, or even a new rural depopulation. Nevertheless, it seems that it cannot be envisaged to totally abandon those territories and their populations, for territorial

fairness' reasons. Which solutions could then be implemented to maintain the territory dynamics and the households' quality of life?

First, we present a typology we created to characterize the mobilities of rural populations. We then show in which way mobilities in rural areas are problematic, on a social and environmental point of view. In order to reduce the reliance of rural populations on cars, we have to know what mobility services already exist, and what are the mobility habits and practices of rural populations today: those two points are addressed in parts 2 and 3.

## INFORMATION ACQUISITION METHODS

We first made an inventory of all the existing transport services in the 160 communes of our study area, the PNR LAT. We made a deeper analysis of the transport services existing in the 12 communes of an intercommunality of the PNR, the Communauté de Communes du Pays d'Azay-le-Rideau (CCPAR).

In order to know more about the mobility habits and needs of rural populations, we used two methods:

1. A "traditional" one: we performed 37 semi-directive interviews with mobile households living in 5 communes of the CCPAR.

2. A more original method: we started a several-month-long experiment with 19 households (selected among the 37 interviewees), in which we individually accompany them and follow their mobility practices. The experiment, called "Mobility challenge", is divided in two parts:

- In the first one, we asked the participants and their family to fill in a "mobility notebook" during one week, in which they had to describe all their journeys, the mode used, the distance travelled and the journey length, the number of people participating to the journey, etc. This information completes the one obtained during the interviews.

- The principle of the second part is to suggest alternatives to the 19 households which should allow them to change travel mode or to limit their journeys. Those alternatives, which are being determined thanks to the individual "mobility notebooks" are therefore perfectly adapted to the habits and constraints of the participants. They will be tested during one month. Our objective is to evaluate, according to the reactions of the participants, the impact of an individual accompaniment on the households' mobility practices changes. The accompaniment takes the form of the interviews (awareness to the question) and proposition of alternatives.

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<sup>2</sup> A Parc naturel régional is a territory formed by communes willing to set up a conservation project for their natural and cultural patrimony. The Parc naturel régional Loire-Anjou-Touraine is formed by 160 communes, located in the Centre of France, between Tours and Angers.





## MAIN FINDINGS

The typology created distinguishes three types of mobile households:

- the "mobility deprived" (Le Breton, 2002; Dupuy, 2001), who do not have any access (or difficult access) to mobility, for financial or cultural reasons, or because of a lack of mobility abilities.
  - the "vulnerable" (Verry and Vanco, 2009), households whose global mobility-budget (fuel, car park, toll cost, insurance, repairs, etc.) accounts for more than 18% of their total budget. They have to own two cars, on which they depend completely, and have to sustain long and expensive daily commuting trips.
  - the "other mobile", who do not have apparent mobility difficulties, at least financially.
- The mobility of the mobility deprived and the vulnerable are socially problematic, whereas the vulnerable and "other mobile" mobilities are environmentally not sustainable.

Regarding the offer in transport services, we highlight the existence of various and numerous kinds of transport services, such as regular lines of public transport (by bus or train), dial-a-ride schemes, feeder services to the train stations. We also highlight the different types of organising structures: "official", such as the Regions, the Departments or local authorities; "non-official", such as associations, enterprises or social centres.

We show that those services, although numerous, are mostly poorly-adapted to population needs, in particular to the working people. Indeed, only few services may be regarded as "quality" services, in terms of frequency, journey length and fares. Even fewer meet the population needs in terms of destination, which does not match jobs locations. Finally, the transport services do not cover the territory very well: indeed, we suppose that the train are likely to be used by households living within a radius of 7 km around the train stations, and the busses within a radius of 300 m.

We conclude that among the numerous transport services existing in the PNR, only the regular train lines may be regarded as "quality" services which meet population needs in terms of destination, and which cover a large part of the territory. This inadequacy between the offer and the needs of the population could explain the low use of public transports for the working people of the CCPAR.

We then try to answer the question "Are rural population likely to adopt more sustainable mobility practices"? We assume that there are three ways of improving rural populations' mobility: changing travel modes, improving journeys chaining, and limiting journeys motives. Our objective is to evaluate those three options regarding households' mobility practices.

Regarding changing travel mode: we show that, if cars are mostly used by all the households studied, for all types of journeys, some of them have "good practices", and manage to set free from the car:

- they use the train to go to work or for leisure journeys;
- they practice carpooling;
- they travel by foot for short journeys.

However, based on the mobility notebooks, we assume that some households could use other modes of transport for some of their journeys: short trips could be done by bike or by foot; some trips for leisure could be done by train; some working people could practice carpooling.

Why is car mainly preferred, even when another mode would be convenient?

- because of a lack of interest;
- because of a lack of information;
- because of the weight of habits and the lack of practice;
- finally, because the households tried to adopt new habits but could not find suitable alternatives.

Regarding optimizing journey chaining and limiting journey motives: the mobility notebooks and the interviews show that most of the households already have optimized journey chaining and avoid unnecessary journeys<sup>3</sup>. However, we think that they could better organize themselves to limit some trips, at least in number. Nonetheless, those alternatives still have to be put into practice. According to our calculations, they could reduce mobility-budget or CO<sub>2</sub> emissions up to 40%.

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<sup>3</sup> We see as unnecessary the journeys that could be suppressed, by optimizing another.



# Mobilities within and without: resilience in rural Greece in times of crisis

Charalambos Kasimis and Stavros Zografakis<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Rural Greece has been experiencing a long process of 'de-agriculturalisation' and rural restructuring in the past twenty five years while since 2008 has been going through a deep economic recession. In the environment of crisis, rural areas have been affected in diverse ways. Various mobilities within the rural areas and a 'reverse mobility' from declining urban areas to the countryside have been observed. The latter mobility, in particular, has elements of both modernity and tradition and concerns engagement with new methods of organisation and work and re-discovery of traditional crops, products and cultures. On the evidence provided by the Labour Force Surveys (LFS), we investigate the main features of these mobilities in the context of the changing physiognomy of rural Greece in the crisis period.

## INTRODUCTION

The 'openness' of Greek rural areas and their continuous historical connection to the 'outer urban world' has variously contributed to their survival in different historical periods while today it offers alternatives to the crisis ridden city dwellers facilitating their 'return' (or expressed 'will for return') to the countryside.

Three themes can be integrated into this discussion: First, the *de-agriculturalization of the countryside*, seen as an expansion of the notion of the rural to include off-farm and/or multi-sectoral penetration as well as non agricultural land uses pointing towards the 'urbanization of the rural' and the 'multifunctionality' of rural space.

Second, *rural mobilities* as an aggregation of diverse outgoing, incoming and intergoing population movements.

Third, *rural resilience* as a capacity of rural areas to absorb disturbances and reorganize, while undergoing changes, so as to retain the functions, structure, identity and reflexivity of rural activities in the current economic crisis (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013).

## DE-AGRICULTURALIZATION IN RURAL GREECE

De-agriculturalization is reflected in the continuing fall of employment and the increase of underemployment. More particularly, in the past 30 years agricultural employment has been reduced by half

making up 11% of total employment while more than 2/3 of the total number of holdings could not ensure full-time employment for more than one person/AWU.

Furthermore, pluriactivity has expanded for both rural and urban populations. One third of the heads and nearly half of the households are pluriactive gaining nearly 40% of the total farm household income from non-farm sources. Off-farm employment has been recently 'diffused' to more household members. It has also expanded to urban population. Nearly 1/3 of the total number of farm holders was inhabitants of urban areas. The various forms of de-agriculturalization described above are connected to the chronic problems of Greek agriculture and rural areas like the maintenance of small, fragmented size of farm holdings, the decline of farm incomes, the sharp contraction of agriculture's GDP share and the increased deficit of agricultural trade balance

## Rural mobilities in Greece

Rural areas in Greece have been for long treated as isolated areas. Reality, however, has been historically different. Only in the 20th century rural Greece experienced three important waves of mobilities affecting extensively rural areas:

- The settlement of hundreds of thousands of Greek Asia Minor refugees in 1922 accompanied by an extensive land reform
- The massive rural exodus of 1950s and 1960s directed both internally and externally
- The mass in-migration of thousands of international migrants in the 1990s originating mostly from Albania (Kasimis, 2013).

## RURAL RESILIENCE TO CRISIS:

### WITHIN AND WITHOUT MOBILITIES

Since the beginning of the crisis in 2008, nearly 871,700 jobs were lost in the economy and in the first quarter of 2013 unemployment had reached 27 per cent with youth unemployment rising to 65%. Within four years the country lost ¼ of its GDP while recession was officially expected to reach 4.5 per cent of the GDP in 2013.

Both quantitative and qualitative evidence, show that agriculture and rural areas perform better than the other sectors of the economy and more and more are turned into a refuge and 'laboratories' of ideas and initiatives for a part of urban population directed towards the countryside and agriculture by either necessity or choice.

Our analysis has shown that rural areas and the primary sector perform better than other areas and sectors in the period 2008-2012. The population of rural areas over the age of 15 increased its size from

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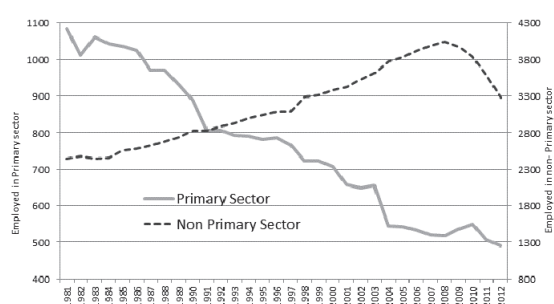
Stavros Zografakis is from the Agricultural University of Athens, Department of Agricultural Economics & Rural Development, Athens, Greece (stazog@aua.gr).



1.934.800 in 2008 to 2.037.400 in 2012 (a 5.3% increase). The total national increase of this indicator concerns to the level of 74% the rural areas. What is of interest here is that while the increase in urban areas concerns mainly non-economically active population, in the rural areas almost half of it are economically active.

In the rural areas, for every 1000 jobs lost, the primary sector loses 210, the secondary 470 and the tertiary 320. The secondary sector is again the biggest loser. The result of all these disparate movements is a small improvement of the position of the primary sector in employment within the rural areas from 40% to 42%. Thus, now the primary and the tertiary sectors make up more than 80% of the employment in rural areas.

In the first three years of the crisis (2008-2010) the primary sector in particular, increased its employment by more than 30.000 jobs (Figure 1).



Source: EL.STAT, LABOUR FORCE SURVEY

Figure 1. Employed in the primary and Non-Primary sector of economic activity (in thousands, annual average)

Overall, in every 1000 jobs lost in the economy, 36 jobs are lost in the primary sector compared to 459 in the secondary and 505 in the tertiary sector. As a result of that, the percentage share of the primary sector in the total employment in the economy increased from 11.4 to 13.2 (Table 1).

Nevertheless, jobs lost should be seen with scepticism. This is due to the fact they are mainly family 'unpaid labour'. In our understanding of the situation, we are in front of a strategic reorganisation of family labour taking into consideration the environment of crisis moving to a status of unemployment to 'enjoy' the social benefits provided to unemployed (social subsidies for electricity bills, subsidised training, joining programmes for indebted borrowers, etc.). This is evident in the unemployment statistics in rural areas where unemployment increased from 7% in 2008 to 19.7% in 2012, still, however, lower than that of 27.9% in urban areas for 2012.

**Table 1.** Persons employed (in thousands) of 15 years and over by aggregated levels of economic activity branches (NACE Rev. 2)

	4th quarter					
	2008		2012		Diff.	
Total employed	4,554	100.0	3,682	100.0	-872	100.0
Primary sector	517	11.4	486	13.2	-31	3.6
Secondary sector	1,000	21.9	599	16.3	-400	45.9
Tertiary sector	3,037	66.7	2,597	70.5	-440	50.5

Source: EL.STAT, LABOUR FORCE SURVEY

Our analysis has shown that in the years of crisis rural population has a lower probability to become unemployed than the urban population while within the rural areas the most vulnerable to unemployment are the immigrants compared to the Greeks, whereas, in 2008 the situation was the reverse. Women, compared to men, and university graduates compared to those having primary education only, have a higher probability to become unemployed. The analysis of the LFS has revealed that unpaid family labour and wage labour show high mobility within rural areas and within agriculture.

We discovered that urban dwellers undertake employment in the primary sector, particularly as 'self-employed' and 'wage labourers'. One year before their engagement in the primary sector, nearly 1/3 of the new entrants were unemployed while 2/3 moved into the primary sector from other sectors of employment (more than half were from the tertiary sector). Six out of ten of new entrants are directed towards annual crops and two out of ten towards animal production. They originate from urban areas and nearly half from the region of Athens. They have a lower age (their largest part is concentrated in the age group 35-39), a higher educational level than the rest of the farming population (one third have tertiary education) and more than half become 'self-employed' farmers (Kasimis and Zografakis, 2013).

## CONCLUSIONS

Crisis driven rural mobilities have elements of modernity and tradition, necessity and choice. They involve return to the land of origin, new methods of organisation and employment, rediscovery of traditional and development of new crops/products and methods of cultivation and production, a new space and time division of living and working between rural and urban areas.

These changes are not only sectoral but also intersectoral, not only esoteric to rural areas but also interregional. They reflect the communication and the, historically strong, geographic, professional, and social mobility between the urban and rural space in Greece described above. As a consequence, the idea of 'rurality' either as a 'construction' or as a nostalgic 'back to the roots' movement - as the only resort for survival - has become more and more welcomed in Greek society.

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# Traditional and modern family farms facing crisis: return to the female labor. The case of sheep farms in northern Greece

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**Abstract** – The purpose of this study is to investigate the strategies undertaken by livestock farms in northern Greece in order to cope with the financial crisis. Data from a survey of two equal-sized sub-samples, one of each type of local sheep and goat farms (extensive farms of members of the Muslim minority and intensive farms of Christians) are analyzed. It is illustrated that in extensive farms, the role of the spouse is central, as before the crisis, while in the "intensive" ones, spouse labour substitutes hired male labour, which was widely used before the crisis. Through this process, apart from its role in reducing financial costs, they re-discover the quality of female labor; the analysis reveals special capabilities of female family workers, who undertake particular tasks within the family livestock farm.

## INTRODUCTION

Many scholars agree that flexibility, as one of the main features of family farms, enables them to survive under volatile social and economic conditions. One of the sources of this flexibility lies on the use of the unpaid family labor of all members (husband, wife, children and sometimes other persons with kinship relationships). When necessary, family farms may resort to their own labor resources in order to survive (Holzner, 2008).

Currently, the economic crisis in Greece challenges the flexibility of family farms for once again, being the cause of a series of tensions, whose resolution requires a variety of organizational strategies to be put in place. Such strategies usually include pluriactivity (Price and Evans, 2006), as family members seek employment outside the farm family business in order, nonetheless, to sustain the family farm and ensure its reproduction. However, the generalized consequences of the crisis heavily increase unemployment in all sectors, which not only does not permit farms to choose this strategy, but compels family members who worked in other sec-

tors of the economy in times of prosperity to return to the farm (Psychoudakis, 1998).

The woman's role in the farm family business has been altered since the post-war period, because agriculture's mechanization brought about a general "masculinization" of the agricultural sector (Saugeres 2002). Women became "helpers" or sought for employment in other sectors, while, in several cases the work of the male family members was supplemented by hired labor. Nevertheless, it was not easy for farms to substitute the quality of the female labor; as Herron and Skinner (2012) point out, womens' labor is endowed with particular emotional elements "...which is crucial for the sustainability of rural people and places".

This paper investigates the organizational strategies of sheep farms in the region of Evros, Northern Greece, when it comes to family labor, particularly of female members, in order to confront with the financial crisis. Two distinct groups of sheep farms can be detected in the area: the first, the "Extensive" one, consists of traditional sheep farms which can be found throughout the communities of the Muslim minority, in the highlands; the second group, the "Intensive", includes modern sheep farms in the lowlands. Before the crisis, the former group did not invest capital and relied exclusively on family labor, mainly of female spouses, as men were mainly employed off-farm, often outside the boundaries of the rural community, in cities nearby or in other parts of the country. The latter group undertook considerable investments and sought for hired labor (mainly immigrants from Bulgaria), which gradually substituted family labor, particularly of female members.

## METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The data for the analysis were gathered through a questionnaire survey during the summer of 2012 in Northern Evros, which is situated in the north-eastern border of Greece. The sample included 41 farms from each system, which accounts for a total of 82 valid questionnaires. Both heads-of-farms and their wives were interviewed in order to record the structure of on-farm labor.

## RESULTS

The differences between the two systems in terms of labour are presented in Table 1. Labour requirements within the "Intensive" system are almost

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twice more than within the "Extensive" one (35.0 h/animal compared to 18.8 h/animal). This is mainly due to differences in animal breeds, as Lacaune and Chios sheep, commonly reared within the "Intensive" system, are more productive but less resilient to adverse conditions, hence more demanding in terms of human labour. This is also why "Intensive" flocks are smaller than the "Extensive" ones, which rear indigenous breeds (214.3 and 330.7 animals respectively). Under current conditions, "Intensive" farmers are substituting capital for labour, in order to survive the limited availability of funds.

**Table 1.** Family and hired labour requirements.

System	Family		Hired		Total	
	Hours	h/an.	Hours	h/an.	Hours	h/an.
Extensive	6230	18,8	-	-	6230	18,8
Intensive	6813	31,8	696	3,2	7509	35,0

Another interesting feature in Table 1 lies in the composition of labour requirements. "Extensive" farm families are the sole source of farm labour, while the "Intensive" farm family, apart from working more, has to resort to hired labour as well (3,2h/animal). Before the crisis, the latter were far more heavily dependent on hired labour; the financial stress is the factor which pushed them to a shift towards family, and predominantly female, labour.

**Table 2.** Family labour in the two systems: the participation of female labour.

System	Husband		Wife		Other	
	Hours	h/an.	Hours	h/an.	Hours	h/an.
Extensive	2402	7,3	2865	8,7	964	2,9
Intensive	3356	15,7	2190	10,2	1267	5,9

As can be seen in Table 2, "Intensive" farm wives actually contribute about one third of the total family labour requirements, their husbands undertake almost half of the work, while a small part of the total family labour comes from other members (children and grandparents). In other words, the "Intensive" livestock farms in Evros have kept their "masculine" identity. The "Extensive" system, however, is different. Women continue to do most of the work, as in the past, despite the fact that some of the husbands returned to the rural community and the family farm, because of unemployment in other sectors (while others immigrated to other countries).

The quality elements of the female work are illustrated in Table 3. "Extensive" farm spouses, who have traditionally been in charge of the farm, participate in everyday jobs (milking, feeding and cleaning). On the other hand, one of the main everyday works of "Intensive" farm women is grazing, apart from milking, which is the most-time consuming chore within the farm in general. It seems that male members continue to work inside the stable, by doing the same jobs that they used to before the crisis, while female members literally "re-

substituted" hired workers, by undertaking their mere everyday duties.

Female family members are also active in non-regular chores (denoted "others" in Table 3), for example during the birth season or in taking care of young ewes. Quoting some of the interviewed spouses "Now I am in charge of births. I feel that sheep are mothers and I take care of them. I also take care of young ewes, especially the weak ones. Men are not patient with births and young ewes" while a husband said "Indeed, since my wife started to work in the farm the mortality of young ewes was considerably reduced".

**Table 3.** Chores undertaken by spouses.

System	Chores (h/day)				
	Milking	Feeding	Cleaning	Grazing	Other
Extensive	3,2	1,7	1,7	0,4	0,8
Intensive	1,9	0,7	0,6	1,2	1,7

## CONCLUSIONS

This research illustrates the different courses of the two systems. During the period before the crisis, extensive farms managed to safeguard their traditional and family character, while the intensive ones divested both these characters. Nowadays, the crisis has not affected the character of the "Extensive" farms, but, on the other hand, pushed "Intensive" farms towards rediscovering their family roots and the quality elements of female labour; it is not certain, nonetheless, that this development should ascertain their viability. The examination of these two different courses provides evidence of the stability of traditional farms and of the vulnerability of modern farms in times of crisis.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Finding happiness alongside the rural-urban continuum

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**Abstract** – Over the last years, inconsistent circumstances, driven by global monetary crisis and counter-urbanization, create without doubt a scientifically intriguing period, especially through the lens of urban and rural dwellers happiness. However, how happiness is perceived within a geographical-social-political-economic context still is missing. Is happiness perceived differently along side the rural-urban continuum? The main aim of this paper is to answer the above questions advocating a rural-urban continuum of happiness through modern methodological tools. Moreover, the paper sets out to determine the most suitable and appropriate, on policy grounds, definition of happiness.

## INTRODUCTION

The pursuit of happiness fell into the theological and philosophy discourse without becoming a research subject for a very long time. Only after 1950 happiness has become a research area of psychology while recently has also become part of the social and economic sciences. Taking into consideration that there is a growing support for the idea that governments should aim to create greater happiness and appropriate public policies, in order to increase the level of happiness (Ballas and Dorling, 2007), any study related to subjective happiness measurement has great value. The latter is even more important when considering the contemporary crisis and the civic demand for a better life which in the case of Greece is driving a new wave of return to the countryside or somewhere in-between the rural and the urban.

However, "happiness" is an inconsistent term both throughout the human history and amidst different societies. In any case the proper term should have an empirical and quantitative measurement definition in order to be scientific (Brülde, 2007). Towards this direction the paper aims to apply some modern methodological tools and arrive at empirical findings that allow us to estimate and map happiness both in rural and urban areas. In addition, the paper seeks to identify the most appropriate and convenient for the policy definition of happiness and how it mutates depending on the different socio-economic conditions between the rural and the urban. This paper stems from the concept of rural-urban continuum suggesting that if communities could be identified as displaying different degrees of

rurality (Woods, 2005) then maybe can also have a propensity on different degrees on happiness. Actually, according to the same source (Woods, 2005) between the real rural and the real urban there are many "gray" areas and if we look along a scale from the single isolated area all the way to a big city, we do not find any clear boundaries between hamlets, villages, towns, and cities. This rural-urban oneness is seen as a continuum, and it applies to the way people live, feel, think or make decisions. However, the theory of rural-urban continuum has been criticized as being simplistic, and over-generalized, not least because many demographers have detected village-type communities within large cities.

The contribution of the paper is particularly important because for first time in Greece a systematic and holistic approach of happiness is attempted. Using the scale of rural-urban will highlight different aspects of happiness between the countryside and the city including the intermediate stages.

## METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESULTS

Data were collected through a personal response questionnaire survey in the Prefecture of Thessaloniki, in Greece. By May 2013, 470 responses had been received and assembled into a database. The sample has been stratified in few general groups of respondents based on the location of their dwelling place alongside a linear continuum in which distances can be measured as the physical distances from the urban center (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2010). Onwards, in order to define the term "happiness" we used statistical frequencies and content analysis out of the respondents' answers. Basically, respondents advocated what is the first word/image that comes to their mind when they hear the term happiness. According to their answers the main determinative words of happiness are "pleasure" (156/470), "family" (121/470), "love" (95/470), "health" (88/470) and "children" (74/470). Moreover, some secondary less important words, such as "calm", "mate", "moments", "money", "welfare", "nature", "job" and "travel" have been also mentioned adding marginal additional context.

Then, a Categorical Regression Model is employed, using V.20 SPSS for Windows, to relate factors that influence "happiness" patterns across the rural-urban continuum. More specifically, the dependent variable "happiness" is a quantified multi-thematic variable (continuous) comprised of the mean values of each one of the sixty "happiness" reasons (ordinals) of the questionnaire that emerged

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from the *ex ante* qualitative research. For each one of the “happiness” reasons there are seven levels of agreement based on the typical *Likert* scale (7=strongly agree and 1=strongly disagree). Regarding this quantified mean value of “happiness”, the theory of rural-urban continuum did not meet satisfactorily as it is bigger for the semi-urban areas (5.12) when compared with urban (4.98) and rural ones (4.97). These happiness loadings are then analyzed further using a multivariable model that includes a set of prospective predictors (Table 1). In particular, this modelling identifies the importance of determinants of happiness by sample strata while the independent variables have been justified by the *ex ante* qualitative research as well as by the literature (Ballas and Dorling, 2007; Lubbers and Scheepers, 2010).

**Table 1.** Selected predictors of “happiness”

Independent variables	Categories
1. Gender	1=male, 2=female
2. Education	1=6 or less years, 2=from 7 to 9, 3=10 or more years
3. University degree	1=yes (or student), 2=no
4. Occupation	1=employee, 2=self-employed, 3=student, 4=retired, 5=housewife, 6=unemployed, 7=other
5. Income	1=high, 2=median, 3=low
6. Own house	1=yes, 0=no
7. Own garden	1=yes, 0=no
8. Own animals	1=yes, 0=no
9. Voluntary action	1=Usually or often, 0=rarely or never
10. Gambling	1=Usually or often, 0=rarely or never
11. Social networks	Number of Friends
12. Area	Municipality level
13. Distance from Urban centre	Number in km
14. Marital Status	1=married (or permanent relationship), 2=not married
15. Age	1=under 25, 2=25-45, 3=45-60, 4=over 60
16. Household members	Number of persons

In order to explore more deeply some different drivers of happiness across rural-urban continuum the sample has been stratified in three general groups of respondents based on the location of their dwelling place in the rural-urban continuum: (a) urban dwellers, (b) rural dwellers and (c) other cases. Actually, 30% of the respondents are urban dwellers while 22.5% of them are rural ones and the rest 47.5% are dwellers of semi-urban or semi-rural areas. All three models yielded high  $R^2$  values ranging from 0.768 (urban model) to 0.912 (rural model) indicating great relation between the “happiness reasons” and the group of selected predictors.

More specifically, the urban model (Table 2) suggests that happiness is driven mainly by “income”, “occupation”, “education” and “number of facebook friends” variables. In particular “income” indicates that money works as a driver of happiness for the urban dwellers, “occupation” indicates that the lack of job opportunities in the urban areas works as a driver of unhappiness, “education” demonstrates the different levels of happiness between well educated and other people living in the city whereas “number of facebook friends” most likely captures that happi-

ness is to some extent relative and attributable to virtual configuration.

On the other hand, in the rural model, the four significant drivers are “distance from urban centre”, “area”, “marital status” and “number of households members” indicating that the levels of happiness have been explained satisfactory by the theory of rural-urban continuum and that are also driven by family variables.

Finally, in the semi-urban model, the significant drivers are “Distance from urban centre”, “income” and “education”, indicating that the levels of happiness have been explained satisfactory in combination with the previous two models.

**Table 2.** Categorical Regression Model estimates

Models	Relative Importance Measures			
Urban	Income (0.310)	Occupation (0.302)	Education (0.154)	fb friends (0.124)
Rural	Distance (0.374)	Area (0.251)	Mar. Status (0.107)	Members (0.102)
Semi-Urban	Distance (0.408)	Income (0.178)	Education (0.123)	-

## CONCLUSIONS

Amidst the current economic situation as well as the global demands for a better quality of life we put into question the conditions of both rural and urban livelihood and try to add to the contemporary debate for a more suitable and alternative index of measuring better livelihood, compared for example to the Gross Domestic Product per capita, which can actually reflect the progress of a society in a more pervasive manner. The findings indicate that both urban and rural way of living contributes to happiness and well-being but in a completely deferent way. In addition, there are greater effects in some areas including psychological resources, leisure and family life domains contributing to social well-being. Family is has been noted as an important component of the social construction of the countryside (Woods, 2005) and this resilience of the rural family in Greece amidst the economic crisis it seems that it can also drive happiness. It is also important and somewhat unpredictable that happiness, especially in the urban area, seems to be to some extent attributable to virtual configuration indicating somehow the social isolation of the “bourgeoisie”.

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# The contribution of the concept of resilience to the survivability of a system after crisis: the example of alternative economic networks involving rural and urban areas

Athanasia Oikonomou<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper introduces the concept of resilience according to which the systems have the ability to respond to vibrations, changes or shocks through developing with changes (bounce forward) instead of returning to pre-shock state (bounce back). In conditions of both market and state failure to sustain society, “social solidarity economy” networks take a new role. The paper draws from the work conducted in the context of an Msc dissertation on the establishment of alternative economic networks between rural and urban populations. Drawing from empirical material collected in the course of research – which is in progress – we study the “Potato Movement” (“PoMove) without middlemen as a form of social solidarity economy. Specifically, the paper seeks to examine the contribution of the movement to the resilience and survival of both rural and urban populations in the current economic crisis.

## INTRODUCTION

The Greek society is facing one of the biggest crises of recent decades. The implementation of the austerity program imposed by International Monetary Fund (IMF), European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Union (EU) has led to cuts in public services that push more and more parts of the population to the deprivation of basic needs and the search for various other paths for survival. Three themes can be integrated into this discussion: First, the concept of resilience as the ability of a system to respond to vibrations, changes or shocks and bounce forward. Second, the emergence of social solidarity economy as a bounce forward resilience and as an alternative response of Greek society to the consequences of economic crisis. Third, the case study of the “potato” movement without middlemen as an example of social solidarity economy and as an alternative response for resilience and survival of both rural and urban populations.

## THE CONCEPT OF RESILIENCE

As a remedy to the challenging times we live, the concept of resilience is gaining currency. The concept of resilience refers to the ability of a system

to respond and still retain the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks (bounce-back resilience) or to open opportunities in terms of recombination of evolved structures and processes, renewal of the system and emergence of new trajectories. (bounce forward resilience) (Walker et al., 2004; Folke et al., 2010). Transformations occur making use of crises as windows of opportunity and recombine sources of experience and knowledge (Folke et al., 2010). It is in the nature of transformation to include novelties and innovations. Such novelties are the networks of social solidarity economy.

## SOCIAL SOLIDARITY ECONOMY AS A BOUNCE FORWARD RESILIENCE

The social solidarity economy emerged in Latin America in the mid-1980s and blossomed in the post mid '90s. It is a practice of fostering a series of values such as: unity-in-diversity, shared power (as opposed to power-over), autonomy (always both individual and collective), communication (horizontal, not top-down), cooperation and mutual-aid (shared struggle), local rootedness, global inter-connection (Miller, 2004).

The social solidarity economy is the “materialization” or actual manifestation of what we call resilience as bounce forward. It is a strategy for economic organizing that starts with our already-present practices and, from there, “builds the road by walking forward” (Miller, 2004). Social solidarity economy includes a series of initiatives and networks such as movements of self-organization between producers and consumers without middlemen. Because of the deepening economic crisis many communities were forced to develop and strengthen creative, autonomous and locally-rooted ways of meeting basic needs<sup>2</sup>. The self-organization movements between producers and consumers without middlemen forge new relations interconnecting producers and consumers. These relationships incorporate the idea of trust that is negotiated by self-organization, proximity and interaction, fair ethical trade and relocalization of food. (Roos et al., 2007).

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<sup>2</sup><http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17369989>



#### CASE STUDY: THE "POTATO" MOVEMENT WITHOUT MIDDLEMEN

A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted to members of the Pieria Prefecture Voluntary Action Group (VAG) in order to collect data about the founding, philosophy, organization and operation of the "PoMove" as an alternative response for survival of both rural and urban populations.

Drawing from empirical material we are able to highlight the following key points regarding the "PoMove":

**The historic of establishment:** In February 2012, members of the Pieria Prefecture VAG, based in the northern Greek town of Katerini launched the "PoMove" (a term dubbed by the media). It started when members of the group who were travelling to Thessaloniki came across farmers who were giving away their potatoes free of charge. The members of VAG decided expressing their solidarity with the farmers to invite them to trade their products directly to producers in their hometown, Katerini. In less than a day, 24 tones of potatoes for 0,25 cents a kilo- a third of the price in supermarket had been ordered through their website and the operation of the "PoMove" started.

**Structures and processes:** There are structures and processes that promote democratic participation and empower the notion of social solidarity economy. The voluntary participation of the residents of prefecture of the Pieria in the selection of the distributed product through voting highlights the characteristics of social solidarity economy: voluntary contribution, self-organization, direct democracy, transparent procedures and group assumption of responsibility.

**Capacities developed:** The signing of a Memorandum of Cooperation between 23 volunteer groups enables the exchange of knowledge and experience between the members of these initiatives. Moreover, the members of the movement learn skills through the collective actions which allow them to make collective decisions and assume new responsibilities empowering civic participation.

**Outcomes:** The outcomes of this initiative include the possibility of self-organization and self-reliance between producers and consumers, the fairly low price of 0,25 cents/kilo, the entire absorption of the offered production and the restricted traders' speculation. Also, approximately 50% of the population of the city has received basic food commodities such as flour, rice, oil and potatoes directly from producers.

**Factors critical to more successful outcomes:** The movement is undertaking contract farming for specific crops with pre-agreements on production and on the final price. Also, in cooperation with the local structures of social solidarity economy (social grocery, social medical office) they undertake a series of common actions. Additionally, the movement emphasizes in the model of agriculture of proximity (short distances from production to consumption to meet living needs). Last but not

least, the movement follows the dictates of fair-ethical trade concerning the protection of human rights of migrant workers and the protection of environment from the irrational use of nitrate fertilizers and waste of natural resources. They do that by either blocking the producers who exploit the migrant workers and their labor or by introducing a mandatory quality control of products in specialized laboratories.

**Constraining factors:** The relationship between producers and consumers appeared to be shaken by the requirement of a producer group to be paid 0,50 cents/kilo instead of 0,25 cents/kilo as agreed between the two parts. This highlights the lack of education and knowledge as well as a high percentage of ignorance on how a relationship of trust is being built.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Nowadays, the economy has been distorted to such a point that it can barely be recognized. The social solidarity economy resists the colonizing power of the individualistic and competitive economy encouraging the practices of cooperation, solidarity, self-organization.

The "movement of potato" in the context of fair-ethical trade, agriculture of proximity and local varieties aspires to play an important role not only in changing the producer and consumer model but also with a view to resist the current economic crisis and serve social needs. The emphasis is given to the "Economy of radical Needs" (Grumley, 1999). Moreover, a different world stems from a movement that materializes what it preaches.

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# The role of mobility in the resilience and sustainability of Spanish rurality

Jesús Oliva<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The economic recession impacts rural mobility in contradictory ways. On the one hand, the reduction in existing public and private services (such as transportation) or new investments (such as infrastructures) restricts rural mobility. On the other hand, as a result of this process, crisis involves an intensification of private and familiar automobility to gain access to external services (such as health, care for elderly, schools, etc.), commuting to work, etc. But perhaps more significantly, is these changes take place in a context of gradual deroutinization of the institutionalized times and spaces that requires a much more personalized mobility. As a consequence, the rural sustainability and the rural resilience strategies have become increasingly dependent of the private automobility. From the findings developed in the framework of a research project funded by the Spanish National Plan for R+D+i this work explore the role of mobility in rural resilience and the crossroads faced by rural societies after the crisis.

## INTRODUCTION

The impact of the crisis on Europe's rural areas has again put on the table the role of accessibility and mobility in the sustainability of these societies. But it does so in a paradoxical way. On the one hand, the downsizing of rural investments and public services (schools, nursing homes, transports, infrastructures, etc.) jeopardizes the rural welfare. The private and familiar automobility has become the only real alternative for mobility and the major resource for rural living in many areas. On the other hand, these impacts are taking place in the context of an increasing transformation of *posfordist* economies in a sort of "do it yourself" society (Cass et al., 2005) because of liberalization and privatization. For example, the new ways of provision of services and sociotechnical organization of the territory facilitate a gradual erosion of the former modern ideal of universal access to services (Graham and Marvin, 2001). These changes could have particular consequences for the rural inhabitants.

Rural mobilities of the last turn of the century have changed the social morphology of these areas and have become key processes for their future (Woods, 2005; Cloke et al., 2006; Bell and Osti, 2010; Charalambos et al. 2010; Oliva, 2010; Hedberg and Do Carmo, 2011). The rural residence of certain groups (such as women and rural youth), the sustaining of local economies, community activities and even local festive events could not be understood without the role played by these mobilities (such as commuting, tourism, seasonal residents, itinerant farmworkers, etc.). Furthermore,

the strategic nature of mobility for rural areas is connected with many dimensions of rural well-being and quality of life (health, work, poverty, etc.). For example, the reports of the European Commission analyse accessibility and mobility as crucial issues for the definition of "absolute poverty" (European Commission, 2008, 2011). These reports define rural areas by adjusting the category used by the OECD (2006) to accessibility (as the ease of access to services and activities such as schools, hospitals, etc. that are common for residents of urban areas) (European Commission, 2008). However the crisis also raises new questions about the role of mobility in rural resilience and sustainability.

## QUESTIONS AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

What kind of social landscapes stem from this automobility dependence in rural areas? What social profiles become more mobile or immobilized as a result of the crisis? What kind of rural mobility governance is needed to sustaining rural societies after the economic recession? Despite the wide recognition of the strategic importance of rural mobility we have not yet enough good practices or effective policies. Our working hypothesis is that knowledge accumulated in the experiences of rural resilience based on mobility (such as local cultures of commuting) has not been integrated in this governance.

This work deals with these issues and raises some questions on the basis of findings that came from different fieldworks carried out in Spain (Camarero et al., 2009; Oliva, 2010; Camarero, Sampedro and Oliva, 2011) and the project "Mobilities, social diversity and sustainability. The challenges of European agenda for rural development" (CSO2012-37540) funded by the Spanish National Plan for R+D+i.

## MOBILITY AS RURAL RESILIENCE

We can analyse some of the above-mentioned processes as a sort of "territorial ingeneering" that has a vital impact on the configuration of rural areas. As Virilio (1996) noted about speed, mobility has to be produced both technical and ideologically. For example, the socio-technical production of rurality (such as the map of services provision, highways or railways) determines the configuration of rural distinct territories (such as peri-urban fringes, multidirectional commuting areas, isolated regions, etc.).

The diversification of rural areas is strongly linked to these different ways of production of accessibility. Those areas well connected with urban centers have received much of the residential counterurbanization. In some of these rural areas the unemployment growth has been even less intense than in urban ones. However, most of the

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remote or disconnected rural regions (as mountain regions) frequently show an extremely vulnerable situation. In these accessibility constraints areas have been reinforced by the effects of the crisis and are major elements of the deprivation and accumulative causation circle leading to its economic and social decline (depopulation, aging, masculinization, etc.).

But mobility has to be also produced as a kind of social culture. As Cresswell (2006) pointed out it should be considered as movement that have a social meaning. For example, the labour cultures of long distance commuting, the mobility associate to cyclical residence or temporary migrations (Oliva, 1997). Labour mobility and travel to work outside the rural environment for short periods have been recurring survival strategies in rural societies. And these strategies of rural resilience, traditionally elaborated as local subcultures of labour, are being updated by the new generations of rural dwellers. For example, young workers holding currently more unstable jobs in cities return to rural homes and travel to work. Unemployed workers return to household farming combined with temporary work away. And other groups are renovating the secular Spanish circuits for temporary working outside the home town (e.g. harvesting in France or the services sector along the coasts). So the local cultures of resilience based on mobility have become key strategies for sustaining rural societies under these hard times of economic structural adjustment.

Finally, we can see the impacts of the economic recession on rural mobility as a matter of social exclusion (Sheller and Urry, 2006) and power. First, because of mobilities are frequently built through inequalities and vulnerabilities (Marsden, 2009). Second, because mobility, as Kauffmann et al. (2004) suggested, should be analysed as a social capital. A special capital determined by private resources (such a car owning) and social conditions (such a age or skills). A sort of capital, on the other hand, that can be transformed into other different capitals (such as economic capital). Furthermore, because these private resources and skills are usually taken for granted in a context gradually configured as a *high-speed society* (Rosa and Scheuerman, 2008) that produces different kinds of citizenships (slow citizenships, high-speed elites, etc.) (Camarero and Oliva, 2008).

The more vulnerable rural groups (such as elderly and children, ethnic minorities, etc.) as well as those strategic for the rural sustainability (such as women or young) are strongly dependent on mobility and accessibility. Some rural areas in Europe have a more critical situation regarding these social groups. For example, the 2001 Spanish census registered almost two million residents in rural municipalities living in homes without cars (Oliva, 2010). And some Spanish regions (such as Andalusia and Extremadura) show more than 6 of every 10 persons older than 65 year of age living in homes without cars).

As stated the European Commission (2008), the accessibility issue is more significant for Eastern and Southern European countries. On the one hand, the share of population at risk of poverty living in thinly populated rural areas is particularly high in these countries (i.e. Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Greece and Spain). On the other hand, older people at risk of poverty are also higher-than-average in

the same countries (Bulgaria, Estonia, Spain). And also Greece and Spain had the highest risk of poverty for women in rural areas of EU-15 in 2009. It is not difficult to imagine the impact of the crisis on the living conditions of these groups of rural dwellers. However, the whole picture regarding the impact of the economic recession on these European rural dwellers is complex and is still to be done.

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# Social sustainability of the new agricultural production enclaves: the case of the region of Murcia, Spain

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**Abstract** – The globalization of agri-food production system is related with the proliferation of new productive territories geographically dispersed and oriented to exportation for global markets. Many regions all along the world have been successfully incorporated into the global chains of agri-food production. In this paper we maintain that, in order to understand how those territories have been incorporated into the agri-food chain, it is not enough to analyze how the chains work and the role of the different actors implicated –as specialized literature usually does– but that we must pay more attention to the elements outside the chains. The hypothesis is that the operation of the agricultural global chains mainly depends on the capacity of the local actors to organize the local territory according to the demands of the chains more than on their productive efficiency. According to this, we use the concept of social sustainability to analyze the mutual-constitutive relations between territories and chains. In order to evaluate the analytical power of the hypothesis, we study the more recent historical process of configuration of the Region of Murcia (Spain) as a territory of agricultural exportation inserted in the global chains, explaining how that process is related to increasingly prominence of the food retailers.

## INTRODUCTION

The literature on global commodity chains (GCC) and global value chains (GVC) frequently analyzes the operation of commodity chains paying attention mainly to the strategies of the lead companies (i.e. Gereffi et al., 2005). Moreover, although to a lesser extent, it has been analyzed the role of other actors as local companies, workers and trade unions (among others, Selwyn, 2012).

However, there are still only few studies focused on the restructuration processes (economic, productive, technological, labour, legislative) that the incorporation into the agri-food global chain requires as well as the strategies of the different actors use to make it possible (i.e. Coe et al. 2008).

In this research we tried to fill that gap. Our objective is to explain the complexity of those restructuration processes analyzing the case of Murcia (Spain). The relevance of the study of these processes of territorial restructuring lies in emphasizing the importance of local dynamics of social, economic and political transformation in the process of configuration of Murcia as an export production territory

within the agri-food global chain. It is a process that mainly started when Spanish became member of EU in 1986. On the other hand, the study of the role of local actor makes possible to see the political –and therefore conflictive– character of those transformation processes of the territory. Therefore, local agents represent the intersection point between both global and local dynamics and, from the unequal power positions, those actor are the ones who develop strategies to make both dynamics compatible. The concept of social sustainability precisely refers to how deep that compatibility can be, as well as it let us explore that mutually-constitutive relations between the chains and the territory.

## METHODS

This paper is based on the results obtained after the end of the first phase of the fieldwork of an oncoming research<sup>2</sup>. That first phase has been made since October 2012 to February 2013 in the region of Murcia, and it was focused on the grape sector. Secondary sources has been used too, particularly the previous research and works by Pedreño (1999) and Gadea et al. (forthcoming). In order to study the historical dimension of this process, we are doing an analysis of how local media has picked up the process of incorporation of Spain to the EU since 1986. Besides, several interviews with older or yet retired workers and small producers will be done to grasp their direct experience of the “old times” of the sector.

Up to now, 30 semi-structure and open interviews have been made in different estates and municipalities to big companies managers and small entrepreneurs on their plantations and offices, as well as trade unionists and workers outside their work places. Staff from technological centers, local development agencies of local governments and entrepreneurs organizations has been also interviewed. Besides, when it was possible, we have analyzed working papers of the organizations and projects on their strategic plans. On the other hand, we have also used statistical sources in order to complete and corroborate the information obtained by the interviews.

## FINDINGS

In this exposition we try to explain the processes that we can see in any global chain or network of commodities (production, processing and commer-

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<sup>2</sup> This communication is part of the project SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ENCLAVES: SPAIN AND MEXICO (ENCLAVES), run by Andrés Pedreño Cánovas and financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (2012-2014, CSO2011-28511).



cialization) and, at the same time, the transformations in the territory that those chains imply. Nevertheless, we pay attention to the different elements of the chain located in the region of Murcia.

The agricultural production within the global chains requires big areas of land, a high quantity of water, workforce and capital. In addition, the incorporation into the chain implies the reconfiguration of productive processes both in fields as in the packing houses through the implementation of productive and biological technologies. On the other hand, the process of agricultural production requires new ways of management as well as new competences and labor abilities. Obviously, all this elements are not obtained spontaneously but they are the result of an historical process of social and political construction where many agents from different and unequal positions of power -as well as different and most of the times countered interest- took part.

**Land and water.** In the region of Murcia, the access to land to expand arable fields and the access to water to facilitate its cultivation is connected with urban, environmental and hydrological policies made by both local (at different levels) and state governments in the last decades: assigns, reassessments, legislative reforms, etc. As for the land, the support of the Autonomous Community of Murcia has been revealed in the adaptation of the state Land Act 1998 that allowed making rezonings and land cessions with little administrative control. Although the law was aimed primarily to expand the developable land, the agri-food industry in the region has benefited since he could expand easily arable land even into areas that were previously environmentally protected. As for water, Murcia is a region particularly dry and warm that has traditionally had water supply problems. The development of industries based on an intensive use of water has been realized thanks to the canalization from the Tajo River to the Segura River. Historically, the region institutions have supported these state initiatives and even, in recent years, have led campaigns for getting new canalizations for covering thus the growing water needs by buoyant construction sector, tourism and agro-food industry.

**Vegetable factories and design seeds.** The Directorate General of Agro-Food Industry of the Autonomous Community, the Murcian Institute of agricultural and food research and development (IMIDA), a private firm "Research and Technology of table grapes" (ITUM), the Center of soil science and applied biology to Segura (CEBAS-CSIC) and the network of District Agricultural Offices (OCAs) in the region are part of the local network technology support that has enabled the food industry to make significant product and production upgrading in order to maintain its competitive position in global agro-food chain. The new productive and biological technologies have transformed the production process both in fields as in the packing houses. In the case of the fields, new techniques for planting security (nets, greenhouses), new techniques for irrigation and harvest and new varieties of seeds have been incorporated. In the case of the packing houses, the food processing has reached a high level of rationalization because of the factory automation of every phase in the manipulation process: loading, measurement, packing and dispatching.

**Companies and workers.** The extension of the agricultural production scale has displaced the small

producers and has given rise to a new corporate structure organized around big and medium-size companies with local capital and defined by their professionalization and internationalization. Despite their independence, local companies are exposed to the control of food retailers, which are able to impose their conditions through quality standards. Moreover, the expansion of the scale of production was made possible by access to the EU market and to the international promotional activity usually undertaken by business associations like PROEXPORT and APOEXPA.

On the other hand, the agricultural production for exportation is now based on a quite relevant increase of the precariousness of wage work. That increase of the wage workers has been satisfied by the recruitment of local women and mainly of migrant workers. As a result, the labour market is now sexual and ethnical fragmented.

#### DISCUSSION

This short description of the process of incorporation of Murcia into the global chains of agri-food production makes possible to emphasize the prominence of local agents in the configuration of global economy. As well as to recognize the political character of the reconfiguration processes of the global chains, avoiding the inclination of the current specialized literature to describe it as a lineal and homogeneous process completely and exclusively dominated by leading companies of distribution. Unlike this, we can see a contingent and disputed process where agents participate with unequal power positions and, subsequently, they obtain unequal rewards. On the other hand, the description of the mutual-configuration process between global chains and territories makes possible to analyze the way that historical dynamics of the territories combine with global economy (Bair and Werner, 2011), avoiding the inclination of the current specialized literature to focus on the study how the chains work, ignoring the historical, social and political context where these chains are installed.

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# Transhumant sheep-goat farming in Greece: The adaptability of a multifunctional livestock breeding system to the debt crisis

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**Abstract** – The transhumant sheep and goat farming system in Greece has managed to survive through adverse conditions for centuries. Within this study, its resilience is evaluated in conjunction with the degree to which transhumant farmers comprehend their formidable roles within this multifunctional system. For this purpose, they are asked to indicate their degree of awareness of their cultural and environmental role, as well as of the traditional aspects and values of the mere existence of their profession. It is illustrated that their “multifunctional profile” influences the strategies they undertake in order to cope with the crisis.

## INTRODUCTION

Transhumant sheep-goat farming is typical for Greece and other Mediterranean countries. The salient features of the system are the use of excessive farm family labor, limited dependence from fixed capital endowments (buildings and machinery) and relatively low requirements in purchased inputs, as the nutritional needs of animals are partially covered by grazing in mountainous grasslands – particularly in summer. Apart from its purely economic role, it also constitutes an example of a multifunctional production system (OECD, 2001; Lankoski and Ollikainen, 2003). The movements of transhumant farm families from winter to summer domiciles for centuries have generated cultural linkages among these areas, therefore shaping their agricultural cultural heritage. In addition, its social and economic role in the provision of employment and income to rural areas, where the economy is not adequately diversified, highly contributes to the aversion of depopulation and ensures their viability. Transhumant farmers, on the other hand, are the successors of a profession that is passed through generations and is thus endowed with traditional and cultural values. Transhumant farms also develop mountain-

ous pasturelands and rear rare indigenous animal breeds, contributing to the protection of the environment, in general, and of genetic diversity, in particular.

The transhumant system has managed to survive throughout the years by adapting to volatile conditions, wars and economic recession; in 2011 transhumance could still be found in almost all Greek regions, as, according to primary data from Veterinary services, an estimated 3,000 transhumant flocks reared 1 million sheep and goats (about 7,5% of the total sheep and goat population in the country). Hence, considering this system's resilience to changing circumstances, it becomes of importance to examine the reasons underlying its viability under the adverse effects of the Greek debt crisis.

The Greek farming sector has been experiencing the crisis for several years, in fact before it was manifested in the general economy. Livestock farmers are faced with increased feedstuff prices, which have almost doubled during the last decade. At the same time, milk and meat prices are still at the same levels and dairy industries, more than often fail to make payments in time, which mitigates the adverse effects of financial stress on farms. Transhumant farms are affected by this situation, as the provision of feedstuff for winter is becoming more and more difficult, while they are burdened with additional transportation costs to and from summer domiciles, due to heavily increased fuel prices.

The purpose of this study is to investigate linkages between the degree to which transhumant farmers understand their multifunctional role and their strategies versus the crisis.

## METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This study presents the results of a questionnaire survey on a sample of 60 heads of transhumant farms from the region of Thessaly. Thessaly is situated in the central part of Greece and constitutes the core of transhumance in the country, as in 2011 there were 744 transhumant sheep and goat farms, with an average size of 426 animals. Using a Likert scale, respondents were asked to state their attitudes towards cultural, environmental and traditional/professional elements of transhumance; each one of these issues was presented as a latent variable, described by 7 to 9 items. Then, they were asked concerning their strategies towards the crisis.

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## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The items describing the cultural, environmental and traditional/professional roles of transhumance were analyzed by means of Pearson-r coefficients (Hair et al., 2010) in order to construct latent variables, which account for respondents' awareness concerning these roles. All items were found to be relevant and Table 1 reports the three latent variables, which summarize the responses to all items. It can be concluded that respondents are highly aware of the multifunctional character of transhumance, as the mean score per item exceeds 4 (between A and TA) in all three cases, which provides evidence that there are more than economic motives in sustaining traditional livestock production systems. In particular, transhumant farmers highly recognize their role in safeguarding traditional features linked to their profession; they are also aware of their role in the development of their villages, including the protection of their environmental characteristics.

**Table 1.** Awareness: Multifunctional role of transhumance

	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean/item
Culture	23	40	34.8	5.1	4.4
Environment	29	45	36.4	4.1	4.0
Profession/Tradition	20	35	29.9	4.0	4.3

<sup>a</sup>TD = Totally disagree (=1), D = Disagree (=2), I = Indifferent (=3), A = Agree (=4), TA = Totally agree (=5)

The most popular strategies undertaken by transhumant farmers in order to cope with the crisis (Table 2) seem to focus on short-term cost-saving strategies (less feedstuff and/or veterinary expenses), as well as on the use of family labour, which is common for the farming sector in times of crisis (Holzner, 2008). However, the survey revealed that farmers' attitudes vary significantly; one farmer stated that "it is impossible to cope with the high prices of feedstuff" while another one said that "I might starve, but never my animals". When it comes to collective actions, negative answers reveal a general disbelief to such institutions rather than doubt concerning their efficiency.

**Table 2.** Strategies to cope with the crisis (Frequencies)

Strategies	TD	D	I	A	TA
Less feedstuff	7	11	6	27	7
Less veterinarian expenses	11	19	5	21	4
Cheese production and direct sales	11	22	6	11	10
Change of farming type	21	28	8	2	1
Stop transhumance	26	24	3	4	3
No hired labor	6	10	12	20	12
Collective milk marketing (Cooperative)	14	10	5	19	12

Spearman correlation tests (Kendall, 1962) were run between the latent variables and strategies

against the crisis in order to examine whether the choice of a particular strategy is linked to the comprehension of the socioeconomic and environmental roles of transhumance. The results (Table 3) illustrate that farmers aware of the role of their profession tend to rely on family labour, as they seem to value it further than its conventional role. On the other hand, those who recognize the cultural features of transhumance are not considering changing their farming type or to cease transhumance, which indicates that they bear in mind their contribution in safeguarding the cultural identity of their domiciles.

**Table 3.** Correlations between strategies against the crisis and awareness of multifunctionality

Strategies	Multifunctional roles
Less veterinarian expenses	Profession (P=0.04)
Change of farming type	Culture (P<0.01)
Stop transhumance	Culture (P=0.04)
No hired labor	Culture (P=0.05) Profession (P=0.05)

## CONCLUSIONS

The consideration of strategies undertaken by transhumant farmers alongside with their perceptions yields valuable information for policy-makers in designing measures to sustain the efforts of Greek farmers to survive the crisis. It is indicated that the system's resilience can be induced by providing internal motivation to farmers and by assisting them in comprehending the formidable roles of their profession. This way, farmers will choose their strategies in terms of their general role within a rural society, rather than based on purely microeconomic criteria. Hence, understanding the true factors underlying farmers' behaviour could be proved more efficient in facing challenges than the mere provision of economic support and incentives.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# The unforeseen scenarios of the crisis: Local governance transformation in rural areas

María J. Rivera and Luis Camarero<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The severe crisis which has spread throughout Southern Europe has revealed the strengths and limitations of rural areas to overcome current difficulties. Focusing on the case of Spain, this paper aims to discuss the new scenario of rural areas in terms of the transformation of rural governance and welfare. According to preliminary data, rural population faces a reorganization of welfare services and a decreasing capability to take part in many decisions concerning relevant aspects of their everyday life. In relation to rural populations' decreasing access to governance, it is important to note that many regulations are modified in order to take power away from local institutions, especially those concerning territorial planning and management. Hence, many competences that were traditionally executed by rural population through participatory processes are now transferred to bureaucratic organizations. Contrary to traditional local institutions, these organizations depend on the State and have no roots in local territory. Finally, once the local participatory institutions have been eroded, communal land and resources are deposited on private organizations that are in charge of their exploitation. (The paper has been supported by the Spanish I+D Programme through the research project CSO2011/27981 and the Action CSO2011-15703-E).

## INTRODUCTION

The present global crisis is having a clear impact on European rural areas owing to the fact that possibilities of economic development and the implementation of measures of social protection have been reduced. As a result rural areas withstand great pressure to maintain previous life conditions. In Spain, rural areas experience a paradoxical scenario: while the effect of the crisis on employment rates is lower than in urban areas, the crisis is having an incipient impact on population number and migratory balance. During the early years of XXI century, the arrival of immigrant settlers had slowed down the demographic decline of many rural areas. Now, census data shows that migratory balance is again negative. Hence, it could be argued that one of the first consequences of the crisis for rural areas has been the return to former demographic trends: decrease of active population and increase of aging population. Nevertheless, demographic turnaround neither represents the sole

effect of the crisis, nor does it occur in an isolated manner. On the contrary, it makes sustainability of rural areas more difficult and may intertwine with another effect of the crisis on rural areas. Namely, the restructuring of rural governance, especially in the case of small populations, that leads to rural areas' loss of political capacity.

Governance has been highlighted as a key issue in rural development (Brunori and Rossi: 2007). In this context, different studies have focused on the role of local communities into the partnership mode of governance (Storey 1999; Falkowsky 2013). During the current crisis, the amalgamation of local communities is one of the future scenarios, leading to the loss of municipally status. The effects of amalgamation have been analyzed by O'Toole and Burdess (2004) in rural Australia. Their work shows the emergence of local developing groups and, paradoxically, the reinforcing of local governance.

This paper aims to explore some of the consequences of the new economic and political scenarios in regards to the restructuring of rural governance and the progressive disempowerment of small rural populations in Spain. The starting point is the following: Anti-crisis policies demanded by EU and implemented by Spanish authorities are focused on the budgetary reduction and the reduction of human resources devoted to the provision of welfare services. The impact of these cuts becomes more relevant in rural areas that are compounded by small administrative entities and the capacity of administration of which depends greatly on regional and national budgets. In these cases, the research questions that came up were diverse:

- To what extent does the reduction of financial capacity threaten the political subsistence of the smaller rural entities and their capacity to play an active role in the governance of the region?
- How can rural entities confront the new scenario?
- By what means can rural entities improve their resilience – if any?

## THE OBSERVATION PROCESS

The process discussed here refers to an emergent and open process of political and territorial restructuring of rural areas. In so doing, the study has an exploratory character that tries to grasp the process from its very beginning in order to anticipate further changes to come. The reflection is based on the analysis of the last legislative projects as well as on social and political groups' reactions expressed in the media. In addition, interviews have been

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conducted in order to gather information about the local impact of new policies with political and territorial representatives of rural areas administrated through two radically different models of governance and population participation in the design of social policies and management of commons.

#### FROM WELFARE POLICIES TO SOCIAL INVESTMENT: THE EXCLUSION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Presently, EU is promoting the implementation of policies based on the model of 'social investment' that takes into account the expected returns of invested funds on public policies and boosts the funding of public policies through the partnership of public and private entities. Following this path -and having the crisis as the main argument-, Spain has dramatically reduced the budget for local entities, especially funds for social policies. Furthermore, it opens the possibility for social policies to be subsumed by regional and national administrations under certain circumstances and for local institutions to direct their efforts to the provision of basic services. In so doing, the new policy model excludes local administration from the design of social policies and erodes the role that participatory processes had played in this design. The outcome is the progressive diminution of local communities' capacity to plan and implement social policies and leads to an ever increasing marginal role in shaping life conditions in rural areas.

#### LOCAL MANAGEMENT: THE END OF COLLECTIVE FORMS

As previously stated, the legislative projects envisage the temporary suppression and the permanent subsumption of areas of local responsibility by regional administrations if local entities cannot provide those services – or if this provision can be cheaper if it is provided by superior administrations. In order to face this progressive disempowerment, local entities have adopted different measures. One measure has been the increase of local taxes to compensate for the funding cuts in order to maintain provision of former services. Another has been placing value of local patrimony and the commons through different means: alienation, sale, privatization of their management, looking for new ways of obtaining greater benefits from them, and so on. The management of commons may entail participatory processes at the local level. Thus, and paradoxically, local administrations are compelled to generate greater incomes but, at the same time, the collective entities behind the commons are gradually effaced by the increasing role of superior administrations.

#### LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The relationship established between local administrations and development organizations becomes another key point of the restructuring of rural governance. As mentioned above, two different models of governance and population participation have been observed. On the one hand, the case of small municipalities, whose progressively reduced capacity of management and taking political

decisions has contributed to strengthen the role of Local Action Groups. In this case, the new model of development is based on an increasingly lower popular representation that is replaced by a greater relevance of organizations and companies in the design and implementation of territorial policies. On the other hand, the case of municipalities where supra-municipal commons still play a key aspect in the rural development of the area. In this case, supra-municipal bodies become a sort of development organization with experience in participatory management.

#### PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER LINES OF ANALYSIS

Data shows that the administration of current financial crisis is changing the governance models in rural areas. Rural entities lose their political agency, especially in terms of social and cohesion policies, and may lose patrimonial resources entirely, or at the very least, their management. Within this context, development organizations acquire greater relevance in the design and implementation of territorial policies: political parties and companies gain greater influence over the restriction of the community's participation. This restructuring of rural governance is an ongoing process that should be looked at in order to anticipate potential difficulties for the maintenance of smallest rural entities.

These are the main issues to be investigated by further research; Firstly, the channels of participation for local communities, within the framework of 'social investment' should be reviewed. It should also be taken into account the traditional role of community in the detection of needs and potential beneficiaries of social policies. Secondly, the ever decreasing political capacity of small entities, namely in relation to social policies is being further reduced. These rural entities become highly dependent on territorial policies relaying, to a great extent, on development agencies. Nevertheless, these agencies are not always attached to local communities and, consequently, the implementation of regional policies in small localities may face a lack of precision and effectiveness. Finally, the protection of commons should be analysed as they may represent a core factor to keep effective rural resilience.

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# Spatial distribution of foreign labor immigrants in rural areas:

exploring the potential of towns and villages to retain them in the long run

Rosario Sampedro<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper explores the different types of rural municipalities able to attract foreign population in Castilla y León, one of the most rural and depopulated regions in Spain, and the effects of the current economic crisis among different national groups of foreign immigrants. The analysis shows that the potential of rural areas to retain foreign-born immigrants in the long run depends on both the characteristics of newcomers and rural settlements, and that the effects of economic crisis could tell us more about the integration of immigrant population in rural local societies.

## INTRODUCTION

The presence of foreign residents in rural Spain responds to different migratory processes and different types of mobility with diverse social and territorial impacts. Most of the international movement toward rural areas has been fed by an immigration of labor specially linked to areas of industrial agriculture and the development of tourism and construction. This immigration wave began in the nineties and increased dramatically in the first decade of the present century.

The geographic distribution of foreign residents in Spain is far the same for urban and rural areas: foreign immigration has been highly concentrated in provinces and regions of the eastern and south-eastern Mediterranean coast, in the islands, and in the great metropolitan areas of Madrid and Barcelona, and their rural surrounding. In later years more provinces and regions close to these have experienced an increasing affluence of foreign population in a sort of spill-over process affecting urban and non urban areas. If foreign immigration has been considered since the beginning like an opportunity to stop or even reverse depopulation in rural areas, this is more evident when we take into account less dynamic regions. This is the case of Castilla and León, a large western inner region, with a very rural territorial structure, and a long lasting demographic decline.

Previous research on the social and demographic impact of foreign immigration flows has shown their important contribution to reduce depopulation in small municipalities, with the result of many rural areas not only retaining but gaining population after decades of steady decline. Anyway, it has been pointed out that foreign immigration has emphasized the territorial dichotomy between a few dynamic rural areas and the “deep rural” (Bayona and Gil,

2013). Other studies point out that “size matters”, as foreign population concentrate in medium size municipalities that function as local hubs and have more diversified economies, larger housing stocks, good communications and higher standards of public services.

Another interesting but undesirable effect of foreign immigration to rural areas is the deepening of the already great gender imbalance of local populations, as the new arrivals are male in a great proportion (Camarero et al., 2009). The exploration of residential and occupational mobility of foreign immigrants suggest also that rural areas and agricultural works –or other employments located in small villages– might be only a temporary station in a way to more rewarding jobs and living conditions in urban areas. We should have in mind also the very diverse family migration patterns of different national groups expressed in the predominantly male or female composition of immigration flows and the more or less delayed processes of family regrouping. In this sense research shows that rural settlement is more related with family living, as rural foreigners more often live in families (Camarero, Sampedro and Oliva, 2011).

First analysis of the consequences of the current economic crisis at a national global level show that a considerable drop of immigration flows has occurred, and growth rates of foreign resident population have fallen to the levels previous to the great immigration wave. But this reduction is due to the halt of new arrivals more than to the return of current residents. Recent studies suggest also that flows of population to small municipalities have fallen with the crisis and data do not bear the idea of a “back to the land” process linked to economic crisis and unemployment in urban areas.

The aim of this paper is to explore in the special context of an inner, scarcely dynamic region, the effects of the crisis in different types of rural and urban municipalities and different national groups of foreign immigrants.

## DATA AND METHODS

Data used come from the Spanish Register of Inhabitants and refers to the period from 2007 to 2012. The data used refer to foreign-born rather than foreigners because of the great number of foreign born people, specially Latin Americans, who have acquired Spanish nationality in these years.

As for the typology of municipalities, we use one that consider not only the size of the municipalities, but their spatial and functional relationship with major urban centers –distinguishing between *peri-urban municipalities* and *municipalities in a urban*

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*influence area*-, and the type of urban centers, distinguishing between the *capitals* of the nine provinces that form the region from the rest of the *cities* –always bigger than 10.000 inhabitants. As for the non urban municipalities that are local centers or hubs we distinguish *first level local centers*, bigger than 5.000 inhabitants, *second level local centers*, bigger than 2.000 inhabitants, and *third level local centers*, bigger than 1.000 inhabitants. Municipalities under 1.000 inhabitants that are not periurban or do not locate in an urban influence area, are called simply *rural*, and could be identified with what we use to call “deep rural”.

### RESULTS

In 2007, a year that could represent the end of the high economic growth period that transformed Spain in a “land of immigration”, foreign born population in Castilla y León were near 150.000, accounting for 5,9% of total population, a figure far below from national average (11,6%). The main groups by geographical origins were those from European Union (45% of total foreign born, Romanians and Bulgarians accounting for 51% of them), from America (35% of total foreign born, in its great majority coming from Latin America, Colombians and Ecuadorians being the main national groups and accounting both for 37% of the whole Latin American population), and from Africa (12% of total, Moroccans accounting for 73% of them). In this year immigration remains as a clearly urban phenomenon, as 45% of immigrants live in the capitals and almost 23% in other cities, in periurban areas or in municipalities located in an urban influence area. Anyway the remaining third part live in non urban centers, and although their relative presence in the deep rural is very low (3,8%), in non urban local centers is clearly higher than in the biggest urban centers.

From 2007 to 2012, in spite of current economic crisis, foreign born population keep growing in Castilla y León: in this period the region loses nearly 42.000 natives but wins a bit more than 59.000 foreign-born inhabitants. Foreign born population grew from 149.998 to 209.238, from 5,9% of the total population to 8,2%. The analysis of the demographic balance shows clearly that foreign born population contribute to reinforce the native population trends to moving towards periurban municipalities and municipalities in a urban influence area, and the upkeep of small towns-first level local centers. Immigrants have a remarkable role in the demographic upkeep of other smaller local centers and keep on increasing their numbers in the deep rural, although they cannot compensate the steady declining of an extremely aged population. Non urban centers increased their foreign born population more than capitals or cities did.

In this period immigrants coming from European Union and Africa increase their numbers (47% and 46%) more than those coming from America (30%). These three groups present a clearly different pattern of spatial distribution that remain throughout the period: in 2007 immigrants coming from European Union are the most rural group as almost 41% live in non urban or out-of-urban influence settlements, of them almost 20% in the deep rural; figures are 32% and 12% for African people and only 23% and 10% for American people. Therefore we could conclude that non urban areas turn out to

be a better place to resist the crisis for immigrant population.

As for the immigrants coming from the European Union we should point out that their more rural pattern of settlement goes together with a more gender balanced demographic structure. Sex ratio of foreign-born population varies dramatically depending on the countries of origin: at the beginning of the period figures are: 85 women per 100 men in European Union immigrants, only 52 in Africans and 141 in Americans. Changes in sex-ratio towards a more balanced suggest that family regrouping would be occurring with special intensity among African population, its sex ratio changing from 52 women for 100 men in 2007 to 63 women in 2012. The change is especially noticeable in rural local centers of second and third level. American immigrants increase their feminization (141 women by 100 men in 2007 to 144 women in 2012), what could be related with selective returns of males or the halt of family regrouping. The steady sex-ratio of European Union immigrants (85 women by 100 men in 2007 to 84 in 2012) could indicate that this is the group less affected by the crisis.

### CONCLUSION

Data support previous analysis that pointed out the crisis does not produce a massive exodus of immigrants but a strong reduction of new arrivals that probably are linked more and more to family grouping of those people with better legal and economic situation.

The going on increasing of foreign-born population in the region in the years of the crisis; the noticeable upkeep of medium size municipalities; the higher increase and the more rural settlement of national groups presenting a more balanced gender demographic composition, and the positive evolution in this direction of other national groups especially in smaller municipalities could indicate that foreign immigrants have their place in the regional society and might sustain a rural life that native population cannot assure any more. Further research is needed in two main directions: the comparison with ongoing process in other regions in Spain, and the analysis of pattern of mobility of foreign population between rural and urban spaces, as rural life depends more and more on mobility and social practices referring to residence, work, leisure and consumption.

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# Agro-food consumption patterns to favour social and economical resilience

Pere Losantos and Ricard Espelt<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – We can distinguish two different approaches to agro-food consumption. The main model follows the value chain nutrition rules and it is focused on establishing the quality and product price-stability. At the same time, strengthening the short circuits of commercialization is significant, as an alternative to the main model. These initiatives, which have different working matters, promote the roll to involve consumers in the consequences of their consumption habits. In addition, these types of consumers value direct connection between producers and local stakeholders. In the context of Network Society, ICT adoptions offer a tool to organize these short circuits of commercialization business.

This article studies the case of the municipality of Sant Cugat del Vallès, located close to Barcelona metropolitan area and where we can recognise much of the short circuit of commercialization patterns. On the one hand, we are evaluating if the proliferation of these initiatives into the proximity territory can offer a consumption alternative thanks to the interaction between producers and consumers. On the other hand, taking into account the Case of Sant Cugat del Vallès, we are going to analyse the significance of a new pattern between rural and urban space relations through agro-food consumption.

## VALUE CHAIN VS. LOCAL FOOD MOVEMENT

The value chain model is the dominant one in Spain. This theory started by Porter (1985) describes activities developed in a sector or a business so as to generate value to the final customer. Toribio et al. (2012) analyses the distributed organization of agro-food products as a piece of value chain under Porter's theory. The possibility to control the quality and regulate prices has been the main reason to implant this economical model.

The value chain model has developed some strategies to improve agro-rural food commercialization. Indeed, food commercialization has a big importance for economy. According to Mauleón (2009), 25% of TV advertisements are focused on food. Even though food is a priority for marketing, the 'consumer deskilling' is growing (Jaffe and Gartler, 2006). A lot of consumers have missed their knowledge and required abilities to evaluate the products they consume.

In this sense, Internet has been proposed as a tool to connect without any intermediaries. But as

we have mentioned before, the value chain has created an opaque gap between producer and consumer. Although the consumer is able to buy agro-rural food products in a supermarket chain in 'one click', he/she does not know a lot of things about them. In the majority of cases, Chris Anderson's theory (Long Tail, 2004) interpretation has developed an Internet vision as a space where costumers anywhere in the world are able to buy whatever product they want. According to that, the idea of selling to any place around the world is possible and that strategy strengthens another consumer group around the product.

In spite of that marketing vision, the investigations give ITC other opportunities better connected with the sense of local food movement. In that vision, the priority is not to keep the possibility to be able to sell anywhere around the world through the Net, but to engage citizens around the product they consume. The result is a community, which has a big connection with local localization and using ICT to organize and collaborate among them.

Local food movement works in that sense. This model has reached another approach to food consumption, through short circuits of commercialization, with some successful examples, based on engagement and networks. This model believes the main current system of food consumption is acting against the benefits of people. Their structures are not vertical and lineal like the way big supermarket chains work. They work as a net of knowledge. In addition, their goal is not economical benefit; it is improving the quality of population feeding and increasing local development. Local food movement, which is based on permaculture, tries to give a positive and encouraging answer to communities in front of peak oil, climate destruction and economic instability (Hopkins and Pinkerton, 2009).

## SHORT CIRCUIT BUSINESS MODELS

Nowadays, effervescence of short circuits of commercialization, which, in fact, has never disappeared, is growing in a lot of countries so as to follow the local food pattern. New models of commercialization have been arising during the last years allowing new approaches between production and consumption, as well as, urban and rural world.

Binimelis and Descombes (2010) represent the short circuits commercialization focusing on the proximity between producer and consumer, understood in terms of relocation and resocialization strategy. They define a large list of business forms: specialized shops, consumer cooperatives, consumers' cooperatives, producers' and consumers' cooperatives, producers' cooperatives & collective place

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sellers, community orchards, catering, sponsorship systems, supermarkets with local products, direct seller at home or consumption groups, direct farm sales and direct market sales.

To sum up, in the majority of short circuit business models, producers and consumers are organized in communities to get more advantages. Collaboration is a good way to reach the objective to connect consumers and producers. The added value is the possibility to know more things about food consumption and how to share the knowledge among the people involved in the process. That proposal goes further the value chain theory of getting better economic advantages and improving product quality. Indeed, networks and knowledge, both transformed in confidence, are the key points of organization around agro-rural food consumption in the local food movement.

#### THE OPPORTUNITIES OF ICT USES IN SHORT CIRCUIT COMMERCIALIZATION

According to the Spain Food Price Observatory, the smaller a food business is, the higher probability of direct commercialization. At the same, it is trending an increase of short circuits of commercialization thanks to Internet possibilities.

In the general vision, ICT can help to *break knowledge gaps*, promoting the exchange of information through a direct connection between consumers and producers. That close relationship in a short consumption circuit breaks the gaps to knowledge. Consumers have direct information about product through the producer or processor who has made it. The consumer is able to know food characteristics and growing process. In addition, consumers are more aware about who is the beneficiary of food commercialization activity.

ICT also makes personal demands easy, because it helps to *organize the commercialization*. A website or social tools give the opportunity to make consumer orders. At the same, in some cases, technology is an effective space to improve a collaborative backstage. In a consumption group for instance, ICT help to organise them (to choose each products or to coordinate supply spot, to name but two). Most groups have 'the distribution day' when they meet in place to take each food supply. What is more, ICT is able to improve distribution logistics, connecting local stakeholders.

Other important technological use is related to create a *social framework to communicate*. ICT allow producers to connect and interact with consumers. Sometimes interaction between both parts allows *improving innovation around products or services*.

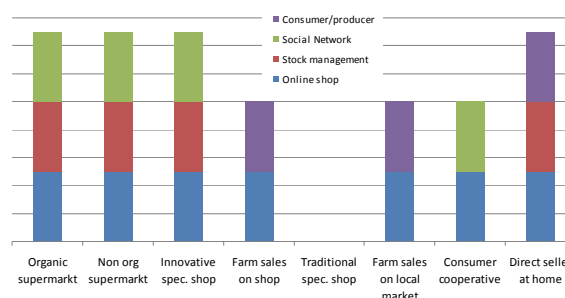
#### THE CASE OF SANT CUGAT DEL VALLÈS, CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Sant Cugat is a town located 10km to the north from Barcelona centre. Fifty years ago only 12.000 people lived there, it was mainly rural and the vegetables and fruit came from their own fields and orchards. Nowadays Sant Cugat has some 80.000 inhabitants and a GDP per capita 33.2 k€, and fruit and vegetables come mainly from Barcelona Central Market, Mercabarna following the aforementioned main model.

However, since 1985 some commercialization initiatives that correspond clearly to the ones mentioned in Binemilis (2010) have bloomed as to demonstrate that the local food model is a real al-

ternative to the main model. Indeed, only Barcelona city has more than 30 consumer groups that follow this distributed model.

A qualitative and quantitative analysis of eight cases of Sant Cugat shops that offer short circuit commercialisation has been carried out. A first – somehow obvious – conclusion is the consolidation of short circuit commercialisation business models that increase year by year in quantity and modality. The second conclusion that arises is that while local food model is always organic and enhances direct contact between production and consumption, the one-click-away model is not always organic and does not allow the direct contact. Thus, the information barrier between consumer and producer remains.



The role of ICTs has been studied as well on the eight cases defining four uses as depicted on the Figure 1: online shop, social networks consumers, stock management, and producer-consumer channel. Two main conclusions are also drawn: first, that the use of ICT is quite widespread in all cases, large and small, except for the oldest one that voluntarily does not use them. The second is again that in spite of this extended use of ICT and in particular social networks and online channels, only two of eight cases –the Direct Market one and the Direct Seller at home patterns – relate the consumer with the producer. All the rest but one –the traditional organic shop– have social networks mainly as a promotion channel with recipes and the like, but present no way to access or identify the producer.

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# Between urban development control and farm land conservation:

The cases of Ganløse-Smørum Nedre, Copenhagen and Kashiwa, Tokyo

J. Primdahl, T. Terada, Lone S. Kristensen, M. Yokohari and David Qvist Pears

**Abstract - Work in progress of landscape dynamics in peri-urban areas within the context of spatial planning and agricultural policy is presented. Through two case studies, one in the Copenhagen area the other in the periphery of Tokyo change patterns and policy effects are analysed and discussed. It is concluded that spatial planning and agricultural policy must be analysed in respect to their intersecting impacts on land use and landscape and ought be integrated to function adequately.**

## INTRODUCTION

Without urban development control the city is likely to sprawl in unsustainable ways at high costs on energy, public transportation efficiency, habitat fragmentation, urban quality, heritage values, and the multifunctional peri-urban landscape including agriculture. Most – if not all – developed countries, including Japan and Denmark have therefore urban development control as an important dimension in their spatial planning systems – and have had this for a long time. Although there are great variations in how the specific control mechanisms are designed, it is a common feature of the planning systems that development of new, dense urban areas (expansion of urban land use) cannot take place unless the development either comply with approved plans or is specifically approved as project in itself (Millward, 2006).

However, urban control does not necessarily protect agriculture and the farmed landscape against undesirable changes associated with processes linked to other issues than urban expansion such as counter-urbanisation, land speculation, non-agricultural businesses, agricultural structural developments etc. (Antrop, 2004).

What on the face may look as an efficient planning system enabling to contain urban development and promote clearly defined borders between urban and rural land uses may not be efficient in protecting working agricultural land, and may risk that apparently 'rural' landscapes are being continuously urbanized and that such developments – in the longer term – may undermine the very rationale behind the system. What on the other hand on the surface looks as a chaotic mixture of rural and urban land uses may actually represent well functioning peri-urban landscapes which have proved to be capable of sustaining a balanced mixture of functions and land-use over relatively long time frames. (Yokohari, 2010; Primdahl, 2013)

This problem of intersecting dynamics of both land use changes (urban and rural) AND policy systems (urban planning and agricultural policy) is changing dramatically worldwide, partly due to increased mobilities, partly to policy changes, including agricultural policy liberalizations. Not much is known about these dynamics, partly because research linked to urban planning is rarely combined with agricultural policy and rural land use research (and vice versa).

Our primary research object in this paper is the local peri-urban landscape with agriculture as one of the primary functions and urbanisation in various form as a primary driving force – together with agricultural structural developments. We are interested in how the different policies from the two domains (+plus other public policies of relevance including tax policies) are affecting these landscape – functionally and structurally – currently and on a longer time frame.

On this background we present work in progress on the intersecting dynamics using case studies from two contrasting yet comparable regions – the Greater Copenhagen urban-rural fringe and Northern Tokyo. Two questions are addressed:

1. How are peri-urban landscapes currently (recent decades) changing under influence of urban development (urban expansion) and agricultural developments and how do the two types of changes intersect?
2. What roles are spatial planning (urban planning, land-use policy) and agricultural policy playing in guiding these changes and how do the two policy domains interact?

## PERI-URBAN LANDSCAPES AND SPATIAL PLANNING

The outer side of the urban-rural border is the peri-urban landscape. In most of Europe and Japan these landscape are characterized by relatively favorable conditions for agriculture and historically these areas have been the primary breadbasket for the adjacent city. In Europe the border between the city and peri-urban landscape was historically clearly defined by the city wall (Mumford 1938). It was not before the 20<sup>th</sup> century through increased commuting that the border in many regions became broken down by sprawl although structurally clear borders do still remain in many countries of Europe including in Denmark. In Japan this is different. Mixtures of agriculture and urban structures have a long history and most Japanese cities have never been robustly fortified. One possible reason is that Japan has been an agrarian nation without strife among different peoples in the country. Thus Fujii (2002) identified an area of between 4 and 6km from the core of Edo, former Tokyo, that mainly consisted of small and segmented patches of agricultural intermixed with the residential housing.

Today peri-urban landscapes are usually multifunctional – agriculture, recreational open space, residential housing, and natural/semi-natural habitats are common land uses with agriculture still being the single most significant land-use in both Denmark and Japan.

Land use and landscape character in peri-urban areas in Denmark are regulated through combinations of spatial planning/land-use policy and agricultural policy which are currently not or poorly integrated. Whereas urban expansion of the urban border is effectively guided through the planning system the agricultural policy has almost lost its steering capacity and commercial farmers are under pressure whereas hobby farmers and non-agricultural businesses are growing. (Table 1).

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**Table 1.** Urban development control and agricultural policy in Denmark and Japan

Denmark	
Urban expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Historically, Denmark had a weak, inefficient system to control urban expansion until 1970.</li> <li>Regulated through a combination of zoning system and spatial planning.</li> <li>Municipalities are the key agent but transfer of zone (from rural to urban) must comply with current plans and plans must be approved by central government</li> </ul>
Sprawl	New buildings in the rural zone – except for ordinary agricultural buildings – need special permission. This is difficult to get but regulations have been eased in recent years. Very large agricultural buildings need permission – relatively easy to get
Agricultural property	Historically remote ownership and division of farm properties has been prohibited. Amalgamations have been restricted. Most of these restrictions have been removed in recent years.
Agricultural support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is the key institution for agricultural support. During the 2000s subsidies have been decoupled production and linked to basic environmental requirements.</li> <li>Rural development programme has developed substantially from funds transferred from farm subsidies and national co-funding.</li> </ul>
Overall	Urban expansion is controlled whereas the urban fringe has gradually been affected by counter urbanization and private non-farm businesses. Horse-culture has taken over altogether in some fringe areas. Planning policy and agricultural policy not coordinated and function independently.
Japan	
Urban expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>People started moving from rural to urban in the late 19c, then government tried to control the expansion for example Tokyo Greenbelt Plan in 1939, but basically failed</li> <li>In 1968 modern zoning system had introduced in the revised City Planning Law, which aimed to divide urban areas into two; Urbanization Promotion Area (UPA) and Urbanization Control Area (UCA)</li> <li>Spatial planning applies only for urban areas and apart from the expansion control</li> <li>Local municipalities are the key agent to set the zones but too large inclusion of UPA and ineffective control in UCA caused urban-rural mixed landscape in particular urban fringe and peri-urban areas</li> </ul>
Scattered development ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>New buildings are strictly regulated in the area designated as both UCA and prime farmland, whereas in other part of UCA relatively easier to get the permission for housing, yard for material, logistic facility, etc.</li> <li>Agricultural property has been strongly regulated by Agricultural Land Law, basically cannot transfer the properties to non-farmer</li> <li>Current revision of the law in 2009 partly permits new entry of individuals and enterprises to agriculture, with obtaining property</li> <li>In 1969 the law for setting Agricultural Promotion Area was established as a counter of the zoning system in city planning</li> <li>Prime agricultural lands, especially paddy fields on alluvial lowland, were highly protected and can be subsidized directly from the national government</li> <li>Decoupling policy has been established in 2000, which is only for mountainous areas facing with serious aging and depopulation</li> </ul>
Urban expansion is not successfully controlled in the area where the regulations concerning city planning are applied solely, whereas the areas with multiple regulations both by city planning and farmland conservation are highly protected. In former case abandoned farmland can be easily found, and some urban residents start renting such land for allotment	

garden. Current new entry of non-farmer and enterprises to agriculture industry does not affected so much.

In Japan peri-urban landscapes are controlled by land-use policies from both city planning and agricultural promotion standpoint. There are gaps in the regulation, however, so that scattered developments of factory, apartment, and public facilities can easily be found except for highly protected prime agricultural zone. Full-time farmers have been declining affected by urbanisation. Due to this, abandonment of farming is especially on land unsuitable for machinery farming such as tiny paddy fields on the bottom of small valley.

#### TWO CASE STUDIES

The Danish case study area is located 15-20 km west of Copenhagen centre. Over the last 30 years the area has been affected by urban expansion and in peri-urban area hobby farmers have taken over most of the farm properties. Only a few full time farmers remain, some of them manage very large plots of land mainly leased by hobby farmers. The recent reforms of the CAP have stimulated the leasing of land to full time farmers. Non-agricultural businesses occur on a significant proportion of farms and the area as a whole is functionally being urbanized which is shown and discussed in details in the presentation.

The Japan case study area is 25-30km east of Tokyo center. Since the 1960s this region has been developed as a commuter town and a part of the urban area is still expanding slightly. The farmlands inside of the city have been mostly developed, except for land protected as 'Productive Urban Green'. In peri-urban areas, part time farmers are still continuing agriculture but on a shrinking area. Only a few full time farmers have expanded their agricultural land and maintain rice in large alluvial paddy fields protected as 'Prime Farmland' by the law. A new entry of non-farmers and enterprises to agriculture, permitted by the revision of Agricultural Land Law in 2009, has not affected the area much yet. Currently local government promotes a 'Locally produced, locally consumed' policy. This initiative has stimulated some farmers to sell their products directly to neighborhood residents.

In both case study areas intersecting interventions from spatial planning and agricultural policy are affecting the peri-urban landscapes in non-intentional ways. More integrated and adequate policy integrations are proposed at the presentation.

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# A methodology to plan periurban farmland areas: the case of the Plain of Lucca (Italy)

Massimo Rovai, Laura Fastelli and Federico Pucci<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The study of effective planning models to rule the relationship between urban and rural areas, is a theme that already about two centuries ago, was faced in Europe to contain urban growth and to maintain fundamental spaces to ensure the survival of the population. A renewal approaches to planning could be the use of the Ecosystem Services theory. A planning that needs to utilise new concepts and tools able to build a sustainable relationship between consumption targets and carrying capacity of the resources in a territory. In particular, the paper focuses on the Plain of Lucca (Italy). It is proposed, therefore, a methodology to assist the planning process. A methodology developed combining GIS data (cadastral data, land-use data, data on agricultural sector) and semi-structured interviews with local actors.

## INTRODUCTION

Significant changes in the processes of planning were recorded between 1970 and 2000, a period in which it takes place deep social and economic changes which led to the Regions to reform their planning laws, now called "Rules government of the territory".

The concept of "government of the territory" is not only referred to the regulation of land uses, traditionally covered by the planning regulations, but also acquires a "strategic role" wider, connected to the socio-economic development. Therefore, the idea of government of the territory must be capable of integrating different aspects (from landscape to the soil protection, from the development to the protection of local ecosystems) through the direct involvement of local communities, according to a logic of "good governance" [Ostrom, 1999].

The current methods of planning instead tend to consider only the area under the aspect of urbanization. The urban plans are to discern the urbanized areas from non-urbanized, and dictate the conditions and limitations that must be followed in the implementation of infrastructure works.

The government, in fact, identify the areas where to locate the works necessary to meet only some of these needs (education, health, residential, etc.) not considering the long-term needs related to the production of public goods (flood safety, biodiversity, food provisioning, landscape quality, wellness, etc.)<sup>2</sup> [MFA, 2005; Rovai et al., 2010].

Thus we see that the current schedule is set up as a "program of land exploitation and occupancy" rather than as a plan for the integrated management of space and useful functions to the collective well-being. The current planning interprets the periurban open spaces (usually farmland areas) as space available to accommodate buildings, roads and urban green spaces. Contrariwise, the periurban open space should not to be considered as "empty, waiting for urbanization", but should to be interpreted as space where is possible to maintain and to develop multifunctional agriculture respectful environmental. To give a measure of how the municipal level of planning does not place emphasis on the management of open spaces<sup>3</sup>, we report the case study of an area of the Plain of Lucca<sup>4</sup>.

The study starts from the awareness that in the periurban context the open spaces<sup>5</sup> play an important role to meet the long-term needs of the local community. Therefore, with the case study, we propose a methodology to plan these areas in line with the concept of "good governance" as previously defined.

## METHODS

The methodological approach consists on the following steps of analysis: (a) *the evolution of the urbanization*; (b) *the impacts of existing planning instruments on soil consumption*; (c) *the types of land management and activities in the open spaces*<sup>6</sup>; (d) *the socio-economic needs* (with particular regard to the local food provisioning). Finally, a planning step follows the previous analytical one: (e) *proposals for planning*<sup>7</sup>.

This methodology employed an open-source software GIS (QGIS 1.7.4) to process cadastral data,

<sup>3</sup> The open spaces are treated, at different spatial scales (regional, provincial and municipal), without a clear distinction. The case of the Tuscany region is particularly complex because each of the three levels (the regional Piano di Indirizzo Territoriale; the provincial Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento; the municipals Piano Strutturale and Regolamento Urbanistico) adopts the same structure (Cognitive framework; Statute and Strategy), the performed zoning is not always consistent with each other.

<sup>4</sup> Peri-urban area of 1500 ha, located on the boundary between the towns of Lucca and Capannori (Tuscany), characterized by a wide presence of farms.

<sup>5</sup> Def. of urban open space "every soil not built included within an urban area, which can directly or indirectly provide environmental, social and/or economic benefits to the community" \_ UrbSpace 2010.

<sup>6</sup> The entrepreneurial and social projects actives in the area.

<sup>7</sup> The authors believe that some stages of the investigation (c, d, e) would need a larger development through the preliminary stages of information (ICT and web-GIS) and local animation. This was not possible due to the limited resources available.

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<sup>2</sup> These aspects are considered mainly with a bond-based approach.





land use data (CLC09) and agricultural data (CAP contributions and/or PSR - ARTEA source).

Steps (c) and (d) have been supported by a direct survey that involved some farmers and local stakeholders. The use of GIS data combined with the qualitative surveys allowed to know both the local resources and the local human capital. In particular it was possible to reconstruct the extension of agricultural activity differentiating by type of farm management (professional and hobby). Below, we will describe the results of the proposed methodology.

### DISCUSSION

The territorial context (the Plain of Lucca), over the past few decades<sup>8</sup>, has been affected by an intensive process of urban sprawl, which has led to a progressive fragmentation of agricultural spaces and a consequent loss of their functions (both production and environmental). The fragmentation process led to the embedding of some agricultural areas - even of a consistent size - in the urbanized territory. Planning instruments aggravate this set-up; this fact is evident in the contradiction between the principles established by the PS and the rules contained in the RU of Lucca and Capannori. In fact, in PS is recognized the role of the farms as "custodians of the territory" and the social role of the agriculture.

In the RU, however:

- the embedded agricultural areas are not subject to territorial development projects, and there is no participatory processes involving stakeholders (land managers and citizens).
- only the urban green spaces are considered service providers for hobby and leisure activities.
- the forecasts of new urbanization do not take into account either the configuration of cadastral parcels, increasing the already high level of territorial fragmentation (Fig. 1)<sup>9</sup>.

Figure 1. Map of periurban farmland areas (Plain of Lucca)



Source: Elab. QGIS 1.7.4, Data RU, ARTEA, Cadastre.

Through the analyzes were quantified how much agricultural areas will be occupied by urban forecasts (Table 1). The results from this analysis confirm the

trend already described: the erosion of open spaces. It is also necessary to emphasize that the current planning approach tends to increase the provision of the green spaces going to consume agricultural land. This leading to public costs (expropriation of land and maintenance of the green) and reduces the possibility of alternative destinations based on a multifunctional management of open spaces. Instead these areas have considerable importance from the point of view of the provision of ecosystem services and therefore require careful evaluation and effective planning.

Table 1: Land take data from new forecasts

Areas occupied by urban forecasts		rural areas		TOTAL
		hobby management	professional management	
Lucca	Rural areas [ha]	125,4	37,1	162,6
	Rapport of areas occupied on available	43,7%	28,5%	39,0%
Capannori	Rural areas [ha]	49,0	24,9	73,9
	Rapport of areas occupied on available	15,2%	9,1%	12,4%

Source: Elab. Data RU, ARTEA, Cadastre.

The results of the analysis and interviews have allowed us to recognize the value of these areas and finally, to propose measures aimed at restoring a balanced interaction between urban and rural (e.g. the creation of adequate supply of products and rural services: local food, agri-kindergarten, educational farms, etc.) [Magnaghi et al., 2010].

### CONCLUSION

For proper planning of periurban open space is necessary to provide adequate rules related to "agricultural land and rural landscapes" capable of building a relationship of greater balance between consumption targets and carrying capacity of the territory. In this sense, the use of the theory of Ecosystem Services could allow a renewal approach to land use planning, with the active involvement of land managers and stakeholders.

The use of the proposed methodology, therefore, can be a useful support for planning processes in the requalification and valorization of periurban farmland areas, including the integration with the rural development policies.

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<sup>8</sup> Until the first half of the '900 the Plain of Lucca presents a balance between the settlement and open spaces, the result of an effective synergy between town and country and this balance is broken by urban growth in peri-urban areas during the '60.

<sup>9</sup> Overlay of RU forecasts on current spatial structure, to bring out the impact of urban planning on open spaces.





# Desertification and Rural Areas: Land Classification for Risk Assessment in Italy

Luca Salvati<sup>1</sup>, Marco Zitti<sup>2</sup> and Luigi Perini<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract** – The contribution illustrates a methodology for the diachronic assessment of desertification risk in rural areas and preliminary results for Italy covering a period encompassing the last fifty years. The approach integrates quantitative analysis of statistical and environmental indicators with bibliographic review and field surveys. Italian land was classified into three classes of desertification risk. While the surface area of the land class most exposed to desertification was found increasing over time, the geography of desertification in Italian rural areas was changing towards fragmentation and complexity. This trend was discussed in the light of long-term socioeconomic changes observed at the regional scale in Italy.

## INTRODUCTION

Economic development, population growth and climate change, together with soil deterioration and vegetation cover reduction are responsible for triggering large-scale desertification phenomena, a process of global interest which affects about 40 per cent of the Earth's surface including parts of Europe, the United States, and Australia. Anthropogenic pressures assume a crucial role in regions characterized by the traditional interaction between societies and nature (Briassoulis, 2011). In the Mediterranean basin, one of the world hotspot for soil degradation, the risk of desertification triggered by population increase, crop intensification, urban expansion, and soil pollution (Imeson, 2012) was associated with both biophysical factors (e.g. climate aridity, soil erosion, forest fires, overgrazing) and socioeconomic conditions (urban expansion, crop intensity, seasonal tourism concentration, industrial densification). All these factors produce potentially devastating effects on the environment in traditionally fragile Mediterranean rural landscapes (Fernandez, 2002).

A number of methodologies using statistical indicators, remote sensing approaches and field sampling have been proposed to classify land according to desertification risk (e.g. Basso et al., 2000). The present paper is aimed at illustrating the application of a quali-quantitative approach in Italy to produce an index of desertification risk based on land classification using indicators. The approach illustrated here developed a multi-temporal assessment framework using the ESA (Environmentally Sensitive Areas)

procedure. The ESA is one of the most widely used frameworks which can be used to evaluate land quality and degradation in rural areas and addresses the specificity of Mediterranean landscapes (Salvati and Bajocco 2011). The final output is a composite index called the ESAI (Environmental Sensitive Area Index) covering the Italian rural areas over time between 1960 and 2010. Trends in the ESAI were discussed in the light of socioeconomic changes which occurred in Italy after World War II.

## METHODOLOGY

According to the ESA framework the variables selected to study the level of land sensitivity to desertification in Italy refer to four themes: climate quality, soil quality, vegetation and land use quality, and human pressure/land management quality (see Salvati and Bajocco 2011 for details). Climate quality has been described in the present study using the following variables: average annual rainfall rate, aridity index, and aspect (Basso et al., 2000) using information collected in the Agro-meteorological Database of the Italian Ministry of Agriculture between 1951 and 2010. Soil quality information derive from the European Soil Database at a 1 km<sup>2</sup> pixel resolution (Joint Research Centre, JRC) and include soil depth and texture, slope, and the nature of the parent material. Vegetation quality was evaluated through four variables: vegetation cover, fire risk, protection offered by vegetation against soil erosion, and the degree of resistance to drought shown by vegetation (Basso et al., 2000). Such variables derived from elaboration on comparable land-use maps. Density and annual growth rate of resident population, together with an index of land-use intensity, have been used as proxy indicators of human pressure. Demographic density was assessed at the municipal scale in 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2006, and 2011 on the basis of the National Censuses of Population and the annual Population Register held by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (Salvati and Bajocco 2011).

A scoring system is applied to each collected variable based on the known relationship between each factors and desertification risk. The weighting system suggested by Salvati and Bajocco (2011) was adopted in the present study. The ESA framework produces quality indicators of climate (Climate Quality Index, CQI), soil (Soil Quality Index, SQI), vegetation (Vegetation Quality Index, VQI), and land management (Land Management Quality Index, MQI) that are estimated as the geometric mean of

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the different scores assigned to each input variable. Each indicator ranges from 1 (the lowest contribution to land sensitivity to degradation) to 2 (the highest contribution to land sensitivity to degradation). The ESAI was then estimated in each spatial unit and year as the geometric mean of the four quality indicators (CQI, SQI, VQI, MQI) obtaining a score ranging from 1 (the lowest sensitivity to degradation) to 2 (the highest sensitivity to degradation). The four indicators weighted the same in the ESAI procedure (Basso et al., 2000). Three classes of land were identified that reflect the classification threshold shown in Salvati & Bajocco (2011): (i) areas unaffected or potentially affected by desertification (with  $ESAI < 1.225$ ), (ii) 'fragile' areas ( $1.225 < ESAI < 1.375$ ), and (iii) 'critical' areas ( $ESAI > 1.375$ ).

### RESULTS

The average ESAI score increased in Italian rural areas by 1.5% *per year* from 1.34 observed in 1960 to 1.36 in 2010 (Table 1) indicating higher desertification risk. The highest growth rate in the ESAI was observed in the Po valley, along the Adriatic coasts, in flat areas of Tuscany and Latium, and in northern Sardinia. The ESAI growth rate varied in time and space increasing more rapidly between 1960 and 1990 while being relatively stable in the subsequent time period (1990-2010). Between 1960 and 2010 a larger increase in the average ESAI was found in northern Italy (2.3%) and in central Italy (2.0%) compared to southern Italy. The between-region difference in the ESAI decreased from 4.3% in 1960 to 2.6% in 2010 (southern Italy avg.  $ESAI = 1.38$ ; northern Italy avg.  $ESAI = 1.35$ ). Interestingly, by considering the maximum value of the ESAI observed in the three regions (indicating low quality of land possibly exposed to desertification risk in the near future), the highest increase was observed in southern Italy (2.4%) followed by northern Italy (1.7%).

**Table 1.** Trends in the ESAI observed in Italy by geographical region and year.

Year	North	Centre	South	Italy
1960	1.317	1.328	1.374	1.342
1970	1.336	1.344	1.407	1.367
1980	1.326	1.355	1.399	1.362
1990	1.327	1.342	1.388	1.355
2000	1.329	1.345	1.400	1.362
2005	1.342	1.355	1.397	1.367
2010	1.347	1.355	1.382	1.363
<i>Annual % changes between 1960 and 2010</i>				
Average ESAI score	2.3	2.0	0.6	1.5
Maximum ESAI score	1.7	1.2	2.4	1.9
ESAI coefficient of variation	1.6	1.4	0.7	1.2

### DISCUSSION

Results indicate a change in the geography of desertification risk in Italy with a reduction of the classical north-south polarization in 'exposed' and 'non-affected' rural areas. This pattern is confirmed by

the trends observed over time in northern Italy (a rural region traditionally considered as a non-affected area) and southern Italy (a rural region characterized by high risk degree and traditionally regarded as a desertification hot-spot in the National Action Plan to combat Drought and Desertification: Salvati and Bajocco, 2011). This pattern is linked to important changes in the socioeconomic structure of both regions: northern Italy moved from a consolidated industrial specialization observed since the 1990s to tertiary economy with more dispersed settlements and a progressive erosion of cultivated areas in lowlands, possibly triggering soil, vegetation and landscape degradation at the local scale. On the other hand, southern Italy experienced a completely different development pattern with abandonment of internal, rural land and urbanization primarily concentrated along the coastal rim and around the major urban areas. A future research issue should be to evaluate, using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, the links between changes in the socioeconomic structures at the local and regional level and the (increasing) risk of desertification in the Mediterranean basin (Juntti and Wilson, 2005). This can be considered as a contribution to set more effective measures combating land degradation and developing rural land in a sustainable way.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Intangible Cultural Heritage as a 'safe haven'

## Small rural communities and their expectations in times of crisis

Letizia Bindi<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - This contribute aims at analyzing the use of Intangible Cultural Heritage in present strategies of valorization and enhancement of small rural communities face to the present economic crisis.

Can a festival save a community in times of crisis? How rural and inner areas and communities are rethinking and reshaping their selves and their cultural heritage in order to overcome impoverishment, depopulation and marginality? Ethnographic study is centered in Molise (Basso Molise, Larino. By this example we try to understand not only the effort these communities are facing in the new national regimes and in the global economic crisis, but also their expectations face to their past and traditions. Traditional practices represent a 'safe haven' and a form of 'resilience' for these communities: traditions strengthen the bonds and sense of sharing, implicitly proposing an alternative model to the solipsism and the economism of late modernity.

This is a complex socio-cultural dynamic in which intangible cultural heritage emerges as resource that is ever more used and abused at the different levels and manipulated by heritage discourses.

### WHERE, WHEN, WHY?

In a marginal area of South-Central Italy (Basso Molise), some small towns are characterized by ceremonials consisting in cow and horse races for the patron Saints (Carresi). In the last two years these secular rituals have been threatened by a new national rule imposing legal measures for the safeguarding of animal participating in such rituals. The entire geographic area was involved, then, in the process of adapting these festivals to new rules in order to maintain and preserve their local traditions. The specific case-study alludes to a wider debate between national 'heritage regimes' (Bendix et al., 2012), new global rules and local cultures (Broccolini, 2012; Fournier et al., 2012; Bortolotto, 2008). This paper aims at analyzing how local communities try to face the crisis by investing on their cultural heritage and how they confront with super-local rules and powers. After many critical studies on folk-revival in the Seventies and in the Eighties we entered, in the last two decades, in a new heritage regime, mainly and increasingly controlled and managed by national and super-national institutions concerned with selection processes and rules about cultural heritage.

Nonetheless local communities try to resist to this dispossession of their heritage and values by non-local authorities and still have a lot of expectations about their 'heritagizable things'. Not only 'traditions' are locally represented as a set of shared knowledge, values and practices founding the community. They also are increasingly imagined as their last hope, as a 'safe haven' in national and global circuits of tourism and destination marketing.

### How?

Ethnography has been methodologically the way we approach these processes and debates. We have been working 'on/with' these communities during last years, monitoring also the regional and national levels of these debates and public occasions of confrontation between local communities and wider political orders of reference (between 2011 and 2013). Particular attention has been reserved to media outcomes of this debate and to 'public narratives' produced on this topic aiming at assessing different positions and to reaffirm the value of local cultural heritage as a pivotal resource for 'trekking out of the crisis' and development. The whole press release emerged from the debate has been observed and combined with interviews with the protagonists of this debate to verify the degree of coherence and variation from public representations given by the individual stakeholders involved. It was obviously a critical analysis of these narratives and representations providing the political, social and cultural implications of this emblematic example of tensions between locality and "global hierarchies of value" in a context of extreme economic and political crisis.

### WHAT?

In many cases communities preserve their own 'traditions' as intellectual properties and reaffirming the socio-cultural value of these practices, but also their economic value. This becomes particularly evident in time of crisis, when peripheral areas, inlands and depressed communities suffer more than others the consequences of economic depression. This geographic area, in fact, has been signed and characterized by emigration, de-industrialization

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depopulation, demographic aging. At the same time agricultural and pastoral resources have dramatically reduced face to more standardized and industrialized modes of production optimizing resources and their exploitation at the expense of biodiversity and 'typicality' of products.

In the case of Carresi of Basso Molise this local 'resistance' has been realized by constructing a sort of packaged territorial supply centered around the rituals of cow and horses races, but 'enriched' with rediscovering of olive oil and wine production and its ancient local origins and choosing, among the others, a particular gastronomic product, as 'pampanella', a spicy roasted pork meat cooked and distributed only by few local producers.

We face, in this ethnographic context, a more general phenomenon: the confrontation between local and super-local orders of reference in valorization and exploitation of natural and socio-cultural resources, local desires and expectations facing national and global new rules, aspirations to community-driven processes in territorial management and dispossessing attitudes by non-local powers.

In last decades, nonetheless, many national institutions and global agencies (as European Union, UNESCO and so on) have produced conventions and documents claiming for local-based processes of management of the territories and cultural heritage valorization (for ex. the ICH UNESCO Convention in 2003 and the Faro Convention of 2005) insisting on community-driven processes and value of cultural heritage for tradition bearers' communities.

By ethnography we can observe if this 're-centering' of the processes of local development is concretely driven by communities or, on the contrary, linked to specific local powers and élites in relation with super-local agencies. We can also observe how much this kind of opposition is at the very origin of local tensions and conflicts and often of an impasse in the relations between local/regional economy and the national/international market, when communities want to invest on some aspects of local culture and society, while super-local institutions and agencies consider more important and 'valuable' other aspects and elements of local tradition and heritage.

In many cases this produces a profound seizure between national/global powers and capitals and local communities, a break in financing, a de-valuation of local supply and resources and a declassing of locality as tourist attraction. In some virtuous cases intangible cultural heritage represents, in time of crisis, the last resource, a sort of 'safe haven' for rural and marginal communities.

When intangible cultural heritage, as the most linked to identity and sense of local belonging, is attacked by external and superior powers and actors, communities seem to react by reassessing very strongly the internal value of traditions as the core of

their own identity and survival. At the same time communities proceed to an increasing 'heritagization' of their practices in order to preserve them from external attacks and erosions.

This is a form of local 'resilience' we observe in this case by a conscious use of cultural heritage as a pivot of the process of local empowerment, by which the community itself give value to its own practices and traditions.

We cannot, nonetheless, deny that in many local cases – as even this particular ethnography – we face, also, to a commodification of local traditions as another of consume objects to offer in the wider marketing of the territory. Marginal communities have been deprived in last decades – in Molise in the last two centuries (by emigration, economic subaltern position, and so on) – of many resources and opportunities: investments, know-how reproduction, agriculture valorization. In some case intangible cultural heritage is the last thing they preserved of their ancient identity and sustainability and, even if this could be seem cynic, 'they sell or try to sell' what they still have.

In this process of awareness and re-investment on locality as resource local communities face non-local orders of reference and power: national regimes of rules, new global 'hierarchies of value' (Herzfeld, 2004): in this particular case aiming at re-affirming animal respect and protection and widely shared campaigns of animal rights activists. They react, then, by adapting their festivals to new rules and by looking for experts who re-assess the value of their traditions, trying to legitimate them by a global recognition often corresponding, in their aspirations, to a national level or, better, to a global 'nomination' (UNESCO).

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# Business Motivations that Characterize Agritourism Entrepreneurs in South Korea

Duk-Byeong Park and Kyung-Hee Kim<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This study aims to identify the business motivations that characterize entrepreneurs in the agritourism industry. Using self-administered questionnaires, an on-site survey of entrepreneurs in Korean agritourism communities was conducted. The survey yielded 293 responses in the study area. Principal component analysis showed that there were three factors: income, social, and resource utilization motivations. And a clustering method identified the following three distinct groups based on their motivations: low motivated (32.9%), lifestyle and utilizing resource (27.7%), and income (39.4%). The ANOVA and chi-square test identified the characteristics of agritourism entrepreneurs. The results indicated that less educated, elderly, and horticultural farm operators were more likely to be motivated by income in pursuing agritourism, whereas non-farm or special crop, retired, and educated farm operators were more likely to be motivated by lifestyle and resource utilization. Therefore, the motivational aspect of entrepreneurs should be considered for agritourism development.

## INTRODUCTION

The existing knowledge about small tourism business is limited because agritourism companies are often operated on a small scale, and majority are managed by a single person or family. Literature has begun to address many of these issues, including entrepreneurship, business motivation, obstacles, and managerial strategies. However, with respect to agritourism, few studies have addressed the business motivations for tourism entrepreneurship within the context of a diversified agritourism business. In this context, entrepreneurship is the development of new businesses in rural economies, specifically new businesses startups. The relationship between the kind of farming and the motivations to start an agritourism business, the characteristics of farming operations are not well known. To effectively establish an agritourism business, the motivation of the tourism business operator must be understood. The purpose of this research is as follows: (1) to analyze the business motivation of agritourism operators, and (2) to examine the differences among motivation groups in order to identify the characteristics of agritourism entrepreneurs.

## PREVIOUS STUDIES

Several studies analyzed agri-business motivations for operators of agritourism or farms in Montana and Virginia in the USA, and in Australia. These studies suggested influential factors for tourism business motivation. As a result of factor analysis, economic factors (McGehee & Kim, 2004) were considered to be the most important factors. However, other studies indicated that financial success did not appear to be a major motivator (Getz & Charlsen, 2005). Additional factors that affect agritourism business-motivation were income, farm scale, farm type, main crop, period of residence, degree of participation, and the level of business participation. The respondents, who had higher economic motivation, owned large scale farms (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson, Black, & McCool, 2001). Studies posited that these people among tourism business operators were also categorized as hobby farmers (McGehee & Kim, 2004), full-time farmers (Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007), and parents with experience in tourism, possessed ample facilities and participated with their family in the tourism business (Getz & Petersen, 2005).

One notable finding was that the larger the scale of the business, the higher the economic motivation (McGehee & Kim, 2004). However, the result of another research suggested there was low economic motivation under circumstances of over 150 ha (Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007), nevertheless different landholders have different motivations. Lifestyle farmers include those who conduct tourism activities to meet people and see both farming and tourism as retirement activities. In addition, more women had higher economic and social motivation because they engage in agritourism to educate the consumer and provide employment for family members. In conclusion, rural tourism studies (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007) indicated that the respondents who were part-time farmers, managers in the rural area, and small-scale farmers had a higher social motivation.

## METHODOLOGY

This study examined information from 350 Korean residents with small-scale agritourism businesses such as farm stays, farm activities, restaurants, and educational farms in South Korea. A total of 324 complete responses were returned, and 31 inadequate responses were excluded from the analysis. Finally, 293 responses were used for the analysis.

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The collected data were analyzed in three stages which were exploratory factor analysis through Varimax rotation factor analysis, cluster analysis, and cross-tabulation frequency analysis and ANOVA to identify the differences between clusters in terms of operators' characteristics.

### RESULTS

Principal components analysis showed that a large proportion of respondents were motivated by income, which showed the most variance. Agritourism entrepreneurs starting new tourism businesses have similar characteristics with previous studies (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Nickerson, et al., 2001). Additional income and economic motivation were the most important motivations in the United States, as shown in studies of Montana agricultural and tourism management (Nickerson et al., 2001) and Virginia (McGehee & Kim, 2004). Another study analyzed an Australian case (Getz & Carlsen, 2000), and studies were conducted in aboriginal communities in Taiwan (Chang, Tsai, & Chen, 2010). The studies show different results from previous studies (Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Getz & Peterson, 2005; Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007). Agritourism managers in Korea should note that the agritourism business is motivated by economic incentives. The factor-clustering analysis was conducted based on the owner's business motivation for the agritourism business; consequently, it was divided into three types. The three dimensional categories were 'low motivated (32.9%)', 'lifestyle and utilizing resource (27.7%)', and 'income (39.4%)'. There was a large portion of low motivated operators with high farm income and with large farm lands. The results of multinomial analysis showed that less educated, elderly, and horticultural farm operators were more likely to be motivated by income, whereas cash crop, retired, and educated participants were motivated by lifestyle and resource utilization. Operators earning enough income were more motivated by lifestyle and utilizing resources.

The results indicated that the more farm land and income operators have, the more they are motivated by lifestyle and utilizing resource. This finding is inconsistent with previous studies (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007) in which larger farmers have economic motivation, whereas small farmers are more likely to have social motivation. The results also showed that older, less educated and resource motivated participants were more likely to demonstrate income motivation. This was not related to farm type (Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007), and farm scale (McGehee & Kim, 2004; Ollenburger & Buckley, 2007) being considered as variable in the previous studies. These operators were not equipped to operate tourism businesses because they do not have the physical resources and tourism facilities. An effective strategy includes sharing their farm resources with tourism business operators.

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Whereas economic motivation were the most important motivations in some countries such as Australian, Taiwan, and the United States, in Korea, many owners launch agritourism businesses even if there are many cases in which these businesses do not lead to increased income. Rather, there was also much social motivation. This result shows that less motivated operators were involved in the businesses because of government support for attaining its broad range of goals. In this situation, because some tourist attractions are initiated by governments, the free market system is not completely at play in tourism as it may be in other goods industries.

In Korea, this result could be explained because operators with lifestyle motivation are more likely to have tourism facilities and resources than other operators. One of other reasons is that the land scale in Korea is comparatively smaller than in Europe and in the United States. As such, large scale farmers are engaged in income diversification through agritourism because business is no longer viable for agricultural commodity production alone. There are many semi-retired people who operate small accommodation businesses to support an alternative lifestyle rather than for profit.

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# Agricultural Land-use Changes in a Mediterranean peri-urban Region

Luca Salvati<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper evaluates the transition from a compact form towards a more dispersed spatial structure in a Mediterranean peri-urban region characterized by high-quality agricultural land and bio-diversity rich natural landscapes. The analysis of changes in land-use observed from 1960 to 2010 in Attica (Greece) indicates that cropland was the class with the highest probability to undergo urbanization, but an even higher conversion rate from forests towards cropland and pastures (in turn converted into built-up areas) was observed in the most recent phase of urban expansion. This may be considered an effect of sprawl-driven land fragmentation induced by illegal housing, land speculation and forest fires, indicating a complex nature-society relationship that should be investigated in depth.

## INTRODUCTION

According to Leontidou (1990), Antrop (2000), Aguilar (2008) and Gargiulo Morelli and Salvati (2010), land-use changes (LUCs) are seen as the result of a complex socio-economic system involving several interacting agents. In the Mediterranean region, the informal action of private agents coupled with a deregulated planning system promoted the spontaneous 'compact growth' until the 1990s and the subsequent, dispersed expansion triggering important land-use changes (LUCs). Particularly cultivated lands are disappearing at the fringe due to uneven urban expansion (Catalan et al., 2008). This claims for innovative planning solutions supported by empirical evidences based on a diachronic approach (Cakir et al., 2008).

The present study provides an empirical contribution to this issue. By using descriptive statistics applied on land-use indicators this contribution investigates the changes in four basic land cover types along the urban-rural gradient in Athens (Greece) between 1960 and 2010. This allowed assessing the impact of different urban phases on agricultural land consumption in the investigated area. Athens represents a compact and mono-centric city with high-quality forest and agricultural land preserved along the urban fringe. The implications such dynamics may have on the planning strategies aimed at preserving the traditional Mediterranean landscape are also discussed.

## METHODS

The study area covers a large part of the Nuts-2 region of Attica encompassing the boundaries of the metropolitan area considered in the Urban Atlas project (Gargiulo Morelli and Salvati, 2010). All mainland municipalities ('dimi' and 'kinotites') of Attica, including those belonging to the Salamina island, were considered in this study for a total surface area of approximately 3,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The study area is subdivided in 115 municipalities of which 58 formed the strictly urban area (430 km<sup>2</sup>). The city region mostly consists of mountains bordering the urban area of Athens that occupies a relatively flat area. The surface of four basic land cover classes was assessed between 1960 and 2010 and at the same geographical scale (i.e. municipalities). This spatial domain allows a relatively detailed analysis of LUCs for the whole time period considered and has several advantages: (i) it is easily interpretable by not-technical users, like policy-makers and other stakeholders working at the local level; (ii) it enables to estimate the effect of land allocation policies carried out at the local level on LUCs, as well as to determine the impact of exogenous variables (human pressure, population growth, economic structure, infrastructure development) on LUCs; (iii) it allows to compare the evidences gained with external sources, like the statistical data collected from socio-demographic surveys and land cadastre and, finally (iv) it permits homogeneous diachronic comparisons of data obtained from different maps, minimizing the bias (Salvati and Zitti, 2007).

## RESULTS

The landscape found in the study area at the beginning of the observation period was typically mixed with predominance of forests and croplands (Table 1). Urban fabric covered 12% of the investigated surface area, respectively 53% and 5% in urban and the remaining (rural) part of Attica. The surface of built-up areas progressively increased during 1960-2010 (0.36% and 0.53% per year in 1960-1990 and 1990-2010, respectively). In the first period built-up areas grew more in the strictly urban area than in the rural area while in the second phase a reverse pattern was observed. The increase in the per-capita surface of built-up areas was found higher in the most recent urbanization phase. At the regional level, cropland decreased by -0.29% and -0.32% per year in the two phases, respectively. However, in the strictly urban area, cropland experienced an

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initial decrease followed by a later, weak increase possibly due to the conversion of peri-urban forests, while in the rural area, the decrease in cultivated land was more rapid in the recent urbanization phase. Interestingly, forests showed a pattern similar to that observed for cropland at the regional level.

**Table 1.** Land-use changes and population growth in Attica by period, zone, and basic land class.

Land-use class	% annual change (1960 – 1990)			% annual change (1990 – 2010)		
	Urban	Rural	Region	Urban	Rural	Region
Croplands	-0.25	-0.30	-0.29	0.14	-0.40	-0.32
Forests	-0.22	-0.03	-0.06	-0.29	-0.19	-0.20
Built-up areas	0.50	0.34	0.36	0.19	0.59	0.53
Other classes	-0.04	-0.01	-0.01	-0.05	0.00	-0.01
Population	2.2	4.6	2.4	0.4	2.1	0.6

#### DISCUSSION

Land consumption trends at the fringe and in surrounding rural areas diverged in the two phases considered in this study. In the first phase, characterized by high population growth, urbanization consumed cropland and forests directly around the consolidated city. In the subsequent phase, forests were converted to both built-up areas and croplands at the fringe. In rural areas, cropland was the land class with the highest probability to undergo edification, but a significant conversion rate from forests to croplands and pastures was also observed. This may be considered as an indirect effect of urbanization at distances further away from the city centre due to sprawl-driven land fragmentation and recurrent fires induced by illegal housing and land speculation. Forest conversion to pastures and fallow land undergoing future edification caused land abandonment and degradation.

Within the two phases of urban expansion, LUCs in Athens resulted affected by different socioeconomic factors reflected in the distance from the city centre and the availability of land to edification. The implications in terms of policies mitigating land fragmentation, agricultural soil consumption and soil sealing are evident. As an example, the potentially risky spiral determining forest conversion to cropland and pastures mainly caused by urban sprawl reflects the limited effectiveness of the environmental measures adopted at the regional scale. This is especially true with measures contrasting deforestation at the urban fringe and cropland fragmentation in the surrounding rural areas (Christopoulou et al., 2007).

The rural landscape of Mediterranean cities represents an invaluable world heritage and needs more stringent conservation measures. It hosts historical sites with important monuments, typical villages, and traditional agrarian landscapes (e.g. Econo-

midou, 1993) and, at the same time, it is extremely vulnerable to fires, soil sealing, and desertification. Unfortunately, in the last urban phase the suburban expansion of the city was realized at the expenses of areas under weak (or no) environmental protection, as the majority of croplands is (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010). This means that (i) the consumption of the traditional agricultural landscape was difficult to contain, even at distant places from the city centre, (ii) the conservation measures adopted to preserve forests were effective only at the most remote places of the city region, where human pressure is structurally low, and (iii) urban sprawl contributes to forest fragmentation and cropland degradation in rural flat and hilly areas progressively far from the compact city.

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# New politics of the back-to-the-land. Toward socially resilient territories?

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**Abstract** – In this paper we try to clarify the contemporary problem and the historical perspective of diffusive and local cases of social use of agriculture in Japan and in Europe as new politics of the back-to-the-land which aim for coping with social issues. In Japan and in Europe, the agriculture and rurality historically have been used each time a crisis arrives to society along with the industrial and urban development. In our time, a diverse and complex system of what we call "economy of vulnerability" is required to address the social vulnerability due to the risk society. The movement of back-to-the-land after retirement in Japan and the social inclusion gardens in Europe may be included in this perspective. The problem in their field is beyond existing assessment criterias such as productivity, competitiveness and even guarantee of universal rights, but practical and moral dimensions such as care and social autonomy. The link with the territory as intermediate between the local and the global including the urban/rural relationship may be a key element for understanding and problem-solving in relation to the diversity, the complexity and the dilemma in the fields.

## INTRODUCTION

The problem of vulnerability, especially at the social level, is indissociable with the social exclusion's one which has been debated especially in Europe since the 1990s. It is linked to the risk of which the prediction of the occurrence and the damage is difficult, and the result appears to be a permanent state of instability rather than a momentary accident. As U. Beck showed in the "Risk Society" (Beck, 1992), this problem is an inevitable and logical consequence of the economic, technological and democratic process. Beyond the tangible and solvable zone with existing social and economic security systems (social rights, social insurances and job market), it requires to recognize and respond with a complex and diverse "economy" that would involve local and transversal approaches brought by individuals, associations, local governments or companies with material and political supports given by the State or international bodies. We call such a practical field the "economy of vulnerability", and will show some examples from various developments of "politics of the back-to-the-land" in Japan and in Europe. Showing their salient aspects with a historical view, we would assert that these cases are not limited to their specific socio-

cultural and political contexts, but they have a common characteristic in so far as they address the problem of vulnerability which marks the contemporary social issues.

## METHODS

Our case studies carried out since 2005 are as below (Muramatsu, 2012):

- During 2005 and 2006 (six months of intensive field survey and one month of interview survey) and August 2012 (further interview survey), we investigated the Centre for the Creation of Agri-rural Life (*Nô-Life Sôsei Center* in Japanese, henceforth referred to as the *Nô-Life Centre*) launched in 2004 in Toyota City in Japan. This is an establishment for agricultural training and mediation for renting farmland from ten ares. The *Nô-Life Centre* combines two objectives: agricultural and social; reinvigoration of fallow land and promotion of activities in order to *ikigai* (render "Life worth living") mainly for the elderly but also the other types of local residents.
- During 2009 (three months of intensive field survey and one month of interview survey) and November 2012 (further interview survey), we investigated the *Entreprise de Formation par le Travail Ferme Delsamme* (the Training Enterprise by Working Delsamme Farm, henceforth referred to as EFT FD) was launched in 2002 in the municipality of La Louvière in Belgium. This initiative aims to combine social and economic objectives; namely the socio-professional integration of at-risk adults through organic agricultural practices and the sale of baskets of organic vegetables from the harvest. Furthermore, from November 2012 to January 2013, we investigated another organic garden for the social inclusion in the countryside of Mulhouse in France. We will mention it as complementary case.

For the former, we interviewed 30 persons among them 2 staffs of the Centre, 15 trainees and other people concerned at the institutional level (municipality, agricultural cooperative, agricultural sector, union sector etc.). For the latter, we interviewed 29 persons among them 7 staffs of the Centre, 9 trainees and other people concerned at the institutional level (municipality, employment sector, environmental sector, union sector etc.) For the complementary case, we interviewed 18 persons among them 6 staffs of the garden, 12 employed gardeners.

Theses interviews are individual and recorded during each field research that includes participant observation on the daily activities on the spot.

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To accomplish our analysis, we combined a historical approach and an ethnographic approach: for the former, we examined, by the genealogical method (Foucault, 2004), basic historical and scientific literatures on the social issues in question such as the aging society in Japan and social exclusion in Europe. Then we reviewed the institutional and normative composition related to political and legal systems. For the latter, we studied, by the method of "combinative ethnography" (Dodier, Baszanger, 1997), the forms of engagement and coordination amongst actors and objects interacting with each other in their activities as reactions of these persons to the historical, institutional and normative systems.

By using the term "territory" in the intermediate direction between the local and the global and in the sense of an object of human action, we analyse here the meaning of the new territory from dynamic of action in the concrete activities of actors.

### ANALYSIS

In Japan and in Europe, the politics of back-to-the-land are diverse and can date back to the 19th century. In Japan: at the end of the 18th century when the market economy began to grow, some measures were taken by the government for lower and impoverished samurais and poor peasants of mass who had flowed into the city; in the first half of the 20th century, the romanticist and utopian movement driven by intellectual people; before and after the world war, the movement was promoted by the state for carrying forward the national spirit and ensuring the food security; from the 1970s, a movement of city people seeking a new lifestyle against the industrialism and the consumerism etc. In Europe: from the 19th century, such as *asiles*, *colonie agricole* and *colonie familiale*, agricultural and rural activities were used for the control of minor delinquency and mental illness (Parr, 2008); at the second half of the 19th century, such as allotments and *jardins ouvriers*, the gardens have played an important role to stabilize the life of working families (Dubost, 1997). In this perspective, our contemporary cases treated here may also be defined as forms of back-to-the-land politics which aim for coping with the social issues such as the aged society and the mass unemployment.

Our contemporary cases show in common local public policy actions elaborated at the initiative of their mayors and project managers (associative or not) in a transversal approach (ikigai / agriculture at the Nô-Life Center and insertion / organic gardening at the EFT FD), and more or less independently from the sectorial and administrative logic of control (agricultural policy for the former, social policy for the latter) However, some difficulties are found with this transversality in terms of its assessment criteria, due to the complexity to render objective the personalized (subjective) and territorialized effects of the system, and a gap between the market centered criteria and the person centred criteria.

Under these conditions, we found two predominant regimes of action in the field amongst operators and users. On the one hand, the operators (the social workers of the EFT FD in particular) effect the regime of care or compassion which always concerns the particular needs of the singular other, and mobilise the ethic of infinite responsibility for the distress of others (Corcuff, 2005 ; Paperman, Laugier et al., 2010). On the other hand, most of the trainees at the Nô-Life Centre effect the regime of social autonomy which associates the concern for individual autonomy (taking initiative, inspiration, dignity) with relational dependency (domesticity, social belonging, affectivity) based on the recognition of the vulnerability and fragility of self and others.

In these situations, the agricultural or gardening activities facilitate the acts of care and social autonomy *under* the sphere of public justification (Thévenot, 2006). The invisibility of these regimes explains the difficulty of assessing the effects of such pragmatic dimension by the existing points of view such as productivity, competitiveness or guarantee of universal rights etc.

### CONCLUSION

The new back-to-the-land politics considered here seem to be not the policy with its universal and rational objectives and means, but the process of "trial and error" where the actors experiment their skills and moral to address the problem of vulnerability in their collectives actions.

The territory, especially in the level of the urban/rural relationship, may be a key element to understand the functioning and the problem of the economy of vulnerability. The link between this economy and the territory constitutes neither a simple local solution nor a geographical constraint nor a resource production, but a necessary mediation process to (re)establish new forms of the autonomy and the solidarity opened to the society and the economy.

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# Diversification of fishery activity: a cognitive approach

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**Abstract** – In recent years many coastal communities of the Mediterranean show a high level of dependence on social and economic activity carried out by small-scale fisheries. At the same time, several Mediterranean areas are showing evident sign of distress as a result of habitat degradation and over-exploitation of resources, induced by semi-industrial overfishing. The current crisis is also influenced by growing factors such as illegal competition, reduced catches, rising costs and a lack of rational and efficient organization of the supply chain. This paper seeks to investigate the perception between different stakeholders regarding the effects of possible scenarios of diversification of fishery activity of small coastal communities of South Italy. Starting from a bottom-up perspective we made use of mental models and cognitive maps, to deal with the dynamic nature of the process for identify strategic objectives and policy actions.<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Small-scale fisheries suffer many problems covering the increasing pressure on the aquatic resources, degradation of fish habitat, decline in fish catch per fisher, which cause the decline of the activity (Song et al., 2005).

Our study was based on the assumption that the diversification of fishing activities can support artisanal fisheries, with positive effects on the entire territory, wherewith is strongly linked by traditions.

The main objective of the paper has been how to develop a structured and personalized process that allows fisherman to organize and integrate their production activities within the context of existing diversification policies.

The study described in this article has developed in the framework of a project promoted by the Sicilian Region. It covers the Ionian coastal areas of eastern Sicily, including fishing communities of the cities of Messina, Catania and Siracusa as well as Marine Protected Areas (MPAs).

The project involved many integrated activities aimed at encouraging and strengthening the diversification of fishery activities in Sicily, through the

identification of strategic lines and related objectives.

The paper is structured as follows. The first section introduces the theories underlying concepts of mental models and cognitive maps. The second section discusses a case study on diversification of fishery activities based on a collaborative process, which is aimed at creating a shared visions of strategic actions directed to the policy makers. The third section presents results and conclusions on the potentials of this approach to deal with dynamic nature of the process for a future identification of strategies and action.

## METHODS

In order to analyse the potential development of the diversification activities, we designed our work in two main interrelated phases. In the first stage we divided the research work in: (i) Study area and identification of local fleet activities; (ii) check-list of diversification activities making use of a "terrestrial approach"; (iii) qualitative interviews with stakeholders and fishermen. The players involved were divided into four categories: organisations that represent the interest of fishing industry, local authorities and administrative organisation, University and research associations.

By groups open-discussion on major challenges and concerns, each participant was asked to express fundamental point of view and concerns that could improve the adoption of diversification strategies. The practices, logics and constraints of diversification activities have been explored making use of cognitive mapping technique with the aim to identify the key issues and strategic options. Cognitive maps expresses values and concepts of open-discussions as means-end relation between them. They aim at capturing personal subjective data and resulting in particular perceptions leading to determine whether action is required (Vindigni et al., 2012). The form of cognitive maps here discussed is based on Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (PTC) (Kelly, 1955) and developed by Eden and colleagues (Eden, 1992): maps are a representation of how an individual or group members perceive a situation.

Using Decision Explorer® software, individual maps have been later congregated into an "aggregated map". Identical concepts (i.e. similar wording, same context but different maps, or both) have been merged into the aggregated map by combining the wording used in individual maps. This process gave each person a sense of ownership of the map.

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In the final step, we carry out several analyses to identify key issues. Cluster analysis was performed to find groups of closely linked concerns. Each cluster can correspond to one or more key issues according to some parameters introduced into the software, namely the target and the minimum size of the cluster (Fig. 1).



Figure 1. Cognitive map which shows interview participants perception of the adoption of diversification activities.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

At national level, the Sicilian fishing fleet is one of the most representative of small-scale fishery, both in terms of capacity and activity. The artisanal component characterizes the regional fisheries sector, representing the largest segment in terms of units of fishing.

Despite small scale fisheries is considered a well-advanced activity for social and environmental sustainability, it is a declining activity, due to different economic, social, environmental and policy influences. It includes those small boats that use selective gear, such as nets, hooks, creels and other traditional tools; moreover, the environmental variability, due to the type of seabed and the seasonality, determines the presence of boats that change their type of fishing practiced several times during the year. Although it would appear that fishery is severely depleted in the area, artisanal fishing persists in formal and informal ways. Diversification is perceived by fisherman to make an important contribution to family income. The dearth of income linked to traditional fishing activities, makes fisherman interested in other income earning options and/or relatively sustainable economic return.

However, social, economic and cultural factors are significant real determinants of success in the adoption of income strategies.

After reviewing the results of cognitive map analyses, we clearly identified, besides the overall objective (diversification of fishery activities) the strategic lines. Those lines are the results of the selection of objectives grouped by their nature and similarity. The greed (table 1) allows us to determine which activities has a contribution to the goals identified in the framework on each strategic line.

**Table 1.** Vision of the promotion of fishery activities diversification.

		Actions										
		Fish tourism	Ichthyic tourism	Museum and naturalistic guided tours	Diving, snorkeling, dolphin watching	Human capital training	Passengers transport	Marine district tours	Research activities support	Eco-activities in marine environment	Participation in tenders	Direct sales
Strategic Lines	Regrouping and mobilization of existing activities	Goals										
		Growth of tourism demand	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Increase of market oriented companies		✓		✓					✓	✓
		Modernization of equipment and boats efficiency	✓		✓		✓			✓	✓	
		Increase of enterprises		✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓
		Increase of profitability and employment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
	Improving local fishing knowledge	Creation of cultural events	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Improvement of social conditions	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
		Awareness of marine resources	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	
		Intensify environmental knowledge	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
		Safeguard of the sea	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		
		Biodiversity protection	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Marine environment protection	Reduction of fishing effort	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
		Preservation of marine structures and seaside villages	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Expand research activities				✓			✓		✓	✓
		Territorial promotion through its products	✓	✓			✓	✓			✓	✓
		Development of cooperation		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Advancement of competition	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
	Networking	Support services enterprises			✓	✓				✓		✓

## CONCLUSION

This paper provided an overview of the phases and tasks involved in structuring and defining the problem, identifying key stakeholders, existing activities in the areas, to develop strategic lines within the context of an intervention directed to strengthen the diversification on fishery activity in the Ionian coast of Sicily. The cognitive approach allows us to identify and display the complex options of the groups of players involved. It also raises the awareness and the perception of small artisanal fishery producers of rural community respect to the present conditions of fishing industry.

Finally this study may support policy makers and researchers interested in this field to develop strategies to maintain traditional fishery activity and to enhance its diversification.

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# CURIOS: building resilience? The production of digital community heritage archives and the role of volunteers

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**Abstract** – Rural areas have strong place identities, formed through the reproduction of traditional cultural practices alongside contemporary influences. These identities are performed and constructed through a varied repertoire of knowledges, histories, and customs. Their on-going production can be central to community identity as they attempt to make visible their own accounts of history and place. A trend (in the UK) has been for community heritage groups to digitise collections, due to the perceived transformational effect for community regeneration, the strengthening of community cohesion and the potential socio-economic benefits. In partnership with community heritage groups, the CURIOS (Cultural Repositories and Information Systems) project explores two case studies in rural Scotland asking how connectivity and digital archives can support interest in local heritage as well as help develop more resilient communities.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper comprehends the concept of resilience through the lens of cultural heritage, as a means for building more resilient communities. Cultural heritage in many rural locations operates on a number of levels, from professional museums and council run services through to voluntary groups such as historical societies. It is the work of the latter that this paper unpacks in three ways: firstly, what is meant by the concept of resilience, which although problematic, is still a useful lens to think with in this context; secondly, how voluntary work builds resilient communities; and thirdly, how in the contemporary setting their on-going resilience has led to a shift towards digital mediums for heritage collection and dissemination through a project such as CURIOS.

## CURIOS

CURIOS is an interdisciplinary project based upon both social science and computer science research. It has been developed in conjunction with community heritage groups to create a system that makes use of semantic web/linked data technology (see Makela *et al.* 2011, for previous use with cultural heritage). This is in order to build a general, flexible

and “future proof” software platform that can help community heritage volunteers maintain a digital presence that is sustainable over time. Key to this project's development has been conducting empirical research into the ways in which community heritage groups function, in order to comprehend the socialised process of ‘memory work’ (Norra, 1989) that is taking place. This has been invaluable in terms of how we moved to develop CURIOS but it has also generated innovative social science research in itself. We have been working with two case study examples in rural Scotland, one with *Comainn Eachdraidh* groups based on the Isle of Lewis and the other with historical societies based in the town of Portsoy on the Moray Coast.

## RESILIENCE

The concept of resilience has developed at an exceedingly fast pace within recent social science literature, and although the concept has a much longer history (see Skerratt 2013, for a history of the concept), its more recent rise to prominence has been in the wake of the current economic downturn. Here it is often described in terms of how communities react to external shocks (e.g. Pike *et al.* 2010; Wilson, 2010) but following Skerratt's (2013) lead to move away from this, this paper wishes to consider how ‘*human agency is central to resilience*’ in relation to the continued production of community heritage resources. This will be done by suggesting that, in the context of community heritage, the notion of resilience as human agency is useful in two ways. One, it gives an appropriate understanding as to how different cultural repertoires have been maintained and passed through subsequent generations. Two, it neatly describes a set of relationships and connections that continue to maintain those cultural repertoires in the present day, especially as practices move towards digital forms. In doing this, we want to extend the concept of resilience to consider how, by understanding the ‘*topologies of relationships between people*’ (Adams and Ghose, 2003) this constructs place in both physical and virtual forms. To build an important caveat to this, what it does not do, as Mackinnon and Derickson (2013) neatly point out, is overturn the existing power relationships. It is very much contained within the micro-politics of place and the macro influences of current political economy. As Adams (1998) suggests, it is the bounding and shaping of topologies

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that both limit and allow community heritage groups to produce their narratives of people and place through different mediums. Central to the production of community heritage archives is the volunteer labour that maintains and produces the archives. It is this social and cultural activity that represents human agency and is shaping the resilience to preserve the collective memories and histories of a particular place.

#### COMMUNITY HERITAGE

The relevance of community heritage archives to resilience is due to the way in which volunteers in historical societies mobilise and build connections through historical narratives. In comprehending these topologies Stevens *et al.* (2010:60) note that it is not the physical location itself *'but rather the active and on-going involvement in the source community in documenting and making accessible their history on their own terms'*. Hence, it is the political motivation to express a historical narrative collectively that reflects the interests of a particular place. This then often sits against the more sweeping and nationalistic heritage claims that miss out the finer grained and every day social histories of place. For Creswell (2012:165) such community archives represent spaces of *'marginalised memory'* that draw *'attention to the things people push to one side and ignore, the things that do not make it into official places of memory'*.

#### GOING DIGITAL

In working with two different groupings of historical societies within rural Scotland, their on-going resilience to maintain a strong local cultural identity has driven them to seek new methods of information collection and dissemination. Two main reasons will be detailed here: firstly, the internet and Web 2.0 solutions have been seen as a potential way to fix a growing discourse that sees traditional methods of collection as in some way broken. The desire to preserve both the tangible and intangible heritage for future generations is therefore set against an ontological angst, where volunteers feel that so much material is lost as it slips through collecting practices. Reasons for this are many but primarily due to population changes, volunteer burnout and, quite regularly, death. These have caused both groups to consider how digital archives could somehow collect and preserve the information held within other volunteers' minds before it is lost. Here, a resilient desire to maintain a specific body of cultural knowledge is translated as wanting to hold onto something that would otherwise have been lost. This, as was previously stated, comes from a political motivation to not be consumed in the broader cultural currents of nationalism and globalisation. Secondly, in both case studies there have been small scale, socially entrepreneurial 'heritage industries' that have developed out of the historical societies themselves. Examples range from small scale museums and the restoration of buildings for use as hireable community spaces to book-publishing and be-

spoke genealogical research aimed at often large diasporas. They represent both physical and virtual attempts to shape and construct place. The final example, connecting with diasporic communities for genealogical research, has also been a central motivation in producing digital representations of heritage. This has been due to the growing potential of genealogical tourism. The archive as a locus of knowledge then becomes central to virtual, to the construction of historic place in a form that can be transmitted beyond the rural.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This short paper has briefly outlined the key arguments that we wish to express in relationship to the production of community digital heritage. This has been done by extending the concept of resilience to consider the production of community heritage. The paper has shown that unpicking human agency is essential in order to comprehend the ways in which these multi-faceted communities have chosen to present themselves.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Analysing the role of Superfast Broadband in enhancing rural community resilience

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**Abstract** – Superfast broadband services (Internet connections with downstream speeds of thirty megabits per second or more) are becoming a constant presence in marketing and government literature, which often detail the beneficial impacts on individuals' social and leisure activities, employment options, and overall community well-being. This paper presents findings from a multi-phase project examining community-led superfast broadband initiatives in the United Kingdom. It includes methods of analysis of communities *prior* to obtaining superfast services as well as *following* a period of connectivity. The framework for assessing effects on rural community resilience of both the superfast broadband adoption, and the presence of community participation in its physical development, is outlined with early indications given. Finally, this paper postulates several transformative facets of digital connectivity and community-based broadband organisations.

## INTRODUCTION

Rural communities are highly susceptible to socio-economic and environmental shifts due to factors such as single-industry economies, dispersed populations, limited public service provision, and physical distance to governance institutions. In a global society constantly in flux, this begs the question of what can be done to encourage rural community resilience, or their ability to adapt, develop personal and collective capacities, and thrive into the future. Due to the increasingly digital focus of economic and societal interactions, it is relevant to analyse the potential for superfast broadband to enhance rural community resilience.

This study is being conducted to reveal the relationship between digital connectivity and rural community resilience. Traditionally, social and socio-ecological resilience is concerned with reacting to stresses to maintain acceptable levels of function and identity (Adger, 2000). Resilience has therefore been constructed as a reactionary process to external shocks. Community resilience builds on this, and is understood here as the ability of a community to adapt to change, develop proactive capacities and new trajectories for the future (Magis, 2010). Through utilising two phases in the study, pre- and post-connectivity, we are able to analyse the apparent influence digital connectivity has on rural com-

munities; the 'community' as a spatial scale increasingly recognised as crucial to understanding pathways of change (Wilson, 2012).

## METHODS

This paper presents findings from the pre-connectivity phase of the broader study and draws links between expectations of Internet use and its overall impact on rural community resilience. The study considers two rural community-led superfast broadband initiatives in the UK: Broadband for the Rural North (B4RN), and Broadband for Glencaple and Lowther (B4GAL). The project is conducting two phases of interviews using a longitudinal approach, which aims to reflect the process of resilience. The pre- and post-connectivity phases target two perspectives, the user perspective and the governance or organizational perspective. Within the user perspective, we also allow for business and personal use discussion as well as various adopter types (from keen early adopters to non-adopters of the technology).

The interview data was thematically coded, utilising four pre-determined themes for initial analysis and followed a grounded approach to identify any sub-themes in the data. The results presented here depict findings from the four broad themes and emergent sub-themes with links to resilience in the pre-connectivity phase.

This research has enabled the development of an analytical framework for assessing resilience within community-based organisations. It depicts the cycle of resilience development through community-led initiative set-up and incentivisation, community and external engagement, diffusion of outcomes and thematic impacts. Qualitative research, conducted across the phases of organisation and technology development with key stakeholders, as well as technology users, provides the most robust understanding of resilience development in this context. This framework of resilience identification within community-based initiatives will continue to be developed throughout the remainder of the study.

## RESULTS

### *Technology Engagement*

Several strands of enquiry were undertaken, investigating the influence of Internet on employment, personal life, trust and knowledge of technology. With respect to current use, rural users were plagued with slow speeds, unreliable connection and an inability to have multiple users online. Future use of superfast was embedded in being more efficient online, rather than accessing untried web-based technologies. This identifies with an aspect of the

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community resilience concept that is concerned with acting strategically and developing individual resources through online activities. Individual-scale resource development is thus present through Internet use. Additional steps, however, need to be taken to ascertain whether individual capacities developed through these actions contribute to community-level resilience at some stage.

#### *Rural Life*

Living and working rurally was a key discussion theme and several facets of the interviews are relevant here. It was highlighted through the pre-connectivity data that remaining in this loop of inadequate provision in comparison to the growth of urban centres is unacceptable and will quickly lead to the deterioration of rural society. An interesting concept also emerged identifying the Internet as primarily desired for connecting to wider economy and society, not for connections in the rural villages themselves. This allows us to query what resilience can be attributed to superfast Internet at the community scale and the individual scale.

#### *Community Well-being*

Most participants were satisfied with their communities' strength and social well-being, and felt involved and responsible for the future economic sustainability of the village. It was identified that when an occasion or crisis arose, the community would band together, creating issue-based action. The formation of a broadband-specific group was linked with that process: the 'issue' being reflected in the perceived dominance of Internet connectivity in economic and societal processes. This is linked closely with the dominant discourse of social resilience, whereby resilience is the capacity for a community to reorganise following a change (increasing demand for Internet use) and retain similar function and identity. This however does not include the creation of proactive capacities as identified by Magis (2010). Finally, it does link to the accessing of redundant resources on a needs basis, which is a crucial element of our understanding of community resilience (Magis, 2010).

#### *Community-led Broadband Organisation*

The development of community-led broadband initiatives created a community of interest, whereby the broadband issue united people across disparate villages and countryside locations. The localised, village-level, community of place was still evident and a sense of pride in community contributed to involvement levels. There was an added level of confidence in the Internet network since those building it were in geographic proximity to the user. This relates to the ability to access community resources where more confidence in them can increase their proliferation, engagement and potential development (Lawson and Kearns, 2010).

#### CONCLUSION

It is clear that the inclusion of superfast broadband technology is perceptibly influential to individual and community resilience in different ways. Technology is embedded in how people live and work and access

to high speeds can better enable communication with modern society outside the auspices of the community of place. Community satisfaction was high in rural areas, however it was recognised that the importance of Internet connectivity was causing a rethink of that satisfaction. The structural element of community-based broadband development increased confidence in network development and was a source of personal and collective involvement.

This research identifies the links between telecommunications and community resilience. This ultimately provides support for policy guidance on digital infrastructure development. The broad study will provide key benefits to the following research areas: developing the research on resilience theory in a social context; and providing an understanding of the actual influence of digital connectivity on rural community resilience.

#### FUTURE WORK

There are several key areas for future research. Firstly, this paper presents findings from the first phase of a multi-phase project. It is now crucial to conduct post connectivity research to fully comprehend the uses of Internet technology and how that relates to the resilience of individuals and communities. Secondly, we cannot state in a quantitative way what resilience can be attributed to digital connectivity. This is a purely qualitative study and we aim to provide snapshots over time of the processes and potential relationships between resilience and digital connectivity. This data does not say conclusively that relationships are felt uniformly across rural communities. This work can be utilised to develop a quantitative model, building on existing quantitative work in resilience such as Skerratt and Steiner (2013). A higher level analysis into methods of internet development is needed to note if any impacts felt from this process of community-led initiatives are transferable to other methods such as large scale commercial roll-out.

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# Personal and social interaction amongst the older rural population with chronic pain: can ICT support resilience?

Lorna Philip, Anne Roberts, Margaret Currie and Alasdair Mort<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Demographic ageing is pronounced in rural areas, creating considerable challenges for the delivery of health and social care services. New and existing technologies are already playing a role in the delivery of health and social care services. Could technology supplement (or even replace) the need for home visits for older rural residents suffering from chronic medical conditions? This paper will illustrate the importance of in-person care, and highlight the benefits of home visits. Patients and care professionals believe in-person care promotes the general well-being of older people with chronic pain. Although technology cannot replace all in-person interaction, our findings suggest that there are ways in which it may provide opportunities to sustain and enhance these interactions which are often made challenging by the experience of chronic pain.**

## INTRODUCTION

Demographic ageing is a worldwide phenomenon. By 2083 about 1 in 3 people in the UK are likely to be aged 60+ (ONS, 2009). Most older adults live active, independent lives but demographic ageing is increasing the absolute number of older adults requiring health and social care services. Age UK (2013: 6) noted "An estimated 4 million older people in the UK (36% of people aged 65-74 and 47% of those aged 75+) have a limiting longstanding illness". It is reasonable to infer that a considerable proportion of these 4 million will make regular demands upon health and social care services.

Across Europe many rural areas have older demographic profiles than urban areas and are forecast to age faster in the foreseeable future (Philip et al, 2012). To cater for an ageing population public sector service delivery in rural areas must overcome challenging demographic and settlement characteristics (low population numbers and density, limited public transport and distance from major service centres) and, in the case of specialist services such as health care, the additional challenges of attracting and retaining suitably qualified staff (Wilson et al, 2009; Cleland et al 2012).

Chronic pain (continuous, long-term pain lasting for more than 12 weeks) is estimated to affect 14% of the UK population (Health Improvement Scotland,

2012): the prevalence increases with age. It affects physical and psychological health, is associated with increased social isolation (Clarke and Iphofen, 2008) and the incidence is reportedly higher in rural than urban areas (Hoffman et al, 2002).

Maintaining social networks and promoting social interaction is important for active ageing. The social networks of older adults tend to contract with age (Lansford et al, 1998) and older people can experience loneliness and depression, particularly if friends and families live at a distance (Gierveld, 1998). The dispersed settlement structure of many rural communities, accessibility challenges and long-term migration trends (close family members may no longer live nearby) could increase the likelihood of older rural adults having small social networks, in particular small numbers in a social network that are seen, in-person, on a regular basis. This situation will be exacerbated for older rural adults living with chronic pain whose ability to get out and about and to maintain social contact is impeded by their medical condition. For many older rural adults with chronic pain the only regular in-person social interaction they have is with a health or social care provider.

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) developments in health have been posited as offering innovative and potentially cheaper means of delivering a range of health and social care services (e.g. UK Government's 3millionlives initiative). They may lead to in-person contact between older adults and health and social care providers being reduced.

## THE TOPS PROJECT

Intersections between social isolation, chronic pain, health and social care and new technology are the context for the TOPS project which seeks to examine interaction between older people and their health and social care providers and which considers how technology could play a part in enhancing the life experiences of older people with chronic pain living in rural areas. Findings from one work stream are presented below.

## METHODOLOGY

In-person home visit observations and semi-structured interviews with older adults and their health or social care provider were undertaken in a remote island location in Scotland. Inclusion criteria for the study are that participants should be aged

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60-79, experience chronic pain, receive regular home visits from health and/or social care staff, live in a remote rural location and not be users of telehealth technology to manage their pain. With NHS ethical approval participants were recruited through GP Practice Managers and the Community Nursing and Social Care Teams. 6 home visits were observed and 7 older adults and 5 professionals were interviewed. Three research questions structured the qualitative data collection. RQ1. What types of interaction may be observed between older adults with chronic pain and their health and social care providers during home visits?; RQ2. what aspects of personal and social interaction do rural older adults with chronic pain value?; and RQ3. how might technology have a role to play in future delivery of health and social care services?

#### KEY FINDINGS

Various professional activities were undertaken during home visits but we also observed polite social interaction, exchanges of gossip and verbal and physical expressions of compassion and companionship. The health or care provider was the only person seen by the older adult that day apart from a spouse / family member. The home visit thus encompasses an element of social opportunity, very important when socialising with friends can often be limited due to degree of mobility, levels of pain or tiredness. Professionals coming to the home bring news of the outside world and allow older adults to retain feelings of connection with and belonging to their community. Professionals also monitor the older adult's condition and are able to spot deterioration or improvements in health and adapt the care provided accordingly. Some older adults were using ICT at home (e.g. email, Skype), but were not using it to manage their chronic pain. Although receptive to the idea of using ICT to both maintain and sustain social connections and to make use of telecare and telehealth technologies, ergonomic challenges older patients can have with using ICT were identified. These included difficulties holding a device, typing or using a mouse or tracker pad. Impaired hearing or vision, which may mean the software through which a service is delivered is unsuitable, are further challenges. The cost of devices such as laptops or tablets means ICT is off-putting to some older adults and rural broadband infrastructure issues (low speed and unreliable services) must be overcome.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The interactions between older adults with chronic pain and their health and social care professionals during home visits are a powerful tool for maintaining feelings of social connection with the wider community. Home visits contribute to wider well-being: they provide social opportunities which are valued by patients whose opportunities to socialise can be limited due to pain, tiredness and shortened concentration spans.

All participants had limited pain management options available. The nearest pain management clinic

was a 3 hour journey away. There is scope for technology to contribute to a flexible approach to pain management in the home. Physiotherapy services, pain clinics and self-management courses (cognitive behavioural therapy) could be offered remotely but the delivery method must take into account the ergonomic and other practical needs of older rural adults.

Our findings suggest that older rural adults with chronic pain and their health and social care providers are receptive to the use of ICT as part of an overall care package but the well-being aspects of in-person care mean that ICT should not replace in-person care in service delivery restructuring.

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# A review of the rural-digital agenda from a community resilience perspective

Elisabeth Roberts and Brett Anne Anderson<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - This paper explores what role the digital agenda has within rural development policy using a framework of community resilience. Resilience—the capacity of individuals and communities to proactively adapt to constant change through pathways for building capacity and resources—is increasingly used in policy and academic literatures in relation to rural and community development. It has resonance in rural areas where communities face problems such as fragile local economies and poor access to services. The paper reports on findings from a comprehensive policy review and provides analysis, drawing on academic literature on community resilience, localism and digital agendas within the rural context. We point to normative claims about the capacity of digital technology to offer solutions to the challenges of implementing localism and form part of localism rhetoric. Our findings evidence some joined-up thinking in policy delivery but the community resilience framework highlights the need for a more integrated, embedded approach.

## INTRODUCTION

Rural communities provide a useful context to explore what role the digital agenda has within the community resilience turn. Rural areas are challenging for both digital and localism agendas, because of their dispersed populations. In the UK, the rural digital divide, whilst lessening in terms of access, is likely to increase in terms of speed and quality due to the Government commitment to Superfast Broadband. Rural areas exhibit a divide between those with and those lacking the desire and capacity to engage with digital technology. Rural development policy, however, reflects the normative claims seen in the digital and community literature about the ability of digital technology, in various forms, to provide solutions to rural societal challenges, such as reducing isolation. In light of this, we examine the goals, rhetoric, and discourses where these distinct policy areas converge, to establish if and how these are working together and to forward a more integrated and embedded approach.

Resilience is understood as the capacity of individuals and communities to proactively adapt to constant change through processes of building capacity and resources. Whilst in policy terms resilience has a longer association with disaster planning, it underlies many principles of community development. Resilience is a useful way to re-think notions of 'empowerment' and 'participation' that often ap-

pear uncritically, envisaged as 'spontaneous, self-regulating, inclusive and organic' (Skerratt & Steiner, 2013). Communities are heterogeneous, encompassing competing groups, individuals and values, and as a result, different levels of resilience (and vulnerabilities) may be evident at different times (Wilson, 2012). Therefore, building resilient communities involves a process of multiple pathways at a range of scales (Skerratt & Steiner, 2013).

Rural areas are often seen as passive and static, compared with the mobility of urban, technological and globalisation processes (Bell et al., 2010). In response to notions of rural decline, rural resilience literature posits communities as 'active,' and 'proactive' about their future. It is therefore important to understand, within the rural context, how processes of resilience are constructed and utilised within localism agendas, which devolve power and control to local governments and citizens. Specifically, we examine the extent to which digital technology is implicit in these processes.

## METHOD

Resilience is being used as a framework to evaluate the impact of local initiatives, such as community ownership schemes. Frameworks for evaluating resilience vary, encompassing the social, economic and environmental aspects of place-based communities, capitals models, and community stocks. Resilience evaluations use proxy terms such as 'well-being' and 'participation' indicated through regional- or community-level derived statistics and (self-) reported levels. Community broadband initiatives have been linked to resilience (Carnegie Trust, 2012) yet digital inclusion, and engagement with new digital technologies more broadly, have not. This paper uses a community resilience framework to critically examine the wider digital rural policy agenda.

The paper reports on findings from a comprehensive policy review. The review encompassed International, EU and UK policy-related documents from 2005 to 2012 covering the digital agenda, rural development, and localism. The review identified where one policy field referenced others (e.g. where digital agenda documents prioritise or mention rural areas and/or community-led approaches) and where community resilience is explicitly referenced or inferred through pre-defined proxy terms derived from community resilience literature. These included: empowerment, inclusion, participation, enabling

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(processes for communities/technology as enabler), and capacity.

#### THE RURAL-DIGITAL AGENDA

##### *Rural development and digital technology*

ICTs and Internet access are increasingly considered vital to the resilience of rural communities. Following the recognition of the need for diversification of the rural economy and the growth of non-agricultural sectors (EAFRD, 2005), ICT enters the European agenda in its *Strategic Guidelines for Rural Development* (2006), which encourages take-up and diffusion of ICT for economic benefit. *The Digital Agenda for Europe* (European Commission, 2010) prioritises rural areas, seeking to stimulate digital markets. EU rural development filters through to the UK in the LEADER programme, where rural community broadband projects have been funded. An economic imperative is also evident at UK level, with focus on stimulating markets, (and helping rural businesses to adapt), with social benefits seen to follow (Commission for Rural Communities, 2009).

The provision of online services is referenced from international to regional levels as improving quality of life in terms of service provision, environment, wellbeing and reducing isolation. This is more clearly defined at a regional level where, for example, *Scotland's Digital Future* (2012) aims to use digital technologies to redesign services to meet peoples' needs at a local level.

##### *Digital inclusion*

At EU and international levels there is a general assumption about the positive role of digital technology for society (UNESCO 2010; DAE 2010) and little reference to those who have minimal access to the Internet or are unable to access it due to economic, social or health reasons. The equation between digital and social inclusion, however, is often implicit, for example through increased employment opportunities or social networking. UK policy identified that 'digital disengagement is a complex compound problem involving cultural, social and attitudinal factors and in some cases informed "digital choice"' (Digital Inclusion Report 2008:10). Digital technology adoption is influenced by and must be embedded within these contextual factors.

##### *Localism and community-level resilience*

Resilience frameworks can help reflect more critically on the relationship between digital connectivity, individual agency and civic participation. Through EU and UK approaches, achieving access to broadband infrastructure increasingly becomes a task for rural communities themselves, with the process itself viewed as empowering, as it helps identify community resources and build capacity. Reflecting one incarnation of localism, *Britain's Superfast Broadband Future* (2010), recommends bottom-up, community-partnerships for building 'a network from the ground up in the Big Society' (p.22). Yet, the Broadband Delivery for the UK (BDUK) Rural Community Broadband Fund, along with LEADER, place rural

communities in competition and has been criticised for disempowering those without existing capacity and resources.

The community resilience framework supports increasing recognition that the social, cultural and institutional barriers to participation influence, and remain after, digital access, and that an approach that views these as interconnected is necessary. An integrated policy approach with resilient communities at its core would ensure communities were given the necessary resources and support to enable them to successfully manage the power and responsibility passed to them, and to fully use digital resources in the enabling way hoped for by governments.

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# Co-producing environmental services through ICT: the case of IDRAMAP

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**Abstract** – ICT may contribute to the production and diffusion of knowledge related to landscape management and the provision of countryside goods and services. The paper, by describing a project developed by a local authority in a mountain area of Tuscany (*Unione dei Comuni Media Valle del Serchio*), explores the role of ICT in improving the knowledge of rural stakeholders on the hydro-geological management of the territory. The case study described (IDRAMAP), sheds the light on how the co-production of knowledge of a broad range of rural stakeholders can be stimulate through ICT, which can be important drivers in increasing the provision of environmental goods and services in the most remote rural areas.

## INTRODUCTION

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) represent important tools for improving the quality of life in rural areas, since may facilitate social relations and may improve the access of rural population to certain types of services (i.e., information, social and health services).

In addition, ICT may also contribute to the production and diffusion of knowledge related to landscape management and the provision of countryside goods and services. In many mountain areas, for example, there is an increasing need of reproducing and spreading environmental knowledge related the hydro-geological management of the territory, since in many cases traditional knowledge and practices have been lost as result of the abandonment of farming activities and of the changing lifestyle of the local population.

In a mountain area of Tuscany, a local authority (*Unione dei Comuni Media Valle del Serchio*) settled a Payment for Environmental Services (PES) for local farmers - the 'Custody of the Territory' project (Vanni et al., 2013) - with the objective of co-producing environmental services related to the resilience to flooding (monitoring activities, cleaning of rivers and riverbanks). In the framework of this project the local authority developed IDRAMAP, a new ICT to stimulate the co-production of environmental services between local authorities, local farmers and citizens.

By analysing the case of IDRAMAP, the paper discusses how the co-production of knowledge of a broad range of rural stakeholders can be stimulate through the use of ICT tools and if they have the

potential of improving local (agro)environmental governance. Although ICT and GIS tools are playing an increasing role in the processes of participatory planning, this is particularly true in urban areas, while there is not a widespread application of these tools in rural areas. The role of ICT and GIS tools for collecting data from users is becoming increasingly important in many aspects regarding the environmental management of the territory, since they may able to promote the participation and the involvement of local communities in the recovery, maintenance and reproduction of local knowledge as well in the definition of public policies (McCall, 2012; Ghose, 2001; Elwood, 2001).

According to McCall (2012), the effectiveness of a GIS tool in promoting good governance should be assessed in relation to five aspects: accountability, legitimacy, respect, equity and competence. Therefore, on the basis of data collected through semi-structured interviews with local actors, IDRAMAP will be analyzed on the basis of these elements.

## THE ICT TOOLS IN THE 'CUSTODY OF THE TERRITORY' PROJECT: IDRAMAP

IDRAMAP is an ICT based on Google maps where it is possible to access from the home page of the *Unione dei Comuni Media Valle del Serchio*, the local institution coordinating the project "Custody of the Territory". This tool was developed as an on-line information system to standardize the procedures for the monitoring activities (report and pictures provided by the farmers) with the main objective of collecting all this information in a single database, but also to expand the monitoring activities to the local inhabitants.

Figure 1. IDRAMAP



Source: *Comprendio di Bonifica Media Valle del Serchio*

Local farmers and citizens, by accessing to IDRAMAP, can signal the need of intervention on a

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specific location of the area simply by clicking on the map. When clicking on the corresponding point of the map, IDRAMAP opens a menu that allows the user to select the type of environmental problem detected.

IDRAMAP is structured in four steps: (1) *warning*: the user who sees a problem on a river or a riverbanks fill the fields on the page "alerts"; (2) *acceptance*: the administrator of the system accepts or not the alerts if the message if it falls within the competence; (3) *attribution to the institution in charge*; (4) *solved*: after completing the intervention, the administrator updates the status of the user's request by closing the practice.

#### DISCUSSION

The role of this ICT tool is twofold. On the one hand, by extending the monitoring activities to the local population, it represents a very effective tool for communicating critical situations and problems of various kinds; on the other hand, IDRAMAP was developed to make public the activities carried out by the local agency, in order to increase the transparency of the use of revenues generated from local tax. In addition, IDRAMAP allows to rationalize the activities and to reduce the costs by avoiding double warnings, by planning joint inspections and maintenance activities in specific areas.

When analyzing IDRAMAP on the basis of the five aspects suggested by MacCall (2012), it emerges that **accountability** is one of the strengths of the software because there is a complete traceability of the alerts. In fact, at any time, the users can verify the administrative process of all alerts and know the referent of the administrative process. On the other hand, the local authority may, at any time, make reports about the amount and the magnitude of received and solved alerts, the total expenditure as well as the spatial distribution of its intervention in order to inform the local community.

The decision of the local authority to extend the use of IDRAMAP to the citizens can be seen as an important action toward the full **legitimacy** of this tool. Unfortunately, however, in addition to the farmers, IDRAMAP is now used by very few citizens. Therefore, the local authority will have to develop communication activities to encourage citizens to use it and make them aware about its effectiveness. The effectiveness of the accountability with the possibility to verify the administrative process of the alerts highlights the positive nature of IDRAMAP in ensuring the **respect** for the roles of the different actors involved. Farmers (*custodians of the territory*), citizens and members of the local authority must interact in order to ensure the growth of mutual trust and respect according to their distinct and well-defined roles. Through the use of IDRAMAP, each actor involved can monitor the activities carried out by the others in a virtuous cycle that improves mutual respect: the *custodian of the territory* or the citizen must make effective alerts because, otherwise, they lose their reputation. Similarly, the local authority thanks to IDRAMAP is stimulated to pro-

vide rapid and effective answers in relation to the alerts received by the users in order to not reduce or lose its reputation. Thus, it may be argued that IDRAMAP, by increasing transparency of the decision making process and on the activities of the local actors reduces the possibility of opportunistic behaviors.

If we refer to the territory covered by the local authority, IDRAMAP has also increased the **equity** dimension. Indeed, the local agency is responsible for a very large area composed of several sub-watersheds. Therefore, thanks to the reporting of IDRAMAP the users can check the spatial distribution of the alerts (the demand) and the solved alerts (supply) and to verify their homogeneity and eventually discovering the presence of "privileged areas". With regard to the **competence**, IDRAMAP is having a more decisive impact in developing and spreading skills and knowledge compared to the traditional procedures carried out in the past. Thanks to this ICT tool, the local authority has definitely improved the local knowledge not only about issues of land management but also on the most effective techniques of intervention.

Finally, the use of IDRAMAP by farmers and citizens, and the possibility to check the resolutions of the alerts has increased the local awareness on the importance of hydraulic management of the territory and allowed to change the judgments of local communities on the competence and effectiveness of the local authority in ensuring this service.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The case study shows that IDRAMAP, by spreading awareness among the local actors on the role of farmers in public goods provision, improved the interactive capacities of local stakeholders, favouring the co-production of environmental services and, above all, improved the hydro-geological management of the district.

IDRAMAP also reconfigured the ways in which environmental services were delivered, since it allowed including into the PES the knowledge and information provided by the local inhabitants, by shading the light on important immaterial benefits that may be provided through ICT.

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# How do digital inequalities affect rural development? A systematic literature review on unequal ICT availability and adoption

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**Abstract** - All across social and economic sciences, there is a growing interest for the digitalization of society. An important question is how the growing importance of ICTs affects the development of regions, knowing that market developments over the years have not (yet) solved the problems of 'the rural penalty'.

This paper uses a systematic literature review in order to bring together leading work on ICTs and socio-spatial development of rural areas. The review includes work from different disciplines, such as geography, sociology, (tele)communication studies, and economics. By conducting a systematic literature review, the paper aims to find out whether certain trends can be discerned across the different disciplines; does the growing importance of ICTs lead to growing economic, social and spatial differences, both between and within regions? Following the debate on digital divide(s) and digital inequalities, the effects of material ICT inequalities and social ICT inequalities are described separately.

## DIGITAL CONNECTIVITY IN RURAL AREAS

### *Digital information society*

Access to information is becoming an important asset in contemporary economy, and in everyday life (Castells, 2000). From an economic development perspective, access to information and the possibility to produce knowledge is regarded as a key factor to have, in order to be a competitive, knowledge based economy (Malecki, 2010).

Information is increasingly being transmitted in *digital* forms. In order to get access to digital information, people are becoming increasingly dependent on digital data infrastructure, such as the internet (Castells, 2000).

### *Connectivity and lack of digitalization in the rural*

To actively take part in a digitalizing information society, people and places need to have access to data infrastructure such as DSL, coax, fiber optics or mobile broadband. Advanced western economies are considered as the countries best served by the different data transmission infrastructures. However, differences between urban and rural areas in advanced economies are persistent and growing (Skerratt et al., 2012).

Urban areas are considered to be the digital 'hot spots', where high speed internet access is ubiquitous. Rural areas on the other hand are dependent on more low-tech internet access, with lower speeds and with less reliable connections. Lower densities and greater distances in rural areas give no sufficient incentive for market parties to invest in high speed internet networks (Malecki, 2003: 201), the so-called Next Generation Access networks (NGA). This lack of market potential results in an urban-rural digital divide, with rural areas facing a lack of digitalization (Salemink and Strijker, 2012).

Overview studies discussing the effects of a lack of digitalization on overall rural development have not (yet) been published. This paper gives an overview of recent studies on the effects of a lack of digitalization on different fields in the rural. By bringing together studies from different disciplines, the paper reviews conceptual frameworks and theories of different academic disciplines which deal with aspects of rural development. Furthermore, it analyzes the results of the different studies, trying to answer the question how a lack of digitalization affects rural development.

## SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

Conducting a systematic literature review requires 1) a systematic search for literature 2) a set of criteria on what studies to include. The systematic search is conducted with key words and conceptual frameworks from academic disciplines dealing with *inequalities in ICT availability and adoption*, and *rural development issues*. Together, key words related to ICT and rural development constitute the research question: how do inequalities in ICT availability and adoption affect rural development?

Based on literature from the disciplines of geography, sociology, economics, and (tele)communications studies, the following words or combinations were selected for search queries to cover the ICT component of the research question: "ICT", "digital", "digitalization", "telecommunications", "information technology", "broadband", "NGA", "telecommuting", "digital divide", "digital inequalities", "information society".

The following words or combinations were used to cover the rural development component of the research question: "rural development", "rural

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areas", "remote area", "regional development", "countryside".

A paper was included into the results if it was a) dealing with advanced western countries, and b) published in an English, peer reviewed academic journal.

#### DIGITAL INEQUALITIES IN RURAL AREAS: CONNECTIVITY AND INCLUSION

Preliminary results suggest that there are two main directions in the studied papers. The first deals with *connectivity issues*; to what extent are *places* digitally connected. This corresponds with the debate on *the digital divide* of the first degree (see for example Malecki (2003) on digital development in rural areas; Sadowski et al. (2009) on providing incentives for broadband investments). *Material inequalities* can be a common denominator for this. It is further subdivided into papers with an economic market rationale on to what extent places or why market areas are connected, and papers dealing with technological possibilities in rural areas.

The second is comprised of papers dealing with *inclusion issues, corresponding with the digital inequalities debate* in social geography, sociology, and urban studies (see for example Selwyn, 2004; Gilbert, 2010; Helsper, 2012). To what extent do *people* have the knowledge, attitudes, skills and aspirations to connect to and/or be included into digital society. These papers focus on digital literacy and human, cultural and social capital that people can use or call upon in order to get involved or thrive in digital society.

#### ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND SPATIAL CONSEQUENCES

In general the *papers share an axiom* that society as a whole is moving towards a digital society. In order to have equal opportunities for everyone, places have to be connected to high speed internet and people have to know how to use ICTs effectively for their economic benefit or their quality of life, i.e. to keep up with developments. An exact definition on connectedness, is often lacking. Not keeping up with the developments however, means 'digital exclusion', 'lagging rural development' or 'economic decline'. This view on ICT availability and adoption may stem from the axiom on society moving towards a digital society.

Geography papers often state that a lack of digital connectivity can lead to lagging regional development. Some economic papers state, while discussing possible solutions for the problem, that connecting everyone and every place cannot result in an optimal allocation of resources. Sociology, (tele)communications studies and cultural studies go more into detail on the social consequences of a lack of digitalization for rural communities and rural policy making.

#### DIGITAL CONNECTIVITY IN THE RURAL: OLD ISSUES, NEW ANGLE?

In this stage of the analysis it is too early to draw conclusions, but a general question has come up

during the analysis of papers: to what extent is the debate on digital inequalities an entirely new debate? And, more fundamental, is there a digital society from which people and places can be excluded? The rhetorical character of this question indicates a nuanced answer.

Research on digitalization deals with issues regarding digital connectivity, digital accessibility, and social inequalities behind people's behavior in relation to ICTs. Connectivity, accessibility, and inequality issues are not new; the digitalizing context however is something new. This might lead to digital inequalities research which brings together theories from previous research on 'analog' connectivity, accessibility and inequality issues, and research on 'digital' forms of these issues.

By starting off with theories and knowledge about the analog context, research can move to the online context by adding the digitalizing circumstances. Tracing the digital transition helps to understand the effect of a lack of digitalization on rural development.

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# Information society as a well-being for everyone. Myth or truth? – An example of net society in Polish rural areas

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**Abstract** – The main goal of this article is to show the condition of the information society on rural areas in Poland and to describe its specifics (among others new types of social stratifications). This work will be an expression of the belief that Poland, along with other European countries, is facing the challenge of global computerization and in this case it could be a context for the development of net society. This will be used as an example to indicate how the process of computerization influences the quality of rural lives. It will also be shown that the process of spreading ICT into all aspects of life causes changes in social structures.

## INTRODUCTION

Twenty-first century societies should not be only considered in terms of modern technology and the Internet. A new type of social formation is emerging, in which some of the most valuable resources are information and the ability to use knowledge (at: <http://www.ithink.pl/artykuly/biznes/nauka/spoleczenstwo-informacyjne-marzenia-i-obawy/>).

In modern society knowledge allows for efficient and intentional acting as well as for making optimal decisions. A society – information society – where knowledge becomes a main objective of aspirations and efforts of many people (Haber, 2006) in other words – following Yoneji Masuda – a civilization based on the power of human reason (Chmielewska, 2008). Therefore in this article, for which national data as well as data obtained in E-Ruralnet project, will be shown how the new technology society which we live in.

## METHODOLOGY

The basis of this article are the results of an empirical study, which was carried out between 2010 and 2011 by the Institute of Sociology of the Nicolaus Copernicus University under the project "E-RURALNET".

The main objectives of the E-RURALNET project, implemented by eleven European countries was to build the Trans-European network for the promotion of lifelong learning supported by modern technologies. In the research was used online questionnaires, which were addressed to three target groups: e-learning providers (the supply side of the

e-learning market), e-learning recipients (current learners) and e-learning potential recipients (control group). The data used for the purposes of this article are relating to last of the mentioned groups. More information according to the project as well as methodology is available on the following website: <http://www.prismanet.gr/eruralnet/en/project.php>

## INFORMATION SOCIETY IN POLAND

In Poland the importance of new technologies is growing. Using national data, included in Statistical Yearbook 2005, 2007 and 2010 of Main Statistical Office, we note that over the last decade, the level of household equipment such as the once popular CD players, stereos and televisions is at the same level but the hi-tech becomes more popular every year. We can see this through an increasing number of households with computers. Indeed, in 2000, less than 10% of households had a PC, and in 2009, computers were already in more than 60% of homes. Similarly, the situation in respect to goods such as mobile phones, satellite, and digital cameras has also increased.

In rural areas, the trend of computerization and its dissemination of technologies reached an even greater scale. Indeed, in 2009 nearly 70% of the rural population had access to a computer at home, as compared to figures in 2000, representing a sevenfold increase. Dissemination has been significant in the use of DVD players (60% of rural households) and mobile phones (almost every household). A new phenomenon in the countryside, as in the whole country, is household equipment for photography because in 2009 over 40% of rural households (there are not available such data for previous years).

In Poland, the level of network usage largely depends on the geographical area (a clear divide between rural and urban areas) and the technological solutions (e.g. bandwidth) used in the area. However, it can be observed that, despite the fact that access to the network usually requires the use of a computer, the Internet is becoming increasingly popular in Polish households. This is shown by the increase in the number of individual connections and broadband usage and demonstrates the continued evolution of the information society (development).

The situation becomes more complex the closer we look at the profile of people using the Internet.

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At this level, it is clear that the Internet is primarily a domain of the young and the educated (according to research conducted by MB SMG/KRC Net Track, VII-IX 2009). They are the main driving force behind the use and dissemination of communication technology, as characterized by their ability to quickly adjust to new technologies. Also we have to remember that we cannot have digital connectivity if we don't have new appliances, because appliances and connectivity are heavily related to each other.

Although the data obtained from the study indicates a high level of education and digital literacy residents of rural areas, it should be remembered the existing inequalities, connected to the digital divide, that lead to impairment of certain groups of the digital society. This data confirms that the digital divide is clearly visible, especially in the case of the elderly - more than 66 years of age.

The context of the newly built society, outlined in this way, gained a special importance because among the global society we can enumerate a lot of countries that are just entering a new type of social formation, like Poland, which is building their teleinformation network. For example, in Polish society, some of the elements of a network society are weak, as seen especially in international comparisons (eg, access to broadband – more data on the website of the project). Not without significance either is the issue of households equipped with the "hi-tech" appliances, because in fact there is no sphere of everyday life in which using ICT equipment would not have some impact.

#### Summary

The Internet and modern information technologies represent one of the biggest achievements of the 20th and 21st century. They create unlimited possibilities for the development of every sphere of life.

Furthermore web society affects the face of the Polish countryside, because what once seemed unattainable is now possible. It makes things, which had seemed far distant possible to get. The Internet enhances the ability to communicate (Putnam, 2008), allows one to go beyond the boundaries of their community. Unfortunately, the reality does not only bring measurable benefits, it also increases social division. This means that Poland has a chance to grow. However, trying to catch up with the level of development of developed countries, Poland must adapt to global trends.

Nethertheless, the analysis of these issues leads to the conclusion that the information society in Poland is diverse. There is a dominant role played by the use of technology, that gives access to a world of possibilities, but there are some aspects that in no way fit in with this idea - Polish telecommunications network topography does not reflect the Manuel Castells' concept of multi-edge network which included unrestricted cyberlinks.

Opportunities arising from an Internet society can be fully exploited only with full involvement of residents. But for this purpose, it is necessary to pos-

sess proper knowledge, which is a helpful factor in the development of society; a tool to change society to be more egalitarian. It is a good beginning, because we cannot change the world but we can start somewhere.

The web society opens opportunities for previously impossible to imagine forms of community building (Putnam, 2008). However we have to remember, that digital divide cause that net society does not contribute to well-being of everyone.

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# The role of broadband for rural businesses

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**Abstract** – Many argue that broadband is vital for rural communities. Yet around a third of the UK is currently excluded from broadband access, typically in rural areas. Whereas speeds increase rapidly in urban areas, connections in rural areas are slow to improve. Technology is transforming the nature of social relations, yet a cultural divide is emerging, isolating those left behind from the mainstream of society. Rural communities are often socially and professionally isolated and, arguably, have most to gain from internet-enabled technology. This paper presents interdisciplinary research which explores the role of broadband for rural businesses. It asks, what are the social and economic implications of poor broadband? What role does broadband play in the interplay between economic and social capital in rural areas? The paper explores the value of technology through two illustrative examples - research exploring the role of broadband for rural creative industries, and research investigating the value of online social networking for rural businesses.

## INTRODUCTION

Rural areas suffer disadvantages due to problems of distance and remoteness. Broadband can benefit such areas by connecting people and places, businesses and services. Access to broadband is fast becoming a part of daily life. A large number of day-to-day activities are now performed online including banking, shopping, working and social networking. A growing dependence upon the Internet suggests that broadband should be universally available. However, around a third of the UK population does not have broadband access – often those living rurally (Ofcom, 2011). This digital divide is widening because as urban areas benefit from improved technologies, rural areas sometimes do not, leaving them at a higher competitive disadvantage compared with their urban counterparts.

Broadband is crucial for rural businesses since it enables innovation and wealth creation and enhances productivity and growth. Without broadband, rural businesses are unable to compete in the global economy. In rural areas small businesses predominate, typically with no or few employees and less focus on business growth (Moyes et al., 2012). Physical isolation makes it harder to reach customers and access essential resources. Access to broadband can potentially reduce some barriers (Skerratt and Warren, 2004) by providing opportunities for teleworking and video conferencing that can compensate for difficulties associated with distance. It

can allow businesses to create an online identity, advertising products and services beyond the local area, presenting new business contacts and opportunities for engaging with the customer. This is invaluable for rural businesses that find it difficult to network (Burgess, 2008), allowing them to work together to achieve economies of scale and access support and information (Moyes et al., 2012). There is evidence of higher growth amongst rural businesses with broadband compared to those without (Stenberg et al., 2009).

Research at the dot.rural Digital Economy hub, University of Aberdeen is addressing these concerns by exploring potential rural broadband solutions alongside the impact of broadband and its applications for rural businesses. This paper presents findings from research across two related projects. The following sections describe the projects in more detail and discuss the methods and results.

## THE PROJECTS

“Agent and Semantic Support for Rural Enterprise” (ASSURE) is an interdisciplinary project combining expertise in computing science, sociology and business studies. The research is user-driven and asks: “how can semantic matchmaking and intelligent agent technologies be used to support networking behaviours amongst rural businesses?” As such the project has a strong computing science component, yet social sciences are also important both in understanding existing networking behaviours and user needs in relation to technological support. The project is working in partnership with Scottish Enterprise<sup>2</sup>, which is engaging a group of businesses which has participated in their rural business development programmes. Findings from the social science investigation have been used in developing an online networking system which allows users to expand their business networks, find new partners and collaborators and seek support and information on specific topics.

“Satellite Internet for Rural Access” (SIRA) is an interdisciplinary project combining expertise in Internet engineering and social sciences. Another user-driven project, it asks: “how does broadband connectivity impact on rural creative practitioners and communities?” The social science investigation has initially explored the ways in which rural small businesses and community arts organisations have been restricted through a lack of adequate broadband connectivity. Seven businesses/organisations

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<sup>2</sup> Scottish Enterprise is a non-departmental Scottish Government body which works with businesses across many parts of Scotland to stimulate growth.



have been selected as case studies and have been given satellite broadband for approximately two years. We are working with these case studies to understand the impact of the technology in terms of activities, reach, networking and growth.

#### METHODS

**ASSURE:** in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews with 18 participants who have all participated in Scottish Enterprise business development courses and are running small rural businesses. Of the 18, 10 are male and eight are female. All participants live and work in rural Scotland. The interviews included questions covering the nature of their business; approaches to networking; digital skills and feelings towards online networking for their business.

**SIRA:** in-depth semi-structured interviews with nine rural creative practitioners. Of the nine, five are male and four are female. The interview comprised questions covering the nature of their business/activities; existing experience and use of the Internet; digital skills; areas of disadvantage due to poor connectivity and expectations of improved connectivity.

For both projects, interviews were carried out in participants' home or business premises. Interview data was thematically analysed utilising computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) namely NVivo.

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Here we present findings from the two projects where these relate to the topic of this paper. **Use of Internet:** many businesses have inadequate connectivity. This is problematic e.g. in terms of timely responses to potential clients and developing skills in using web applications. Some feel too busy to invest time in developing their skills or are frustrated because inadequate connectivity prevents them from doing so. Most businesses have a website although updating this is problematic with poor connectivity. Websites are particularly important to the creative practitioners, who feel it is essential to have a professional online presence. Clients in the creative industries expect to be able to view the standard of service/work online. Further, the creative practitioners have a greater need for high bandwidth due to demands to deliver their products online, particularly media-based businesses such as film-makers. Such businesses are struggling to survive in the more remote locations with inadequate (or complete lack of) broadband. Those in the farming industry are also disadvantaged when unable to file online applications for farming subsidies. **Communication:** the majority of businesses are dependent upon email - many cite email as a preferred communication due to: flexibility and "time to think", having a written record and being organised. Problems with email include: interpretation of tone, impersonal communication and difficulty in building trust with new contacts. Use of email is only problematic for those with "narrowband" connectivity (less than 1

megabit per second). Skype is becoming an important tool for rural businesses who are often more isolated from collaborators but its use can be difficult/impossible with poor connectivity. **Social networking:** of value to businesses not only for expanding business networks but also for dealing with feelings of professional and social isolation experienced in remote locations. Social networking allows participants to stay up to date with developments/opportunities in their sector. Social networking can act as a form of market research, with many receiving useful feedback. It has been a good way for many to increase their client base, particularly for creative industries, food and drink businesses and farming businesses that have diversified into agri-tourism. Such businesses are able to reach a much wider client base, essential for those who might otherwise be reliant upon their immediate local markets. Businesses are able to use online networking to draw on existing social networks and grow their audience or potential market exponentially through tools such as "share" on Facebook or "retweet" on Twitter.

The findings show that broadband has value in providing access to a range of tools which are particularly useful to rural businesses given problems associated with remoteness. We argue that these tools are becoming increasingly important for all businesses, illustrating areas of disadvantage for those businesses with inadequate broadband connectivity. In order to survive, rural businesses need to develop a strong online identity in order to reach a wider market, be party to opportunities and important developments within their sector, and find potential areas of collaboration. Social networking offers a platform to draw on existing social capital to build economic capital, representing a major area of potential for rural economies. Better broadband connectivity in rural areas is essential if such areas are to remain economically and socially sustainable.

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# Betting on high-technology activities: A holistic approach to educating Sardegna's youth

Cynthia L. Vagnetti<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – On the Italian island of Sardegna in the Mediterranean Sea, the new paradigm for rural development implies that this largely rural territory will be a source for learning, as well as for deciphering trends for policies, and for considerations of quality and standards (Hosper 2010). The faculty at the University of Sassari, Nuoro School of Forestry have initiated a feasibility study to create a Center for Digital Research in the Sciences and Humanities based upon the hypothesis that active social learning can steer change towards sustainable development. Digital humanities scholars use computational methods either to answer existing research questions or to challenge existing theoretical paradigms, generating new questions and pioneering new approaches. In this paper I want to point the ways that I believe digital technologies can be harnessed for strengthening a territories' cultural capital through interaction, creativity, critical thinking, and innovation. That is, I will argue that Digital Humanities might fill the significant absence of collaborative and interdisciplinary scholarship. Inspired from my own experience in utilizing digital storytelling instruments, I will provide examples of student's work in how they perceive and interpret the world around them with multimedia tools.

## INTRODUCTION

Two theoretical concepts, cognitive justice (CJ) and distributed cognition (DC) support my discussion on the value of a Center for Digital Research in the Sciences and Humanities in Sardegna. First I will draw from van der Velden (2003), who asserts "an ethical framework that could guide initiatives in (ICT-based) knowledge sharing for development." She maintains a framework based on the concept of cognitive justice. CJ was proposed by Visvanathan as a response to the negative impact of Western science on developing countries. Visvanathan (2001) suggests CJ as an alternative to modernity as well as an alternative to proposed revivalist returns to indigenous knowledge and traditional technologies and solutions. Following are six principles for CJ:

- All forms of knowledge are valid and should co-exist in a dialogic relationship to each other.
- Cognitive justice implies the strengthening of the 'voice' of the defeated and marginalized.
- Traditional knowledges and technologies should not be 'museumized'.
- Every citizen is a scientist. Each layperson is an expert.

- Science should help the common man/woman.
- All competing sciences should be brought together into a positive heuristic for dialogue." (11)

CJ thus implies diversity and the conscious and active participation of peoples and communities to communicate alternative views, including students. Distributed cognition "stands in opposition to the conventionally held notion that all thinking and understanding is performed within an individual's mind. The theory suggests that artifacts, such as paper, web pages, and tools serve as scaffolds for internal cognition. In that sense, DC literature suggests that using both auditory and visual channels will result in higher content retention" (Mayer, 2005; Vagnetti, 2012; Ferster, 2013).

Sardagna's youth face a multitude of uncertainties: both isolation and unemployment continues to lead to outmigration but, moreover, there are age-old ways of "getting the job done," that impede innovation. In spite of these challenges, today's youth have digital technology skills embedded in their everyday practices from text-messaging with their cell phone, to social media such as Facebook and Twitter on their personal computer, to interactive animations or movies on a portable media player. Information visualization that is interactive and computer-based is a given and mundane skill-set for twenty-first century youth. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are just one technical tool for generating online data. Increasingly scholars recognize that interactive information visualization can show relationships, find clusters, detect gaps, and identify anomalies, and even statistical analysis is viewed as dynamic, rather than static. (Schneiderman, 2013). Never the less, in Sardegna a digital divide exists. Students in the school of Architecture and Landscape Design are equipped with a lab space where students can be seen working with geo-spatial visualizations on their computers. In Nuoro, students are largely taught by instructors lecturing over a powerpoint presentations of geoscience content.

## METHODS

In two separate morning didactic seminars students were taught the fundamentals of storytelling, those I have applied in the writing classroom and drawn from my own digital storytelling practices. For their field-based experience the students used paper, a writing instrument and a hand held camera or cell phone. The objective was to impress upon students through qualitative ethnographic approaches the skills of observation and interaction with unique "found objects" within the forest landscape. Precisely my objective was to inculcate an emic approach whereby the students would eventually understand how landscapes are socially constructed and indeed a tangible heritage. In an "outdoor laboratory"

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setting second year students were asked to rely on their sensorium to describe the forest through: touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing. The first session took place on the Nuoro School of Forestry campus and the students exercised their new-found skills on Montarbu mountain in the Gennargentu range. Both activities were filmed.

#### RESULTS FROM RESEARCH

Each student produced with a digital camera or cell phone 3-8 pictures of various scales (close-up, med, and wide angle shots). With a writing tool, drawings of various scales were made, and their experience as they engaged each of their five senses was described in written text. Their empirical findings were written up in a narrative report averaging five pages. I then gathered their data to re-story their field-based exercises in a manner that magnified how their sensorium was a trustful tool for data gathering from primary, secondary and tertiary sources, empirical research, as well as constructing a relationship with the forest. I will present a video of the student's work.

#### INTERPRETATION

"We know today, because of biology and evolution, human beings have both advantages and limitations in the way they interpret information presented through the senses" (Ferster). In spite of their limitations # 1: the students did not have video camcorders to record the "lived realities they were experiencing" they engaged in the world with their whole body. The second year forestry students were just learning technical forestry management terms, therefore, they relied even more so on exploiting their natural abilities in perceiving and interpreting the forest. By nurturing sensory perceptions, we were able to make evident to the students, that moving across the landscape required the whole body and all it's sensorium to register sensations. From assignment prompts, the students moved towards objects that "grabbed their attention", therefore, following the perceptive impulse originating in their body and ending in the object. In an invitation to play and discover, some students created an intersubjective human/nature dialogue.

Universities have a responsibility to ensure that their curriculum equips students for informed participation in decisions that have sustainability implications. Teaching students the skills that enable them to interact with the forest as a complex ecosystem could be enhanced through digital storytelling. That is when students utilize multiple media and multiple modelities that involve more than one medium (paper and pencil, cell phones, cameras, etc.), and more than one modality (speech, writing, music, images) specific and unique mental activities evolve. Sign systems such as a language, writing, mathematics and sound have significant consequences for how we think and how we interact with the world.

In spite of their limitations #2: The students do not have access to producing digital stories with Imovie, Final Cut Pro or Adobe Premier. Never the less, I utilized the only means available, a power-point presentation to re-story their experiences. I specifically focused on the student's personal narratives which provides students with additional techniques for making deeper connections to subject matter.

Following Ongs assertion, "Technologies are not

mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness"(1992) to underscore that from the invention of the alphabet to the digital camcorder to cell phone-these technologies changed what can or cannot be said, as well as mental scripts and schemes. Unfortunately the students were unable to create digital stories due to lack of equipment and limited technology in the classroom. However the students did collaborate in the process of constructing knew knowledge and engaged in social learning as understood by Keen et al, (2005). Whereby, "the 'social' suggests social co-ordination, and the 'learning' points to the need for innovation in the light of the uncertainties facing communities and other social groupings" (High, 2005). In Nuoro, students experienced a "digital education" as participants in collecting data, collaborators in visualizing and communicating empirical findings and as co-creators in archiving and stabilizing new knowledge. The digital media is now in reusable classroom artifacts suitable for on-line learning.

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# Understanding the context of rural community enterprise for the design of digital tools

Stela Valchovska, Alan Chamberlain and Andy Crabtree<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This study draws upon research that reports on an inadequate uptake of digital technologies by businesses in remote rural areas of the UK. It recognises the specific context of rural communities and associated rural businesses that are at a disadvantage because of the limited economic opportunities and infrastructure, commonplace in such settings. The study is grounded in the current literature relating to rural entrepreneurship. In addition, it utilises a framework for understanding community-based enterprises in less developed nations of the world as a method by which to examine analogous phenomena in rural Britain. This interdisciplinary work provides a detailed understanding of the agency and cooperation of rural community enterprises in relation to local citizens and small businesses. It is used to facilitate the design and introduction of digital tools (Internet-based applications, computer-based applications, and mobile-based applications) that contribute to both the viability and vitality of rural businesses. Preliminary results suggest that the enablers and constraints related to the use of digital technologies can be attributed to the rural context on the one hand, and to the operational and organisational characteristics of rural businesses on the other. Furthermore, specific business organisations, like community-based enterprises, play key role in local development and change and thus represent an important contextual feature in a strategy for digital technology design and development.

## INTRODUCTION

The underdevelopment of infrastructure is a persistent disadvantage in rural Britain that has been observed in relation to the outreach and use of digital technologies (Mid Wales Partnership, 2007). More recent studies have also found a lower uptake of digital technologies by small businesses, as well as an increasing adoption for entertainment uses (CDW, 2009; Ofcom, 2010). Furthermore, previous works point to the potential of digital technologies to enhance small business performance and viability (for example, Parker and Castleman, 2007). However, research focusing on the way to achieve this from a business perspective has been scarce. Thus the focus of this research is to identify and discuss the key organisational and contextual characteristics of rural enterprises that can be used in order to inform the development and deployment of digital tools for small businesses in a rural context. This paper is part of the larger *Scaling the Rural enter-*

*prise* research project which takes a user-led participatory approach to technology design.

## METHODOLOGY

Ethnographic and ethnomethodologically-informed design (Crabtree *et al.*, 2012) approaches were employed in order to carry out the empirical investigation (Chamberlain *et al.*, 2012). We focused on the community of a market town in rural Wales where multiple interviews were conducted with local community enterprise initiators, small business owners, local government and other associated stakeholders (see Chamberlain *et al.*, 2013 for a fuller appreciation of applying and adapting different approaches in this context). As well as the local produce market examined by Chamberlain *et al.* (2012), a community-based enterprise emerged as a key organisation with an important social and economic role for both citizens and small businesses in the community. Data relating to agency and cooperation were collected to examine the process of enterprise start-up and operation. They were analysed through interpretivist techniques (Leitch *et al.*, 2010). Links, relationships and interactions between rural community members, small businesses and local community enterprises were analysed to further explicate the appropriate areas for technical intervention and design.

## RESULTS

The framework for the analysis and understanding of community-based enterprises (Peredo and Chrisman, 2006) revealed several key characteristics of these organisations that have implications as enablers or constraints for the development and deployment of digital tools.

Among the different objectives of the community enterprise was: *to contribute to the rural community regeneration*, by supporting local independent businesses. This was enhanced by a set of shared community-centred values that prioritised the fulfilment of community needs. This was associated with specific agency based on cooperation with local small businesses in terms of: creation of infrastructure and provision of improved Internet access; improving the promotion of local products and outreach to customers, where the community enterprise provides the opportunity for promotion at a larger scale that allows using a more technology-intense means of promotion.

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The enterprise has been created through entrepreneurial and business management skills provided from within the community. Evidence has also suggested the existence of a strategic compilation of a portfolio of skills (including technology-related) within the community enterprise. These have an enabling role through the availability of expert skills and knowledge that can implement and / or support digital technology deployment.

Unlike an individually owner-managed small business, the community-based enterprise was not a key source of living for any of its members. However, it has provided a meta-level facility for small businesses to exist by:

- Improving the business environment via maintaining and further developing the infrastructure supporting existing market channels;
- Enabling the development of new market channels for local producers to access consumers.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This research suggested a pathway to enhancing rural community resilience through community-based rural enterprises using digital technology-based tools that can contribute to the support and development of local small businesses. An analysis of the data provided a better understanding of the specific enablers and constraints in regard to the use of such digital tools by rural small businesses and community-based enterprises. It suggested two key roles of community enterprises with respect to the development of digital tools and their 'take up'. Firstly, they support marketing and promotion activities that are readily enhanced by digital tools. Secondly, they have a role as gatekeepers; as administrators of technological facilities that become available to a number of small business users.

The community enterprise facilitated cooperation between small businesses in the locality through a set of shared aims and values. This provides the foundations for the development of a common web-based digital platform (currently in development) that can enhance the relationship between small businesses and their consumers, and is in line with the findings reported by Okamoto (2008) from his studies in rural Japan.

Using predominantly self-financing and human capital resources means that additional initiatives, including technologically based propositions can be implemented and supported in a 'bottom up' manner. This is also in line with evidence, which suggests that a high cost in terms of time and resources decreases the usefulness of more complex technological solutions.

Drawing on our findings about the community enterprise organisation this research has provided a set of useful implications for design for the possible routes that may be taken for a technological intervention. Specific organisational characteristics, like community business objectives, for example, can facilitate the creation of conditions for higher digital technological uptake through supporting the availability, infrastructure and necessity for training. The

results suggested that digital technological development and use can be integrated into wider developmental frameworks for satisfying the different levels of community and business development needs.

Interdisciplinarity represents the main significance of this research. Outcomes from studying a community enterprise start-up and operation are used to inform a strategy for technological development and deployment.

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# Virtual Rurality: Traversing Rural Places through Online Spaces

Ruth Wilson and John H. Farrington<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Host to a polyphony of voices, the Internet arguably lends itself to studies of the diverse and contested nature of 'rural'. Through the words of rural residents, we can trace its multiple meanings and interrogate the power relations that shape rural societies as they respond to social and economic change. This paper draws on a case study of bloggers from the Scottish islands to illustrate ways in which Internet technologies might be harnessed to advance our understanding of rural places. Examining the blogs as a set of narratives of island life affords insights into contemporary concerns within and across the islands, and provides a context for exploring the potential and the risks of employing web content in rural research.

## INTRODUCTION

Analysis of discourse is often advocated as a valuable approach to the study of rural life (Halfacree, 2006; Woods, 2011). It accepts that rurality is socially constructed, dynamic and diverse and can reveal the multiple meanings that comprise the "rural" and the power relations that shape it. Alongside political, academic and media discourses, the narratives of rural residents describe everyday practices and experiences and contribute to our understanding of life in the countryside.

Constructions of rurality do not occur in a vacuum (Woods, 2011, p. 40) but are set within a wider global context of a contemporary "network society" (Castells, 2000) in which individuals are connected across time and space by communications technologies, and in which traditional place-based social formations of groups and communities are replaced by a "space of flows". Incorporating the Internet into such analyses presents unique opportunities in terms of ease of access to a wealth of real-time and historical discourses in a variety of computer-mediated forms and contexts, and for understanding the position of the rural in the network society.

This paper considers a particular type of rural life in the Scottish islands and, through a case study of island blogs, explores the possibilities for employing such material as lay narratives of the "everyday lives of the rural" (Halfacree, 2006). In particular, the study investigates the relationship between sociability and Internet use in this remote rural Scottish island location.

## METHODS

The BBC's Island Blogging project ran from 2003 to 2010, part of an effort by the then Scottish Executive to address digital exclusion in the islands. It enabled residents to contribute blogs to appear on a dedicated area of the BBC website, "offering a unique insight into daily life on Scottish islands" (BBC Scotland, 2010). During this time, 345 bloggers from 54 islands contributed nearly 6,000 posts attracting more than 50,000 comments, resulting in a large and rich textual archive of lay narratives and conversations concerning island life in the 2000s.

For this research, the blogs were analysed in four phases:

1. Immersion in the online environment, reading all of the blogs and their comments in their native format (retaining their on-screen layout) for an overall impression of what was said by whom, and how.
2. 752 blog entries by 161 bloggers on 40 islands were selected for their relevance to the research questions and imported to NVivo.
3. These posts were categorised iteratively, guided by broad themes of community and social relationships but also allowing new categories to emerge from the bloggers themselves.
4. Coded extracts were compared and contrasted to bring out similarities and differences in perspectives and to highlight tensions and nuances.

Finally, the analysis considered the social and technological context of the blogs, with reference to demographic and infrastructure data.

## FINDINGS

The results of this process are outlined here in terms of four key elements of lay discourses of rurality suggested by Woods (2011, p. 38–40). Specifically, the analysis informed our understanding of:

*How rural residents perceive their locality to be rural*  
Rather than articulating an urban–rural split, the bloggers in our analysis often talk about island life in opposition to "the mainland", which is conceived as synonymous with the "rat race", noise, crowds, stress and crime. Being separated from the mainland by water brings a unique set of concerns regarding transport, weather and access to services that, some argue, promotes a distinct island identity.

In spite of the demographic, economic and cultural differences between and within the islands, this island/mainland distinction provides common ground for the bloggers and unites them online.

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*Who is, and who is not, considered to be rural?*

The subject of who “belongs” on their respective islands is discussed at length by the bloggers, with terms such as “white settlers”, “soothmothers” and “ferrylopers” used to distinguish in-migrants from locals. Some believe that there are fundamental differences between natives and newcomers that mean newcomers will never fit in, and that their romanticism does not mesh with the pragmatism of natives. Others suggest more detailed stratifications that reflect a more complex reality comprising born and bred islanders, those who leave the island for work, migrants who stay in the long term versus those who leave, and so on.

The narratives describe stories of exclusion and persecution but through the contribution of multiple voices we learn that these are not always a case of natives victimising newcomers. Additionally, there is a temporal dimension, with people falling inside and outside of the constructed boundaries at different times: throughout the eight-year course of the blogs we see some people’s experience change from feelings of belonging resulting from the welcoming behaviour of those around them, to feelings of isolation, and vice versa.

*The lived experience of rural life*

The bloggers’ reflections on island life provide conflicting representations that echo the discourse of the “rural idyll”. They emphasise a slower pace and higher quality of life in the islands; freedom to roam and for children to play; a safe, stress-free environment; peace, quiet and tranquility; scenery; nature; space; and a friendly, thriving community. Hyperbole is common, and the islands are variously described as “magical”, “fantastic”, “amazing”, “bliss”, “paradise” and “heaven on earth”.

Next to these representations of the rural idyll sit descriptions of another kind of island life, where the geographical remoteness, romanticised in the idyllic perspective, goes hand in hand with terrible weather, limited access to services and a high cost of living, and where communities suffer from crime, a lack of affordable housing and a surveillance culture, and in which young people leave for education and employment elsewhere.

Tensions concerning this conflict highlight the heterogeneity of the islands and the different perceptions of the people who live there.

*How change is understood*

Perceptions of change on the islands relate heavily to debates concerning newcomers and natives and the rural idyll, with house prices, jobs, traditions and dialects variously the topics of concern. Attitudes to change vary: *The dialect like the culture is continually evolving and changing – that might upset some but that’s the way it is and thank goodness for progress* (Shetland blogger); and one young Lewis resident believes that age is a factor in how change is perceived: *The issue is not that incomers want to change things but more of old islanders getting stuck in their ways*. This contrasts with the views of

some non-islander commentators who perceive the islands as resistant to change; that their geographical separation from the rest of the country preserves island lifestyles; and that they remain untouched by economic and technological changes.

## CONCLUSION

This case study of Scottish island bloggers suggests several ways in which blogs might be considered valuable discourses of rural life. They convey everyday life through a multitude of voices, including marginalised voices, and have the potential to inform our understanding of the “differences and messiness of rural lifestyles” (Cloke, 1997, p. 372). The approach could be extended to other forms of social media, giving access to a vast corpus of lay narratives of rurality. At a time when the place of rural in the network society is being negotiated, with little empirical evidence to inform our understanding (Murdoch, 2006), such analyses could yield rich insights into where and how these social spaces cross and blend.

However, use of web content in social science research also presents well-documented challenges in terms of authenticity, verifiability and ethics. Additionally, and of particular concern to discourse analysts, the separation between lay, media and political narratives on the Internet is not always as clear as it is in traditional media. Furthermore, while our study was concerned with the experiences of Internet users, those of non-users are not represented in such discourses, which reproduce the social unevenness of (urban–rural) digital divides.

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# Rural heritage in marginalised Landscapes: identification of their spatial transformations and related dynamics of the rural communities

R. Dossche, D. Moreno, C. Montanari, V. Van Eetvelde and E. Rogge<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Rural mountain areas in the whole of Europe have undergone a trend of abandonment since the 50s. Also in the Italian Apennines, between the regions Piedmont and Liguria, rural areas have been marginalized during the last decades. The exodus of merchants, farmers and shepherds, has caused a decline in the management of the land. Historical rural practices have gone into oblivion, with considerable consequences for the historical agro-silvo pastoral system. In recent years, there is a new tendency of young newcomers to settle down in the almost empty villages. With this paper, we aim to grasp the former and present relation between the landscape, its actors and their rural practices. Based on in-depth interviews, we want to analyse how the local communities have induced and responded to land abandonment. Secondly, we want to unravel the consequences of this extensification process on today's rural landscapes. With this knowledge, a more sustainable rural development strategy can be constructed.

## INTRODUCTION

Coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea historically have a strong relation with their hinterland. A long history of human management, adapted to restrictive environmental conditions and biological diversity (Naveh and Lieberman, 1984) and optimizing the annual fluctuations in productivity, without causing ecological degradation, created a landscape with a specific cultural value (Pinto-Correia, 1993).

However, a vast abandonment of the land has started up an extensification process. Land management and rural practices like farming on terraces and transhumance have gone into oblivion, with considerable consequences for the landscapes. The valleys have become dominated by shrub and woodland and empty houses, and the close link between the environment and the rural communities was lost.

The outbalancing of those specific systems, well adapted to natural resources and local environmental constraints, are considered in literature as a degradation threat, which can lead to the vanishing

of a highly valuable landscape (Pinto-Correia, 1999; Naveh and Lieberman, 1994).

Nevertheless, in recent years there is a new trend of young newcomers who settle down in the deserted villages. The reason for this inflow is mainly to set up 'new' rural activities like environmental education, agricultural tourism, cheese production, etc. But how do those newcomers integrate historical rural practices in their everyday activities?

The aim of this paper is to grasp the former and present relation between the landscape, its actors and their local rural practices. This knowledge can offer a better sustainable planning and management for a valuable cultural landscape (Antrop, 2005). Therefore we firstly want to define and document the former rural practices that created this cultural landscape. Secondly, we want to detect the (inter)relation between the landscape and its actors, before the abandonment, and in its actual situation.

The study area is the Borbera valley (SE of the region Piedmont), were ancient mercantile trails connected the Ligurian Sea with the Po plain. Until the 50s, the rural landscapes of the Apennines, between Piedmont and Liguria, were characterised by terraces, cultivated with wheat, vineyards and small-scale gardening around the mountain villages. On the other hand, there were grass and pasture land with herds of sheep and cows more uphill. Farmers of the lower valleys around Mount Antola (1597m) brought their cattle up onto the highlands, using the ancient trails, and met on the summer pastures. This rural practice was very common until the late 50s in conjunction with other types of income supply, such as the production of cheese, charcoal/wood, chestnut and wine.

The villages Agneto (761m), Daglio (944m), Connio (930m) and Carrega Ligure (958 m) are all situated in the upper-valleys of the Borbera river (called 'Agnellasca' and 'Carreghina'). They all belong to the main *commune* of Carrega Ligure, and have undergone one of the largest declines in population since the end of the 19th century, from 3292 habitants in 1861 until 83 in 2011 (I.STAT, url consulted on 28/12/2012). This huge regression, especially between 1951 (1351 habitants) and 1971 (302 habitants), has had large consequences for the land management. Since the habitants contained only farmers, donkey drivers and/or shepherds, the de-

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cline in population has had an equally large impact on the (rural) landscape.

#### METHODOLOGY

To define and document the former rural practices that created this cultural landscape, we make a spatial analysis of the localisation and organisation of the agro-silvo pastoral system. This is done using historical maps from the beginning of the 19th century (Minute di Campagna, Corpo di Stato Maggiore, 1828, 1:20.000) and recent aerial photos. This visualisation of the agricultural landscape, will be related to a series of interviews on former and actual land use (cultivations, infrastructure, etc.), its geographical position in confront with the villages (far away or nearby), and its actors (profession, household, etc.)

In a second part, we want to detect how the agricultural land was managed by its actors, before the abandonment, and in its actual situation. The interviews contain questions on the maintenance and organisation (Who did the maintenance? With what frequency? Were they paid?) of local infrastructure and land (Donkey and cattle trails (mulattieri), Vineyards, Mountain refuges (rifugio), Collective pastures (comunaglie), Meadow (pascoli), Chestnut, Woodland). Moreover, in this part, people are questioned on the large depopulation, the land abandonment, and what it did to the former agro-silvo pastoral system. But also on how they see future developments in this area, and which investments they would like to see being done.

#### PRELIMINARY RESULTS

##### *Changes in land use*

The trend of the evolution since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see figure 1) in land use can be divided between the areas close (<3km radius) to the villages (1), and the areas further (>3km radius) away (2).

1. Terraces are still recognisable, but with more shrubs and secondary vegetation, and sometimes even cultivated. Vineyards have almost completely disappeared.
2. Former chestnut woods or plantations, old trails and meadows /grazing fields have been invaded by shrubs and secondary vegetation. A lot of trails have disappeared, but some are still visible, though unmaintained for a certain period.

##### *Property and maintenance*

Especially the higher positioned fields and meadows were common property, where people of several *comuni* had the right to use the land. Those so-called *comunaglie* were used for both the hay production and for grazing the animals and have a long history of common management (Moreno, 1990; Cevasco, 2007). The fields closer to the villages were more private property and used for small-scale cultivation.

The *comunaglie* and also the trails were maintained by both farmers and donkey drivers. Some of them still exist or were recuperated for other purposes (hiking trails, etc.), but there is nobody left to take care of them.

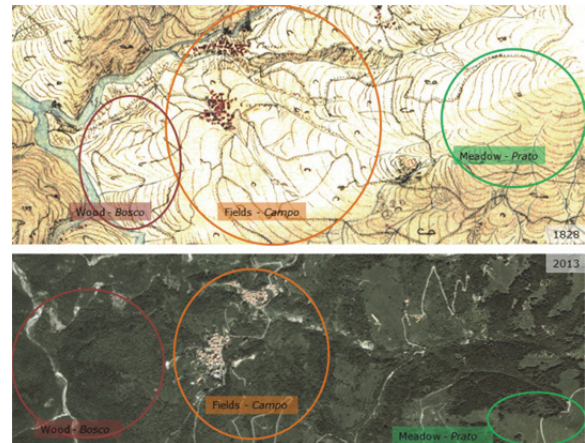


Figure 1. Cartographic visualisation of land use (woodland, field, meadow) around Carrega Ligure and Connio between 1828 and 2013.

#### INTERPRETATION AND OBSERVATIONS

The land use from the 19<sup>th</sup> century is generally invaded by secondary vegetation, but sometimes still recognizable. This depends on the maintenance during the last decades, which is related to the position in relation with the village.

The former inhabitants were all responsible for the maintenance of the rural infrastructure, which was related with their income. Rural practices like pasturing, collecting hay, have now almost completely disappeared. The cultivation activities near the villages have survived better, especially because of the remaining interest of the actual habitants. Also interesting is the relation between newcomers and elderly people. The first are sometimes not aware of the former dynamics, but there is a large reciprocal interest and even interchange.

The detection of those former and actual dynamics between actors and environment can lead to a better integration of historical rural practices heritage in a sustainable rural development strategy.

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# Exploring the essence of culture in the policies and practices for sustainable rural development in Benue State, Nigeria

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**Abstract** – The social system is characterized by a way of life referred to as culture which is central to human existence. Culture comprises the cognitive processes of thinking that predisposes the mindset of the people, behavioural patterns, aesthetic values as well as patterns of social structure. These attributes of culture ascribed it an indispensable factor in the formulation of sustainable national development policies and practices. This paper thus examined the concept of culture and cultural practice in Nigerian, cultural artefacts that may hinder sustainable development, efforts in the preservation of the synergy of cultural artefacts, norms and development as well as the link between culture and policy formulation. The study was carried out in seven communities in Benue state and in the Federal University of Agriculture, Makurdi, Nigeria. The results show that the people were ardent traditional believers and highly influenced by their traditional beliefs. It was further observed that there is no national culture in Nigeria but sectoral cultures. Consequently, national development policy should consider these ethno-cultural beliefs to attain any meaningful development.

## INTRODUCTION

Culture is generally defined as the distinctive way of life of a group of people and their complete design for living. Therefore, culture cannot be undermined in efforts at developing human beings. Policies are the actions and in actions of a people, government or organization to actualize their goals (Ayoola, 2001). Rural development is subsumed in agricultural development policies and programmes, this is because, rural development is synonymous with agricultural development (Ayoola, 2001). Most viable development programmes have suffered setbacks due to cultural incompatibility as all adoption processes are effectively completed when the innovation is considered compatible with the existing cultural practices (Obinne, 2004).

Culturally, Nigeria should imply an evolution of shared life-style with a common value system, ideologies that guarantee national cohesion and pride. The amalgamation of cultural models which deemphasizes the various ethno-cultural affiliations so that there can be a projected national identity was presumed. This is still far-fetched as sections within the Nigerian state have sectional ways of life. Efforts

to designed a sustainable national development policy through rural development programmes have resulted in the proliferation of development programmes that have not given the desired result in the country. Rural Nigeria is home and employment (agriculture) base to over 70% of Nigerians. Agricultural development is sequel to effect adoption of innovation which must be considered compatible. However, agriculture has remained at its lowest ebb as crude and traditional methods are still used in the process, hence the necessity to examine the essence of culture in the formulation of rural/agricultural development policies. The question then relates to whether the policies have been culturally compatible or otherwise with the people. This is why the following objectives were examined: (i) Culture and cultural practices in Nigeria, (ii) the various cultural artefacts that may have hindered sustainable innovation adoption (iii) efforts in preserving cultural values, (iv) link between culture, development and sustainable policy and practice in Nigeria.

## METHOD

This study was carried out in seven communities in Benue State purposively selected due to their tenacious adherence to cultural beliefs and practices, it also reviewed relevant literature based on the specific objectives. A survey of a cross section of students in the Univ. of Agriculture, Makurdi was done to examine the extent to which cultural practices were transferred to subsequent generations with a view to determine cultural preservation. Frequencies and percentages were used for data analysis.

## RESULTS

There is a need to attach the right perception to culture to guarantee its sustainable practice. Ikom (2008) asserted that culture should be perceived as arts: the world view of a people, the cognitive processes, the linguistic forms, the aesthetic manifestation of their feelings and creativity, the behavioural patterns and the patterns of social relations. Commitment to these variables engenders rapid and sustainable development. Unfortunately, it is difficult to state that there is such commitment in Nigeria. The results show that shrines (traditionally designed worship places of ancestral spirits) constituting the majority (86 responses) that shrines were the most dreaded areas, followed by certain rivers/streams

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(27 responses) and then forests and trees (25 responses). This results show that there is high level of traditional beliefs. If any development policy is to be sustainably practiced in this communities, it may have to be formulated bearing in mind the traditional milieu of the people. This will make the policy to be readily acceptable by the people. This particularly so since according to Abah (2013), the culture influences people views and sometimes blind folds them, therefore, effective policy formulation, the way of life of the people should be the basis as is the case with Ujama'a vinjinini (development policy in Tanzania) Ejembi and Abah (2013).

Table 1 presents the distribution of respondents on the basis of their perceived consequences of desecrating any of these sacred areas as a result of innovation adoption. The entries show that about 37% indicated that whoever desecrates these sacred places will die mysteriously. It is obvious that fear of death pervades the communities and it is enough to resist any development policy that be construed to lead to their death. It is therefore crucial to first and foremost appeal to the people's belief system since culture is dynamic. However, about 28% said that nothing will happen to them. According to these category of people, the strength of the ancestral spirits have been weakened by increased number of foreign religious believers. This group of people were able to surmount their fears because of their change in belief. It therefore, means that if the people are made to change their perception of any issue, they are likely to be less terrified by any consequences.

**Table 1.** Consequences of desecrating sacred places (n=115)

Consequences of desecration	Frequency
The person responsible dies	43
Farm produce will decrease	20
Nothing will happen	33
The person is banished from the land	19
TOTAL	115

In this context, cultural preservation refers to keeping something that is intangible intact. The basic elements of culture such as language, beliefs, values and norms are intangible through which culture is transmitted to successive generations. Language is a functional necessity; this is because group life cannot function without some form of communication. Nigeria has over 500 languages with Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba as the ones spoken in the north, south east and south west respectively. It is observable that children from most elite Nigerian families, out of every 10 sampled, between 7 and 8 can neither speak nor write in their local languages and between 8 and 9 of them had not gone to their villages more than twice, their parents neither take nor allowed them to go to their villages.

Value and belief system are other major elements of culture that help in raising the perceptual threshold for sound judgment thereby eliciting the sense of self-worth, esteem and self-efficacy. The general observation is that majority pay lip service

to these cultural elements. Both cultural values and beliefs have given way out rightly to modernity based on Euro-American ethnocentrism.

Culture is directly related to development and sustainable policy and practice because it constitutes both thoughts and things. Sociologically, no cultural way is inherently natural to humanity since the human species has the capacity to create culture in their collective ways (Macionis and Plummer, 2005). Unlike the other primates, the human system does not operate on instincts because of the creative power of humans and in this case has guaranteed generational perpetuity (Macionis and Plummer, 2005). The vehement campaign that development initiatives should take root in the culture of the people is not a call for what Ikom (2008) refers to as morbid form of cultural particularism by which societies tend to recreate a mythical syndrome based on a romantic and static vision of their past. It is instead a call for mental renaissance, to rediscover the creative initiatives of its people, to reactivate the accumulated wisdom and technological skills as a basis for problem solving action.

#### CONCLUSION

It was concluded that Nigeria does not have a clear national culture; at best there exists only sectoral cultures whose elements are losing their steam and are likely to go into extinction. This paper recommends that for any meaningful sustainable development the people's culture must form the fountain of related policies.

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# Biocultural Heritage concept for natural and cultural conservation in Wirikuta mining conflict

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**Abstract** – Wirikuta is an Ecological-Cultural Reserve and a Sacred-Natural site in Mexico. It has been used for centuries by huichol-ethnic group as a sacred place for traditional worship. In 2000 WWF catalogued it as one of the three deserts with more biodiversity worldwide. Since 2009 two transnational mining companies have been exploring the area with the purpose to extract precious metals covering 42% of the complex. Implications would embrace abrupt landscape transformations like desertification, eradication of endangered species and cultural disturbances. The reaction of local actors has been oriented to conserve the area within a proposal that binds nature and culture. They presented a proposal before UNESCO in 2004 to include Wirikuta in the World Natural and Cultural Heritage list. By analyzing the general characteristics of this conflict we aim to elaborate on the Biocultural Heritage Concept in terms of its conceptual implication binding nature and culture, surveying also its practicalities in terms of development and the relevance of the institutionalized concept for social local actors.

## THE NATURE-CULTURE ENTANGLEMENT:

### HIGHLIGHTS OF WIRIKUTA SACRED NATURAL SITE

Wirikuta is an Ecological-Cultural Reserve and a Sacred-Natural Site covering 191,504.3 ha of the Altiplano Potosino region in northern Mexico. It has been used for centuries by Huichol ethnic group (wixaritari in their own language) as a sacred destination for pilgrimage and traditional worship. The wixaritari usually begin the pilgrimage within the first two months of every year by traveling approximately 450 km from their homelands spread in western central/northern Mexico to conclude the journey in Wirikuta, where they make offerings for the gods and carry out with the recollection and/or consumption of Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*). Also named hikuri, Peyote is a hallucinogen endemic cactus proliferating in the Wirikuta desert, used by this group to reach a mystical connection with the supreme forces of nature. Due to its psychoactive and narcotic effects peyote is considered an illegal plant by Mexican laws and federal police keep the Wirikuta area on permanent surveillance to prevent the illegal trafficking of it. Nonetheless, its usage is allowed for wixaritari with traditional purposes.

For wixaritari naturalist cosmology keeping balance in the universe is essential. This can only be achieved through self-sacrifice and the searching for

knowledge, attributes that are attained by continually performing the pilgrimage with the primary objective to ensure the continuity of time and life cycles on earth. Wixaritari worldview conceives Wirikuta as the navel of the world; the very spot in which the creation of the world befell. For them everything inside Wirikuta –including plants, animals and even stones– is sacred because is through those natural beings that mother earth speaks to them and approves their trip (CONANP, 2012).

The area of Wirikuta is located within Chihuahua Desert Eco Regional Complex (CDERC) which encompasses a global surface of 63'000,000 ha. It was described by WWF (et al., 2000) as one of the three deserts with more biodiversity worldwide and the only one that hosts relevant biota on both: earth and freshwater environments. It was catalogued with high threat level and priority range 1. Despite Wirikuta covers only 0.3% of the global surface of the CDERC it hosts for relevant percentages of flora and fauna within its borders. Wirikuta features 56% of the 250 known bird species (2 endemic, 5 VU, 1 CR and 7 NT), 53% of the 100 known mammal species (6 endemic, 7 VU, 2 CR and 7 NT), and 14.5% of 345 known cactaceous species (12 endemic, 4 VU, 1 CR and 9 NT) of the global amount of species found in CDERC. Despite a complete herpetological list is not available for Wirikuta, seven species of amphibious were localized as well as 32 species of reptiles. This represents a problem because this zone hosts one of the most diverse ranges of reptiles in the world.

In 2012 a survey on Wirikuta was carried out by Mexican Environment and Natural Resources Ministry (SEMARNAT) in order to examine the establishment of a Natural Protected Area within its boundaries. The survey pointed out the significance of Wirikuta in a wide range of items concerning the richness of desert-type wild biodiversity living within its borders, the agrobiodiversity found, its relevance for implementing climate change adaptation programs in the country, the potential to conduct scientific research on it and traditional productive practices linked to territory.

## NEW PLANS AND IMPLICATIONS:

### MINING INDUSTRIES COME INTO PLAY

By 2009 First Majestic mining company acquired 22 concessions covering 6,327 hectares within the Wirikuta State Reserve in order to extract silver and gold with their project "La Luz". By 2011 Revolution Resources announced their "Universo Project" will extract precious metals covering 42% of Wirikuta

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complex (around 60,000 ha). Both Canadian companies may use the open-pit mining extracting method and the cyanide leaching method for recovering metals, which are the most common methods used by the Canadian extractive model with a remarkable background in San Luis Potosí State: The Cerro de San Pedro/Minera San Xavier case, widely documented by Reyna-Jimenez (2009) where significant devastation of natural areas and symbolic and historic places were involved.

In Wirikuta, severe environmental implications may occur like: Destruction of soil and landscape, irreversible water, soil and air pollution, eradication of endangered species listed above, disablement of soil of traditionally based-knowledge rural areas, and most of all: an increase in Hydro-stress consequential from exhaustion of groundwater, springs and streams (considering that this is a desert area and that mining industries consume around 100 million liters of water per day), not to mention cultural implications for wixaritari, peasants, traditional low impact miners, tourists and scientists interested in the area.

#### CONFLICT ARISES: THE ENCOUNTERING OF PROPOSALS FOR CONSERVATION

Wixaritari, alongside with activists, peasants and an interdisciplinary group of academics have settled a resistance group named Tamatsima Wahaa with the main aim of protecting the area. In order to get global legitimacy they intended Wirikuta to be listed as a Natural-cultural world-heritage site before UNESCO in 2004. The proposal is still in waiting list. In 2012 Federal government has tried to create a strategy of mediation by promoting a parallel patrimonialization process before UNESCO under the immaterial heritage scheme which only protects traditions and cultural practices but excluding spaces or territories. A similar process occurred with an initiative of creating a Federal Natural Protected Area-Reserve of the Biosphere, which delimitates a specific margin for offering environmental services in Wirikuta, not only disposing the abrupt reordering of the site but also allowing mining companies to perform high impact extracting activities outside the perimeters (still considered as part of the biocultural complex). The latter conditions are categorically refused by opponents, giving birth to a socio environmental mining conflict dealing with: the actions of stakeholders in relation to the social construction of the environment, development, the excess of modernity and its social implications and the role of the actors in search for innovations that can respond to the global social transformations taking place inside and over their living spaces.

#### BIOCULTURAL HERITAGE: A KEY CONCEPT FOR STRUGGLE, CONSERVATION AND INNOVATION

Activist's stances lie within a recurrent discourse on the need to conserve Wirikuta under a "biocultural" scheme that would represent a significant advance in developing a model of conservation, proper to the current socio-environmental issues of Mexico: "Protecting biocultural heritage involves recognizing

interactive historic processes between culture and nature in specific territories" (Tamatsima Wahaa, 2012). This means by linking cultural and biological values a call is made for a territorially-based approach.

On the other side, the Mexican state tends to redirect the way of facing conflictive situations through the withdrawing of its power as seen by Foucault (Lemke, 2000) which can be seen through the indolence to offering radical solutions whether they are fair or not in paternalistic ways as it used to act in past years. However its intervention lies within an opposite approach on values that detaches the matter of the problem from the problem itself in a de-territorially-based approach, evidencing a direct confrontation that reveals not only the ways of conducting struggles over patrimony, but also unveiling the inter-dynamics occurring between nation-states, transnational industries, urgent needs for natural resources and local cultural practices in the global context.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Within this struggle local actors have decided to fight by appealing to UNESCO's concept of Natural-Cultural Heritage (1972). They attribute to UNESCO the power of paralyzing the activities of transnational companies; this remains to be verified in reality. However the problem stresses when knowing that support of the state-nation is required to proceed with the patrimonialization process, and local actor's proposal is completely opposite to the one presented by Mexican government. Activist's initiative is unusual due to it shows they are aware that globalisation processes cannot be stopped at some point and search to find solutions also in a global scale. Actions of local actors show that local is no longer closed, ignorant or uninformed, but competent, learning to acquire practical knowledge, strategies and also to generate information through social networks in shorter time. However more research on the topic is required and we are committed to conduct ethnographic based research within the area of Wirikuta in order to find out how social change is occurring amongst local actors in order to preserve the Sacred Natural Site by analyzing social innovation, mutational processes of change and ways of negotiating over the binomial of life realms and territory.

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# Social assessment of ecosystem services – Linking images of nature and ecosystem services assessment

Rik De Vreese, Mark Leys, Ann Van Herzele, Corentin M. Fontaine and Nicolas Dendoncker<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper describes a qualitative social assessment of ecosystem services (ESS), as part of an integrated ESS assessment in a peri-urban study area in central Belgium. We interviewed 39 decision-makers and other people actively using and managing nature in the study area and asked them firstly what nature means to them, and secondly to assess the importance of 31 ecosystem services at the local scale. By applying a grounded theory-inspired analysis of the interview transcripts, we defined interviewees' images of nature. Two dimensions along which images of nature are revolving, emerged: on the one hand the nature versus culture dimension and on the other hand the view on the relation between nature and people. This paper elaborates on these dimensions and illustrates them through interview quotes. We also demonstrate how the images of nature fit the ESS concept and ESS classification. We show how cultural and provisioning ESS are clearly present in the images of nature, regulating ESS are much less connected to the images.

## INTRODUCTION

Ecosystem services are those benefits supplied to human societies by ecosystems. Traditionally, ecosystem services assessments focus on economic and biophysical aspects. However, several authors (e.g. Raymond et al., 2009) formulate the need to study the social dimension of ecosystem services (ESS) functioning before studying the biophysical and/or economic aspects of ecosystems. Therefore, we developed an integrated framework for ESS assessment (Fontaine et al., 2013) in which the social assessment is steering the subsequent biophysical and economic assessments. This paper describes the social component of the framework.

We introduce the "Images of Nature" concept as a framework to understand respondents' assessment of ecosystem services. Images of nature are defined as a "coherent set of generalized meanings of nature, culturally embedded and transformed through discourse and personal experience with nature,

which shape actual nature experiences and nature-related activities" (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 377).

We aim to describe the images of nature held by the respondents and applied when assessing ecosystem services importance at the local scale.

## METHODOLOGY

For this study, four contiguous municipalities in central Belgium have been selected due to their location in the peri-urban Brussels agglomeration and the high agricultural, ecological and landscape quality of the area (De Vreese et al., forthcoming).

Thirty-nine respondents have been interviewed on ESS provisioning in their municipality. The interviewees are politicians, decision-makers and ESS users, so stakeholders actively involved in land use and land management. Through purposive sampling information-rich cases have been selected. The semi-structured interviews have been designed after Raymond et al. (2009) and consisted out of two parts:

- *open-ended questioning*: respondents are asked to elaborate upon their role regarding nature and landscape, and upon what nature means to them;
- *ecosystem service-based prompting*: respondents are asked to assign importance for 31 selected ESS, and to motivate their assessment. For the present paper, the grading exercise is interesting as eliciting statements relevant for describing images of nature.

The interviews have been transcribed at verbatim and analysed following a constructivist grounded theory inspired approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

## RESULTS

All respondents showed a positive stance towards nature and landscape in their municipality, when describing their image of nature explicitly or implicitly when arguing their assessment of ESS.

The images of nature are revolving along two dimensions: the first dimension describes the nature versus culture divide, the second dimension describes the relationship between people and nature.

### *Nature versus Culture*

Along the Nature versus Culture dimension, respondents describe the tension between (primeval) nature and culture/cultural nature.

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*R: All what is not culture, all what not really is concerning humans, what isn't culture is nature.*  
(citizen – member of municipal council)

A minority (six) of the respondents adhere to the primeval nature stance, as they prefer nature (virtually) not influenced by men or because they attribute a higher aesthetical quality to "untouched" nature. However, all respondents agree there is no "real nature" left in the area.

*R: Yeah, what is nature (laughs)? What is here still nature? Pure nature, nothing hé. It all has been cultivated, it all has been replanted and transplanted a hundred times.*

(citizen – artist)

All stakeholders appreciate the high natural, recreational and aesthetical quality of the cultural landscape in the study area and opt for conserving and strengthening these landscapes. Respondents also refer to the important role of agriculture as manager of the cultural landscape.

#### *Relation Nature - Men*

The second dimension describes the relation between humans and nature. Based on the interviews, we distinguished three stances. From an anthropocentric *Nature for People* stance, all respondents refer to utilising nature for material (food, fruit, vegetables, wood, timber) and immaterial (recreation, aesthetics) benefits.

*R: Using the landscape, what do you call "utilising the landscape"? Enjoying the landscape? That's also a use of the landscape.* (citizen – land owner)

The opposite ecocentric *People for Nature* stance is axed on caring for nature, through policy and management.

*R: I do find it more important that nature not has to take care of it. We have to purify our water before it enters nature. It is not nature that has to do the work, I think.* (member of nature conservancy)

The policy component includes environmental and nature policy, but respondents also refer to integration of (caring for) nature in other policy domains, especially land use and spatial planning (see also the third stance). Respondents also refer to the role of environmental NGOs and citizen associations for developing a sense of involvement with the local landscape.

In the third stance, respondents indicate an *Imbalanced relation between Nature and Men* in the study area. A first group of imbalances refers to biodiversity, nature and nature and landscape management as a source of (potential) conflict.

*R: That that, that's why I sometimes don't understand the green men, they than say "now we want foxes here", (...) Yeah those foxes what do they do? They come to eat my chickens* (citizen)

Secondly, respondents are critical towards the development of new nature areas, especially farmers who oppose to giving up their land for nature.

Thirdly, respondents refer to the negative impact of humans on nature, e.g. through urbanization, recreation, pollution and inappropriate agricultural practices.

#### DISCUSSION – LINKING IMAGES OF NATURE TO ECOSYSTEM SERVICE CLASSIFICATION

The *Nature for People* stance in the second dimension confirms how the ecosystem services concept is (partially) fitting stakeholders' image on nature. During the interviews, we did not mention the ESS-concept and in the first part of the interview we avoided to refer to individual ESS. Nevertheless, respondents spontaneously referred to benefits people obtain from nature and landscape, ergo defining ecosystem services.

The *Nature for People* stance is referring to provisioning (food, wood, ...) and cultural (recreation, aesthetics, therapeutics, relaxation) ESS. In the *People for Nature* stance, respondents refer to the ESS of employment, through agriculture and nature management. Also in the *Nature versus Culture* dimension, respondents refer to individual cultural ESS such as providing and conserving historical landscapes. Regulating ESS however are much less important in respondents' images of nature.

#### CONCLUSION

We have demonstrated how ecosystem services partly relate to respondents' images of nature. Provisioning and cultural ESS are clearly present in the emerging images of nature, regulating ESS not.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Managing common-pool resources in city-regions: issues and impact in Galicia, Spain

Lola Domínguez García<sup>1</sup> and Paul Swagemakers<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract** – Massive, policy induced migration over the last decades caused an exodus from rural Galicia, an important woodland area in north western Spain, to Galician's urban and industrial areas and elsewhere in Europe. The exodus of the countryside combined with the industrialisation of cattle farming results in the abandonment of Monte, traditionally a multifunctional mountainous zone covered by trees, bushes and scrub, and its improper and/ or inefficient use. This paper identifies different land-use patterns and related democratic decision making systems, and hypothesizes how *Comunidades de Montes Veciñais en Man Común* (CMVMCs, Neighbourhood Communities for the Common Management of Monte) might contribute to the sustainable management of the metropolitan landscape of Galicia's young but largest city, Vigo.

## INTRODUCTION

Industrialisation and the mono-functional forestation of marginal farmlands (Calvo Iglesias, Fra Paleo and Diaz Varela, 2009) make activists and scientists demanding attention for the degradation of natural resources (Altieri 1999; Toledo, 1990). As a starting point for a transitional process towards a sustainable future, case study research in the Metropolitan Area of Vigo (MAV) in Galicia (Spain) aims at the identification of spatial interrelations of place-based adaptations to environmental and resource vulnerabilities (Mettepenningen et al., 2012). In this paper we explore 'Monte', traditionally a multifunctional mountainous zone covered by trees, bushes and scrub (Soto, 2006), as carrier for urban green infrastructure.

## COMMON-POOL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN GALICIA

In contrast with mono-functional land-use patterns advocated and supported by the *Xunta de Galicia* (the regional, autonomous government) the management of Monte by *Comunidades de Montes Veciñais en Man Común* (CMVMCs, Neighbourhood Communities for the Common Management of Monte) shows insight in the management of this common-pool resource, and its performance in food,

timber and other ecosystem services (ES) such as health, well-being and biodiversity.

## Context

For centuries, Monte represented an important resource for rural dwellers and has been indispensable to sustain farming practice in Galicia. Franco's dictatorship (1946-1975) combined industrialisation of cattle farming (Domínguez García, 2007), policy-induced exodus of the countryside (Domínguez García et al., 2012) and expropriation of ownership of Monte by '*Comuneiros*' (the citizens who together own nearby situated Monte). This resulted in the abandonment of this common-pool resource and its improper and/ or inefficient use (Corbelle Rico, Crecente Maseda and Santé Riveira, 2012; Soto, 2006; Timmermans et al., 2011). Nowadays, 2800 CMVMCs communally own and manage about 25 percent of the 700,000 hectares of Galician Monte.

## Conditions

The management conditions of collectively owned and managed Monte can be understood in terms of 4 'I's:

- Monte is '*Inalienable*': *Comuneiros* can never sell their share, and neither a government nor any other authority can neglect this ownership;
- Monte is '*Inprescriptible*': owners never lose their right on the land, and only expropriation for public needs (the construction of roads, hospitals) can take the rights of the *Comuneiros*;
- Monte is '*Indivisible*': Monte cannot be divided, is and remains a commonly managed unit, and people have to decide together on the objectives and the management of this common property;
- Monte is '*Inembargable*': in case of debts of *Comuneiros* the government or banks cannot confiscate their land.

## Constraints

Top-down implemented mono-forestation and the recent implementation of wind parks and plans for mining activities operated by enterprises hardly leave benefits to these communities (Símon and Copena, 2012). Although electric power production through biomass combustion remains limited, recent legislative development (e.g. Royal Decree 661/2007, Decree 149/2008) includes the adaptation in regulatory and legislative frames on ownership and management of Monte in 2012 favouring these dynamics.

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Ongoing political interventions mostly support the productive model, and land expropriation is a key element in these support strategies. Different from experiences elsewhere in Europe (see e.g. Refsgaard and Bryden, 2012) in Galicia landowners (including CMVMCs) are excluded from taking advantage in the newly emerging policy-induced markets for renewable energy.

#### IMPACT

The MAV with about 480,000 inhabitants (a considerable part of Galicia's total of 2,700,000 inhabitants) consists of a large part of Monte, many of it managed by CMVMCs. Yet most MAV's citizens who have migrated from remote rural areas and often with strong roots in the countryside are little concerned but would benefit from the revalorisation of Monte both in the MAV as well as in 'their' villages elsewhere in Galicia. Like elsewhere in Galicia in the peri-urban area of Vigo clientelism and electoral mobilisation (Hopkins, 2001; Keating, 1999; Máiz and Losada, 2000) dominate the compliance with the needs and interests of rural dwellers, which often are unaware of the potentials of Monte and its democratic decision-taking systems.

Policy dynamics generate economic, environmental and social concerns among CMVMCs, and make some these communities to explore alternative land-use models. Although communities like CMVMC Vincios and CMVMC Teis nearby Vigo promote biodiversity in combination with projects on food and forestry production, education and leisure activities, political recognition and support remains limited, or turns out counter-productive.

We conclude this short paper by drawing the hypothesis that the identification and analysis of CMVMCs' as 'rural practices' would further clarify their role in the production and sustainment of ES and, hence, to the recognition of their relevance by city dwellers for the sustainable management of Vigo's metropolitan landscape and Monte in general.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Emerging Urban Food Discourses and Policies in Latvia

Mikelis Grivins and Talis Tisenkopfs<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper maps the emerging food policy and food discourses in the city of Riga, the capital of Latvia. The issues associated with food governance in Latvia are decentralized and associated with several state institutions which promote various viewpoints on how sustainable food system should be interpreted and initiate the policies accordingly. The existing policy documents addressing food issues often lack a clear connection to any wider food strategy.

In this paper we explore how bottom-up initiatives driven by 'food ambassadors', civic groups and their supporters trigger policy makers to reformulate the current policies or at least policy interpretations. We argue in the paper that that wide range of contradicting influences come from policies dealing with issues not associated directly with food. However, the lack of strategy has not delayed development of various food related initiatives which emerge in civil society or market domains. During the last years such initiatives as farmers markets, direct buying, support for shortened food chains, eco catering restaurants, collective purchase groups have emerged. Furthermore, the growing demand for local and sustainable food has forced shopping malls and more industrial forms of food production to correspond by adjusting their offer.

## INTRODUCTION

Food systems are under-researched and the food research field is fragmented in Latvia. Until now there has been scarce data and interpretation of food related processes in Latvia.

Despite this lack of research, activities in public space can be observed that allow concluding that society in general and in particular specific groups are increasingly taking interest in food related issues and are willing to participate in the (re-) structuring of this field. In policy and media it can be observed through food related turning points and tipping events (scandals, crises, accessible funding etc.). In the general society it can be noticed in growing public awareness about food related issues such as health, environmental impact of food production and consumption, social justice, solidarity with farmers, waste, etc. More and more initiatives emerge creating new ways how Riga citizens think of and access food. These initiatives create new spaces of food production, exchange and consumption in the urban

environment that have not been foreseen and accommodated in policies yet.

The aim of this paper is to explore food discourses and new practices that shape practical and discursive food systems at Riga city level. Additionally we will develop explanation how these initiatives, discourses and emerging food policies interact and overlap.

This paper is a part of a larger research project (SUPURBFOOD) addressing sustainable agriculture and food provision in city regions.

## DATA USED IN THE ANALYSIS

In order to grasp emerging food discourses we analysed policy documents, researches and press publications addressing food issues, conducted interviews with various stakeholders, used participatory observations of civic group gatherings and analysed content of online media.

Documentary analysis was conducted to draw the actual political context and to identify discourses dominating in policy documents. For this we selected the documents related to food policy making (laws, regulations, etc.), planning documents, and documents describing food related sectors, etc. Additionally we conducted content analysis of communications of governmental institutions. To achieve better understanding we separated policy documents of national level from the documents of municipal/regional level.

During empirical research we conducted 20 interviews with various stakeholders: 5 with actors from governmental sector; 3 with actors from professional organizations (co-op's; association); 6 with market actors; 6 with NGO representatives and civic activists.

Additionally we conducted social media analysis of 29 food related web sites. Sites were selected if there were published texts and pictures on food related issues within the site and the site held at least several publications and posts about food.

## TWO BACKGROUND DISCOURSES OF FOOD

Our research shows that food policy and governance in Latvia is spread among various policy institutions and actors without a sufficient degree of mutual coordination. Institutions involved in food policy making promote different and even contrary viewpoints on how the food system should be interpreted and initiate policies accordingly. The main observable viewpoints are somewhat similar to those that

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Lang (Lang et al., 2009, 8) term as historical – “agriculture (primary production), nutritious aspects of human health (consumption) and economics (international trade)”. Lang et al. explains that historical or “old” food interpretation fails in addressing the food system as a whole and that a new food policy is needed.

Our analysis shows that food interpretation in Latvia is dominated by two discourses. The first discourse is that of the governing sector and in Lang’s terms could be described as historical (this discourse could be called intensive as well). It interprets nature as subordinated to human problem solving and can be associated with the administrative role of the state. We can relate this strand with the governing sector, the main share of market actors and some civic participants. The main ideas coming from this strand is advocacy for more intensive production, large scale operations, greater institutionalization and control over food system, etc.

In opposition to historical approach there is a mix of ideas that could be described as post-modern discourse underlying sustainable modernization, alternative consumption, a call to return closer to nature, eco-nationalism, etc. These ideas, sentiments, values and practices are mainly pronounced by civic groups and some innovative market actors. In some aspects post-modern discourse is controversial. More elaborated and accepted in the civic sector it joins as an opposition to the historical viewpoint and as a call for a new food policy and interpretation. Post-modern discourse can be related to most of civic initiatives, meanwhile it influences the wider market sector and some governing institutions as well.

Interviews show that discourses could be described as a mirror version of what Lockie observes in Australia, UK and US. Lockie suggests that mass media reduces the variety of actors involved by representing them as a part of two oppositional discourses (Lockie 2006). In Latvia there is a huge gap between various civic groups, too. The groups supporting *sustainable modernism* seem to be more organized, with more elaborated argumentation and their members are well educated, and economically well-off. Those who call for return to nature as a group seemed to be an opposition to the first one – with lower income, weaker cultural and social capital, and weaker administrative skills. However these groups were managing to act together. Although they were aware of mutual differences they kept these aside because of a mutual need to claim legitimacy of discourse they support and to strengthen knowledge, practices and values that are in its basis. This partly could be explained by the fact that in Latvia civil society sector is relatively small and public food activists and ambassadors are familiar with each other and try to create strong connections between different initiatives.

Post-modern discourse can form itself only because it exists as a network opposing the dominating historical discourse. The process is similar to alliance

building described by Latour – actors have united to promote common claims and by doing so have sacrificed some of their private interests (Latour 1999). Without common claims discourse will disband. However, the unifying oppositional stance comes with a price – a need to correspond to the arguments used in the historical discourse. This is because most of official discussions are accepting only one legitimate argumentation that would fit to the core ideas of historical discourse. Post-modern discourse, to legitimate itself is forced to translate its core ideas into argumentation recognized by historical approach. The need to be *bilingual* in order to be heard causes losing of some oppositional stand and forces it to move closer to historical discourse.

There are other ways how both discourses overlap as well. Historical discourse is perceived as a common-sense. As such it is well known and has well elaborated relations to other discourses and policies surrounding it. Situation is slightly different with the post-modern discourse: it is new and some of its parts are still underdeveloped, and it is not accommodated in policies. For that reason some of the knowledge, norms, values, links, etc., presupposed through post-modern discourse are still vague. Therefore, there are common situations when actors do not know how to use the discourse to scale up their practices or enter policies. In such cases, in order to replace the lack of knowledge, common sense is used. This means that some bits of knowledge from historical discourse are borrowed.

#### DISCUSSION

Environmental concerns in relation to food system could be described as a comparatively new phenomenon in Latvia. While historical discourse is dominating within policy making, some civic activists are searching for the ways to transmit their message more efficiently. Meanwhile, the society is struggling to comprehend contradicting interpretations of agriculture and food complex that are penetrating public space. Public media is overwhelmed with food related commentaries made by professionals – self-proclaimed food ambassadors (doctors, dietologists, nutritionists, nationalists, ecologists, etc.) who suggest new interpretations to approach diets and aspects of food, which should be taken into account when improving food habits.

The emergence of opposition to dominant historical discourse and policies has been relatively easy. However, a huge variety of different viewpoints illustrates that securing integrity of this new post-modern discourse could be quite a complicated task. Is it a strength or a weakness of this discourse? Time will show.

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# Connective storylines: the social construction of urban green infrastructure & ecosystem services

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**Abstract** – In planning and development practices the design and management of metropolitan landscapes become increasingly important (Hester, 2006). In this paper we explore the concept of 'activity space' (Massey, 1995). We argue that the concept of activity spaces contributes to our understanding of how ecosystem services (ES) are perceived and are embedded in daily life and activities of citizens, which enables describing ES in terms of connective storylines and helps identifying possibilities to its further development.

## INTRODUCTION

Complying with the OECD 'Green Growth Strategy' (OECD, 2011) for the coming decades implies solving environmental problems while creating economic benefits and human welfare, objectives, which have been taken as EU position (Refsgaard and Bryden, 2012; EC, 26 June 2013).

With the objective of sustaining rural-urban landscapes, food provisioning practices should build on ES, which are defined as the benefits people obtain from the eco-system. These benefits include cultural (e.g. landscape, recreation), environmental (e.g. biodiversity), supporting (e.g. nutrient and water cycles) and provisioning services (e.g. food, timber and biomass production).

Our aim is to provide a conceptual framework for the identification, interpretation and further construction of regional food provision and accompanying cultural and environmental ES. In the framework the right to define priorities under self-created and managed resources prevails over a neo-liberal market ordering. Next to practices and connections we look to regional food provisioning and ES in terms of perceptions, which we refer to as connective storylines in daily life and activities of citizens.

## ACTIVITY SPACE

In order to identify, describe and analyse the interrelations between agri-food dynamics, policies and governance arrangements (Woods, forthcoming), we explore the use of the concept of 'activity space'. In

the next paragraphs we define and illustrate this concept and its components: practices, connections and perceptions and their mutual interrelations, which enables to better understand the concept of activity space.

### *Heuristic device*

Acknowledging that a modern metropolitan landscape cannot be fully self-sufficient in food production and taking into account Born and Purcell's (2006) warning for the over-idealization of the 'local', in this paper we develop activity space as heuristic device for understanding 'the spatial network of links and activities, of spatial connections and of locations' (Massey, 1995). The concept of activity space supports analysing food provisioning practices considered as 'assemblage' of spatial practices, characterised by short or longer chains and going beyond the local-global duality.

The identification of ES in terms of activity space builds upon work of geographers such as Allen, Massey and Cochrane (1998), Massey (1995; 2004; 2005) and Rose (1995), in which three issues on the relational conceptualisation of space can be distinguished:

- ES result from processes and should be conceptualised in terms of the social interrelations and interactions in which the metropolitan landscape is tied together;
- Boundaries may be necessary, for example for the purpose of study, but are not essential for defining ES;
- ES are always contested; they are subject to conflicts and claims of various stakeholders.

These characteristics indicate that solutions for sustaining metropolitan landscapes and reducing the impact of a food crisis can be influenced - to the better or the worse - by the spatial organisation of food networks. Instead of considering these as stable or fixed solutions for food provision we believe it is important to identify how different parts of food networks in different built environments and landscape features may to different degrees (re)produce ES.

### *The spatial organisation of food networks*

An example of the spatial organisation of food networks is Cesta Fresca, a small-scaled horticulture

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farm with a box scheme at 30 kilometres from Vigo. The land belongs to the family of one of the farmers, and water is derived from communally owned and managed mountain streams. When short in own produce, products for the box scheme are provided by other farmers, some at short others at longer distances. Foreign but 'locally' derived varieties in one of the farmer's home country Czech Republic are reproduced on the farm and seeds are exchanged in an informal seeds exchange network. Instead of using subsidies and loans for new buildings, the greenhouse has been bought second-hand with own capital. During the season workers assist at the farm, invited via the WOFF (World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms network).

Interpreting Cesta Fresca's spatial network, this neither entirely operates locally nor globally. Reproduction of this spatial organisation of the food network depends on the necessarily productive resources to be reproduced locally, which is combined with the marketing of products and the obtainment of knowledge elsewhere.

Acknowledging differences in governance in different metropolitan landscapes, storylines as illustrated in the Cesta Fresca case supply input for the development of planning guidelines or other kinds of 'top-down' principles (e.g. implementation of subsidy frameworks, creating access to land for young farmers etc.) and turns metropolitan landscapes into places of negotiation (Massey, 2004).

#### DISCUSSION

Important for learning about and sustainment of metropolitan landscapes are well-functioning food networks, smart co-operations between them, and memory carriers that are embedded in effective food provisioning networks. ES provision consolidates into 'urban green infrastructure' when in daily life and the activity of people ES are perceived and 'work' as connective storylines. Storylines in which ES are central contribute to the development of a more resilient model, either through stimulating regional co-operation, the design of subsidy frameworks or planning guidelines. This implies that CAP measurements and payments should contribute to the strengthening of social networks that produce ES.

In this context the CAP could be directed to the modernisation of metropolitan landscapes in which self-sufficiency in food production is combined with cultural and environmental services, under the condition that boundaries should not be limited to a specific geographical area but are to be determined by connective storylines.

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# Spatial analysis of organic farming distribution. A Case Study in Tuscany Region

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**Abstract** –The purpose of this paper is to investigate spatial distribution of the participation to organic farming measure in Tuscany (measure 214 of Rural Development Policy) Analysis is performed applying indicator of spatial association and spatial econometrics models to estimated determinants of participation. The results suggest that there is a spatial correlation of the rate of participant to measure 214 and of the share of organic UAA. Models results show spatial relation between the share of farms under 214, highlighting that diffusion process is driven by imitation process, by endogeneity of the areas and quality of advice and extension services.

## INTRODUCTION

Despite the agglomeration economies are not features of agriculture, which is bounded to land as the main production factor, under the effects of public and private stimulates some farming systems, such as organic agriculture, could show localization patterns. The spatial dependency of organic farming activities (Schmidtner et al. 2012; Parker and Munroe, 2007) and the importance of local institutions in the decisions to convert and the diffusion of organic (Morone et al., 2006; Padel, 2001) are well investigated by economic literature. The purpose of this paper is to join these aspects and investigates the spatial distribution of farms participation to measure 214 (sub-measure A1) of rural development policy (RDP) in Tuscany. This Agri-environmental measure compensates farmers for voluntarily entering in multi-year prescriptions which provide both environment benefits and quality food production. The objectives of this paper are to identify influence of location factors and agglomeration effects on the spatial regimes of the distribution of organic farm in Tuscany Region and identify potential policy criteria to design a better target RDP policy.

## DATA AND METHODOLOGIES

The spatial distribution of participation rate in the municipalities of Tuscany Region is analyzed in two steps. First, spatial correlation is estimated by the Moran's  $I$ , calculated as:

$$I = \frac{n}{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n w_{ij}} \cdot \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})(x_j - \bar{x})w_{ij}}{\sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})^2} \quad (1)$$

Where  $w_{ij}$  is the spatial weight obtained by a spatial function between area  $i$  and  $j$ ; and  $x_i$  and  $x_j$  are the observed value in the  $i$ -th and  $j$ -th location. Local Moran's index is used to test spatial correlation but a graphical interpretation of spatial clustering can be given plotting standardized variable ( $z$ -values) and the spatial lag standardized variable ( $W \cdot z$ ). The slope of the regression line of these couples is the Global Moran's index. The scatter plot is divided into four quadrants. In the south-west and north-east quadrants there are the observations that have values below or above the mean on the variable with neighbours below or above the mean. Hot spot are called the municipalities with high participation rates with high participation rate among neighbouring. Cold spot are called the municipality with low participation rate with low participation rates among neighbouring. The other observed values are called "spatial outliers".

In order to estimate determinants of participant a spatial econometric model will be applied. Following LeSage (2009) the specification spatial lag model has the following form:

$$y = \rho W y + X \beta + \varepsilon \quad (2)$$

Where  $y$  is the vector for a dependent variable, each associated with a location  $i$ .  $X$  is the matrix containing the explanatory variables.  $W$  is the spatial weight matrix.  $\varepsilon$  is the vector of normally distributed errors with mean zero and variance  $\sigma^2$ .  $\rho$  is the spatial lag coefficient reflecting the importance of spatial dependence.  $\beta$  is the vector containing the regression coefficients for the explanatory variables.

Assuming that the essential determinants to participate to the measure 214 are sustained at aggregated level, the empirical model estimates the share of participant to this measure at the municipality level and the share of utilized agricultural area (UAA). The covariates are classified in 4 categories. The first category is related to the classification of the territories with dummies variables to check for altitude zone effect and the zoning used by classify municipality for RDP design. The second group concerns farmer characteristics: share of farms with male owner, farmers aged less than 40 year or aged more than 65 year, farmers with an agricultural education or a degree, share of part time farmers. The third category of variables describe farm structures: share of numbers of cooperatives, share of individual farms, share of farms with potential successor, with uses only household labour or part time farming, average farms size, ratio of UAA and total

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land, average number of plots in each municipality. The fourth category is related to farming system: share of farms with arable crops, with fruit crops, with forest, with animals husbandry, share of farms which obtained some RDP support, with PDO production, share of farms with a list of other activities as agritourism, recreational activities, school activities, handicrafts, first preparation, products, first vegetable or animal transformation, energy production, woodworking, aquaculture, agricultural and non agricultural services, animal breeding services, gardening, forestry, animal feeds production and share of farms with other activities.

The data used are obtained by 6th Italian agricultural census and the administrative data of ARTEA (Regional Rural Payments Agency).

### RESULTS

The distributions of share of beneficiaries and the share of UAA are showed in Fig.1.

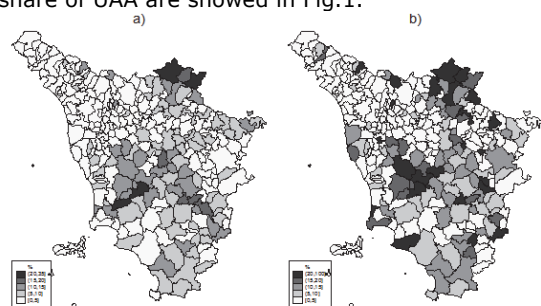


Figure 1. Spatial distribution of farms participation (a) and the UAA granted to measure 214 (b).

Data shown that 5% of the Tuscany farmers participate to the measure, which count more than 10% of the total UAA of the region,

Hot spots of participation and surface are observed in the North-East and in the Middle of Tuscany. Cold spot are located in the North-West of the region. The distribution of UAA is quite similar.

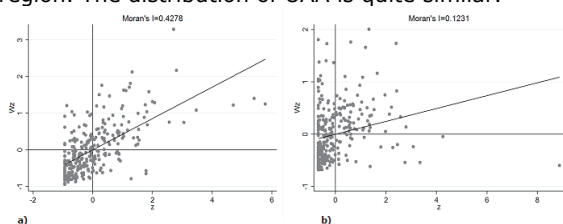


Figure 2. Moran scatter plot for the share of farms participation (a) and the UAA granted to measure 214 (b).

The positive and significant Moran's  $I$  value indicates a positive spatial correlation for both variables. Although the scatter plot confirm a spatial pattern in the distribution of share of beneficiaries a lower correlation emerges for the share of UAA which shows a higher numbers of spatial outliers.

The regression results are showed in Table 1. The factor spatial dependence (Rho) seems to have a relevant influence on the distribution of the applicant farms but no influence in the distribution of UAA. If, *ceteris paribus*, the share of participants in a municipality increases of 1% then the estimated share of

participant in the neighbouring municipalities increase of 0.29%. RDP zoning and altitude affect participation and diffusion of organic farming. Women and high educated farms are most likely to participate to 214 measure. Large farmers and those involved in cooperative or with adoption of diversification activity are more likely to participate into organic measure.

Table 1. Results of the spatial lag models ( $n = 285$ )

Variables <sup>a</sup>	Coef	Coef
Internal mountains		-0.11**
Plain	-0.03***	
Declining rural areas		-0.07**
Under develop rural areas	-0.04**	-0.84***
Farms with potential successor		-0.98***
Agricultural education of farmers	0.21**	0.71*
Share of cooperatives	2.74**	
Part time farmers	0.11*	
Farms with male farmer	-0.65***	-0.23**
Average UAA (Ha)	0.001*	0.002**
Average number of plots	-0.003*	-0.009*
Farms with forest area	0.05**	0.13**
Farms with some RDP support	0.85***	
Farms with PDO production	0.64**	
Farms with agritourism	0.23*	
Farms with recreational activities		2.03**
Farms with handicrafts activities		3.05***
Farms with school activities	0.91**	
Farms with woodworking	0.21***	
Others farms activities	0.59**	1.98**
Rho	0.29*	

<sup>a</sup> Not significant variables are omitted

\*  $P < 0.01$ , \*\*  $P < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $P < 0.1$

### CONCLUSION

The results highlight that a relevant spatial dependence in the participation rate exists but no spatial regime are associated with share of UAA. In addition, not a particular farms typology or classifications of territory seems to influence the participation to the measure. Therefore, the diffusion pattern is affected by imitation process. The Region Toscana's choice to not include eligibility criteria or priority areas between the participation standards to the 214 measure could have stimulated the diffusion of the participations among very different farms typology.

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# LEADER as a vehicle for neo-endogenous rural development in England

Gary Bosworth, Liz Price, Ivan Annibal, Jessica Sellick, Terry Carroll and John Shepherd<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – LEADER emphasises neo-endogenous approaches where local rural development relies as much as possible on “bottom-up” activities. This research shows that the mainstreaming of LEADER saw certain compromises regarding the philosophical aspiration to give greater weight to local issues, local resources and local engagement. However, many LAGs learned to apply flexibility to meet local opportunities and challenges demonstrating how LEADER can empower local actors. Future challenges require LEADER to be more integrated with other rural policies and for the procedural elements to be simplified, especially for the smaller projects that have been found to make real impact at a very local level.

## INTRODUCTION TO LEADER

LEADER was launched in 1991 as an area-based, bottom-up approach to rural development. Its philosophy concerns local communities developing innovative ways to generate local development by focusing on the potential of adding value to existing local resources, in line with neo-endogenous theories of rural development (Ray 2001). Moving away from top-down implementation can add value to the delivery of the other three axes within the Rural Development Programme (EU Court of Auditors Report, 2010).

Hubbard and Gorton (2011) noted that “Mainstreaming Leader may present additional management and coordination problems, and potentially diminishing returns” making this a particularly timely review. In the English context, the abolition of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and systematic shift towards a more localised approach to social and economic development, characterised by Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), Rural Growth networks and the Localism agenda, highlights a potentially valuable role for LEADER.

While the philosophy remains, the new rules, priorities and budgets for the future European Rural Development Programme are changing, making this a critical point at which to review key questions concerning (i) the balance of power between local actors and (trans)national objectives and (ii) the communication and networks that enable LEADER to function effectively at a local level.

## METHODOLOGY

This research was carried out between November 2012 and March 2013 and comprised four main stages: A review of literature and other LEADER

evaluations, a questionnaire sent to a range of rural stakeholders generating 549 responses, a set of interviews with a combined total of 83 key stakeholders and beneficiaries in selected Local Action Groups (LAGs) and (iv) two workshops to test our findings with key personnel in LEADER policy and delivery roles.

The interview locations were identified based on a typology where all 64 LAGs were categorised according to topography (upland; lowland; plain, vale and heath), RDPE Axes and measures (Just Axis 3 or a combination of Axis 1 and Axis 3 measures) and the proportion of their budget spent by September 2012. The interviews were analysed according to key themes regarding the business case for LEADER, optimal operational conditions, the types of project best delivered by LEADER and experiences of wider learning, networking and exchange of best practice. Through the workshops, the combined findings from the secondary data, questionnaire and interview analysis were triangulated allowing future recommendations for local rural development approaches to be presented.

## FINDINGS

The LEADER approach proved to be very popular among those involved in the process. In particular, our survey found that the local, bottom-up approach was highly valued although the level of bureaucracy and auditing was felt by many to be restrictive.

**Table 1.** What has LEADER done well? Survey responses.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree/disagree	Disagree/strongly disagree
Promoting networking & sharing best practice <sup>1</sup>	23%	47%	23%	8%
Helping make the area a better place <sup>2</sup>	45%	45%	7%	3%
Taking a bottom-up approach <sup>1</sup>	42%	41%	11%	6%
Supporting innovation <sup>2</sup>	36%	45%	11%	8%

<sup>1</sup> Data from 503 usable responses; <sup>2</sup> Data from 506 usable responses

There were certain contentions between these findings and the experiences related through interviews where practical issues of implementation were not always so well-liked. For example, while some

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80% of survey respondents felt that LEADER was good at supporting innovation through the funding of new projects, interviews with LAG officers highlighted a high degree of risk aversion. One asked "How do you balance risk with public funding?" adding that "with strong monitoring and progress reporting people don't stray too far". The fear of penalties in the event of projects not delivering was considered by many to be a restraint on more innovative projects. In one area, a portfolio investment approach meant that only one "risky" project would be supported at any given time, potentially restricting others from going ahead.

The issue of risk-taking and auditing highlights the tensions that will inevitably exist within such a governance system. During LEADER+, there was limited success across Europe in fostering evaluation capacity and local ownership of the monitoring and evaluation process (Metis GmbH, 2010); something that remains true in the English context with many evaluations commissioned externally. We also found that the mismatch between LAG boundaries and other statistical geographical units hampered wider evaluation approaches.

The recent LEADER period in England has shown the importance of local/non-local relationships as the regional layer of government was removed and macro-economic conditions changed dramatically. As LAGs and their officers became more familiar with the systems in place, greater local flexibility allowed funds to be diverted between measures to better suit local conditions and some LAGs were also able to work together to address shared needs. However, there was a feeling that the selection of measures against which projects could be funded, decided by RDAs at the outset, presented a top-down restriction that precluded true local control.

The launch of the current LEADER programme saw a large number of new LAGs created and spending on projects was often delayed as members became accustomed to the complex processes and procedures. Demanding workloads were also cited as a reason for limited take-up of networking opportunities, both nationally and internationally. The lack of international projects taken up by English LAGs was also influenced by an unwillingness to spend public funds on travel, especially at a time of financial austerity. Where it was successful, it relied on LAG members having a range of skills, including languages, to enable the cooperation to work well.

LEADER requires numerous resources in order to be effective at a local level and with 64 LAGs in England alone, the need to pool resources and knowledge becomes apparent. Links between actors with direct reporting or signatory roles have developed to provide additional guidance roles but there is undoubted scope for networks to be strengthened, both across LEADER groups and with organisations outside of LEADER. The latter point is particularly significant since many regional development reports were found to include no mention of LEADER and there is scant awareness among LEADER groups and LEPs of each others' roles.

#### THE FUTURE OF LEADER

The uncertainty around the structure, timescale, geographical inclusion and scale of the next LEADER programme is a genuine problem for many of England's LAGs. Staff are being lost from the system due to the resultant insecurity and a significant hiatus between programmes may see a considerable loss of expertise. The added complication of the developing role of LEPs in England also raises questions regarding the future governance structure wherein LEADER will operate.

Not surprisingly, existing LEADER areas wished to retain their status but there was also a sense that coverage could usefully include market towns that served key functions for rural hinterlands. At present, some of these are intentionally excluded to meet the population threshold. Other rural areas were also excluded if their original Local Development Strategy was judged to be lacking in merit so these areas should be entitled to consideration in the future too, but a considerably larger geographical coverage will of course create certain challenges.

The research has found that efficiency savings could be made from combining back-office functions, without losing the focus on local issues. There was also a feeling that LAGs could benefit from a comprehensive set of good practice guidelines based on experience of the current programme which could especially help new LEADER groups. These might set out key principles they should follow in terms of the recruitment of members, the soliciting and consideration of bids, the conduct of meetings, contracting and monitoring, but with a clear emphasis on the value of local groups applying good practice to meet local circumstances, and not seeking to create top-down uniformity.

As the post 2014 situation becomes clearer, the range of reviews and evaluations being conducted should be collated to ensure that best practice is able to guide politicians and local actors alike in their pursuit of further economic and social development in Europe's rural areas. The experiences from England highlight difficulties in terms of managing risk, matching local opportunities to pre-defined measures and dealing with bureaucracy throughout the process. It also highlights real opportunities, however, as local actors have become increasingly capable at supporting applicants and developing approaches tailored to their local areas.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Why policies fail? An institutional model explaining success and failure factors of rural development policies in Europe

Francesco Mantino<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper intends to analyse which are the main mechanisms and factors which bring either to failure or to success rural development policies. This analysis has been done in four Italian regions and in five rural areas, in order to catch macro and “meso” dimensions of success and failure. This analysis take under consideration governance and rules as the main arena where the different stakeholders try to impose their influence and interests at stake. Factors of success and failure operate along the institutional chain starting from the EU to the local level. By their collective action they try to shape rules and governance structures in relation to the impact they perceive on the resource allocation and the transaction costs needed to access to policies.

## INTRODUCTION

Understanding why policies fail in a multi-governance context is the main objective of this paper. It is a quite difficult task, due to the complexity of the policy process and the multi-actor dimension of the analysis. Main focus here is on EU Rural Development Plans (RDPs), as they have been implemented in Italian regions. Italy is a very emblematic case of multi-level and multi-actor system, not only in rural development but also in Cohesion policies. This work intends to develop an analytical framework to represent how interest groups and institutions contribute to determine the outcomes of RD policies, from the entering into force of EU regulations to the funds’ delivering to rural beneficiaries. In this analysis we follow the assumption on the fundamental role of institutions in influencing economic development (North, 1999; Acemoglu et al, 2004; Levy and Fukuyama, 2010), with particular reference to the role of rules and governance structures created by the EU policy reform and its concrete implementation over time. In other works we have already stressed the role of governance (Mantino, 2009; Mantino et al, 2009). In this work we move further by developing the idea that rules and governance determine RD policy failure or success via the transaction costs of new policies and the reactions of main stakeholders to the transaction costs (North, 1999).

## RESEARCH APPROACH AND THE THEORETICAL MODEL

This work is based on three basic hypotheses: a) that relations between actors and governmental level do have a fundamental role in affecting policy

impacts on the farm system and the territorial context; b) main stakeholders can influence how rules and governance structures are designed at the different levels; c) this, in turn, also affects the opportunities for institutional innovation. This implies considering different level of governance (EU, national/regional, local). In this work four regions have been included (Apulia, Sardinia, Tuscany and Liguria) and, for the local level, five study areas (Langhe, Piedmont; Eastern Hills, Friuli; Chianti and Garfagnana, Tuscany; S. Daniele area, Friuli). An interdisciplinary research team has interviewed stakeholders at the different governmental level, including national and regional officials, local actors, etc. through a semi-structured questionnaire. The field work has been complemented by an analysis of the more relevant programmes addressed to rural areas of each region (RDPs, Operational Programmes funded by Structural Funds, other relevant schemes).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Policies fail not only when they show spending inefficiencies, but also when they do not meet the planned objectives and are unable to use the rules and governance structures which have set up during the programming phase. Policy fail in three specific conditions: a) very inefficient governance solutions; b) poor design of policy measures; c) dominance of «extractive» coalitions at local level.

*Very inefficient governance solutions.* These circumstances are very frequent in programmes which are prepared in multi-level context. This is the case of RDPs and also Cohesion programmes. Inefficiency is produced when the central level is unable to coordinate and animate the lower levels and provide them with adequate technical and administrative support. Central level here also identifies the regional coordination. In few cases (Mantino and Forcina, 2011) regions were able to set up efficient coordination mechanisms with the aim of governing the whole set of available policies. Inefficiency also comes when there is a contradictory process of devolution to local authorities (provinces, mountain communities) from the regional level, which does not contribute to strengthen local capacity but only give local a marginal role. This role has been further limited in the most recent years due to the financial crisis (Caporale, 2011). Finally, inefficiency occurs when the regulative frame for local development projects (as Leader) is designed with the aim of constraining and controlling the autonomous strategy of local partnerships.

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*Poor design of policy measures.* Policy measures resulted either inefficient or ineffective in several cases because of the poor design of selection criteria, eligibility criteria or operational procedures for accessing to funds. Policy measures are always designed by public officials under the political approval of policy-makers. Both operate under heavy pressures from organisations/associations of farmers or other rural actors. Sometimes policy decisions on targets, potential beneficiaries, selection and eligibility criteria generate too many constraints and procedural burdens which hamper or delay their implementation rate and effectiveness. This has proved to be more frequent for innovative and for non-agricultural oriented measures, where either conservative pressures or simply lack of expertise are main reasons of failure.

*Dominance of «extractive» coalitions at local level.* This condition could be really jeopardising the success of local integrated approaches, as in the case of Leader projects. Here failure occurs when specific local groups dominate the allocation of funds at the area level under a logic of patronage and do not allow other groups to participate to the construction and the management of the integrated local project. Under this condition there is scarce social and economic innovation and the search for private goods prevails upon searching for local public goods.

Every policy reform of rural development is in reality carried out in three different phases: 1) the preparation of the reform principles in the Regulations; 2) the definition of the policy strategy by programmes at national and/or regional level; 3) the definition of more operational criteria for applications' eligibility and selection by management authorities (figure 1). It is worthy recalling that innovative principles, although introduced by EU Regulations, can be hampered by following policy strategies and governance structures, on the one side, and the stakeholders' response on the other side. Stakeholders always evaluate the impacts of policy decisions on the resource allocation and on transactions costs of the policies. When policy decisions have unfavourable effects on resource allocations or cause too high transaction costs (eventually not counterbalanced by policy incentives), stakeholders not only raise criticism against policy decision, but also try to pressure policy makers and public officials to change. Pressure groups are quite different and promote actions in different directions, not always compatible each other. The final decision is often a search for mediation of different interests. But what it is worthy saying is that mediation could be incompatible with innovative rules introduced by the policy reform. Beyond policy strategies, rules and governance structures prevailing after the stakeholders pressures there are conservative interests that contribute to the policy failures.

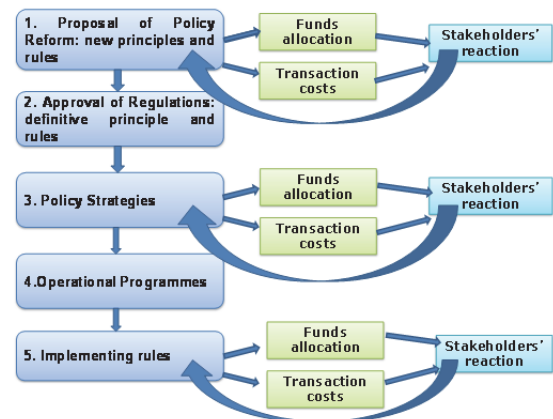


Figure 1. The mechanism of policy design and implementation of rural development and the role of stakeholders.

There are specific factors contributing to explain why policies fail in the Italian development strategy. Some of them are similar to those already outlined for Italian Cohesion policies (Barca, 2009), other are specific to the rural development experience. This work has highlighted five principal critical factors: 1) a long term vision of the policy as a tool to fulfil fundamental need of public goods; 2) a temporal continuity of the policy management and also of the staff involved in this management; 3) the quality of the human resources within the administrative structures and local bodies involved in the delivery system; 4) the presence of intermediate institutions at local level, performing the role as catalyst of development processes and promoting cooperation among different actors; 5) the presence of networks among institutions and private bodies, which are capable of going beyond the mere localism.

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# The (unused) potential of National Rural Networks to improve Policy Delivery and Governance

Doris Marquardt<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - National Rural Networks (NRNs) have been introduced as new intervention under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development. Their main purposes are 1) transferring information on rural development measures; 2) identifying good practices; and 3) organising exchange of know-how. The NRNs, which shall address various rural stakeholders, are interlinked to the European Network for Rural Development. The NRNs are expected to contribute to the improvement of policy delivery and governance, however, neither a common intervention logic nor an evaluation system have been established. This paper examines the NRNs' potential to achieve the two objectives of improving governance and policy delivery. Practical experiences, examined in 2010 surveys among network units across the EU and Romanian network members, are compared with the networks' theoretical potential drawn from the literature. Results show that while the NRNs make contribution to enhance policy delivery, the objective of improving governance is widely neglected; this failure also originates from European level. For the Romanian NRN, huge potential "as enabling policy instrument" is revealed. Applying the Open Method of Coordination involving all NRNs is suggested for enhancing policy delivery and governance and network-evaluation. An intervention logic for NRNs and recommendations for their instrumental design are developed.

## INTRODUCTION

In the period 2007–2013, National Rural Networks (NRNs) have been introduced as a new form of intervention within the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Funded under the Technical Assistance window of the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) main purposes of the NRNs are 1) transferring information on rural development measures; 2) identifying good practices; and 3) organising exchange of experience and know-how (EC/2005/1698). The NRNs, which shall address various stakeholders involved in rural development, are interlinked to the European Network for Rural Development (ENRD). Following the strategic guidelines for rural development (EC/2006/144) NRNs are expected to contribute to the improvement of policy delivery and governance. These expectations form a major difference to networking-interventions within LEADER<sup>2</sup> in the previous periods. However, contrary to other EAFRD interventions, neither an intervention logic nor an evaluation system have been formally established for the NRNs at European level. Moreover, there has been scarcely scientific work on the rural networks so far (Marquardt 2013) and on rural governance at the national level in general (Mantino 2008; OECD 2006). This paper examines the NRNs' potential to achieve the two objectives of improving governance and policy delivery along three research questions: 1) What is the NRNs' theoretical potential with regard to improving governance and policy delivery? 2) How far are ambitions to improve governance and policy delivery through the NRNs reflected in practice? 3) How can the NRNs' instrumental design be improved and adapted to the legal framework in the upcoming funding period for increasing their effectiveness?

## RESEARCH APPROACH & METHODOLOGY

To draw the NRNs' potential for improving governance and policy delivery a review of literature on policy instruments, new modes of governance and policy networks was conducted. The relevance of governance and policy delivery in NRN-activities was assessed empirically in 2010 through: 1) an EU-wide e-mail survey addressing 32 National and Regional Network Units<sup>3</sup> with a quota of return of 37.5%; and 2) an e-mail survey among 467 (potential) NRN members from Romania with a quota of return of 16.3% (see Marquardt 2013).

## RESULTS & DISCUSSION

**Networks' theoretical potential to improve governance and policy delivery.** There is no universally accepted definition of governance (Blumenthal 2005). Nevertheless, all definitions call attention to the institutional bases of the steering and coordination of collective

action (Benz 2004). In policy practice, since the mid-1980s the term governance has been given a normative notion touching on two dimensions: 1) improving governing through governance standards<sup>4</sup>; 2) decreasing state involvement in policy delivery in favour of private or civil actors (Benz 2004). From the latter, a specific governing style named "governance" evolved and a search for new policy means took place for achieving better delivery of policies and creating pre-conditions for participatory policy-making. Main reasons for the increased involvement of actors of the private and civil spheres in political decision-making are the expectations of technically more adequate and politically more realistic decisions and solutions of strong output legitimacy and acceptance (Papadopoulos 2007). In the EU "governance" was brought up with the debate around democratic deficits and the development of the EU constitutions in 2000 (CEC 2001). Apart from increasing legitimacy, improving governance has for the European Commission (EC) relevance for enhancing its image in the society and seeking confidence; It is as community priority manifested in the renewed Lisbon strategy and in the treaties. Another motive for EU institutions to introduce certain governance mechanisms are competence gaps in the multi-level governance system<sup>5</sup> striving for the usage of the softer policy instruments' potential in problem solving (Héritier 2002). **In practice.** Although improving governance counts to the Commission's strategic objectives and rural networks are apart from LEADER one of the two instruments for achieving this objective in the EAFRD context, survey results reveal, that in practice this issue is widely neglected and forms no priority of the network units. A closer look at the framing conditions at European level shows that the EC has neither defined the vague term governance within the strategic guidelines, nor is made reference to any working paper that could lead to a common understanding of that objective among the actors involved in EAFRD activities.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, this objective has not been sufficiently translated into the binding EAFRD Regulation, which forms the main basis for member states' Rural Development Programmes (RDPs). It transpires that actors at national level apparently orientate at the European specifications even if they are insufficient. Thus, member states have not formally operationalized the objective to improve governance either. The majority of the network units have not established their own definition and may not even have the objective of improving governance formally on their agenda. Doubts arise whether improving governance is an aspired objective.<sup>7</sup> One could argue that member states are obliged to formulate their National Strategic Plan, which is one basis for the RDPs, in accordance with the strategic guidelines set out at EU level, and that they also have to consider European priorities when elaborating their RDP (EC/2005/1698, Art. 20, 36, 52, 63). Hence it is the responsibility of the member states to operationalize improving governance as an objective to be achieved by the NRNs. This is of course true. Evidently, however, this only works to a limited extent, although National Strategic Plans and RDPs are approved at EU level. Nevertheless, more than half of the network units consulted were convinced that the existence of their network contributes to the improvement of governance. Other survey participants were not sure as yet, but optimistic that this will prove to be the case. With regard to policy delivery all survey participants were convinced that the networks facilitate the implementation of rural development measures and enhance the quality of rural development projects. They particularly fulfil their information and technical assistance function to (potential) beneficiaries. Similarly, nearly all network units stated that the networks' activities and discussions among their members have some impact on policy formation. Here, the effect of feedback to the managing authority and other policy-makers, and stimulating public debate were mentioned most frequently. Yet, one statement was "Our independen-

<sup>4</sup> Widely accepted principles of good governance are equality of partners, transparency, democratic decision-making, quality of communication and conflict management (CEC 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Hierarchical structures, which are present in some policy fields in the EU system, are de facto weak, because the supra-national organs of the EU depend – due to a lack of possibilities to enforce sanctions – on the cooperation of the member states (Eising and Lenschow 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Note that at European level the objective of improving governance is not only absent from the legislation, but this objective is also not mentioned in the presentation of the NRNs on the website of the ENRD ([www.enrd.eu](http://www.enrd.eu)). In contrast, in the context of LEADER, the objective of improving governance has been translated by determining the framing conditions for decision-making and for the partnership composition inter alia and referring to related guidance documents.

<sup>7</sup> Policy objectives are likely to be defined vaguely, broad, ambiguous for avoid policy failure (Jann and Wegrich 2003); making effective use of flexibility in interpreting objectives might also serve a variety of other reasons (Sandford and Rossmiller 1996); the stated objective may even have little or nothing to do with the real objective (*ibid.*).

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<sup>2</sup> LEADER stands for "Liaison entre actions de développement de l'économie rurale", which translates into English as "Links between the rural economy and development actions".

<sup>3</sup> The questionnaires were sent to the 32 national and regional network units listed on the "Contact list of National Rural Networks" on the ENRD website ([www.enrd.eu](http://www.enrd.eu); last accessed: 01.04.2010). Note that for the purpose of simplification, regional network units are also referred to as "NRNs" in this paper.





cy from the Ministry of Agriculture has given us considerable freedom to address issues, bottlenecks and improvements at different levels of government. Although our criticism is not always welcome, it has led to an improved implementation of the RDP". This reveals that a) governance might be a critical issue; and b) – whether intended or not – the NRNs can have some impact on governance structures and (hence) on the process of implementing the RDP beyond their information and assistance functions. Though, the survey revealed that evaluation is an issue still associated with many question marks and network units can hardly bring systematic evidence for the NRNs' impact.<sup>8</sup> One reason for this is certainly that network evaluation is a general challenge going along with high effort; another reason the lack of a clear intervention logic. The survey among the members of the Romanian NRN revealed special potential of the network in that inexperienced post-socialist new member state as 1) (potential) beneficiaries lack information on the EAFRD; 2) all actors, (potential) beneficiaries and administration, need to gain experience, whereas country-internal communication as well as advice from abroad through the interlink to the ENRD appear very valuable; and 3) participatory democracy has so far been no commonly applied feature. However, despite mandatory to be established until the end of 2008, the Romanian NRN was – apparently due to public procurement problems – not running until 2011, i.e. not working in the essential early phase of the funding period and therefore its effectiveness can be seen as drastically limited. To the same time the Commission's enforcement action can be questioned. **Drawing an intervention logic** for the NRNs. Indeed, the whole Technical Assistance component is affected by a lack of precise objectives. Nevertheless, several sources point to the following instrumental intention: Member states should be enabled to comply with the obligatory standards, which have been defined at the European level for achieving the overall goal of the EAFRD effectively and efficiently (EC/2005/1698; EC/2006/144; EC/2006/1974). This objective can be definitively ascribed to the NRNs as well and forms an essential link to the objective of improving policy delivery. Two further sub-objectives, which can be drawn from the tasks ascribed to the NRNs, can be subordinated: Raising awareness on the EAFRD and Enhancing the implemented EAFRD interventions. The fourth sub-objective based on the instrument's network design, Creating added value, should not be discussed at this point, for this see, Marquardt (2013). Despite no reference point provided by Brussels on how NRNs actually should interlink to governance, literature on governance networks, principles of good governance (Footnote 3), and first lessons learnt from the survey provide hints on how this objective could be operationalized in the context of the NRNs. Picking up the idea of participatory democracy is not straightforward, as the ways actors are selected and the degree they are involved in policy processes vary significantly in new governance ambitions. Examples are consultation processes, establishing working groups, or e-democracy. For achieving the objective of improving governance within the NRNs, three areas have been identified: 1) NRN-internally, debates on the NRN management; 2) (with NRN-external relevance) discussions between network members, programme agencies, (potential) beneficiaries and other stakeholders on the EAFRD implementation process; and 3) discourses on rural development policy formation.<sup>9</sup> Then again, direct citizen participation might be associated with higher costs, inefficiencies, and a loss of effectiveness (Bingham et al. 2005; Hèritier 2002). Also limitations of new modes of governance in legitimacy and accountability have to be kept in mind, when institutionalising governance structure for the NRNs: Unlike in representative democracy, member of governance networks are not formally empowered to make policy decisions. This becomes critical, if the informal character of networks is misused by powerful interest groups. Deficit in democratic accountability and legitimacy may also occur in cases of weak presence of citizen representatives – be it due to a lack of possibility or a lack of interest (Bingham et al. 2005; Papadopoulos 2007). Generally, the specific impacts of governance networks strongly depend on their inclusiveness and exclusiveness, distribution of power and resources, and the political receptivity to network activism by state institutions and policy stakeholders (Forrest 2003), whereas it has to be considered that participatory might entail (felt) loss of power to politicians, which might be another reason why improving governance is not furthered in some member states. Weighing outlined risks and potential against the objectives ascribed to the NRNs, imaginable would be an advisory of the networks in rural policy-making.

## CONCLUSIONS & POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Without doubt the NRNs effectively contribute to enhancing policy implementation. Nevertheless three major drawbacks need to be tackled: 1) Despite widely acknowledged as being a valuable technical assistance and enabling instrument, systematic evidence for the networks' impact is still missing; 2) Significant potential of the networks remains unused as the objective of improving governance is widely neglected and not actively pursued; and 3) the networks'

implementation goes along with a lack of enforceability and enforcement. Findings suggest that **the manifestation of policy instruments in the EU regulatory framework needs more attention**. For showing that community priorities such as improving governance are an objective truly aspired to, they are to be translated more carefully into the EAFRD-related regulations. Objectives of interventions have to be clearly defined and operationalized. It is understandable that vague terms are avoided in central regulations, but there are alternative means<sup>10</sup> to forming a common understanding of what should be achieved, under, e.g., the objective of improving governance. Such clarification can be seen as an important prerequisite that member states transpose common objectives sufficiently. By refining common objectives and/or extending the list of mandatory NRN activities, the effectiveness of the NRNs could have been increased. **An active role of the Commission is furthermore important for stringently enforcing EU legislation**. This task starts with the approval of the RDPs, but also entails enforcement of implementation, in cases like Romania, where non-implementation obviously leads to decreased EAFRD effectiveness or member states duck out of governance ambitions. Applying the **Open Method of Coordination** (OMC) involving all NRNs appears to be a promising tool for enhancing policy delivery and governance and to alleviate the problems of enforceability and network-evaluation through joint benchmarking, peer pressure/ social control and sharing good practices.<sup>11</sup> The existing network structures linking the NRNs to the ENRD offer the opportunity of joint benchmarking for the work of the individual NRNs. By doing so, two issues could be circumvent following the principle of blaming and shaming: 1) the problem of evaluating the achievements of the NRNs' objectives with hard figures; and 2) the problem of applying appropriate sanctions for enforcing effective NRN implementation.

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<sup>8</sup> Generally it seems that the majority of the network units were only to a limited extent prepared for an overall evaluation at this point in time. Moreover, it was directly indicated that advice on evaluating network activities is appreciated. Note that only four member states (Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain) are obliged to evaluate the results and impacts of the NRN specifically because of programme-technical reasons. The other network units have greater flexibility as regards how and to what extent they evaluate their network activities.

<sup>9</sup> Operationalizing the two latter undertakings (discussions on policy-implementation and -formation), under the superior objective of improving governance, it becomes obvious that in the suggested intervention logic, improving governance is directly related to the objective of improving policy delivery. Consequently, improving governance can be seen as end in itself or as sub-objective to the main objective of *Improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the EAFRD*.

<sup>10</sup> Such common agreements on the definition of objectives and the interpretation of terms could be arranged in a manner in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 90 of Regulation (EC) 1698/2005. By doing this, all member states would then have to try to achieve the set objectives and develop a strategy to do so (instead of achieving certain objectives accidentally).

<sup>11</sup> Indeed, applying the OMC member states have sometimes used it as a reporting device rather than as a tool of policy development (EC 2010).



# Leader approach in Sardinia: from Empirical Research to Theoretical Suggestions for the Future Reform of European Policies

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**Abstract** – This paper aims to evaluate Rural Development Policies (RDP) in Sardinia, particularly the Leader approach. In the current 2007-2013 programming phase, the Sardinian RDP have already included some innovations which anticipate new Common Agriculture Policy: an agricultural supply chain approach aimed at promoting quality; the diversification of rural economies and multifunctional farming; protecting the landscape and quality of life; improvement of the attractiveness of rural areas and the need for an inclusive governance in local development processes. In Sardinia the Leader approach has a crucial position, aiming for: greater financial endowment than established in EC Regulation 1698/2005 (14% as opposed to 5%), selection criteria for Local Action Groups (LAGs) aimed at improving social inclusion, encouraging production of collective goods, supporting marginal areas and assuring transparency in processes with a better flow of information. Is there any coherence between overall rural development program objectives and policy delivery? In which way are RDP objectives implemented at a local level, both in the plans and actions of local action groups? This research project intends to answer these questions through process analysis. Three LAGs are analyzed, with in-depth case studies, with different techniques (focus groups, in-depth interviews, survey).

## INTRODUCTION

This paper shows the first results of an ongoing research project which aims to evaluate the Leader approach within the Rural Development Policies<sup>2</sup> (RDP) of the Region of Sardinia (RAS).

The RAS recognizes Leader<sup>3</sup> as a useful instrument to help invert the tendency to population decline in interior areas, considering that the demographic process taking place in its territories affects the formation of wealth that is, at present, concentrated prevalently in coastal towns with a healthy demographic.

During the seven year period between 2007-2013, analysis of the "new policies" of the RAS is represented by the Leader approach in its mainstreaming form, as the right occasion for the regional institution to demonstrate that it is active in development policies, and that it is learning and is not simply implementing what has been decided at EU level (Mantino 2010a). During the 2007-2013 phase, the RAS, has already shown itself to be innovative by adopting the Leader approach, and its new Programme for Rural Development (PSR) presents

some changes in comparison to the previous season, which anticipate the new proposals made by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), especially with reference to an inclusive governance for local development strategies, not only during the policy programming phase, but also during implementation. Primarily, the Sardinia PSR 2007-2013 gives a central role to the Leader approach, and greater resources, 14% of the total budget instead of the 5% under the EC Regulation 1698/2005. The aim to involve the greatest number of actors in decision-making processes, as well as guaranteeing an efficient and productive use of resources, allocating them to the neediest areas, has been prepared in a set of regulations which affect the selection and assessment of Local action groups and the distribution of financial resources, as well as the internal organization of the groups, with the aim of improving the direct inclusion of private actors – especially women and young people – over and above the various forms of representation. This is a highly regulated system which aims to favour the inclusion and the participation.

Incorporating the neoinstitutional lesson (March and Olsen 1989; North 1990), this case is useful for analyzing the value of the institutional structure and its ability to regulate according to the outcome of policies: rural development is not only the result of institutional and cultural sedimentation, but it can be supported and encouraged by adequate regulations, institutional mechanisms and territorial networks. It is essential, therefore, to investigate the resulting regulations and institutions, since new policies (more coordinated and bottom up) need new regulations that help to develop "intelligent" institutions (Donolo 1997) capable of learning from the rural context and of including their own endogenous ideas into their regulation mechanisms (Donolo 2005; Lanzara 1997).

## METHODS

This research, which takes the form of a process analysis, aims, firstly, to give a thorough review of the state of the art regarding rural development policies and the evaluation of public policies. An in-depth case study of three Local Action Groups (LAGs) was carried out, by reconstructing an initial socio-demographic profile, using the main statistical sources and creating a desk research analysis carried out by a comprehensive set of indicators. The second part of the empirical research was carried out using participatory evaluation techniques (focus groups) together with a survey and in-depth interviews.

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<sup>2</sup> There is a wide debate on the new rural paradigm and its policies (Madsen 1997; Ploeg et al. 2000; OECD 2007)

<sup>3</sup> On the Leader Approach as innovative strategy for rural development see e.g. Mayer (1997), Buller (2000), Ray (2000), Cavazzani and Moseley (2001), Marquardt et al. (2012).



## PRINCIPAL RESULTS

This study aims to understand if and how this innovative approach to Leader methodology, which focuses on wider inclusion and participation, both in the policy planning and implementing stages, has positively or negatively influenced the definition of rural development strategies, and also the effects of the different territorial policies on the levels of coordination of the different policies. The aim of all this is to identify which forms of institutional governance work best within the local territory, especially the evolution of governance systems for rural districts. To this we can add the expectations regarding the structuring of LAGs as development agencies.

As far as the efficiency of the participatory and inclusive method is concerned, it seems that the LAGs analyzed have managed to create new dynamics in local situations, encouraging the emergence of new leadership. Yet it is possible to identify a certain resistance from consolidated leadership, who risk losing power under the plans for and implementation of new development policies (rent-seekers/conservatives) (Osti 2006), as the introduction of innovation carries the risk of being advantageous to the competing groups who are involved in the management of rural and regional development, which is seen as "contested space" (Mantino 2010b). We also investigated any possible distortions that might result from such a highly regulated system, which has created a sort of regional protagonism, and which, according to some, has degenerated into neo-centralism, considering that the plans for policy delivery should not be seen as a constraint, first theoretical and then procedural, to regiment/support the already existing public and private initiatives, but rather a reliable network which can give strength, recognition and drive to the ongoing development strategies (Barca 2012). All this seems to have created confusion between the integration strategy that the Leader method proposes for the LAGs, and the structure created for them. Often, in fact, the translation of EU guidelines into regional regulatory plans has the result of reducing the functions entrusted to the LAGs and limiting their scope (for example, limiting the application of the Leader approach only to the measures of Axis III), thus compromising the strategies planned at a theoretical level.

## CONCLUSIONS

This paper focuses on the application of the Leader approach in Sardinia, using an in-depth analysis of three case studies, trying to highlight the innovation of this approach and how it has contributed to the definition of rural development strategies. In particular, we have tried to highlight the changes that in some way anticipate the plans made by the new Common Agricultural Policy, including references to the necessity for inclusive governance in local rural development processes. We have also concentrated on the theme of participation and the way in which the Autonomous Region of Sardinia has tried to regulate the implementation, creating a set of rules regarding both the LAG selection phase as well as the creation and preparation of the local development plans. Specifically, we have tried to define the positive and negative effects, direct and indirect, inherent in this type of approach, which, according to some, is the result of a sort of regional neo-centralism. It would also seem that, having created new dynamics within the local area, the LAGs analyzed

have managed to encourage the emergence of new leadership, even though this process has met with a certain amount of resistance from more consolidated leadership. Finally, one aspect that needs further analysis, is the confusion between the Leader strategy, bottom up and participatory, and the organizational structure assigned to implement it within the territory, which appears strongly limited by the definition of Axis and measures of Regional Rural Development Plan (inadequate coordination between sectors; low integration of funds).

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# Collective action for public goods: the case of Valdaso agri-environmental agreement in Italy

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**Abstract** – Agri-environmental strategies in the framework of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) are mainly targeted to individual farms. However, since some environmental public goods may be provided only by multiple actors, a new territorial approach, based on networks and collective action, may represent an innovative and more efficient way to achieve sustainability objectives in rural areas.

The paper explores the possibilities of conceiving a new generation of agri-environmental schemes based on collaboration and collective action, by describing the agri-environmental agreement that was implemented in Valdaso area (Italy). The analysis of this agreement sheds the lights on two main issues. From one side, it helps exploring how it is possible, through a joint production of environmental and socio-economical public goods, to increase the embeddedness of environmental behaviours in the conventional farming culture. On the other side, the case study allows to explore how a collective approach to agri-environmental action could be better supported and institutionalized in the future political settings of the CAP.

## INTRODUCTION

One of the main purposes of European agri-environmental policies is to reduce negative externalities of agricultural production on the environment. However, the recent literature on the EU agri-environmental schemes acknowledges the lack of effectiveness and efficacy of the approach currently in place. In fact, it is increasingly recognized that the current schemes usually do not encourage landscape level coordination, by favouring a farm scale approach leading to individual, disconnected actions (Prager *et al.*, 2012). Nevertheless, across Europe several example are emerging where agri-environmental strategies are based on collaborative and collective approaches. In Italy one of the most interesting example of territorial approach to public good provision through agriculture, is the Valdaso territorial agri-environmental agreement (AEA), in Marche region.

In Valdaso area a group of farmers started a grass root initiative to adopt integrated agriculture techniques at territorial scale, with the objective of protecting water and soils from pesticide and nitrate pollution. Such collective action was supported by the regional and provincial authorities, which settled an AEA financed by the regional Rural Development Programme (2007-2013 programming period).

An AEA is defined by the Marche Rural Development Plan (RDP) as "a set of commitments for farmers in a limited area, supported through a mix of RDP measures that can be activated to reach specific environmental goals. Based on a territorial approach and by involving public and private actors in the context of a shared project, AEAs are aimed at implementing collective and coordinated actions for the management and improvement of the environment" (Marche Region, 2007).

The paper, through the analysis of Valdaso AEA, aims at providing some useful indications on the policy tools as well as on the institutional arrangements necessary to promote and support local collective actions for public goods provision in the future CAP programming period (2014-2020).

The methodology used for this analysis was mainly based on semi-structured interviews with key informants, including farmers adhering to the AEA, public and private farmers' advisors, representative of local and regional governments and independent experts. The Valdaso agri-environmental agreement.

## VALDASO AGRI-ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENT

Valdaso area (Aso Valley) is a territory alongside the boundary between Ascoli Piceno and Fermo Provinces, which follows the path of Aso river. Local agriculture is highly specialised in fruit production (peaches, plums, apples and pears) and the orchards have been traditionally cultivated with an high use of chemical inputs, with negative environmental effects such water and air pollution and loss of soil fertility. In order to reduce the negative impacts of the local farming systems on these public goods, in 2007 a small group of farmers (allied in a local farmers association *Nuova Agricoltura* i.e. "New Agriculture") started a grass root initiative to adopt integrated management techniques at territorial scale. This initiative has been supported by the regional and provincial governments, which settled a specific AEA. The AEA established precise targets, to be achieved in a period from five to seven years, such as the reduction of 30% in macronutrients (nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium) used in the territory and the substitution of agri-chemical inputs, characterised by acute or chronic toxicity, respectively by 90 and 85%. To achieve these results, the AEA is structured as an integrated package of measures. The actions specifically implemented to reach environmental objectives are the following sub-measures of the agro-environmental schemes (214): integrated pest management (IPM) techniques, mating disruption,

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organic farming and introduction of green cover. Together with these, measure 111 on training activities and information actions was included into the agreement to establish a capacity building programme for farmers with specific training activities on IPM techniques (in-farms visits and workshops). During the first year of the agreement (year 2009) 82 farms were involved, corresponding to 257 ha cultivated with IPM techniques. In 2012 about 100 farmers were involved, corresponding to over 560 ha cultivated with advanced IPM techniques and to 270 hectares of orchards with green cover.

According to local stakeholders these results were achieved because of the following main conditions:

- **Tailored and targeted policy tools.** The agri-environmental measures were accompanied by learning opportunities for farmers, which determined the adoption of more sustainable practices at landscape scale.
- **Effective coordination and effective governance.** The success of the AEA is due to coordinated and complementary efforts of several stakeholders (from local public authorities, to private actors and farmers).

#### TOWARDS A NEW MODEL OF AGRICULTURE-ENVIRONMENTAL STRATEGIES

According to the local stakeholders interviewed, compared to the traditional agri-environmental measures, Valdaso AEA favoured the implementation of a coherent agri-environmental strategy, more finely-tuned to the local needs.

One of the main strengths of the AEA is related to the integration of the knowledge and learning dimensions into the environmental action, and at this regard, the role of *Nuova Agricoltura* and the public advisory centre (ASSAM) was crucial in creating a lively learning environment for farmers.

Indeed, the data collected in the field show that appropriate land management strategies depend not only on the economic incentives to land managers, but also on other factors, more related to farmers' motivations, attitudes and skills. As highlighted by Mantino (2011), through a territorial approach for public goods provision it is possible to provide not only environmental goods, but also a combination of economic and social effects, which would be difficult to achieve with a more traditional approach focused on land management practices adopted at farm level. Thus, agricultural and rural development policies should give more attention to dimensions of knowledge and learning, in order to activate a virtuous circle where farmers may play a pro-active role in delivering agri-environmental goods. At the same time, a collective approach to agri-environmental strategies has not been so far widely applied also because the current legal basis for rural development in many cases is not setting the necessary prerequisite for a successful implementation of collaborative schemes.

One of the main constraints, also observed in Valdaso AEA, is related to the higher transaction costs associated to this collective strategies that, as observed by Mills et al. (2010), are usually to the

financing of the initial capacity building process as well as funding for the coordination, management and group activities. On the opposite, in terms of institutional arrangements, according to the representatives of local institutions, the lack of flexibility and autonomy in managing the RDP funds at the local level is one of the main barriers of the AEAs. From this perspective the case study highlights the key role of intermediary actors (such as Provincial governments and Farmers Association in Valdaso) as key promoters and coordinators of specific projects related to agri-environmental public goods provision at territorial scale. These institutions may play a pivotal role in connecting the scale of policy design (Regional governments in Italy) with the scale of policy implementation. Thus, the case study highlights the need, for implementing successful collective initiatives, of a stronger devolution of power and responsibilities, which is particularly important when complex and integrated strategies such as the AEAs are implemented.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The case of Valdaso AEA shows that collective action may play a significant role in controlling negative externalities from agriculture, especially if they are effectively supported by local institutions. In Valdaso area the public authorities and agencies involved in the agreement implemented a range of incentives, capacity building programs and technical assistance that allowed aligning individual and group interests and, above all, private and public goods objectives. Thus, in order to achieve sustainable solutions in rural areas, innovative policies and institutional arrangements should be adopted, with the objective of widening the agri-environmental action beyond the individual farm. This collective action also shows that it is possible to improve the capacity of the rural stakeholders in proving and protecting high valued public goods by creating greater synergy between the action of local farmers and the action of governments, where the development of new social and institutional processes are efficiently stimulated. In many cases a narrow focus on policy tools aiming at modifying the land management practices at farm level leaves behind the territorial dynamics, which are highly dependent on (local) social and institutional capital. On the opposite, policies for agri-environmental public goods that support collective action have the potential of developing innovative solutions where common interest and common goals play a central role.

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# Bio-economies or eco-economies for rural development? Framing good farming and its implications on policy

Suvi Huttunen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Focusing on the cultural scripts related to farming, this paper explores how good farming is framed and how it reflects bio- and eco-economic development and policies aimed at steering the development. Two cases dealing with farm enlargement and environmental governance in Finland are explored. The first case involves a proposal to build a mega-farm for pig and chicken breeding. The second case deals with discussion related to envisioned prohibition on taking new organic land into agricultural use. The results indicate that the framing of good farming causes farmers to value productivist agriculture and dis-value environmental aims and practices that conflict with the production increase ideal. On the other hand there is also a limit to the productivism set by the ideal of family farming and natural conditions suitable for farming. The development of both bio-economy and eco-economy face difficulties regarding the current understandings of proper farming. However, the framings are also subject to change and differentiation between different farmers and community members.

## INTRODUCTION

Two development paths related to the utilization of renewable natural resources and leading to environmentally and economically better outcomes have been suggested: bio-economy and eco-economy (e.g. Kitchen and Marsden, 2011). These development paths differ essentially in their scale and the suggested role for local actors. As farmers and farming continue to be central in the realization of rural future, the actualization of these developments depends also on the choices farmers make and the reactions in the surrounding community.

Good farming is a concept used in examining the cultural factors influencing farmers' behaviour and farming practices (e.g. Slivasti, 2003; Burton, 2004; Sutherland, 2013). Good farming refers to the ideal(s) held by farmers and surrounding communities on how a proper farm appears, functions and what farmers do and strive for. Thus it incorporates the normative beliefs related to farming. By complying with the good farming ideals farmers gain prestige in the community and this further aids the farm to prosper. In previous literature, good farming is related to several elements. These include productivist agriculture with hard work, tidy appearance of farm,

stewardship relationships with nature, individualism and farm continuity.

The good farming ideal is argued to have great importance in decision-making on farms related to for example the adoption of agri-environmental policies (Burton et al., 2008). The understanding of good farming is bound to have influence on bio- and/or eco-economic development. This means it is important to examine how good farming ideals correspond to bio- and eco-economic development and hence how farmers are positioned and position themselves vis-à-vis the development paths.

In this paper, the perspectives related to good farming and its relationship to bio- and eco-economic development are analysed by focusing on two Finnish cases related to pressing questions concerning the direction of rural development.

## FRAMING ANALYSIS

The analysis is based on discussions related to two cases in Finland: 1) a mega farm proposal for building a farming unit with 50 000 pigs and 500 000 chickens presented in 2010, and 2) an EU proposition to prohibit the taking of new organic soil areas into agricultural use presented in 2012. The cases open a window into the problematic situation in locally defining what kind of farming actually is desired under the pressure to produce food more efficiently, but also more sustainably with different policies and policy instruments governing the utilization of natural resources. The empirical analysis of these cases is based on multiple data sources: newspaper articles, web-pages, web-discussion forums, statements and official documents.

The perceptions related to good farming are analysed using hermeneutic framing analysis, where different argumentation chains on how things are perceived, are identified as frames. In the analysis the material was iteratively read through searching for similar arguments, and finding argumentative routes and storylines connecting them. Typical elements with connecting storylines were clustered to form coherent frames. After identification of the frames, the analysis focused on examining how the elements of good farming are present in the framings of the particular cases and how does this relate to the ideas of bio- and eco-economy.

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## CASES

*Mega-farm*

The mega-farm proposal was framed in three different ways. In the 'ecological entrepreneur' -frame, the farmer couple planning for the extensions, saw their farm as an environmentally beneficial way to respond to the cost-price squeeze facing farms. Using large-scale units, where many environmental innovations are applied, the farmer couple saw their farm as providing for rural viability, domestic food production and stewardship for the environment. The extension plan was embraced by the 'farmer entrepreneur' -frame, where the productivist approach to farming was appreciated as requiring hard work and entrepreneurial attitude. The most common frame, 'family farm', opposed the extension proposal and saw it as violating good farming in terms of appearance, stewardship and rural viability. Thus the 'family farm' frame represented opposite interpretations of the meaning of the mega-farm proposal compared with the 'ecological entrepreneur' frame.

*Organic lands*

The organic lands case was also perceived from three frames. 'Farmer entrepreneur' -frame opposed the prohibition of taking new organic lands into cultivation. The prohibition was seen as counteracting several of the elements of good farming. The core aim of a farm is to produce food efficiently, and in order to do so, farms must be allowed to expand their lands. The efficient food production enables for economic prosperity, which contributes to farm continuity and rural viability. The appreciation of hard work was demonstrated by disvaluing unlaborious grass cultivation for environmental benefits.

Contrary to the 'farmer entrepreneur' -frame, 'environmental farmer' -frame regarded the provision of environmental benefits as central in farming. However this frame remained marginal in the discussions and it appealed only for the steward element of good farming. The last, 'nature's restrictions' - frame, regarded the land clearing issue as demonstrating the problematic areal based agricultural subsidy policy. The farmers clearing fields were seen as chasing subsidies by expanding farming in central parts of Finland and not paying attention to the fact that there efficient farming is unfeasible due to natural constraints. This can be seen as using steward approach to farming with need to respect the boundaries set by nature. Also the subsidies undermine the value of hard work.

## DISCUSSION

The different frames indicated different positions related to farming based on two core features: relationship to nature and scale of farming (Fig 1). This provides for four farming strategies, which are supported by different elements of good farming, and different interpretations related to the elements.

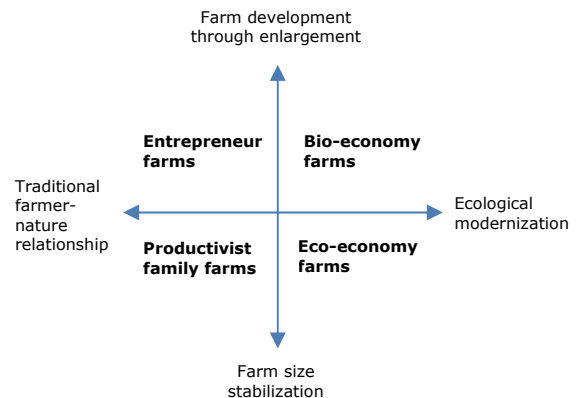


Figure 1. Different farm types in relation to farm size development strategies and relationship with nature.

Entrepreneur farms comprise 'farmer-entrepreneur' framings and appeal to good farming as productionist food production. Productionist family farms comprise 'family farm' framing and see the productionist expansion as restricted by scale operable by one farming family. An eco-economy farm was indicated in the environmental farmer frame and bio-economy in the ecological entrepreneur frame.

Both bio- and eco-economy farms are supported by marginal frames with unconventional interpretations related to good farming and partially also lacking core elements related to good farming. This indicates that both strategies will require change related to the prevalent farming ideals. The changes mean different approach to the relationship with nature and environment.

The incompatibility of both bio- and eco-economies with the current farming ideals suggest difficulties for application of policies striving for these paths, unless attention is paid to the farmers' realities.

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# Developing Resilience through Low Impact Living in Wales: The Contestation of Difference, Diversity and Governance Scales

Katherine Jones, Sophie Wynne-Jones and Laura Jones<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper approaches the question of resilience within the rural economy through a focus on Low Impact Living [LIL] in Wales as an important facet of the eco-economy. LIL encompasses residential and business ventures such as the Llammas eco-village, and alternative food networks forming around community growing schemes. Whilst the potential for LIL in Wales has gone from strength to strength in recent years, a number of barriers remain. In particular, it would seem that endorsement of LIL is currently constrained in terms of where and at what scale these developments can take place. For example, whilst community growing is seen to be acceptable as a means to enhance social well-being and community cohesion, it is not considered as an appropriate vehicle to radically restructure the food system. This is despite the push for shortened supply-chains and greater farm-business diversification in rural policy. Equally, whilst low-impact developments have been championed for their ecological credentials, the uniformity of the regulatory framework that is now in place to 'enable' further development is actually running contra to the need for diversity and locally-specific projects. Taking stock of these contradictions, this paper focuses on the challenges of re-approaching diversity, scale and difference, within governance structures, in order to create new resilient rural economies.<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

The potential for LIL in Wales has gone from strength to strength in recent years, developing from a counter-cultural movement to a seemingly 'mainstream' government funded and policy endorsed approach. LIL encompasses residential and business ventures such as the Llammas eco-village, and alternative food networks forming around community growing schemes. These initiatives have emerged in response to the challenges of climate change and the destabilising influence of neoliberalisation on rural communities and food provisioning networks. Whilst there is much variation in emerging models, they often take-forward an approach that is typified by the principles of ecological economics in their focus on low or no-growth models of economy, radical re-localisation and the prioritisation of non-financial forms of capital. As such, they are discussed here as important exemplars of the eco-economy and the questions of rural economic resilience that are central to this session.

In recent years LIL has gained increasing levels of support, including the instigation of low-impact

planning laws in Technical Advice Note [TAN] 6 and the funding of the Tyfu Pobl (Growing People) initiative to support community growing through European

RDP Funding. Here, it is also important to note that Sustainable Development has been a cornerstone of the Welsh Government's constitution from the outset. Hence their endorsement of LIL works as

part of a wider strategy for the programme of government in Wales.

However, despite high profile ministerial support, a number of barriers remain with questions over the validity of such development models still arising from many quarters of government and the business sector. This paper outlines some of these issues, setting out an analysis that positions these tensions as questions of diversity, scale and conceptions of difference, as a means to assess the likely future trajectory of these eco-economy approaches.

## METHODS

The findings presented in this paper are the result of collaborative work between Katherine Jones' PhD research on the development of the Llammas Ecovillage in South Wales, and the Wales Rural Observatory's research into Community Growing (WRO 2012) and associated rural policy reforms (WRO 2013). Specifically, this has involved ethnographic fieldwork with the Llammas community and policy analysis on the TAN 6 on Low Impact Developments [LID], along with stakeholder interviews and survey work exploring the development of community growing in Wales.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To begin, we focus on some of the tensions around 'scaling-up' what are often regarded as 'alternative' or 'niche' activities. Our first example here is the challenges faced by small-scale and community-orientated food enterprises who feel pressured to scale-up their production and distribution processes in order to develop viable businesses. This is because there is a perceived need to expand their customer-base and adapt their production processes to suit a larger scale in order to gain sufficient income to provide decent wages for growers. Here it is evident that, on the sole measure of income from the food produce that they sell to consumers, many enterprises struggle to sustain economic viability. But if we look to ways in which they can 'add-value' through, for example, community engagements for the purpose of educational, social and physical wellbeing benefits, there are more opportunities to gain financial return. However, at the moment, there is a degree of market failure in these areas; and although some additional income has been sourced through public and charitable funds, it has been an

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unpredictable source of income. As such, it is apparent that diverse forms of benefit are not yet being adequately acknowledged and production processes still measured in very linear and uni-functional ways.

The importance of diverse functions and benefits is equally important for LIDs, in so much as they try to embrace a more holistic conception of housing that is multifunctional in its usage. In particular, LIDs are evident as places of residence, but also as centres of livelihood, community and ecological metabolism. Whilst these multiple functions are incorporated into formal planning through reference to the ecological impact of the dwelling and attention to the percentage of financial income that is derived from the land, the percentage of non-financial benefits (e.g. self-provisioning of food and mutual-aid from community members) is harder to formally acknowledge with current measurement protocols. Yet these factors are critical to the achievement of successful livelihoods in LIDs. As such, Alternative Food Networks [AFN] and LIDs embody the need to acknowledge diverse functions and outputs in forms of social production, and move beyond narrow conceptions of economic value.

More broadly, it is important to acknowledge the potential threat of scaling-up to the core principles of low impact living. With AFNs this concern has been expressed in reference to the way in which organics have similarly met challenges by becoming a 'mainstream' approach (Guthman 2008). With LIDs, these difficulties have manifested through the need to create operable planning regulations, which have led to a series of compromises. By distilling LIDs into a planning law that can apply across the country a series of specifications have been made which – whilst ultimately necessary – have also constrained the potential for diversity and individual interpretation, which can be seen as cornerstones of the LID approach. This is, perhaps, a necessary contradiction of engaging with mainstream regulation and administrative systems. It is also laudable that LIDs have been accepted to the extent that such concerns have developed. But it does highlight a broader point about the governance of difference and diversity, in that we have created a space for difference (i.e. LIDs) within the planning policy, but can not (yet) cope with diversity in this difference – we still need to bound, measure, and regulate what difference should look like within fixed parameters.

Reflecting further on the issue of difference, additional points about the challenges of scaling-up are evident. In particular, whilst it is apparent that LIDs have been able to move beyond the some of the difficulties arising from the association of 'difference' with alternative, hippy or eco lifestyles, alternative food networks have had continuing concerns. Here the dismissive attitude of conventional growers towards agro-ecological methods is indicative of the barriers still in place. Ironically, however, it is evident that many agro-ecological techniques are judged to be quite acceptable as long as they are presented in a manner that is not directly associated with cultural 'alteratives'. For example, farmers are very happy to engage with techniques to lower their inputs and develop more efficient grazing systems, but would not label them as 'agro-ecological'. As such, it is notable that advocates of agro-ecology and community supported agriculture have had to tailor their communications accordingly in order to engage

wider audiences. Whilst there is still some way to go in establishing better relations between conventional and 'alternative' growers, some headway has been made through convergences on areas of commonality. Here it is also notable that LIDs and eco-building have gained acceptance through adoption of conventional measures and discourses of civil engineering and architecture.

Alongside the cultural challenges and constructions of difference, the question of appropriate scale has also become evident. For example, there is a sense that both LIDs and AFNs are acceptable as niches. This argument is evident from policy makers and the business sector who increasing indicate that these activities are very laudable, but not suitable as mainstream approaches. For example, despite the many overlaps between Welsh Government policy aspirations for rural development and AFNs (such as diversification, short-supply chains and ecological sensitivity), AFNs are not taken seriously as a means to re-structure the food system and therefore remain peripheral in the rural economy. With LIDs, high land prices are a key limiting factor on wider uptake, but it is equally notable that the framing of planning policy for particular types of dwelling, in particular places, has made it more difficult for LIDs to spread.

Drawing these case-studies together, an overarching theme is evident in the need to nurture diversity rather than attempting to scale-up LIL in a way that creates homogeneity. Moreover, whilst the fear of difference represented in these lifestyles has been overcome to an extent (particularly through acknowledgement that difference is often not so stark as we might imagine), there is still a need to acknowledge *diversity within difference* and not just make provision for difference in a bounded and fixed manner.

Connecting these observations with theories of resilience, it is notable that diversity is a critical component of resilient systems (see e.g. Bristow 2010), therefore supporting the assertions made here. However, when we consider how diversity is being supported through Welsh Government policy, it is important to note the contradiction of delimited how, where and at what scale diversity can emerge. But equally, we note the lack of support for diverse economic models. Whilst our debt-based financial system has long inhibited political imagination in this sphere, the current juncture of crises has nurtured greater interest in low or no-growth economic models (see Demaria 2013), which we would be wise to consider further as a means to support resilient futures.

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# Are we confusing innovation for development?

## A critical reflection of the meaning of agricultural modernization

Karlheinz Knickel<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In this paper different understandings of (agricultural) modernization are explored. The background for the analysis and discussion is the increasing scarcity of natural resources, issues about resource distribution, new challenges like climate change and, more generally, the far-reaching uncertainty regarding future developments. This exploratory paper contrasts alternative trajectories of agricultural modernization and relates them to the multiple mechanisms that bring about rural prosperity and resilience. More future-oriented understandings of modernization are sketched out. The conclusions focus on issues that are particularly relevant for decision-makers: the links between farm modernization, rural development and resilience, and the implications for agricultural knowledge systems and the new European Innovation Partnerships. The paper seeks to foster discussions that help overcome simplistic viewpoints of what 'modernization' entails.

### DISCOURSES AND TERMS

Terms like "sustainable growth", "sustainable competitiveness", "sustainable intensification" or "the bio-based economy" tend to obscure reasoning and motivations, and hinder a differentiated debate and thus common understanding and consensus building. Focus in this paper is on a few broad areas that are interrelated and that tend to play a significant role in any discourse about 'modernization':

- Innovation, modernization, progress;
- Economic development, growth, prosperity ... vulnerability, subsistence;
- Development, resilience, well-being, quality of life ... equity, sufficiency.

The discussion of agricultural modernization time and again relates to these different spheres. Often it follows the same simple innovation-is-progress logic: technological innovation means progress, fosters economic development and growth, and contributes to overall well-being. References are hardly ever made to the limitations of 'modern' agricultural systems, the increasing scarcity of natural resources, the related distributional questions and alternative trajectories of agricultural modernization.

The idea of 'development' that is elaborated in this paper goes further.

In the context of this paper, 'development' is a rather central future-oriented concept describing a pathway that connects three different spheres:

- Well-being – encompassing human well-being, animal welfare and a high quality natural environment;
- Resilience – comprising a sustainable use of natural resources, economic systems and lifestyles that respect planetary boundaries, and adaptive capacity;
- Equity – relating to a more equitable sharing of the world's resources; this in particular in view of the fulfilment of basic needs.

In a development perspective that is conceived in this way, there are discernible connections between agricultural change and the manifold mechanisms that underlie rural prosperity and resilience; connections that we need to keep in mind when discussing the bio-based economy, biotechnology and or, more generally, the modernization of agriculture.

### TODAY'S CHALLENGES

What are perceived as today's main challenges are, at least partly, subjective. For this paper, five main challenges are central:

- (1) Sustainable food production and the particular need to increase access to food in developing countries. Currently, roughly one billion people suffer from hunger and chronic malnutrition. However, hunger can hardly be addressed through further intensification in industrialized countries. One reason is that the poor simply cannot afford costly food from capital-intensive agriculture.
- (2) Environmental sustainability and resource use efficiency, including low carbon production systems. Major transformations are needed in the industrialized world because we are in many ways exceeding planetary boundaries. Improvements in resource use efficiency alone won't be sufficient. The ecological and carbon footprint of any system change matters.
- (3) Quality of life of farmers, consumers and society at large, including high food quality and environmental integrity. Lifestyles embossed by material consumption and our excessive resource needs are mainly driven by trivial motivations, which tend to be manipulated for the sake of commerce. Resource use intensities, in turn, are connected with equity issues and livelihoods in the global south.
- (4) Adaptation to climate change is becoming a major challenge. Climate change is already causing hunger and conflict in particular in dry areas like the Sahel zone. Those who suffer most tend to be those who haven't produced much greenhouse gas emissions. The global scale of problems shows that resource and emission-intensive lifestyles in rich coun-

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tries can neither be sustained nor transferred to the world as a whole.

(5) Fibre, other bio-materials and bioenergy production. The bio-based economy has been suggested as a smart way to overcome resource constraints and to make production systems more sustainable. While industry pressure is enormous, there is a very substantial risk that the related structural changes will further aggravate the concentration of power in up- and downstream industries, and dependencies.

Can the modernization of agriculture, as it has been interpreted and implemented in the past decades, in particular in the industrialized world, help us to address these challenges? How has modernization been understood, and are there different ways to understand it, and to direct and manage it? Are particular trajectories leading in a more desirable direction, and what are the underlying principles?

#### AGRICULTURAL MODERNIZATION

Modernization is closely connected with the idea of (social) progress. Schultz (1964) was one of the first who analysed the role of agriculture within the economy, and his work has had far reaching implications on industrialisation policy, both in developing and developed nations. Linked to that was the assumption that institutionalized research, not research undertaken by farmers themselves, is the key factor for producing innovations and advances in agricultural productivity.

The 'modernization' of European farming in the 20<sup>th</sup> century eliminated drudgery and was connected with major increases in the productivity of land and labour, leading to the satisfaction of European food demand and, at times, sizable surplus production, while freeing up a significant proportion of the workforce. On the negative side of specialisation, intensification and scale enlargement are monotonous production landscapes, a disproportionate use of natural resources (in particular fossil fuels and minerals like potassium and phosphorus), an increase in emissions and a standardization of food qualities. At another level, we can see a concentration of farming in lowland plains and/or regions with better access to (imported) feed, fertilizers or markets and a marginalisation of less favoured areas. The increasing capital-intensity of farming that tends to go together with modern agriculture has made many farmers more vulnerable. Indebtedness and dependencies from banks and agro-industry are very high in countries where agriculture is perceived as particularly 'modern'. Those in the agricultural knowledge system – that is in research, education, advisory services, etc. – tend to emphasize the achievements of this development and to downplay the detriments.

#### ARE THERE ALTERNATIVES?

It is often ignored in descriptions of the changes in European farming that agriculture is extremely diverse in farming practices, systems and strategies. Van der Ploeg (1994) was one of the first to emphasize the fact that there exist many different farming styles. Multiple job holding, pluriactivity and income

combination have always remained important – despite contrasting views in particular in agricultural economics. In some parts of Europe a vast number of subsistence and semi-subsistence holdings persist. Redman (2012) describes subsistence farmers as "idiosyncratic and individualistic; focusing on the wider needs of the subsistence farming community". He demands that we "discuss intensification with creativity and imagination: knowledge intensive, renewable resource, appropriate technology, communication and co-operation intensive". Organic farming is an example of a particular style of farming that is connected with a specific management philosophy, farm organization and a highly developed set of management practices. It has seen very significant growth rates in the last 20-30 years. Many organic farms now combine initial principles with a sophisticated organization, marketing and use of technology. Eco-functional intensification is another example that is seen as a response to the increasingly important call for production increases while building on an improved understanding of the functioning of ecosystems. In the full paper, connections between alternative trajectories of modernization are related to the multiple mechanisms that bring about rural prosperity and resilience.

#### IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Technological change has major repercussions on the organization of production, the natural environment and, in the long term, farm and rural structures. Many farms considered 'modern' are highly path-dependent and vulnerable because of the large amounts of money invested in particular lines of production, production systems and technologies, and the resulting narrowing of management options. Adaptive capacity, the efficiency of the use of natural resources and favourable higher level system combinations like between crop and livestock production appear very much undervalued. By contrast, the use of knowledge and the science-base tend to be preoccupied with production cost reduction, short-term competitiveness and technological innovations. The new European Innovation Partnerships therefore need to pay particular attention to actually involving practitioners on a par with researchers.

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*Note:* The new transdisciplinary RETHINK project will in a set of comprehensive case studies in 14 countries (incl. Turkey and Israel) explore ambiguities and tensions in agricultural modernization pathways. For more information please contact the author.



# How Caterpillar Fungus Escapes Corporate and Biotechnological Control

Janka Linke<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – China's rapid economic growth over the past two decades has entailed severe challenges such as major environmental problems, concerns about depleting resources and food safety. To cope with these issues China has taken several initiatives to develop its bio-economy. The appliance of biotechnology in fields such as agriculture, waste treatment, energy and health care, seeks to expand economic growth in sustainable ways. Against this backdrop, the paper sheds light onto the power of biotechnology within the Chinese caterpillar fungus market. Biopharmaceutical enterprises and research institutes promote the consumption of artificial caterpillar fungus products in order to ease the pressure on natural caterpillar fungus resources. Yet, to the contrary, the demand for natural caterpillar fungus keeps growing instead of declining.

## MARKETS AS HYBRIDS

In recent years, a thriving market has evolved around the commodity of caterpillar fungus (*Ophiocordyceps sinensis*) in eastern parts of the Tibetan plateau in China, providing the major source of cash income for ten thousands of pastoral and rural households. Harvest sales can contribute up to 80 per cent to the household budget. Valued as a mystical tonic and powerful aphrodisiac by the emerging Chinese *nouveaux-riches*, as well as a cash substitute in the deeply anchored corruption, prices have reached a historical record over the last few years.<sup>2</sup> In the rush for the "soft gold" (*ruan huangjin*), biopharmaceutical companies compete with informal kinship enterprises; and researchers equipped with biotechnological devices and knowledge, promote artificial mass production while Tibetan nomads have commercialized the access to pastures with natural caterpillar fungus harvests.

Following Caliskan and Callon (2010: 3), I conceptualize markets as *socio-technological agencements* – hybrids encompassing elements as heterogeneous as rules and conventions, material and technical devices, texts, knowledge, and human beings bearing various skills and competencies, which are constantly in the making. Markets are also thought of as fields of confrontation and power in which the struggle of opposing agents is determined by pricing mechanisms. In this paper I focus on the competing actions of human and non-human play-

ers, and particularly investigate the market position of bio-economic forces within the caterpillar fungus trade. In the face of depleting resources on a global scale, the bio-economic model considers biotechnology and scientific innovation to be a means of broad sustainable development. The shift towards a bio-economy is characterized by a new way of control over nature in a sense that reproductive processes within nature itself (e.g. in the form of genetic modification) are manipulated. Based on Kitchen and Marsden (2011: 757), I hold that entities promoting and realizing the bio-economy are powerful through (1) their control over the rules of nature itself, (2) control over biotechnology, knowledge and practices related to bio-economic processes and (3) their link with the political agenda of tackling the (global) issue of resource scarcity. Accordingly, the paper investigates the power of biopharmaceutical enterprises and bio-economic knowledge within the Chinese caterpillar fungus trade. By doing so, it provides glimpses into the making and dynamics of the market in relation to the increasing significance of the bio-economy.

The findings presented in this short paper rest on nine months of fieldwork conducted in Qinghai Province (China) and major Chinese cities, such as Chengdu, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen.

## BIOTECHNOLOGY AND CATERPILLAR FUNGUS

Caterpillar fungus (*Ophiocordyceps sinensis*) is a parasitic sac fungus that feeds off the larvae of the ghost moth (*Thitarodes*) at altitudes between 3,000 and 5,000 m in south-eastern parts of the Tibetan plateau. In Qinghai, people with access to pastures, i.e. primarily (former) Tibetan pastoralists, are in control of the caterpillar fungus harvest. Harvesters bring small amounts of *O. sinensis* to local markets where larger quantities are pooled by middle-men. Almost all of the harvest is channelled through the caterpillar fungus wholesale market in Xining, capital of Qinghai province. The market is dominated by Chinese Muslim minorities, which organize the trade based on informal kinship and family enterprises. Significantly, caterpillar fungus harvesters, middle-men, and wholesalers tend to depend on it as their single source of income while the mainly Han-Chinese retailers in major Chinese cities are characterized by a considerable diversification of their businesses.

Remarkably, despite the profitability of the commodity, there are hardly any signs of corporate control over the commodity chain, which could be

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<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the 1990s the wholesale price for caterpillar fungus was about US\$ 200 per kilogram; in 2012 it had skyrocketed to approximately US\$ 40,000/ kg (figures are based on my own data collection in Xining).



compared to e.g. the power of supermarket chains over agri-food commodity chains. Given the considerable scholarly interest in caterpillar fungus across the disciplines, which also focuses on artificial cultivation, the lack of biopharmaceutical influence on the 'real' market for *O. sinensis* is all the more striking. Systematic study of *O. sinensis* dates back to the 1950s. Since then, there has been much progress with regard to strain identification, mycelium fermentation, moth feeding and artificial cultivation supported by various Chinese research institutes and – since the rise in demand at the beginning of the 2000s – biopharmaceutical companies. Artificial cultivation has failed so far and according to the estimates of Prof. Shen Nanying, pioneer of biological research on *O. sinensis*, won't be achieved before 2030.<sup>3</sup> However, Chinese pharmacies offer a broad range of products derived from artificially cultivated *O. sinensis* fungal strands (hyphae). Advertising and literature on caterpillar fungus suggest that these products have the same medical efficacy as natural caterpillar fungus.

The president of Qinghai Everest Aweto<sup>4</sup> Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd. summarizes the motives of the enterprise: "In course of increasing consumer demand, natural *O. sinensis* resources are increasingly being diminished [...]. Thus, the industrialized production of natural *O. sinensis* substitutes, such as *O. sinensis* hypha powder and finished goods has become inevitable."<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the Chinese company "Very grass" uses high-tech to produce a highly concentrated powder, which is pressed into capsules. The company considers this an achievement towards overcoming "inefficient and lavish" consumption of natural *O. sinensis*, and moving towards the protection of its scarce natural resources.<sup>6</sup> Very grass places itself in direct competition with traders on the 'real' market for caterpillar fungus since the company directly relates to them in their specially produced documentary films. The president of Very grass claimed in an interview that 100 per cent of caterpillar fungus on the real market is tampered with, having a negative impact on its quality.<sup>7</sup> The statement serves as a guideline for marketing products of Very grass since they are supposed to contain 100 per cent caterpillar fungus without any additives.<sup>8</sup> However, the demand for natural *O. sinensis* remains unbroken despite the promotion of its substitutes.

#### TRANSLATING BIO-ECONOMY

The case study illuminates the intertwining, overlapping and colliding interests of human and non-human actors within the setting of markets as *socio-technical agencements*. Pharmaceutical companies draw on the discourse of depleting caterpillar fungus

resources.<sup>9</sup> They also have command over the appropriate technology and knowledge to intervene in the reproduction cycle of caterpillar fungus. Theoretically, they possess attributes that should render them powerful within the market. Yet, at the most, they serve a market parallel to the market for natural caterpillar fungus with hardly any influence on pricing mechanisms for *O. sinensis*: prices for the medicinal fungus keep increasing. These market conditions exemplify the different valuations of the commodity in question: consumers ask for the "real" caterpillar fungus, if possible directly from the hands of Tibetan harvesters. Furthermore, the "hype" for caterpillar fungus cannot be separated from the widespread practices of corruption and reciprocity (exchange of gifts), societal structures and values. One reason for its mystification and accordingly unbroken demand is certainly the failure of artificial cultivation. The 'real' market supply relies solely on natural resources. Similarly to Callon's scallops (1986), caterpillar fungus is part of complex interdependencies; the process of translation within the bio-economic paradigm has failed to date. Rather, *O. sinensis* has to be judged as an actor of its own within the market setting, 'escaping' corporate and biotechnological control.

#### CONCLUSION

The caterpillar fungus market demonstrates that the realisation of ambitious bio-economical projects depends on a variety of factors. At times, they are not easily translated into reality. First, the caterpillar fungus reproduction cycle follows rules of its own. Second, the case study highlights the power of consumers as well as Tibetan nomads – the "producers" within the market – and middlemen and wholesalers, who benefit from these circumstances with high profit shares.

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<sup>3</sup> Interview on June 18th, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. caterpillar fungus.

<sup>5</sup> Taken from a company brochure, no date specified.

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.verygrass.com/show\\_qhct.php](http://www.verygrass.com/show_qhct.php) [1st June 2013]

<sup>7</sup> Interview on June 24th, 2010.

<sup>8</sup> The profitability of caterpillar fungus has indeed attracted a number of frauds, who have been very inventive regarding methods aiming at increasing weights. However, the statement that all caterpillar fungus is subject to fraud is clearly an exaggeration.

<sup>9</sup> Harvest is subject to annual fluctuations due to varying precipitation, temperatures etc. Annual production ranges between 100 to 200 t – reliable data on this topic are rare. Overall, the species seems to have proven remarkably resilient to its mass exploitation so far (Winkler, 2009).



# The public policies in favor of livestock sectors in Corsica: Why to build an innovative technical system on pastoralism and how!

Jean-Paul Dubeuf and T. Linck

**Abstract** –The public policies in favour of the livestock sectors in Corsica are analyzed and discussed to identify how pastoralism is considered. Corsica, a Mediterranean island has a high cultural pastoral background. Nevertheless the representations of pastoralism by most of the actors are rather idealistic and nostalgic and it is not seen as a viable technical option. The public payments to support livestock are important but either they promote a productive model, either they are not connected to a clear strategy of pastoral development for rural areas. We suggest that a smart specialization strategy should be promoted and based on pastoralism. To be viable, this option should internalize its ecosystemic services. To achieve these objectives, it would be necessary also to rebuild an innovation system based on pastoralism, developing specific capacities and enhancing the local know-how and skills. .

## INTRODUCTION

Pastoralism has a high historical and cultural background in Corsica as in many other Mediterranean countries. But, it is generally seen by most of the actors as an idealistic and nostalgic activity of the past (Seyni Salay, 2011).

The vision of this paper is different. We have considered that it is pertinent and important to focus on pastoralism today seen as an innovative option. It has to face present challenges such as climate changing and preservation of bio-diversity. We remind that pastoralism is here defined as a livestock activity based on the use of rangelands and natural resources with few external inputs, enhancing local know-how and shepherds capacities (INRA, 2011). With this vision, renewed pastoral activities must not be seen as extensive systems but intensive ones in qualified labour including technical, economical, and commercial dimensions.

The objective of this paper is to analyse the public policies on livestock in Corsica and to characterize the representations of the actors and institutions regarding pastoralism. Through this double entrance, we have tried to know if these public policies in Corsica include pastoralist issues, how and with what impacts.

## METHODOLOGY

The study is based on the main programming documents and planning edited by the public regional

and state institutions (C.T.C., 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012). Most of them are the regional translation of the main CAP programs developed in the first and second pillar (Dubeuf, 2013).

The first pillar of the CAP is mobilized at two levels; by the National Agency for Services and Payments for Single Farm Payments (DPU, in French); by the regional Agricultural Office (ODARC) for the suckling-cows producers (PMTVA), or the sheep (PO) and goats (PC) payments. The second pillar is mobilized in the Regional Project for Rural Development in Corsica (PDRC) and the main analyzed subsidies are the compensatory allowance payments for areas with natural handicaps (ICHN) and Agri-Environmental Measures (MAE).

Specifically, to support specifically pastoralism, the Corsican region has proposed an accompanying pastoral scheme that was analyzed specifically as well as the pastoral action scheme developed by the Chamber of Agriculture. The specific subsidies to organize the sectors and financed by the National Agency in charge of the Common market Organization are also analyzed. Besides, several interviews with public regional or state officials and representatives of professional institutions aimed to identify what are their representations of pastoralism and specify the conditions to mobilize these subsidies.

## THE RESULTS

The analysis has shown that there is a public policy for the livestock sector in Corsica in the sense of Muller (1990) and Gabas (2003). The apparent dominant discourse and objectives of public action in Corsica are said to be in favor of pastoralism. The awareness of the stakeholders on its challenges is rather high and the people interviewed have a good reflexivity on the situation. But the operational impact of this policy on pastoralism is very low and it keeps a marginal and not really supported production model. Pastoralism today is not really posed as an economically viable option where we should invest. Operationally the main objectives of most of the actors are still to improve productivity and pastoralism is quoted as an image to send local products without necessarily pastoral roots. The high financial support dedicated to the livestock sector and agriculture through the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> CAP pillar is mainly used to keep rural areas under financial perfusion not to support innovative projects. Regarding

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the 1<sup>st</sup> Pillar, the PMTVA<sup>2</sup> and sheep and goat payments were 922 000 € for 124 cow keepers, 2 074 000 € for 198 breeders respectively (2011). For the second Pillar, the compensatory allowance payments for areas with natural handicaps (ICHN) were 10 837 389 € of which 52% were allocated to cattle keepers mainly with few outputs (2011). These data show that these payments which represent a large part of the income of the livestock sector are not connected to real economy and the administrative conditions do not ease the emergence of really innovative projects or to settle new young breeders. At the contrary, the Agri-Environmental Measures have mobilized 1 900 000 €/year between 2008 and 2013 for 419 beneficiaries and have improved 12 335 ha.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Corsica is now facing an important agricultural and rural abandonment (Abso Conseil, 2010) and promoting these environmental services would be socially and economically more efficient than the present subsidies.

Although more professional and institutional actors are aware of these challenges than in the past, the pastoral option is not clearly defined and identified among other types of livestock production in the island. There is no identified and efficient, technical models associated to pastoralism in Corsica. The actors have said there is not mobilizing projects, but meanwhile the hard conditions to settle young farmers, to get an access to land is not in favour of a dynamic. Besides, due to the overvaluation of the milk price, one of the highest in the world (more than 1.2 €/l for sheep milk), the main objectives of the actors are still to improve productivity but they have no real strategy for pastoralism (ABSO CONSEIL, 2012). The strong pastoral image of animal production in Corsica is mainly dissociated from clear chosen technical choices. Twenty years ago, Le Carignon et al. (1994) had already shown the adverse effects of the public payments in favour of the suckling cattle but their proposals were not considered. In spite of a real lack of confidence between the actors and between the civil society and Institutions in an island plagued by clientelism and poor governance, the awareness on the limitations of the present system has increased significantly as the conditions for a better dialogue.

We suggest that the "smart specialization strategy", as enhanced by European Union and followed by the regional institutions could be the basis of a more efficient and innovative development strategy. Presently pastoralism cannot compete with the other types of animal production systems. To be competitive, it is necessary that pastoralism could internalize all the environmental risks and costs through development of eco systemic services like fire prevention (Paoli et al., 2010). These services are presently taken in charge by the public authorities. This

orientation would meet the need for paying labour and create more jobs in rural areas without any economical perspectives.

It would mean that pastoral options (to use natural rangelands in mountains) could be developed simultaneously with non pastoral ones in low lands with some complementarities between the two systems.

The challenge proposed here is to reconfigure completely the innovation system of animal production by a rebuilt and updated pastoralism according to the trans disciplinary design proposed by Klerk and al. (2012).

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# The relationships among perceived value, satisfaction, and loyalty: The case of the community-based ecotourism in Korea

Kyung-Hee Kim and Duk-Byeong Park<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Community-based ecotourism (CBE) is a significant segment of the rapidly growing tourism industry in Korea, which is expected to contribute to biodiversity conservation and the development of local areas. This study examined the relationships among perceived value, tourist satisfaction, and destination loyalty of CBE in Korea. Data were collected from 254 tourists of six CBE villages who were 20 years old and older. CFA analysis identified four dimensions of perceived value from 14 variables: economic, functional, emotional, and social. Through SEM analysis, both economic and emotional values were found to have positive effects on tourist satisfaction, and tourist satisfaction was a significant antecedent of destination loyalty. To increase the efficiency of the CBE as a sustainable development tool, it will necessary to develop enjoyable experience at a reasonable price.

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world, ecotourism has become a widely popular industry with natural assets. It is also one of the fastest growing sectors in the tourism industry (Lu & Stepchenkova, 2012; Mehmetoglu, 2007). The Korean government has given much attention to the development of ecotourism since 2001. Recent developments in the Community Based Ecotourism (CBE) project in Korea have largely been driven by the Ministry of Environment (MOE). Since 2001, the Excellent Natural Village (ENV) has focused on CBE development, encouraging local and 'bottom-up' development of natural resources. The MOE designated ENV and encouraged funding support to preserve natural resources and to help community people harmonize with their environments. Currently, about 120 rural communities benefit from government development support under the auspices of the ENV and other programs (Ministry of Environment, 2012). These include different genuine ecotourism destinations such as national parks. The ENV also designed experience programs for students as a group. Those are animal watching, bird watching, ecomuseum, mud beach, tracking, boating, crafting, and astronomical observation. The CBE is a

form of ecotourism where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management. A major proportion of the benefits remain within the community (WWF, 2001).

In order to sustain and enhance the ecotourism trend, it is important to understand why consumers' like ecotourism, and tourism product development must meet the tourists' needs and preferences. Thus, harmonization between the product and the environment is a necessary condition to ensure sustainable community development.

Consumer value concepts and theory will help determine what tourists expect in a CBE community. Although destination loyalty has long been postulated in tourism marketing literature to have a powerful influence in the choice of destination, there are few researches in the CBE field attempting to understand the role of perceived value and destination loyalty. The findings of this study will contribute to enhancing our understanding of visitors' intention to revisit the CBE. Consequently, the study's results also provide CBE managers and operators with crucial marketing strategies for attracting ecotourists and satisfying them within the activity context. To increase consumers' destination loyalty, CBE managers should set their priorities to provide high quality, satisfying experiences that visitors perceive to be a good value.

## MODEL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Many studies have been devoted to testing the relationships among perceived value, satisfaction, and future visitation behaviour of tourists. The following hypotheses were developed from this discussion:

- H1: Economic value will have a positive effect on tourist satisfaction.
- H2: Functional value will have a positive effect on tourist satisfaction.
- H3: Emotional value will have a positive effect on tourist satisfaction.
- H4: Social value will have a positive effect on tourist satisfaction.

The positive effect of tourist satisfaction on destination loyalty has been widely supported in the literature on hospitality and tourism. We suggest that highly satisfied tourists are likely to have destination

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loyalty. Thus, this study proposes the following hypothesis.

**H5 : Tourist satisfaction will have a positive effect on destination loyalty.**

METHODOLOGY

*Measurement model analysis and testing*

All research variables were measured using multiple-item scales adopted from previous studies, making only minor changes of wording to tailor them to the context. All variables were measured on a 5-point scale.

*Sample and data collection*

An on-site survey was conducted for community-based ecotourists who visited the six CBEs in South Korea from July to September 2012. The selected villages were comparatively well developed and offered activities such as wetland activities, foreshore activities, bird watching, hiking, rafting, fishing, shell gathering, cave exploration, and plant observation. Targets were visitors aged 20 years old and above. A total of 268 questionnaires were distributed at the six destinations. Finally, 254 questionnaires were coded for analysis.

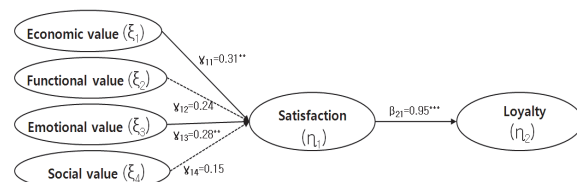
*Data analysis*

The data collected were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and structural equation modelling (SEM) in LISREL 8.80. Given the sufficient sample size, the proposed model was analyzed following the two-step approach: (1) assess the measurement model, and (2) utilize structural equation modelling.

RESULTS

*Structural model*

With satisfactory results in the measurement model, the structural model was examined to test the relationship among constructs. The overall fit indices for the model were acceptable. The path coefficients from 'economic value' and 'emotional value' to 'tourist satisfaction' was statistically significant at  $p < 0.01$ . And the path coefficient from the 'tourist satisfaction' to 'destination loyalty' found the completely standardized coefficient statistically significant at  $p < 0.001$ .



\*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

Figure 1. Results of structural equation model.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The CBE is a strategic tool to strengthen nature conservation and a major source of economic activity that might contribute to rural development. This study attempted to examine the relationships among

perceived value, tourist satisfaction, and destination loyalty in CBE. According to the study results, three of the five proposed hypotheses were supported. Research results related to H1, which states that economic value is positively associated with tourist satisfaction, was significant. This finding implies that reasonable price, economical service, and value for money, influence tourist satisfaction. The results imply that tourists are more likely to enjoy natural attractions with frugality not luxury.

The research result related to H3, suggesting that emotional value is positively related to tourist satisfaction, was significant. The results indicate that it is important for ecotourists to have emotional values through natural and ecological experiences. Storytelling is an effective instrument to enhance the ecological experience and to enliven uninteresting attractions.

H5 proposed that there was a positive relationship between tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty, and it was supported. Consequently, CBE village managers should strive for a higher customer satisfaction level to create destination loyalty, in order to improve and sustain destination competitiveness. Thus, the findings of this study offer important insights for managers of community in developing CBE.

To sustain the ENVs and preserve natural attractions, it is important for ecotourists to understand ecological values and to observe residents' ecological way of life. Developing educational program and capacity building for community people are helpful to give guides for ecological values. Furthermore, tourism attractions of each ENV should be differentiated for CBE destination development to give satisfaction by means of various tourism experiences.

To increase the efficiency of the CBE as a sustainable development tool, it is necessary to improve the planning and management of tourist activities, bearing in mind tourists' preferences when designing ecotourism products.

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# Governing Environmental Conservation through Green Grant support in Brazil: A metagovernance analysis

Giovanna Christo, Stamatios Christopoulos and Michael Kull<sup>1</sup>

*"The people in the Amazon region are not poor but rich in their culture, rich in relation to their connectedness to the land they live on and that they cultivate. They are the guardians of the environment and the countries' heritage. Their socio-economic conditions must be improved."* <sup>2</sup>

**The key to pursuit Sustainable Development (SD) is seen in the balance and integration of environmental protection, economic and inclusive growth, political stability and social progress. Metagovernance, also known as the governance of governance, by designing and managing sound combinations of hierarchical, market and network governance, has the potential to achieve results for SD. Brazil has 54% of the world's tropical forests and their variety of biomes reflects the wealth of the flora and fauna of the country. However, a large portion of the population living in rural areas is under questionable living conditions. In order to conserve the forests and at the same time assist in the SD of communities living in these areas, the Brazilian government launched *The Green Grant Program – Bolsa Verde*. The programme aims at enhancing the livelihoods of families that already perform environmental conservation activities through the conservation of green areas and their environmental services. This short article studies the integration of social inclusion and environmental conservation in Brazil from a metagovernance perspective, through the analysis of different governance elements that can jointly contribute to good results. It also casts light on how metagovernance can help in the development of successful solutions for SD.**

## INTRODUCTION

Biodiversity and ecosystems provide a wide range of goods that human societies depend on for their survival. Biodiversity is essential to Sustainable Development (SD) in many important ways, such as supporting the ecosystem functions that provide services for sustaining life and human development. According to Groot et al. (2002), ecosystem services can be defined as: "the capacity of natural processes and components to provide goods and services that satisfy human needs, directly or indirectly".

However, environmental degradation leads to a loss of biodiversity that in turn leads to a reduction of valuable assets and services and brings negative effects on many aspects of quality of life. These changes have also negative impacts on the environment. Furthermore, neglecting the interactions between various uses of ecosystem services in existing models of governance can undermine rational use and the conservation of the natural environment. The dilemma between conservation and degradation of natural resources, has led to a dichotomy in the

framework of its use. Responsible or affected institutions, including laws, administrative measures, work practices, and information management systems do have a different take on the issue.

The governance of ecosystem services requires the integration of multiple sources of knowledge and has to involve actors from different scales and representing different sectors of society who understand, manage, and benefit from services (Primmer, E. & Furman, E., 2012).

In this sense, the need for effective governance through vertical and horizontal coordination between institutions, and promotion of good governance practices for SD, touches upon the concept of metagovernance. Metagovernance has various scholarly perceptions and meanings. According to Christopoulos et al. (2012), a metagovernance approach can contribute to "reducing the vagueness of the sustainable development concept and the complexity of its implementation", as it can "bring together, through coordination, formal conventions and less formal agreements of what is acceptable and appropriate administration- and policy-wise, to solving complex issues in SD".

SD and its pillars are well known and the need to integrate social, economic, environmental, is currently more or less widely accepted. In this sense, forests can have multiple dimensions for SD e.g. as havens of biodiversity and carbon sinks for mitigation of climate change.

The Brazilian case is very noticeable in this context. Brazil's forests, spread over six biomes with particular characteristics, occupying about 61% of the Brazilian territory and play important social, economic and environmental roles.

In the last 30 years, Brazil has developed a system of forest management for timber production in the forests of the Amazon, which combines the use and conservation of forest resources. Meanwhile, the country has elaborated a relevant regulatory framework, enhanced over the years by a set of standards. Despite this, there are still many conflicts caused by these conservation areas (MMA, 2009). Conservation on the one hand and social inclusion on the other has led to conflicts and is particularly challenging, since most of the families which live in those areas are in extreme poverty and depend of the forest to survive.

This article aims at looking into the governance of environmental conservation schemes based on a green grants approach through the prism of metagovernance. It examines the model of ecosystem services management, and the interactions of key actors involved in the problematique of governance vis-à-vis ecosystem services and nature conservation. The "Bolsa Verde" project is here selected as a case of green grants for nature conservation in Brazil and it will be used as a platform for facilitating

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the identification of strategies for governance transition. This transition from a segregated model of sectoral governance to a more integrated approach of governance considering ecosystem services, builds on the combination of existing governance arrangements geared towards SD. The first part of the paper is a discussion of the history and the goals of Bolsa Verde. It is also meant to outline our main motivational dynamics for studying this case. The latter part of the paper is a short description of our methodology, followed by a description of data collection exercise, the results and concluding remarks.

#### THE BOLSA VERDE PROGRAM

Considering the challenge of fostering social inclusion and conserving the environment, in 2011, the Brazilian federal Government launched the Bolsa Verde program. At the core of this program is poverty reduction in rural areas and the simultaneous encouragement of the conservation of natural resources. Support - through financial assistance - is meant to take these populations above the poverty line (MMA, 2011).

Whereas this kind of environmental management aims at protecting and conserving nature in a balanced way, using the forest as a source of income for the poor families can be limited, creating a challenge for interaction between conservation, social inclusion, and welfare. In this sense, considering that Brazil retains 54% of forest areas globally, the potential impact of the program in environmental preservation and social inclusion can be tremendous. 'Bolsa Verde' works with vulnerable populations whose dependence on natural resources is particularly high. The Federal Ministry of Environment is responsible for the coordination and implementation of Bolsa Verde. It follows instructions of the Steering Committee, which identified the areas to be included in the program, by law. There are three social conditions that must be fulfilled for families receiving support under 'Bolsa Verde'. They must live in extreme poverty, be registered in the Federal Governments Single Registry of Social Programs<sup>3</sup>, and they must be beneficiaries of Bolsa Familia<sup>4</sup>. In addition specific environmental conditions must be fulfilled as well.

#### METHODOLOGY

After thorough study of the program documents and legislation, we designed a questionnaire that was sent to 10 recipients. In addition, semi-structured interviews were carried out via telephone and with programme coordinators in Brazil.

The paper attempted to examine:

- a) The main benefits of the program for the society
- b) The shortcomings of the program
- c) The state of integration of economic, environmental, and social dimensions of SD.

From a metagovernance perspective, we looked into questions of coordination and collaboration (vertical and horizontal as well as formal and informal) between public sector actors and with NGOs. Regarding the families receiving support, we looked into questions of empowerment (social and economic) as well as dissemination of information enabling the families to learn about the program and become part of it.

#### RESULTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the positive outcomes of Bolsa Verde is the recognition of formerly marginalised people in re-

mote rural areas by the government (GoB) supporting them financially. Families are identified and approached through visits on the spot, even in the most remote parts of the country. Given the size of Brazil, inter and intra collaboration of all levels of GoB is crucial for the implementation of the programme.

Of high importance and relevance to the meta-governance approach is that NGOs are involved in reaching out to the families and communicate the benefits of the program.

New media is also crucial in spreading word about the program. Traditional media, such as local newspapers can be, according to an interviewee<sup>5</sup>, "the enemy of the program". The main benefits of the program for the Brazilian society are social inclusion, economic benefit through transfer of income,<sup>6</sup> and the preservation of the country's heritage.

Another interviewee<sup>7</sup> added that whilst the social dimension of SD is tackled already, a qualitative shift away from money transfer to the enabling of the beneficiaries through training (sustainable land use, agricultural techniques, sustainable fishing etc.) is the next envisaged step of empowering the families. In the words of this interviewee this means not "only giving them the fish but to teach them how to get it".

Among the main shortcomings of the program are, the spread of information to beneficiaries, leading to a poor comprehension of what they are allowed to do ("am I allowed carrying out agriculture / fisheries etc. when receiving a green grant for eco-services"). The main shortcomings according to INCRA and MSA concern the process of including of families into the program, and the continuity of environmental conservation after the program. The programme coordinator added that while the social dimension of SD is tackled and will be further improved as outlined above, the environmental and economic dimensions are the next steps in the qualitative improvement of the program. While there is some evidence of positive impacts on biodiversity and reduction of deforestation, it will take another two to three years to have sound evidence about the environmental benefits of Bolsa Verde. Whilst the future of the program seems to be somewhat open, current information campaigns to increase the quantity of recipients and the quality of the program through training modules on the goals and aims of Bolsa Verde in general and sustainable land use in particular.

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<sup>5</sup> Coordinator of Amazônia Legal, interviewed 20.6.2013.

<sup>6</sup> One example given was the selling of Açaí berries. Directly marketed and not via a self-proclaimed landowner generates a selling price that is fundamentally (according to the interviewee around 7 times) higher.

<sup>7</sup> Program Coordinator of the Bolsa Verde Program, interviewed 25.6.2013.

<sup>3</sup> *CadÚnico* system: the registry of the Bolsa Familia program.

<sup>4</sup> The Bolsa Familia is a program of the Brazilian government, which provides financial aid to families in poverty and extreme poverty.





# Sustainable development in Egypt: Towards a meta-governance of water?

Birgit Kemmerling<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Within the context of sustainable development, water governance has emerged as a key issue on the international political agenda and has influenced national water policies, particularly in semi-arid and arid countries. Drawing on extensive research in Egypt, I analyze if there is a shift towards a meta-governance of water resources, and how water policies affect and are affected by renegotiating power relations in water governance. I argue that while diverse actors are involved into water governance, unequal access to water prevails, reflecting the complex power dynamics of rural governance.

## INTRODUCTION

For International Organizations and the Government of Egypt, water scarcity is one of the key challenges of sustainable development. Egypt's fresh water resources depend almost completely on the Nile, from which it receives an annual share of 55.5 billion m<sup>3</sup> (MWRI, 2005). Due to population growth, the per capita availability of water is constantly declining, currently being around 720m<sup>3</sup> per year (MWRI, 2005). Moreover, 95% of fresh water resources are directed to the agricultural sector (MWRI, 2005). Hence, water governance, particularly within the context of agro-production has become a major concern for international and national stakeholders.

Recently, sustainable development and resource management have been approached from a meta-governance perspective that consists of three modalities of governance: hierarchical (e.g. state power), network (e.g. civil society) and market (private sector) (Jessop, 2003; Christopoulos et al., 2012). By including a wide range of actors and institutions from both the public and private sector into the policy-making process, meta-governance is situational, taking specific contexts into account. However, access to governance is not equal to all actors, and requires a detailed analysis of the power dynamics involved (Christopoulos et al., 2012).

In this paper I focus on the power-laden interactions between different stakeholders in the making of water governance, focusing on the agricultural sector in Egypt. Drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality, I conceptualize power as a relational, productive process and analyze by whom, how and to what end water supply and distribution is regulated (Foucault, 1991).

Against this background I ask (1) if there is a tendency towards a meta-governance of water, (2)

what kind of shortcomings can be identified in rural governance and (3) how these affect and are affected by complex power relations in Egypt's water policies. In a first step, I use the three modalities of governance to analyze the governance of water in Egypt's agricultural sector, before I turn to the power-laden interactions between diverse stakeholders in the water sector.<sup>2</sup>

## THE META-GOVERNANCE OF WATER

### *Hierarchical governance of water*

Water distribution in Egypt is mainly controlled by the state: The Ministry of Water Resources and Irrigation distributes Nile water from the Aswan High Dam through a complex canal system into the governorates. Farmers then pump the water by means of a rotation system onto the fields. After irrigation, drainage water is returned to the Nile, channeled into the lakes or to the Mediterranean Sea through the drainage network. At several points in this network, engineers reuse drainage water, by mixing it with fresh water resources (Barnes, 2012). This system is under constant change: decades of land reclamation projects have created irrigated areas further away from the Nile, leading to a constant renegotiation of water distribution.

### *Network governance*

International Organizations are investing into the deregulation of water distribution and access. Based on the Integrated Water Resources Management approach<sup>3</sup>, projects aim to improve equal access to water resources by empowering water users. Thus, Water User Associations have been established throughout Egypt's rural areas that are responsible to distribute water from the canals to the fields, and to mediate between farmers and the government. However, water user associations have broadly failed to meet their targets (cf. Ayeb, 2010) and the Ministry of Water Resources and Irrigation, while implementing partner of water management projects, has been reluctant to reduce its control over water distribution and supply.

<sup>2</sup> The analysis draws on literature, development reports, and qualitative interviews that have been conducted with international organizations, governmental entities, NGOs and water users during several research stays in Egypt between December 2010 and October 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Integrated Water Resources Management is defined as "the process, which promotes the coordinated development and management of water, land and related resources, in order to maximize the resultant economic and social welfare in an equitable manner without compromising the sustainability of vital ecosystems," (GWP, 2000, cited in MWRI, 2005).

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### Market-type governance

Private actors are often linked to international organizations and governments. Within the Integrated Water Resources Management framework, one example is the change of crop patterns towards more water-saving crops: International Organizations introduce high-yield crops for export, thereby cooperating with international and national companies in order to promote contract farming and agrobusiness (cf. USAID, 2011). The government facilitates these processes by introducing strategies and policies that are heavily supporting export-oriented agricultural production and the cultivation of high-yield crops (MWRI, 2005).

### POWER RELATIONS IN WATER GOVERNANCE

These three modalities of governance that form part of Egypt's water policies affect and are affected by complex power relations between actors that reveal crucial shortcomings in rural governance:<sup>4</sup>

First, water users have no access to decision-making processes. Water and agricultural policies as well as development projects are negotiated between the Government of Egypt, International Organizations, businessmen and large landowners. For instance, under the label 'more crop per drop', farmers along the Nile are told to save water resources, while more water is redistributed towards desert land that have been reclaimed by the government and private actors. These reclaimed areas are, to a large extent, owned by agro-businesses and large landowners. Many farmers at the edge of the South-eastern Nile Delta complained that they face severe water shortages since a canal has been built to provide reclaimed desert lands with irrigation water from the Nile, making them increasingly dependent on groundwater resources.

Second, stakeholders are driven by their own, often contradicting interests and lack of cooperation: On the one hand, the Government of Egypt depends on international funding, but seeks to maintain control over water distribution. On the other hand, International Organizations invest into water management, not least driven by strong geopolitical and economic interests. But they are emphasizing deregulation policies and empowerment of water users, making the Ministry of Water Resources and Irrigation at the same time implementing partner of water management projects and target of neoliberal reforms. This mutual and paradox power relations affect rural governance: Rather than "empowering" those who lack access to resources, project components such as the Water User Associations often reinforce unequal power relations between governmental entities and large landowners on the one hand, and smallholders or landless peasants on the other one.

Third, decision-makers are not taking into account specific local contexts. For instance, the Ministry of Water Resources and Irrigation has enacted a law to limit rice cultivation in order to save water

(MWRI, 2005), paving the way for promoting alternative crops, such as fruits and vegetables, as suggested by International Organizations within water management projects. Yet, for many smallholders in the Nile Delta, rice is an important crop for self-sufficiency. Farmers explained that cultivating alternative crops has been proven to be no viable option due to small land holdings, limited capacity to bear production costs, as well as lack of market knowledge and access. Hence, most farmers have to continue growing rice, and production increased particularly since controls stopped after the political upheavals in 2011.

### CONCLUSIONS

Within the context of sustainable development, water (meta-)governance has received increasing attention. In Egypt, diverse stakeholders such as International Organizations and the private sector form part of water governance, yet the state remains the predominant actor. Cooperation between these stakeholders are characterized by complex power dynamics, leading to several shortcomings, of which I have revealed three in this paper: limited access of water users to decision-making processes, contradicting interests of stakeholders, and lack of a situational perspective. These complex and power-laden interactions between diverse stakeholders affect rural governance: they create new inequalities, but equally resistance with regard to policy-making processes on the one hand, and everyday practices of access to water on the other one.

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<sup>4</sup> Results are based on interviews that have been conducted in the Southeastern Nile Delta between December 2011 and June 2012.



# Government Templates, Regional Territories and Social-Ecological Diversity: A case study of regional governance in Australia's transition landscapes of the outer peri-urban

Nicole Reichelt and Ruth Beilin<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - A proliferation of sustainability research and policy advocates for the decentralization of government to support more local decision making around social-ecological issues. This paper draws on empirical research that distills the realities of regional governance in an Australian peri-urban regional landscape. The key aim of the case study research was to capture organization narratives around the drivers of rural land use change (RLUC) as a social ecological issue. We ask what governance scale emerges as being significant for the sustainable management of these transition landscapes; and what visions do local actors have for regional transformation. This paper will argue that the act of strategic region-building has the potential to inform the construction of coordinated place-based rural land use planning and management for sustainable landscape outcomes; with the caveat that local-regional actors actively negotiate the process and outcomes of region-building across the multiple scales of governance. Building intermediate governance structures may avoid parochial responses and template-style policies that both limit dealing with the realities of social-ecological diversity and cross-boundary change in peri-urban landscapes.

## INTRODUCTION

It is widely recognized that rural landscapes of developed and industrialized nations are undergoing considerable transformation from socio-economic changes to the agricultural sector, dynamic urban-rural migration patterns and environmental degradation issues (Cardieux and Hurley, 2011). A proliferation of sustainability research and policy advocates for the decentralization of government to support localised governance systems associated with natural resource management, planning and socio-economic development to respond to these landscape changes. Sustainable development is positioned at the regional scale as a sub-national area of governance because it is small enough for complexi-

ty to be understood yet large enough for effective social action to make a difference. It is also understood that changes to the state of the environment and social dynamics are not confined to arbitrarily made administration boundaries therefore social-ecological change can occur across borders of governance and management units.

The efficacy of regional scale governance is explored in an Australian case study (south east regional Victoria) from the perspectives of key actors within organizations associated with rural land use policy and management. The research questions are: 1) What are the key narratives (past, present and future) about RLUC across organizations as key governance actors? 2) What are the drivers of RLUC from their perspectives? 3) What governance scale emerges as being significant for rural land use sustainability?

## METHODOLOGY

The research paradigm is set within an interpretive ontology concerned with the way 'truths' and ideas are interpreted as people interact in the real-world (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). This is a constructivist epistemology where knowledge is assembled between social actors and meaning is subject to contestation and negotiation. Purposive sampling was used to select (n=9) organisations to participate in a semi-structured 1 hour interview. It was not intended to be an exhaustive representation of organisations to formulate generalisations, rather an opportunity to delve into the realities of those with a vested interest in RLUC in the Case Study 'Region'. The organisation types interviewed were region based government agencies, local government, lobby groups for farmers and local government and a community-based natural resource management organisation.

Interview results were thematically analysed within a broad theoretical framework based on the work of Eiter and Pottoff (2007). These authors propose a set of forces of change: frictions, precursors, attractors and pressures, to distinguish between the different dynamics involved in landscape change.

## Results

The key results, as aggregated interview responses and triangulated with a document analysis, captured

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a consistent narrative across the organizations. The Case Study 'Region' is conceived as having undergone and will continue to experience incremental landscape change at least until 2030 (the year of the future scenario) as a multifunctional rural landscape (MRL). The underlying rationalities to support this common sentiment are based on coding responses as frictions to land use change (i.e. a force that either redirects or slows down an ongoing course of change).

**Table 1.** Meta narrative of RLUC for Case Study 'Region' supported by key rationalities as frictions to change

META NARRATIVE ACROSS ORGANISATIONS AND TIME
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• persistent agricultural land use</li><li>• incremental landscape change from dairy farming as a dominant land use towards rural multifunctionality</li></ul>
KEY FRICTIONS TO SUPPORT THE META NARRATIVE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• economic importance of agriculture to the region</li><li>• flexible land tenure arrangements</li><li>• biophysical assets of the area</li><li>• a restrictive application of the local planning scheme limiting land fragmentation</li></ul>

Three organisation representatives remarked on the fragility of their organisation's political power and its capacity to govern the dynamics of RLUC, in this case, to support incremental land use change within their territories of responsibility. A range of governance challenges were mentioned. In some instances this was in the context of state government hegemonic market-based policy directives translated as undermining local scale participatory planning outcomes, dysfunctional governance relations between scales (local, regional and state government) and a deficiency of funding to invest in the coordination of landscape scale on-ground projects for ecological outcomes.

#### DISCUSSION

The Case Study 'Region' becomes the locus for understanding the vulnerability of local actor led landscape visions in response to state government planning policy changes that accentuate ongoing privatised development as a model of regional transformation, to be replicated across the state i.e. template-style government. A key concern here is the scale of governance of rural land becoming a 'scale of extremes' i.e. individual property management mediated by state-based institutions to bypass local based decision-making processes, processes where Local Ecological Knowledge (LEK) is triggered for deliberation. It also illustrates local resistance to remote policy making as evidenced in the construction of community-based landscape narratives that, in this case, focused on supporting the continuation of agricultural activities and protecting scenic values in the face of urbanization pressures. What is highlighted is the value of region-building as a potential buffer against template-style government and as a means to harness localised collective aspirations for peri-urban landscapes. The coherence of the re-

gional governance situation in the Case Study 'Region' will be explored by referring to Renting et al., (2009) who outline specific ways to examine MRL management through land use, public regulation, market and actor-orientated approaches. It will be demonstrated how these approaches play out in the real world and the potential efficacy of combining such approaches for managing MRLs through the integration of vertical and horizontal networks of decision making across government and non-government sectors i.e. multiscale governance (see Blatter, 2004) with the purpose of empowering the regional scale. This is reliant on local-regional actors actively negotiating the process and outcomes of region-building with the wider policy community and within place-based ecological realities.

#### CONCLUSION

Building intermediate governance structures within a multiscale governance system provides an opportunity to avoid parochial responses and template-style policies that both limit dealing with the realities of social-ecological diversity and cross-boundary change in peri-urban landscapes.

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# Sustainable rural development and the energy transition: towards a modernized mixtures approach

G. Carrosio, Natalia Magnani<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The current paper analyses the relationship between energy and sustainable development in rural areas in the framework of the energy transition towards renewable energy sources. In particular we examine the key dimensions along which socio-technical arrangements for renewable energy production in rural areas can be organized. Eventually the added value of a Modernized Mixtures approach (MM) to energy technology and energy governance in order to further improve rural resilience and to contribute to sustainable rural development is highlighted.

## INTRODUCTION

As recently highlighted by the UN initiative on sustainable energy for all (Srivastava and Sokona, 2012) the link between energy and sustainable development is increasingly topical, and especially so for rural areas across the world. Moreover, for both industrialized and developing countries it increasingly requires to be placed in the context of the energy transition towards renewable energy sources and eco-efficient technologies.

In academic research the link between the energy transition and rural development has until now been dealt at two key analytical levels. Firstly, rural studies have focused on the farm level. These works (e.g. Carrosio, 2012; Huttunen, 2012) have analyzed how renewable energy production features in the strategies of diversification and income integration of farmers in times of price and energy squeezes on agriculture.

Secondly, research has focused on the rural community. It has been highlighted how in many rural areas local residents - both farmers and non-farmers - at different geographical levels - from the village to the region - have engaged in community renewable energy projects, taking advantage of the large availability of renewable sources to promote local development paths (e.g. Gubbins, 2007; Rogers et al., 2012) and energy autonomy (e.g. Rae and Bradley, 2012).

What these two otherwise distinct and separated strands of literature have in common is the relevance assigned to alternative organizational models and factors in shaping the sustainable energy transition of rural areas.

On these premises, taking as example the specific case of biomasses, in this paper we examine the key dimensions along which socio-technical arrangements for renewable energy production in rural areas can be organized. Eventually the added value of a Modernized Mixtures approach (MM) (Spaargaren et al., 2006) to energy technology and energy governance in order to further improve rural resilience and sustainable rural development is considered.

## KEY DIMENSIONS OF SOCIO-TECHNICAL ORGANIZATION-AROUND RENEWABLE ENERGY IN RURAL AREAS

Building on Spaargaren et al. (2006) we can identify four key dimensions around which socio-technical arrangements for energy production from biomasses can be organized in rural areas (Fig.1).



Figure 1. Dimensions of socio-technical organization around renewable energy.

These dimensions need to be interpreted as organizational continuums identifying different organizational models concerning the chain of energy production, including the supply of biomasses as well as the conversion to energy and energy distribution. They also address social aspects of renewable energy production and distribution, such as the involvement of actors at different levels.

These dimensions are the following:

- *self-sufficiency vs. integration*: energy production can be organized to achieve local energy independence or can be integrated into a larger provision system;
- *community-centered vs. sector-centered*: emphasis can be given to the interaction between different decentralized systems of production, using different sources of supply and involving different social groups; or energy production can be based on a single source, focusing on the agricultural sector as the primary sector of energy supply;

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- *high involvement of end users vs. low (absent) involvement of end users*: users can be more or less involved as energy co-providers. They can participate as shareholders, supply raw materials, interact through production and energy saving household devices, be involved in the decision making process; or a neo-corporatist and technocratic approach can prevail;
- *centralized organization vs. decentralized organization*: there can be a centralized system of production with a wide number of end users; or, on the opposite, energy production can be organized through a large number of micro disseminated devices.

#### THE MODERNIZED MIXTURES APPROACH AS A MODEL FOR SUSTAINABLE ENERGY PRODUCTION IN RURAL AREAS

The MM approach suggested by Spaargaren et al. (2006) offers an interesting analytical framework to combine these different social and technical dimensions in such a way to contribute to sustainability of rural areas.

The application of a MM perspective to sustainable development means overcoming the dichotomy centralized / large scale / high-tech energy systems versus decentralized / small scale / low-tech ones and promoting an 'organized eclecticism' that fit local situations (ibidem).

The assumption of this approach is that there is not a single sustainable solution, but a 'mix of scales, technologies, payment systems and cultural and institutional structures that are both economically and environmentally sustainable' (Hegger and van Vliet, 2010), depending on each specific temporal-spatial context.

Figure 2, adapted from Spaargaren et al. (2006), applies such approach to renewable energy production and presents some examples of distinctive socio-technical modernized mixtures.



Figure 2. Examples of modernized mixtures around renewable energy.

In these modernized mixtures the organizational dimensions around renewable energy production above highlighted can be variously combined. For example we can have a centralized organization combined with a partial self-sufficiency and integration, a single source and a relatively high involvement of consumers. This can be the case of a biomass power plants producing heat and power. The plant distributes electricity to the national grid and provide heat to the town, consumers are shareholders and a local sawmill provide the fuel supply.

#### CONCLUSION

The energy transition in rural areas requires new organizational models. Four key dimensions along which renewable energy production is actually being re-organized in rural areas have been highlighted.

Along each of these four continuums possible trade-off between environmental and social dimensions of sustainable development can be highlighted. For example, it could be that in some cases a very ecologically sustainable arrangement of a farm-based energy production system does not meet the social and environmental sustainability of the local community. Or in other cases a centralized system of provision can be more environmentally sustainable than a very decentralized system, because the organization of production is based on economies of scales and the closure of ecological cycles.

While the MM approach does not completely resolve these tensions, it proves useful to highlight the possibility to mix apparently opposed organizational dimensions in order to adapt energy production and consumption systems to the specific socioeconomic, ecological and infrastructural conditions of local contexts.

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# Monchio Sustainable Community: energies for renewed development at local level

Alessandro Daraio<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Monchio delle Corti is a small community located in the Emilia-Romagna Apennine affected by long-term decrease of population, lack of economic and employment opportunities, territorial fragility and high hydro-geological risk. The Municipality has been strongly committed in renewable energy investments (photovoltaic first, biomass after) as part of a strategy for social and environmental sustainability. In particular, the Municipality built a biomass district heating plant with the aim to offer a competitive public service to local population and to exploit an abundant local renewable resource. The use of forestry biomass in the energy local system generates the resources necessary to finance a plan for the recovery of deteriorated chestnut woods and the sustainable territorial management, in order to reduce hydro-geological risk, to improve landscape and to enhance natural heritage. As a complementary action, the start-up of a new cooperative enterprise has incentivised to work in the local biomass supply chain, contributing to rise employment opportunities and allowing young people emigrated to larger urban areas to come back to live in their community. The paper describes the evolution of the project Monchio sustainable community, achievements and future ambitions; it concludes highlighting lessons learnt and critical factors for possible replication.

## INTRODUCTION

Monchio delle Corti is a small municipality with less than 1,000 inhabitants located in the Emilia-Romagna Apennine. It shares with most of the rural mountain communities three orders of problems: a long-term decrease of population coupled with progressive population aging; lack of economic vitality and employment opportunities and difficulties to maintain an adequate level of public and private services; territorial fragility and high hydro-geological risk exacerbated by the abandonment of traditional agricultural and forestry activities.

In recent years the research of new levers to stimulate local development and improve quality of life in mountain areas involved the Municipality of Monchio together with the rest of the region (Daraio, 2011). Growing concerns about the sustainability of the prevailing development model and about the costs of concentration in core regions opens new opportunities for peripheral areas. Mountain and rural communities can find new specialization in the emerging paradigm of green economy (Borghi, 2009). The case of Monchio delle Corti can be read as a spontaneous process of awareness of opportunities and of development of a strategy to catch them. In the first

stage the Municipality simply attempted to benefits of incentives made available by non-spatial national policies for renewable energy production. In this context, between 2009 and 2010 the Municipality built a public photovoltaic plant accessing to the subsidised electrical feed-in national scheme. With an investment of about € 3 millions the Municipality took part in the national strategy for RES, and - probably most important for local decision-makers - ensured a stable positive cash flow for the municipal balance over the next 15-20 years.

In the same period, taking advantage of a specific measure of the Rural Development Plan of the Emilia-Romagna, the Municipality created a biomass district heating micro-network serving four public buildings. This project was more linked with local economic system, given the wide availability of biomass to produce wood chips used to fuel the heating plant. Nevertheless the scale of the project was too small to have any significant impact on the local market (about 300 tons of wood demanded). Even if very limited the demand of wood chips was a signal launched to forestry supply chain. Although a clear strategy was not defined, the Municipality had the capacity to look forward and installed a heating plant larger than necessary, leaving open the possibility to enlarge the district heating network in the future.

## THE MONCHIO SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY PROJECT

Between 2011 and 2012 thank to the support of the Province of Parma and the special attention of the Regional Administration, a more ambitious project was developed. The strategy relies on the idea that environmental, social and economic problems can be addressed jointly, but innovative policy approaches are required. The Municipality decided to extend the district heating network throughout the main village of Monchio investing an additional € 1 million, benefiting of the support of the Emilia-Romagna's regional policy. The project had five objectives:

1. to offer a useful public service to population connecting private households to the district heating network with competitive price (around 50% estimated average saving on heating bill), contrasting fuel poverty and reducing inconveniences and risks for households (especially old people) using fire woods;
2. to substitute external fuel sources (oil or liquid gas) with a local resource (forestry biomass), shortening the energy supply chain;
3. to increase the production of renewable energy, installing a cogeneration ORC plant with 100 kW of electrical power which exploits the residual of

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heat during the non winter seasons. This allows to manage the plant more efficiently during all the year and to generate extra revenues improving the sustainability of the business plan;

4. to ensure safeguard and maintenance of local forestry, in particular chestnut woods which were cultivated in the past for human nutrition and have been almost completely abandoned in the last decades. The business plan of the project is defined to pay an adequate price for the biomass and to require a significant share coming from the recovery plan of local woods;
5. to create opportunity for employment locally.

The management of forestry was a problem for the community and a concrete evidence of the “abandonment of mountain”, which public funds were unable to face. After the investment carried out by the Municipality, forestry is again a resource for the community and its management will be self sustainable. District heating, renewable energy and employment could be seen as important by-products of an innovative policy of forestry management. Indeed, the functioning of the district heating at this larger scale generate a demand of wood chips in the market estimated around 150-200 thousands euro per year. This market potential stimulated the creation of a new cooperative enterprise in Monchio which employs six people. This new enterprises was one of the result of the Laboratory for the start-up of community enterprises -launched and financed by the Province of Parma- as an experimental and innovative policy instrument to address local development problems in marginal areas.

#### RESULTS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Monchio sustainable community is an ongoing project which already reached several results worth to be highlighted:

- 40 households served by a new public district heating service, reliable and competitive;
- one new enterprise and six people employed locally and working in the forestry sector. In a small community like Monchio this means +3% of total employment;
- Over 60% of total energy final consumption covered by renewable sources, adding up photovoltaic and biomass;
- 15 ha/year of chestnut woods recovered and returned to public use for leisure and tourism.

On the basis of achieved results, the Municipality of Monchio is still working to continue its path toward sustainability, based on the reduction of the energy dependence and the increase of energy efficiency. The municipal energy plan (which includes the sustainable energy action plan in accordance to the Covenant of Mayors promoted by the European Union) recently approved (Setti, 2013) sketches some of the next steps.

#### LESSONS LEARNT AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Observed from the inside, a few elements seem to have been crucial for the successful implementation of the project in Monchio delle Corti.

Time is a key variable: the project could go on essentially thank to the rapidity of decisional process which allowed to avoid the negative impact of subsequent changes in the legislative and economic context.

Local authorities are facing growing constraints implementing public policies and are forced to act opportunistically to exploit available opportunities like entrepreneurs, taking risks and integrating different resources.

The success of local development projects heavily relies on local context and leadership (Cersosimo and Wolleb, 2006), but in our case the municipal level is unable to work alone. Positive results came from cooperation among different level of government along the whole institutional architecture (Seravalli, 2006).

Innovation is essential in public policies to pursue public interests with efficacy and efficiency. An approach based on market enhancement might result as effective as traditional “pure” public financed policies, but generates wider socio-economic impact. Local authorities can play a role in combining spatial and non-spatial policies (Barca et al., 2012) and to creatively add a territorial dimension to the latter. Local communities can be the place where innovative approaches emerges, but the regional and national levels need to be able to stimulate experimentation and consolidation of successful models.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Solar energy, innovation and community resilience: the case of Amareleja (Portugal)

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**Abstract** - The solar photovoltaic power plant of Amareleja in southern Portugal was built in 2008. At the time it was the largest in Europe. This large-scale technological infrastructure triggered an unusual buzz on an otherwise quiet rural municipality of Moura. It inspired triumphant political speeches, national and international news coverage, and many visits by foreign dignitaries. And yet, it was the target of some criticism regarding its costs and the limited impact on the local economy and on jobs creation. Moreover, apart from a dramatic transformation of the rural landscape, this solar power plant also brought multiple scientific and technological innovations (supported by a social fund). This paper offers a preliminary analysis of the public acceptability of this form of energy production and discusses the extent to which these scientific and technological innovations have impacted on the local identity, development and community resilience in times of crisis. The empirical material draws on a combination of methods: documentary analysis, quantitative analysis of secondary databases, interviews with local stakeholders and ethnographic observation.

## SOLAR ENERGY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Renewable energies are generally seen as a key resource for energy transition: a clean and sustainable replacement for fossil fuels, a crucial tool in the mitigation of climate change and in achieving national self-sufficiency in terms of energy. Unlike other energy production technologies (such as nuclear or coal power plants, but also biofuels and dams), solar and wind power are generally perceived as "clean," "green" or "environmentally friendly" (Pasqualetti, 2001; Nadai & Van der Horst, 2010). Despite this apparent consensus, scholarship in this field (cf. Wolsink, 2007; van der Horst & Toke, 2010) has identified a paradox that has severely hindered the development of RE in some European countries: a general social support for RE contrasts with localised resistance to the siting of energy production facilities (often blamed on NIMBY reactions). This is especially the case of windfarms, whose turbines are often seen as technological blemishes on natural landscapes. The social literature seems to be more abundant regarding windfarms impacts in rural areas rather than big solar plants projects. However some interesting insights come from case studies in Spain (Velasco, 2010), the US (Pasqualetti and Haag, 2011), Germany (Kunze and Busch, 2011) and even China, the latter on the solar city Daegu (Kim et al., 2006). Some of

the problems researched in this literature are the aesthetic/visual impacts of the solar power plants on the landscape, the wide territorial spaces they tend to occupy which could otherwise be used for food production, the socio-economic impacts they have on rural development and the spin-off of innovative technological sectors, especially when they are sited in backward regions. It is thus important to assess whether this form of energy enables independence (autarky) and resilience in rural communities. Given the current economic crisis that is affecting many European countries (notably Portugal) and rising energy prices it is apposite to look at how these infrastructures of solar energy are being received and appropriated by rural local communities where they are sited. Do local rural communities get economic, symbolic, social or cultural return from the investment made or not? Do they feel more resilient than other regions in the country that have no infrastructures such these? Answers to these questions have not been fully resolved and more work is needed in this field. In this paper we aim at offering a preliminary analysis of the processes of public acceptability of solar power in a small rural area of Portugal and contribute to answering some of these questions.

## CASE-STUDY IN AMARELEJA

The empirical material is based on a case study in a small rural area of southern Portugal: Amareleja, in the municipality of Moura. Economic deprivation, an elderly population and low levels of literacy affect this village with 2500 inhabitants. In 2008, a solar photovoltaic power plant was built in the outskirts of Amareleja. At the time it was touted as the biggest solar plant in Europe, but was quickly surpassed (today is below the top 25). It occupies 250 acres and has 2,520 solar trackers, capable of producing 45.8 MW / year. This plant is paradigmatic of the intersection between science and technology, rural development, connection to the business sector and society in general.

The empirical analysis draws on a combination of methods: documentary analysis, quantitative analysis of secondary databases, interviews with local stakeholders and ethnographic observation. Documentary analysis included content analysis of documents (publications, reports, press releases). Exploratory interviews were conducted with local authorities, the business sector and the mentor of the scientific project.

## RESULTS: PUBLIC ACCEPTABILITY OF SOLAR ENERGY IN PORTUGAL AND IN AMARELEJA

In the past decade, Portugal has made an extensive investment in RE generation. The ambitious target of 45 per cent of electricity from RE sources by 2010

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was met and the percentage of RE in total consumption is already 25 per cent (the goal for 2020 is 31 per cent). The main source of electricity through RE is hydropower (43 per cent), followed closely by wind energy (42 per cent); solar power is responsible for just 2 per cent of electricity (DGEG, 2012). One of the biggest contributors for this percentage is the solar power plant in Amareleja.

Though the original project for the solar power plant was devised by a Portuguese company, in collaboration with the City Council of Moura, it had to be sold to a Spanish company, Acciona. Although 350 jobs were created during the construction stage, in the long term only 15 employees are required to operate the power plant. The project included the construction of a factory for the production of solar panels, in what would be a strong incentive for economic development of the region and even the country. However, the factory actually built only assemblies panels, whose components are imported from China, and is currently not operating at full capacity. The project also involved the creation of a technological park (supported by a social fund paid by Acciona) aimed at attracting small high-tech companies working on sustainable energies. However, the only companies currently in the park are the solar panel factory and a municipal tech company that is also responsible for managing the park (Lógica EM). Consequently, in terms of economic development and job creation, the impact of this solar plant was limited, as explained below:

"Of the 15 jobs created by the plant 12-13 were occupied by inhabitants of Amareleja but it is too few for a project with this level of investment. There are also some of our countrymen employed in the photovoltaic panels factory, but who are at home due to the lack of factory activity" (interview with the President of the Amareleja Parish, June, 2013).

Job creation benefits fell behind expectations, however Amareleja and Moura became associated with solar tourism promotion ("some regions sell cheese, others chorizos, we here sell the sun" claims the same interviewee). There is a solar land route tourists can take around the power plant. And yet, in conversation with a representative of a local tourism office of Moura, we found out that the excitement and tourists' curiosity were higher at the beginning when the plant was built, but nowadays there isn't much interest in visiting the plant.

Despite the lack of job creation and tourism attention to the value added product around the sun, this solar power plant brought multiple scientific and technological innovations (supported by the social fund). Examples are a program of domestic micro-generation (hence the visibility of so many photovoltaic collectors and panels on roof tops), the leadership of a European network of municipalities involved in renewable energy, a municipal tech company that owns a laboratory for the certification of photovoltaic modules and is involved in several international research projects and partnerships with companies, universities and research institutes. One such project is SKA – Square Kilometer Array – an infrastructure of radio astronomy to be built in the southern hemisphere powered entirely by renewable energy, which will be tested in the region of Moura.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Despite such promising high-tech developments, the region and its rural population seems to have failed to capture the economic value of this plant and of its

spin-off activities. From the exploratory interviews, a few reasons are pointed out: 1st the economic environment of the country that has affected the functioning of the assemblage factory and technological park, both operating under their full potential; and 2nd the lack of consensus regarding the funding activities and priorities of the fund, managed by Moura City Council. However, it should be pointed that the plant was responsible for creating some qualified employment positions in municipality where the main economic activities are related to the transformation of agricultural products, through the creation of a solar micro-generation program and a public tech company involved in international research projects.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Rural capital as source and effect of a sustainable development: the exploitation of native sheep breeds in Maremma, Tuscany

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**Abstract** – Many sheep breeds are characteristic of several Italian rural areas and produce a significant amount of greasy wool that is not directed towards local textile supply chains but it is often thrown into landfill or even incorrectly destroyed in the environment. . The consequences of these practices are not only the impacts on the environment and on biodiversity, but also the reduction of breeders' income diversification and the loss of agricultural knowledge and related rural traditions." Rural capital can favor sustainability that, in return, can develop a real means for maintaining and reinforcing the social-economic and cultural capital of a rural area. This work is an explorative study aiming at analyzing the linkages and relationships between rural capital and the exploitation of agro-environmental resources, with particular regard to the "green dimension" of safeguarding native sheep breeds and wool.

## INTRODUCTION

A wide range of native and local sheep breeds, characteristic of many Italian rural areas, produce a significant amount of greasy wool (ca 14.000 ton/year) that is not directed towards local textile supply chains and is often thrown into landfill or even incorrectly destroyed in the environment. Wool is still defined an animal by-product (EC 1069/2009 and EU 142/2011) and represents a practical and economical liability for breeders (Pinto de Andrade et al., 1997) as the selling price does not even cover the expenses of shearing. Italian coarse wools often are not introduced into textile processing chains because of technical problems in industrial processing and organizational and logistic difficulties, at agricultural level, causing the lack of a continuous wool supply to industry. The consequences are: impacts on the environment; loss of biodiversity with the risk for some breeds to disappear; loss of the wool related revenue that could complement breeders' main income.; loss of agricultural knowledge and related rural traditions. In Europe and Italy several projects are currently being carried on in order to return native sheep breeds and wool with socio-economic and environmental values assuring

both a fair profit to sheep breeders and benefits to the environment. Many of these projects concern the reconstruction of a local textile wool supply chain starting from farmers and ending with apparel manufactures. The sustainability of such production related to the agro-ecosystem is an important component of rural areas and its rural capital that is also formed by human, social, economic, cultural capital. The safeguard of native sheep breeds and local productions, thus, must be supported in the framework of processes integrating immediate and longer-term objectives, local and global action, and regarding at social, economic and environmental issues as inseparable and interdependent components of human progress: <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/eussd/>.

Rural capital can favor sustainability that, in return, can develop a real means for maintaining and reinforcing the social-economic and cultural capital of a rural area. This mutual relationship should be exploited in order to become more resilient in counteracting times of crisis. This explorative study aims at analyzing the linkages between rural capital and the exploitation of agro-ecological resources related to the "green dimension" of native sheep breeds and wool protection. The study analyzes the feasibility, in the Province of Grosseto, of a short textile processing chains starting by recovering greasy wool from native sheep breeds and ending with the manufacturing of traditional clothing linked to the Maremma land (Sheth et al., 2011). The study focuses on knowledge, attitudes, skills and values of different stakeholders in exploiting agriculture resources such as wool, in order to understand how rural capital impacts environmental sustainability and the conditions under which a sustainable agriculture process can favor rural resilience.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

The design and testing of a short textile processing chain has been developed in two steps. a) The qualitative analysis of the province of Grosseto was carried out by collecting secondary data by 8-10 ethnographic in depth-interviews (Spradley, 1979) to local stakeholders: sheep breeders/wool producers, local authorities and institutions, agritourism owners, garments manufacturers. Relationships with textile processors (not territorial) were also investigated. In depth interviews allowed the interviewed to freely

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express themselves on the investigated themes (Banana, 1981). b) The construction of a textile value chain through the development of a “concept local product” and different textile prototypes. Group interviews to actors of the supply chain were performed to identify and share a model of textile chain suiting the peculiarities related to the rural nature of the territory in question. Fabrics and cloth prototypes were made through the short textile chain using Vissana, Amiata, Appennine wools collected in the Province of Grosseto as shown in table 1.

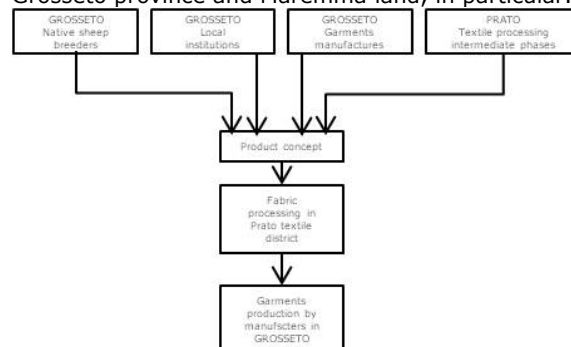
**Table 1.** Implementation of the textile processing chain

Quantities	
<b>Greasy wool</b>	3000 kg
<b>Scoured wool</b> (Vissana, Amiata, Appenninica and Sardinian)	Scoured wool 1500 kg. 500 kg of Sardinian wool was not used
<b>Fabric</b>	500 mt: 250 mt were directed to testing; the 250 mt were employed to create ca. 30 prototyped garments

## RESULTS

Results from in depth-interviews and meetings with local stakeholders showed the strong interest of both sheep breeders and local textile manufacturers in sharing and taking part in the research issues. Sheep breeders consider important for the farm economy and the environment to use the wool they produce instead destroying it. Garment manufacturers seemed motivated to belong to a short chain to produce textile strongly related to local identity. Also agritourism holders showed to be willing to create and manage, at their farms, commercial spaces for textile garments made with native wools. Some of the most significant hints are reported: “...the product should be a typical product of the Maremma land and should be associated to the territory ...”; “...the product should have Maremma colors and could be dyed with natural colors...”; “...The Vissana wool is ideal to fabricate quality products.. Many years ago, socks, gilets and sweaters were produced with this wool...”; “... with coarse wools furnishing textiles can be produced such as, blankets, curtains, mattresses, etc.”; “... the client is interested to details and is willing to pay a higher price to buy a local product ...”; “... agritourisms could be an important “shop window” to promote a ‘Made in Grosseto’ product...”. The implementation of a short textile supply chain (Figure 1) pushed the research team to identify the Prato textile district as the reference pool of intermediate textile processing phases. Technical meetings involving sheep breeders, garments manufactures and textile processors preceded the textile processing phases. The meetings with local stakeholders and technical experts helped defining the creation of garments, i.e., the “Butteri jacket” inspired by “Butteri” (cowboys of the land of Maremma) local tradition. In fact, the product concept implemented by rural capital, represented by local stakeholders, resulted in fabrics and cloths

reflecting local tradition and knowledge of the Grosseto province and Maremma land, in particular.



**Figure 1.** Scheme of the textile supply chain in Grosseto.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The typical garments obtained by the exploitation of native wools can represent a means through which the territory can transmit the “green” value of local environment and heritage outside the territory itself and get in return possible socio-economic and cultural development. The enhancement of rural capital through the creation of a network of local and regional (Prato) relationships can be the engine allowing the building up of a short textile supply chain that is depicted by the local textile products. Such a framework can support local identity, green environment values while providing local communities with means to be more resilient towards critical times.

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# The importance of social capital in the management of natural resources: the case study of Valle di Non district in Italy

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**Abstract** – Social capital can be defined as the set of characteristics of social organization - such as trust, norms of reciprocity, and relationship networks - that improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions. The quantification of social capital in the collaborative management of natural resources is useful both to assess the pre-conditions to develop a decentralized approach, and to monitor the results obtained by the collective management. The aim of this paper is to define a method (tested in a case study in Valle di Non, North-East of Italian Alps) to quantify the social capital built in a community. The social capital of the forest sector of the Valle di Non was assessed through three measurable components: trust in public authorities and in other actors of community, community organizational life, cooperative and conflicting relationships among actors. Data were collected through a semi-structured questionnaire submitted face-to-face to the local stakeholders. First results show a well structured social capital and the pre-conditions for the start of a process of participatory management of forest resources.

## INTRODUCTION

When considering the community involvement in the management of natural resources, the centralized top-down approach and the decentralized bottom-up approach are the main approaches. The first one is the traditional perspective developed during the last century in the industrialized countries. This approach is based on the rationalism and the scientific knowledge which characterized the management field in the 18th and 19th centuries and the central idea is to bend the nature to the needs of society. In the centralized top-down approach the decision making power is shared by public agencies and governments and the stable flow of goods and ecosystem services is maintained thanks to the command-and-control practices. The bottom-up approach - described as participatory, collaborative, decentralized or co-management (Pretty and Smith, 2004) - is based on the power sharing by governments and local community. In the collaborative management of natural resources the collective action has been institutionalized in forms of local groups and associations (e.g. hunting and fishing societies, environmental associations) which are key actors for biodiversity conservation and sustainable management (Ostrom, 1990).

In the context of collaborative management the interaction between local government representatives and community stakeholders is the crucible in which social capital is formed. The quantification of

social capital is useful both to assess the pre-conditions to develop a decentralized approach alternatively to a centralized one, and to monitor the results obtained by the collective management. The role of social capital consists in capturing the non-economic aspects of society and, consequently, in promoting the environmental and social sustainability with the production of goods and services and positive local development impacts (Bryden and Hart, 2004). Social capital can be defined as the set of trust, norms of reciprocity and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating collective actions and the production of private and public goods (Putnam, 1993). The role of social capital in the collective management of natural resources is strictly linked to the interactive learning. The interactive learning is the process whereby people interact with each other and other social contexts to lead to changes such as knowledge or skills acquisition, or the capacity to take new values and attitudes (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000). The outcomes of the interactive learning influence the individual behaviour for collective action and the accumulation of social knowledge. These two outcomes increase the local social capital and facilitate the sustainable management.

The aim of this paper is to define a method to quantify the social capital in order to assess if there are the pre-conditions to develop a collaborative management strategy for the forest sector. The method was tested in a case study in North-East of Italy (Valle di Non, Trentino-Alto Adige region), characterized by a richness of natural resources and a close relationship between local community and territory

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

The study area is the Valle di Non, located in the North-Eastern Italian Alps (West part of Trentino-Alto Adige region). The surface of the valley is 59,674 ha, with a population of 39,134 inhabitants (density 65.6 inh./ha). Valle di Non is a rural district characterized by a high importance of the agricultural sector that employs around 20% of the local workforce and is based on apples and grapes production. The forest area covers 35,123 ha (58.4% of the district). The main forest types of the Valley are the Norway spruce forests, pure and mixed with the silver fir (77%), the European larch forests (10%), the Scots and black pine forests (6%) and the beech forests (4%).

The social capital of the community of Valle di Non was estimated using the preliminary data collected through a semi-structured questionnaire submitted face-to-face to the local stakeholders. As social capital cannot be directly measured, it is necessary to use a proxy or indicators to measure the level of social capital in a community. In the

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present research three measurable components were assessed: i) trust, ii) community organizational life, and iii) cooperative relationships and conflicting relationships among local groups, associations and institutional organizations (meso level) of the Valle di Non.

Trust is an important component of social capital and a critical aspect of social cohesion in a community. According to Fukuyama (1995, p.27) trust is "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms", it is a lubricant of cooperation among social actors, it reduces the transaction costs between people and creates a social obligation (Pretty and Smith, 2004). In the present paper, trust was examined at three levels: trust in the groups (associations, NGO), trust in the institutional actors (public agencies) and trust in the other members of the community. The level of trust was assessed from responses to a question asking which is the level of trust of the interviewed person in the various actors (5-points Likert scale, with 0=very low trust, and 5=very high trust).

The community organizational life considers all local groups and associations that play a key role in the institutionalization of the collective action. In other words, this component of social capital takes into account the participation of the members of community in local associations (e.g. environmental, cultural, touristic, etc.). In the present paper, indicators of community organizational life were considered: i) the presence of civic and environmental associations per 1,000 population, ii) the percentage of respondents who are members of a civic and/or environmental associations, iii) the number of years the respondents are members of the association and iv) the main motivations of joining the association.

The cooperative and conflicting relationships among social actors were assessed using the social network analysis. The social network analysis is a technique to investigate the relationships among actors, how actors are positioned within a network, the strength of relationships and how relationships are structured into overall network patterns. The social networks of collaborative and conflicting relationships were evaluated in a qualitative way, considering the main characteristics of the networks in terms of their density, and measure of centrality. The network density is a positive pre-condition for the development of a collective action (Sandström, 2008) and has a positive relationship with the spread of information and innovations, and the increasing of the reciprocity and mutual trust. The centrality of each stakeholder allows to understand which are the key actors in the network in terms of power, prestigious and flow of resources (e.g. knowledge and information).

#### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data concerning the level of trust (Table 1) highlight that the respondents have a high trust (mean value 2.64) in the other members of community where the respondent lives, and in the institutional actors (mean value 2.19). On the contrary, the trust in the groups (hunting and environmental associations) is quite low. The Valley Union and the ASUC *Amministrazioni Separate per gli Usi Civici* (Separated Administrations for Common Rights) had the lowest trust scores. The first result is related to the fact that the Valley Union is an institutional organization born three years ago, with limited competence in forest and environmental management.

Instead, the low trust score of the ASUC is in contrast with other studies, that have shown the importance and the role of these institutions in the management of common forests and pastures in the Alps (Paletto et al., 2011).

The indicators used to quantify the community organizational life show that in Valle di Non the number of associations per 1000 populations is 7.5, slightly higher than the provincial average (7.2). Answers to the questionnaire also indicated that 56% of the respondents are, at present, members of an association. The average period of time spent in the association is 19 years. This value evidences that in the Valle di Non there is a tradition of joining associations, which can be considered an important individual measure of the level of social capital.

The results of network analysis show that the actor with greater decision-making power (high degree centrality) in the forest management is the Forest Service of the Province of Trento, followed by the other public organizations (i.e. municipalities).

#### CONCLUSIONS

These first results show that the social capital in Valle di Non is well structured and that there are pre-conditions for the start of a process of participatory management of forest resources.

**Table 1.** Trust in the different social actors of Valle di Non (5-point Likert scale).

ACTORS	Mean	Standard Deviation
Municipality	2.88	1.18
Valley Union <sup>a</sup>	1.13	1.13
Provincial Forest Service	2.81	1.00
ASUC <sup>b</sup>	1.93	1.65
<b>Trust in the public institutions</b>	<b>2.19</b>	<b>0.83</b>
Hunting societies	1.57	1.43
Environmental associations	2.00	1.20
<b>Trust in the groups</b>	<b>1.79</b>	<b>0.30</b>
Members of municipality	2.63	1.21
Members of Valle di Non	2.66	1.10
<b>Trust in the members of community</b>	<b>2.64</b>	<b>0.02</b>

<sup>a</sup>Administrative body with an intermediate role between Province and Municipality.

<sup>b</sup>Administrative body which manages the common lands.

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# The role of EU rural development policy in supporting agroforestry systems: experiences, challenges and post-2013 perspectives in Italy

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**Abstract** – The paper aims to highlight the growing interest in agroforestry systems in Europe. Agroforestry systems are nowadays recognised by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) for their social, economic and environmental benefits. EU Rural Development Programmes (RDPs) provided for a specific measure (namely 222) to support farmers and landowners to adopt these systems. Despite this, very limited implementation of the measure has occurred in the frame of 2007-13 RDPs. The main constraints that have hampered the success of 222 in EU27 and Italy are reported and discussed. It is expected that these limits will be removed in future RDPs (2014-20), partly thanks to the lobby activity carried out by the European Agroforestry Federation (EURAF).

## INTRODUCTION

Agroforestry systems comprise land use practices in which woody perennials are deliberately grown on the same land management unit with crops and/or animals (Nair, 1993). Agroforestry systems are traditional practices world-wide and such mixed systems formed key elements of European rural landscapes until modern agriculture was introduced. Trees have traditionally served various purposes in the agrarian economy – the production of fruits, fodder and wood for fuel, litter or timber as well as environmental benefits (Eichhorn, 2006). The use of modern management techniques, new crop varieties, the use of fertilizers and large-scale machinery, dramatically reduced tree components in rural landscape and produced undesirable consequences for the environment. Agroforestry systems can increase productivity and profitability (Graves et al. 2007) and provide environmental benefits (Palma et al. 2006).

The CAP recognises that such systems should be encouraged because of their “high ecological and social value”. For this reason, according to the Council Regulation 1698/2005, in the 2007-13 period a dedicated financial support has been provided for the establishment of agroforestry systems on arable land through a specific measure (namely 222) of the RDPs. According to the CAP

reform process, the same measure will be proposed again in future RDPs, 2014-20 (Marandola, 2013).

The objectives of this paper are to: i) assess the application of the measure 222 in EU, with particular focus on Italy; ii) identify the main reasons and constraints that negatively affected the implementation of the measure; iii) suggest strategies to be adopted in the framework of the CAP in order to raise the interest and awareness of farmers and policy makers around agroforestry.

## METHODS

Measure 222 was analysed in terms of aims and implementing procedures as defined by different regional RDPs in Italy and EU. In order to assess the implementation results of 222 during the period 2007-13, the available official statistics on expenditure of RDPs were consulted. At the EU level, the study considered the data available at the site of the EU Commission ([http://ec.europa.eu/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm)). At the national level the data were collected by the National Institute of Agricultural Economics. The analysis was carried out comparing the planned financial resources allocated to implement measure 222 with the actual expenditures invested in establishing agroforestry systems. Future perspectives of the measure in the next RDPs (2014-20) were assessed through participation in the discussion conducted by the EURAF (<http://www.agroforestry.eu>) and carrying out dedicated surveys in cooperation with representatives of RDP managing authorities.

## RESULTS

Art. 44 of the Council Regulation 1698/2005 asserts that: i) grants should be provided to farmers to create agroforestry systems combining extensive agriculture and forestry and the support shall cover the establishment costs; ii) agroforestry systems are land use systems in which forest trees are grown in combination with agriculture on the same land.

The measure 222 aims to: i) improve biodiversity conservation; ii) reduce greenhouse gas; iii) preserve soil fertility. According to the data published by the European Commission, the application of the measure in the EU27 is reported in the table 1.

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**Table 1.** application of the measure 222 in EU 27 (data updated to September 2012).

Country	Financial plan 000€	Actual expenditure 000€	Expenditure/ planned %
Belgium	250	0	0
Spain	2909	0	0
France	1872	8	0.4
Italy	4899	0	0
Hungary	2162	225	10.4
Portugal	5784	58	1.0
EU 27	17876	291	1.6

The application of the measure in Italy is reported in table 2.

**Table 2.** application of the measure 222 in Italy (data updated to May 2013)

Region	Financial plan 000€	% of total RDP fund	% expenditure
Lazio	620	0.09	0
Marche	2270	0.49	0
Sicilia	4540	2.22	0
Umbria	760	0.1	0
Veneto	30	0.01	0
Total Italy	8490	0.05	0

The EURAF aims at promoting the use of any agroforestry systems in different environmental regions of Europe. EURAF has about 250 members from 18 different European countries and supports awareness, education, research and policy about agroforestry in Europe. One of the main actions of the association concerns the promotion of agroforestry by any communication means, including lobbying for agroforestry-adapted policies at the European scale. EURAF's position paper, summarizing its lobby activity, is available on the EURAF web site.

#### DISCUSSION

The analysis of the application of the measure 222 reveals a weak and poor implementation both in EU27 and Italy. At the European level, most of the Mediterranean countries allocated financial resources to support farmers to establish agroforestry systems. Nevertheless, only in few cases implementation has been concretely realised (less than 2% of the resources has been allocated). In Italy, five Regions out of 20 allocated resources to implement the measure, but only four actually opened the funding procedures. However, only one farmer established 9 ha of agroforestry systems. Many reasons concurred to this failure: i) the lack of knowledge and awareness of farmers, consultants and managing authorities concerning agroforestry; ii) the limited range of agroforestry systems that could be supported (only trees for timber or biomass, excluding, for example fruit trees, silvopastoral systems, etc.); iii) the lack of funding for maintenance costs of the systems; iv) the conflict between measure 222 and other CAP instruments such as the Single Farm Payment, according to which the pres-

ence of trees reduces the amount of direct farm payments. The EURAF position paper stresses the importance of removing these constraints in order to allow European farmers to have the free choice to adopt agroforestry systems. In particular, the EURAF position remarks that: i) agroforestry systems are productive systems also when they are included in an Ecological Focus Area; ii) the agricultural area should include also agroforestry systems; iii) agroforestry should not influence the Single Farm Payment mechanism; iv) the support should cover the establishment costs and an annual premium to compensate the maintenance costs for a period of 5 years; v) agroforestry systems should not be limited to extensive agriculture and should include all trees species and not only forest species.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In Europe, agroforestry systems are enjoying growing consensus because they can be more profitable and environmentally friendly than agriculture and forestry separately managed. Nevertheless, to increase the ecological, economic and social value of European agriculture it is crucial to involve all the stakeholders in order to implement coordinated and shared strategies aimed to promote the adoption of agroforestry systems in EU.

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# Passion and Perception: community action for the creation of an institution managing its forestry commons

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**Abstract** – Using a case study from a village in west central Sardegna Region, this paper focuses on the process of a community shift towards local sustainability and resilience in the governance of common pool resources. We demonstrate how outsiders are facilitating the development of a separate autonomous institution in a series of public events aimed at increasing civic responsibility for the protection and collective use of mountain resources. Inspired by Ostrom's studies of the commons and related issues, we point to her laboratory experiments that assert that communication can have a positive impact on cooperation. In reality a successful forestry management must take into account a multitude of objectives is the key to interpreting the choice of governance regime over the forest and grazing land held in common. We will theorize the necessary "scientific framework" for fostering community cooperation and participation in recovering a civic sense for governing common pool resources. To this end, we understand self-governance of forest resources to be a communicative practice. In this paper we will illustrate one communicative event through visual research methods.

## INTRODUCTION

Practitioners in agroforestry, or anyone concerned with important common-pool resources such as ecosystems, water supplies and the atmosphere, can benefit from Ostrom's extensive research that illuminates how the drama of the commons has played out, thus far. "Common-pool resources are natural or humanly created systems that generate a finite flow of benefits where it is costly to exclude beneficiaries and one person's consumption subtracts from the amount of benefits available to others" (Ostrom, 1990). Researchers in Sardegna Region tend to confront common-pool resource problems by drawing from economic and judicial concepts that rely upon empirical evidence of governance regimes. Forest planning documents and historical accounts of governance that are utilized for valorizing land use plans are examples. Rather than focusing on these agreed upon approaches for reaching civic use of collectively used properties, we will point to ways that facilitate social learning, or the focus of reflexive practitioners who facilitate and participate in transformative social processes in response to environmental change. In Seneghe, where our case

study takes place, our research explores the complex human-nature relationships that influence the self-organizing principles put forth by Ostrom. In this paper we illustrate the necessary preparation for community cooperation and participation in recovering a civic sense for governing Seneghe's forest area. Peterson and Franks (2005) summarize the general reasons for public participation as: 1) the public can best judge its own interests; and 2) participation will enhance the public's ability to participate in the democratic system; 3) reduce feelings of powerlessness; and 4) increase the legitimacy of the governing body. The substantive argument is that better dialogue and exchange of ideas and knowledge will lead to a broader and better knowledge foundation on which to base decisions. Or, to put it in language adapted from Angman (2012), "it is about relationships and the ability to communicate with other actors."

The ideal of public participation has found its way to Seneghe, in the sense that its citizens have strengthened social capital engaging in social learning to develop new norms that have effectively impacted several sectors of their local economy since the 1950's, to include an olive oil cooperative and the Consortium "il Bue Rosso". Therefore, certain sectors of the Seneghe population are well prepared to take up the necessary attitude to create their own autonomous pro-active forest management plan known as "ASUC" in Italian, which means Separated Administrations for Common Rights. The Seneghe community sets a very high value on their common rights to use the forest "Su Monte." Indeed for generations Seneghe families have made their livelihood from cultivating the mountain resources such as olives, wood and livestock pasture lands. Helping the Seneghe take responsibility of its agroforestry system is not a small task and requires a particular kind of citizen participation, one that will require a civic sense in relation to "Su Monte."

We can better understand this particular kind of social interaction in communicative practice through the lens of deliberative democratic theory. In general terms, deliberation simply means to reflect carefully on a matter, weighing the strengths and weaknesses of alternative solutions to a problem. Deliberation aims to arrive at a decision or judgement based on not only facts and data but also values, emotions, and other less technical considerations (Peterson and Franks, 2005). We are inspired by Habermas

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(1984) who prescribed what he referred to as 'an ideal speech situation' as a necessary condition for deliberation. This requires that anyone who is competent to speak and act is allowed to take part in the process of deliberation; that all those taking part in the process of deliberation are allowed to introduce any assertion they wish to make and to question any assertion made by others; all are allowed to express their attitudes and wishes; and no speaker should be prevented from exercising those rights.

To this end, we understand that cultures are bound by many forms of communication and specifically we take inspiration from the cultural studies theorist, Carey (1989) who asserts that society is created through communication: "communication is a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed." We take this stance, to draw attention to the constructivist model of knowledge (Bodner, 1986), an epistemology which holds that knowledge and meaning is constructed within people's social interactions and experiences. This view of knowledge as co-constructed challenges the assumption that knowledge is derived from objective and unbiased observations of the world, separated from the human experience. Rather we view knowledge as historically and culturally specific, and sustained through everyday social practices. The outcome of collective management is considered to be the result of interactions between stakeholders and natural entities, which depends on the way social actors "socially construct" their everyday reality.

#### MATERIALS AND METHODS

Since 2004, Scotti and Ibba have engaged in forestry management activities in Seneghe. They have assisted in the valorization and to management of "Su Monte" by collecting historical data and developing a long term technical plan for harvesting wood. See Scotti and Cadoni, 2006, 2007, and Scotti, and Ibba, 2007. Since 2011 the outsiders, forestry technicians and academic researchers, in collaboration with a new City Council of Seneghe, created a series of public events in an effort to rekindle conversations about sustainable forest management through a separate governing institution-"ASUC"- distinguished from City Council. The new City Council objectives to promote public participation were aimed at illuminating the benefits of an ASUC and allow, in public forums, the many stakeholder's perspectives an opportunity to be expressed for all, and for citizens to hear and consider. In this paper we illustrate a focus group directed dialogue facilitated by an independent forest management expert (IFME). The dialogue was video-taped and the conversation exchange between IFME and participants represents an ideal speech situation.

#### MAJOR FINDINGS

Two representative excerpts of the public discussion will be discussed during the conference from videotape Part 4.6 time: 7:44- 8:06 and Part 6.6 time: 0:14 – 1:42. Salient narrative texts follow.

Salaris: "We are able to take care of 'Su Monte'!! An appropriate inspection is necessary, this part is not good, redo!...Who took the decision to cut?"

IFME: "The Council until now, wasn't able to do it..."

Salaris: "...But we must speak..."

IFME: "That's right!!! We must speak to be more responsible and I think that we have to respect all the opinions, such as Giovanna's opinion..."

#### CONCLUSION

The participatory approach in forest management in "Su Monte" of Seneghe is progressing, also who is disapproving, agrees that we can improve speaking: (6.6 "you must speak"). The last round of public participation has evidenced that great part of the community is taking responsibility and knows that a separate institution is an opportunity for actively starting the management of "Su Monte". Up to now, the Council has been invested of the care but it can not really manage in this responsibility (4.6 "the council until now has not been able"). In practice nobody is really responsible for the decisions and mistakes (6.6 "who took the decision to cut?").

The participative process aiming to build sustainability values out of the passionate perception of the Senegheses for their "Su Monte", is interpreted and presented as a deliberative democratic theory exercise.

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# Role of agroforestry in the development of the Hungarian rural areas

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**Abstract** – In the last century agroforestry was a widespread technology of landuse in Hungary. During the last decades it has been regressed and disappeared from large areas of the Hungarian countryside. The paper introduces in short the role of agroforestry in the past and the recent initials.

## AGROFORESTRY IN THE PAST

Hungary is a traditionally agricultural country, therefore the traditional agroforestry technologies like windbreaks, shelter-belts, hedgerows, wooded pastures, had been applied in large scale in the past centuries.

In the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries conscious planting of trees (afforestation of pastures, croplands, waysides, etc.) had been implemented disparately on state or private lands (Gál, 1961).

This tendency had been continued in the cooperative large-scale monoculture farming systems during the 1950-60s, as a result of which the volume of wooded buffer strips increased significantly up to a total length of 2500 kms (Gál, 1961).

With the aim to increase the domestic agricultural productivity and wood production basis, and to decrease the national wood import dependency, a large-scale state-financed research project on protective wood lands started in the early sixties, led by the University of Forestry and Timber Industry (today called University of West Hungary). The aim of the reserch were to identify the effects of wooded buffer strips on the production sites (soil, microflora, microfauna) and on the agricultural productivity, so as to justify their positive effects observed or measured only fragmented up to that time (Gál, 1961;1963). As a result of that multi-annual research and development activity the area of forest belts increased further until the 80's.

## PRESENT AND FUTURE

From the early nineties the positive trend of increasing area of wooded buffer strips first stopped, then reversed. As the outcome of the privatisation, the landscape of the Hungarian agricultural areas, especially the Great Plain (in Hungarian "Alföld") had undergone a structural transformation, resulting in more diversified land use, a lot of small parcels

together with new large estates. In parallel with this structural change the former area of forest belts of Hungary (35 000 hectares) has been reduced by 50% by the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (see Table 1.).

**Table 1.** Forest belts of Hungary in terms of numbers and decades (Frank and Takács, 2012).

Date	Source	Volume	Location/ State	Note
1960	Gál (1961)	1500 km	Alföld	shelter- belts
		1000 km	Kisalföld	
1970	Danzsky (1972)	34977 ha	nation- wide	protective forest strips
1975	Gál and Káldy (1977)	9891 ha	realized	shelter- belts
1976 -1990		4091 ha	planned	
1975		22600 ha	realized	sum of forest belts
1975	Keresztesi (1991)	8800 ha	realized	green belts
1975 -1990		20600 ha	planned	
1990		29400 ha	planned	
1990	Danzsky (1972)	33400 ha	planned	wooded buffer strips
2001	ÁESZ <sup>2</sup> (2001)	16417 ha	registered	shelter- belts

This significant decrease of forest belt territories was the outcome of the widening of roads and the logging of shelter-belts or rarified snow protection forest belts. These protective woodlands have not been rehabilitated. Replantation of forest belts might be behind since they are considered as part of the road and not classified as forest, therefore forestry authorities cannot require their renovations, although their protective role is obvious (Nagy, 2010).

In parallel the effects of climate change are already being felt, manifesting in enduring hot spells along with long terms of droughts in summer mainly in the central, southern and eastern parts of the country. Floods and drainage waters are expected to occur more frequently. Maintain of high level of agricultural productivity under these circumstances has become a huge challenge for the Hungarian agriculture of present-days.

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<sup>2</sup> ÁESZ: State Forestry Service



A research project supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Environment called "VAHAVA" targeted to analyze the effect of climate change and identify the best practices and to increase the resilience of the Hungarian rural areas against the climate change effects. According to the VAHAVA report, the most endangered territory is the Great Plain, the main area of the Hungarian agriculture (Láng et al., 2007).

In Hungary the total ratio of agricultural territories - croplands, pastures, plantations, grasslands - is 60% of the territory. 85% of these are classified agro-environmentally sensitive areas. The high ratio of "risky" territories demonstrates the strong need for the development of rural areas, among others the implementation of innovative agricultural technology able to increase social-economic sustainability. As a consequence rural development has become one of the hot issues in the last years in Hungary.

According to the Hungarian Rural Development Strategy (2012-2020) the rural regions need to find new paths of development with the following basic features:

- preserving the integrity of the landscapes (landscape protection)
- high quality food production
- sustainable natural resource management
- protection of water, soil, and living resources.

Use of modern agroforestry technologies and re-adaptation of traditional ones could become a new path of the development of Hungarian rural lands, since it meets the objectives of the national rural strategy while facing the challenges of the agricultural sector. In the last years new civil initiatives started to foster the adaptation of agroforestry technologies in the Hungarian lowlands.

As regards agroforestry related R&D activity there are only few professional support for research and development purposes in Hungary. The definition of agroforestry ("agroerdészeti" in Hungarian) is still unknown by many professionals. For the last two decades forestry, agricultural, environmental experts have been trying to call upon the potential role of agroforestry to increase the productivity or establish agro-energy technologies - without notable progress up to now.

In the last year a small group of researchers and local landowners have set the objective of integrating modern agroforestry technologies in their on-farm agricultural activity and establishing new experimental site(s) available for future research and demonstration purposes. The long-term goal is to study and develop agroforestry technologies under domestic circumstances able to support the development of the Hungarian countryside in its complexity.

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# Agroforestry System: performance, operation and sustainability in the Atlantic Forest in the state of Rio Grande do Sul

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**Abstract** – This paper analyses the performance and functioning of agroforestry systems (AFS) in the Atlantic Forest in southern Brazil by an integrated approach to its multifunctional characteristics and rural development. The banana cultivation is one of the greatest commercial expression of productions in the southern part of Atlantic forest, and it is managed in two different cropping systems: one conventional management techniques and other, antagonistic, ecologically based, using Agroforestry System as a management technique. Therefore, we present a comparative diagnostic-analysis of major systems of banana production and cultivation, made from the approach of production systems, with the evaluation of 16 technical and economic indicators. The economic indicators show that the AFS achieves economic efficiency, in general, higher than the conventional system. Finally, we notice that some key characteristics of AFS are concentrated on food production and income generation for these farmers without harming areas of Atlantic forest, being in balance with the tropical dynamics and being an important tool for rural development.

## INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, the Atlantic Forest is considered the most threatened Brazilian biome due to its state of almost total devastation. According to Cruz and Vicens (2007), its area concentrates about 70% of the population. This biome is distributed over more than 23 degrees latitude (covering 15 states of the south, southeast, midwest and northeast).

The Atlantic Forest biome is composed, like emphasized by Cruz e Vicens (2007), by a series of quite diverse vegetation types, determined by proximity to the coast, relief, soil types and rainfall regimes. These characteristics were responsible for the evolution of a rich complex biotic.

Despite the manifest devastation, the Atlantic still contains a significant portion of biological diversity with very high levels of endemism. It is also a shelter for several traditional populations and ensures

water supply to more than 120 million of Brazilians. But the biome is under pressure because of the exploitation of biological resources and inappropriate land uses practices (CRUZ e VICENS, 2007). According to Venturi (2000) and Vinciprova (1999), the ecological-physiognomic categorization of region integrates the Dense Ombrophylous Forest, predominating in the slopes of the Serra Geral, being generally oriented to the east. However, the forests that coast the southern slope of the Serra Geral belong to the region of Seasonal Semideciduous Forest.

Remnants of the Atlantic Forest (Dense Ombrophylous Forest) are found in various extracts of native forests and secondary forests, being a region that has a very rich and diverse botanical composition, highlighting its importance. Thus it becomes relevant to seek ways to promote the conservation of these ecosystems, the preservation of natural resources and biodiversity, as well as the development of local communities that inhabit there.

Such ecological diversity provides specific standards for land use, such as the Forest Code State (Law 9.519/1992) and State Environment Code (Law 11.520/2000) that are imposed on the region, influencing agricultural practice. Moreover, it attracts the academic interest about alternatives capable of promoting rural development coupled with conservation of these areas. In this sense, this work aims to understand the economic availability and technical functioning of conventional and ecological systems in the micro-region of Osorio, southern Brazil.

## METHODS

The area of this study lies in the micro-region of Osorio, in the state Rio Grande do Sul - Brazil. The micro-region is composed of 23 municipalities spread over a total area of 8772.999 km<sup>2</sup>. For the purposes of the study were analyzed the major banana producers municipalities in the state: Três Cachoeiras, Morrinhos do Sul, Dom Pedro de Alcântara, Mampituba and Torres.

The banana cultivation is one of the greatest commercial productions in south of Atlantic Forest, showing two different cropping systems: one using conventional management techniques and another one, ecological based. From the perspective of sustainable rural development, management technologies based on agroecological principles better re-

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spond to the ecological principles of landscape. This way it creates the possibility of implementation of systems more productive and with minor environmental impact. The AFS combines various types of managements such as crop rotation, biological control, intercropping, mixed farming systems, alternative inputs among others.

In this study, the ecological systems concern a technique for handling the Agroforestry System (AFS). The AFS is one of the possibilities for agricultural production system compatible with the sustainable use of forests conservation. In this work, we seek to understand the economy and functioning of production and cultivation of conventional and ecological systems, using a database composed by 17 interviews conducted under field conditions in 2007 (WIVES, 2008).

We present a comparative diagnosis-analysis of the main production systems of banana cultivation, with the evaluation of 16 economic and technical indicators, such as Gross Product (GP) and Utilized Agricultural Area (UAA). Preservation areas and uncultivated, in addition to unexplored areas (reforestation, area occupied by buildings, orchards and vegetable gardens) are not considered.

The Gross Product (GP) represents the value of production generated during the year, only by the production unit. The economic indicator GP is measured adding the products and services values, including production sold, consumed, processed and stored by the family; production for the payment of third-party services; the variation of herd animals; remuneration for services rendered to third parties by the hand-family labor.

## RESULTS

We found six production systems (PS) which engage in four different culture systems (CS) as shown in Fig. 1. The first three (PS1, PS2, PS3) are conventional, use chemical inputs and show a high degree of mechanization. The following three (PS4, PS5, PS6) are ecological systems and use organic inputs, management techniques that utilize the potential of the landscape and vegetation and show a lower degree of mechanization.

The technical operation of ecological AFS shows abroad diversification of managed species and ground cover. The indicators show that the AFS achieves higher economic efficiency, in general, than the conventional system. AFS farmers have higher GP and self-consumption, due to the diversity of the cultivated species. While the GP of conventional farmers is U\$ 15.875.06 (year) and self-consumption accounts for 3.1% of its, in AFS systems the GP is U\$ 17,494.01 and self-consumption is 13.2% of its.

It is noteworthy that in the AFS systems average utilized area is 3.75 ha against 7.48 ha of the conventional systems. This indicates that the species richness provides higher GP and increase the self-consumption.

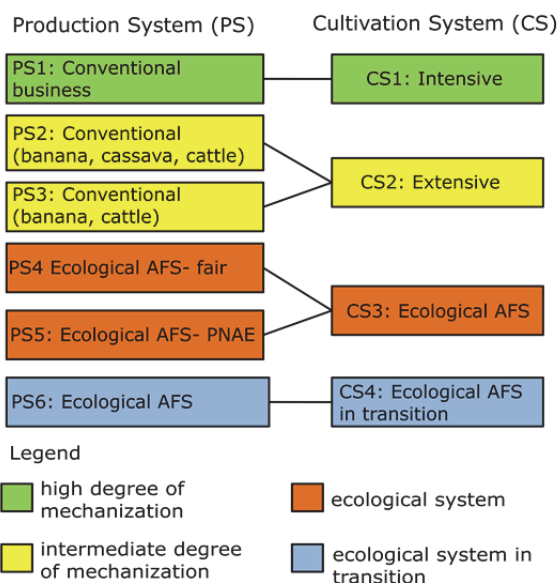


Figure 1– Statement of production systems and their farming systems.

## CONCLUSIONS

The socio-natural relations are differently constructed in conventional and ecological systems. Because of this it is useful to identify how the chains or networks established in each production zone build social, economic and natural relations. Moreover, it is important to advance in the evaluation of how production systems are established on both sides, and how different production systems can reconfigure the relationships between producers and local development. Finally, it is clear that some key characteristics of AFS focus on food production and income generation being an important tool for restoration of degraded ecosystems.

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# Framing Rural Entrepreneurship: Values of Rural Small Business Owners

Miira Niska, Hannu T. Vesala and Kari Mikko Vesala<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - In this paper we study Finnish rural small business owners' values and consider the question: *are rural small business owners the kinds of agents desired by current rural policy*. The paper indicates that the answer depends on the meta-theoretical perspective taken on agency and values. From a *substantialist* perspective the results predict problems: the small business owners are driven by unsuitable values. From a *transactionist* perspective small business owners are modern social agents, who are willing to frame their business as serving several principals. This, for one, makes them effective agents.

## INTRODUCTION

In this study we consider the question: *are Finnish rural small business owners the kinds of agents desired by current rural policy*. Rural policy promotes entrepreneurship because it is perceived as a process that creates value. Economic value creation is commonly emphasized, but researchers argue that entrepreneurship also creates non-economic social and societal value (e.g. Mair & Martí 2006; Korsgaard & Anderson 2011). The politically relevant question is how the public sector can promote the process of value creation. Researchers have argued that the answer partly depends on entrepreneurs' goals and values. When entrepreneurs are driven by suitable values, the public sector only needs to make sure businesses are successful. In contrast, when entrepreneurs are driven by unsuitable goals and values, the public sector needs to (a) motivate them to create relevant value despite their true aspirations or (b) try to change their goals and values.

Suitable values are, however, not self-evident. Rural policy draws from the discourses of *neoliberalism* and *sustainable development*. In line with neoliberalism, some researchers argue that while pursuing growth and profit, entrepreneurs also produce common good, such as employment (e.g. Henderson 2002). It is thus best that entrepreneurs are steered by economic values. In line with sustainable development, others argue that social value is best created by entrepreneurs driven by social values (e.g. Mair & Martí 2006). These entrepreneurs do not need to be motivated to sustainable development – their values steer them into it.

## SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS' VALUES

Previous studies have categorized small business owners according to their values. Firstly, there are *growth entrepreneurs*, who value wealth and innovations, and *life-style entrepreneurs*, who value autonomy and self-expression (Henderson 2002). Secondly, there are *ecological*, *social* or *societal* entrepreneurs, who value the welfare of in-group members, such as ones' family or employees (e.g. Korsgaard & Anderson 2011), the common good of the local community or the well-being of *all* people and nature (Zahra et al. 2009).

As Henderson (2002) notes, "different types of entrepreneurs yield different benefits to their community". Lifestyle entrepreneurs may provide services but growth entrepreneurs create more jobs, income and innovations. Growth entrepreneurs thus provide larger economic benefits to rural communities (Henderson 2002). Social entrepreneurs who serve local social needs yield more benefits to local communities than social entrepreneurs who tackle worldwide concerns (Zahra et al. 2009).

Some researchers doubt the idea of *social* entrepreneurship. Shane et al. (2003) argue that in reality all entrepreneurs serve their own interests. Other researchers persistently argue that although social entrepreneurs may also have non-altruistic motives, they still *prioritize* social values (e.g. Mair & Martí 2006). Some entrepreneurs may of course *pretend* to prioritize social values. Opportunistic usage of societal commitment, however, does not represent social entrepreneurship (Mair & Martí 2006).

## APPROACHES TO AGENCY AND VALUES

The discussion on small business owners' values has been dominated by meta-theoretical perspective Emirbayer (1997) calls *substantialism*. Small business owners have been viewed as autonomous actors (entities) capable of "making things happen" and values as internal dispositions that affect this intentional action. This perspective on values is compatible with the approach of mainstream social psychology where values are seen as trans-situational goals that vary in importance (see Schwartz 1992).

From a *transactionist framework* (Emirbayer 1997), agency and value are both something defined in the dynamics of the situation – not properties of an individual. Agency is constructed in the relations between the actor and the environment through the

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process of authorization (Meyer & Jepperson 2000). Small business owners legitimize their actions with principals that may be themselves or, for example, Finns (other actors and groups), national competitiveness (abstract principles), nature (non-actor) etc. Researchers who view values from a perspective in line with transactionism (e.g. Billig 1996) argue that values are part of societies' common sense; they represent desirable end-states that do not need justifications. Values are abstract principles and as such can be adopted as principals.

#### DATA AND METHODS

In order to answer to the research question, we analyze a value survey data collected in Finland in 2012. In the survey, rural small business owners (n=208) evaluated the importance of 15 value variables in their businesses (see table 1). The importance of each value variable was rated with a Likert-type five-point scale.

#### RESULTS

The mean importance and the standard deviation of the value variables are presented in Table 1 along with the percentages of respondents who rated the variable as fairly (4) or extremely (5) important.

**Table 1.** Means and standard deviations, percentage of small business owners who rated the variable as fairly (4) or extremely (5) important.

	M (Std.)	% (4 or 5)
Autonomy in work	4.45 (.70)	91.9
Economic profitability	4.37 (.68)	90.8
Financial independence	4.25 (.85)	83.7
Well-being of employees	4.17 (.95)	82.2
Vitality of rural areas	4.17 (1.08)	79.7
Earning a better living - -	3.95 (.89)	75.1
Respect for nature	3.91 (1.03)	72.1
Equality of all workers	3.83 (1.13)	71.8
Rural development	3.73 (1.16)	64.1
Taking care of Finns' needs	3.52 (1.17)	57.7
Employing others	3.33 (1.27)	49.0
Maximising profit	3.07 (1.20)	37.1
Common good of the nation	2.91 (1.18)	32.7
Continuing families' traditions	2.29 (1.37)	21.7
Continuing parents' work	2.07 (1.29)	17.4

Note: n=201-208

Based on factor analysis, we formed four sum-variables: *economic values*, *autonomy*, *societal values* and *tradition*. Based on the mean expressed importance, autonomy is the most popular value, followed by economic values and societal values. Tradition is clearly the least popular value (table 2).

#### DISCUSSION

The results are discussed first from a substantialist and then from a transactionist perspective. From a substantialist perspective, the survey results reflect the respondents' inner values. The results indicate that on average, Finnish rural small business owners (a) prioritize autonomy over economic values and (b) prioritize individualistic values over the social values. The rural small business owners are thus not

driven by values that best create economic or social value for rural communities.

**Table 2.** Cronbach's alpha, means and standard deviations of the sum-variables

	Autonomy	Economy	Societal	Tradition
Cronbach's alpha	.65	.71	.87	.87
Mean (Std.)	4.35(.67)	3.81(.76)	3.76(.80)	2.18(1.25)

Note: n=201-208

From a transactionist, in this case *frame analytic* (Goffman 1974/1986), framework the questionnaire is a medium of interaction and responses are communicative acts. While expressing their values, the rural small business owners frame their actions to the researchers: this is what my business is all about. The results indicate that small business owners make various framings: their business serves their own interests but also especially the interests of their *employees* and *rural areas*. This readiness to adopt different principals can be seen as a feature of modern agency, not a sign of opportunism. The readiness to frame the business as serving several principals implies that the principal is negotiable. This, for one, makes rural small business owners effective agents.

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# Collective management of rural resources: the case of Common Property Institutions in Friuli Venezia Giulia (Italy)

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**Abstract** – The paper presents the results of a study focused on the case of Common Properties Institution (CPIs) in the region of Friuli Venezia Giulia. The research approach was based on the concept of local empowerment: the self-government of resources and the self-definition of the rules of their use and appropriation are seen as a real opportunity for local communities. The analysis of the strategies adopted by CPIs to manage their common pool resources may contribute to the debate on local development and promote new models of rural governance.

## INTRODUCTION

The rural development paradigm emphasises the role of collective action at the local level. Collective action is characterised by the networking of rural actors (Murdoch, 2000) (firms, institutions, local communities, etc.) which make a conscious decision to act co-operatively (common goals) and are all involved in the management and valorisation of rural resources (Brunori, 2000). Collective action may take a variety of forms in relation to the particular set of existing economic, social, cultural and natural conditions, e.g. Common Property Institutions (CPIs).

The concept of common property, or common-pool resources (CPRs), refers to goods owned and exploited in common by more users (Ostrom, 1990). The management of CPRs is generally developed in complex ecosystems - mountain areas, transitional landscapes, etc. - where local communities have lived and maintained close relationships over the centuries by building on their own institutions. They are based on the self-government of their own territory and can be considered as territorial actors (Carestiato, 2010).

They can fulfill relevant environmental, social and economic functions and provide both tangible and intangible outputs (commons), some of which have the characteristics of positive externalities, e.g. biodiversity, landscape and heritage conservation. The right to self-government is supported by the governance principle. This is a core issue in European development policies, which have revived CPIs giving them the opportunity to take part in the defi-

nition of territorial policies (e.g. Rural Development Programmes), in the same sectors and with the same degree of power as public institutions.

This paper presents the results of research aimed at analysing the role of these ancient institutions for rural development more consistent with the challenges of today. The research focused on the case of CPIs in the Friuli Venezia Giulia region (FVG), primarily active in mountain rural areas. Nowadays, in more than 46 municipalities this typology of property assets are present (Nazzi, 2010)<sup>2</sup>.

## COMMON PROPERTIES AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

The research approach was based on the concept of local empowerment: the self-government of resources (CPRs) and the self-definition of rules of their use and appropriation, are seen as a real opportunity for local communities. The analysis of the choices and strategies to manage CPRs, may contribute to the debate on local development (Maggini, 2010) and promote new models of rural governance. Many important studies on CPRs, conducted since the mid-'80, have tried to identify the condition under which institutional arrangement and management regimes allocate common pool resources in an equitable, sustainable and efficient manner (Agrawal, 2001; Ostrom, 1990). All these researches have been conducted examining different case studies to define principles and rules that facilitate successful management of common resources. The management of CPRs (mainly land and forests) firstly originated to ensure the satisfaction of basic needs of local communities. Generally, the main uses were linked to hunting and fishing, grazing rights, the right to gather firewood and timber and so on. Each community has established a series of rules mainly aimed at ensuring fairness and guaranteeing the renewability of the resources and therefore their sustainable use.

In contrast with the origin of these common assets, we can observe that basic needs have been changing rapidly, in the last fifty years, and new

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<sup>2</sup> In the FVG region there are both types of CPI recognised by Italian law: *Amministrazioni frazionali* (public entities - Law 1766/1927) and *Comunioni familiari montane* (private entities - law n. 1991/1952 (art. 34), law n. 1102/1971 (art. 10) and law n. 97/1994 (art. 3)). In the first case, all inhabitants settled permanently in the territory have access to common resources. In the second, the right to use the common resources belongs to inhabitants settled permanently in the territory, who are descendants of the original inhabitants.





models of management of common properties are being developed.

According to Ostrom, nowadays CPRs are efficient and durable if they are able to adapt laws, rules, sanctions and monitoring tools in the face of social, technological and environmental challenges over time (Ostrom, 1990).

#### THE CASE STUDIES

The study focused on the analysis of the role and pattern of today's CPRs management in three different areas of FVG by using a case study methodology. The cases analysed are the following: the Community of Pesariis (Municipality of Prato Carnico) and the *Consorti Vicinali* of Val Canale, both located in an alpine area; and the Community of San Marco (Municipality of Mereto di Tomba), located in the central plain of the region. They differ not only for their geographical position but also with regards to the size of their common property assets.

Data was collected through a direct survey from 2011 to 2013. In this period the authors were also involved in other participatory processes, namely meeting with stakeholders, project activities, training courses, etc.

The ancient common property of Pesariis (1600 ha of forest and non-productive area and buildings) was recognised as *Amministrazione Frazionale* in 1933 after a long period of controversies with the municipality of Prato Carnico (Strazzaboschi, 2012). The *Consorti Vicinali* of Val Canale (a valley that belonged to the Austrian Empire until 1919) are original communities that own inalienable and indivisible common properties, mainly land, alpine huts and forest roads. Moreover, some of these communities have preserved ancient common rights on the Forest of Tarvisio, a wealth of forests and pastures of over 23,000 hectares. The original common institutions were acknowledged by the Austrian empire as *Associazioni agrarie* in 1871 and named *Consorti Vicinali*;

they have been recognised by the Italian government since 1919. Nowadays there are 18 *Consorti Vicinali*, one for each village. From a legal point of view, nine are recognised as *Comunioni familiari*<sup>3</sup>, while the others have maintained their original structure of *Associazioni agrarie*. In 2007 the Community of San Marco rediscovered an ancient common property of 5 hectares that was acknowledged as *Amministrazione Frazionale* in 2012.

Focusing on some characteristics of the three case studies (tab.1), we highlighted that there are two open CPIs, namely Pesariis and San Marco, where all inhabitants have access to common resources; whereas the *Consorti Vicinali* of Val Canale are closed CPIs where the CPRs rights of use are linked to the ownership of a building (*realità*). Moreover CPIs are involved in new development paths which are more consistent with the challenges of today: the Community of Pesariis and the Community of San Marco have implemented the activities for

bolstering short chains of local resources, i.e. bread and energy; the *Consorti Vicinali* are engaged in collective planning for the maintenance of local forest roads.

**Table 1.** Main characteristics of CPIs case studies.

CPIs	CPIs' members [CPI #]	Land (ha)	Main Use of land	New Development Activities
San Marco	426 [1]	5	Agricultural	Bread short chain
Pesariis	178 [1]	1600	Forestry	Energy short chain
Val Canale	900 [18]	4609 <sup>a</sup>	Agro- forestry	Road maintenance

<sup>a</sup> The size of each CV varies from 1 to more than 3,000 ha.

#### CONCLUSION

The study highlights that although CPIs are ancient institutions, they are still viable and seeking to consolidate new patterns of managing common resources, closer to their needs of today and the requests of the territory as a whole. On the one hand, the two open CPIs have been able to plan local chains which satisfy some basic needs of the community, create new job and revenue opportunities, and establish joint socioeconomic activities. On the other hand, the closed CPI plan could improve the accessibility of forest roads for productive uses (agriculture, breeding, etc.) and recreational activities (tourism, etc.), creating new job and revenue opportunities at the local level.

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<sup>3</sup> Rif. note 2





# Evaluating policy effectiveness based on the theory of complex realities

Katrin Prager<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper brings together different disciplinary perspectives to evaluate policies which have the explicit aim to foster community involvement in the management of their natural environment in the context of sustainable rural development. We introduce the theory of complex realities and develop an evaluation framework. We then apply it to three example policies to show how the framework helps to work through the complexity of rural development policy and community involvement. The framework illustrates what kind of data is needed for an evaluation, what different sources would have to be acknowledged, how a policy's history and context is important for its effectiveness, and how evaluators' mindsets would have to change to accept uncertainty and the validity of various stakeholders' perceptions and assessments.

## INTRODUCTION

Policies that aim to foster community involvement in the management of their natural environment are increasingly popular and common. Nevertheless, there are a number of unresolved issues around evaluating such policies. Issues relate to multiple and poorly defined policy objectives, difficulties in attributing cause to effect, determining the aggregation level and dealing with aggregation effects, challenges around defining a base-line, timing of the evaluation and the distinction of immediate, intermediate and ultimate outcomes. In addition, there is often an imbalance in knowledge integration (scientific vs lay knowledge) and policy makers may be reluctant to carry out evaluations since results might show that policies have not delivered. Current approaches are often not clear about the part of policy they aim to assess, nor are they holistic enough to incorporate intangible outcomes or take into account the multiplicity of values and aims, and (unintended) by-products. Part of the problem is that current approaches are based on the perspective of an older – but still dominant – “modernist paradigm of policy making predicated on the assumption that policies can be designed to produce predictable outcomes, even in very complex settings” (Connick and Innes, 2003, p178).

This paper addresses the gap of a comprehensive, yet flexible evaluation framework to judge the effectiveness of policies which have the explicit aim to foster community involvement in the management of their environment in the context of sustain-

able rural development. We bring together perspectives of rural sociology, human geography, as well as policy and institutional analysis to introduce the theory of complex realities and based on it, develop an evaluation framework for the analysis.

## THE THEORY OF COMPLEX REALITIES

Reductionism provides limited insight in complex systems such as the governance and management of social-ecological systems in rural areas. Therefore, we draw on complexity science and complex systems theory which has been identified as a way to bridge natural and social sciences (Ison et al., 1997), has led to the development of social-ecological systems approaches (Berkes et al., 2003), and is underlying governance and collaboration (Plummer and Armitage, 2007).

The literature and disciplines we combine to develop the theory of complex realities are detailed in the full paper (Prager et al., forthcoming). Here, we only highlight that social capital plays a dual role in policy implementation and evaluation which analytically is not clearly resolved as yet: While policy aspires to build social capital, it is also believed to influence outputs and outcomes of policy and hence to play a key role in policy implementation and governance. Especially where environmental management needs cooperation, social capital is of crucial importance as it lowers the costs of working together (Pretty and Ward, 2001).

In summary, the theory of complex realities requires an acknowledgement of diverging realities as perceived by different people, acting at different institutional levels and in different capacities. These realities determine what individuals and collectives will perceive, how they value it and what aims they strive to achieve. This plurality of interpretations and values, consistent with the respective actor's reality, will lead to different and sometimes conflicting aims. These are legitimate but need to be made explicit to form the basis of policy evaluation. The theory of complex realities conceptualises the process of policy implementation as an interplay of institutions, multiple levels and scales, tied to localities with human actors whose actions in turn are influenced by their values, attitudes and social networks, and embedded in their environmental context. The theory of complex realities requires a systems perspective, linking social and ecological systems, where policy evaluation is part of an iterative cycle of design and implementation rather than a linear process with predictable outcomes and where process is

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equally important as outputs and outcomes. Building on the notion that social-ecological systems are complex, a policy evaluation will have to take the 'bigger picture' into account by considering how the specific policy tool is embedded into the wider policy context, its historical development, the natural environment, feedback loops and (unintended) side-effects.

#### EVALUATION FRAMEWORK

Using an evaluation framework helps to work through complexity by making assumptions about components and their relationships explicit and by guiding the analysis. The evaluation framework we develop here is a representation of the different components that are essential to consider when evaluating the effectiveness of a policy to encourage and support local involvement in environmental management (Fig. 1). The basic structure of the framework arranges the relevant components into three clusters (policy, regional context, and implementation) which are embedded along three axes. The full paper (Prager et al. forthcoming) provides a table with questions for operationalising the evaluation framework.

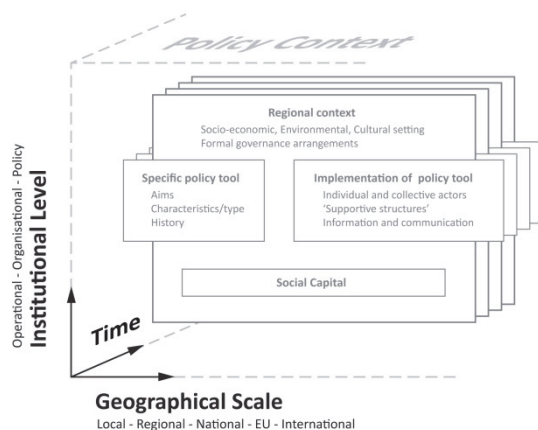


Figure 1. Evaluation framework showing essential components in evaluating the effectiveness of rural policy with regard to community involvement in environmental management.

Analysis of one cluster will inform aspects of one or both the other clusters. Social capital is part of the regional context but singled out as a separate component because of its important role in implementing a policy as well as being a goal of the policy. The regional context is seen as the setting in which the policy is introduced. However, there is also a policy context which operates outside the regional context. Implementation is embedded in and influenced by the regional context.

In the full paper (Prager et al. forthcoming) we illustrate how the evaluation framework would guide the analysis of policies by applying it to three policy tools that explicitly state community engagement as their aim: the EU's LEADER initiative with a case study in Germany, Australia's Natural Resource

Management Programme 'Caring for Our Country' including Landcare, and UNESCO Biosphere Reserves in Germany and Australia which aim at fostering sustainable development and feature a strong community involvement and partnership approach.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In order to address shortcomings in current policy evaluation approaches we develop the theory of complex realities. We argue that this theory is more suited to understand the effectiveness of policies in complex social-ecological systems. Policy making and implementation, especially when it aims to encourage engagement can be best understood as part of a complex evolving system. The theory of complex realities identifies perspectives and components that influence the policy implementation and should be taken into account in policy evaluation.

We suggest that the theory and evaluation framework we advance in this paper can be applied to similar policies e.g. rural health policy, catchment and water management policy, landscape policies or policies aimed at enhancing the resilience of rural communities. On the other hand, our approach may be unnecessarily complex for policies with narrow objectives, clear addressees, straightforward monitoring and uncontested cause-effect relationships.

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# From national policies to territorial anchorage: The case of Jämtland

Paulina Rytkönen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** –This article highlights the articulation of a new territorially based governance model in the province of Jämtland in Sweden. Opposed to previous top-down governance that was based on national consensus between the state, the agrarian party and the national farmers association, this new model is bottom up, departing from farmers and food artisans and builds upon the creation of direct links between producers and consumers, e. g. an alternative agri-food network (AAFN). The example selected departs from the development of the farm dairy sector, a precursor in the re-localization of food in Sweden. The implementation of this new model has not been easy. Path dependency and lack of experience still seem to be important obstacles.

## INTRODUCTION

The productivist, top-down agro-food governance model implemented in Sweden during a major part of the 20th Century separated consumers from food producers and meant increased productivity at farm and industry level that was mirrored by a continuous decrease in the number of farms and food processors. This model became obsolete during the 1980's but the actual shift away from productivism is a recent phenomena, except from Jämtland, where the physical characteristics of the landscape impeded further concentration and forced authorities to take measures to prevent a decrease in the number of small scale farming already during the 1970's. This experience carries important lessons for current policies that aim to promote rural and regional development by focusing on "place based firms" (farms and other rural firms). The purpose of this article is to shed light on the territorial governance model was developed in the County of Jämtland starting off from the farm dairy sector and other key events.

## METHODS AND SOURCES

Case study methodology was used to get in-depth understanding of the studied subject within its own context. Additional and more specific methods, such as interviews with key stakeholders at the County Board Administration, the National Center for Artisan Food(KSI 1-5) and 24 out of 28 of all currently active farm dairies in Jämtland (FDI 1-24) were conducted between 2010 and 2012. In addition, two focus groups were conducted with the steering

committee of the most important rural development project (FGI 1) and the steering committee responsible for events when the Capital of Jämtland, Östersund, became Food Capital of Sweden in 2011 (FGI 2). The primary oral sources were complemented with primary and secondary written sources composed by policy documents and scientific articles.

## THEORETICAL FRAME AND ORGANISING CONCEPTS

The debate about the re-localisation of food circles around the emergence of alternative, short food chains and networks and has many different points of departure. One is the focus on re-localisation of food that led the emergence of new relations between farmers, consumers and other agents and that are defined departing from the nature of their interaction. Another is the study of the role of quality and quality schemes implemented by AAFN (Higgins et. al 2008:15-27). An additional line of research analyses vertical and horizontal multi-level organisation of agents, resources and the territory under a new frame of governance. In all cases territorial governance, defined as "*the process of territorial organisation of the multiplicity of relations that characterize interactions among actors and different, but non-conflictual interests and construction of a shared territorial vision*" (Davoudi et. al 2008:37). This article focuses on the articulation of AAFN and the emergence of a new territorial organisation.

## THE FARM DAIRY SECTOR – JÄMTSPIRA

In the late 1970's the regional dairy (NNP) decided to stop collecting goat milk because it was too expensive, therefore the CBA launched subsidies to modernize the goat farm sector. Goat milk was processed by the regional dairy, but as collecting goat milk had become too expensive, it became urgent to find alternative market channels for the surplus goat milk (Styrjanet al.1991). A project called "Swedish Goatcheese" investigated how to establish a joint marketing and product development for the Jämtlandic cheese and in 1983 six goat farmers started a cheese cooperative, Jämtspira. They had a common warehouse and distribution organisation and a modern assortment was developed. The farmer households were personally involved in all problems and activities. In addition, all involved producers were responsible for a number of marketing days per year. One producer described this: "we were out putting cheese into people's mouth to make them discover our products". The lion's share of investments was paid for with public funding (KS 2). Jä-

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mtspira opened up a new market for Jämtlandic cheese and from 1983 until 2010 (when the cooperative was shut down), 20 goat farms had been involved over time, products were developed, courses were held, production grew from a total of four tons in 1983 to an annual total of 400 tons.

Involving the producers in all activities of Jämtspira meant that a new type of cooperative was established, one that promoted cooperation between producers and that based its economic existence on the direct relation between producers and consumers.

#### ELDRIMNER

A key to achieve the success of Jämtspira was to increase knowledge amongst producers. Therefore the CBA established a school dairy to support the farm dairies. In addition, as a measure to support product development, study trips abroad to learn from curdlers in other countries were initiated in 1992 and have since then been held on a regular basis. In 1995 the CBA formalized educational efforts by establishing a regional school for food artisans (Matora). The working scheme is based on diffusion of knowledge and know-how about fashionable cheeses, supporting and promoting networking between food artisans, and helping to solve infrastructural problems, for example by building three mobile trial dairies that can be rented for a very modest sum (Rytkönen et. al 2013).

The success of this actions led to the transformation of the regional school/knowledge center into a national center for artisan food in 2006. The philosophy is quite simple, but nevertheless efficient (learning by doing, seeing, interacting and experiencing). As the Eldrimner initiative became national and the goat cheese curdlers became their display window, the interest for becoming a food artisan, and not only a curdler, has grown dramatically. Now Eldrimner also offers courses and field trips to develop charcuterie, jam production, beer making, et cetera.

#### MER VÄRD MAT, MVM (VALUE ADDED FOOD)

In the year 2000 and with the purpose of coordinating regional resources and initiatives, the National Farmer's Association) initiated a project to which all regional authorities, NGOs and stakeholders were invited as members of the steering committee. The main focus was on learning producers how to sell their products at the same time that marketing initiatives were conducted with the purpose of opening new markets, at first locally and later on to other parts of Sweden and abroad. There were also many parts of the project that helped producers solving practical/structural problems. The result of MVM was that the food sector as a whole took a leap forward in product development, sales figures, but most of all valuable experiences on how to work professionally with selling the local produce (FG1, PI 1-24).

#### FOOD CAPITAL OF SWEDEN

One of the main purposes of the *Sweden the New Culinary Country* initiative is to promote rural development through food at regional level. As a way to create publicity for different regions, the ministry of rural affairs decided to nominate a Food Capital of Sweden each year and that this award should rotate. In 2011 Östersund was selected as Sweden's first Food Capital. In order to meet the challenges and face the challenge of the nomination a coordinating steering committee was established. All initiatives during 2011 further helped placing Jämtland as the most prominent food region in Sweden, but an important result is that a process of clustering started to take place, leading to the creation of a Green Center was created in the village of Ås and the most important authorities, organisations and NGOs in the agro-food sector have moved in there, creating a long term platform for future territorial organization.

#### RESULTS, PROBLEMS AND OBSTACLES

In between the named initiatives many other projects initiated by organisations and NGO's in which farmers, food artisans, restaurants owners are expected to participate. This is very time consuming therefore people are tired and progressively less interested in participating in new projects. In addition, achieving a sufficient level of profit can be problematic for some producers. A few producers lack basic hospitality skills, while a few other lack capital to reach break even. And public investments in agro-food development support are poorly monitored, therefore there is no knowledge about the impact of conducted investments.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The mentioned examples highlight a significant shift from a governance model in which producers and consumers were alienated from each other to one in which the agro-food system rests on a participatory approach for producers and on close relations between producers and consumers. The examples also disclose a break and a step away productivism.

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# Does excluding women undermine the resilience of communal grazing land? A case study in Amhara region, Ethiopia

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**Abstract** – Gender is a key dimension in generating social roles, and thus has a direct impact on men's and women's interests in the use of natural resources such as communal grazing land (CGL). To ensure the resilience of the CGL, it seems beneficial to integrate the different interests and knowledges. The aim of this study was to understand the barriers to integration, and their effect on resilience of the CGL. Empirical evidence was collected through focus group discussions and interviews in a community in the highlands of Ethiopia. Results show that women are excluded from informal institutions that govern the CGL. This exclusion leads to their knowledge about uses of specific grasses and their preferences not being taken into consideration. This has affected the ecosystem in three ways. Firstly, women have been banned from harvesting a specific grass species used to craft traditionally made plates. As a result this grass has become more abundant lowering the feed quality of the CGL. Secondly, as oxen are systematically privileged, dairy cows receive less protein-rich feed than would seem desirable. Thirdly, poorer (often women-headed) households do not benefit from the CGL as they do not own cattle. These households thus question the legitimacy of the institutions governing the CGL. The study thus shows how the lack of gender-integration can negatively affects the resilience of a social-ecological system.

## INTRODUCTION

Gender is a key dimension in generating social roles and responsibilities, and thus has a direct impact on the use of natural resources. At the same time, gender tends to affect status and power in a society, thus influencing women's ability to make their voice (and thus their priorities) heard. Where livelihoods are mainly based on the use of local natural resources, gendered roles may affect the resilience of the social-ecological system in two major ways. Firstly, given their different involvement with the natural resources, men and women tend to have different knowledge about these natural resources. If women are not included in the discussion platforms and committees guiding the management of the natural resources, their knowledge will not be taken into account. This can reduce the diversity of

knowledge that informs adaptive measures and thus impoverish innovation. Secondly, women's priorities in the use of the natural resources may not be considered, leading management rules to be biased towards men's preferences. Women may not perceive these rules as legitimate, thus enhancing the likelihood that they will be subverted. If the rules are subverted, it may undermine the sustainable use of the natural resource.

To better understand the processes through which gender-blind management rules may undermine the resilience of a social-ecological system, data was collected in a case study in the Ethiopian Highlands. The focus was on the right to access and use the communal grazing land (CGL).

## STUDY SITE AND METHODS

The study is conducted in Bure district, located in the Amhara region, situated at approx. 2300 masl. Agriculture is characterized by a mixed crop-livestock system, aimed at subsistence farming. For the case study, we selected a community whose grazing land is widely acknowledged to be well managed. Data was collected through focus group discussions (with men, women and the members of the committee managing the CGL), key informant interviews, participant observations and reflection workshops. Data collection was guided by questions such as: who is doing what, who has the decision-making power on what, and who holds what kind of ecological knowledge regarding the CGL.

## RESULTS

*Overlooking gender results in sub-optimal use of the CGL resources.* The results confirm that given the different roles and responsibilities men and women tend to have, they have different experiential knowledge of the natural resources they depend upon. Women recognized both *Medicago polymorpha* (locally known as 'Mesobei') and *Trifolium spp.* (known as 'Wajima') as an important feed species since they increase milk production. It would thus seem desirable to prioritize lactating cows during the non-ploughing seasons. Yet, dairy cows are not given preferential access to the grazing land, even when oxen are not used to plough and thus do not need protein-rich feed. However, as women are excluded from the traditional institutions, they have no opportunity to argue for a change in the rules that decide which type of cattle can access the CGL at what time of year. As a result the access rules reflect men's preference for oxen over women's preference for dairy cows. Indeed, the milk is con-

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trolled by the women who use it in the household and may sell processed dairy products. A woman key informant pointed out "...it is not fair to neglect cows as they are also important to have milk for our children, to get income from butter sell for us (women) and give the future oxen for the whole family."

*Ignoring gender undermines the rule-in-use.* The result indicates that while men are happy with the current rules that allow the use of the CGL only for feed, women are interested in having additional uses. They are particularly interested in getting the right to access the CGL to collect specific grass species (e.g. *Elusine floccifolia*, locally known as 'Arma'). Women need this grass to craft 'sifet', a serving plate made of dried grass. However, while *Elusine floccifolia* is recognized by the management body as an abundant species, women are not allowed to harvest it. This is all the more surprising as once it is mature this grass is not palatable, thus lowering the feed value of the CGL. Despite the strong rules making the harvest illegal, women steal the grass behind the back of the guards, so as to have the material needed to craft 'sifet'. As one key informant woman noted: "... my daughter used to steal *Hyparrhenia dregeana* from the controlled CGL at the back of the guards. She has been caught once but got out of it, before it was reported to the management body to pay a penalty fine.(...) The guard realized that the amount she took was too small". This indicates that rules which are not perceived as legitimate can be subverted if women have no other means to fulfil their needs.

*Biased rules undermine the legitimacy of the informal institution.* The rules are not only questioned by women, they are also questioned by those households who do not own cattle (i.e. poor households, many of which are headed by women). Given that the access rules are biased towards cattle, those who only own sheep do not directly benefit from the CGL. The disenfranchised households question the legitimacy of the institution. They find support, e.g. from the District Office of Agriculture, which is interested to stop the rotational grazing system and implement a cut-and-carry system to feed animals. Such a system is appealing to poorer households as it may enable them to cut grass to feed their sheep or to sell on the market. Thus, unless the informal institutions governing the CGL seek ways to address the needs of marginalized households, the pressure to remove this traditional system might increase. However, traditional management systems have been shown to be able to manage communal resources sustainably. Dismantling the traditional system may thus undermine the sustainable use of the grazing land.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We underlined gender as an important issue to be considered when assessing the resilience of a social-ecological system. Indeed, gendered roles lead to gendered knowledge through familiarity with specific species and specific uses of those species. Changes that negatively impact the resource, as well as monitoring of indicator species are thus likely to

have a gender component. Unless such knowledge is included in the collective knowledge base, important information might be overlooked. This may not only imperil early signs of change, but may also reduce the capacity for innovation and renewal (Folke et al. 2005). Indeed, gender related barriers tend impede the open participation of women in platforms that ensure effective pooling of knowledge and allow for integrative social learning.

Limiting women's participation also implies that women's needs are not taken into account when rules are discussed and decided upon. This may lead to women having little choice but to break rules so that they may meet their social roles. However subverting rules designed for the sustainable use of natural resources may negatively affect both the ecological sustainability and the social sustainability. Indeed, if rules are perceived as unfair or biased, the institution will be questioned and its legitimacy undermined. This points out that social equality and social justice issues are key aspect that can affect the resilience of social-ecological systems (Wuelser et al. 2012).

Taking into account the gender dimension, may allow increasing the diversity of knowledge. This diversity is a key element to strengthen the capacity of the system to cope and adapt with changes (Holling 2004, Chapin et al. 2009). Implementing integrative processes requires an awareness of power issues in the social system, as power is directly related to the questions of whose voices are heard and whose interests are acted upon. Women tend to have limited power in the decision making process of crafting the rules-in-use. However if women were invited to discussions on how to adapt rules of access and use of the CGL, it is likely that appropriate changes in the management rules could be identified that satisfy women's needs for specific grasses, and the cow's needs for protein-rich feed, all the while not threatening men's priority, i.e. strong oxen for ploughing fields.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Social innovation „Women perspectives in agriculture”: Insights from the company of a farm women's network in Germany as part of the EU project SOLINSA

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**Abstract** – Farm women's experiences and perspectives are rarely recognised in the German agricultural policy. Simultaneously, women's work on the farms, their knowledge, communication and management skills are stabilizing family farms enormously. A group of active farm women in Germany is intensively dealing with the questions of increasing influence on agricultural policy, considering women's needs. In parallel, the groups reflect on changes in the position and the various livelihoods of women living on farms. This field of change, learning and innovation encompassed by this women's group is reflected in the context of the triennial EU-research project SOLINSA (Support of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture). Aim of the project is to observe in agricultural networks, how innovations evolve and develop over time. The women have taken up the project as a chance for change.

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

How can farm-women bring in more of their experiences and perspectives into the German agricultural policy? How can women within agricultural policy become better intercessors for issues affecting women on farms? These questions become relevant considering the visibility and at the same time invisibility of women's involvement in farm business. In common agricultural practice however, women cope with a large part of the farm work and take management decisions. With their agricultural incomes and/or incomes from other jobs, women contribute in a considerable way to farm stabilisation. Moreover, quite a few women get involved with public relations actively, have a balancing role in public or local conflicts, and take up the producer-consumer-dialogue. In this context, they are being supported by agricultural women's groups. In important practice-related and decision-making bodies however, women are barely represented. Their needs and interests are also not being considered as an own perspective in the context of practice-related decisions. Recognition of the achievements of women happens mostly as common oral appreciation.

## AIM OF THE PAPER

The representation of women's interests within the agricultural sector is a topic, which was taken up for Southern Germany by the executive committee of a farm women's group. Against the background of the research project SOLINSA, the women's group tackled the task, to actively work on these questions and to understand the process as a task for learning and innovation. To them, it is important to find answers, which fit to a long-established and practice-oriented women's work. The paper focuses on an ongoing reflection process within the group. In this process, the group members clearly ask which image of a woman they aspire and how women can understand their expertise as independent achievement and potential. The paper is based on the experiences made in the context of a particular research-practice cooperation, which is ongoing since November 2011.

## PROJECT AND PROJECT PARTNER

The results were obtained in the context of the project "Support of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture" (SOLINSA), funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the EU. Aim of the project is to observe in agricultural networks, how innovations evolve and develop with the time (Brunori et al., 2013). But, by interactive cooperation among researchers and practice partners, there should also arise innovations and developments should be initiated. In total, the project includes 16 research-practice partnerships, located in 8 EU countries. Only one of these collaborations is dealing explicitly with gender issues – the State Executive Committee of the Rural Women's Group of the Bavarian Farmers Union in Munich/Germany. The Rural Women's Group, which is considered to be a community of practice, represents the interests of Bavarian farmer women (Helmle, 2011). Practice partner in the narrower sense is the State Executive Committee with eight voluntarily engaged women and a managing director. The women's group was founded in 1948; its various committees are elected for five-to-five year periods. The current group was newly composed in March 2012, four months after starting the SOLINSA workshop series. Within this break, the workshops were considered as a chance

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for change, as a chance to redefine the work of the group.

#### INITIATING INNOVATION VIA WORKSHOPS: DATA

The research is based on an interactive approach derived from participatory research. Data in this project was generated mainly through six one-day workshops. This was supplemented by participatory observations of two conferences as well as of the monthly meetings of the State Executive Committee. Discussion courses and outcomes of the workshops were documented by visualisation techniques of group facilitation and finally assembled as annotated photo minutes (Bolliger et al. 2007, Gerster-Bentaya 2011). Main characteristic of the SOLINSA workshop methodology is to gather data and to interpret data during the same event. Comparable are the processes of learning – which methods set untapped resources free, the scheme of analytical reflection from a researchers' perspective after the workshops, and the process of researcher-LINSA cooperation.

#### WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES IN AGRICULTURE AS A SOCIAL INNOVATION

Starting point for the workshops was the fundamental understanding of the women's group that a "business as usual" strategy will not support agricultural women's work anymore. New role models of women in agriculture are perceived. In practice, they are managing enterprises but are formally registered as supporting family members. They have profound technical education but are perceived about home economics and social issues. They are campaigning for agriculture in public relations but are barely represented in practice-related and decision-making bodies. These divergences stand behind the question which changes are necessary for the representation of women's interests in agriculture and how the clientele of this special interest group has changed. If women are getting involved in agriculture by themselves or together with their partners, this is an active and independent decision. The rural women's group wants to strengthen women and to support them in their activities, social coverage and everyday life planning. This signifies partly a realignment of women's work in agriculture.

During the workshops, content-related innovations have been reflected. This was about the representation of women in practice-related and decision-making bodies of the Bavarian Farmers Union, the gender-differences in expense allowances for honorary posts, and the discussion and decision-making culture of the Bavarian Farmers Union. On the one hand, this representation of interests is conservative, which means that the engagement happens on a self-determined – isolated – level if it is about so-called women topics. Such topics are for example education of children and teachers, health, nutrition and the consumer. Agricultural main topics are put over to third parties; however, the resulting perspective is barely fed back to the expert panels, because the women are not represented there. This was reflected during one of the workshops and it

was clarified which expertise and broadening of the perspective stands behind this experience. Consciously, women were proposed for all expert panels and it was assured insistently that they really got accepted for these panels.

For the women, change means to become aware of the influence they want to gain, of the perceptions they want to bring in, and how insistent they want to be in this context. Main issue for them is not only to be members of the expert panels but to reach participation in decision-making and a strengthening of the women, because their perspective is contributing to the work on special topics. Main challenge in this context is the existence of strongly internalised role models, not only on the male but also on the female side. The desire for change and deep-rooted behaviour patterns are colliding. For the women it is helpful to know that there have always been women within their group breaking rules and advancing change. They have experience with always including new subjects and implementing them for their clientele. To the women it is new that this happens now as an intentional process in this intensity. Change does therefore not depend on coincidence and favorable conditions but instead becomes a planned process. Nevertheless, the women are still unclear about the level of inconvenience they are ready for. To them, the actual process is still more about reflection than about action.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The reflection of possible changes already led to changes. The workshops had the character of open and creative spaces for thinking. Data in a scientific sense are the discourses and the underlying maturation processes. Because of that, part of the SOLINSA working process is the reflection of what supports or constrains change and innovation, what is satisfactory in the context of accustomed role models and thus, resists change processes, and how change feels like. It is new that these discussions are led, that they are part of various workshops and that there exists a perceivable discourse. This discourse is characterized by the questions asked by the researcher. It is also characterized by women, who let themselves put into question and now, after 1.5 years, really begin to ask these questions to themselves.

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# The development and acquisition of leadership skills among rural women in Northern Ireland

Lori Ann McVay<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – While a great deal of literature and research has focused on obstacles to rural women's leadership development, there is a noticeable lack of literature addressing positive factors. This study was undertaken to ascertain key factors facilitating the development and acquisition of leadership skills among women leaders from rural areas of Northern Ireland. Two questions guided the research. First: what people, organizations, and/or events (External Factors) supported these women's development and acquisition of leadership skills? And, second: what thought processes and choices (Internal Factors) did they exercise in order to overcome obstacles in their development as leaders? Through the use of "The Listening Guide", analysis of interviews revealed five Key Factors integral to the participants' development and to the development of future rural women leaders.

## INTRODUCTION

Much valuable sociological research has focused on rural women, particularly in the last fifteen years. Similarly, women's participation in organizations and leadership has also benefited from sociological research. However, the intersection of those topics – rural women in leadership – has received considerably less academic attention in Europe. Further, the studies that do exist focus primarily on obstacles and barriers to rural women's attainment of leadership positions. This study's focus on positive factors provided a means of exploring the contexts in which rural women can – and do – overcome barriers on their journey to leadership. The women in this study self-identified as leaders, and were serving in elected or appointed positions of leadership in agricultural, religious, youth, and women's organizations, as well as businesses and the tourism industry.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

With its recognition of participants' life experiences as a "legitimate form and source of knowledge" (Pini 2003), feminist theory provided a framework for the study. This opened an avenue for exploring individual participants' lives as well as the lives of others who informed their experiences. Further, honouring the value of individual life experiences created a

space in which to extrapolate insights to the larger social milieu (Rosenberg, Howard 2008).

The language of External and Internal Factors is meant to stand in extrication from current conceptualizations of structure and agency. While prevalent theories provide spaces from which generally female-negative structures can be discussed as solid and active, their lack of space for positive (rather than reactive) agency and agency in the moment (as opposed to agency in view of a particular future) (McNay 2003) left participants' narratives to be discussed only in terms of negative discourses and potential actions rather than lived realities. The practical nature with which many of the women viewed their leadership affirmed McNay's (2003 p. 143) articulation of the need for "a more explicitly praxeological understanding of agency."

## METHODOLOGY

The use of semi-structured interviews loosely contoured to participants' life stories brought forward the types of experiences and thought processes participants considered valuable to their leadership journey. In addition to inquiries into their personal leadership journeys, the women were also asked what advice they would give rural women aspiring to leadership, and what type of support they would like to see aspiring leaders receive.

Analysis was undertaken utilizing the "Listening Guide" as expounded by Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, and Bertsch. Gilligan and her colleagues (2003) describe the steps as follows: The first reading (Step 1), is a listening both for the plot of the story and for the listener's response to the story (including social context). The second reading (Step 2) connects first-person statements into lists ("I poems") in order to draw the listener into the interviewee's life while minimizing objectification of the speaker. The third reading (Step 3) is based on the musical idea of counterpoint, and involves listening for relationships between/among two or more voices within the narrative. This allows the recognition that one statement may have multiple meanings or reflect multiple voices on the part of the speaker, and that actions undertaken in relation to those meanings are reflective of the "sense" the speaker makes of "social existence" (Roberts 2002). In Step 4 the listener revisits the original research question and

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asks: "What have you learned about this question through this process and how have you come to know this?"; and "What is the evidence on which you are basing your interpretations?" (Gilligan, et al. 2003, p. 168). The researcher then brings each of the listenings back into relationship with the others in a complex, multi-faceted analysis (Gilligan et al. 2003).

#### FINDINGS

External Factors were defined as influences originating outside the participant. Participants articulated the following as important to their leadership development: People – families of origin, educators, co-workers; Organizations – church and religious organizations, educational institutions, extracurricular/community organizations; and Events – obstacles ("The Troubles" and Negative Situations) and opportunities (Leadership Training and International Travel)

Internal factors were defined as individual thought processes and choices articulated as integral to the success of the leaders' development. Nine themes clearly emerged in this category: Openness, Passion, Confidence, Persistence, Initiative, Internal Drive, Outspokenness, Operating as a Team Member, and Self-Identification as a Leader. The last was, by far, the most common Internal Factor present in the women's transcripts, appearing even in narratives where the participant showed a degree of ambiguity regarding her capability to fulfil the role of leader.

Key Factors were comprised of Internal and External Factors emerging as most significant in both the women's responses and through their recommendations of crucial supports for aspiring rural women leaders. These included: Supportive People, Education, Leadership Training and Practical Experience, Setting and Achieving Goals, and Confidence (Belief in Self).

#### CONCLUSION

This study's primary contribution to dialogue regarding rural women leaders was its focus on *positive* factors contributing to leadership development. Although the obstacles to rural women's entry into leadership should in no way be minimized, the decision to turn the focus of this study toward positive factors was informed by two perceptions: first, by the recognition that rural women can, and do, enter leadership in spite of those (well-documented) obstacles; and, second, by the acknowledgement that rural women are a powerful force for positive change in their own communities and beyond.

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# The vulnerability of women's policy agencies in rural areas in Austria – a case study

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**Abstract** – In many European countries multi-level governance encompasses less hierarchical and more horizontal forms of decision-making in which government functions may be shared with non-state actors such as non-government organisations. New modes of decision-making emerged and new intermediary institutions were created. How are women in rural areas affected by these changes of the political architecture in a country? Are they willing and are they at all able to participate in this new modes of governance? In this paper it will be analysed which problems regional women's policy agencies face when they want to take part in regional development processes? The case of 'kokon – beratung, bildung für frauen', a women's counselling centre in a rural district in Salzburg, will illustrate the obstacles and barriers women are confronted to participate in political decision making and shaping regional policy but will show also their contribution to rural development.

## INTRODUCTION

In an ongoing changing and globalised world decision-making has become more complex and diffuse. Regional governments often play more important roles and responsibilities are shared with multiple non-state actors. New modes of decision-making emerge and intermediary institutions are established in multi-level governance systems like the European Union (EU). Especially in the field of regional development there has been significant increase of new intermediary structures in Austria over the last two decades. All over the world multi-level governance encompasses less hierarchical and more horizontal forms of decision-making in which government functions may be shared with non-state actors such as non-government organisations (Sawer and Vickers, 2010, 8).

In the EU this change towards a multi-level system has been intensified by the processes of regionalisation within the Member States, which have taken place simultaneously and have shifted in many cases competences concerning regional policy towards the regional level. But it varies significantly in the individual European Member States with regard to the degree and the form of inclusion of the different spatial levels and the involved public and private actors (Kopp-Malek and Lackowska, 2011, 162ff). In this paper it will be discussed how women are affected at regional level by these changes of the

political architecture in a country like Austria. To what extent are women involved in these new emerging structures in regional policy? Taking into account that women are dramatically under-represented in public politics at the regional and local level one has to ask if women's interests and needs are incorporated adequately in regional policy. It will be analysed if women's policy agencies (WPAs) at local and regional level are valued partners in regional development processes.

What is meant by WPAs? WPAs describe any structure established by government with its main purpose being the betterment of women's social status – developed from local to the national level (Lang and Sauer, 2012). The women's counselling centre 'kokon', the case discussed in this paper, is an accepted service institution by the Austrian Ministry for Women and Civil Service.

Looking back, the women's movement was, in comparison to other social civic movements in Austria, very successful in establishing policy structures. In many cases women who were committed to the autonomous women's movement were the first feminists in the new women's policy infrastructure at federal and Länder level. This institutionalization of WPAs was the result of strategic decisions by women activists to work in and through the state system to achieve gender equality (Lang and Sauer 2012, 73). Already during the 1970s an autonomous feminist movement developed and flourished at the regional and local level when first WPAs were established. The main purpose of these 'Counselling Centres for Women and Girls' was the empowerment of women. The activities of these regional and local WPAs concentrated mainly on group formation and networking, on the creation of women's self-esteem, on the generation of qualification and employment activities to secure self-determined lives in order to combat and overcome patriarchal family relations. The feminist activists started to develop and implement innovative projects well-tailored to women's needs in the regional and local context (Oedl-Wieser, 2013).

The following hypotheses can be formulated:

- There exists now a bigger variety of new institutions and structures in rural areas but the participating stakeholders and decision-makers are often the same as in the 'old structures'. This leads to path-dependencies and so called 'nested' structures.
- WPAs at local and regional level are not involved to a large extent in the new intermediary structures in rural areas.

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- WPAs at local and regional level contribute a lot to the regional development process because they implement well-tailored projects and training courses to improve the situation of women in rural areas.
- WPAs at local and regional level are affected by cutting of funding since the middle of the 1990s because of the changes to neo-liberal state-architecture and policies in Austria.

#### METHODS

In this paper the case of the women's counselling centre 'kokon' will be presented. The author made a review of the project 'equality in rural areas - women decide!', which was awarded with the Equality-Price – Category Women of the Austrian RDP (Oedl-Wieser, 2012). This was a starting point for the future project 'Regional governance and its effects on women in regional development processes'. The future project comprises various methods which will analyse the situation of women in approximately three study areas, evaluate the effects of regional and rural development policy on women, illustrate barriers women are confronted with when taking part in shaping regional policy and explore how much local and regional WPAs contribute to regional development processes. The following methods will be applied:

- Austrian wide analysis of WPAs at different spatial levels;
- Gender-sensitive regional analysis in the study areas;
- Problem-oriented interview with the chairwomen of the officers of the women's policy bureaus and equality offices of the Austrian Länder;
- Problem-oriented interviews with the officers of the women's policy bureaus and equality offices of the Austrian Länder;
- Network analysis of the networks of the officers of the women's policy bureaus and equality offices;
- Expert-interview with regional stakeholders.

Through triangulation of the findings of the different applied methods the involvement of representatives of WPAs in rural development processes and (intermediary) structures will be explored.

#### THE CASE 'KOKON – BERATUNG, BILDUNG FÜR FRAUEN'

The women's counselling agency 'kokon – beratung, bildung für frauen', founded in 1998, is located in the rural district of Pongau in Salzburg. This region is mainly dominated by tourism. The main tasks of kokon are: counselling of women and girls (38%), training courses (42%), meetings and networking (20%). At the moment kokon is implementing a project called 'equality in rural areas - women decide!' which comprises four work-packages (social web, active women, mentoring and a cabaret). The project is following a comprehensive and strategic approach which aims to strengthen the individual agency of rural women but also to bring the issue of marginalized groups on the political agenda in rural areas. The activists of kokon faced many difficulties when they applied for funding in the RDP. The main difficulty was that the departments in the Länder

administration felt no commitment for equality issues in rural areas. After a long period and many discussions the project finally was funded.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Many studies have shown that numerous women's networks and women's initiatives contribute significantly to further the gender equality issue in the regions and raise awareness of women's potentials and problems. Often they focus on major issues of employment and education, others coping with everyday life aspects, on health and sports issues or engage in art and culture or integration work. Although many regional policymakers would be willing to involve women's initiatives and women's networks, important obstacles and barriers are still the main concerns. Besides a slow shift in political priorities the lack of financial and personal resources is one of the recurrent issues.

Regarding the gendered impact of regional governance in Austria two faces of a picture emerge. It depends from which perspective it is considered. The purely descriptive representation of women is still low in the regional policy setting and thus gender impact has remained awfully low – as female politician, as expert or as representative of WPAs. 'No institutionalized structure – no power' – this is often the experience of women activists, certainly with varying grades, at all levels – be it the national, Länder, regional or local level.

On the other hand the gendered impact of regional governance can be considered large because many stakeholders in regional policy are, to a wide range, not aware of the gender-specificity of regional development processes. The result is that the existing regional problems are solidified and social innovation and modernization get stuck in the regions.

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# Constructing the 'Ethics of Care' with visual and verbal narratives

Cynthia L. Vagnetti<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - This paper focuses on the ethics of care found in the management of small scale enterprises devoted to conserving and husbanding a local cattle breed on semi-natural grasslands. It is inspired by Driessen who asserts, "Livestock farms have become the sites of numerous ethical issues that have gained prominence over the last decades" For this paper, I focus on an exciting aspect of my dissertation, that I am compelled to explore and invite feedback from interested colleagues: the ethics of care in animal husbandry. Feminist inspired moral theories is a specific school of thought associated with authors such as Carol Gilligan, Nel Noddings, Sara Ruddick, Selma Sevenhuijsen, Grace Clement, and Virginia Held, who take the concept of care to be an important relational moral concept. For this paper I will draw from Anthony, Gjerris et al., and Driessen, who suggest an interpretive framework adapted from Simone Weil's (1977) work on "attentive love": Attentiveness, Responsibility, Competence, and Responsiveness. Driessen maintains a pragmatist and ethnographic approach to speaking and listening to farmers ethical considerations, as well as means to interpret ethical concerns expressed in farmers' practices and discourses should be maintained in any revision of the human-animal-relationship.

## INTRODUCTION

This topic of research is an important conversation within the context of the featured rural resilience discussion, particularly at a time when the path from government to governance necessitates attention to creative innovation and local knowledge. Before I continue with the discussion of the ethics of care, I will briefly explain the dissertation research this paper grows from. I focused on a special type of small-scale livestock enterprise, namely the Sardo-Modicana—a cow bred for traction in the 1880s, to cultivate wheat and carry it to the market-place. Today, the herds are valued for their savory meat and raw milk used to produce an artisanal cheese. The men continue to do the herding and hand milking and the women produce the cheese. Even today, a rigid division of labor is maintained within the family-style business. Rather than taking up the role of a sociologist or geographer to describe an origin-labeling scheme under consideration by these breeders, I took an anthropological approach and conducted qualitative research adhering to an ethnographic procedures to: (1) explore how geographic indicators impact cultural practices; and (2) describe the knowledge dynamics communicated among cattle breeders. This research situates me in Rhetoric and Writing, a young field that takes interest in "the paradox of standards and guidelines or in other words, the rhetorical tension between the assumptions implicit in generalizable guidelines and the actual user's unique individual experiences" (Teston, 2009). We have a history of scholarship which "follows the completed text" and draws from

sociologist John Law's assertion that "text are tools for ordering reality...(therefore)...text carries with it the potential for both modifying and maintaining cultural patterns."

## METHODS

Driessen (2010) suggests a pragmatist and ethnographic approach to speaking and listening to farmers ethical considerations, as well as means to interpret ethical concerns expressed in farmers' practices and discourses. In an ethnographic study I deployed visual research methods as a primary mode of inquiry in systematic, empirical investigations of cultural practices by Sardinian cattle breeders. Attention was placed on tacit knowledge or specifically, as characterized by Ingold "the practices that exists in people's hands and in their actions" (2000). I choose a phenomenological perspective to understand agriculture as a situated action which makes affordances to study knowledge dynamics from the actors' point of view (Crane, 2011). Moreover, the instruments utilized in this dissertation, a digital documentary video toolkit, enlarges an emic perspective of situated practices, and in particular, attention to embodied sensory knowledge.

This paper draws from the data generated from the dissertation research in which I build on the notion of culture as narrative (Lindquist 4). Ethics, according to Driessen's interpretation of Geertz, is not to be understood as an "add-on" to material reality, but as constitutive to understanding, in which the symbolic and the material are integrated (2010) Recently, narrative has gained ascendancy in the humanities and is working its way into the environmental sciences— in part, in reaction to 'radical anthropocentrism the methods of production that have occasioned a kind of invisibility of animals' (Anthony, 2009). Indeed, narrative inquiry is a relatively new approach that complements visual research methods while making affordances for rhetorical dimensions of communication embodied in different symbolic forms to be the visual, the oral, and the corporeal (Pink, 2011, Vagnetti, 2012).

Dates of fieldwork were September 2009, April-December 2010, February-March 2011. Six breeder families participated in this study with 5 men and one woman as herdsman. Of the six families, only one did not have a female counter partner making cheese. Given that the breeders traditionally are oral communicators, the research methods of observations, videotaped interviews and contextual video footage were a natural fit to document their stories and extended cognition. The instruments for data collection were Sony VX 2000 with an 1) omnidirectional and 2) lavalier microphone. The data collected was seven videotaped interviews and thirteen hours of videotaped observations with hand written notes, and the written document "a code of practice" for raising the Sardo-Modicana. Interviews lasted from 60-90 minutes and were translated from Italian into English during the transcription process.

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The videos were logged and content was narratively described.

From the text generated in the oral interviews, the contextual video, as well as code of practice, I developed my analytical categories by moving back and forth between the data and the thesis that motivated this study. My objective was to ground emerging theories in the data collected and create interpretive categories to write an ethnographic narrative of my field experience. Today, in a short intermezzo, I will illustrate the breeder's approach to an 'ethics of care' to be voiced in their discourse.

### RESULTS

Following Simone Weil's (1977) framework are the breeder's expression of the following virtues: Responsiveness, Responsibility, Competence, and Attentiveness, respectively.

Paolo understands the synergy between animals and the land when he characterizes the Sardo-Modicana, "There is no other animal that can live in this country (Montiferru). The pastures are marginal and this race is adapted to these pastures here...with little they have survived. Other races cannot survive here." Paolo's responsiveness to the ecosystem he works in is echoed by Rita who characterizes the territory, "Not all of the places are irrigated or workable, some are dry. With this animal it is possible to have land that is less workable...the land is good with this animal." In this case both Paolo and Rita have expressed their understanding of an earth consciousness.

Responsibility towards a domesticated animal is readily expressed and (demonstrated). Paolo does not hesitate, "I am in love with this race. There are races more important, but I have no interest." Rita, in pure humility, describes her stewardship practices, "You begin when they are born and then you follow until the end-to the moment of the slaughtering...we say. The nurturing (raising of the animal) continues like this. If you don't want the animal well, you cannot do this work."

The breeder's competence in understanding the value of raising animals on pastures acknowledge the relationship between animal production and meat on our plates. Celestino explains, "The animal lives on the grass and outside of the stall. The flavor and the characteristics of this meat comes from the grasses, truly from the grasses." Giovanni underscores the age-old practice, "We never fattened the animals; never. We sold in the first of May when they were fat from eating the grasses."

Attentiveness to the animal is necessary, indeed-when hand milking a 400-500lb cow. This is displayed by Antonicu and Rita who have names for each animal in their herd: both cows and bulls. Antonicu, when milking his cows will call each one by name in Sardo. They are affectionate and funny, such as "graziso." I have witnessed all of the breeders softly speaking to the animals, patting them on their rump or scratching their nose in an affectionate gesture when working with the beast.

### Interpretation

There are two discussions we might take up by drawing from the narrative ethics of Sardo-Modicana breeders: (1) the idea that animal welfare decisions can be made only on the basis of science; and (2) how geographic indicators impact cultural practices. I will speak from what I have learned from my research and field experience. The Sardo-Modicana breeders were encouraged to promote and protect the quality of their cheese and meat product and its

link with territory vis-a vis Geographic Indication. While GIs can be instrumental in conserving tradition and transferring know-how, in the case of the Sardo-Modicana breeders, they are now confronted with a fattening regime with cereal grains that not only disrupt age-old practices, but draw upon off-farm inputs. Moreover, the attempt to standardize, an initiative that prescribes the animal is stalled during its last living four months and fed cereal grains for fattening the meat will destroy local knowledge.

As advising practitioners we are finding, passing trends such as geographic indicators can disrupt cultural heritage systems that have adapted over generations. I would like to suggest there is a third trajectory we might consider: Step into the new media world and take up narrative inquiry combined with visual research methods so that seeing and hearing the 'ethics of care' in the animal husbandry practices of livestock breeders. In the case of the Sardo Modicana these animals are a source of environmental resilience, and represent an animal-friendly husbandry system that has been nurtured over generations.

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# Vulnerable consumers: ethnography of the consumption of French farmers facing impoverishment

Françoise Passerard<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – This ethnographic study addresses a gap in the field of Consumer Vulnerability and Poverty by developing in-depth knowledge about a hidden rural poverty, namely a population of French small farmers. Through the lens of Transformative Consumer Research, and relying on Douglas' theory of apathy, our findings reveal that consumption goods help vulnerable consumers survive and maintain their social and familial identity.**

## INTRODUCTION

The current research consists of an ethnography of consumption culture within vulnerable and impoverished consumers. The originality of this study lies in the singularity of farmers as a community, and as a professional group, that is facing a multi-level crisis (international, European, national, regional, departmental, professional, familial, individual).

A closer look at this specific population of French smallholding farmers (a total of 328.000 families) gives striking figures for the year 2011 showing that more than 39.000 impoverished families of farmers are eligible for welfare assistance such as income support and... food bank! The phenomenon is such that farmers, who are supposed to feed the people, can no longer feed themselves... What a paradox!

We inform our study with three streams of literature. Firstly, Marketing and Poverty research (Hill, 2008) address the behavior and culture of consumption of impoverished consumers, and offer concepts and theories to understand consumption patterns. Secondly, Rural Sociology, see poverty as an issue related to the lack of social links and to the inability to express oneself through consumption goods and rites (Douglas, 2007), and offer concepts to understand coping behavior. Thirdly, Transformative Consumer Research offers insights in how our research could help improve the lives (Mick, 2006) of our farmers and their well-being (Ozanne & al., 2011).

Several gaps appear from those works. Duflo and Banerjee (2009) highlight the need to study the behavior of one category of vulnerable consumers, facing impoverishment or poverty, in the rural context of a developed country. Mendras (1995) and Hervieu (2010) call for studies focusing on farming professionals to better understand how the various

dimensions of their lives influence and depend on each other, i.e. their activities as producers and as consumers. Within the specific domain of TCR, we have identified calls for research to study unique and specific populations to develop the field of consumer vulnerability (Baker, Gentry and Rittenburg, 2005), and to study impoverished vulnerable consumers in rural areas of developed countries (Hill, 2008). More recently, Blocker & al. (2011) call for studies investigating how people are "affected when they are unable to participate in consumption norms that are prevalent in society", and to identify "the dimensions of poverty that affect self, family, social, community, and marketplace identities".

This overview confirms the gap we want to explore through our research question: how to characterize the notion of consumer vulnerability in this context of rural and farming space?

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

British anthropologist Mary Douglas defines poverty as "the inability to maintain the exchanges that define you as a member of the society" (Douglas, 2007). In parallel, she describes the cultural theory of apathy as a "long-lasting state that emerges when the freedom to choose is suppressed, when socialization networks are destroyed, when despair is stronger than hope". Apathy makes any development project impossible: people are so desperate that they cannot see any exit anymore. Culture is a way of thinking which justifies a way of life. It must consequently be dynamic and able to change. Therefore, according to Douglas, we must take into account the mechanisms by which emerges a culture of apathy while researching on poverty alleviation. Different dangers threaten the viability of a culture: uncertainty about justice, loss of motivation, global disorientation, destruction of trust and confidence, loss of authority.

## HYPOTHESIS

Relying on Boutinet's work on the concept of project (Boutinet, 2012), we hypothesize that a way out of this dead end of apathy occurs when vulnerable consumers build the project of creating new social links through consumption practices. What do we mean by project? It can be defined as a privileged coping strategy driven by the need for anticipation. It is also synonym of ability to create, to make

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change happen. Marginalised people are without, or aside, any sort of project because their constraints are such that they prevent them from necessarily standing back for anticipation.

#### METHODS

To follow the tradition inherent to the stream of research on poverty and vulnerability issues, we rely on ethnographic methods. We conducted 4 distinct studies in 2011 and 2012. Firstly, our preliminary study led us to conduct group-interviews (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994) with 15 experts from social welfare and public policy, revealing the difficulties they face to reach small farmers facing impoverishment. Secondly, we conducted follow-up interviews with about twenty small farmers. Thirdly, we deepened our knowledge of three families, taking into account three generations (the farmer, the farmer's parents, and the farmer's children). We led non-directive interviews, and especially used children drawing to help them express their lived experience of poverty. Lastly, we proposed to one of our informants to do self-videography, in the way of a video diary like single-handed sailors sometimes do.

Our field of research is in the French department of Vendée where we have established a partnership with an association called *Solidarité Paysans*<sup>2</sup> which helps farmers facing difficulties.

#### MAJOR FINDINGS

We have established a typology of farmers which allows us to identify their different reactions and adaptation to vulnerability as consumers. For example, farmers who see themselves as "entrepreneurs" initiate networks of barter economy. Those who reorientate continuously their production experience the same lack of stability in their daily consumption. Farmers who remain on the fringe of development inevitably adopt a way of life similar to voluntary simplicity. Over-indebted farmers tend to deny their state of impoverishment and refuse to ask for resources allowances or to go the food bank.

Families experience vulnerability as a specific period of time which beginning is remembered as a strong event. For instance, a farmer told us this:

*"Before... Before the mad cow disease, our life was a life of constraints, for sure, and it was ok for us. But today, we suffer from new constraints which we haven't chosen and we drown. We don't know when this will end. Every day we wake up for work but we lose more money than what we earn. We have given up some habits. We go back to former practices; we live next to nothing, like our grandparents did."*

Then, any single tool or good represents the material culture of the family's memory: an old coffee mill, the reuse of old sheets to sew up curtains or dresses, the familial hair scissors to avoid the cost of a hairdresser... Staying in touch with their familial roots help those farmers keep faith in their future.

#### DISCUSSION

Throughout our studies, we confirmed our hypothesis that the transitory experience of vulnerability tends to see its end once the vulnerable ones manage to nourish a project, be it material, subjective or relational. The findings of this ethnography have the potential to inform Social Marketing and Social Business by elaborating a specific knowledge of a kind of hidden poverty. We have portrayed a typology of the consumption processes within a vulnerable population, and enhanced the knowledge of the role of consumption goods in their strategies of identity survival. We also help the Social Marketing actors better target this population of impoverished farmers when preventing bankruptcy, social isolation or suicide. We posit that a common language has to be elaborated between public policymakers and impoverished people. Innovative qualitative methods of research also help elicit informant's narratives.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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<sup>2</sup> "Peasants Solidarity"



# Sustainable local food systems for rural resilience in time of crisis.

## The case of the Solidarity Economy Rural District of the Southern Agricultural Park of Milan

Alessandra Corrado<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In time of crisis changes in agriculture and farming as well as the emergence of grassroots innovations based on social cooperation and collective learning are contributing to the organization of local food systems, oriented to a multidimensional sustainability. This paper analyse the case of the Solidarity Economy Rural District of the Southern Agricultural Park of Milan as an example of this kind of process of transition in agriculture in time of crisis. If on the one hand these changes are boosted by the growing demand for quality life expressed by citizens, or by critical consumers, in the other hand the reproduction strategies of small and medium scale farms appear to be fundamental for the resilience of rural and peri-urban areas.

### INTRODUCTION

The transition process in agriculture is made up of differentiated trajectories of development. Repeasantization and relocalization of food production and consumption characterize one of them. Changes in agriculture and farming as well as the emergence of grassroots innovations (Seyfang and Smith 2007) based on social cooperation and collective learning are contributing to the organization of local food systems, oriented to a multidimensional sustainability, that is economic, environmental and social.

These process are related on: a) the resilience of the economic, social and environmental fabric of rural and peri-urban areas, that is strictly connected to the reproduction of small and medium scale farms and, as a consequence, to their income sustainability and generating capacity (Dewulf et al. 2009); b) the growing demand for quality life expressed by citizens, in terms of food security, viability of rurality, leisure and sociability, well-being.

This hypothesis will be test by the analysis of the case study of the Solidarity Economy Rural District (*Distretto di Economia Solidale*, DESR) of the Southern Agricultural Park of Milan (Parco Agricolo Sud Milano, PASM) in Italy.

### METHODOLOGY

The empirical research has been carried out by qualitative methods in order to investigate and understand subjective process and dynamics of collective

organization that have been hypothesized to be the factors sustaining changes in food production and consumption process at local level. The main research focus has been on farmers localized in Milan province - in particular in the Ticino Park and the Southern Agricultural Park of Milan - collaborating inside the DESR-PAMS by the participation in food networks, collective projects and production platforms.

The DESR has been created in 2008, by the common initiative of one of the first organic farm inside the PASM, the Solidarity-based Purchase Group (*Gruppo di Acquisto Solidale*, GAS) *Baggio* (the name of a neighborhood localized in the southwest zone of Milan), the national Network of Solidarity Economy. Today the DESR has 20 organic farms (certified, not certified and in conversion), more than 40 GAS, ethical finance associations, 6 Municipalities and other actors.

The aim of the *Distretto di Economia Solidale* (DES) is to build a local network of different subjects promoting critical consumption and solidarity economy, that is alternative economic circuits, inspired to solidarity, reciprocity, ethic principles and sustainability. This system of relations aims to valorize local resources, sustain incomes, create labor opportunities and to ensure Milan food sovereignty, that is the satisfaction of food and quality life needs in the metropolitan area by the reconstruction of the urban-rural relationship and local markets.

The specific aims of the DESR-PASM is the safeguard and requalification of the Agricultural Park – the biggest in Europe, with 47.000 hectares, 61 Municipalities, 1400 farms. The main risks for it are the urban sprawl, the deactivation and abandon of agriculture, the new infrastructures, the agro-fuels speculations, the structural (agro-food) crisis, the demand for changing the boundaries of the Park, the land-rent escalation (a lot of farmers as tenant).

According to the 2010 census, of 1400 farms just 576 are into action. The most representative have 10-50 hectares (15% of the total SAU inside the Park). The farms biggest than 100 hectares are 84 (16% of the total) but represent the 55% of the total SAU.

In order to sustain the agriculture of the Park and the income of local farms, the requalification of agri-

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food consumption and production, the promotion of direct selling and processing in farm, of multifunctionality, and of agro-biodiversity (vs. rice and cereals monocultures, and intensive breeding) are the main strategies.

#### RURAL RESILIENCE

In time of crisis, rural resilience depends on farms' capacity of reproduction and resources management, combining different types of knowledge for learning, creating the opportunities for self-organization and renewal.

Field research results highlight how new subjectivities as "critical producers" and forms of social cooperation are developing in this process of transition as fundamental elements for the organization of sustainable local food systems.

Critical producers are men and women of 35-55 years old and with a medium-high level of education. There are two types of them: they are "beginner" that is new peasants without agrarian origin, or "reformed entrepreneurs" - until now working in a very vertically integrated industrial system of production (van der Ploeg 2008) - changing after an identity or/and farm crisis. The beginners have very different characteristics among them. They have moved in agriculture because of their love for nature or because tired for the frenetic urban living or for precarious or dependent jobs. Often they are land owners (but the youngest are tenant). They have learnt new skills by practicing or cooperating (Brunori et. Al. 2011) and have started their new activity with organic or biodynamic agriculture. But for the reformed entrepreneurs, repeasantization is a strategy to face the crisis, that is economic as well as of identity. Often they are breeders that, sometimes in conflict with their "fathers-entrepreneurs", replacing them have converted the model of farming: sizing the livestock, converting to agro-ecology or organic agriculture, differentiating activities, internalizing processing activities, developing direct selling, cooperating in local networks.

Sustainability instead of productivity, diversity instead of specialization, cooperation instead of competitiveness, autonomy instead of efficiency are the new farming principles.

Multifunctional restructuring is based on a new division of labor inside the family group. The generation turnover is very important for facing the crisis.

However the different forms of social cooperation and networks are fundamental in order to promote direct selling but also collective production, and local food systems, participative guarantee systems forms of social agriculture.

An important contribution for these transformations comes also from the new trend in consumption and from GASs involved in co-production process and in the organization of local food systems.

Inside the DESR - PAMS, producers are involved in: a) collective shops (*BuonMercato* shop in Corsico); b) consortia created in different zones of the metropolitan areas, for organizing production and

logistic services directly collaborating with local GASs.

#### CONCLUSION

The analysis of the DESR-PAMS case contributes to the understanding of the conditions and possibilities for the organization of food systems based on a different localization of transaction in time and space, that is a geographic/spatial proximity but also an organized proximity by different social practices and relational forms for supporting logistic infrastructures and co-production.

Local food systems are sustainable: 1) economically, for the redistribution of the added value produced at local level; 2) environmentally, for organic conversion, biodiversity safeguard, landscape and territorial management; 3) socially, for the development of forms of cooperation and reciprocity, of new public spaces, new social services and the contribution at the quality of life.

Policies for local and rural development can support farm transition, but local food networks and collective organization seem to be very important factors for rural resilience.

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# Sheep breeding in Sardinia: a resource for quality supply chains

D. Farinella, B. Meloni, M. Locci and M. Salis<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The paper focuses on the dairy supply chain in Oristano (Sardinia) in order to show how this territorial organization generates local collective goods through local actors' capabilities. The widespread and extensive sheep husbandry based on rough pasture (in which agriculture and rearing are intertwined) turn out to be an environmentally sustainable model with low resources consumption and great resilience. Short Supply Chains and Alternative Food Networks linked to the small sheep farms create a virtuous circle among agriculture, rearing, rural space, and rural communities.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper maintains that strengthening networks linked to Short Supply Chains and to Alternative Food Networks<sup>2</sup> must become the focus for the whole food and agriculture chain, as a territorial network, and an expression of the know-how, the products, the networks and the actors that are *embedded* in their own territory, and who are therefore able to initiate "recognition" and "appreciation" strategies concerning the uniqueness of their territory. In fact, it is this territorial uniqueness that determines real comparative natural advantages, able to produce forms of resilience and resistance, as they are often unique characteristics that are not reproducible in other contexts, that allow these territories to compete in the global market, by-passing a logic based on cost control in exchange for one based on the concepts of "distinction" and "differentiation" (Meloni 2011).

Territorial supply chains take the form of local collective goods (Ostrom 1990), in that, in terms of the raw materials used and the production and processing techniques, the uses and final destination of the products, they "embody" local history and sum up the ways in which local actors have learned to "tame" their environment. Local agri-food system underlines the specific relationship between environment–economy–society (Ploeg 2008), which, over time have become institutionalized within a given territory, which creates its own cultural codes and regulations for the local population. The only way to set up solid short supply chains that are capable of enhancing existing territorial networks is by improving territorial development in terms of path dependency (North 1994).

This is the argument behind this analysis of dairy supply chains in Oristano (Sardinia) which has identified a territorial system of dense relationships, where, as well as industrial production aimed at Large Scale Retail Trade there are also multifunctional small businesses aimed at high-quality and artisan

production which find their marketplace through different short supply chains (from sales to GAS or Solidarity Purchase Groups, to E-commerce, to locally sourced restaurants and local markets), that are built up depending on the ability of local business owners to establish relationships locally, where forms of reciprocity, trust, social capital and domestic and relational economies are crucial.

## METHODS

The sheep milk and dairy products supply chain was reconstructed through empirical research carried out between September 2012 and February 2013, using quantitative and qualitative methods. The first quantitative analysis (made with the use of available statistics) made it possible to reconstruct the extent of the supply chain; there was also an analysis of how it has evolved over time, using a historical-bibliographical approach. Finally, through a qualitative approach, using both in-depth interviews and focus groups with the main actors in the supply chain (farmers, business owners, representatives from trade associations and from PDO Associations, regional technicians, etc.) the network of relationships between the subjects was reconstructed as well as the strengths and weaknesses concerning of the sheep and goat supply chain setting.

## MAIN RESULTS

The research highlights the centrality of agriculture in the Oristano area: in 2009 it contributed 8.9% of added value, well over the Italian 1.8% ([www.tagliacarne.it](http://www.tagliacarne.it)). It is estimated that in 2010 about 40% of the active population was involved in some type of work, albeit occasional, linked to agriculture (Agriculture Census 2010, Istat). Sheep farming represents the largest production specialization: in 2012 there were 3,166 businesses with 561,284 sheeps, with 70.8% specialized in milk production (Anagrafe Zootecnica 2012). It is a farming model that is widespread throughout the territory, and firmly rooted, which also means it can be protected. Farming is extensive, natural, based on free grazing with the integration of animal feed often cultivated by the farmers themselves. It is a model which is thrifty and respectful of natural resources, and therefore suitable for marginal areas where there is a new relationship between agriculture and livestock farming, which are finding a new balance (Meloni 2011). Over the last few years, sheep farming businesses have strengthened their traditional foundations, typical of family-run businesses, but they have also modernized, increasing both the size of the business and flock numbers, buying new land and making land improvements (such as increasing irrigable land and areas for the cultivation of fodder, and those areas destined to become permanent grazing land).

The origins of the sheep milk and dairy products supply chain is of a "long-lasting" type, which has

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<sup>2</sup> There is a wide literature on AFNs and the relations between local communities and food (see e.g. Brunori *et al.* 2012; Fonte and Papadopoulos 2012; Goodman *et al.* 2012; Maye *et al.* 2007).





made it possible to condense a shared and widespread know-how, connected to the sheep-farming world and its techniques and practices. In particular, the development of goat and sheep farming based on local know-how is based on three main aspects:

i. The management of traditional resources through an institutionalized system of contracts and rules of reciprocity that envisaged, for example, the community management of pastureland and the sharing of resources to help face the difficulties of transhumance (Meloni 1984). These aspects form the basis of a co-operative system;

ii. The fact that many of the groups of migrating shepherds who arrived in the Oristano area at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century along traditional pastoral trails, began to settle down (Le Lannou 1977), consolidating in the process, a widespread and extensive type of sheep farming, based on grazing and integrated with the cultivation of grasslands, as already mentioned.

iii. The acknowledgement of the Sardinian sheep's predisposition for milk production (Pulina *et al.* 2011).

Over the course of time, alongside farming businesses, a strong milk processing network has emerged, which is also strongly rooted in the territory and which has diversified. Part of this production is large scale industrial, aimed, above all, at large scale retail trade, both national and international (in 2011 dairy produce exports, with a value of Euro 2,441,020, made up 40.2% of food exports) ([www.ice.gov.it](http://www.ice.gov.it)); this derives from the traditional specialization within the sheep milk sector, of the production of "Pecorino Romano" for export, which spread during the 20<sup>th</sup> century thanks to some Roman entrepreneurs who imported this type of production into the area (Pulina *et al.* 2011). There is a big cooperative in the sheep milk processing industry (the membership has grown from 30 members during the 1980s to the actual 700 members, a statistic that contradicts the prejudice that there is a strong sense of individuality and an inability to co-operate in Sardinian sheep farming). There are also seven private industrial cheese-making plants which are medium and medium-small in size.

There is also another type of production which is more artisan in style and better reflects the traditional ways of processing milk, putting the shepherd or farmer and his cheese-making skills at the centre. In fact, there are some 30 mini cheese-making businesses where the farmers themselves process the milk directly on their premises, creating a more artisan type of product and quality, which passes along the channels of the short supply chain. Many of these businesses are multifunctional activities, which combine farming not only with cheese production, but also with educational farms, agriculture, energy production, agritourism and other types of livestock. These are lively businesses, but they have great difficulty in commercializing and distributing their products, due to the absence of these services in their territory. These small businesses build various types of short supply chains, based on direct sales in farm shops, sales on internet, to restaurants and quality wine shops, to small chains of organic shops or those selling local and artisan food products, fairs and local markets, and solidarity purchase groups. However, the liveliness of these supply chains is precarious: it is based on the activism of the businessman and his ability to create retail channels and networks, often in an unstable and unsophisticated way (it requires a great deal of effort and commitment from each single farmer).

The first suggestion might be to strengthen the territorial networks in the short supply chain in a

more structured and institutionalized way: therefore, local institutions should enhance good business practices, and strengthen existing short supply chains and promote new networks within the territory, through the direct involvement of the consumers, which creates a virtuous circle between production and consumption. If we just think that in the Oristano area there is a long-existing consumer cooperative made up of only women members which boasts over 2,000 members and which represents a huge potential for the enhancement of eco-sustainable and local produce.

Along with the strengthening of the short supply chains, we need to create virtuous pathways between micro and macro retail trade, between artisan production and industrial production, to go beyond the competition model, where artisan production ends up becoming subordinate, dependent and "squeezed" by industrial production. These innovative ways of being complementary and of creating integration can be thought of as beginning by enhancing the role of the large Local cooperative which is made up of 700 small-scale farmers, a network of small businesses which, as well as delivering milk to the cooperative, often produce at home for domestic consumption.

#### CONCLUSION

This case study dealt with three meaningful aspects concerning the rural resilience in times of crisis:

i. The centrality of cooperatives in the social organization with its specific resources management based on sharing, trust and cooperative networks.

ii. The extensive sheep husbandry based on rough pasture in which agriculture and rearing are intertwined. This is an environmentally sustainable model fits to the marginal areas and enhances local culture, traditional practices and know-how, natural rhythms and biodiversity.

iii. The importance of strengthening and developing the civic food networks in local dairy supply chain in order to resist both global market pressures for smoothing differences and to influence democratically and from below the processes of production.

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# Reframing 'crisis': Reflecting on resilience and markets within the fair trade economy

Eleonor Fisher and Alberto Arce<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – A focus on crisis provides a methodological window to understand the limits of the notion of resilience as a means to socially re-organise agriculture and rural spaces. Research from Wales (UK), Guatemala, Nicaragua and Ecuador demonstrates that, as an example of a civic food network, fair trade does not displace reliance on a neoliberal approach to development, despite a global policy emphasis on the significance of short supply chains/civic food networks for decentralised and more autonomous development action. Although fair trade generates alternative performances of the economy, it does not alter the differentiation of networks or stop market exclusion. Linked to this is the way that crisis is an outcome of market-driven development that fractures and fragments the material conditions of a person's existence. This is not adequately captured by a focus on resilience and implicit dependence of the concept upon a systems view of reality. In this vein, civic food networks are ambiguous and contradictory in an already complex and dislocated reality.

The shortcomings of a conceptualisation of resilience in the context of market-driven crisis demonstrates that greater attention needs to be paid to the socioeconomic and political dimensions of development within regional commodity assemblages to address entrenched power relations and actors' unequal access to natural resources. This orientation questions the images and virtual realities of alternative moral certainties. Does rural resilience exist in the everyday life of actors or is it simply one more semantic expression of experts' interests and desires? When examining the paradox of working in and against the market, we suggest the need to represent specific trajectories and experiences of development, but also the choice of actors opting out of resilience in times of crisis. This may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of household and community enhancement of producers' livelihoods, as both strategic and pragmatic spaces for creativity and change.

## INTRODUCTION

The concepts of crisis and resilience are here used as methodological devices: one view of crisis is that it results from a severe fluctuation in world markets that affects the price of commodities, driving down the supply of goods. By implication resilience depends on people's capacity to respond to this event. This representation downplays more complex scenarios in which human societies are vulnerable to international commodity prices because they are marginalised from policy decision making, have restricted access to resources, and have limited information on which to base livelihood decisions. In our view this creates a democratic deficiency that affects the capacity of people to be governed as

citizens. Focusing on the political economy of commodities, linked to the multiplicity of experiencing experiences that inform creative social economic outcomes means the social and the civic become central elements within contemporary 'complex' social organisational forms that need to be addressed beyond the profit motive in economics.

Reflecting on case studies of fair trade networks in Nicaragua, the United Kingdom and Guatemala permits us to examine the performance of democracy (and its deficit) and how this is entwined with the administration and distribution of resources in contexts where fair trade has emerged as a strand within the wider economy. Different economic performances and processes of self-organisation emerge from implosions and explosions within the system. In the process the paper seeks to go beyond time-space images where differences are emphasised between us (who are well governed) and them (who produce but may be poorly governed and inherently problematic in term of organization). Thus, resilience does not convey how people in a variety of ways are creating new spaces rather than returning to a state of equilibrium that apparently existed before the crisis.

## Methodology

This presentation is a reflection on three extended case studies (Fraser, Fisher & Arce 2013; Fisher 2012; Arce 2009). Each case has exceptional elements but this is partly the point: our intention is not to generalise on the basis of particularities within the data but rather to consider how fair trade engages with the social, political and material specificities of local development and constitutes policy, civic and commodity assemblages that enable us to explore trade interventions in local spaces.

## Results

This argument over crisis takes the paradox of fair trade working 'in and against' the market, engaging with local narratives to demonstrate that there are pluralistic ways of socially organizing market production. Historical trajectories of agrarian change are not simply over-turned by fair trade but become reworked and transformed over time, revealing unintended outcomes along the way as we demonstrate through examples from the three case studies. In this process, while meanings and representations associated with the term crisis may remain fixed, agrarian struggles emerge as critical

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practices to an apolitical orientation of adding value to commodities through fair trade markets. For fair trade to play a substantial role in global social justice and equality there is a need to foreground understandings of the character of development processes, including the historically-rooted nature of agrarian change and how it shapes contemporary production relations and market access. Empirical evidence demonstrates that the practice of fair trade within different country contexts reflects cognizance of the local dynamics of development but this is not echoed within over-arching fair trade principles and governance practices or an increasingly narrow vision implied by mainstreaming processes.

Fair trade is not seen by local producers as a more 'alternative' option than other value chains because it addresses commodities and markets in terms of principles such as equity, democracy, or social justice but instead fair trade was situated as part of the boiling pot of local politics and power relations. In this respect, ideas and practices of fair trade are themselves appropriated and embedded in locally-situated interconnections that reproduce divisions based on class, status and territory. This adds complexity to the underpinning rationale for fair trade, which suggests that the main constraint upon small-scale rural producers is their limited access to international markets and inequalities within international terms of trade. In this sense fair trade is not an apolitical initiative within the development sphere but instead a strategic resource bound to power relations and politics that are negotiated and contested in a variety of arenas from international to local.

These issues (such as social exclusion) are signposted in recent debates on the paradox of seeking justice through markets, reminding us that the commoditization process does not expand in a linear fashion from the global to the local or vice versa, and calling into question an assumption of crisis as the same everywhere.

## Conclusion

The focus on crisis offers a window to understand how agrarian trajectories shape social and spatial processes of boundary formation within organisational forms supplying products to fair trade markets. Local experiences of crisis exposed the manipulation of networks, of political relations, and of resources, with highly exclusionary, conflict-ridden and even violent outcomes. For those concerned with the market and trade as universal principles, the moral high ground within some accounts of the benefits of fair trade glosses over difference at the local level in ways crucial for the inclusion or exclusion of rural producers within fair trade markets. This raises an ongoing question for analyses of development within fair trade, namely how to deal theoretically and empirically with conflicting interests, ambiguities and incompatibilities enfolded in notions of a common identity and assumed livelihood practices associated

with seeking social justice through markets. The danger of treating crisis and resilience as central concepts within a totalizing world system creates an ahistorical and apolitical simplification that ignores the nuanced forms of social differentiation, power relations, and socio-economic inequalities that underpin producer, retailers and consumers experiences, but also the political mediation and organization that takes place in the actualisation of commodities and their multiple origins; it also disregards the historical place the cooperative movement has held not only in fair trade but also in wider projects of development, as has been recognized elsewhere.

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# How to shape local potatoes for sustaining rural webs

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**Abstract** – The expression “local products” is often used to refer to a large variety of trust mechanisms, which are usually divided into two main types, depending on whether they operate by using a specific label or by developing a solid reputation via the building of proximity relationships. Based on the results of several case studies in France and Italy, this essay identifies intermediary structures that do not smoothly fit with any of the two precedent categories. As European societies are struggling under the weight of a widespread crisis, which is mostly exacerbated by profound changes in their territorial institutions, such networks appear as key drivers of resilience. However, their durability is not to be taken for granted. This essay tries to explore their conditions of sustainability.

## INTRODUCTION

In Europe, since 1980, producers have tried to resist the food safety crises that have roughly unsettled their outlet habits in various ways, despite already being affected by fierce competition on an international scale. In reaction to this, various initiatives and strategies have relied on the differentiation of specific attributes. They led to the emergence of a new productive model in the agro-food system that has been called an ‘economy of quality’.

Many experiences, those mainly focussed on food products to address development issues, have been described in scientific literature. In the 1980s, researchers used to deal with the weaknesses of supply chains that were exposed to market liberalisation by taking part in the construction of protective systems by appealing to geographic indications (GIs) in order to secure nested markets in a polanyan way. Moving away from classical economy, GIs were supposed to address rural issues, as they were defined in the Declaration of Cork in 1996 and then in the CAP’s Rural development policy or ‘second pillar’. However, there is debate over the effectiveness of such a development tool. During the last decade, some authors began questioning the suitability of this model for countries outside Europe, whereas others continue to assess its capacity to activate key leverage mechanisms of socio-economic well-being in rural areas (Tregear et al., 2007). At the same time, other kinds of alternative food systems began appearing and gained enough importance to move to the forefront of current research on food and rural spaces. These food systems were first studied as innovative models of food provisioning, but today

they emerge as governance mechanisms since they refer to ‘civic values’ (Renting et al., 2012).

Thus, two major trends, if not two historical stages, can be identified beyond the common term of ‘local products’. Fonte affirms the need to clarify the confusion behind ‘localness’ (2010) and to distinguish between two kinds of production: that which refers to an origin so that it may be identified by distant consumers, and the other, whose main characteristics indicate socio-spatial proximity and is aimed at local consumers.

This article supports the hypothesis of an existing continuum between the two theoretically demarcated systems, and proposes to see some alternative food networks as various stages of a same gradient.

## METHODS: THE SPATIAL LIFE OF POTATOES

This study follows on from phases of investigation in various highlands; areas in different regions of Southern Europe that are considered to be disadvantaged or ‘less favoured’. The study takes place in two countries that lead in specific quality products: France and Italy.

As wine, cheese and olive oil already aroused an abundant literature, we chose to consider less remarkable objects and more ordinary foodstuffs. This allowed us to survey so-called ‘overgrazed fields’ with a fresh perspective. Most commonly, individual territories are associated with a few products or even a sole, normally specific product that becomes a kind of flagship or symbol. However, our search for potatoes led us to consider Ardèche and Liguria over their emblematic products, chestnut and Picodon, and olive oil and basil, respectively, and allowed us to reach heterogeneous sets of actors that did not limit to economic agents, but consisted of a diversity of stakeholders.

From interviews conducted between March 2012 and January 2013, we aimed to retrace the story of ‘local potatoes’, as well as the trajectories of the collectives to which they belong. We looked at potatoes as if they were not only goods for consumption, but also expressions of social dynamics. The field work tried to assess how this very concrete object had been constructed, as well as the imagined forms and representations it was associated with.

Partly based on the actor network theory, a socio-economist framework led us to study qualification processes. Through a joint analysis of the dynamics of the networks and of the institutional arrangements, we assume the geographic

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hypothesis that they have been built on a territorial basis, i.e. they are embedded in social, economic, political and cultural spaces.

Although this essay compares two main localities, it actually consists of five case studies. Despite choosing a similar object as the core of these investigations, and despite the area in question being covered by equivalent fieldwork in France and in Italy, five different realities came into being.

**Table 1.** Five case studies about potatoes.

Potatoes' careers	Case A	Case B	Case C	Case D	Case E
Date of birth	1999	1997	2005	1998	2003
Locality	Ligurian Apennines (I)	Plateau ardéchois (F)	Plateau ardéchois (F)	Haut- Vivarais (F)	Eyrieux valley (F)
Valorised specificity	Local variety	Local variety	Local variety	History	New potato
Perspective	Diversifying	Keeping on	Protecting	End in 2011	Scaling up
Members	72	10	9	8	6

#### RESULTS: INTERMEDIARY STRUCTURES OF RESILIENCE

Most of these qualification devices were first built as professional clusters by producers, restaurant owners and various sellers who wanted to set up a geographical indication. Eventually, they abandoned these label projects and put collective brands in place. These brands became well known by inhabitants and visitors of these limited areas and worked mainly throughout short supply chains and direct selling. This points to an original development path which suggests describing these collectives as 'hybrid' structures since they freed themselves from the GI-pattern and as they are built from a range of different elements that they have gathered throughout their history. They operate today without any certification, however, they still provide essential support to small farms by enhancing their outlet capacity – not only for the potato but also for previously declining productions.

While a large part of the economic web has unravelled in the highlands since the 1990s, circumstances have worsened with the recent crisis that has driven territorial institutions to reduce their expenditure and to remove certain levels of administration. In such a difficult time, food networks play a key role in opening discussions and providing technical and material support. In some way, they foster stakeholders' empowerment. Some of these structures also claim to be moved by social ambitions that may override the primary economic objectives. The Italian case (A) shows an impressive ability to highlight an ethical background, to such an extent that it revives a kind of moral economy. This attracts citizens who may be suffering from features of modern societies.

Such an evolution proves the flexibility and lability that seem to meet the conditions of resilience in the long run. However, not every structure is able to promote similar dynamics. Indeed, some of the cases encounter difficulties to carry on for more than a decade, as they are beset by the competition of other firms (B and C), or conflicts within the group about quality criterion (D), or because the ambition to scale up provokes discrimination and leaves out some members (E).

#### DISCUSSION: RECIPES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

The results reveal how the consequences for rural resilience can vary under a same European framework for rural development. This leads us to tackle two questions:

*At what scale are differences to spot?*

Many of the Italian actors pointed out differences in national agricultural politics and differences regarding support of local institutions as the chambers of agriculture in France. However, as the

Italian association, that broke away with the institutions a few years after its founding, appears to be most resilient, we must assume that the status and heterogeneity of the

collectives matter more for achieving sustainability.

*Does the basic ingredient interfere in the success of such socio-economic recipes?*

The Italian case (A) and the less successful French cases also differ in the way they take hold of the plant material. All the narratives draw on historical arguments in the same way in order to incorporate cultural heritage. However, in some cases, the development path strays from this starting point until the potato is turned into a plain commodity. We are particularly aware that strong measures of protection, such as the breed registry, which is central in cases B and C, are discordant with the involvement of a wide population. The steadier and more defined the object is, the narrower is the network it belongs to.

In light of these results, we strongly believe that 'well-grounded' potatoes have to remain complex objects in order to gather a multitude of actors. On the condition that everyone is able to manipulate the concrete object and interpret it however they like – a relic as a peasant way of life, a living link to nature, or as a symbol shared with other inhabitants. As a result of this, potatoes may actually trigger the galvanisation of a community.

Embeddedness and territoriality appear here to be two criterion of sustainability, but more closely linked to that of social landscape and cultural background than any kind of institution.

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# Assessing and enhancing sustainability in Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs): towards a conceptual approach

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**Abstract** – The interest in Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs) has been rapidly emerging in recent years, together with a wide range of interpretations. The aim of this paper is to explore the role of governance and power in different forms of SFSCs and to highlight the importance of cooperation among institutions, NGOs, governmental and farmers' organizations, enabling the actors involved in alternative food networks initiatives to adopt more sustainable practices. The paper identifies a conceptual framework linked to the neo-institutional approach and self-government systems, that can be used to identify the determinants of the processes of social learning, which, by integrating different resources, lead to the development of operative and strategic processes of innovation.

## INTRODUCTION

Interest in short, or local, food supply chains (SFSCs) has been rapidly emerging in recent years, together with a wide range of various interpretations (Renting et al., 2003, Fondse et al., 2012). This article was prepared as part of a research project looking at several short supply chains in five Italian cities, Trento, Turin, Pisa, Rome and Lecce on different experiences: Farmers' market, Box schemes, Community Supported agriculture, Farms sell directly, Solidarity-Based Purchasing Groups. These were chosen to highlight the special factors belonging to different sales models representing the diversity within the overall Italian picture.

## EXPLORING THE DYNAMICS OF THE SFSC EXPERIENCE

In Italy, the first regulations on the subject were introduced nationally only in 2001, with further regulatory developments in 2007, while, at a regional level, the situation is particularly heterogeneous and, to date, 11 of the 21 regions have introduced legislation on the issue. Nevertheless, according to the data, there is a significant growth of short supply chain initiatives, and there are now 890 Solidarity-Based Purchasing Groups in Italy. To date, 270,497 farms sell directly to consumers, representing 26% of the total number of farms (in 2007, they were the 22.1% of all farms in Italy, and 5% more than in 2000). There are now 1,367 farmers' markets in Italy and, over the past two years, they have increased by 44%. The project involved 1,200 consumers and 203 producers, and 57 interviews were carried out with two main groups, one in the field of

technical-economics field and the other in that of socio-institutions. The first group includes the main players involved in SFSC initiatives classed by type. These are the producers who sell directly, entrepreneurs connected to vegetable box schemes, farmers and farmers' market organisers, and agricultural organisations. The socio-institutional group gathers consumers and Solidarity-Based Purchasing Group organisers, producers involved in Community-Supported Agriculture, managers or representatives of municipal, provincial and mountain community administrations, consumer group representatives and associations linked to civic agriculture. Who are, therefore, the main players in all this? What are the dynamics defining the various initiatives? Taking for granted the various local characteristics linked to specific social and economic conditions or to the role of cooperative organisations, and even to the sensitivities of the local institutional framework, it is worth underlining the function covered by several organisations representing agricultural interests, NGOs, and the Slow Food organisation, which for years has been backing farmers' markets and many information campaigns.

## "INSTITUTIONS MATTER": TOWARDS A SFSC'S FRAMEWORK

Each of the cases being examined is placed among the spontaneous processes linked to the launch of virtuous collective pathways promoted within local communities, even when the institutional framework is markedly sensitive, as in the Pisa case. For the two metropolitan contexts of Turin and Rome, of particular significance is the key role played by organisations of agricultural representation, primarily Coldiretti, together with the efforts of some producers and the consumers themselves. The role of the institutions is very diversified. In urban contexts, it is limited to work at municipal level in support of farmers' markets, in particular. In others again, its actions are aimed at achieving agricultural diversification and multi-functionality, and, in the case of Trento, promoting typical local products within, for example, tourist promotion initiatives. To quote North (1994), institutions matter, but what are they and which of them matter for SFSC initiatives? As these are processes of a collective nature, for SFSC, institutions are the set of rules, both formal (laws, tenders and contracts) and informal (social conventions, agreements and contracts) and the organisational forms (producers, associations, farmers' representatives, scholars and universities, local bodies, and government agencies) involved in the collective decision-making processes. A key

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role in the conceptual analysis of short chain initiatives is that played by relational goods. In SFSCs, the relationship taking place when goods are exchanged are the goods themselves. The interaction in SFSCs between producers and consumers is like a meeting, where, alongside the traditional outputs, there are other types that are intangible and relational in nature. They modify the human capital involved in the transaction, and the relationship is not the instrument used for the economic exchange but rather the goods being exchanged. SFSC processes tend to overcome the distinction between public goods and private goods as defined in standard economic theory, and become instead "local public goods" (Bruni, 2010), that is, goods with properties of non-rivalry and non-exclusivity, local inasmuch as they are restricted to those who take part in the transaction and belong to the network that contributed towards building the processes themselves. A theme that broadly emerged from the consumers interviewed is that of an implicit quality-price ratio perceived by consumers in regards to the territorial provenance of products. This topic is associated to the role of asymmetric information in the perception of the quality of farm and food products, particularly in the case of FM and SBP. In these cases, the relational nature of the exchange is of key importance. If the exchange is not the result of a preventive social interaction leading to a shared agreement, this exchange will not be sustainable. Another key theme also emerges: do institutions, as defined previously, determine the transaction costs or are they a solution, as stated in standard economic theory, and what are the valid conditions in the case of SFSCs? If institutions are a constraint on the interaction between agents, they can, for example, influence the agents' incentives by directing their set of possible choices, like how transactions can take place and what to innovate. Interaction between agents and their organisational forms, limited by rules, often generates a need for new rules, where the originators are the agents themselves. The role of innovation therefore emerges within SFSC processes. Who are these innovators? We have defined them as institutions capable of mobilising, in a open and continuous way, a vast number of subjects who, at a local level, are actively searching for useful solutions, identified beforehand by the innovators. Several scholars (Murray et al., 2010) identified the features defining the processes of innovation. In the case of SFSCs, they can be: the presence of extensive networks of subjects cooperating together, sharing values and motivation; the reciprocal trust and repeated interaction that takes place in short supply chain initiatives; self-organisation and the hybridisation of roles (for example, a producer is the organiser of the initiatives, but also the consumer of products coming from similar initiatives); and attention for common goods that define some types of short supply chain. It is, therefore, useful to ask which forms of governance can be an obstacle to launching processes of innovation, with particular reference to sustainability. Ostrom (1990) proposed the theory that common resources are managed more efficiently

by communities through rules introduced to manage these resources, and which emanate from a complex system of interaction between independent players. Among the obstacles that she identified to develop self-regulated systems, those that can be applied to SFSCs are the following: rapid exogenous changes, the introduction of programmes that are photocopies of successful projects rather than based on local knowledge and resources, the search for income, especially when linked to the acquisition of positions of power, the lack of agreements on a large scale and institutions of a higher order, in particular if requiring extensive material and normative infrastructure, particularly administrative and sanitary law. One topic that emerged strongly during the project development is that linked to the capacity of SFSC initiatives of building places (Augè, 1993). Human territorial space is inscribed with "rules of residence" that represent a content that is, at the same time, both spatial and social, whereby the quality of space depends upon the relationships that take place within it. These study cases confirm the potential role that, by integrating associations, farmers and institutions, SFSCs take in promoting and achieving processes of innovation directed towards sustainability-related goals. These processes can translate into the capacity of requesting and offering innovation in various environments, and include production models, market relationships, the normative system and public policies, the representative system, forms of interaction between public and private parties, and consumer models. In a logic of transition towards more sustainable production and consumer systems, understanding this potential for innovation and the dynamics that allow it to take place seems to be fundamental, together with an evaluation of their impact in terms of sustainability, both for the research agenda and for the processes of governance and regulation.

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# Can you imagine life without supermarkets?

## Future scenarios for the development of Community Supported Agriculture in Greece

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**Abstract** – A constellation of global challenges today has maximized the distance (geographical, social, and economical) between the rural and the urban. Some of the questions posed are: how many miles do our vegetables travel? Are we connected or not to local producers? The aforementioned have been highlighted within the Short Supply Chain (SSC) discourse and policies try to set goals for the development of Local Food Systems (LFSs). In Greece, a country hammered by the severe financial crisis, alarming phenomena of neo-poverty in cities are observed and several civic food movements are emerging, claiming the re-localization of food. The aim of this study is to articulate the resilience of the rural especially in establishing new ways of minimizing the distance with the urban and adapting to these demands. Specially focus is set on Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), a system based on solidarity and shared risks that supports local farmers. Taking into consideration that CSA is not yet developed in Greece, the Delphi technique is used in order to make future scenarios following consecutive rounds with small and medium vegetable farmers in order to reach a maximum convergence on a set of axis.

### INTRODUCTION

Within an increased urbanized world, modern agriculture and food marketing have maximized the distance (geographical, social and economical) between the rural and the urban, between producers and consumers. It is alongside the corridors of supermarkets that we came across food travelled from all over the world, manufactured by global companies, aiming at global markets, through global advertisement campaigns. The industrialized, globalized food system is under severe criticism and societal expectations for agriculture and food are emerging (Wittman *et al.*, 2012). This constellation of global challenges today has stimulated the development of several movements and alternative food production and distribution systems. Farmer's markets, cooperative distribution, vegetable box schemes and Community Supported Agriculture are only some of the modern forms of SSCs that are seen as the "antipode" of the contemporary industrialized food system (Hinrichs, 2000).

Especially amidst the current economic downturn, access to food and fair prices for both the consumers and the small farmers have been at the forefront. In

Greece, which is facing a severe financial crisis, we currently observe alarming phenomena of neo-poverty and malnutrition in cities and an increasing number of movements ("potato movement", "cut out the middlemen", "guerrilla" gardeners, municipal urban garden allotments etc.) on the principle of food security of citizens in difficulty such as low incomes, pensioners, unemployed, single-parent families etc.

The urbanite is clearly in search of ways to re-establish the lost connection to food either through urban agriculture or initiatives aiming at cutting out the middlemen. On the other hand, small farmers are trying to find ways to adapt to this changing external environment in order to maintain their livelihoods. The question posed in this study is how do we imagine our food system: can small farmers agree on what their future and the future of food system could or should be like? Can they imagine our lives without super markets? Can they adapt to contemporary changes through CSA and thus be more resilient to economic crisis?

### METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

Drawing on the preliminary results of a research project, this paper tries to investigate the dynamics and future development of CSA in Greece. We will focus on the metropolitan area of Thessaloniki in Northern Greece (as market venue) and small vegetable farmers coming from the peri-urban rural villages in order to supply the market.

The first aim was to map the origin and the "food-miles" (Lang, 2005) that vegetables travel in order to get to the city of Thessaloniki. Towards this direction we conducted a situation research using participant observation in order to report on products, prices and destinations in several retail venues of fresh vegetables within city limits. Using a mystery shopper research (Allison *et al.*, 2010) to a min-market, a small shop, a supermarket, a farmer's bio market and a weekly open-street market we identified the closest to the city rural areas that fall within the distance of 50 Km; a proposed limit by the Committee of the Regions on 'Local food systems' (2011/C 104/01).

Onwards, we used a Delphi inquiry with vegetable growers located within a maximum distance of 50 Km of the city trying to answer our basic research questions on the future of CSA. The Delphi technique (Ilbery *et al.*, 2004) was used due to the fact that

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CSA is not yet developed in Greece; therefore it is the most appropriate method in order to articulate on its development. In fact, after three consecutive rounds with small and medium vegetable growers we aim at reaching a maximum convergence on a set of axis regarding the resilience of Greek farmers through CSA. Hereby the thematic analysis of responses during first round is presented.

### RESULTS

Within the venues researched urban dwellers can find a variety of vegetables (both seasonal and out of season); organic or not, from all over the world. Despite the fact that Greece is considered a country with great vegetable produce, some of the most travelled vegetables come from Turkey, Austria, Israel, Egypt etc. Without a doubt nobody is expecting to find local food in supermarkets but we actually did and surprising enough we actually found many travelled vegetables in open markets also. Even in organic farmer's markets there were many vegetables coming from a distance of 120 km and even more. The market with the greatest percentage of local vegetables was the open-street market with a 56% of vegetables coming from less than 50km. This percentage for the mini-market was 23% and for the supermarket 4%. In the organic market the local vegetables reached a 25%.

Onwards, the first Delphi round was conducted with vegetable growers coming from villages identified within a close proximity to Thessaloniki. The first clear outcome is that nobody is familiar to CSA. Discourse analysis revealed that there is a consensus that today their biggest cost is the cost of distribution and they must find ways to minimize the distance between them and the urban dwellers. They all recognise the problem of travelled food; not fully in its environmental aspect but mostly on locality issues. However, no agreement is still achieved on the maximum Km that vegetables should travel in order to be considered local, as many farmers quote *"locality is a controversial and inconsistent term"*.

Their agreement is also evident on the influence of crisis *"everything is going faster and we observe a change in attitudes and civic movements, questioning the status quo in food distribution systems"*. In order to be resilient amidst this economic crisis *"the solution is not actually just to cut out the middlemen and give people a cheap, low quality potato for example"*, the solution is *"to offer a fair price to farmers, which at the end is a fair price for consumers too"*.

After they were given a short definition of CSA, farmers were asked to identify the basic strengths and weaknesses and if through CSA they could be more resilient to economic crisis. Several points emerged in regards to the seasonality and small variety of produce in CSA as well as the profits raised. One said that *"No one, however involved and ideologically driven, is willing to adjust to a seasonal basket; nor they will pay me in advance"*. But even if citizens would reach a point that they could be sharing a risk with the farmer, some farmers raised

the issue of not being able to cope with demand, as it will be difficult for them to deal with such a disappointment; a point also made by Hayden and Buck (2012). One actually quoted that *"it is rather intimidating for me, that future scenario, to only give my produce through CSA, because I know for a fact that being an organic producer I cannot provide them the quantities at a regular basis"*. Many farmers (especially the conventional ones) expressed their belief that CSA is just another idea from "abroad" that could not be easily adopted in Greece. *"There is a clear lack of trust between producers and consumers, which could not be filled"*. *"Even the recent potato movement was (as it turned out) a disappointment"*.

It seems that the best-case scenario (with the highest consensus amongst the farmers) for the implementation of a CSA scheme would be one involving urban dwellers in the production of the vegetables and even exchange produce with work time at the field. *"They must actually see for themselves the hard work in the field and live with the farmer. Only then they will consider to give-up supermarkets"*.

### CONCLUSIONS

Whilst this research is still on going some preliminary conclusions can be drawn. The re-localization of food and the resilience of local producers, during these times of difficulties, are now more than ever set on the table. The future seems rather uncertain and adapting to new circumstances is a challenge for both parties. After finishing all Delphi rounds with vegetable farmers we can possibly articulate better on the development axis for future CSA. A methodological issue to consider also is whether following rounds of Delphi will focus exclusively on organic producers or still involve all types of farmers.

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# Effectiveness of the Austrian “region of delight” initiative to foster local development

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**Abstract – The Austrian “Regions of Delight” initiative was established in 2005 around a homonymous brand, which is awarded to self-defined regions that promote local sales and value addition around a traditional agrofood flagship product. The main pillar of the initiative is a cost-effective nation-wide marketing scheme that has boosted brand recognition and fostered premium market access for labelled flagship products. The ROD initiative has contributed to strengthen the links between economic stakeholders in the local value chains, but it has not become an automatic driver for endogenous local development.**

## INTRODUCTION

The impact of geographical indications (GIs) on local development (LD) has been widely studied, but no automatic link could be found between GIs and endogenous development. Possibly because GIs were not specifically conceived to promote rural regions, but rather to position specific products. The contrary applies for the Austrian “*Genuss Regionen/* Regions of delight” (ROD) initiative, which was established around a homonymous word/ figurative trademark in 2005 under the leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture to incentivize LD and value addition around typical products. In the framework of this initiative, self-defined small Austrian regions that offer a traditional origin-based agrofood product can be granted the status of ROD for a renewable period of five years and thus the right to use the trademark in conjunction with the name of the typical product. Local stakeholders all along the regional product value chain, which are actively involved in promoting the regional “delight” (farmers, processors, shops, restaurant, hotels, etc.), can become individually licensed label partners, thus benefiting of the trademark’s reputation. The ROD trademark was meant to stand for inimitable *terroirs*, where landscape, people and the traditional product combine into a coherent unity (Reichsthaler et al. 2010) The product’s “*territorial embedding*” represents therefore the unique selling point behind the trademark, but at the same time also the very objective of the whole ROD initiative, since LD around the flagship delight requires the product’s perfect integration into its socioeconomic context. The unique selling point was defined at the national level, but could only be filled with content at the very regional level. The aim of this short paper is hence to analyze the effectiveness of the Austrian ROD initiative to actually foster

LD on the ground in the understanding that the rationale of LD “is to build the capacity of a [...] region, to improve its economic future and the quality of life for inhabitants”. (Clark et al. 2010, p. 21)

## METHODOLOGY

Desk research was developed and in-depth interviews were held with a manager of the national ROD initiative and with licensing partners from the Gailtaler Speck, Mühlviertler Mountain Herbs, Mittelburgenländische Chestnuts and Walnuts, Wildschönauer Krautinger turnip RODs. The latter three RODs were chosen, since they won a national contest, which rewarded the most dynamic RODs, while the first was selected for being among the very few RODs with a flagship product that held a GI already in 2005. Interview results were cross-checked with the secondary information available.

## EVOLUTION OF THE REGION OF DELIGHT INITIATIVE

Although from the beginning the number of RODs grew rapidly reaching 85 in 2007, the initiative showed initially limited results and was criticized for being just a costly publicity campaign. Moreover, ROD product selection criteria were accommodating, which impeded that the ROD brand could establish a strong and credible brand identity (Groier 2007). Since the reputation of the homogenized, national ROD brand depended on the degree of differentiation achieved among inimitable flagship products and their regions, more stringent ROD application criteria were established.

From 2009 onwards both newly applying RODs and “old” RODs wanting to extend their 5-years license had to fulfil the following requirements: raw material production and processing need to be developed locally; the flagship product needs to apply for a GI or be protected under a similar national scheme; at least five local restaurants and five local shops have to sell the product; local cultural events around the typical product need to be developed; a ROD association needs to be established by all licensing partners (Reichsthaler et al. 2010). The criteria had in a certain way the potential to turn the “promise” behind the trademark into a self-fulfilling prophecy, since the compliance with the licensing conditions required often increasing the economic, cultural and social importance of the flagship product at the local level, while this automatically could foster the product’s “territorial embedding”.

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Furthermore, from 2008 onwards the RODs started receiving targeted support to heighten their profile from the newly created public-private company "GRM Genuss Regionen Marketing GmbH" (GRM), the executive arm of the ROD initiative. The initiative's focus now shifted from mere publicity around a trademark to a thorough strategy for niche market access and collective brand positioning. With a budget of around 3 million Euro per year the GRM started developing "story telling" marketing schemes around the ROD brand, of which dynamic RODs could easily benefit. (Berlakovich 2011)

The GRM promotes the organization of national and local ROD events at which licensing partners can present their products and services and increasingly publicizes the RODs as rural tourism destinations. Furthermore, the GRM has launched several nationwide contests to select the most interesting ROD culinary tourism packages or to reward the most outstanding licensing partners in the gastronomic and retail sector (Kastner 2010). The GRM has also focused on increasing and spreading sales of ROD flagship products. 1615 licensed Austrian delight restaurants (Reichsthaler 2012) promote ROD products on their menus, 3 out of 5 Austrian foodstuff wholesalers offer ROD products (Tiroler Tageszeitung 2012), while an increasing number of small retailers and leading retail chains have labelled ROD products in their shelves. Since 2011 ROD products can also be bought through a centralized e-shop. To ensure that ROD products are positioned in the premium segment, licensed sales partners are obliged to abstain from special pricing campaigns.

The combined strength resulting from the use of a unified nation-wide brand has boosted marketing efforts and has ensured that the renown of the trademark could achieve already 75% in 2012 in Austria. Accordingly, ROD product sales increased by 13% between 2010 and 2012, without considering turnover growth in the gastronomic or tourism sector and the number of licensed companies went up from around 800 in 2008 to 3500 in 2012 (Tiroler Tageszeitung 2012; Berlakovich 2011).

Thanks to the centralized efforts of the GRM, an "infrastructure" of valorisation and market-access schemes has been set-up on which individual RODs can capitalize on to activate the local value chain. However, the responsibility for making the best use out of the centralized support rests entirely with the regions, since - except for some training and one-off counselling services - no handholding is provided to the RODs to implement the national marketing concept. The ROD initiative through the GRM focuses per definition on marketing and does not assume the responsibility to make the promise of the bucolic symbiotic relation between the ROD flagship product and its environment a lived reality.

In line with it, no interviewee attributed LD around the flagship product to the ROD initiative as such, but saw it just as one favourable factor among several others; first and foremost the appreciation of the local partners for their unique "delight" and their willingness to work together.

Nowadays due to the stringent participation criteria, which are implemented also in practice, RODs need to show a minimum of local valorisation dynamics to renew their license. Thus for the 116 current RODs (2013) some commitment to regional value addition has become a must. But the degree of commitment is fully left to the individual regions.

#### CONCLUSION

With an average yearly expenditure of around 27,000 Euro per ROD, the ROD initiative can be considered a cost-effective national approach to place products of small scale economic stakeholders on premium markets. While in the case of GIs, the focus of promotional activities is placed on the product's uniqueness and the consumer is meant to "memorize" each and every single GI product name, in the case of the ROD initiative a single trademark covers the products and services of all branded regions. Thus, the process of building up brand recognition and boosting sales is significantly quicker and cheaper as becomes clear from the fact that already 75% of Austrians know the concept. Furthermore, the compulsory criteria regarding localized sales, consumption and promotion of the flagship product ensures that value creation and value capture are at least partially spread in the region and are not limited to the production sector. However, the ROD initiative with its trademark has not turned out to be a "self-fulfilling prophecy". Although the participation at the ROD initiative may strengthen the links between licensing partners along the local value chain and forces a certain degree of territorial-based collaboration, it is not per se an automatic driver for an integrated LD strategy around the flagship product.

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# Territorial attractiveness of rural development policies in GI areas

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**Abstract – Access to rural development policies (Rdp) has to be intended as the result of farm development strategy. Within a GI area, possible options range between supply chain and territorial strategies. The paper aims at analysing the consumption of rural development policies by farms inside GI areas. The focus is on rural areas, where integrated strategies should be privileged: the results do not find significant differences among various contexts.**

## INTRODUCTION

The collective dimension of typicality is evident in definition of the strategies to develop products with geographical indication (GI) and to grant persistency of territorial systems based on typical products. According to Belletti *et al.* (2002), these strategies range between supply chain and extended territorial strategies. In this framework an interesting and less explored field of analysis is related to the consumption of Rdp within areas with GI. The participation to Rdp could impact on the resiliency of local agro-food systems and rural areas: do farmers' participation complies with the first or the second type of strategy? Our paper sets in this context and puts forward an analysis of the consumption of RDP by farms inside GI areas.

## GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATION, COLLECTIVE

### ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ACCESS TO RURAL POLICIES

The identification and the exploitation of opportunities are recognized as key competencies in entrepreneurship (McElwee, Bosworth, 2010). In this context, a relevant set of opportunities is offered by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP): one of the recent purposes of CAP is to develop new entrepreneurial skills. Moreover, if we focus on GI areas, the organizational and strategic aspects take on a collective character, which increases managerial complexities. Barjolle (2006) underlines the importance of the capability to obtain financial support to promote value creation of quality products and to promote integrated rural development. According to Pacciani *et al.* (2001), origin-labelled products are key tools to foster local development, especially in disadvantaged areas.

But, this is not an easy process, depending on actors involved in product qualification, on their qualification and on how code of practices in the qualification scheme are determined (Tregear *et al.*, 2007). Leading from proximity approach (Rallet, Torre, 2004), localization in GI areas stimulates organizational proximity, strictly attached to geographical proximity. Organizational proximity assumes interdependencies among local actors, which are translated in the two logics of belonging and similarity. In the case of GI products, belonging logic is put into effect through the collective action aimed at defining shared rules of production. Similarity logic implies sharing same systems of representations and similar objectives. The distinction between supply chain strategy and extended territorial strategies is relevant: the choice of either supply chain or territorial strategy involves farmers in a (collective?) decision-making process concerning entrepreneurial behavior in GI areas. How does adoption of Rdp foster a supply chain or a territorial strategy? This research question has not found answer in recent literature. According to the similarity logic, access to RDP should be the result of a shared strategy based on the supply chain or on territorial rural development. Therefore, how collective entrepreneurship works in stimulating and conditioning access to Rdp becomes a relevant research topic.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

Our paper focuses on region Lazio (Italy) and investigates adoption of Rdp by farmers. Regional database contains information concerning the access to rural development policies for the programming period 2007-2013. The measures are referred to farms with olive oil cultivation in intermediate and marginal rural areas (C+D), localized in GI areas or not. A mean test to compare farms working in different contexts will be put forward, to evaluate differences in the adoption of Rdp inside and outside the GI area.

## RESULTS

On the whole, 1.091 farms (about one tenth) have gained access to Rdp: the majority (87%) is localized in C areas, while a small percentage in marginal rural areas. However, farms using GI according the Census data demonstrate higher proclivity to consume Rdp (5,3% vs 2,0%). Tables 1 and 2 show the cumulated percentages relative to

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the first 5 measures consumed by farms. Very few differences emerge between C and D areas and among consumed measures: in C areas, first axis absorbs the majority of measures both in Gi and not Gi areas: about 75% of farms gain access to first axis; just 4% of farms demands funds for farm diversification (311) outside GI areas; inside GI contexts measure of third axis are not exploited, while, coherently, measures to support quality systems emerge (132).

**Table 1.** Adoption of Rdp - C areas (cum. %)

Measures	no GI		GI
114	36,3	121	39,3
112+114+121	60,4	112+114+121	62,3
121	75,8	114	75,4
311	80,0	112+121+132	83,6
112+114+121+311	82,6	112+111+114+121	86,9

Measures refer to: young farmers (112); farms structural adjustments (121); farmers' training (114); support quality systems (132); farm diversification (132).

Source: data processed from region Lazio data base

Results are similar in D areas (table 2): 77% of funds stimulate generational renewal and other investments on farm's competitiveness. Measures for farm's diversification are inserted: a) outside GI areas within young packages with a total share less than 6%; b) inside GI areas jointed with measures for structural adjustment. Measures aimed at sustaining participation to quality systems are consumed, differently from farms outside GI areas.

**Table 2.** Adoption of Rdp - D areas (cum. %)

Measures	no GI		GI
112+114+121	38,0	112+114+121	37,5
114	65,1	112+121+132	62,5
121	76,7	112+111+121	75,0
112+114+121+311	82,2	132	87,5
112	85,3	121+311	100,0

Source: data processed from region Lazio data base

The analysis of financial contribution confirms low levels of funds addressed through measure 311; moreover, in D areas, young farmers are not involved in any measure of the III axis. Only 12,5% of oil farms get access to measure included in the third axis, that is measure 311. Even the young farms who succeed in the family farm invest on measures for the agricultural competitiveness, with a reduced consumption of measures for farm diversification. To show eventual differences among C and D areas and Gi and not Gi farms a statistical test on means on contributions perceived by farms has been made: hypothesis of equal variance could be rejected between C and D areas and Gi/not GI farms. Besides, on a statistical point of view, means are not statistically different.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Differences between areas are not the exit of a collective behavior focused on integrated strategies. Few traces of neither a collective behavior nor

territorial strategies have been found in GI areas. The only difference is the higher proclivity to consume measure 132 (to support farm's adhesion to quality systems). On the whole, supply chain strategy prevail: measures aimed at sustaining territorial integrated strategies are less considered in all types of areas and involve a limited percentage of farms and just one measure (311). The tidy sums devoted to first axis does not justify a substantial indifference towards measures for rural development, above all in D areas. As a consequence, a path-dependency model in the consumption of policies emerges. Even young farmers are more alert toward "traditional" measure (agricultural competitiveness and farm adjustment). If a *similarity logic* should discriminate localized food systems based on GI, in the strategic planning aimed at catching opportunities offered by CAP, it is not our case. Statistical evidence does not permit to separate GI and not GI farms in the access to Rdp. Supply chain strategies emerges, even in rural marginal areas, where the competitiveness of agricultural sector should be based on a territorial strategy. In our opinion behavioral routines condition the access to Rdp, in the sense that the majority of farms share the same "philosophy" of investment. Therefore, similarity is not evident: individual entrepreneurship prevails, and not a collective behavior based on the valorization of territorial resources within a share strategy of rural territorial development.

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# Evaluating GI registration effects by means of participatory methods. First insights from a Jamaican case

G. Belletti and A. Marescotti<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – The paper aims at proposing a participatory methodology for evaluating the economic, social, and environmental effects of the registration of a Geographical Indication (GI), and presents some results on some GI products in Jamaica.**

## INTRODUCTION

The legal protection given to GIs is an issue of growing worldwide interest and concern. From a purely normative and regulatory point of view, this interest stems from the need of World Trade Organization (WTO) member States to implement the TRIPS agreement (1994), which mandated member States to provide legal means for protecting GIs. From an economic and social standpoint, interest is growing because of increasing international competition on the level of product quality differentiation, where quality means all attributes, including emotional ones, that help products to stand out and avoid competing purely on price.

As a consequence, many public and private stakeholders at both local and global levels have fostered this new turn to quality. GIs appear to be one of the more interesting and “locally manageable” tools for attaining this aim.

It is often assumed that the protection of GIs, according to some national or international rules, is a means for achieving success in the marketplace and generating economic benefits for local producers. However, little has been done to evaluate the many types of effects from the legal protection of GIs, and no comprehensive methodology for evaluating those effects has been developed.

## AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

Normally, policy interventions and projects exert their effects over different stakeholder categories and with reference to different territorial scales. Therefore, there are many perspectives from which GI effects can be monitored and evaluated. Different stakeholders will be interested in different GI effects, and they will be inspired by different values when evaluating the same GI performance.

The paper aims at proposing a participatory methodology for evaluating the economic, social, and environmental effects of the registration of a

Geographical Indication (GI), and presents some first results from the implementation to some GI products in Jamaica.

The use of participatory approaches [Ezemanari et al, 1999] aims at stimulating the participation of all relevant stakeholders to all the steps of the evaluation process (definition of the aims, data and information collection, analysis and interpretation), as to guarantee good feed-backs from the evaluation and more in general for the whole “success” of the GIs registration, as it can prompt local actors’ involvement in the GI dynamics, allowing them to better use the GI scheme within individual and collective marketing strategies.

A full range of effects has been considered in the analytical framework, ranging from first order effects (outputs) to second (outcomes) and third order ones (effects). For each order, some both quantitative and qualitative indicators have been proposed in order to monitor the effects of the GI registration in time. Here follows the main categories of effects:

- 1) First order effects
  - Firms’ interest in the GI scheme*
  - RGI potentiality*
  - Quantities / turnover of RGI product*
  - Producer awareness and knowledge of the RGI*
- 2) Second order effects
  - 2.1) Effects on the structure of the RGI system
    - Number of firms and their dimensions*
    - Exclusion effects*
    - Organisation of the RGI system*
    - Coordination between firms in the RGI system*
    - Investments and innovation in the RGI system*
  - 2.2) Effects on the economic performance of the RGI system
    - Prices*
    - Costs*
    - Profitability*
    - Distribution of economic performance*
    - Other economic benefits*
  - 2.3) Effects on markets and consumers
    - Abuses / imitations*
    - Consumer awareness*
    - RGI product quality and identity*
- 3) Third order effects
  - 3.1) Effects on related markets
    - Effects on related markets*
  - 3.2) Effects on economic activities linked to RGI
    - Effects on economic activities linked to GI*
  - 3.3) Effects on other elements of the territorial capital
    - Biodiversity*
    - Environment*
    - Social capital*
    - Cultural capital*

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## RESULTS

The methodology has been implemented to some GIs in Jamaica that were on the way of applying for the registration: Jamaica Rum, Blue Mountain Coffee, and Jamaica Jerk.

Although in Jamaica the GI legal framework is not yet fully developed, it was possible to analyse stakeholders' expectations from the protection of the GI and some expected effects on the basis of the draft Codes of Practice of the three GIs. The field research was conducted in 2010, as part of a broader technical assistance project of the Swiss Intellectual Property Institute.

### *Jamaica Rum*

The initiative for registering the GI Jamaica Rum has mainly come from the big rum companies, and it has brought to the drawing of a quite loose draft of the Code of Practice. Consequently, no major change in the structure and organization of the supply-chain is expected. Stakeholders' expectations from the registration of the GI are focused on the prevention of abuses and misuses of the name "Jamaica Rum", with particular reference to the foreign markets. In this regard a key issue concerns the possibility the Jamaica GI rum system will have to prevent bottlers to blend Jamaica rum with other rums, that depends also on the registration of GI Jamaica Rum in foreign countries. The GI registration is also perceived as a marketing opportunity, having the advantage of benefiting from the reputation of being registered as a GI. A better traceability of the production process and the product is another expected effect of the GI registration.

### *Blue Mountain Coffee*

The Jamaica BM coffee supply chain is well structured and strongly regulated by the law, and managed by the Coffee Industry Board (CIB). Writing the Code of practice was quite a simple matter, thanks to previous rules established by Jamaican law with regard to the boundaries of the BM production area, process specifications and quality characteristics of the product. The process was managed by the CIB, with a strong participation of first processing firms, traders and exporters; farmers and local institutions were not directly involved.

The registration of BM coffee in Jamaica is expected to allow a better protection against imitations and abuses, lower protection costs and grant a better enforcement, and give the opportunity for registering BM coffee on some relevant export markets. From a strategic point of view this could help to lower the dependence on the Japanese market. From the interviewed local actors' point of view, no major changes in the performance, structure and organization of the supply-chain are expected as a consequence of the GI registration, at least in the short term. This is mainly due to the pre-existence of production and product rules and of strong collective trademarks.

### *Jamaica Jerk*

The Jerk supply chain involves both agriculture and processing sectors, and it is very fragmented. The initiative for registering the GI Jamaica Jerk is processing-sector driven, even though some farmers were involved in the process, too.

Stakeholders' expectations are focused on the prevention of abuses and misuses of the name "Jamaica Jerk", both in Jamaica and especially abroad. Processors expect to improve their traceability systems (especially for raw materials) and to access new markets abroad. In general, due to the average limited weight of jerk on the whole firm's business, no major effects of the GI registration on the whole firm's supply are expected. Farmers expect that GI registration will increase quantities and prices of the raw materials, eliminate competition from imported raw materials, support more stable relationships with processors (especially for the most specialized farms), and support community development.

## CONCLUSIONS

The three cases analyzed showed a diversified situation as regards actors' expected benefits and costs from the GI registration.

Results show how actors' motivations for registering a GI may be highly different according to the specificity of both production systems and marketing channels used: for Jamaican Rum, the registration appears to be a qualification tool to insert the product into high-quality market segment; for Blue Mountain Coffee, the registration seems complementary to an already existing strong collective organization and as a leverage to open new marketing channels; for Jamaican Jerk, the registration is perceived as a way to foster collective organization of small producers.

In all the cases, some controversial aspects that actors have to solve on the way of the registration emerge, common to all the registration processes for GI registration: the definition of territorial boundaries, the quality characteristics of the final product, allowed production techniques.

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# Formalization and legitimation in qualification processes based on Geographical indications. Evidences from the *Charcuteries de Corse* case

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**Abstract** – Qualification schemes based on registered Geographical Indications (GIs) are recognized as tools for supporting origin products, yet little is understood about their impacts on local communities' social and economic structure. Indeed, the legal recognition of GIs may be conceptually approached as a transformation process from common to collective good based on formal rules; the results of this process can be interpreted in terms of controversial bond between legality and legitimacy. Taking this theoretical framework into account, the paper aims at examining the effects resulting from the engagement in an origin linked qualification process. The analysis relies on the evidences coming from the case of the Corsican pork-butchery sector products, also known as *Charcuteries de Corse*. The results reveal the diverse experiences that may potentially evolve under a GI mechanism.

## INTRODUCTION

According to the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement, adopted in 1994 by the World Trade Organization's, Geographical Indications (GIs) are "indications which identify a good as originating in the territory of a [WTO] Member, or a region or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin" (article 22.1). At the European level, the Council Regulation (EC) 510/2006 (now 1151/2012) assigns to the GIs various goals such as promoting products, improving the income of farmers and retaining the rural population in less favored areas. The legal recognition of a GI can effectively become the pivotal point of the so called "quality virtuous circle" [Vandecastelaere, Arfini, Belletti and Marescotti, 2009] that aims at generating positive effects on farmer livelihoods, local communities, and the environment. Notwithstanding the fact that the conditions under which these effects are considered positive are very complex, it is generally recognized that the GI protection scheme implies large processes of transformation. This is mainly due to the fact that the legal recognition of GIs is based on formalization of both the system of relationships and the production processes, and on a more complete allocation of property rights over the geographical names and other local resources (as breeds). As the

setting up of a GI framework takes place in a local pre-established socio-economic environment, the equilibrium among interest groups is a crucial issue.

## METHODS

This paper refers to the Corsican pork butchery sector [Sainte Marie et al., 1998] in order to investigate the processes that can happen when a qualification strategy based on GIs official recognition is pursued. From a theoretical point of view, we consider GI registration as a transformation process from a *common* to a *collective* good as, unlike before, after the recognition only producers complying the rules are able to use the protected name. GI registration and legal protection may stimulate collective action but they may also produce a radical transformation as far as the entitlement of the local actors is concerned; based on the idea of legality, GIs may originate a veritable struggle against the local shared sense of legitimacy [Usunier and Verna, 1994].

The paper is based on an in-depth examination of Corsican pork butchery sector relying on three primary sources of data. After a literature review, a first round of explorative semi-structured interviews was conducted on a group of selected farmers, and then a second round of interviews on a sample of 17 actors including pork-meat producers and distributors. Questions were formulated to understand the actors' profiles, their history, their breeding practices and their perception of the impacts of the GI implementation. The technique of participant observation has also been used during two meetings of local association of "GI promotion".

## MAIN FINDINGS

In the Corsica region and abroad, the products issued from the local pork-butchery sector are widely known as a local "excellence", thanks to some major factors such as the specific breed (*Nustrale*), the type of feed and the way of processing the meat. Benefiting from this strong reputation, some processors import raw material from abroad, selling a middle-low-quality meat as an authentic "*produit de Corse*". The will of preserving the product status represents a common point of view, which is shared by all the traditional breeders. Indeed, this will has pushed a group of breeders, associated in the Syndicate, to engage themselves in an origin-linked qualification process in order to obtain a GI legal recognition. But at the same time, a lot of producers are still acting outside of the legal requirements (no

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identification of animals, on-farm slaughtering, selling without any label, no fiscal declaration) maintaining their activity thanks to the direct selling.

Evidences show that, on one hand, the double "split" among breeders has engendered a differentiation and the creation of a sort of *elite*, corresponding to the members of the syndicate; on the other hand, the efforts made by public institutions to coordinate the breed-approach together with the origin-linked-product-approach would sensibly contribute to the social acceptance of the GI.

As far as the contribution towards formal economy is concerned, a wide range of responses can be considered. Regarding breeders, if sanitary aspects are perceived as more powerful incentives, this is not completely true with reference to e.g. fiscal regulation or third part controls.

The so called "man-supply chain" [Casabianca et al. 1994] organization model that consists in the processing of its own animals and informal direct selling (without any label), is expected to survive to the GI legal recognition and perhaps to increase, with possible market perturbations. In this sense we interpreted the results of the field-survey as clues of an hybrid transition towards formal economy: some products will follow the standard procedures required by the GI recognition process; some others, in the same productive unit, will be excluded from the legal recognition. Young starting breeders could play an incentive role in the formalization process: since their entrance in the direct selling system appears as full of obstacles, the easiest way to benefit immediately from a good reputation consists in obtaining the GI legal recognition, so as to share the status of the quality sign.

Regarding the relationship among the actors of the supply chain, the GI represent a fundamental push to formalization process, in fact all the operations should be traced, with consequences for both intermediate-buyers and customers.

As a part of the formalization process, the GI official registration corresponds to a concept of legality, that is to say something which is in conformity with the law. On the contrary, the legitimacy makes reference to something which is commonly considered as "right and fair". Legitimacy is also often linked to the notion of *embeddedness*, involving a sense of "rooting" in the local context. The co-existence of rules of law and rules of legitimacy could give birth to two groups of actors, following respectively the code of practice and the code of what is considered commonly tolerated. Even if being part of one group or another is not always a voluntary choice (some breeders cannot materially afford the costs of a GI legal recognition), the presence of two non related-entities lead to various interpretations, such as the "empowerment" one: the respect of the Code of practice, besides giving the actors a property right on the origin name, could allow them to benefit from an authentic process of empowerment (the *honest* people) with regards to the non-respectful actors, who can only

count on legitimacy (the *fraudulent*). Various scenarios can be foreseen, depending on both the degree of tolerance and the strength of legitimacy in comparison with legality. Based on Usunier and Verna [1994] work, the case study indicates the so called "trap" hypothesis as a possible evolution: the GI mechanism could represent an incentive to the achievement of legality with comparison to legitimacy, leading to a progressive lowering of tolerance. This is particularly true from professional buyers' (e.g. supermarket) point of view, which base their transactions exclusively on legality. Consumers play also a relevant role as far as their choices are based on various quality conventions which refer to more or less formal quality evaluation criteria.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The analysis shows that in general GI devices represent a contribution to the transition to the formal economy, but it can be argued that the social and economic context is susceptible to change the intensity of this contribution in a decisive way. The logic of legality encapsulated in GI registration may conflict with the principle of legitimacy, in contexts characterized by high level of informality. Due to the GI, the entitlement of each actor face to the resource is modified, so that the individual responses to this transformation can configure contrasted scenarios. In the Corsica case, the GI scheme will be integrated in a system characterized by many structural problems, including the existence of both the formal and the informal economy. The vertically integrated breeders easily escape to the formal system because they find refuge in the direct selling and the role of "sole protagonist" of the breeder.

Young breeders can play a very important role in the Corsican system. Deciding to "start from scratch" the activity of pork breeder in Corsica involves numerous risks and problems (i.e. difficulties in land management, barriers to enter the circuit of direct selling which requires a strong network of relationships). In this sense, the activation of the GI scheme could encourage the entry of young farmers in the supply chain, with repercussions on the development of the *Nustrale* breed, on the revaluation and redistribution of the activity of breeder, on the success of the device itself and its contribution to formalization.

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# Collective geographical marks as marketing and rural development tools: some insights from two case studies in Tuscany (Italy)

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**Abstract** – Collective geographical marks (CGMs) are a particular voluntary standard, employed to promote products linked to specific geographic areas. The aim of this paper is to explore actors' motivations, dynamics, and effects of the use of CGMs, through the analysis of two case studies: "Prosciutto del Casentino" (Casentino Cured Ham) and "Patata Rossa di Cetica" (Cetica Red Potato), products hailing from Casentino, a marginal valley of Tuscany and protected by a CGM.

## INTRODUCTION

From latest 1980s, agro-food systems have experienced important changes. In particular, food system globalization has rapidly changed the traditional supply chains. Food enterprises have to face a new system, characterized by a large variety of complex relationships. Moreover, markets have been flooded with food products coming from all over the world, losing their own local and regional peculiarities.

In this context, public institutions have made several efforts to recovery local identity and traditions, through territorial promotion.

Collective geographical marks (CGMs) are a particular voluntary standard, employed to promote products linked to specific geographic areas. Voluntary standards have gained in importance around the world. The choice of voluntary standards setting-up and their consequent diffusion depended on the private stakeholders' need to give trust and security to consumers and agro-food actors, in particular as a consequence of the negative effects linked to the several food scares and the public incapacity to promptly and efficiently react to agro-food changes.

Collective marks are defined as signs which distinguish the geographical origin, material, mode of manufacture or other common characteristics of goods or services of different enterprises using the collective mark. EU regulation 40/1994 (Title VIII) introduces the Community Collective Mark, which may also serve, in trade, to designate the geographical origin of the goods or services. The Italian legislation as well, in the Industrial Property Code (2005), regulates the collective geographical mark (CGM). The owner may be either an association of which those enterprises are members or any other

entity, including a public institution or a cooperative. A collective geographical mark does not entitle the proprietor to prohibit a third party from using in the course of trade the same geographical indication. Therefore, the protection of the Geographical Indication (GI) may be considered as "lighter" as compared to the PDO-PGI system in the EU. The application for a CGM must be accompanied by a copy of the regulations ("a standard") which governs the use of the collective mark. The owner of the CGM is responsible for ensuring the compliance with the regulations by its members.

While the academic literature on the effects of the protection of GIs according to EU *sui generis* regulation (PDO-PGI) is quite wide and well documented, so far not much has been said about CGMs.

## AIM, METHODOLOGY, AND STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

The aim of this paper is to contribute to this debate by exploring actors' motivations, dynamics, and effects of the use of CGMs. Two CGMs have been analyzed in Tuscany: "Prosciutto del Casentino" (Casentino Cured Ham) and "Patata Rossa di Cetica" (Cetica Red Potato).

The research methodology consisted in some semi-structured interviews to the most representative actors involved in the constitution and use of the inspected CGMs: the Consortia's Presidents, some producers and the implicated local authorities' referents.

The paper proceeds as follows. First, we provide a brief background on the two CGM products, exploring their origin and their economic relevance. Second, we present the two case-studies. Finally, we discuss benefits and deficiencies linked to the two CGMs.

## ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CETICA RED POTATO AND CASENTINO CURED HAM

Cetica Red Potato and Casentino Cured Ham are two products hailing from Casentino, a marginal valley of Tuscany, characterized by a low level of urbanization, industrialization and infrastructures. Due to this complex condition, several products, linked to this land, have progressively lost their importance, running the risk of disappearing. The efforts of producers, local administrations and public authorities made it possible to setting up the two CGMs in 2004,

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in hopes of protecting these products and stimulating local economy.

The Cetica Red Potato is farmed in this area since 1800s. After the Second World War, its importance quickly decreased, because of the depopulation of Casentino and the competition of potatoes imported from North America.

The Casentino Cured Ham is a particular ham obtained from the Casentino Grey Pork, which is the result of a recent attempt to reproduce an ancient race, extinct after the Second World War.

Both products played an essential role in the recovery efforts of local identity and territorial promotion incurred by public institutions. Indeed, the two CGMs raised from a project started from the early 2000s by the Province of Arezzo in collaboration with the Mountain Community and other local organizations and associations, with the aim to restore some historical local products' supply chains. First, their setting up allowed the recovery and protection of indigenous genetic animal and vegetable resources (the Casentino Grey Pork and the Cetica Red Potato), threatened with extinction, due to the progressive abandonment of the countryside and to the difficulties of farmers and processors to remunerate their activities obtaining relevant market prices.

Regarding the role of the two CGMs within the firm's marketing strategies and the distribution between collective and individual decisions on marketing mix, the two situations are extremely different, although both products are characterized by the presence of a consortium that manages the CGM. The 15 producers of Cetica Red Potato buy the seed-tuber from the Consortium and return to it the entire crop: the 4 P's of marketing are managed on a centralized basis by the Consortium, which plays on the market as the only actor, with an homogeneous product, a shared price and an exclusive package that ensures the absolute recognizability. The Casentino Cured Ham Consortium is composed by 12 breeders and 4 processors. The processors' strategies are very different from each other: they have different consumers targets, products with very differentiated organoleptic characteristics, different prices and packages.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Results show how actors' motivations for applying and using the CGM may be highly different, according to the specificity of both production systems and marketing channels. Besides, the two CGMs had a different impact on rural development and cohesion among producers and a different interrelationship with firms private trademarks, thus bringing to different visions about product quality and identity.

The research underlines that the individualistic mentality that characterizes the inhabitants of the Casentino valley is a critical point, common to both collective marks, and it has prevented their development.

Among the main benefits obtained by the registration of the CGMs, the identifiability of the product quality and the guarantee of production processes

are the most important. In the case of Cetica Red Potato, quality assurance has allowed the application of more remunerative prices. On the contrary, the Casentino Cured Ham has not taken the same advantage, indeed its price is in line with those applied before the foundation of the CGM. Another important target, reached thanks to the Cetica Red Potato CGM setting up, is the chance to get into the mass distribution channel, which would not have arisen in the absence of a consortium structure that concentrate the different crops by individual growers, presenting to distributors with a package able to communicate the value of the product. Whereas, the Casentino Cured Ham Consortium has decided not to directly manage the distribution, leaving this possibility to the processors.

Regarding social effects, the two CGMs have formed a supplementary income for farmers and ranchers who are retirees and hobbyists. Moreover, through the recovery and promotion of the two products, the whole region has been valued and the local community of Cetica has regained vitality after it was abandoned and became a ghost town.

As for the effects on the environment, the protection of biodiversity is the most important, reached through the recovery of a potato native variety to erosion risk and the use of hardy native breeds to the creation of the hybrid of Casentino Grey Pork, used to produce the hams. Moreover, the activities of farming connected to the two products allow to maintain the productivity of mountainous terrain and preventing its impoverishment, following the same rules dictated by the regime of organic agriculture.

The main faults of the two CGMs are the shortage of supply and the organizational Consortia's weaknesses, which especially lacks in entrepreneurial mind-set aimed to medium-long term benefits. The commitment's lack of the Consortia's members and the minor financial resources invested by the provincial administration (which had heavily invested in the initial phase of promotion of local products) mine the survival of the two Consortia.

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# Terroir with legs Challenging Geographical Indications for meat products

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**Abstract** – In Europe, meat products have been only recently considered for registration as Geographical Indications, long after other products such as wines and cheeses. Due to the mobile nature of animals, defining and assessing the link between animal products and their geographical origin appeared to be challenging for the concepts and experience previously developed. If pastures and places of processing units have been considered as relevant for milk secretion and cheese production, the link between meat and place of production seems to present less consistency. Moreover, the difference between raw meat and processed meat products, being considered either as two clearly distinct categories or as the two ends of a continuum, adds much complexity. Finally, the great variety in GIs for meat products shows a broad range of potential and effects for rural development, with different stakes for breeders and processors or other agents of the supply-chains. Such range appears often related to the various capacities of local actors for taking initiatives towards origin qualification.

## GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATIONS FOR MEAT PRODUCTS?

The WTO TRIPS Agreement of 1995 provides a broad definition for Geographical Indications (GIs) as an intellectual property tool, which is now considered as the world reference due to the number of WTO members and their related legal obligations. But, prior to the WTO, some national legislations and the Lisbon Agreement defined the Appellation of Origin (AO), requiring a strong link between the quality of the product and its geographical origin through human and natural factors. In 1992, a system was established in the European Union for the registration and protection of two categories of denominations: Protected Designations of Origin (PDOs, similar to AO) and Protected Geographical Indications (PGIs). This late category, similar to the WTO GI, is less requiring as to the link to the terroir. The stress is put on the reputation rather than on human and natural factors, and contrary to PDO, all the steps of the production and processing of the product must not necessarily take place in the delimited geographical area.

Now that more than 1'400 PDOs and PGIs (without wines and spirits) are already registered at the EU level while the recognition and protection of GIs is spreading throughout the world, new stakes arise regarding the definitions, the assessment of the

applications and the socio-economic effects of GIs. Meat products are both representative and specific enough to build an analysis on these questions. Hence, there are more than 150 denominations registered or in the process of being registered as PDOs or PGIs at the EU level for fresh meat, and more than 160 for processed meat products.

## MEAT AS RAW MATERIAL

We base our analysis mainly on the French and Swiss experiences and cases, with some examples from other countries (Italy, Brazil). We first provide a general view on the situation of the meat-based products considered as origin products. The core matter of our paper is to question the recent (end of the 1990's) integration of meat products within the PDO-PGI French and Swiss frameworks. This allows setting a typology of various ways for linking meats and meat products to origin, crossing both the characteristics of the products and the criteria for their registration as GIs.

## MEAT PRODUCTS: ROOTS AND ROUTES

Since the 1950s, the production of meat in Europe was increasingly characterised in a way which is not compatible with the qualification of origin-based products: concentration, vertical integration, industrialization, standardization, spreading of a limited number of breeds, use of meat as an ingredient, importation of animal feed, etc. The consumers' knowledge on fresh meat faded while standardization of the quality progressed. However, regionally specific processed meat products remained numerous, thanks to organoleptical characteristics easy to differentiate: particular shapes, ingredients (bread, cabbage, etc.) for sausages, process of drying or smoking, or spices. As a matter of fact, the trade in fresh meat developed later than the one in processed meat products, for obvious technical reasons, and so origin-based reputation is mainly attached to processed products.

Then we can distinguish between two categories of products: first, a few cases of fresh meats benefiting from a quite recent and regional reputation linked to their geographical origin; and second, lots of processed products benefiting from an ancient, and sometimes international, reputation based on know-how rather than on the geographical origin of the raw meat. Not surprisingly, the first category includes PDOs, whereas the PGI scheme suits the products of the second category. But some products are not easy to rank. Hence, numerous PGIs for

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fresh poultry have been registered. As an example, not less than 36 French PGIs for poultry were registered in 1996 at the European level through the simplified procedure, for products that were initially defined as corresponding to a superior quality standard rather than on a link to *terroir*. Even PDO can be applied for processed meat products.

#### CHALLENGING THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PDOs

The development of PDOs is historically focused first on wines and later on cheeses. Apart from some exceptions (e. g. poulet de Bresse in 1957, Parma ham in 1970), meat products were quite recently taken into account as potential PDO products.

The influence of the climate, soils and feed on a meat product, being raw or processed, is much more difficult to demonstrate than it is the case for vegetal products. The main challenge concerns the capacity of the local actors to show how the livestock system is giving different results than in other locations with the same genotype. The interaction genotype by environment including the practices and the technical culture of local breeders is core in such demonstration. In the case of cheeses, this evidence is quite easy to provide as milk is a continuous secretion. For the meat, the characteristics are obtained at slaughter and the composition of muscular and fat tissues are the reflect of the whole-life of the animal.

Most of the registered European PDO for processed meat products benefit from a derogation as to the geographical source of the raw meat. The new EU Regulation 1171 of 2012 even provides possibilities of derogation as well as restrictions that are specific to meat products, no similar provisions existing for other kinds of products. In particular, the location of slaughterhouses may be object of derogation, as concentration of these devices is increasing during the last years.

In Switzerland, the old pending applications for PDOs for *Boutefas* and *jambon de la Borne* demonstrate the difficulties to prove the link between the geographical origin of the raw pork meat and the final processed product (especially as it is smoked). Due to the standardization in the pig meat supply-chain, the differentiation of a specific kind of pigs linked to a geographical area seems to require some re-creation. Even if the limit between renewal and invention is not always clear, can a GI be based on re-created natural and human factors? Or, in other words: is not any formalization of the product's specification a kind of invention, to some extent?

Even if, in the PGI specification, there is no qualitative requirement on the raw meat which would justify a geographical limitation for supply, this issue is still debated. As an example, all Swiss PGI processed meat products restrict the geographical source of raw meat to Switzerland, except the *Bündnerfleisch*. This was the first PGI to be registered in Switzerland, and the fact that it can be produced from Argentinian or Brazilian meat was strongly opposed by consumers' associations. This is also a product with a specific market: an important

part of the production is exported, and a large part is also consumed in restaurants, so without labelling to the consumers.

In France, the list of PDO meats and meat products quite reduced during a long time (excepted for the PDO *Poulet de Bresse*), recently increased during the last years. We can notice that beef is now well represented as 4 PDO have been applied (3 are already registered) often based on local breeds (*Taureau de Camargue*, *Maine-Anjou*, *Charolais*) while one is based on the very particular fattening practice (a mountain hay with an endemic aromatic plant) without a mandatory genotype. According to the processed meat products, several applications have been implemented but, till now, only one registration (dry cured pork meat from Corsica) has been completed. These PDO on processed products are always based upon the valorisation of local breeds in specific areas. On the contrary, a great number of PGI meat and meat products are registered from France (mainly through simplified procedure before 2006) based on regional organization of the supply chain.

The analysis of several case-studies among these applications leads to emphasize some critical questions identified during field-studies. The organoleptical dimensions of the meat are quite uneasy to define, as little vocabulary does exist and criteria have often to be invented. Specificity of the environments where animals are reared has to be clarified such as floristic components or landscape features. Local genotypes or crossbreeding must be connected to interaction with the environments. The production systems are designed with some particularities as special fattening, compensatory growth, seasonality of the available resources. The downstream plays a great role in the final characteristics of the meat, as slaughtering methods, carcasses preparation (chilling, freezing). The local actors show also diverse capacities of initiative, diverse abilities for area delimitation, and contrasted organizational features for ensuring the territorial governance.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the diversity of the case-studies we could analyze in Switzerland and France, some main findings are emerging. *Terroir* shows its systemic nature with several interacting elements enhancing some "deviation" from standard production. Local knowledge seems to be a core component of these co-building approaches, mixing heterogeneous actors around the same interest. On the research point of view, we emphasize the necessity of multi-disciplinary approaches.

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# The marketing of typical products: How do Slow Food members and GI producers perceive each other?

Paolo Corvo, Katia Laura Sidali and Silvia Scaramuzzi<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – GI and Presidio Slow Food® products are formally and legally very different from each other although both aim at promoting quality specialties in (above all) rural areas. This explains the penury of studies devoted to a joint analysis of both labelling schemes. Nonetheless, recent studies show that a potential conflict between the front of GI and Slow Food supporters could arise in the future. To test the plausibility of such a scenario we show the findings of several interviews conducted with GI-consortia representatives and Slow Food members in both Italy and Germany. The results detect the existence of ideological differences among the two labelling schemes. However, no immediate risk of conflict emerges neither in Germany nor in Italy. What's more, the detected ideological differences seem to converge into a common culinary niche strategy based on seven differentiation dimensions.

## INTRODUCTION

The choices of consumption tied to food have crossed in these last years deep transformations, for the dynamics of globalization, the processes of individualization of society, the socio-economic crisis in action. In particular the socio-economic crisis is leading to many changes in the lifestyles and in the models of consumption of a significant part of the population. There are many perspectives and difficulties in the passage to a new phase of social and economic life, particularly in the sectors of gastronomy. The behaviours of the consumers have become flexible (Franchi, 2009): on the one hand it emerges a gastronomic multi-ethnicity, that enriches the offer, both from a point of view of the plurality of the proposed dishes, and of the different meanings attributed to the modality of consumption of food. On the other hand, in the context of a wider rediscovery of the historical memory and the material and immaterial heritage of every single place, the interest for local products and the culinary traditions of the territory spreads increasingly.

Furthermore, there is an increased attention to quality and freshness as well as more time for enjoying principal meals alias a slow food consumption (Petrini, 2003). Devoting more time to lunch and to dinner means enhancing the job of those who have prepared the food that is on the table, to know the specific quality of every foodstuff, to verify the sustainability of the food chain, finally to underline the socializing value of eating together.

In this context, the movements and the associations that are involved in sustainable food and in increasing the value of agriculture assume a particular role, trying to recover the relationship between city and countryside. The actions and the activities of these non-government organisms contribute to modify the models of food consumption, with a

rediscovery of urban gardens, farmers' markets, street food. Groups of responsible food purchase, neighbourhood shops, ethical banks, smart cities, sustainable tourism represent other interesting examples of how it is possible to go over the usual models of consumption and set out for an innovative social reality, that moreover must still delineate its objectives and contours before being able to definitely assert itself. It's a society that must be built in daily life practice, founded upon collaboration, as Morin says (2012), and the cooperation, as Sennett affirms (2012), that should bring a better quality of life and a development of interpersonal relationships. A founding idea is that consumption is not seen only from an instrumental and market point of view, as it is also influenced by some socio-cultural variables that refer to environmental, ethical and responsible dimensions.

## METHODOLOGY

To explore the perception of Slow Food members towards GI, a qualitative approach based upon semi-structured interviews was chosen. Slow Food members who worked on a voluntary basis in Slow Food Convivia were interviewed in Germany and in Italy between March-October 2012. We decided to run the interviews in Italy and in Germany, the former country having many GI registered products, and the latter having few due to the fact that registration processes are still in an early stage of development. Possible distorting effects caused by the notoriety of the local PDO consortium on the opinion of Slow Food members were controlled by choosing in each country both a peripheral and a central region with a well-known and a less-known PDO cheese, respectively.

In Italy, one of the interviewed members also runs a farm which belongs to a GI consortium specialized in a PDO cheese. Specifically, this Slow Food and GI member produces a PDO cheese linked to the milk of an endangered species of cattle.

## RESULTS

Many consortia of GI products with a good reputation generally consist of small as well as large-sized firms. The latter can be historical focal enterprises originating from the GI-area that have grown over the course of the years. Sometimes, however, large companies originally located outside the area have later joined the GI consortium, e.g. by incorporating a dismantling enterprise in the GI area. In such cases, small members often perceive their large-sized counterparts as dominant, because they abuse their power to reach personal goals through their use of a common good, e.g. by reducing quality criteria towards a lower level (Bravo, 2003). The external stance of our interviewees endorsed such considerations. One respondent felt that "GIs are the expression of large-sized producers who use their power in order to change the code of practice" and that "within consortia, the PDO is dictated by those who count (literally: those who have a weight)". Similarly, the Slow Food-and-GI producer asserted that in the past, large-sized

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member-businesses in the PDO consortium had already imposed changes in the specifications of the PDO product, replacing restrictive criteria with more relaxed ones.

In contrast, concerning the internal organisation of Slow Food, one interviewee affirmed that it is “sometimes difficult to join a Slow food Presidium because the quality criteria are more restrictive than those of a GI consortium (...)”. Another respondent added that a GI consortium “has more extensive quality criteria in order to allow everyone to join it”. All interviewees agreed that “GI are a means to protect large-scale productions” whereas “Slow Food protects very small-sized productions”. As a consequence, they assumed that within Slow Food, quality prevails over quantity, whereas for GI consortia the opposite holds true. Most interviewees, however, were not able to provide a definition of quality, thus confining it to “regional”. In Germany, for instance, a respondent referring to the eight Slow Food restaurant owners of the Odenwald region affirmed that “they are obliged to source 90% of their products from the region”. He admitted that the ambiguity of the term “region” sometimes places unfavourable restrictions on the production; nevertheless, he still viewed this as a “necessary” drawback. Only the Italian Slow Food-and-GI producer equalled the higher quality of his cheese with the particular sort of forage that the dairy cows eat.

The levelling of internal quality differences within a common is the price to pay for joining the GI benefits; hence, it is not unusual that innovative operators are forced to quit the common (Bravo 2003). Although still a member of the consortium, the Slow Food-and-GI producer claimed to have been “mocked” by the other GI members for his decision to link the production of his cheese with the milk of an endangered cattle species. Contrary to this, among Slow Food members there is a greater differentiation of products according to their ‘scarcity’. Many Slow Food products are described as “placed in a difficult to access area”, “small-scale”, “strange”, “different”, “fighting against adverse conditions”. To summarise such characteristics, a respondent used the term “Slow Reality”. Producers or associations of producers whose products show such characteristics not only are suitable candidates to join the Slow Food Presidium, but also to receive some ‘extra’ or ‘unexpected’ benefits, as happened after the series of earthquakes that struck northern Italy in May 2012. One of the Italian interviewees explained that in order to decide which producers should benefit from the money collected by Slow Food “those (slow) realities were selected”.

Another important theme of analysis was the role of GI and Slow Food products within export policies and international trade. The majority of interviewees considered this a suitable strategy for GI consortia since these are commercially focussed: one interviewee alluding to export turnovers claimed that for GI consortia “only figures matter”. Another saw in the export of GI products their ‘raison d’être’, since GI-producers are “export compatible”. An Italian Slow Food interviewee attached nationalistic benefits to the export of (Italian) GI products: “the PDO confers a flag to each product”. Unsurprisingly, for Slow Food producers a reverse image emerged. The interviewees defined Slow Food producers as “export incompatible” because of their reduced quantities. However, the “small-scale” is not considered as an endogenous threat but rather as a necessity, in order not to get corrupted by the major representative of globalisation, namely the “food industry”. This is generally described in particularly negative language, such as death weapons (referring to artificial aromas), danger (referring to the food industry), etc.

Another common theme across the interviews regarded the preservation of biodiversity. Generally speaking, GI regimes are often presented as a panacea for the

biodiversity of a region (Thual and Lossy 2011:51). However, a review of the specification sheets of the majority of GI products shows that GI productions linked to an endangered species are more the exception than the rule (Arfini et al., 2010). This emerged also in our interviews. Most respondents asserted that whereas for Slow Food “the preservation of biodiversity is a priority, it is not for GI consortia”. Finally, the interviewees were asked to reflect on their relationships with GI-producers in the long term. To this end, many interviewees used the consumer rhetoric to explain the mission of their association as well as of GI consortia. One interviewee tried to explain the complementary roles of both schemes asserting that labels such as PDO are conceived to protect the consumer from “a possible fraud”. Another interviewee interpreted the vision of GI consortia as future-oriented, affirming that “the GI system aims to conserve for the future”. The rationale attached to the Slow Food scheme is seen in a different way. For one interviewee “it serves to correct the negative consequences of globalization on consumers” who, according to him, “are already contaminated”. The Slow Food label in this way aimed at saving the past by “maintaining” it. One interview used the example of those GI consortia that have abandoned or ignored the husbandry of local cattle breeds as a “rational manoeuvre”, which is opposed to the one of Slow Food. The latter voluntary encourages the protection of such species in a “cultural mission”.

#### DISCUSSION

Overall, the results give the impression of a latent conflict among the respondents’ when asked about their perception of the GI scheme. A rhetoric of morality is commonly used to prove the superiority of Slow Food toward the GI scheme such as democratic participation of Slow Food members in presidia (opposed to dominance of powerful members in GI consortia) or the priority of biodiversity preservation set by Slow Food (which is not set as such by GI consortia). However, this potential conflict seems to be at an early stage, as when it comes to sales and export policies, our interviewees admit the inability of Slow Food products to compete against GI on the globalized marketplace. Thus, despite the fact that there have already been some open conflicts between the two parties, it seems that both will continue to mutually promote their products, showcasing them jointly at national and international food-related fairs, touristic routes, sport-related events, etc. as a successful strategy of niche-market promotion.

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# Effects of geographical indication registration and activation. Thoughts on the Indonesian situation

Claire Durand, Stéphane Fournier and Erik Thévenod-Mottet<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The on-going development of the legal recognition of Geographical Indications throughout the world is mostly associated with expectations as to their various positive effects. Theoretical analysis largely supports such a relation, but mainly through activation of the certification device, which is supposed to create new guarantees for consumers and strengthen the capacity of producers for collective action and territorial development processes. However, in many cases, difficulties occur in implementing legal and institutional frameworks. External factors (supply chain configuration, market trends) may also create unfavourable conditions for the activation of the GI device. Without activation of the GI resource, only the effects related to registration can be expected. This situation leads us to question the choice of GI as a legal framework for traditional product recognition, the actual effects achieved from GI registration only and the factors that might facilitate the activation step.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the effects of geographical indications (GIs) in developing countries taking the case of Indonesia. Two steps must be distinguished in the development of GIs. The *registration step*, consisting of the preparation, submission and examination of the application file and ending with legal recognition. The second step is the *activation step*, corresponding to implementation of the control and traceability system, labelling of GI products, and then progressive actuating of GI potential. In Indonesia, a significant interest in GI registration is observed (15 Indonesian GIs have been registered since the enactment of the GI Regulation in 2007), but field research shows a very low level of use by local stakeholders, leading to insubstantial activation of the GI resource. Why do Indonesian public authorities and local stakeholders invest in GIs and what are their expected effects?

Most of the analyses from the literature consider these effects to be expected from the activation step. However, this paper highlights the effects of registration too. Another objective is to analyse the process of GI activation. This paper will also discuss the “non-automatic” characteristic of the activation

step, and try to understand the blocking factors. A subsequent objective is to analyse the relevance of using GIs or other signs depending on the expectations and strategies of local actors.

## METHODOLOGY

The data analysed in this paper were collected in Indonesia gradually from 2008 to 2013 through different research and action-research frameworks. The researchers used direct observation and semi-directive interviews with public and private actors both at national level and on local GI dynamics.

The analysis method is divided into two parts. First we present a qualitative analysis of empirical data on the global dynamics of GIs in Indonesia, combined with two GI case studies (coffee Kintamani and coffee Gayo). Then, in a more conceptual approach, we study the activation process and the level of use of the certification device.

## RESULTS

### *Expected functions of GIs*

GIs are not only legal tools; they can also be recognized for a diversity of non-legal functions. In the European context, Sylvander and al. (2006) demonstrated a succession of four political justifications to protect origin-based products: regulation of trade and competition, supply management in agricultural markets, territorial development, conservation of resources. More recently Fournier and al. (2009) identified three main functions of GIs expected by local actors in Indonesia and Ethiopia: protection from usurpation, product differentiation, and protection of local heritage. Nevertheless, all these effects will not only directly derive from registration itself. The Indonesian situation illustrates both the opportunities created by the registration step and the difficulties of GI activation

### *Empirical evidence from Indonesia: difficulties in activation and effects of registration*

Field studies in Indonesia showed that local actors do not extensively use the GI qualification device yet. Fewer than 20 GI users are officially registered, and no full implementation of an ISO-like traceability/control system has been achieved for any product. It does not mean that the registration of GIs has no effects, as some effects are already visible even if the activation stage is not reached. The main effect is the possibility of local actors using

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the GI as a collective marketing tool. In the cases of Kintamani coffee and Gayo coffee (registered as GIs respectively in 2008 and 2010), the GI logo is used by the GI managing group and by some individual initiatives as a quality sign, to communicate and promote the products. It attracted new buyers and in this sense contributed to building the reputation and image of the product.

Even if producers do not engage clearly in a collective strategy of product labelling, the registration itself creates a convergence of the individual strategies, and reinforces the GI as a collective resource. The local GI managing group does not play exactly the expected role, but facilitates the interactions and collective strategy. This is quite clear in the Kintamani case, where "GI" producers are creating a cooperative for collective marketing of their coffee.

The registration step enables stakeholders to achieve marketing objectives, but the potential of GIs to foster rural development is wider than marketing strategy. This potential will be progressively activated through an increasing level of collective use of the qualification device.

#### *The question of GI use*

In theoretical approaches, the effects of GIs are usually analysed with an implicit assumption on the use of GIs after registration. If the GI device is used, it is supposed to strengthen the differentiation process of the product and to facilitate its identification on the market. Increasing quality and reputation would create incentives for certifying the product and lead to higher demand and prices. This rise of producer incomes could be partly invested in control, marketing and promotion which consolidate the reputation. However, the implementation of this virtuous circle of development requires both strong willpower among the producers to implement the certification device and great co-ordination capacity to avoid free-riding.

A "vicious circle" can also easily appear: as long as the certification device is not activated, GI-certified products will not be sought by consumers and middle-men: with this non-existent demand and without any guarantee of a premium, producers are not likely to pay for certification, and the certification device may remain unactivated.

#### DISCUSSION

The previous results bring two discussion points. Firstly, it has been shown that GI registration alone has significant effects, mainly on collective strategy of marketing and promotion. That being so, it is possible to argue that other tools may have the same effect. An inventory of culinary heritage, for instance, could also offer recognition of the specificity of local products, and favour the appearance of collective actions. GIs are not always relevant, and the cost/advantage ratio of different signs should be analysed in each case.

Secondly, we can also discuss the cost/advantage of GI activation. Indeed, local stakeholders could consider registration effects are sufficient. But as mentioned above, Indonesian actors expect GIs to

play a more significant role in rural development than a "simple" marketing tool. The activation, i.e. the real implementation and control of the Code of Practices, may lead to improve and stabilize the quality and give the means to fight against usurpation, while creating an empowerment of the local organizations. Which factors might facilitate the activation? Barjolle and Sylvander (2002) consider five conditions for the socio-economic success of a GI: the specific quality of the product, the relevance of the market, the motivation of producers to work together, the endowment of the producer organization (capacities for the product specification, quality control and promotion), and the role of the State in supporting, arbitrating and supervising the whole system. If the conditions are favourable, then a large range of effects, of several types and at different levels, can be linked to the legal protection of the GI (Belletti, Marescotti, 2011). The Indonesian case enables us to precise a critical point, related to the "market relevance", which is the market power of producers. If producers are not organized enough to negotiate a premium for GI-certified products, the use of the certification device will never reach the required level to trigger a virtuous circle of development.

#### CONCLUSION

The process of GI activation develops through the progressive use of the device, as well as the gradual expansion effects. The registration step provides an official recognition of the product and enables collective marketing strategies. The activation step appears as a priority for public policy and intervention in the construction and monitoring of GIs to enhance and sustain GI effects. Activation is a challenge that needs support and incentive, in order to fully benefit from the potential of GIs in terms of development.

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# Territorial externalities of the oil Protected Designation of Origin

Pilar Egea, Javier Sanz-Cañada and Luis Pérez y Pérez<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The production of the oil Protected Designation of Origin implies different territorial externalities according to the growing system, conventional, integrated, ecological or abandonment due to lack of profitability. Positive externalities are beneficial for the society but olive growers do not receive any profit from their generation. The purposes of this paper are the identification of the generated externalities, their evaluation and assessment of the best maximising growing system. The analysis has been done through a survey of experts analysed by an Analytic Network Process (ANP). Results show that integrated and ecological growing systems maximise oleic sustainability in the studied areas, and the most influencing criteria on social preferences are the collective action in marketing, the differential quality, and the creation of an innovative environment.

## INTRODUCTION

The Protected Designation of Origin "Aceite del Bajo Aragón" is located in the northeast of Teruel and in the southeast of the Zaragoza province constituting one of the most important olive oil producing areas in the north of Spain covering 6,380 km<sup>2</sup> and including 77 municipalities. The potential surface of olive growing under PDO is 38,600 ha. At present, thirty enterprises are registered in the PDO holding about half of the potential surface, 60% of them are cooperatives and the remaining ones private olive-oil mills. About 8,000 families live on olive growing in the area. The Regulatory Council was constituted in October, 2001.

The specific aims of this study are, first, identify the positive externalities induced by the oleic system of the PDO Aceite del Bajo Aragón. Second, assess their relative value from the evaluations made by both, a group of local PDO experts and a group of scientists from universities and research centres. Finally, as the relationship between production and externalities generation depends on the type of growing system applied, the third objective is determining the experts' preferences concerning the promotion of the different growing systems (traditional, integrated production, ecological or abandonment) based on the corresponding provision of territorial externalities.

## METHODOLOGY

The multifunctionality of olive growing has been studied from different approaches and most of the Spanish studies have used the Andalusian system as the scope of applica-

tion. In general, their conclusion is that, among many other aspects, the relationship between yield and externalities production depends on the type of growing systems and on the agricultural and agri-environmental practices.

In order to accomplish the objective of identifying and evaluating the territorial externalities of the PDO "Aceite del Bajo Aragón", we used the *Analytic Network Process* (ANP) in the analysis of the information provided by the experts (Saaty, 2005). The ANP structures the problem as a net of elements composed of those criteria the experts consider relevant when choosing among the possible alternatives, as well as a last cluster containing the alternatives themselves. In our work, the criteria are the functions carried out by olive growing, i.e. positive externalities and economic functions –among them the productive function. The existing alternatives to obtain different composition of those functions are the olive productive orientations: ecological, integrated, and traditional. Abandonment must also be considered as a function.

This study covers ten functions mostly corresponding to territorial externalities, but in some case they correspond to marketing functions. Their selection has been made from the existing bibliography, from the basic information obtained by surveys of qualified witnesses and experts and from the discussion between the members of the research team (coming from various Universities -Zaragoza, Sevilla and Jaen- and Centres of Research -CSIC and CITA-). A special effort has been made to reduce their number to ten so that the experts could be able to answer the questionnaire as the starting point for this work. It has been grouped in three blocks: economic functions, environmental functions and socio-cultural functions.

## RESULTS

The surveyed experts are coming from the DO (1), 2 from olive-oil mills (2), from the organic agriculture (1), from the oil tasting panel (1) and from the Agricultural Department of the Aragon Regional Government (1). They have given a relative importance to each one of the olive growing function groups as follows: as a whole, they consider that the economic functions are the most important: about 65%. Less relevant appear the socio-cultural and environmental functions receiving 20% and 15% relative importance respectively.

Analysing a little more in detail, the experts emphasize as the most important functions, two economic ones: (1.3) Marketing collective action and (1.2) Improvement of the differential quality, receiving 26 and 25 per cent respectively, followed by a socio-cultural function (3.2) Creation of an innovating environment (16 per cent). In other words, they consider that the trademark "Aceite de oliva del Bajo

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Aragón” facilitates the establishment of enterprises and marketing networks because the PDO guarantees a better oil quality. The promotion of the relationships between institutions and local enterprises with innovative purposes is the key instrument.

However, the fact that the experts give scarce importance to (1.1) Income generations within the economical functions is remarkable.

Concerning the environmental externalities olive growing can generate, the experts quote as the most important in relation to diffuse contamination (2.2) Reduction of diffuse contamination closely followed by (2.1) Control of soil erosion and degradation. Both are generated to a greater or lesser extent depending on the type of farming applied. The relative importance of both is close to 6,5 per cent.

The functions and externalities generated by olive growing in Bajo Aragón largely depend on the type of culture: the ecological and the integrated cultures maximise sustainability as well as the economic, environmental and socio-cultural development. The experts award more than 30 per cent to the capacity of the ecological and integrated cultures to obtain all those functions in general terms. On the contrary, conventional growing and abandonment receive lower percentages in the PDO Aceite del Bajo Aragón –about 23 and 13 per cent-. But, obviously, some culture alternatives contribute more to generate some functions than others.

The answers of the interviewed experts underline that in the PDO Aceite del Bajo Aragón the integrated culture is the best alternative for the economic and socio-cultural objectives. Only in the environmental criteria the best alternative is the ecological culture.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The study of the multifunctionality of the olive crop in the PDO Aceite del Bajo Aragón proves that the experts value preferably the economic externalities and marketing incomes, though they also consider as emerging the socio-cultural and environmental externalities. Besides, the type of growing system determines a significant variability in the functions of social preference concerning multifunctionality, though in the Bajo Aragón the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural sustainability tend to be maximised by the ecological and integrated growing.

Results from the application of the ANP model indicate that the most important criteria to choose the type of production are fundamentally three: Collective action with regard to marketing, differential quality and innovating environment. The high results obtained by the two first criteria agree with those from other research works on preferences assessed by panels of experts (Sanz-Cañada et al.). Problems related to the consumers’ lack of knowledge on olive oil and the limited development of the marketing strategies seem the most outstanding problems that from the point of view of the vertical analysis attached to the analysis of the olive chains in Spain need to be solved urgently. Likewise, we conclude that the relationships of territorial governance concerning the creation of an innovative environment play a very relevant role in the generation of marketing incomes and of the different territorial externalities because they become the necessary instrumental variables to reach the adequate achievement in any other type of objectives.

Two economic criteria, food safety and income generation, and two environmental criteria, reduction of diffuse contamination and erosion control obtain intermediate values but they tend to have an increasing importance in the future. This result contrasts with the fact that the high degree of soils erosion and degradation, over all in the case of the olive growing in sloping ground, is considered in different research works (Sanz-Cañada et al, 2011) as the first environmental, territorial problem of the Spanish olive growing with the highest urgency to be solved.

On the contrary, the valuation of the natural and cultural heritage, as well as the safeguard of the biodiversity and the olive landscapes, still appear as the less valued criteria by the experts, maybe because they continue being scarcely taken into consideration even by them. The objective establishment of rural population also shows a relative light importance, surprising in a so depopulated area. The reason could be that this variable is finalist: the policy on public goods generates positive effects on those objectives but in an indirect way and at a longer term than in the case of the other criteria.

It is therefore desirable that from the public administrations, the change from traditional culture into ecological and integrated culture would be promoted for these last types of culture contribute at a larger extent to produce functions and external effects adequate for olive growing. It is evident that growers will not take into account those externalities not producing revenues in the market, even if they are desirable. Given that the experts fix their relevance, the economic policies should be conducted towards olive subventions in order to remunerate those externalities. In this sense, the new agri-food actions adopted within the PAC, where subventions are linked to the environment protection, seem adequate.

A higher degree of analysis of the results obtained from applying the ANP could be attained for future research by techniques of discussion groups to all the PDO experts groups. The objective will be elaborating consensus priorities among all the participants and providing qualitative information for the explanation of the factors that enhance or limit the local schemes of preferences. The results of this work can provide information to the decision-makers of the agricultural and rural development.

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# Geographical Indications, market and Cultural Representations.

M. Felicetti<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Geographical indications (GIs) are, almost unanimously, considered a protectionist tool for favouring local economies and moderating neoliberal excess. An equally common idea is that they contain a social, political, economic and cultural dimension. The cultural dimension is rather controversial, considering the web of technological change and local power relations. Therefore, rather than representing the opposing economic and cultural dimensions, we aim to clarify the interaction between cultural representation and market in the context of geographical indications. Typical products from Calabria are taken as examples to highlight some aspects of the dynamic between cultural heritage and the other GIs dimensions. To what extent typical produce incorporate traditions? Is cultural heritage, at all, a way of fostering local economies? The regulation on Geographical Indications and, consequently, that on PDOs and PGIs should in fact slow down the gradual disappearance of cultural diversity, and so we asked ourselves what impact GIs have on local manufacturing tradition and, more generally, on culture. We also posed the question of the impact which the conservation of traditional techniques has on quality in this specific case.

## QUALITY AND CULTURE AS A SYNONYM OF ALTERNATIVE FOOD NETWORKS?

Recent decades have been characterised by a change in agri-food systems, based on a series of interlinked processes, such as: the opening up of markets, new forms of labour, deregulation of the circulation of capital and credit, the new models of flexible and stratified consumption (Marsden, 1992). An integral part of this change has been the proliferation and differentiation of goods, many of which encompass an ideological value based on quality. In this framework the neoclassical economic model for price-setting has been usurped and been replaced by institutions which establish their requisites over quality.

The focus on quality and the consequent interest in typical produce regard the sphere of consumption, the sphere of production and a plethora of local and supranational institutions. Issues such as food security, social and cultural status and nostalgia for food traditions (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 2000) have driven consumers to look for food the origin of which is formally or informally linked to good health, tradition and culture. On the other hand, as regards

production, quality goods represent an opportunity to enter niche markets and to profit from the intangible value of these products.

As has been widely noted, the concept of quality is ambiguous and varies in relation to who is defining it. From this viewpoint the "quality turn" approach analyses the issue of quality and certification practices for agri-food chains by focussing on the impact which certification schemes have in the processes of including and excluding social actors in agriculture. Moreover, the balancing between quality produce and traditional methods, safeguarding biodiversity and restoring trust between consumers and manufacturers, cannot be put forward, even with certified typical produce; the use of tradition in the transformation process, care for the environment, and health benefits must be established on each occasion.

One of the aims of this study is to analyse the manufacturing process for some Calabrian PDO products to understand to what extent the quality that they represent mirrors that of a traditional sector or that of an alternative network. A second objective is that of verifying whether so-called alternative networks effectively incorporate "culture" by respecting the methods of traditional production. *Alternative Food Networks* have mainly been associated with protecting intangible values such as maintaining cultural heritage and local tradition, while conventional networks have been seen in a purely market-oriented logic. However, the cases examined have highlighted a series of elements that are far removed from the talk of culture and respect of local tradition. In this sense it is debatable whether culture is part of the rationale for the legal and institutional framework of Geographical Indications. According to Broude (2004), Geographical Indications do not act as legal instruments to prevent the market impacting on local culture and this produces cultural transformation and international standardisation.

The regulation on Geographical Indications and, consequently, that on PDOs and PGIs should in fact slow down the gradual disappearance of cultural diversity, and so we asked ourselves what impact GIs have on local manufacturing tradition and, more generally, on culture. We also posed the question of the impact which the conservation of traditional techniques has on quality in this specific case.

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## METHODOLOGY.

Debate on the conservation of cultural heritage and local traditions is used in various arenas as the rationale for the establishment of Geographical Indications. The European Union in particular has developed and supported the idea that the law on geographical indications aims to protect cultural heritage, traditional methods and natural resources.

In order to verify whether the award of PDO status has a positive impact in terms of the conservation of traditional manufacturing methods a synchronic study was made of two similar products, one a PDO and another without any such status, by direct observation and data collected during interviews with stakeholders.

The interviewees belonged to various categories of stakeholders such as: companies that transform the PDO product, associations of manufacturers, representatives of PDO consortia, control authorities, and members of local administrations.

The production sector was mainly that of *soppressata* salami, but the interviews refer also to the transformation of PDO figs.

## MANUFACTURING SPECIFICATION AND LOSS OF TRADITIONAL LOCAL CULTURE.

The overall picture of the companies which produce *Calabrian PDO soppressata* is diversified, nonetheless the processes are entirely mechanized. The product is sold on local, national and foreign markets and the commercial channels used differ from company to company. For many of these companies, PDO production is only a small part of their total production, introduced as a way to improve the company image and increase distribution channels (traditional retail sales, large-scale distribution, the restaurant industry). The weak point of these supply chains is the lack of availability of raw materials, seeing as the Calabrian livestock farmers are not able to satisfy producers demand. This can, in turn, lead to free-riding behaviour on the part of producers during verification procedures, bringing about a further decrease in quality in comparison with product specifications, which are already quite distant from artisanal traditions. This is able to occur because the certification system is voluntaristic and provenance checks of the meat in these types of salami, considering they are blended mixtures, is extremely difficult.

## PDO AS A PROTECTIONISTIC TOOL.

In seeking to provide a final assessment of the impact from achieving PDO status in relation to maintaining local cultural traditions and, more generally, in relation to sustainable agricultural as condensed into social values, conservation of local species and a focus on environmental issues, the inclination is to include PDO products within the scope of conventional supply chains. In particular the argument of culture which is emphasised in institutional documents and in the literature does

not appear to be protected by the instrument of Geographical Indications and in this case by the Controlled Denomination of Origin. The systematic abandonment of traditional production techniques by producers who wish to lower production costs can lead to the watering down of the specific identify and to the disappearance of the typical product (Arfini, Belletti, Marescotti, 2010). The argument of protecting local culture because of "neo-liberal traps" consisting of the import of new products, services and methods of manufacture. Nonetheless, it can also be a bulwark behind which to hide protectionist commercial interests. In fact GIs produce market manipulation and, when granted to a limited number of products, add value also where the real quality level of the goods is modest.

It is true that GIs are often linked to out of date production methods connected in their turn to social and technological situations and to long-forgotten eco-systems. However, where local traditions make way for the "creative" modernisation of high quality innovation, the erosion of tradition does not represent, in our view, a negative element, but is part of sustainable rural development and alternative supply chain. It is different when the "watering down of tradition" goes hand in hand with lower quality and loosing of local traditions.

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# Cultural Adaptation Work as a critical issue in the implementation, administration and use of Protected designation of origin in Norway

Atle Wehn Hegnes<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper describes critical issues emerging in implementation, administration and the use of Protected designation of origin in Norway. In addition a conceptual framework is developed to understand this process and its implications. The data basis for the study includes interviews with 30 persons and an extensive quantity of documentation. Implementation, administration, and the use of Protected designations in Norway require adjustments of meaning, social organization and materiality. To identify, describe, and understand how this is worked out I propose to elaborate on the concepts of translation, reorganization and transformation, giving them a special meaning. In this regard translation refers to adaptations of meaning, reorganization refers to adaptations of social relations and transformation refers to material adaptations. On an empirical level, I show how Protected designations depend on adaptation practices in order to fit into the Norwegian context and food culture. On a theoretical level I propose an outline for a new conceptual framework which may be applied to future studies on the work of adaptations of Protected designation of origin in different food cultures.

## BACKGROUND

In July 2002, the regulation and labelling scheme for Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) was set up in Norway modelled on corresponding systems in the EU. The scheme enables protection under law of product designations for foodstuffs with a special geographic origin, tradition and characteristics. Positive experiences with similar schemes in EU countries were an important argument for the governmental authorities when the scheme was introduced in Norway.

## AIM

The aim of this paper is to give a description of critical issues emerging in the implementation, administration and the use of Protected designations in Norway and to develop a conceptual framework to understand this process and its implications.

## METHODS

The data basis for the study included interviews with 30 persons and an extensive quantity of documenta-

tion. Interviews with producer organisations have involved the persons responsible for working out product regulations in producer organisations. Interviews have also been conducted with key informants representing public administrative bodies administering the regulation. Document studies of laws, policy documents, etc. have been analysed to uncover what kind of measures and concepts have been important for implementation of the scheme in Norway.

## DISCUSSION

Adaptations are a repeated theme in research on PDO, PGI and TSG, both in international and Norwegian literature. There are many that claim, and demonstrate, that adaptations of various types are necessary in order for this type of labelling schemes to work in different countries and different food cultures. Nonetheless, there are few, if any, who have studied and conceptualized the work of adaptation as a whole, and identified the adaptations necessary to turn PDO, PGI and TSG into a well-functioning food labelling system. With such a starting point, it was necessary to establish a more nuanced system of concepts.

The mutual work on adaptation of the scheme to Norwegian food culture, and also of Norwegian food culture to the scheme, is defined as *cultural adaptation work* (CAW) and constitutes the core element in the system of concepts established. The various ways in which the actors adapt the scheme to Norwegian food culture, and Norwegian food culture to the scheme, is understood and defined as different *adaptation practices*. The most central of these are *translations* of meaning, social *reorganisations* and material *transformations*. The adaptive practices form an interplay, in which the different practices affect each other. Adapted regulations involve reorganisation of producers, who then change their products, and so on.

The analysis shows that the actors' work on different adaptations during implementation, administration and use of the Norwegian scheme for PDO, PGI and TSG is important. They occur because opinions, forms of cooperation and products in Norway and Norwegian food culture do not always coincide with the food-cultural conditions which the EU scheme was founded. A specific vocabulary or language makes it possible to communicate the food-

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cultural understanding that forms the basis for the scheme in the EU. This understanding involves, inter alia, that the relationship between tradition and the food's place of origin, is considered meaningful and important in terms of the product's quality. In Norway there is lack of both the vocabulary and food-cultural know-how in line with the food-cultural preconditions that form the basis for the scheme in the EU. The work of establishing and *translating* a corresponding vocabulary and understanding in Norwegian food culture has, therefore, been particularly important during implementation, administration and use of the scheme, and in respect of food specialisation in Norway generally since its introduction in the 1980s. As in the EU, the requirement for cooperation between producers is a condition in the Norwegian regulation. Such forms of cooperation are not, however, always established amongst those producers applying for PDO, PGI or TSG. The work of creating and *reorganising* such new organisation forms in Norwegian food culture has, therefore, also been crucial. In Norway as in the EU it has also been considered important that the scheme is meant exclusively for products of high quality. In some cases, the products for which labelling is being applied for do not initially meet these quality requirements. The work of creating and *transforming* products that satisfy the regulation's conditions have, therefore, also been important during administration and use of the scheme.

The consequences of the adaptation work are, to varying degrees, in line with the aims of the scheme. The analysis shows how the adaptation work brings with it a new vocabulary and new food-cultural knowledge. This makes it possible to communicate and understand links between food, people and place, which have previously not been emphasised in Norwegian food culture. Hence, the new vocabulary and understanding are in line with the scheme's aims of preserving important knowledge about Norwegian food and food culture. It appears, however, that the adaptation work also promotes innovation and sometimes alienates producers from their own products in the course of the application process, which conflicts with the aim of preserving knowledge. The adaptation work also includes adjustment of the product name, and the demarcation of geographic origin moves from being determined by valleys and other natural boundaries, to being defined based on municipal boundaries. This is consistent, to varying degrees, with the intention of giving sufficient information to consumers and preserving important knowledge about Norwegian food and food culture. Another consequence of the adaptation work is that it plays a part in products becoming more similar, which again results in fewer product types. This also conflicts with the scheme's aim of contributing to increased variety of foodstuffs. As a whole, the scheme is often described as being modelled according to the European system. If one views the scheme as a consequence of the adaptation work, it appears, however, to be a tailor-made Norwegian model with European profile.

Identification of the adaptation work and its consequences has political, food-cultural and theoretical implications. The scheme is balanced, between being a political tool for developing Norwegian food production and value-adding, at the same time as from a legal perspective it is associated with the corresponding body of law and the scheme in the EU. If the scheme is excessively adapted to the Norwegian context, it may risk losing its credibility and validity in the EU. If it is excessively adapted to the European scheme, it may be perceived as cumbersome and meaningless for Norwegian producers, retailers and consumers. Another implication of the adaptation work is that the scheme has an ambiguous influence on development of Norwegian food culture. On the one hand the labelling scheme contributes to an increase in abundance and a new understanding of food, when—through new language and new knowledge—old and new products are placed on the food-cultural agenda. On the other hand, the scheme is a rational agricultural-political tool that contributes to standardisation and innovation in respect of Norwegian food and food culture. The theory of cultural adaptation work can be used and further developed in future studies of PDO, PGI and TSG.

#### CONCLUSION

The development of the study from descriptive to concept-developing can be summarised in a three-part conclusion: I) On an empirical level it describes how the scheme depends on cultural adaptation work in order to work in Norway. II) On a theoretical level, a new conceptual framework is developed. The system of concepts stems from identification of the cultural adaptation work, and expands the understanding of introduction, administration and use of PDO, PGI and TSG in Norway. The system of concepts can also be transferred to studies of similar schemes in other countries. More generally, it can be considered to be transferred and developed in relation to other theoretical perspectives and studies of other phenomena and forms of cultural adaptation work. III) On a superior level, the study shows how the food-cultural adaptation work constitutes a link between modern global legislative arrangements and traditional local products. In more general terms, the cultural adaptation work is a necessary link between the local and global, and the modern and the traditional.

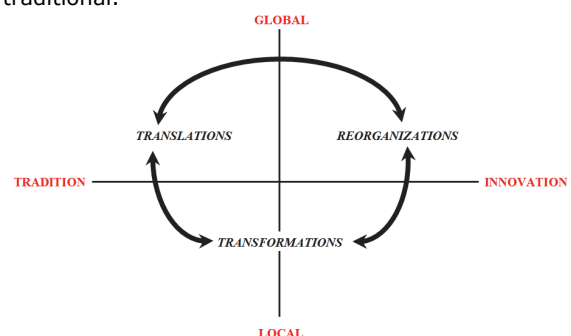


Figure 1. Dimensions and dynamics in Cultural Adaptation Work.





# Territorialisation of sociotechnical innovations for qualifying local products: The case of milk lamb in Corsica and Sardinia

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**Abstract** — Relocalization of economy is a contemporary dynamic affecting agriculture. It questions the qualification schemes of origin with geographical indications (GI's), dedicated to distant markets. The renewal of the relationship between urban and rural areas, or issues related to heritage tourism are questioning the foundations of GI trade. The local product inscription in a close commercial sphere leads to modify the socio-technical systems initially built around a domestic model. Quality is revisited through innovations embedded in the local context and its specificities. Lock-in hinders the adoption of these innovations and different types of resources will be mobilized to build a new activity model.

## INTRODUCTION

In Corsica and Sardinia, the fragility of dairy sheep farms, whose identity is built around the development of cheese, encourages the profession to enhance new resources (Gumuchian et al., 2007). The lamb, until now regarded as a byproduct of dairy farming, is part of a new path for recognition as a coproduct. In Corsica, collective organisations are involved today to apply for a GI. At present, it is a low-paid product, representing only 5 to 15% of income from livestock. In Sardinia, the benefit of the already registered GI has not allowed to generate a higher added value due to intermediaries costs for export, while in Corsica, the export of live animals to be slaughtered in Sardinia induces delocation of value.

New strategies based on innovations because of change from local/domestic market towards short supply-chains to both local citizens and tourists market. Four cases of innovations will be considered. The two firsts concern typicity of the product, they relate to the production of heavy lamb and secondly the farm slaughter. Others related to seasonality with both the issue of seasonal adjustment of the livestock and off season tourism. As these innovations are facing the constraints to adoption, new resources will be mobilized to allow these transitions. These resources concerning legal, technical, organization and marketing dimensions.

New dynamic players are introducing other modes of qualification products. AREO in Corsica and CONTAS in Sardinia are part of a process under certification GI's. However, lamb production has so far been oriented by the export market, while innovations today show re-inscription in local market. We need to consider the nature of these innovations, the ability of actors organized around the IG to appropriate them, and to analyze the obstacles that entails the expansion of the network of actors enrolled in alternative qualifications.

On a scientific point of view, we will rely on a specific field of economical sociology, dealing with social construction of markets. This point of view considers that quality is not necessarily shared, the product must be able to circulate in the market space from supply actors down to demand actors through all mediators contributing to such fit (Cochoy et al., 2000).

## METHOD

Two studies areas were chosen to address this issue in the context of a comparative approach in order to highlight regional variability on the adoption of innovations. Our case studies are dairy sheep breeding systems in Corsica and Sardinia. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of 30 local actors. In Sardinia, sample is realised with AGRIS, agri-tourisms (2), Consorzio di Tutela dell'Agnello di Sardegna (CONTAS), Conf Commercio, farmers (3), wholesalers (2), slaughterhouses, distributors (3). In Corsica, interviews concerned: Casgiu Casanu (regional association for on-farm cheeses), veterinaries services, Touristical Agency of Corsica (ATC), AREO (regional association of sheep farmers), farmers (4), farm-houses (2), slaughterhouses, wholesalers (2), distributors (3).

We will mobilize the tools of the sociology of innovation. Innovations are considered here providing new forms of market mediations involved in the construction of socio-technical transitions (Geels et al., 2006). In order to understand the adoption of these innovations inducing certain constraints, locks-in need to be identified (Vanloqueren et al., 2011).

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## RESULTS

Two markets now tend to dissociate themselves from the classical trade patterns. They promote innovation to increase product accessibility on this market. Retail and tourists' consumption are questioning the place of lambs in the farmers' income.

**Heritage tourism, the construction of the local by mobility.** In Sardinia, the seasonal adjustment of the dairy flock allows the consumption of fresh cheese during the summer season at remunerative prices. This strategy is combined with the development of a lamb that would also be part of this market, with agritourism or restaurants. This adaptation relies on the benefit of grassed surfaces associated with irrigation during dry periods. Racial flexibility is seen as an animal resource mobilized for the construction of market. It can be associated to both the production of heavier lamb or freezing which allows a postponement of consumption. This strategy is presently mobilised by farmers producers who exercise multifunctional activity.

In Corsica, if this type of response is also possible particularly in plain, access to food during summer is particularly tough in mountain where transhumance is subject to technical constraints related to work, and the resulting progressive disintegration of such tradition. We have seen that the definition of another way is possible mainly through the off-season tourism. This way is mobilized by ATC, to promote an annual tourism centered around traditional seasonality of productions. This development strategy is part of a wish to explore the interior of the island, considered as the "Authentic Corsica," and to promote tourism development not based primarily on the seaside offers.

## Urban inscription of markets and requalification of their social dimension.

Demographic renewal associated with a concentration of population in cities promotes urban inscription of markets. The supermarket is a structure widely present, however we note that the urban population will have new consumption skills involving a redefinition of characteristics of the products. Traditionally sold as whole carcasses, urban consumers obey to other forms of judgments related to their lifestyle. Disintegration of knowledge cutting and preparation, individualisation of meal, leads to experimentations on the production of heavy lambs issued from crossbreeding with meat specialized rams increasing the carcass yield in order to provide products cutting and packaging (AGRI-Sardinia). This segmentation of quality is provided in the specifications of the GI, but the small size of Corsican sheep makes difficulties to reproduce this experience in Corsica.

If the mass distribution is a privileged place for exchange today, we note that other forms of marketing emerge. Short circuits, direct sales represent alternatives for the rehabilitation of the traditional exchange. Transformation tools and

marketing are questioned. While the on-farm slaughter is officially banned in Corsica, Sardinia relied on the flexibility of the European legislation in order to enable this practice with the introduction of HACCP plans (Hazard Analysis Critical Control Point) on agrotourism farms. This permit to get better control of processing tools and higher incomes. Institutional innovation in Corsica, with the production of organizational learning within the professional unions (Confédération paysanne), allowed the formulation of new standards to replace an obligation of means by an obligation of result on risk management.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The social construction of quality represents an "intermediate object" invested by several scientific disciplines. Geographers, animal scientists have been interested in this field of research in terms of territorial anchoring of productions (race, skills, etc.) (Cañada et al., 2011). Meanwhile this same object was considered by the new economic sociology in terms of the issue of social embeddedness of the market (Granovetter, 1985). While the first lost interest in the question of the market, the latter have not invested the question of production. The relationships between production system and market offer keys to understanding the barriers to innovation. How to overcome such barriers and to ensure the local adaptability of innovations? We assume that the professional identities (Dubar, 2000), both on technical and organizational dimensions, are strong components in the mediation and the choice of innovations. The transition is not a finalized track, bifurcations are opening several possible ways of designing plural types of products qualifications.

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# How do Geographical Indications interact with the adaptive capacity and resilience of viticultural systems facing global change?

Anne-Laure Lereboullet<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Viticultural systems situated in Mediterranean climatic regions are facing two global challenges: climate change and a crisis of the wine market. Their adaptation to either challenge is correlated to the other one. Legislation and political paradigms, including Geographical Indication (GI) systems, impact their adaptive capacity and resilience to both changes. I compare two regions with a similar climate but contrasting social, economical and political backgrounds, Roussillon in France and McLaren Vale in Australia. The role and use of GIs greatly differ, as French GIs are strong and restrictive and Australian ones weaker and more liberal. The two GI systems are embedded in contrasting paradigms: multi-functionality and neoliberalism. Both systems are evolving and offer pros and cons for adaptation.**

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Wine producing regions are facing two types of challenges: climate change and market crises. Climate change is threatening wine producing regions with a dry Mediterranean climate, as those regions are already at the bioclimatic edge of quality dry production (Jones et al., 2005). My main question is to examine the adaptive capacity and resilience of two wine producing regions facing those challenges within a Mediterranean climate: Roussillon in southern France, and McLaren Vale in southern Australia. I consider those two regions as social-ecological systems, within which climate and economy strongly interact and cannot be studied separately.

By resilience, I refer to both acceptations: maintenance of the system's functions and services in the face of change or adaptive transformation (Wilson et al., 2013). Adaptive capacity refers to the capacity to build resilience. Adaptation of agricultural systems requires individual entrepreneurship and innovation (Pearson and Pearson, 2012), financial capital and multi-level governance (Reghezza-Zit et al., 2012). What impacts do GI systems and paradigms that support them have on the development of those qualities?

Both regional systems were delimited for study based on Geographical Indications (GIs) boundaries. Roussillon, in this paper, corresponds to the area eligible for AOC<sup>2</sup> *Côtes-du-Roussillon-Villages*. It is

situated in two hilly corridors a few kilometers northwest of the city of Perpignan, at the south of wider region Languedoc-Roussillon. McLaren Vale corresponds to the eponym GI and is situated 50 km south of the city of Adelaide. Based on previous work by Lereboullet et al. (2013a, 2013b), Table 1 indicates socio-economic characteristics of the two systems. They show that Roussillon is a bigger, older wine region than McLaren Vale, but declining and with a larger proportion of its production with a GI. The same authors show that both regions have recently suffered from especially warm and dry summers, and are likely to face similar conditions until 2060, with an increase of extreme temperatures, based on simulations from models QQ-ARPEGE-V4-RETIC for France and CSIRO Mk3.5 for Australia.

**Table 1.** Socio-economic characteristics of Roussillon and McLaren Vale in 2010 (Lereboullet et al. 2013a, 2013b)

Characteristics	Roussillon	McLaren Vale
CGA <sup>a</sup>	11 200 ha	7 400 ha
Evolution of CGA (2002-10)	- 33%	+ 28%
Average size of CGA/farm	12 ha	13.2 ha
Average yield	27 hl/ha	75 hl/ha
Part of CGA under GI label	73.5%	20%
Farmer's income/ha (EUR)	2 400	4 000

<sup>a</sup>Cultivated grapevine area.

## DATA AND METHODS

I conducted 68 in-depth interviews with producers and key stakeholders of the wine industry: 38 in Roussillon and 30 in McLaren Vale, between 2011 and 2013. Interviews were based on semi-structured questionnaires and conducted face-to-face, except for 20 interviews in Roussillon over the phone. Questions included, besides farm characteristics, perception of risks linked with climate change and the economy and elements constraining adaptation and innovation. Interviewees were chosen with the aim to be qualitatively representative of the region's diversity of producers. Statistical data were obtained from national and regional statistical offices (FranceAgriMer and *Chambre d'Agriculture* in France, PGIBSA and ABS in Australia).

## RESULTS

Almost ¾ of grapevine blocks in Roussillon are classified as AOC. To be classified, blocks must follow

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<sup>2</sup> AOC: Appellation of Controlled Origin. GIs in Roussillon include, in descending order of prestige and restrictions: Cru, AOC *Côtes-du-Roussillon-Villages*, AOC *Côtes-du-Roussillon*, IGP *Côtes catalanes*.



specific rules about varieties grown, location of blocks, viticultural and winemaking practices. In particular, main varieties grown must be either Syrah, Grenache or Carignan, and irrigation is not allowed between May 15<sup>th</sup> and July 15<sup>th</sup> and between August 15<sup>th</sup> and harvest. All producers interviewed in Roussillon cultivated Syrah, introduced by the Ministry of Agriculture in the 1970s: farmers were then financially encouraged to plant it. The problem is that Syrah does not resist well to hot and dry summers in dry-grown vineyards and that can lead to blocks in the maturation process. Some producers reported yields as low as 5 hl/ha for Syrah. Out of 33 producers in Roussillon, 16 mentioned explicitly their wish to try out new varieties, but were restrained by AOC regulations. Inability to irrigate during the two weeks prior to harvest was also reported as problematic, as stated by a producer: "It is useless to irrigate in winter, when it is already raining! We need water in summer". Many farmers interviewed felt trapped by AOCs and gave up on seeking a GI to be able to experiment. All in all, 12 producers (n=33) directly identified AOC to be a "high" or "very high" constraint for adaptation.

In McLaren Vale, producers interviewed were not legally restricted neither in planting alternative varieties nor in irrigating. The GI "McLaren Vale" only entails that 85% of grapes in the blend must be grown in a limited area. Contrarily to Roussillon, the remaining grapes can be sourced from other regions, which can allow blending and thus buffering local climate extremes, and no rules are defined as for winemaking practices. As a result, even if Syrah represents 80% of plantings, there were more than 20 red varieties grown in McLaren Vale in 2012.

#### DISCUSSION

The AOC system in Roussillon restrains innovation from individuals and groups of farmers due to limitations on variety choice, viticultural and winemaking practices and geographical boundaries. While it offers a buffer to sales drop, the inability to get rid of inappropriate varieties in specific *terroirs* reduces farmers' incomes and thus their investment capital. On the contrary, GI "McLaren Vale" is much less restrictive and does not prevent farmers from experimentation and testing of adaptive techniques. A question that arises is: can Roussillon's producers make the local AOC evolve, and to what extent do they want to? History plays an important role here: it reveals a strategy from local farmers to break from a past of mass table wine production until the 1970s, an image that does not help Roussillon in a highly competitive market seeking quality wines at a low price. Cooperatives also base their marketing strategy on AOC wines. As exportation develops, some individual farmers are seeking GIs that are less restrictive than AOCs but still represent quality for international consumers (e.g. *Vin de France*). In McLaren Vale, GIs are less taken on by producers, as individual branding strategy is more common, built around a type of wine specific to a producer rather than to a whole production area. However, those

opposite marketing strategies are starting to reverse. While Roussillon's producers are gradually developing individual brands, McLaren Vale seeks to better highlight its regional features, for instance through the realization and commercialization of a geological map pointing out to different *terroirs* within the region, in order to help producers make the most of their local amenities.

The French and Australian GI systems are also embedded in two different paradigms: *terroir* and multifunctionality in France versus a neoliberal paradigm in Australia. While Australian GIs only provide a label for origin, French GIs guarantee origin, a certain level of quality, a specific *regional* style, and also the maintenance of alternative techniques in a rapidly modernizing world (Bardsley and Pech, 2012). Rather than one model being better than the other, regulations that are most efficient for resilience seem to be those supporting bottom-up initiatives, from individual farmers but also from groups of farmers facing similar challenges.

#### CONCLUSION

Comparing different GI systems in the wine industry shows that GIs are becoming a necessary asset in a highly competitive global market but that they are not necessarily adapted to climate change and can sometimes hinder individual and collective innovation. Information flow between producers and institutions managing GIs is necessary, but change can be slow, as it also depends on socio-political paradigms beyond the wine industry.

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# Choosing of the Most Appropriate Protection System: Protection of Indications of Geographical Origin at the EU level

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**Abstract – The European Union (EU) law provides two different protection systems for indications of geographical origin (IGOs) at the EU level: either direct (sui generis) protection system through applicable Regulations or the protection system of a Community Collective Mark through the Community Trade Mark Regulation. Due to existence of such dual protection possibility available only for IGOs concerning agricultural products and foodstuffs, a fair question arises - which protection system would be preferable for producers and their associations? The paper discusses advantages and disadvantages of both protection systems from the point of legal and economic aspects by contrasting both systems with each other. The paper argues that though the direct protection system has a wider scope of protection, there could be practical legal and economic reasons to apply for a Community Collective Mark instead of the former protection system.**

Indications of geographical origin<sup>2</sup> (hereinafter IGOs) are one of such intellectual property (hereinafter IP) objects which may be protected in the European Union (hereinafter the EU) not only (1) at the national level within the national law of the EU Member states but also (2) at the EU level. In such a way, IGOs are subject to the EU wide protection like trade marks, designs, plant variety rights, and patents (the latter as from 01 January 2014). As regards protection of the IGOs at the EU level, the EU law distinguishes direct and indirect protection of IGOs<sup>3</sup>. If the former protection system which is divided in four parts depending on a type of agricultural products and foodstuffs<sup>4</sup> is regulated mainly through Regulations and covers agricultural products and foodstuffs only, then the latter is ensured through the Codifying Community Trade Mark Regulation (as well as Directives) and covers any type of goods (as well as services). In addition,

unlike the latter protection system the former – direct – protection system is of the exclusive nature precluding application of the national law<sup>5</sup> and consequently protection at the national level for those IGOs protected within the direct protection system. The present research discusses logical question which arises from the very point of view of existence of such dual protection possibility for IGOs in respect of agricultural products and foodstuffs (i.e. direct protection system and Community collective mark protection system): what are advantages and disadvantages of each protection system from the legal and economic point of view. Notwithstanding topicality of this theme for the proper understanding of the developing EU law on IGOs, existing studies carried out so far do not comprehensively discuss this theme.

The research is based on methodology of the legal science by applying different legal methods, including the analytical method and the comparative method. In addition, the economic method is exploited to explore the economical differences of registration of IGOs either under the direct protection system or as Community collective marks.

The results of the present research provide substantiation for rights holders of IGOs to choose either the direct protection system or the Community collective mark protection – two favoured protection forms upon which it is settled the IGOs protection in recent years<sup>6</sup>. This research reveals that from the legal point of view in general the direct protection system prevails over the Community collective mark protection due to broader scope of protection. That broader scope of protection of IGOs includes not only protection norms but also impossibility for a registered IGO to become a generic name. Still, due to the specific regulation of the direct protection system there could be such situations when the choice of the latter protection system would be advantageous. First, when a particular IGO does not qualify for registration under the direct protection system due to restrictions laid down by the applicable Regulations. Yet, such non-compliance means neither that a respective geographical designation

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<sup>2</sup> Within this paper, the concept of indications of geographical origin covers all geographical designations referring to the geographical origin of the goods (products). In addition, the concept of registered indications of geographical origin covers those registered or to be registered under the applicable Regulations within the direct protection system of the European Union law discussed further.

<sup>3</sup> For the distinction between direct and indirect protection systems, see generally V. Mantrov, 'Protection Norms of Indications of Geographical Origin in the Applicable EU Regulations – Recent Changes and the Necessity for Further Unification', (2012) 43 IIC 175-184.

<sup>4</sup> M. Gragnani, 'The law of geographical indications in the EU', (2012) 7 Journal of Intellectual Property Law & Practice 272.

<sup>5</sup> Case C - 478/07 *Budějovický Budvar, národní podnik v Rudolf Ammersin GmbH* [2009] ECR I-07721 – Budweiser II.

<sup>6</sup> See D. Gangjee, *Relocating the Law of Geographical Indications* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012), 201.





has lost its meaning as an IGO nor that it cannot be registered as a Community collective mark. Second, in order to avoid co-existence with a similar or identical name as it was in case of the registered IGO *Bayerisches Bier* considering that co-existence was allowed with similar designation - *Bavaria* - without any limitation in time or territory<sup>7</sup>. Third, it is to avoid possible refusal either by the European Commission or the CJEU. Finally, to have more flexibility concerning a product specification. In addition, the Community collective mark protection system may be used as supplementary to protect graphic symbols accompanying registered IGOs under the direct protection system. On the other hand, from the economic point of view the Community collective mark protection system prevails over the direct protection system as it provides faster and cost effective way for obtaining protection at the EU level. So, a Community collective mark may be obtained within two years for EUR 1800. However, it may be concluded that registration time of IGOs within direct protection system at the current moment takes 3 – 4 years only within the European Commission in addition to the national stage in the EU Member states. An exception may be only protected IGOs in respect of spirits in case of whom registration time is restricted to 12 months without any possibility to extend that time. Therefore, the length of registration procedure would be more beneficial in case of Community collective mark protection system.

The present research and its results reveal the rationale for existence of both protection possibilities for IGOs in respect of agricultural products and foodstuffs at the EU level. If the direct protection system may be extended also to non-agricultural products considering conclusions made in the studies carried out for the European Commission<sup>8</sup>, existence of both protection possibilities will be applicable also in case of that type of products. Significance of the present study lies in distinguishing such cases when the Community collective mark protection still may prevail over the direct protection system even considering that the latter protection system provides broader scope of protection than the former one. Still, further studies should be necessary to explore practical influence of such conclusions by obtaining empirical data on behavioural of associations of producers and consequences of their decisions choosing either the direct protection system or the Community collective mark protection.

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<sup>8</sup> Insight Consulting, REDD, OriGIn, Study on Geographical indication protection for non-agricultural products in the Internal market, Final report – 18 February 2013.



# The consumer response to the introduction of private label products with a GI

Aldo Marchese, Katia L. Sidali and Silvia Scaramuzzi

**Abstract** - In Italy GIs and private labels products are walking on diverging paths. On the one side the adoption of private labels by the major food retailing companies is gathering momentum. On the other side, GI products suffer by the low awareness of this labeling scheme among consumers. Against this background, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate the existence of higher willingness to pay of consumers for GI products bearing a private label. The cross positive effect of the two labels is studied in terms of price elasticity of demand (PED). The longitudinal study carried out is based on a sample of 19,702 scanner data of 15 GI products sold in the Italian retailing company COOP Adriatica collected in the period January 2010-May 2012. The analysis shows that the value of the price elasticity of demand of PDO and PGI products in Italy is significantly lower for those bearing also a private label, even if their price is higher. Private labels could represent a concrete evolution for some of the hundreds of PDO and PGI Italian products in order to emerge from the shadow of the local market.

The processes of social transformation that have taken place during the last two decades have radically changed the nutrition and agrifood world. We are living in an era of "polytheism food" (De Rita, Censis, 2010) made up of commingling between areas of origin for products in relation to specific diets. In the modern world there are new consumer profiles that define a personal combination of foods and places of purchase and backgrounds together with a unique blend of motivation and goals. Therefore, the traditional explanatory variables (price, relative prices and income) are no longer able to interpret these trends, if not through the in-depth knowledge of the subjective component considered in the past to be residual and redirected to mere personal taste (Belligiano, 2009). With regard to the agricultural sector we are witnessing an ever-increasing attention to local products and certified quality from the stakeholders.

The European Union has implemented a series of regulatory measures in order to support and regulate such phenomena, such as Regulation EEC

2081/92 completed and reformed by the EC Reg. No 510/2006 and EC Reg. No 1151/2012, which introduced the possibility for certain products to bear the Protected Designation of Origin (hereinafter PDO) and the Protected Geographical Indication (PGI below). The great expectations that such measures initially gave way for are actually often compensated by rather modest results.

## THE SUCCESS OF PRIVATE LABEL PRODUCTS

The economic crisis has generated reflective changes in the distribution and consumption of food and agricultural products, particularly when these pertain to modern distribution which has been, for some time now, the main vehicle for the retail marketing of these products (Cristini, 2010; Sckokai 2011).

Such success is easily understood if we take into account those different factors, which, in recent years, have intensively altered market features. Today, in fact, the *private label* product (PL) is not only an attractive alternative to the "first price", but also, and above all, a tool through which conveying a range of premium products (Sckokai, 2010).

In this scenario PLs have gained, even in Italy, a growing consensus among consumers. The PLs have increased their market shares across Europe reaching 35.6% of value and 45% in units in 2012. This proportion varies from 17% in Italy to 50.5% in the UK, and their growth in Italy has reached more than 7% in value over the last 5 years (Symphony IRI, 2012). Today, the GDO chooses to produce PLs, reaching high economies of scale, thus acquiring a key role in the food chain market (Gandolfo and Sbrana, 2003). "The private label, thus, indicates a re-conquest of the active role of the distribution in food supply" (Fabris, Minestrone, 2010, p. 448).

## RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

The aim of the present research work is to demonstrate the existence of higher willingness to pay of consumers for GI products bearing a *private label*.

The cross positive effect of the two labels is studied in terms of price elasticity of demand (PED). PED is a measure used to show the responsiveness, or elasticity of the quantity demanded of a good or service to a change in its price. More precisely, it gives the percentage change in quantity demanded in response to a one percent change in price (*ceteris paribus* i.e. holding constant all the other determinants of demand, such as income). Thus it lets us understand the role of the price factor in the deci-

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sion-making process of consumers. Defining  $P$  as the price and  $Q$  as the quantity and  $\Delta Q$  and  $\Delta P$  as the changes during a given period, which in our case corresponds to a month, for the price and quantity sold, the elasticity  $\varepsilon$  of the demand curve is defined as:  $\varepsilon = \frac{\Delta Q/Q}{\Delta P/P}$ . The elasticity is calculated by linear regression between the logarithm of the values of price and quantity sold at different times of observation (months). In particular, given the relationship:  $\text{Log}(Q) = a + e \cdot \text{Log}(P) + \varepsilon$  the estimated coefficient  $e$ , corresponds to the slope of the estimated regression line, and represents the elasticity of the demand curve  $Q = f(P)$  in case of emergence of a statistical significance. The existing literature confirms the validity of our choice, particularly in studies using similar techniques by Tellis (1988) and Broadbent (1989). The longitudinal study carried out is based on a sample of 19,702 scanner data of 15 GI products sold in the Italian retailing company COOP Adriatica, in the province of Bologna, collected in the period January 2010-May 2012.

## RESULTS

We elaborated the data for 15 different PDO and PGI Italian products. The values that resulted from the analysis clearly indicate the validity of the hypothesis formulated.

Owing to synthesis constraints we show the results for the Mozzarella di Bufala Campana PDO in the table below (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Price Elasticity of Demand: comparison between buffalo mozzarella PDO Fior Fiore Coop brand and two private brands.

Product	Store (by size)	Elasticity	Significance	Average price (euro/pack)
Bufala Fior fiore 200 g	Iper	-2,47	**	2,54
Mandara 200 g	Iper	-3,92	***	2,69
Pettinicchio 200 g	Iper	-5,68	***	2,01
Bufala Fior fiore 200 g	Coop	-1,64	***	2,61
Mandara 200 g	Coop	-2,85	***	3,01
Pettinicchio 200 g	Coop	-2,27	***	2,15
Bufala Fior fiore 200 g	Coop e Coop	-1,37	No	2,58
Mandara 200 g	Coop e Coop	-3,81	***	2,91
Pettinicchio 200 g	Coop e Coop	-3,75	***	2,01
Bufala Fior fiore 200 g	Incoop	-0,67	No	2,82
Mandara 200 g	Incoop	-2,51	***	3,42
Pettinicchio 200 g	Incoop	-2,04	***	2,35

**Source:** Scanner data supplied by Coop Adriatica processed by the authors. Note: Sale sites in the Province of Bologna, period covered January 2010 - May 2012.

The values of the PED of the private label product (Bufala Fior Fiore) are significantly lower than those of two competing products (Mandara and Pettinicchio), even though the average price of the product is higher in half of the observations. This is specially true in medium (Coop) and large size

stores (Ipercoop). Such values indicate the width of the relative change of the quantity sold (in percentage) to the variation of the price. The lack of significance of the PED values of "mozzarella di bufala" PDO Fior Fiore in the two types of stores InCoop (very small size) and Coop&Coop (small size), seems to be a further confirmation of our hypothesis. In fact usually the smaller outlets are used by customers for complementary purchases or for the absence of alternatives in the area. In these situations price is not usually the main variable for their choice. Considering the sales point INCOOP, for example, in these types of store the price is usually higher by about 20% and the PED is lower than in the other outlets. The opposite is true for Hyper outlets, where, on the contrary price is fundamental for consumer choices.

## DISCUSSION

Our analysis has shown that the value of the PED of PDO and PGI products in Italy is significantly lower for those bearing also a private label, even if their price is higher.

Therefore the use of the private label could represent, in our opinion, an important tool to overcome or at least mitigate two critical points that are often an impediment to the full success on the market for products with a denomination of origin. First the lack of knowledge by consumers of the European Denominations, secondly, the polarization of the market between the "big denominations" and the "small denominations".

In our opinion PLs could represent a concrete evolution for some of the hundreds of PDO and PGI Italian products in order to emerge from the shadow of the local market. Certainly the asymmetry in bargaining power and the often unfavourable conditions imposed by the large retailers have to be taken into consideration when evaluating and adopting such marketing strategies.

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# Geographical indications for handicrafts

Delphine Marie-Vivien and Erik Thévenod-Mottet<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – To challenge the discrimination between the protection of geographical indications (GIs) for agricultural and non-agricultural products, the paper will review the history of GI regulations and analyses the GI specifications of agricultural and handicraft goods in the contrasting contexts of European and non European countries. Building on the comparative analysis of a wide range of cases, we highlight the need to reconsider the concepts of natural and/or human factors in determining the strength of the link to the origin for all kinds of goods. We recommend thus to abandon the criteria of product categorization and create a harmonized system for all GIs.

## FORGOTTEN GIS

The countries having established a legal system for the registration of Geographical Indications (GIs) *ex nihilo*, during the last two decades, generally provide one single instrument for all kinds of goods. These legislations allowed the registration of a growing number of handicraft GIs, in countries of the South where the potential is very important. As an example, more than two thirds of the already 180 GIs registered in India are for handicrafts. This contrasts with the situation in the European Union (EU) which currently only protects GIs for agricultural products and foodstuffs.

This discrimination does not stand up to historical analysis of GI protection. In France, the law of 1919 applied to all products without specifying the nature of the link with the place of origin, and gave the courts the power to define Appellations of Origin (AO). The Lisbon Agreement (1958) protects AOs for all products. It stipulates that the quality and characteristics are due exclusively or essentially to the geographical environment, including natural and human factors. In addition to the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), close to the AO, the European regulation of 1992 created the category of protected geographical indication (PGI)<sup>2</sup>. The PGI protects denominations mainly on the basis of their reputation, requiring only that one of the steps of production or processing takes place within the delimited area.

## ASSESSING THE LINK OF HANDICRAFT GIS WITH THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN

Europe, and especially France, which has developed the concept of *terroir*, favours natural factors (envi-

ronmental elements such as soil, climate and water), revealed by know-how, to characterise the link with the place of origin. A majority of handicrafts are made from natural or even agricultural raw materials, being wood, wool, cotton, etc. But most handicraft products, as it is the case also for some foodstuffs, are linked to their place of origin only through know-how. On the basis of ancient commercial exchanges, or because of more recent decrease or disappearing of the local supply, crafters use raw materials originating from more or less remote regions. Hence the definition of Harris Tweed, protected as a trademark since 1909, first required that the wool originates from Scotland, but the Harris Tweed Act of 1993 removed any requirement on the source of raw wool.

Most GIs for handicrafts do not consider the geographical source of the raw materials. As an example, the French appellation of origin Dentelle du Puy (lace), made exclusively by hand on a bobbin rather than a loom, was recognised by judges in 1931 under the law of 1919. Similarly, for Indian textiles, this know-how is on the method of production, which is always manual, or on the creation of motifs and designs. Often intricate, these are described in detail in GI applications. As examples, the Pochampally ikat and Orissa ikat GIs designate fabric made using the tie-and-dye technique – the threads are dyed while protecting certain parts according to specific designs, which then appear during weaving –, with diamond patterns in Pochampally and ombre floral motifs in Orissa.

However, in France, since the adoption in national law of the definition of the AO of the Lisbon Agreement which requests natural factors, know-how alone is not sufficient to justify the link with the origin. Thus, in the 1990s, Moustiers earthenware, which was undergoing a revival and was in danger of usurpation, was refused an AO, since the raw materials (fuller's earth, enamel, etc.) no longer came from the region of Moustiers, namely the presence of natural factors and human factors.

Yet, some handicraft products are linked to the place of origin by natural factors as well as know-how. In France, the Vallauris pottery appellation was recognised in 1930 for pottery made in this village with local clay; and the Cholet designation was registered in 1936 for cloth bleached in wet meadows with specific soil and water qualities. In India, the Kashmir pashmina GI designates shawls woven with very fine wool from Himalayan goats living in Ladakh, which is spun in the region of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and woven all over

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<sup>2</sup> See last EU Regulation n° 1151/2012 of 21 Nov.2012.



the State of Kashmir. Indian law thus includes the weaving stage, whereas in Europe, the Native Shetland wool PDO only concerns shearing and spinning processes, while weaving can be done anywhere using different methods.

#### HOW TO DEAL WITH GIS FOR HANDICRAFTS?

The historical development of GIS as a legal concept, rooted in Europe, is clearly focused on agro-food products. This is why this IP right is still strongly connected to agricultural policies, managed by the Directorate General for Agriculture of the EU. But neither the Lisbon Agreement nor the TRIPS Agreement limit their respective definitions for AO and GI to certain categories of goods. Even in some European countries, the legislation provides the recognition of handicrafts and industrial non-food products, whether through judicial decision (France), registration system (Serbia) or bilateral agreements (Switzerland). Hence, the developments in this field occurred mainly some decades ago, and the protection of those GIS is now at stake for an update.

Practices show that the link with the geographical origin for both handicrafts and agricultural products can be assessed according to identical criteria: natural factors and human factors, whether individually or combined. As a matter of fact, more and more PGIs are registered in Europe for foodstuffs linked to their geographical origin only through know-how, without any requirement on the geographical source of raw materials. Some examples are the Melton Mowbray pork pie PGI from UK, Lübecker Marzipan PGI from Germany, etc.

But such a concept of GI is still discussed, as for example the Alsace geranium PGI application was not accepted because the cuttings came from Kenya. Yet the horticulturists have developed know-how enabling them to obtain a geranium suited to the local climate, which flowers abundantly and rapidly; and all of the operations involved are conducted in Alsace, from rooting to packaging<sup>3</sup>.

Indeed, the question raised is whether a link to the place of origin through know-how alone, whatever the product is, is legally valid with respect to the definition of GI? Can know-how be rooted in an area, and can it confer a quality or reputation linked to the origin to the product? Several criteria are possible, beginning with the environment, especially the climate, which influences the "savoir-faire", as shown by the Alsace geranium. Next, the historical depth and the collective practices belonging to a particular area strengthen the continuity of the link to the origin, while maintaining the quality, which is refined over time. A community that has been settled in a place for a long time and shares techniques is more closely linked to that place than isolated individuals. And isolated artisans do not have the benefit of appraisal by their peers to perfect their production.

However, even if these criteria mean that the existence of the link with the geographical origin can be based on know-how taken alone; this link is weaker than in the case of a combination of natural and human factors. Hence the proposal to extend the principle of two geographical reference signs, such as PDOs and PGIs, by distinguishing them according to criteria of human factors and natural factors: the equivalent of the PDO would be granted when natural and human factors are combined; and the equivalent of the PGI when only human factors are involved.

#### REMOVE THE CATEGORISATION OF PRODUCTS

The implementation of the legal frameworks protecting GIS as illustrated here shows that the link with the place of origin can be analysed on the basis of human factors, individually or combined with natural factors, for agricultural products and foodstuffs as well as for handicrafts. There is therefore no reason to treat these categories of products differently.

At the WTO level, the distinction provided by the TRIPS Agreement between wines and spirit on one hand, and all other goods on the other hand is increasingly criticized as being unjustified. At the European level, it is necessary to review the approach separating different categories of products, which might be reinforced if the idea of creating a third regulatory framework dedicated to handicraft GIS is implemented. The opportunity of establishing a European office dedicated to GIS as it exists for other IPRs shall be better looked at. In France, following the misappropriation of the name of the city Laguiole, famous for its knives, the French authorities wish to extend GIS to cover processed products originating in a specific territory<sup>4</sup>. In that sense, a French bill on consumers' rights has been presented on 3 May 2013, providing for the creation of PGIs for non-agricultural products<sup>5</sup>, and entrusting the National Institute of Industrial Property with their registration. This bill thus maintains a product-based approach, as non-agricultural goods can only apply for a PGI and not for a PDO, even in the presence of natural factors. Such product categorization at the legal and institutional level in Europe and in France might prevent a necessary dissemination of the GI concept towards producers and consumers. A change of paradigm is therefore urgently required, as well as the implementation of a global system for protecting the link to the geographical origin, based on the concepts of natural *and/or* human factors.

<sup>4</sup> Answer from France to question No.5 to the EU Green Paper regarding the scope of application of Regulation 510/2006, p. 3, 6 January 2009.

<sup>5</sup> A new article would be added to the Consumer Code: Art. L. 115-1-1. "Constitutes a geographical indication, the name of a region or a specific place used to describe a product, other than agriculture, forestry, food or the sea products, which is native and has a specific quality, reputation or other features that can be attributed to its geographical origin and whose production or processing, preparation, manufacture or assembly takes place in the defined geographical area."

<sup>3</sup> Inao, Comité National des IGP, Labels Rouges et STG, 11 Feb. 2009.





# Bilateral agreements for geographical indications: the evaluation 'of the local by the local'?

D. Marie-Vivien, E.Biénabe and D.Sautier<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In the context of the 'frozen' international negotiations on a multilateral approach to geographical indication (GI) protection, the practice of signing bilateral or plurilateral agreements between countries or regions to ensure the reciprocal protection of GIs has significantly increased worldwide in recent years. This trend runs counter the multilateral protection of GIs under the TRIPs Agreement that WTO negotiations and the development of national legal frameworks in member States were in principle aiming to promote. In this paper, we argue that this new trend of using bilateral agreements results in a move towards an increased reliance on domestic and local evaluation for the international protection of GIs and thus a lack of trust in foreign systems. It also demonstrates an increased State intervention through the endorsement by the State of the task to protect its domestic GIs abroad. This substantially questions the approach to the internationalization of GIs through the TRIPs Agreement where GIs are considered an intellectual property right as any other. Interestingly this is in line with the Lisbon Agreement for the protection of appellations of origin, where the governing mechanism is the principle of the legitimacy of the State of origin in determining the existence of a link between a place and a product

## INTRODUCTION

GIs have been defined internationally by several multilateral agreements, mainly the Lisbon agreement on the international registration of appellation of origin of 1958 and the Trade-related aspect of intellectual property rights agreement (TRIPs) signed in 1995 under the WTO. Yet, very little progress has been achieved since 1995 in international negotiations on a multilateral approach to facilitate GI protection (Evans and Blakeney 2006). In this context of 'frozen' international negotiations, the increased worldwide practice is the signing of bilateral and plurilateral agreements regarding the reciprocal protection of foreign GIs.

In this paper, we propose a novel way to interpret these recent trends, which have so far not been properly captured in the literature. We argue that the increasing importance of bilateral agreements reflects a move towards an increased reliance on local evaluation for the international protection of GIs, and a stronger endorsement by the State of the task to protect its domestic GIs abroad, as being the legitimate institution to represent national producers in other countries. This in turns substantially questions the internationalization of GIs, which had for

the last two decades been intended to be governed under the rules of TRIPs Agreement as any other intellectual property right (IPR). Building upon an historical overview on the international protection of GIs through bilateral agreements, our analysis highlights two salient features of GIs that are being affected by this practice. We conclude with a discussion on the risks and opportunities attached to these dynamics.

## BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Bilateral and plurilateral agreements protecting GIs consist in the mutual recognition between two or more States for the protection of their domestic GIs in the contracting states. They can be specific to GIs or be general free-trade agreements. In this paper we chose to focus on bilateral agreements signed by the EU.

First, since mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, bilateral agreements were signed between countries within Europe and between these and non-European countries in the absence of any global international agreement for the protection of appellation of origin or GIs. France and Germany signed such an agreement on GIs in 1960, Spain and France in 1973.

The second phase of bilateral agreements, signed since 1990's,<sup>2</sup> mainly focused on wines and spirit. These agreements were used to solve conflicts on precise uses of names considered as specific within the EU (Champagne or Port for example) but not in some other countries. Those agreements were signed before the amendment of the EU Regulation in 2003, which opened EU protection to foreign GIs. After 2003, this EU registration for non-European products was first only accessible to the public authorities of the foreign country representing their producers.

Since 2006 and the decision of the Dispute Settlement Body of WTO, EU GIs protection can be directly applied to by foreign producers. Yet, in spite of the growing number of GI applications from third countries<sup>3</sup> filed with the EU Commission and undergoing examination process as any European GIs as well as the increasing registration of EU GIs in foreign countries according to the legal framework of the foreign country, the new strategy of the EU is

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<sup>2</sup> The EU signed agreements on wines with Australia (1994, 2008), South Africa (1999, 2002), Chile (2002), Canada (2004); the USA (2005); Mexico (1997) and Switzerland (1999).

<sup>3</sup> 15 as for May 2013 see <sup>3</sup> :

<http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/door/list.html>



to protect foreign GIs in Europe and European GIs abroad via bilateral agreements. Examples to be mentioned are EU-Korea Free Trade agreement, EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, Trade Agreement between the EU and Colombia and Peru, Comprehensive Association Agreement between the EU and Central America, Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement between the EU and Ukraine, and many still under negotiations.<sup>4</sup> The current agreements reflect a new conception for protecting GIs abroad in a more systematic way.

Some authors have highlighted the risk of imbalance between the EU listing dozens of GIs and third countries barely having a few of them (Covarrubia 2011). Others argue that the main interests of bilateral agreements is that they provide a way to overcome difficulties related to operating under different national systems of protection and ensure a very effective protection for the GIs listed (Thévenod-Mottet and Marie-Vivien 2011). In any case, this renewed role conferred to the State through these bilateral agreements raises questions for the governance of the international protection of GIs.

#### THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE PROTECTION OF GIs

The State in signing bilateral agreements decides which GIs shall be included in the agreement. Interestingly, such role is similar to the role conferred to the State in the Lisbon Agreement where applications are filed at WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organisation) by the competent authority of the country of origin, representing its producers. Similarly, in Europe, before 2006, producers of foreign countries had to rely on their public authorities to file GI applications in Europe. This implies that the State of origin acts at international level in the name of its producers. It manifests an increasing role for the State in GI enforcement, in line with other provisions in the new European regulation n°1151/2012 such as the *ex officio* protection of GIs.

#### AN EVALUATION OF THE LOCAL BY THE LOCAL

In bilateral agreements once the GI is registered in the country of origin, there is no evaluation by the foreign country of the existence of the criterion of its validity, i.e. the existence of a link between the quality, reputation or characteristics of the product and the place of origin link between product and place. This is also the case in the Lisbon system, which however provides for an opposition delay of one year. This implies that each party accepts that the other party's examinations are sufficient for their domestic market.

Conversely, this contrasts with the approach to the international protection of GIs under the TRIPs Agreement where GIs are defined as an IPR and where producers are directly applying for the protection of their GIs in each foreign country.

However, as confirmed by the experience of the EU since 2006<sup>5</sup>, assessing the validity of the link with the origin for far away localities is a difficult task. The principle of State sovereignty with each country deciding on the granting of rights on their territory does not seem to be easily applicable for GIs. There is also a fear that GIs might not be accepted in foreign country, even if very old and famous.<sup>6</sup> This certainly influence the preference to rely on 'the local' (the country of origin) to evaluate the local (the link to the origin) for international recognition.

#### GIs, A VERY SPECIFIC IPR

This practice of bilateral agreements points out that GIs are very specific IPRs where the country of origin, in which GI production is embedded, is more legitimate to decide upon the existence of such a link and where the State represent its producers. Indeed, such types of bilateral agreements are not found for other intellectual property rights (IPRs) where agreements might concern provisions on substantive law such as the nature of objects patentable or the level of protection conferred but do not include a list of particular patents or trademarks to be protected automatically in the other signatory party.

State international action for GIs through bilateral agreements provides a mechanism for supporting producers and domestic industries in terms of cost and management of international protection, in line with their conception of GIs as a rural development tool. Yet a risk of exclusion may also arise for certain industries if bilateral agreements become the main instrument for international protection. Indeed, industries would then be strongly dependent on the State's choice of which GIs shall be included in such agreements, or shall be excluded, a risk that might in particular threaten small productions.

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<sup>4</sup><http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/accessing-markets/intellectual-property/geographical-indications/>, consulted May 9th 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Personal interview.

<sup>6</sup> See for example the difficulties faced by Roquefort in Brazil.



# Is the Geographical Indication a tool for territorial development in the Brazilian context?

## Critical issues for the institutionalization of a GI system in a developing country

Paulo Andre Niederle<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – This paper discusses the institutionalization of the GI system in Brazil. Emphasis is placed on the evaluative disputes underway in hybrid forums where different actors seek to build compromises concerning production rules and standards. Linking economic sociology and a conventionalist approach to market institutions, analysis highlights the different understandings of GI as they emerge from the discourses and practices of actors involved in food qualification processes. The results demonstrate that GI projects have been developed without a stabilized institutional frame, thus leading to the reproduction of a variety of subsystems implemented within different territorial and sectorial contexts. This in turn has created obstacles to market development.

### INTRODUCTION

The recent development of the GIs in Brazil offers a distinctive example of social construction of markets that articulates three processes. First, the market structure requires the development of a social network including a variety of actors involved in new production and consumption circuits. Second, in order to render an organized and well-established network, a stable institutional arrangement (laws, rules and conventions) that allows the actors to exchange must be defined. Linked to this there is a process of negotiation around the configuration of a referential of quality for GI products, generating compromises between diverse evaluative worlds.

These processes are responsible for what we call institutionalization of the GI system. This paper analyses the relationship between actors, artifacts and values that define this qualification device and integrate it into the system at the national level, allowing for its adjustment to different local conditions (responsibilities of organizations, requirement and recognition rules, constitutive elements of the Code of Practices, minimum control standards). Our evidences suggest that projects have been developed without a consolidated legislation, thus leading to the reproduction of a variety of subsystems, implemented in different territorial contexts.

The technical and institutional choices processed in each GI project have contributed to perpetuating certain conceptions of this qualification device that are not necessarily common to all of them. Neither are they perfectly articulated within a broader regulatory framework. This situation creates obstacles to

territorial development and poses a challenge to producers, researchers and policy makers.

### GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATIONS IN BRAZIL

Current Brazilian legislation defines two categories of GIs, each one corresponding to a specific legal instrument. The Indication of Source (IS) refers to the name of a geographic area that has been recognized for the production of a good or the provision of a service. Thus, it concerns the reputation of an area in relation to a good. On the other hand, Designation of Origin (DO) designates the name of a geographic area in which a product or service is unique given differential qualities which are due exclusively or essentially to the geographical environment, including natural and human factors. In this case, emphasis is on the qualitative attributes (Federal Law 9.279/1996).

This law defines only GI types and their use by producers. It is supplemented by the Resolution 75/2000 of the National Institute of Industrial Property, which defines the minimum requirements for registration. However, because this resolution constitutes a legal instrument of more limited scope, it still leaves a number of gaps concerning such issues as the absence of legal instruments for penalization of producers who do not comply with the Code of Practices. Thus, over time, a common understanding has emerged around GI development in Brazil, seen as unfolding within a fragile and incomplete institutional framework analogous to the current context of most of the developing countries in which GI has been adopted over the last decade (Wilkinson and Cerdan 2011).

This situation has led to the proliferation of local conventions and standards that have been put together directly by the actors involved in the qualification projects. As important as formal rules, the operation of the Brazilian GI system is fundamentally dependent on a compromise between different local actors who negotiate the construction of tacit rules and common conventions.

### AN EVOLUTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

Two challenges represent significant issues about the institutionalization of a GI system in Brazil. First, a particular understanding that conceives IS and DO as distinct stages of the same process of qualification, despite the fact that, at least in legal terms, these instruments are differentiated protection tools of intangible property.

The experience of the Vale dos Vinhedos GI is representative of a trajectory followed by several other GI projects, wherein the request for an IS –

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which focuses on reputation and requires a less strict Code of Practices – was used as a strategy of producer organizations, urging them to move forward collectively on a project for product qualification. This project allowed them to build some understandings and agreements necessary for the formation of the social network and collective governance tools. From there, they were able to build a compromise under the basic assumption that IS should function as a catalyst for technical changes to improve quality, up until the moment that the product is proved ready for the demand of a DO. The period between IS recognition and DO request is used for studies that contribute to essential decisions indispensable for defining the typicality of the product and its link to its origin: choice of cultivars and breeds, production methods, control structure, etc. In other words, this is a period for defining relevant actors, objects, and techniques.

#### GI SYSTEM AND SECTORIAL REGULATION

As mechanisms for development, market access, and added value, GIs depends on product conformity to a regulatory framework that defines conditions of production and consumption (Sylvander et al. 2006). The second challenge we would like to discuss in this paper concerns the unavoidable coexistence of GI regulation and the different established institutional frames linked to food chains. The gap between industrial standards and regional foods has generated apprehension regarding product recognition and intangible knowledge, traditions, and local customs (Niederle, 2011).

At the center of this debate is the raw milk cheese production (Vitrolles, 2011). In 2011, the Serro region in the State of Minas Gerais obtained recognition for the first Brazilian IS for cheeses. This represents the recognition of a traditional product for which our first historical records date back to the eighteenth century. Deeply embedded within local culture, the product gained notoriety and increasing market appeal. This sociocultural embeddedness led to product recognition by the Brazilian Institute of Historical Patrimony (IPHAN) as a cultural good thus protecting its methods and production processes.

Yet it is precisely these methods and processes that are criticized from the technical perspective that promotes a representation of quality focused on public health aspects. Similarly to many other traditional cheeses, Serro cheese is made from raw milk. This creates barriers to its commercialization in the face of current legislation, whose rules are incompatible with these traditional methods of production, product characteristics, and current forms of sale. The gap between industrial standards and the importance these cheeses have acquired within different commercial circuits has generated apprehension regarding product recognition and intangible knowledge.

The implications are diverse and show how the institutional framework contributes to designing the network of social actors who work with GI in Brazil. One example is how researchers and organizations, among them the IPHAN but also the Slow Food movement, have played a critical role within this network. According to emerging criticism, many of the established norms for GI recognition (where this runs according to the current sectorial legislation) may contribute to misrepresenting the product, changing not only its organoleptic attributes, but essential forms of production and *savoir-faire*.

At the center of this debate lies an issue regarding the possibility of GI approval of products incompatible with sectorial legislation. Theoretically, this would not impede GI registration, as the GI can only be used to exclude the possibility that producers outside the geographic area make indiscriminate use of the product's name by selling something that is completely different from what has traditionally been manufactured. Yet from a practical point of view, there is an even more compelling issue to be addressed. Even in the aftermath of an attempt to implement a Brazilian unitary system of sanitary control, diverse geographical scales continue to prevail (municipal, state, and national levels) defining where products can be sold. At present, Serro cheese is allowed to circulate only within state perimeters, drastically reducing the impact of GI as a mechanism for market development and adding value, two justifications that are recurrent in all GI projects.

#### FINAL REMARKS

In this paper, we have revealed how intricate this social construction of a market for GI products has been, in light of the complex relationships among actors with different quality conventions. In Brazil, the GI projects have been developed without a consolidated frame of rules, thus leading to the reproduction of a variety of GI subsystems, implemented in different contexts. Technical choices made in each project have contributed to the perpetuation of certain conceptions of this qualification device that are not necessarily common to all of them. Neither are they perfectly articulated within a broader regulatory framework. This situation creates obstacles to market development as a result of the high level of irreversibility of some grades and standards that are becoming well established in the different territories and chains. As a consequence, the stabilization of the qualitative conventions that have been produced in the last decade defies producers, researchers, and policy makers to rethink the course of GI institutionalization in Brazil.

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# Geographical indicators and the disarticulation approach: understanding the factors delinking people and places from agro-industrial commodity chains

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**Abstract** – The goal of this study is to understand the potential of GIs in sustaining rural livelihoods by focusing on a comparative analysis of both resource rents (derived from non-human factors) and policy rents (derived from human factors) that can be disarticulated from the homogenizing effect of agro-industrial paradigm. For this aim, the study presents a case study of Aegean Cotton GI and Aegean Olive Oils GIs in Turkey using a disarticulation approach based on global commodity chain analysis. In the study, the resource and policy rents are analyzed to identify special characteristics of the products, which in turn conclude with many different governance structures of the products supply chains in question. It is argued that some key characteristics of agro-products can work as barriers to enter these supply chains on the basis of quality (power asymmetries in defining quality imposed by non-human or human factors), geography (power asymmetries in linking and delinking products with consumers), and coordination (the power asymmetries in the distribution of added value). The juxtaposition of quality, geography and coordination creates a 6-cell layout for a comparative analysis to understand how a resource rent through the bounty of nature can be disarticulated from the homogenizing effect of agro-industrial paradigm, and how this resource rent allows for a policy rent which can be envisaged by different product differentiation strategies.

## INTRODUCTION

The legal definition of GI in TRIPs has different interpretations and adopted with different implementations in countries which do not have a long tradition in GI labelling. This study provides some empirical evidence to show how this GI definition will be negotiated by different actors through different articulations of “a given quality, reputation, or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin” (TRIPs) in a particular district in Turkey. It further aims to show how a particular GI is initially recognized, imagined and designed by related local actors, national institutions and global bodies by assuming an “ontological separation between non-human and human factors” (Goodman, 2001), and forcing an epistemology in the legitimization of science either “interpreting what is there in nature to be known” or “viewing nature as

an obstacles to be overcome and controlled for production” (Barham, 2003).

The GI literature presents a theoretical overview on the revitalization of interest in “place” as localism in the globalizing world. This study focuses on the main approaches in understanding of how GIs challenge conventional agricultural system “due to their explicit reference to place or territory” (Barham, 2003). It concludes whether GIs challenge or empower the rural livelihoods is an empirical question and depends on the conditions within which resource and policy rents can be disarticulated from the agribusiness appropriation and substitution.

With regard to the discussion on the human-nature relation, this study aims to analyze how resource and policy rents link people and places to certain commodity chains and delink from others, but also to consider how these rents “condition the constitutive position and power of the nature and human actors” in promoting GI production systems (Faier, 2011).

## RESEARCH

This study identifies and analyzes the roles of resource rents through a disarticulation approach of global commodity chain analysis (Bair, 2011). The disarticulation approach is a systematic understanding of commodity chains as the results of ongoing and continuous interactions between production of goods, places and subjects and their reproduction. This approach focuses on the process of ‘linking’ and ‘delinking’, to explore the connections that tie people and places to a particular chain, thereby excluding them from others (Bair, 2011).

The concepts of resource and policy rents are used in this study to trace and identify how the separation between human and non-human factors is fixed historically as social structures, and how the discontinuous and partial industrialization of agriculture put a hierarchy over the role of human and non human factors in constituting the quality identified in GI projects and policies. The agro-exceptionalist perspective is helpful here to question how appropriation and substitution strategies of agro-business open a space where local actors recognize and claim a monopoly rent which depends on a collective border of a distinctive quality. This perspective tells us that there are some factors that make agriculture relatively unattractive for industrial capitals. In both

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land-based (appropriation) and non-land based activities (substitution), industrial capital aims to overcome some obstacles imposed by nature.

Table 1. Resource Rents and Policy Rents.

	Resource Rents	Policy Rents
Quality	The link between product and locality	The GI definition of local product
Geography	The link between production and consumption	Volume of production under GI protection
Coordination	The link between product and industry	Governance and participation of GI

Technological changes vary depending on the seed in question and the limitations imposed by the inability to reduce its natural or biological process for industrialization (Goodman, 1987). This in turn makes resource rents a competitive advantage for local actors in creating and conducting a collective monopoly based on local resources that give the non-industrialized food its distinctive quality. So it is crucial to understand how different options traded off by local actors in bordering a geographical and cultural localization determine the effectiveness of the resource and policy rents for maintaining rural livelihoods.

#### METHODOLOGY

This study presents an empirical research revealing a comparative analysis on rent generating activities and mentalities articulated by both the agro-business and local actors in the global agriculture. It will present the findings of a comparative case study on Aegean Cotton GI and Aegean olive oils GIs (Edremit Gulf, South Aegean and Ayvalik) in Turkey. The disarticulation approach of global commodity chain analysis is used to explain the varying effects of cotton and olive oil chains on the basis of resource rents. It also explains the varying effects of the three Aegean olive oil GIs on the basis of policy rents traded off by local actors in the design of these three GI chains. Data are drawn from 25 semi-structured interviews conducted in a one-month fieldwork in 2011, and 56 in-depth interviews and 150 survey interviews conducted in a four-month fieldwork in 2012 with actual producers and professionals from local institutions in Western Turkey.

#### FINDINGS

The research findings show that GIs on olive oil are more effective than on cotton, since they base on a high non-identity of labor and production time, strong relations with the local communities, short and direct links between production and consumption and higher concentration of supply chains. Indeed, if a seed has a natural big gap between labor and production time, it is relatively less articulated in appropriation and substitution strategies. GIs can set up a strong (effective) control mechanism from the beginning to the final stages if the product has direct links with final consumers.

On the other hand, the GI project of Ayvalik olive oil is working quite effectively compared to the two other Turkish olive oils as it based on a high reputation, a small volume of production and a bottom-up decision making process. If GI protection is based on the premise that a product with similar characteristics cannot be reproduced in a different human/physical environment, the negative impacts of industrialization on the rural environment can be diminished. However, a GI can only be operated in this way if the association between product qualities and the area of geographical origin is indeed not arbitrary. In light of this, policy rents should be based on a collective action and learning process by making the underlying relationship between society and environment.

#### CONCLUSION

The resource rents occur when there is a strong link between product and local nature/culture; and the geography is constructed as a traceability system which positions the relations of spatial proximity (production-consumption). In addition, the link between product and industry should be imposed by the unique characteristic of seeds that limits the agro-business appropriation and substitution.

Policy rents in turn captures the resource rents of a specific quality by defining product characteristics with a claim that product cannot be produced outside of the area with similar quality, the resource rents of a geographical proximity through the delimiting the production area, and lastly the coordination in linking natural and cultural resources to industry by developing some participation and governance forms in decision making process of GI protection.

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# From claims to rights: establishing Geographical Indications for cheese in Mexico

Thomas Poméon and Gilles Allaire<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Geographical Indications (GIs) have significantly spread out beyond its initial European bases. This led to reconsider and debate on the nature and legitimacy of GI concept, the place of origin-related quality, conditions for implementing a GI, and its social implications and impacts. From Mexican traditional cheese GIs implementation case studies, we examine the link between qualification regimes, which hold justifications and claims about GIs, and the property regimes (as bundles of rights), that arise from a GI recognition and implementation. In a context of blurred definition of the GI concept (objectives, procedures), we show the stakes and impacts of different claims confrontation on the implementation of a GI as a common pool resource: inclusion/exclusion of resources in the GI, property rights distribution and local development impacts.**

## INTRODUCTION: GIS IN QUESTIONS

Beyond classic intellectual property rights debates, we consider a GI as a “common”, based on a set of natural resources, reputation, different knowledge (technical, commercial, relational), etc. Access to this complex common resources system (Allaire and Biénabe, 2013) is ruled through the attribution of a bundle of rights concerning the uses of a GI (operational rules: who can use the GI and how?) and collective-choice rules (who can participate to operational rules determination?) (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992). In terms of resources, a GI system provides reputation on which authorized users can take advantage to capture added value and market positions. It also provides spill over effects, on landscape, local identity and pride, others local economic activities, etc.; they can be seen as local development effects, and they have an important place in the justification of GIs. Nevertheless, GIs’ impacts differ largely case by case.

Involving multiple levels, from local to national, and stakeholders with diverse motivations, the set-up of GIs refers to a well or little defined balance of power and to modes of appropriation of food heritage based on different logics. Claims and expectations are multiple and variable (Sylvander et al., 2006), although they tend to be stabilized by the establishment of institutional arrangements linking the introduction of GIs as a property regime to a qualification regime which holds justifications and claims. With the GI concept spreading, usually with an explicit claim of promoting local development, we

want to explore the transition from a set of claims to standards of quality and to a property regime.

Even if GIs have a relatively long history in Mexico, since the recognition of the Denomination of Origin (DO) to Tequila in the 60s (included in Lisbon Agreement system), the GI legal provisions remain incomplete and rarely used. Initiatives aiming at the introduction of GIs for Mexican traditional cheeses, studied in a doctoral thesis (Poméon, 2011) and mobilized here as empirical basis, demonstrate the difficulties and uncertainties coming with a GI approach. Involving different actors but also different legal status, they prove the plasticity of GI concept itself, of claims that underlie it and of property regimes that emerge. We then discuss the nature of GIs and put forward the relationship between concepts of quality, claims and the definition and implementation of a GI.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

Our study is based on the analysis of legal texts as well as documents from administrations (Instituto Mexicano de la Propiedad Industrial –IMPI; federal and state administrations) and regulatory bodies in charge of GIs. A field work, conducted through semi-directed interviews and questionnaires between 2007 and 2010, allowed us to collect data from different stakeholders concerned by cheese GIs implementation: dairy farmers, cheese makers, retailers, researchers, national and local officials (Poméon, 2011). We focus on two cheese GIs projects: Cotija cheese and Bola de Ocosingo cheese. If their features, their territory and the design of GIs implementation vary, they coincided in their aim to obtain a legal status to add values to a traditional cheese associated with a specific area.

Data were analysed through an analysis grid including topics about the “how” and the “why” associated with GIs implementation project, and their consequences. We refer to theoretical elements of commons pools resources theory, mainly around Ostrom works, and conventions theory.

## FROM RIGHTS TO DEFINE GIS TO RIGHTS DEFINED BY GIS

Firstly we present collective-choice rules which refer to legal provisions and procedures framework for GI implementation. DOs are backed up with few articles of the Industrial Property Law, and for Collective Trademark (CT – considered by IMPI as a substitute for DOs) it is even shorter. Practically there is no

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specific and explicit regulation about the process of DO request, with just 2 months of public consultation. The IMPI is the only responsible for evaluating and conferring DO protection. State is the holder of the DO, which is accessible to any producer that respects DO specifications (area, process, etc.). Any changes of specification should be done under the auspices of IMPI. For the CT, specifications for its use should be prepared by the entities which apply for its registration; as it is not at a legal status foreseen for GI protection, there are no formal provisions on this matter. A CT has a ten-year renewable duration. It cannot be transmitted to another entity, but new members can be welcomed.

In both cases, the IMPI rejected DO. Its justification was blurred and unofficial. Producer organizations applied then to a CT. Legally, a CT is not suitable for legal protection of geographical name, as it is reserved to DOs. But producer organizations managed to obtain the registration of CT similar to GI, respectively "Queso Cotija Region de Origen" (Cot.) and "Queso Bola de Ocosingo" (BdO). If we examine now operational rules that govern access and use of CT, both cases shared the same formal rules to access to CT: to be member of the entity who holds the CT. But *de facto* a producer can be excluded from using CT, even if he respects product specifications. It is what happened with BdO: the producer association includes some relatives, involved or not in production, while historical cheese makers are kept aside. In COT case, the association was opened to all producers, but conflicts challenged this opening. Concerning usage rules, BdO specifications are succinct and evasive, with no clearly defined production area, no rules for milk production. At the opposite, COT is backed with detailed and stringent specifications, from milk production to marketing. Concerning control and sanction for CT, rules could be freely determined, but in fact was still undefined.

If the both GI projects aimed to avoid unfair competition from low quality imitation, to obtain added value for identified products, claims and quality concept that inspired each of them differ. Actually they can be related to the design of access and withdrawal rights. In COT case, the GI project was connected with claims for heritage valorisation, including all the traditional *rancheros* way of producing and living, with strong expectations for local development. The QdB project was only based on a claim for reaching new markets, with expected benefits concentrated on few cheese makers. The conception of quality was dominated by an industrial-marketing vision (to reach a standardized product, introducing pasteurization and joining all the production in one site), while in COT case quality concept resulted from a hybridisation between improve quality without modifying Cotija productive tradition and typical quality.

#### GIS POTENTIAL FOR TRADITIONAL MEXICAN CHEESES

As we saw, laws and legal procedures are blurred. The IMPI (and most of public agencies and administrations) considers GI protection, especially DO,

unsuitable for small scale and artisanal productions. Moreover, it lacks capacity and expertise in managing GIs. It'd rather suggested to producers that they should choose other kind of legal status, as CT, without effective protection for geographical denomination. DOs appear to be reserved for large scale and standardised production mainly oriented toward export; and/or production with sufficient political lobbying capacity. The example of Tequila shows the predominant view about GIs. Specifications are decided by a small group of large Tequila's companies, mainly multinational; they control product specification and norms/standards, and agave supply (through own production, contracts and control devices). Heritage-related aspects are used as rhetoric for marketing, as a *mise-en-scene* of the tradition disconnected from the reality but not from market interest. Agave producers are hardly represented and powerless.

Mexico has no specific protection for traditional foodstuffs. Traditional cheeses, made with raw milk, are illegal regarding sanitary regulation; they survive through informal but still very active production and marketing networks. Operators of traditional cheese production are poorly represented in regulation and sector institutions, so their interests are disregarded. They are isolated, and are few informed about GI concept and what they could manage through it. Obtaining a GI could have been a way to protect and valorise traditional cheese production, but a lot of barriers remains. DO in Mexico seem to be a concept fit to and by Tequila large companies, and heritage foodstuff defence is more a politic and marketing rhetoric between rather than a real policy. This context, associated with local difficulties for organized cooperation between people (due to mistrust, lack of leadership, corruption, poverty, etc.), show that activation of local development dynamics through GIs would need long-term and multi-level process to be effective.

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# Producers registering Geographical Indications in the European Union -The case of the pioneer Café de Colombia-

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**Abstract** – Geographical Indications (GIs), traditionally found in southern European Union (EU) countries, allow producers to communicate the geographical origin and value of food products to consumers by a seal. Café de Colombia was the first non-European food product granted a registered Geographical Indication, specifically a Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) under the EU regulation and recently obtained the Café de Colombia PGI for Switzerland. The eight design principles drawn by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues served to examine the institutional framework for enabling the registration of the PGI collectively owned by producers grouped at the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia. The aim of this paper is to present results for the first principle “defined boundaries”. Data was collected through mixed-methods (e.g. semi-structured interviews) and processed by qualitative text analysis. Preliminary results show the applicability of the design principles; thus, strong and well-established institutions and collective action were crucial for the registration; moreover, Café de Colombia provides many benefits for growers, such as deeper knowledge of regional coffees, but also implies collective efforts and challenges. Since 2007, developing country producers are accessing European GIs markets and are establishing their own procedures by linking region, production systems and quality.

*Key words:* GIs, coffee producers, collective action

## INTRODUCTION

Although compared to fair trade and organic food, GIs are less widespread and studied; they can play a powerful role for rural development around the world (Giovannucci et. al., 2009; Belletti & Marescotti, 2011). Until December 2012, six developing countries such as China, India and Thailand have applied for GIs under the EU regulation (EC 510/2006, EC 1151/2012; DOOR database, 2012). Collective action in different forms of organizations (e.g. consor-

tia, alliances) and mobilization of actors are necessary to define and implement EU GIs (Reviron & Chappuis, 2011).

We aim to identify the opportunities and barriers for producers to access and benefit from an EU PGI in order: (1) to understand the role and applicability of Ostrom’s eight design principles for collective management (1990, 2000): (i) defined boundaries; (ii) proportional equivalence between benefits and costs; (iii) collective choice arrangements; (iv) monitoring; (v) graduated sanctions; (vi) conflict resolution mechanisms; (vii) minimal recognition of rights; and (viii) nested organizations for effective collective action needed for the Café de Colombia PGI; (2) to expose the institutional conditions that (dis-)favor peasants’ access to and benefit from GI markets; and (3) to present potentials for and barriers to a GI application and implementation in developing countries. Our guiding assumption is that strong institutional frameworks, -such as those provided by the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia (FNC) - endorse collective action making the access to GI markets possible. This study makes part of a wider research in which cross-country comparisons (Austria, Italy and Colombia) of institutional frameworks and their effects on transaction efforts, benefits and risks until the registration of selected PGIs will be analyzed.

## METHODS

We used a case study based institutional analysis (Poteete et. al., 2010). We employed mixed-methods for data collection during the field work from June through September 2012 with a total of 82 semi-structured interviews and 7 group interviews which included coffee growers, roasters, representatives of involved organizations and coffee experts (e.g. FNC, cooperatives, Comités Regionales/Municipales, the research center -Cenicafé-) along the Colombian coffee regions (15 towns). The interviews and visits to coffee markets contributed to the understanding on how institutions shape supply chains and interactions. Additionally, we reviewed related documents. The qualitative text analysis of transcribed interviews, documents and field notes is still on-going. The categories of analysis derived from the eight design principles (deductive codes) were complemented with other institutional aspects (inductive codes) relevant for this case.

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## RESULTS

The prompt registration process of the Café de Colombia PGI in the EU, from 2005 to 2007, was possible due to the long coffee tradition and the well-established institutional framework that Colombian coffee growers, under the umbrella of the FNC, have built up in the past 86 years. The FNC is a large coffee association -gathering more than 500,000 coffee producers. Despite the limited GI experience and related expertise (e.g. on how to access legal services, scientific knowledge or financial resources), these coffee growers were able to demonstrate the link between the product and the geographical origin, according to Colombian national and international legal systems.

We have preliminary observed the applicability of the Ostrom's eight design principles, regarded as essential elements or conditions for collective management and for sustaining common goods such as in our case the access to PGIs. This paper only discusses the first principle (defined boundaries), which outlines the boundaries of a resource system (physical boundary) as well as the individuals with rights to it (social boundary). For this principle the collective efforts are appreciated in two parts: (1) Establishment of the geographical boundaries (coffee states and altitudes) and coffee quality: this was possible once scientists working for the coffee research center (Cenicafé) elaborated a product (coffee) specification. They established a country coffee profile, by identifying high quality coffee (properties) and growing areas (linking quality product and geographical area). Thus, PGI coffee can only be supplied by Colombian coffee farmers (located in the 20 coffee states) according to the quality provided. Scientists have analyzed approximately 13,000 national coffee samples and 600 international origin coffees. Researchers had the support of extension staff to reach the coffee growers and obtain the coffee samples. Here, collective efforts were significant in terms of human and financial resources and logistics. FNC staff stated that the delimitation effort was a significant innovation regarding scientific and territorial analysis. Consensus was not needed to agree on production or quality parameters, as the quality arrangements have been achieved over time (since 1928) and coffee farmers are familiarized with them. The challenge was to link the already established quality with the geographical origin. (2) Definition of (access) rules for potential PGI users: Colombian coffee growers depend on industrial processors (roasters, brand owners), as they mainly export green coffee to be roasted and packed overseas. Institutional agreements (e.g. contracts signed between roasters and the FNC) are necessary for allowing brand owners to make use of the Café de Colombia PGI outside the country. The FNC started to involve roasters after the PGI was obtained. Hence, considerable efforts are needed to inform about PGIs, negotiate and decide on the terms of the use of the PGI-label. Coffee growers perceived the PGI as an alternative tool (in addition to previ-

ously registered trademarks around the world) for protecting Colombian coffee in 28 countries at once.

First results also show some challenges linked to the PGI implementation. Colombian coffee growers may be in a disadvantaged position compared to EU producers regarding the labelling rules. The Union symbol designed to publicize PGIs shall appear on the labelling of EU products while it is optional for third-country goods.

## DISCUSSION

Certainly, the Café de Colombia PGI is a worthy case for other developing countries as learning experience of an efficient GI registration process in the EU. Preliminary analysis shows an explanatory value of the eight design principles for the very efficient registration process of Colombian coffee PGI. By delegating the registration efforts to the FNC professional staff, the 500.000 coffee growers could minimize efforts and risks of GI registration. This PGI registration was possible due to the strong coffee organization established long before the conception of the GI strategy; a situation that is different from many traditional GI cases observed in Europe. For PGI implementation, coffee growers depend on roasters for having added the PGI logo in the final product (coffee packages). Thus, one major challenge after registration is to establish common supply chain governance between producers and industrial processors.

## CONCLUSION

GIS have become an alternative for developing countries to accessing the EU market, building on common supply chains and bringing together developing country producers and European consumers. Robust institutions for collective action are needed for successful GI registration and implementation.

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# The Portuguese Agrifood Traditional Products: Main Constraints and Challenges

Isabel Rodrigo, Artur Cristóvão, Manuel Luís Tibério, Alberto Baptista, Miguel Pires and Lara Maggione<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Although Portugal registers a large number of protected brand names, its economic turnover is very low when compared to the other southern EU-Member States. In 2007, this economic turnover was around 70 million euros, representing only 0,5% of the EU-27 estimated wholesale value of PDO/PGI agricultural products. To identify and analyze the main reasons of this weak economic significance of the Portuguese quality traditional agrifood products, in spite of the number and diversity of PDO/PGI sectors and products, are the main goals of this paper. Despite the great diversity of published research in the field of Portuguese quality traditional agrifood products, it is important to take up the overall picture and assessment about the main constraints and challenges currently faced by the different actors involved either in PDO/PGI products of each sector or in standard products. In parallel, the research aimed to assess other issues, namely, the resilience of local agrifood production systems and their contribution to rural development. The fieldwork, still in progress, is based on face-to-face interviews of stakeholders located in the two Portuguese regions with the greatest number of Portuguese quality traditional agricultural products and foodstuffs: North and Alentejo.

## INTRODUCTION

The EU agricultural product quality policy, introduced in 1992 by the Geographical Indications (GI) scheme and presently governed by the Council Regulation (EC) 1151/2012 on the promotion of Protected Geographical Indications (PGI) and Protected Designations of Origin (PDO) for agricultural products and foodstuffs, aims to highlight the quality of individual products resulting from a particular origin and/or production method. To protect names from misuse and imitation, to help consumers to understand the specific character of the products, to encourage diverse agricultural production and to improve the income of farmers and retain population in rural areas are the main goals of this policy. Bearing in mind the social and economic potential of such policy to rural development, a policy that has progressively become one of the major objectives of the Common Agriculture Policy, other European and national programs have been launched and implemented in

parallel to the GI scheme. The co-financing of programs to support investment projects made by farmers and/or agricultural and processing firms involved in labeling products and related initiatives are examples of the referred programs that, along with others, aim to preserve and promote such labeled products embedded in local/rural specific natural resources, knowledge, traditions, and cultural identities and heritages.

The number and the economic significance of PDO-PGI products translate, to a large extent, the important role of such programs and policies. In 2008, the PDO-PGI European agricultural products and foodstuffs (excluding wines and spirit drinks but including beers and other beverages) had an estimated wholesale value of 14,5 billion euros for 434 PDO and 330 PGI.

The GI scheme policy has played an important role not only in recovering but, essentially, in preventing the disappearance of a large and diverse amount of traditional agricultural products and foodstuffs, through their economic and social (re)valorization. Without that policy, many of such products could now be lost or, at least, would not travel out of their regional and national borders. This is valid for the referred EU southern traditional products and for the Portuguese ones in particular.

## STUDY OF THE PORTUGUESE CASE

Although Portugal registers a large number of protected brand names<sup>2</sup>, its economic turnover is very low when compared to the other southern EU-MS. In 2007, this economic turnover was around 70 million euro, representing only 0,5% of the EU-27 estimated wholesale value of PDO/PGI agricultural products (GPP, 2010). To identify and analyze the main reasons of this weak economic significance of Portuguese quality traditional agrifood products, in spite of the large number and diversity of PDO/PGI products and sectors, are the main goals of this paper.

Despite the great diversity of published research in the field of Portuguese quality traditional agrifood products<sup>3</sup>, it is important to have the overall picture and assessment about the main constraints and challenges currently faced by the different actors involved either in PDO/PGI products of each sector,

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<sup>2</sup> In 2009, Portugal had 121 brand names registered: 59 PDO; 59 PGI and 3 Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) (GPP, 2012:5).

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive list of the different topics of this published research, see Tibério & Diniz (2012).



in their reference markets<sup>4</sup>, and in corresponding standard products<sup>5</sup>. In parallel, the research aims to assess issues like the resilience of local agrifood production systems and their contribution to rural development.

The fieldwork, still in progress, is based on face-to-face interviews of stakeholders located in the two Portuguese regions with the greatest number of Portuguese quality traditional agricultural products and foodstuffs: the North and the Alentejo. The PDO/PGI sectors selected in Alentejo, were fresh meat, processed meat, olive oil, cheeses and fruits. The selected products in the Northern region, were fresh meat, processed meat, olives and olive oil, cheeses, horticultural products, fruits (almond, apple and chestnut) and honey. The referred sectors were selected on the basis of their representativeness in each region (GPP, 2010 and 2012).

### CONCLUSIONS

Portuguese qualified products are distributed according to the following designations: PDO (48%), PGI (49.5%) TSG (2.5%). The sectors of traditional sausage (31%), fresh meat (24%), fruits (18%) and cheeses (12%) are the most representative in number of products. As regards volume of business, the most important sectors are: fruits (45%), cheese (19%), fresh meat (17%) and olive oil (15%).

In general terms, PDO/PGI production in Portugal has been increasing gradually, but its market share is still low in the context of its reference markets. Tibério (2004) points out some factors which may account for this situation, such as: (i) the diversity of resources, and the dynamics and capacities of the PDO/PGI managing entities to differentiate and to commercialize the product; (ii) the "top-down" generation of some processes of PDO/PGI registration and management; (iii) the nature of each product and its productive and commercial dimension; and (iv) the sustainability of the traditional channels in the retail trade.

Northern Portugal, particular the interior areas of Alto Trás-os-Montes and Douro, has a total number of 41 PDO/PGI products, about 35% of the total of 118 existing in Portugal. However, in 2009 only 16 were actually present in the market (about 40%). The research presented in this paper shows that medium and large agrifood firms show a small interest in PDO/PGI. In fact, only 2 out of 10 studied firms produce and sell PDO/PGI products, meat and olive oil, but in the case of olive oil only about 4% of the production is certified as DOP. Six major obstacles were underlined by the respondents, namely: the lack of raw material; the limited opportunities for innovation resulting from the product specification forms; the economic and transactions costs of certification; the heavy

bureaucracy related to the certification process; the small difference in prices between PDO/PGI products and *standard* products; and the Portuguese consumers food preferences, more oriented to traditional/local *standard* products, instead of PDO/PGI products, and to proximity market relationships.

The interviewed leaders of producers associations that serve as management entities and the main private certification body operating in the region presented a broad set of positive and negative aspects associated with the implementation and importance of PDO/PGI products. If it is true that these products created, in some sectors (fresh meat, sausages), an economic dynamic, adding value to some traditional agricultural products and foodstuffs and contributing to the preservation of cultural traditions and biodiversity, it is also a fact that the implementation processes were affected by poor chain organization and decision making, a scale that tends to be rather small, quality recognition by restrict niche markets, lack of knowledge on the part of consumers, and distribution agents loosely or not committed to the qualification.

In this scenario, the main goals of the policy, namely to encourage diverse agricultural production, to improve the income of farmers and to retain population in rural areas, are undermined. Portugal is among the "the latecomers to industrial development" that "never fully completed their 'great transition'" to modernized and intensive farming (Fonte, 2008:201-203), and that is particularly the case of the studied region, and especially Alto Trás-os-Montes and Douro, in the interior part of Portugal's mainland. The "origin of food" model embraced by the State and producers' organizations, having in mind to "(re)valorize traditional food and local knowledge". However, there is an array of challenges which need to be considered, in the fields of organization, actor participation, production scale, market approach and consumer behavior.

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<sup>4</sup> A product's reference market is defined by the product itself and its closest by-products (Tibério, L. & Cristóvão, A., 2004: 163). In the context of the present paper, the reference market of a PDO/PGI product in the market defined by the *standard* product sector in which the PDO/PGI product is integrated.

<sup>5</sup> Non-certified product of the same reference sector or transacted without certification.



# Territorial governance in the andalusian protected designations of origin of olive oil <sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract** – The activities carried out by the Protected Designations of Origin (PDOs) involve processes of collective organisation and partnership among economic stakeholders and institutions. The aim of this study is to investigate PDO territorial governance through the analysis of the social networks which are based on the technical and managerial assessment between the local stakeholders and institutions, such as olive oil mills, the Regulatory Board (RB) and marketing companies.

## INTRODUCTION

The implementation of territorial labels of quality has various effects not only at firm level, but also in the framework of Local Agro-food Systems (LAFS), such as the protection of biological resources and traditional knowledge, differentiation incomes, joint commercialization and promotion, and, in a broad sense, effects on rural development. While there have been some methodological advances on the evaluation of the effects of PDOs, it is still necessary to rely on empirical evidence in terms of their multiple impacts. In addition, some effects, such as the enhancement of social capital, the creation of socio-economic and environmental externalities, the dissemination of innovations and the improvement of quality have been less studied. It is intended to contrast the initial hypothesis with reference to the possibility that the PDOs might become institutions favourable to the development of territorial governance: it implies strong linkage not only in the internal co-ordination of differential quality, but also with the other economic institutions and sectors devoted to territorial development (Belletti, Marescotti, 2011; Sanz-Cañada, Macías, 2005).

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This study is set in the framework of the perspective of LAFS and the local processes of governance, using a methodology which incorporates the Social Network Analysis (SNA). The LAFS refers to a spatial concentration of locally-networked farms, firms and institutions, particular to the production of an identity quality food, that take charge of collective regulatory tasks, such as, among others, the characterisation of the typical food, the dissemination of techniques, knowledge and know-how or the collective organisation of promotional and marketing-related activities (Muchnik, Sautier, 1998). In this context, our work goes into depth on the analysis of technical-managerial assessment networks as an element which provides information on the prevailing processes of governance and the territorial effects of PDOs (Sylvander, 2004; Pacciani et al, 2001). To

verify the local governance processes which PDOs encourage, it is of interest to introduce the theoretical-methodological scope of the SNA, because the connections that concern the dissemination of innovations and knowledge represent a key element in the linkage of territorial governance relations.

The SNA allows analysing the set of actors and their links with a systemic view, as well as the attributive characteristics of the nodes, the identification of key, peripheral and isolated actors, etc. In the analysis, two groups of measures are obtained: those related to the structure of the network and the positions of the actors, such as the degree (number of direct links the node has), the weighted degree (where the interaction frequencies are considered), and the closeness and betweenness centrality (Hannemann, Riddle, 2005; Giuliani, Bell, 2005).

The study carried out takes into account two case studies: PDO Estepa and PDO Sierra Segura. Primary information consists of, on one hand, 54 long semi-directive interviews with key stakeholders in each PDO and, on the other, quantitative surveys aimed at mills and marketing firms (Estepa -19- and Sierra de Segura -28-). Concerning local governance, we devised indicators and analytical categories on the following aspects: productive characteristics, systems for dissemination of innovation and knowledge, quality level, collective action in promotional and marketing activities and technical and commercial assessment networks.

## RESULTS

The PDO Sierra de Segura is located to the northwest of the province of Jaen. The RB is comprised of 75% olive oil mills, of which 13 also belong to the second degree marketing cooperative (SDMC) "Olivar de Segura". Two olive oil mills belong to another SDMC (JaenCoop), while there are four others that do not belong to any organization of that type.

The PDO Estepa is situated in the southeast of the province of Seville and part of the municipality of Puente Genil, in Cordoba. All the firms in the PDO territory (19) are integrated in the RB, while 16 of them belong also to the SDMC "Oleoestepa".

In *Sierra Segura*, in the last five years about 28,000 tons of olive oil have been produced (40% extra virgin), and 190 direct jobs have been created. 80% of the plants are cooperatives with a long trajectory, as 70% have more than 40 years of industrial activity. Most of them commercialize conventional olive oil, but 4 olive oil mills are devoted to the production of organic olive oil.

In the case of *Estepa*, a total of 29,000 tons of olive oil have been produced (80% extra virgin), but by a smaller number of mills, which indicates that they are of a relatively larger size. Cooperatives prevail (90%), and practically all the olive oil is elaborated by integrated production.

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Graphs number 1 and 2 show the *assessment (technical and managerial) and membership networks*. Nodes are differentiated according to their typology: RB; marketing companies; olive oil mills belonging or not to the territory; associations for an integrated plan protection/production (ATRIA/API); R&D institutions (universities, IFAPA, CSIC, etc.); services, inputs and machinery providers; governmental bodies (Regional Ministries, OCA, etc.); professional and certifying associations; and local experts.

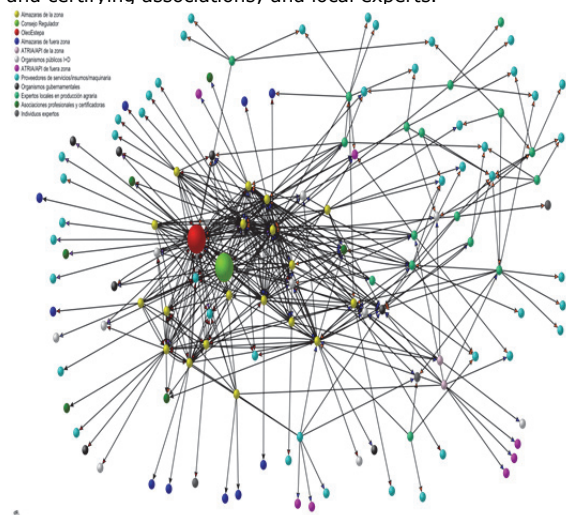


Figure 1. Assessment and membership network of the Estepa LAFS

In Estepa, the position occupied by "Oleoestepa" stands out well above the rest of the institutional grid, both for being the most consulted node (degree of input=46) and for the frequency of those consultations (weighted input degree =115). The second position is occupied by RB (23 and 68 respectively), followed by the olive oil mills in the area (9.1 and 21.3), and, quite far behind, the rest of the actors. In Sierra Segura, the central position is occupied by RB (48 and 118), followed by "Olivar de Segura" (36 and 91); the difference between the number of links between both is lower with respect to that of Estepa. Among the other institutions, JaenCoop, the olive oil mills in the area and the governmental bodies should be noted, mainly the local agricultural office of the Andalusian Government (OCA, whose degree of input fluctuates between 4.3 to 5, while those corresponding to the weighted input degree vary between 7 and 13).

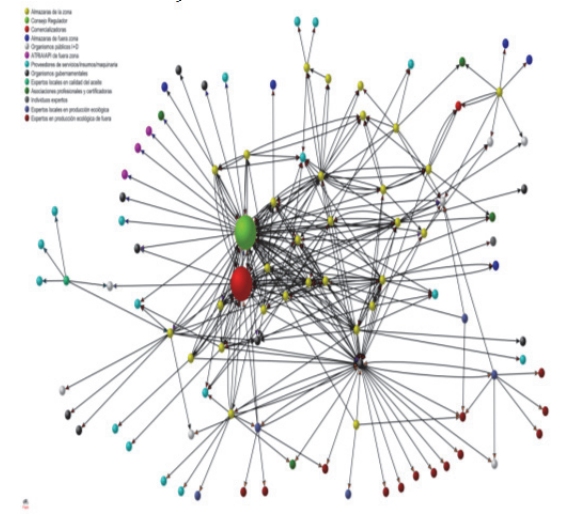


Figure 2. Assessment and membership network of the Sierra Segura LAFS

The *closeness and betweenness centralities* provide information on the ability of actors to reach the whole network and mediate among the rest its actors. Thus, those that have higher values may favour the dissemination of knowledge and become good points of introduction of innovations. Focusing firstly on *closeness*, we can situate in both territories the marketing company and the RB as the two nodes with more capacity to reach the complete network. Secondly, focusing on the *betweenness*, it is possible to detect the nodes which set themselves up as an "intermediary actor or institution". Thus, while in Estepa the values obtained by Oleoestepa (0.1), RB (0.04), the olive oil mills and ATRIA/APIs in the area (0.01) stand out, in Sierra Segura the leading role is performed by RB (0.2) and, far behind, by Olivar de Segura (0.05).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The LAFS of Estepa has a tradition of a unidirectional collective interprofessional organization, and the local mills present high scores in the indicators of the degree of betweenness. In the case of Sierra de Segura, the network is more polycentric, its organization centres (RB, Olivar de Segura and organic products network) do not always make decisions in a co-ordinated manner, and the values that the indicators of the degree of betweenness reach are low. Both areas seem, therefore, to be in different stages of evolution, as in the present phase, the LAFS of Estepa has managed to foster the emergence of new nodes of betweenness in the dissemination of knowledge, besides the respective RBs and marketing companies, which mainly correspond to the group of local olive oil mills.

To sum up, as a consequence of the processes of collaboration between the economic actors of an area of quality protection, inherent to the implementation of a PDO, RBs may encourage interprofessional activities on a local scale. In both the cases studied, a certain degree of territorial governance was verified, with strong relations not just among olive oil mills, but also among other institutions which are even beyond the territory of reference.

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# Anatomy and Governance of GI consortia: cross-country perspective

Katia L. Sidali, Silvia Scaramuzzi and Aldo Marchese<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Consortia of GI products are characterized by voluntary participation, shared norms and exclusivity. More frequently than is recognized the interdependency created among small and large-sized consortia members is the outcome of a conflictual relationship for imposing their own interpretation of the role of the “terroir”. The aim of this study is therefore to analyze from a cultural-economic perspective the internal governance of GI consortia taking into account cross-country differences. Based on a qualitative design, we focused on the diachronical development of two cheese producers who are members of an Italian PDO cheese and a German PDO cheese consortium, respectively. The entrepreneurial patterns highlighted in this study give evidence of a high internal dynamism. It is henceforth suggested to adopt an emergence approach to face and manage the change processes inside GI consortia.**

## INTRODUCTION

Geographical Indications (GI) have received much attention in recent years and the number of studies dedicated to this topic has exponentially increased. Most used theories are the economics of conventions, the actor-network theories as well as governance theories. Although each of these approaches is successful in giving insights on complex systems as in the case of GI, they generally fail short to provide an analysis, which takes into account the dynamism intrinsic in such complex phenomena. One way to cope with this, is to develop unified, theories for understanding complex-phenomena such as GI systems. Among the different approaches, evolutionary economic scholars have been very active in addressing complex economic systems by using an interdisciplinary approach. In contrast to conventional neoclassical economics the evolutionary approach seem adapt to be applied to the study of GI because of manifold reasons:

- It addresses the intrinsic dynamism in a system by focusing on economic emergence, i.e. wherever an economic structure arises that cannot be explained simply by examining their components;
- It elevates the study of human cultural practices (meso-rules) as a prerequisite to infer economic

behaviour (e.g., emergence of novelty) within a complex system;

- It rejects the homo oeconomicus perspective typical of conventional neoclassical economics
- Borrowing from the study of Foster and Metcalfe (2012) which assumes entrepreneurship as the most emergent of economic agglomerations, we aim at creating a theoretical framework for inferring the governance of two complex systems namely two PDO cheese consortia Italy and in Germany.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Forster and Metcalfe (2012) the analysis of entrepreneurship is a good vehicle to explain the economics of emergence in agglomerations of physical, human and financial capitals. They streamline entrepreneurial processes as follows:

- The entrepreneur faces radical uncertainty (novelty generation);
- The entrepreneur imagines a manner to arrange existing economic resources in an unconventional way (emotional facilitation and action);
- The decision taken allows the entrepreneur to create a competitive niche (novelty resolution). However, according to Forster and Metcalfe (2012) to be successful the novelty resolution should create a ‘knowledge gradient’ which allows the actor to reach a context-independent development depending upon the existing meso-rules (cultural practices, existence of myths, etc.).

## METHODOLOGY

A qualitative approach based upon semi-structured interviews was chosen (Mason, 2002). We conducted the interviews in Italy and in Germany because we decided to adopt a most-different design approach (Przeworski and Teune, 1970). In fact, Italy has many GI registered products, whilst Germany only has few GI protected products due to the fact that registration process is still in an early stage of development. Specifically, the questions focused on the diachronical development of two cheese producers who are members of the mentioned consortia. The Italian entrepreneur produces a PDO cheese linked to the milk of an endangered species of cattle. Despite initial opposition of the consortium to which he belongs, he eventually succeeded to have his specialty recognized by the other members to the extent that now he has grounded a sub-consortium dedicated to the cheese derived by the milk of endangered species of cattle. Outside Italy the cheese of this producer addresses a top-end gourmet segment. In contrast, the German

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entrepreneur produces a mountain PDO cheese. At a local level he has a high reputation, which permits him to gain a high-premium price for the cheese he sells above all via direct marketing. According to his opinion, he 'rescued' the production, since the quality of the product had drastically fallen prior to his arrival.

#### RESULTS

This section presents the results of the interviews held in both Italy and Germany.

**Novelty generation:** according to Forster and Metcalfe (2012) a situation of radical uncertainty "means that the totality of possible outcomes is unknown". In the Italian case the uncertainty that puzzled the PDO entrepreneur prior to specialize in the endangered cattle was the mechanisation of agriculture which 'was sacrificing the regional biodiversity' in the name of a capitalistic ethos. He did not agree with the decision of the consortium of replacing the regional livestock by a more 'productive' breed. In contrast, in Germany the entrepreneur was facing a different though equally uncertain situation namely the mentioned falling sales of PDO cheese due to decreasing product quality.

**Emotional facilitation and action:** Forster and Metcalfe (2012) refuse to speak about irrationality when referring to the imagination that entrepreneurs use to handle uncontrollable circumstances. What's more, the embeddedness of such entrepreneurial actions within ever-changing complex systems can be even considered a cognitive act raising by a facilitating emotional state (ibid). Against this background, the Italian PDO producer places the bet on the regional breed and motivates this decision as a "challenge" that took place in the infancy "as he and his parents were mocked by other entrepreneurs for not following the trend of husbandring a more productive species". In this way, he displays an "underdog" positioning which has been indicated by Paharia, Keinan, Avery and Schor (2011) as a narrative of "humble beginnings, hopes and dreams, and noble struggles against adversaries" (p. 776). On the other side, the German PDO producer elaborated a totally different strategy since he reports "having travelled off to Switzerland in order to learn by the masters (of traditional Swiss PDO cheese) the traditional way to process cheese". Once back in Germany he invested radically in the improvement of the product quality.

**Novelty resolution.** The creative process set by the entrepreneur can lead to a 'knowledge gradient' that facilitates the creation of a niche which is impossible for competitors to emulate. However this is possible only if the operator is embedded within a cooperative network (Forster and Metcalfe, 2012). In the case of the Italian producer the initial opposition displayed by the 'Consorzio' (in 2000 he was officially called to renounce to his project) could be successfully overcome thanks to the preference displayed by the consumers for the innovative product. Furthermore, the development of alliances with 'third interest actors' such as University and

Slow Food Movement led to the creation of a 'myth of rescue of biodiversity' around the entrepreneur and his successful product. On the other hand, the German PDO producer remains nothing but a context-dependent successful case. Whereas his product is highly appreciated by the locals, he has not succeeded to create a "knowledge gradient". The analysis of the context where the operator moves can provide a first explanation for this dynamics. Signalling the dedication and the high investments in quality to the other consortium's producers have the paradoxical effect to disconnect him from the others who either are "scared to innovate" or "pursuit other ways of processing cheese, e.g. faster and in order to earn more money". Furthermore, the consortium has split into two head-quarters which have almost no contact among them. The management of the GI production is confined to only a limited number of essential tasks (e.g., controls).

**Table 1.** Entrepreneurship as emergent attribute.

Entrepreneurship	Italian PDO consortium	German PDO consortium
Novelty generation	Levelling of biodiversity	Levelling of quality
Emotional facilitation & action	Underdog & decision to bet in regional breed	Acquisition of expert know-how & investment in product quality
Meso-rules (e.g., ideologies, myths, alliances)	Biodiversity, alliances with Slow Food, University	Lone warrior
Novelty resolution	Creation of a competitive niche	Isolated successful story

#### CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of entrepreneurship within the frame of economics of emergence sounds appropriate to detect the dynamism that characterized complex phenomena such as GI consortia. Furthermore, it is interdisciplinary because it borrows strongly from both social, cultural and psychological theories. Finally, it may help to discern which kinds of governmental patterns (governance based on representativeness versus consensus government, cf. Pomeon and Fournier, 2010) exist at the micro-level of a human agglomeration such as GI-regimes.

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# Actual and expected effects of the GI recognition of the Penja Pepper

Greta Spinsanti, Giovanni Belletti and Didier Chabrol<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – As highlighted by several studies, the protection of Geographical Indications can play an important role in strengthening local economy and promoting a development process in marginal rural areas in developing countries. However, the GI establishment process, the presence of supporting public policies and the quality of institutional and political framework are key factors playing an important role in the achievement of GI outcomes on local economy and rural development. This paper is focused on Penja pepper (*Piper nigrum*), Cameroonian origin-based product for which an application for the GI legal protection is ongoing making Penja Pepper one of the first GIs registered in sub-Saharan Africa. The paper analyses actual and expected impacts of the GI recognition process on the local pepper supply chain management, identifying critical factors that can affect its positive effects and pointing out the role of accompanying policies.

## INTRODUCTION

The protection of Geographical Indications (GIs) is expected to have many and controversial effects on both the supply chain and territories. A product originating in a specific geographical area is the result of natural, social and cultural local resources, so its valorisation by an origin-based label could allow resources remuneration and reproduction. In the light of these potential outcomes, in developing countries GIs are increasingly encouraged by international cooperation projects and national governments in order to promote quality product chains or more widely rural development.

Recent studies have focused on the positive effects of GI on farmer livelihoods, local communities and the environment [Bowen and Zapata, 2009] making it a potential tool to foster rural development and protect local knowledge and natural resources. Nevertheless the effects of GI valorisation are not automatic [Belletti and Marescotti, 2011] but closely connected to the content of GI regulations [Mancini, 2012], to stakeholders' negotiation during the GI establishment process and to the cohesion of collective organizing body, affecting the distribution of power and added value along the supply chain. Also the involvement of public actors affects the GI outcomes, especially in countries characterized by structural problems and institutional weakness.

## METHODOLOGY

In the light of these considerations, the focus of this paper is on how GI protection schemes do change production conditions and actors' organization in origin-based local production systems, as well as the expected effects. The analysis concerns Penja pepper (*Piper nigrum*), a Cameroonian origin-based product selected by an international project supporting GIs in the AIPO (African Intellectual Property Rights Organization) area. The recognition request was approved at national level in late 2012 and its formal registration should happen in 2013.

A two months field research in the Cameroon Penja area was made in 2012 during the final stages of GI Penja Pepper construction process, thanks to the financial support of Cirad, to OAPI who gave access to all relevant documents, and to Cameroon authorities. With the support of Penja Pepper GI Association, 24 semi-structured interviews were conducted on a representative sample of supply chain actors in the GI area with the aim to understand the level of knowledge of the GI tool and actors' expectations. The research allows to retrace the GI construction path, to analyse different categories of actors' expectations and to discuss how the GI scheme could change the production and organization system.

## RESULTS

### The Penja pepper production system

In the Penja area (communes of Penja, Njombé, Loum, Manjo, Tombel and Mombo in South West of Cameroon) the specialized cultivation of pepper was set up around 1950. The plantations were based on varieties taken from ancient properties, allowing to homogeneity of the cultivation in the area [Agropme, 2011]. During the GI process 211 native pepper producers have been identified, that in 2010 planted 420 ha with pepper reaching an annual production of 125 tons. Also a big foreign capital firm, specialized in bananas cultivation, produces 35 tons of pepper on 54 ha.

A small part of the producers, representing 20% of total number but supplying 90% of total production, are professional farmers market-oriented and focused on product quality. However pepper cultivation remains a supplementary activity as the majority of producers dedicate to it a small portion of their land. They face many problems as difficult access to credit, lack of knowledge of the best cultivation practices and appropriate utensils, difficulties in packaging the product.

Penja pepper is recognized to have a high quality potential, but current production and marketing

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practices are not able to valorise it: for example only professional producers sell pepper in hermetically sealed plastic bags, while the small farmers use plastic ones that can be opened and that are not able to preserve the quality nor to prevent mixing with other material.

The value chain is not in the hands of pepper producers. The level of coordination in the local supply chain is very low. Excluding few bigger producers who reach directly international market sometimes under certified labels, producers mainly sell pepper on farm directly to wholesalers, who sell the product on national market (Douala and Yaoundé) and to neighbour countries. Retailers, who noticed customer willingness to pay more for Penja pepper than for the other ones, are not able to satisfy its growing demand. Recent studies assert final prices on national market grew from 4000 FCFA/kg in 2008 to 7000 FCFA/kg in 2010. Fraudulent practices, e.g. mixing Penja pepper with the imported one, are very frequent.

At international level the Penja pepper has a niche market in France, where it is recognized as an excellent origin pepper and where a trademark "Poivre de Penja" was registered in 1998.

#### A Geographical Indication for what?

The GI initiative on Penja pepper aims to increase quality product, support producers' marketing initiatives and by this way to contribute to rural development. It was promoted by AIPO as a part of a project funded by French Development Agency and technically supported by CIRAD.

According to the project approach, pepper producers were concerted in order to create the inter-professional association IGPP (Indication Géographique Poivre de Penja) and to apply for the GI recognition. At the beginning mainly professional producers, except for the biggest one, are involved in the project. They see GI as a means to encourage and guarantee quality pepper production in the area and strengthen product reputation, easing the access to international market. The association with the help of national and international consultants defines the Code of Practices (CoP). No major problems emerged during this process, also due to a lack involvement of all producers. The geographic area is identified following specific geo-climatic characteristics (altitude and basaltic ground) which determine the particular quality of pepper; the production techniques (from plantation to post-harvest operations) are described in order to "achieve excellent standards of spiciness, colour, taste and aroma", hence referring to a generic idea of quality instead of "typicity". In addition some rules for pepper marketing are established and a control system guaranteeing the quality of product is envisaged.

Later, also small producers and distributors show interest in GI deciding to join IGPP association. They expect that the GI could improve their life conditions, thanks to an increase in production volumes, quality and prices.

#### Strategic plan and complement actions

Professional producers and national consultants are conscious that GI by itself can't improve pepper quality in the production phase and guarantee it on the market. They therefore planned some complementary actions and they defined a strategic plan. The IGPP association promotes horizontal coordination, supporting the creation of nurseryman and distributors organizations and planning to train small farmers on production and marketing techniques.

With regard to quality control the association is developing a project for the realization of a packaging center, where pepper must converge from producers for being checked, packaged and labelled, allowing for a better quality preservation and guaranteeing certified packaging but at the same time asking for new needs of coordination among local actors.

#### DISCUSSION

GI is expected to stimulate the production and increase the product quality. Following CoP, producers would be able to exploit better their pepper plantations but they will have to meet higher quality standards as a fundamental step in order to strengthen product reputation and to allow collective promotion actions. At the same time small producers need to be trained and financed for complying these new rules and avoiding their exclusion from the GI; the involvement of some elements like microcredit and technical assistance appears important for this objective.

The efficiency of control system is a critical point for the GI success too. The packaging center could assure quality control and it would facilitate weaker producers by providing the right post-harvest operations and simplified marketing.

Moreover public policies at different levels are needed in order to capitalize on the GI development potential: on the demand side in order to guarantee an effective protection both inside and outside the AIPO space, and on the supply side in order to control the product and to empower weaker subjects of the local supply chain.

The Penja GI registration process is not still fully accomplished, but it is already leading to a new organization of supply chain actors. Initiated thanks to an external technical support, the GI initiative let the actors to know each other, facilitating information and experience transfer and supporting cooperative behaviours, also by means of the creation of the inter-professional and professional associations.

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# 'Farmers are back in fashion': Motivations for (potential) livestock farmers in Devon

Hannah M. Chiswell<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – As the population is set to reach 9 billion by mid-century, increasing demand for food by 70 per cent, the notion that agriculture is entering a golden age has popularised. This research sought to understand how future livestock farmers are interpreting the emerging agenda and reveals how, although it was not motivating them to farm, it has changed their perception of the industry.**

## INTRODUCTION: THE RENAISSANCE IN AGRICULTURE

Food security has been (re)positioned at the forefront of the political agenda. The definitive driver of the emerging agenda is the predicted increase in global population, which is anticipated to reach 9 billion by 2050. More specifically, meat consumption is projected to rise by nearly 73 per cent by 2050 (FAO, 2011), attributable to the continued expansion of western culture and increases in income experienced in Asian countries. As issues of food security have come to the fore, Professor David Hughes (2010), noted "I can't help noticing farmers are back in fashion!", describing farming's new position as far removed from that as recent as five years ago. For commentators such as Whitehead, Lobley and Baker (2012) we are beginning a *renaissance in agriculture*; a golden age, during which farmers will be valued once again, that could, potentially, translate into financial reward for the industry. But how are the farming community speaking to this emergent agenda?

The anticipated renaissance follows a difficult time for farmers, attributable to the changing role of agriculture, from productivist to post-productivist, that is simply incompatible with farmers' ingrained productivist self-image. The recent emphasis on environmental imperatives meant "farmers' status, expressive enjoyment and even mental health [had been] threatened" (Shucksmith and Hermann, 2002: 41).

In contrast, increased demand for meat and other products has meant "productivism [...] is making somewhat of a comeback" (Burton and Wilson, 2012: 54) in the form of neo-productivism (Burton and Wilson, 2012). The belief that "farmers, as producers of food [...] are being valued once again" (Andersons Consultants, 2007) has prompted Whitehead, Lobley and Baker (2012: 341) to talk about what they term the *renaissance in agriculture*, a new order which "will undoubtedly influence the

minds of potential successors". Yet understanding of how this influencing the minds' of potential successors remains absent from discussion; a lacuna this research intended to address.

## A NOTE ON METHODS

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with livestock farmers, and where available, potential successors<sup>2</sup>, on 27 farms, across 5 parishes in mid-Devon, England. A total of 42 interviews were conducted, recorded and transcribed. Key themes in transcripts were identified and have been used to structure the results and analysis.

## RESULTS

Rather than 'undoubtedly influencing young minds', the emergent agenda has had a *limited* impact on potential successors' decision to farm. When asked if she had thought about the increase in demand for meat when deciding about her career in farming, a potential successor replied:

*"Yeah, I think so, I think it would be in the back of your mind, that things could pick up if demand for it increased, but I don't know if it would sway me either way."* (Potential Successor 14)

Although highly attuned to the wider political economic context, young farmers remain primarily motivated by a deeper attachment to the land or industry:

*"It's a matter of pride, taking on something that's been in your family, looking after it, after all the work they've done."* (Potential Successor 2)

Potential successors frequently talked of an unexplainable notion that had made them want to farm. When asked her motivations for farming, a potential successor recalled:

*"I can remember walking around the fields ... behind my Dad and having to jump to match his footprints ... well obviously something was there, something in me."* (Potential Successor, 3)

Although the political economic context had not influenced participants in their decision to farm, it had changed the way they felt about *being* a farmer:

*"With the population rising, farmers are gonna really matter and they will actually start to value people*

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<sup>2</sup> The potential successor refers to someone who could, *potentially*, in the future, gain managerial control of the family farm





that have skills that have been seen as second standard.” (Potential Successor 19)

#### DISCUSSION

As demonstrated, the ‘promise’ of the food security agenda has not had the anticipated effect. Although attuned to the demands on the industry and opportunities this may provide, these results (re)assert the complexity of the succession process. Rather than a rational process, succession represents a temporal process, involving, as Gill (2013: 77) notes “the simultaneous consideration of past, present and future”; the incipient prospects of the industry are not the only consideration for potential successors, but instead form a single factor in a complex ‘web of competing responsibilities’ (Gill, 2013). Farming remains a means of maintaining an attachment to the land and industry, rather than an economic activity. Participants referring to ‘something’, motivating them to farm, mirrored the findings of Price and Conn (2012: 156) who noted the desire to farm had “almost, been sewn from birth”. As noted by Price and Conn (2012: 156), there appears to be ‘something’ about being raised on a farm “that imbues a sense of pride [...] a sense of destiny, of it being in their blood”. Interestingly, Price and Conn’s (2012: 155) work reflected a period marked by “increasing hardships of the lifestyle”, in contrast to the positivity underlying the recent work. Yet motivations remained constant, independent of, and superseding, the political economic context.

Although the *renaissance* in agriculture had not motivated potential successors, it had changed the way young farmers felt about farming as a career. In contrast to the preceding decade, a period defined by a feeling of “uneasiness with identifying one’s self as a farmer” (Lobley et al., 2005: 29) and understanding intergenerational farm succession as a ‘form of child abuse’, the image of farming as a career, has transformed, attributable to the increasing demands on the sector. The belief that farmers ‘really mattered’ and were now ‘valued’ for their role as food producers, evident in the interviews, satisfies this desire to produce food, that is so central to the act of being a farmer (Slee et al., 2006). Neo-productivism, understood as an “intensive production ideology within a multifunctional regime” (Burton and Wilson, 2012: 56), is realigning succession with its ‘productivist roots’.

#### CONCLUSION

The challenges faced by the agricultural industry are unprecedented, and yet like many, Leach (2012: 318) optimistically purport how “the next generation in a family business have a unique opportunity to build a [...] career for themselves”. The *renaissance in agriculture* does not represent a significant factor in the motivation of potential livestock farmers. Potential successors remained motivated by the desire to ‘keep their family line going’. However, the demands on the industry have transformed perception of farming as a career.

Never has the next generation of farmers been so imperative. Further research that focuses on thoughts, intentions and motivations of potential successors is essential if we are to prepare for the challenges that lay ahead.

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# Consumer segmentation based on environmental consciousness of meat production

P. Pohjolainen and P. Tapio<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – High meat consumption in the West causes severe environmental problems, resulting in calls for more sustainable practices in the agricultural sector, and particularly the lowering of meat consumption. Consumer behaviour is a key element that enables these changes to take place, and the environmental consciousness (EC) of consumers is a prerequisite if they are to adopt sustainable food choices. Only recently have studies examined the EC of consumers with regard to meat production. In this paper we focus on that issue by studying the differences between consumer segments. The data are based on a postal survey sent to a random sample of 4,000 Finns in spring 2010 (response rate=47.3%; n=1,890). The results reveal Finns are mostly unaware of the topic, but also indicate that a third of consumers are conscious of the issue. As EC appears to be a fairly coherent concept, strengthening one dimension of it may result in higher overall levels of EC, a finding that is promising for future policy measures.

## INTRODUCTION

The modern food system is far from sustainable. This is especially evident in the case of meat, which is nowadays consumed in large amounts in the West, and is, on average, much more resource and energy intensive to produce compared to plant-based foods (Steinfeld et al., 2006). *Technological development* in the production system offers one solution to the problem (ibid.). In addition, switching to alternative methods of production, such as *organically* or *locally produced foods*, has been discussed (Duchin, 2005; McMichael et al., 2007). These measures are important for creating a sustainable food system, but have been considered insufficient. Hence, there is also a need to *decrease meat consumption* in Western nations, a measure that would also be beneficial for public health (ibid.).

There are many determinants for the practices of the food system, of which, consumer action is a key area. Though *environmental consciousness* (EC) does not define consumer choices fully, it can be considered a prerequisite for sustainable consumer practices (Takács-Sánta, 2007). Although many forms of EC have been described in the literature, the concept typically consists of *cognitive*, *affective* and *conative* dimensions (Dunlap and Jones, 2002). In this study we focus on the following topics:

1. What is the EC of consumers regarding meat production?
2. What kind of consumer segments can be discerned regarding the EC of meat production?

Extensive research into EC with regard to consumer segments and meat production issue is, to the authors' knowledge, rare. However, it seems that consumers tend to be quite unaware of environmental problems resulting from meat production (e.g. Tobler et al., 2011; Vanhonacker et al., 2013).

## DATA AND METHODS

The data are based on a survey questionnaire sent to a random sample of 4,000 Finns in spring 2010. The survey concerned consumer attitudes towards farm animals and meat products. The response rate (47.3%; n=1,890) can be considered good and the data effectively represents the population of Finland.

We included eight statements about the key areas of EC in a cluster analysis [one statement for affective (*concern*), two for cognitive (*knowledge*) and five for conative (one for *perceived personal effectiveness* and four for *solutions*) dimensions]. They were measured using a one-to-five level Likert scale.

We used hierarchical clustering with Ward's Method. There are no hard rules to define the number of clusters. We chose a ten cluster solution, based on the hierarchical dendrogram, similarities with K-means analysis, meaningful segment sizes and the theoretical relevance of the results.

## RESULTS

The results show that on average one third of the respondents are concerned and knowledgeable

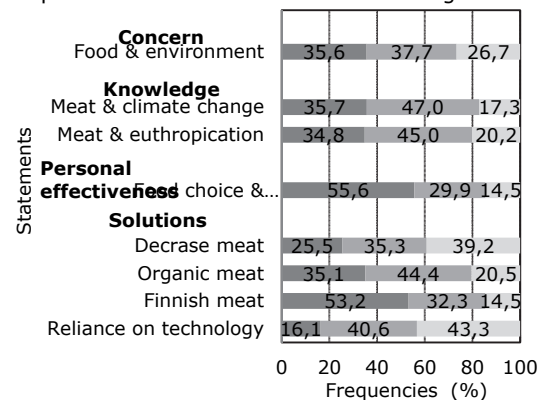


Figure 1. The EC of consumers regarding meat production. Dark gray: % agree (answer options 1 and 2 in the survey). Medium gray: % neutral (answer option 3). Light gray: % disagree (answer options 4 and 5).

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**Table 1.** Ten consumer segments related to the environmental consciousness of meat production (n=1787).

Segment	Fairly consc	Highly consc	Green gr consc	Highly uncert	Active uncert	Passive uncert	Green gr uncert	Green gr resistant	Highly resistant	Cynical resistant
Segment size(%/n)	10/179	10/176	10/171	18/328	14/246	12/222	9/166	7/123	5/103	4/73
<i>Segmentation var.<sup>a</sup></i>										
Concern over food and environment	<b>69.3</b> (25.1)	<b>86.4</b> (12.5)	<b>76.6</b> (21.6)	28.6 <b>(63.7)</b>	19.1 <b>(57.3)</b>	12.6 (45.0)	13.3 (38.6)	0.8 (13.0)	4.9 (9.7)	45.2 (43.8)
Knowledge of meat and climate change	<b>83.2</b> (16.2)	<b>93.2</b> (5.7)	<b>83.6</b> (14.6)	14.6 <b>(77.7)</b>	13.4 <b>(69.5)</b>	6.3 <b>(80.6)</b>	21.7 <b>(63.9)</b>	0.8 (19.5)	5.8 (15.5)	<b>61.6</b> (34.2)
Knowledge of meat and eutrophication	<b>74.9</b> (24.6)	<b>75.0</b> (20.5)	<b>63.2</b> (28.1)	18.9 <b>(69.5)</b>	20.7 <b>(61.4)</b>	14.0 <b>(69.4)</b>	34.3 <b>(51.8)</b>	0.8 (19.5)	4.9 (7.8)	<b>52.1</b> (39.7)
Perceived personal effectiveness	<b>73.3</b> (21.2)	<b>89.2</b> (9.7)	<b>91.8</b> (7.0)	<b>54.3</b> (38.7)	<b>73.2</b> (23.2)	13.1 <b>(58.6)</b>	<b>51.8</b> (39.8)	29.3 (34.1)	23.3 (26.2)	28.8 (27.4)
Need to decrease meat consumption	<b>88.3</b> (11.7)	<b>75.0</b> (23.9)	46.8 (31.0)	14.3 <b>(80.2)</b>	9.8 (45.9)	0.5 (21.2)	6.0 (36.7)	0.0 (4.1)	1.0 (8.7)	2.7 (28.8)
Need to favour organic meat	45.8 (46.9)	9.7 (45.5)	<b>56.1</b> (33.9)	23.5 <b>(69.5)</b>	40.2 (39.4)	16.7 <b>(64.4)</b>	<b>78.3</b> (17.5)	<b>56.9</b> (36.6)	9.7 (27.2)	0.0 (16.4)
Need to favour Finnish meat	<b>82.1</b> (17.3)	14.2 (46.0)	<b>88.9</b> (9.9)	33.2 <b>(58.5)</b>	<b>59.8</b> (37.4)	35.1 (48.2)	<b>92.8</b> (4.8)	<b>89.4</b> (10.6)	19.4 (29.1)	1.4 (20.5)
Reliance on technology	2.2 (24.0)	3.4 (16.5)	37.4 (45.6)	13.7 <b>(76.8)</b>	2.8 (17.9)	12.6 <b>(54.5)</b>	45.8 (48.8)	25.2 (40.7)	18.4 (20.4)	4.1 (16.4)

<sup>a</sup> % agree: answer options 1 and 2 in the survey (% neutral answer: answer option 3). Frequencies of  $\geq 50.0\%$  are in boldface.

P-values for the differences between the segments are  $<0.001$  ( $\chi^2$  test)

about the environmental effects of meat production (Fig. 1). In addition, consumers feel quite confident about being able to influence the environmental impacts of food production. There is large variation between the different solutions, the extremes being favouring Finnish meat and reliance on technology. Overall, neutral answers were most common.

Ten consumer segments were formed in the cluster analysis. Three segments (*Fairly conscious*, *Highly conscious* and *Green growth conscious*, 30% in total) can be considered to have high levels of knowledge and concern (Table 1). However, only the *Highly conscious* acknowledge the most environmentally sound combination of solutions. The other major grouping consists of the unaware segments (*Highly uncertain*, *Active uncertain*, *Passive uncertain* and *Green growth uncertain*, 53% in total), who particularly differ from each other regarding the conative profiles. In addition, two antagonistic segments were identified (*Green growth resistant* and *Highly Resistant*, 12% in total). The former are highly favourable towards alternative production methods, whereas the latter display more persistent attitudes of opposition. Lastly, the *Cynical resistant* are fairly concerned and knowledgeable but have no faith in any of the solutions.

#### DISCUSSION

The transformation of the agro-food sector towards sustainability is strongly needed. However, there is a notable share of consumers who are unaware of the topic of this study, which poses the question: how will consumers respond? Organic and local production may be promising future trends as consumers seem to have widespread interest in them. However, if these measures are considered sufficient, this may avert the environmentally more relevant discussion of the need to decrease meat consumption.

It was encouraging to find fairly coherent seg-

ments regarding EC, as taking policy measures to increase one dimension of EC may affect others. Furthermore, the considerable amount of consumers unaware of the topic of this study can be seen as a promising *tabula rasa* condition for increasing EC.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# The role of scientific knowledge in developing the vision and tentative roadmap in transition governance: the case of food consumption

Markus V. Vinnari and Eija M. Vinnari<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Defining what the target for sustainable development should be, has led to multiple outcomes. In the case of food consumption the possible solutions presented include for example organic farming or locally produced food. The scientific basis for these solutions is however relatively weak. In this article it is argued that when the sustainability of food consumption is considered the interest of three groups should be taken as a starting point: the interest of non-human animals, humans and nature. The scientific knowledge from different disciplines, such as animal ethics, nutrition, and environmental sciences should be evaluated and set as the basis of decision making and target setting for the global vision for the food system. This would mean a substantial decrease in animal based food consumption.

## INTRODUCTION

Because of the sustainability challenges that the earth faces, sustainability transition as a new research field has started to gain much interest (Markard et al., 2012). Even though most research suggests that truly sustainable living requires transition in what products are consumed, the sustainability transition literature seem to have avoided taking a firm stance in this issue. Much emphasis in the case of food is placed for example on promoting organic products (see Spaargaren et al. 2012), even though research indicates that organic farming may not be much more beneficial from the environmental perspective and as such it does not offer the radical shift that transition management should seek. As such, narrow, scientifically unjustified perspectives to sustainability present problems for current frameworks of transition management. The problem is also that current interpretations suggest that the long-term sustainability vision should be based on a democratic process that is fundamentally an anthropocentric procedure.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This paper argues that the development of the long term vision in this field cannot be left in the hands of a process that only takes into consideration human interests. If that would be done all the domains of sustainability would not receive equal consideration.

Objectives in some domains offer short-term direct benefits to people (e.g. economic dimension), whereas others offer long-term benefits (e.g. environmental dimension). As such the short term interest of only one interest group has dominated the target setting for the development.

What makes target setting especially difficult in the case of food is the animal protection dimension as after a certain level of improvements people do not directly benefit from them. From an ethical point of view, the protection of animals should be at the core of sustainability transition as scientific evidence indicates that also non-human entities can be morally considerable. The analysis of the different views on animal ethics has revealed that the exclusion of animal originated food stuffs should be the target from the moral perspective that takes into account non-human animals (Pluhar, 2010).

Scientific knowledge also informs us that the environmental dimension necessitates fast responses in order to prevent a global environmental crisis (Rockström et al. 2009). Because of the strength of the arguments made in the environmental sciences and in animal ethics we argue in this paper that the vision setting for sustainability or sustainable development should start by acknowledging the different interest groups involved. These are humans, non-human animals and nature (see figure 1.).

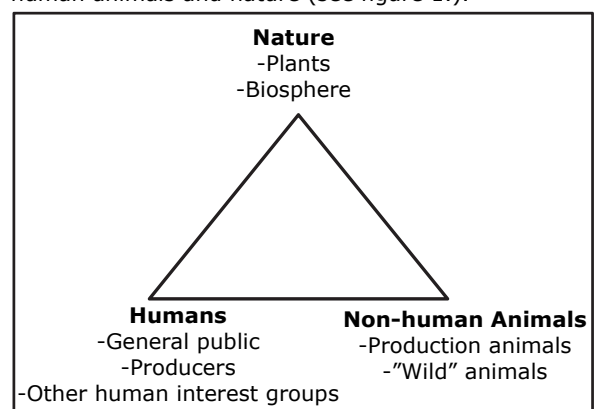


Figure 1. Interest groups of sustainability in the case of food production and consumption

These considerations would offer the next logical step from the God centered world views that dominated until the 1700s, followed by the human centrism that has dominated thinking in the Western world during the past centuries, to a more holistic view on life.

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**Table 1.** Interest groups of sustainability in the case of food and domains of sustainability

Interest groups	Examples of sub-groups	Domains of sustainability	Examples of Interests
<b>Non-human Animals</b>	Wild animals	Animal ethics	-maintenance of living habitat
	Production animals	Animal ethics	-animal welfare -continuity of life
<b>Humans</b>	General public	Society	-good health -affordable food
		Culture	-cultural continuity
		Environment	-ecosystem services
	Farmers/producers	Economy	-economic gains
		Culture	-cultural continuity
		Environment	-ecosystem services
<b>Nature</b>	"Gaia"	Environment	-biodiversity -climate "stability" -exemption from pollution

#### IDENTIFYING THE MULTIPLE INTERESTS

From the perspective of sustainability transition, the acknowledgement of the different interest groups has fundamental implications. From the societal perspective, there are no arguments that would necessitate meat consumption. Extant research suggests that health benefits would accrue from lowering meat consumption. The argument here is that cultural and economic dimensions need to be considered after the ethical implications of actions and the possible actions to avoid a global environmental crisis.

Non-human animals in the case of food consumption can be considered to consist of production animals and wild animals. Nature consists in this view of plants and biosphere in general. This type of view is in line with the Gaia perspective, where the idea is that the organisms on the Earth interact in order to self-regulate life on this planet (Lovelock 2000). Sub-groups of humans include for example the food consumers (general public) as well as farmers and food producers in general (Table 1.).

The interests of the wild animals include for example that there is living habitat available for them to reproduce. Production animal interest could include for example life without pain and suffering. Human interests span from the sustainability domains of society, economy, culture and environment. For the general public the interest is to gain good quality, healthy, economically sensible food that is in line with their societal values and secures them ecosystem services in the long term (for discussion see Lang and Barling 2013). For the producers the target is to gain economic welfare among the other targets in the other domains of sustainability.

The interests of nature or Gaia include the prevention of diminishing biodiversity, climate stability that would take into consideration the natural amount of greenhouse gas emissions, and reducing the amount of pollution such as the Great Pacific garbage patch or different types of soil pollutions that prevents natural processes.

#### DISCUSSION

In order for truly radical and sustainable visions to be actualized, they should be grounded on scientific findings and arguments. A truly sustainable vision setting process for food production and consumption should take into consideration the needs of all three interest groups. In the field of food consumption this means the target of radically lowering the consumption of animal originated foodstuffs.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Sustainable consumption and the Norwegian political economy of beef

Gunnar Vittersø and Unni Kjærnes<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Beef represents about 18 per cent of global climate gas emissions and its production puts a heavy strain on land and water resources, directly through grazing and indirectly through the production of cattle feed. Recent nutritional advice also recommends limitations in the consumption of red meat. However, the need to reduce the consumption of beef meets strong opposing forces. This paper addresses how climate and environmental concerns for beef consumption in Norway are counteracted by culturally shaped norms and habits among consumers, on one side, and regulatory and market efforts to increase consumption, on the other.

## INTRODUCTION

Trends in food consumption are often understood as a result of changes in consumer preferences and attitudes. Representatives from the food industry claim that their own role primarily is to serve consumer demands. Yet, we know that the decisions made by market actors and authorities are critical. To understand the factors influencing the consumption of beef in Norway, we will therefore analyse the dynamics between demand and supply and how this dynamic is affected by political regulation. First, we discuss factors on the consumer side that may influence demand. Second, we search for drivers on the supply side. Finally, we discuss the extent to which agriculture and food policy helps to promote or discourage the consumption of beef. To address these questions, we use historical data on the production and consumption of beef, key policy documents and other written sources.

## THE CONSUMPTION OF BEEF

Traditionally, beef has not been of major significance in the Norwegian food culture and consumption levels have been relatively low. But consumption has increased steadily over the past decades, and pork and poultry meat has increased at an even greater pace. Figure 1 shows that meat consumption has increased from 55 kg/capita in 1979 to 79 kg/capita in 2009 (Norwegian Directorate of Health 2012). Consumption was stable during the 1980s, while there was a marked increase in the years between 1989 and 1999, over 50 million kg at the wholesale level. In the next 10-year period consumption of beef levelled off while overall meat consumption continued to increase. Since 2009 there has again been an increase in consumption of beef.

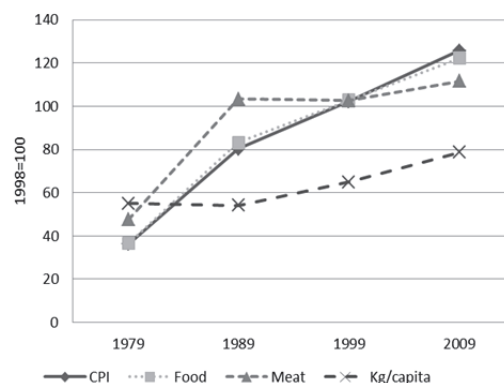


Figure 1. Consumer price indexes for food and meat. 1998=100. Meat consumption in kg/capita. 1979-2009.

A consumer survey conducted by the National Institute for Consumer Research shows that the proportion who eat meat more than 5 days a week increased from 8 percent in 1997 to 13 percent in 2007 (Lavik 2008). As the consumption of meat has increased, opinions expressing scepticism towards meat, especially as unhealthy food, has decreased. In 2007, 33 percent of Norwegians agreed that meat is not particularly healthy, down from 43 percent in 1997. The decrease has been greatest among young and middle-aged women (Lavik 2008). Red meat, including beef, is still considered healthier than white meat.

## CHANGES IN THE SUPPLY OF BEEF

The Norwegian food industry is dominated by four major retailers and national cooperative enterprises at supplier level, particularly in the dairy and meat processing industry. Over the past decade retailers have increased their power, at the expense of farmers, to some degree even the processing industry (Kjærnes et. al, 2010). The market is characterized by strong competition on price rather than variety and quality. Standardized products such as minced meat and sausages represent the large bulk of the selection, together with processed chicken. This profile has been developed in agreement among the major players. Linked to this de-differentiation strategy, there is also little focus on labelling of for example animal welfare, climate impacts or ecology.

In general, meat prices have increased far less than food prices over the last 20 years (figure 1). While food prices have changed in line with the overall consumer price index (CPI), meat prices have fol-

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lowed a different pattern. Meat has been more expensive than other foods and prices increased rapidly in the 1980s. In the 1990s the growth rate levelled off, and has since been much lower than for food in general. There are significant differences between the price trends of various types of meat; whereas poultry has become relatively speaking much cheaper, the price on beef steaks has been kept at a high level. It is easy to interpret the increased consumption, especially in favour of chicken, to be strongly promoted by decreasing prices, in absolute and relative terms.

In addition, meat is heavily marketed. A Marketing Board, funded through a sales tax, allocates funds to information, educational- and advertising activities within the meat sector. Their Information Office (OEK) annually receives more than 10 million EUROS from this fund. OEK runs a webpage, [matprat.no](http://matprat.no), which is heavily promoted through TV commercials. They have run a series of marketing campaigns. Their book "My Cookbook" is offered to pupils from 5th to 7th grade.

#### POLITICAL REGULATION OF BEEF PRODUCTION

For climatic and topographic reasons agricultural production has been marginal in Norway and eating meat has historically been seen as a luxury. With century-long dependence on food imports, optimum utilization of scarce agricultural resources has been central. Subsequently, the role of agriculture as the mainstay of regional development and self-sufficiency has received strong political support. Until recently meat production was mostly small scale, with beef as a bi-product of dairy production. Since 1993, when a white paper (Prop8) was passed in the Norwegian Parliament, agricultural policies have pursued two partly conflicting goals; to promote sustainable production and consumption of food and to strengthen the competitiveness of Norwegian food production by lowering costs. Competitiveness has been achieved by lowering the prices of grains and feed concentrates. This has led to reduced use of local resources (grazing) and soaring imports of feed (especially soybeans from Brazil). While recognising livestock farming as resource intensive and contributing to significant greenhouse gas emissions, the policy has aggravated the problems.

Increased imports and less profitability among farmers, especially in the beef sector, led the Ministry of Agriculture in 2013 to launch a new strategy to improve conditions for beef producers. They suggest measures to increase the number of livestock and the prices of beef, including improved meat quality and selection of products. The only reference to climate challenges is the claim that combined milk and beef production is more efficient compared to specialized beef production.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

At first glance the increased consumption of meat is easily explained by continuously growing prosperity among Norwegians. Meat consumption is income

sensitive and beef has retained its exclusive status. However, this applies primarily to traditional steaks and roasts, items that account for only 4 percent of the beef market. Beef is sold primarily as minced meat, which is an ingredient in many of the most popular everyday dishes such as pizza, pasta, burgers, tacos, etc.

The increase in meat consumption must be seen as a result of price policies and marketing strategies of political authorities and players within the meat processing- and food retail business. Neither the goals of increased farmer incomes nor environmental improvements have been reached through this "meat-pushing" strategy. The paradox is that the recent political strategy for livestock production prescribes even more of the same medicine that has shown no or little effect over the past twenty years.

Our study demonstrates how political realities represent a strong promotion of meat – and beef – consumption through economic support and active marketing. This is accompanied by a general political neglect of global challenges and present commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The issue of sustainable and climate-friendly meat consumption is depoliticized and left to the voluntary sector and the individual choice of consumers.

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# Emerging municipal garden-allotments in Greece in times of economic crisis: Greening the city or combating urban neo-poverty?

Theodosia Anthopoulou, Maria Partalidou and Antonis Moyssidis<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Urban Agriculture (UA) is mainly oriented to meet societal demands for self-producing fresh vegetables and preserving active social green spaces in city neighbourhoods contributing to environmental sustainability and re-establishment of the lost connection of urban dwellers to nature and food. Amidst the current economic crisis, with alarming phenomena of neo-poverty and malnutrition, UA takes yet another crucial role in supporting vulnerable groups in cities. In Greece we observe recently an increasing number of municipal vegetable gardens-allotments, created by local authorities on the principle of food security and economic relief of urban households. Drawing on the results of a research project this paper tries to articulate the dynamics and forms of UA in Greece using both quantitative and qualitative research and analysis. The problematic focuses on two main points to explore: the motives and other socioeconomic characteristics of urban farmers and the strengths, weaknesses and difficulties of these initiatives.

## INTRODUCTION

Urban Agriculture is considered as an integral part of urban ecological system and economy, mainly oriented to meet societal demands for preserving productive green spaces (access to fresh and safe food) and enhancing its environmental, economic and socio-cultural functions (organic farming, landscapes diversity, employment, recreation, educational services etc). It has always existed in developing countries where it still plays a major role in food security of the population (FAO, 2010). Its recent reappearance in the anciently industrialized countries (e.g. the 'Communities Gardens' of New York and the 'Jardins Associatifs' in France) reveals the need of urban dwellers to re-establish the lost connection to the land and the food (new images of rurality) improving the community's livelihood. Nowadays, UA takes a new meaning in many parts of the world under increasing pressure of urban deprivation and collateral effects of economic crisis (global food crisis, emerging urban neo-poverty and food insecurity) in developed countries. The recent flowering of urban garden-allotments reintroduces the question

of nutritional function of UA and of the relocalization of agri food systems (Aubry *et al.*, 2012).

In Greece, UA is a new phenomenon linked to the financial crisis and the consequent austerity policy, which primarily has affected urban households. In this context of unprecedented phenomena of poverty and malnutrition of vulnerable social groups (low incomes, pensioners, unemployed, single-parent families, etc.), we observe an increasing number of municipal gardens established on the principle of food security of citizens in difficulty (Anthopoulou *et al.*, 2012). Drawing on the results of a research project on recent UA movement in Greece we focus on municipal garden-allotments, posing two key questions. Firstly, what are the motivations and expectations of citizens willing to participate in a municipal allotment, as well as their perceived social, economic and environmental benefits. Secondly, what are the institutional constraints for a viable prospect of such municipal-urban projects.

## METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

The paper presents the results of the on-site research on the municipal vegetable garden in the peri-urban area of Thessaloniki-Thermi, in Northern Greece. We used both quantitative and qualitative research and analysis in order to provide answers to the aforementioned research questions. Based on key informants material (local stakeholders, public servants involved in the initiative, technical advisors etc) and personal interviews (structured questionnaire) with all applicant dwellers (N=141) for a municipal garden allotment we disclose their profile and motivations as well as strengths, problems and perspectives of UA. Statistical analysis of the data involved a Two-Step Cluster Analysis (TSCA) for a set of basic variables (motives, socioeconomic characteristics etc) in order to reveal the natural grouping (clusters) of the cases (urban farmers) within the data set that would otherwise not be apparent. The technique of TSCA uses a likelihood distance measure, assuming that variables are independent and categorical variables have a multinomial distribution. We further elaborated the cluster's profile, using cross-tabs, with other significant variables (the influence of the economic crisis etc).

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## RESULTS

The results of the qualitative research showed that the municipal vegetable garden is implemented by public bodies as an act of a social policy (relief of household expenditure on food, access to fresh own food, social responsibility, leisure) rather than within an institutionalised agri-territorial approach of urban planning (recognition of the multifunctionality of agriculture and of its importance for cities' sustainability). There was actually no framework for the introduction of UA in urban and land use planning. In fact, the initiative was based on the spontaneously reaction of local stakeholders to alleviate emerging urban neo-poverty within their municipality limits. The total size of the available garden was 1.5 ha and each citizen is going to get a piece of 50m<sup>2</sup> for a two-year period. City dwellers were very enthusiastic and huddled together for that piece of communal land to produce their own vegetables. Findings of TSCA revealed two main clusters – types driven by different motivations (Table 1) and influenced at a different level by the economic crisis.

**Table 1.** Typology of urban dwellers participating in municipal UA in Thermi.

Variables used for clustering	1 <sup>st</sup> Cluster (70%)	2 <sup>nd</sup> Cluster (30%)
Motivation for Self producing healthy food	62%	12%
Educational level of spouse	High school 34%	University 55%
Farmers in the family	Yes 80%	No 60%
Personal Educational level	High school 39%	University 66%
Food security motivation	51%	29%
Recreational farming	52%	48%
Age	47	42
Greening motivation	18%	22%
Educational motives	12%	26%
Leave the city	Yes 51%	Preconditions 41%
Origin	34% small city	45% Thes/niki

The first type is dominant amongst the population and describes those urban dwellers that came from a village or a small rural city, still having connections to the land and the rural. They are slightly older than the other type and less educated (both husband and wife). Returning to the rural area is a choice that, the majority of them, is considering due to deepening recession. One out of two considers UA a way of ensuring food for the family during these times of economic crisis but also a way to get away from the anxiety of everyday life; it is in this type that we find unemployed and low-income families. The influence of the economic crisis on their decision to get involved in UA (in a 5-point *Likert* scale) is up to 59% for "much" and "very much".

The second type refers to citizens with origins from the urban, higher educational level, slightly younger, who might consider leaving the city but under specific pre-conditions (e.g. employment, social infrastructure etc). They have no family connections to the rural and to agriculture. Their first priority and motivation for UA is improving the quali-

ty of their life (greening the city, organic food, landscape amenities, relaxation and exercise, psychological benefits) as well as self-production of their everyday vegetables. The current economic crisis does not seem to have a great influence on their participation as only 28% of them have been "much" and "very much" influenced.

## CONCLUSIONS

Urban agriculture (by way of municipal vegetable gardens) is a very recent phenomenon in Greece (since 2011) but with dynamic development under pressure of the degradation of city living and the economic crisis. Therefore, we cannot yet have explicit answer to our central question of whether UA responds to the social demand for greening the city rather than combating urban neo-poverty. The typology of urban dwellers involved in UA clearly indicates two types with two different orientations. The one with rural background hammered by the economic crisis and the other without any connections with the rural, driven by self-production of healthy-quality food.

In Greece, where urban people still maintain relations with their place of origin and the rural, UA seems to reflect a way of reminiscing or creating from the scratch a rural reference. Nowadays, the garden allotments initiatives of many public authorities seem to respond to this demand for re-establishing the connection to the land and nature and for re-localisation of agri-food systems (food quality, identity, security). Additionally, the vegetable gardens are considered by the city dwellers as a green space of socialization, exercise and entertainment given the even greater degradation of urban living environment that the economic crisis brings forth. However, an important question arises about the municipal vegetable gardens, including those of Thermi, and calls upon the sustainability and viability of such initiatives. It concerns the necessity of institutionalization of UA and thus its protection as specific land use within urban or peri-urban limits and finally its integration in urban planning by recognizing its vital contribution to the sustainability of cities.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Educational Dimension of Urban Gardens: Cases from the Czech Republic

Barbora Duží and Robert Stojanov<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – We explore the role of urban gardens managed mainly by Environmental Education Centres. We focus on educational dimensions and feasibility of their applications in urban environment.

The target research area is located in the Czech Republic as an unique example of the post-communist country which is characterized by strong tradition of urban gardening for self-provision purposes as well as school gardens. The aim of the study, based on investigation of urban gardens, is to create practical typology of gardens and to summarize the basic standards that are needed to fulfill so called environmental and climate friendly gardening, that is feasible to run in urban environment. The main challenge is to show extraordinary diversity of Czech gardens that draw from past experience and apply new approaches.

## INTRODUCTION

In the Czech Republic, amateur gardening, horticulture and self-provision activities has been applying by many inhabitants in rural as well as urban environment. After the communist regime break up during ninetieths, many researches focused mainly on economical and social changes of countries in transitions, including gardening. (Jehlička, Kostecký and Smith, 2011; Alber and Kohler, 2008). Environmental dimension did not attracted researches' attention very much.

In the past, gardening was also supported from educational system. Although numbers of gardens decreased after the transition to market-oriented economy, proportion of self food production and school gardens remained still high. According to wide scale research in 2007, about 80% of schools has school garden (Burešová et al., 2007) remained. Moreover during ninetieths, Environmental Education Centres started to developed educational gardens too.

The Environmental Education stays on three pillars: knowledge, attitudes and practices (Ministry of Education, 2008). The third pillar is the most important and also the most visible in gardening practices. Abilities to be in garden, to run garden and to use its products is perceived as the most important.

Moreover, Strejčková (2005) points out the importance of direct human contact with natural environment and gardens especially in early

childhood to create meaningful bonds with nature. She also warned about estrangement with nature while people live in urban environment.

Similarly Burešová et al. (2007) promotes to develop gardens as open-space classroom with the wide spectrum of usage (compare with Dilafruz and Brown, 2012; Carney, 2011).

The main aim of the paper is to review wide diversity of these gardens and to highlight their environmental and educational dimensions. The second goal is to show their contribution in adopting basic environmental standards available for ordinary urban gardeners.

## DATA, METHODS

We conducted information source review, internet review and field research with focus to investigate garden practices and orientation of the Environmental Education Centres and selected school gardens. We indicated 38 members of the Environmental Education Organisation Network called 'Spiderweb' and incorporated analysis of 20 gardens outside the 'Spiderweb' network or school gardens.

The main research question was: What kind of gardens are kept in the Czech republic? What are the their main environmentally and climate friendly practices?

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Regarding garden types, we found extraordinary variety of garden. But the common feature of the gardens is to be open to people, new ideas, transmission of useful methods and procedures to public through workshops and educational programmes for children and teachers.

The most visible is detection of environmentally friendly oriented approach. We cannot simply call them as just being "organic". Nearly every garden draws inspiration from original sources and is strongly connected with their founders.

We provide short summary of the main types of gardens:

### 1/ Children's Garden

Garden oriented for small children, containing number of playing elements for children, besides food production and educational dimension.

### 2/ Grandmother's Garden

Old farmsteads, enriched by current environmental practices. The aim is to show traditional ways of farming. Besides this, various art and craft courses

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are offered (wool processing, pottery, herbal medicine).

### 3/ *Biotope Garden*

Main purpose of the garden is to run biological observation, it serves as an mosaic of biotopes typical for Europe: mixed forest, meadow, steppe, lake, wetland, also gardens etc.

### 4/ *Permaculture / Natural Garden*

Very diverse garden types, containing plants, shrubs and trees and combining old and new approaches. It is close to the concept of "eatable wilderness".

### 5/ *Food garden*

Garden focused on the most nutrition rich plants (containing high amount of proteins).

### 6/ *Garden of old sorts and cultivars*

Gardens oriented especially on revival of old and regional varieties of fruit trees, plants and crops.

Besides this typology, we identified some specific purposes. "Garden of sense" is inspired by Waldorf pedagogy and contains various elements to support engagement of human senses (mainly touch). "Open Garden" entails basic element (water, ground, air, fire) and shows their practical usage.

Table 1 shows main practices used in gardens:

**Table 1.** Summary of observed environmental and climate friendly practices used by the most EEC gardens.

Environmental Dimension	
Natural Resources Management	Rain water harvesting, biowaste reuse -composting, concentration on human work
Protection of soil	Compost and organic manure usage, coverage the soil by organic material
Support of useful predators and pollinators	Installation of shelters and hiding places
Support of diversity	Fields, orchards, flowers, water, trees, bushes and shrub, herbs, lie fallow elements.
Plant procedures	Plant rotation, combination of various kind of crops
Health dimension	
Consumption	Avoiding using chemicals, pesticides and artificial manure
Environment	Enlargement of green spaces
Educational Dimension	
Programs	Gardens are aimed to serve as open-space classroom

#### Social dimension

Social connections	Gathering of people, exchanging and transmission of experiences
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Source: own arrangement

In the paper we selected the main types of the gardens and determined the main environmentally and climate friendly procedures and methods used in the gardens, including health, social and educational dimensions. This paper intended to serve as an introduction to the issue. After the introduction to the topic, it would be very useful to conduct further empirical research to detect what kind of demonstrated practices are the best transferable to urban gardeners. Then, to find out cases of good practices and experiences, including evaluation potential improvement of environmental, health and educational dimensions. Another important challenge is to evaluate effectiveness of practical courses and educational programmes to public.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# “Feeding Milan”: new relationship between the city of Milan and the South Park in the context of Expo 2015”

Paola Migliorini<sup>1</sup>, Paolo Corvo<sup>1</sup> and Bruno Scaltriti<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Feeding Milan** is a research intervention project promoted by Slow Food Italy. The general goal is to design a system of services and infrastructures that contribute to a systematic change in the relationship between peri-urban agriculture and the city, as a function of an efficiently and effectively food chain, giving shape to a scenario of sustainable and innovative metropolitan agriculture. This paper describes the results of the territorial analysis. The objective of this phase is to discover, understand and map the characteristics of the metropolitan area, consisting of the city of Milan and the South Park, and will lead to the construction of a large territorial map. The analytical work is developed in two parts: one focus on the sustainability assessment of the farming systems in the Park; the other focuses on the city analyse from the point of view of the consumption of food in relationships with the South Park. The project defines an urban agri-food model of excellence, a true territorial monument to celebrate and represent the city, not only in function of Expo 2015.

## INTRODUCTION

“Feeding Milan” is a project of research intervention promoted by Slow Food Italy, University of Gastronomic Sciences and Indaco Department of the Politechnic in Milan, for the City of Milan and the area of the South Milan Agricultural Park (SMAP), also in the perspective of Expo Milano 2015. The PASM includes 61 municipalities of the Province of Milan, an area of 47,000 hectares where there are 1,400 farms with a total of 39,900 hectares of utilized agricultural area. The objective is to design a system of services and infrastructures that conduct to a systematic change of relationship between peri-urban agriculture and the city, as a function of an efficiently and effectively food chain, giving shape to a scenario of sustainable and innovative metro-agriculture. The project support best practices and existing resources (agricultural, territorial and environmental), activate the valued resources (processing), create new services of distribution (direct sale, farmers market, shops and centres of neighbourhood) and socio-cultural initiatives.

This paper describes the results of the territorial analysis. The objective of this phase is to discover, understand and map the characteristics of the metropolitan area, consisting of the city and the South Park, in order to highlight strengths and weakness-

es, best practices and opportunities unexpressed, actors and consumers, and thus identify the project's opportunities.

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

The analytical work is developed in two parts. First part focused on agri-ecological and socio-economic sustainability assessment of 4 farming systems (rice, dairy, winter cereal and horticulture) in the Park. Second part focused on the understanding of what is happening in the city from the point of view of the consumption of food in relationships with the South Park. The complex view will lead to the construction of a large territorial map.

### 1. SUSTAINABILITY OF SMAP

To assess the sustainability of the agricultural sectors of the Agricultural Park of South Milan four farming systems (horticultural, rice, livestock, winter cereals) were evaluated (Migliorini and Scaltriti, 2012). The analysis was performed on agro-environmental and socio-economic aspects of 12 farms (3 for each FS) with different management systems: conventional (1), integrated (1) and organic (1). The agro-environmental sustainability was measured through indicators of the soil (6), water (3), air (3) and landscape-biodiversity (9). For each subsystems different agro-ecological indicators are processed, aimed at evaluating a specific attribute of the system and its critical points. Each indicator is associated with a low (weak sustainability), medium or high (strong sustainability) score, which is derived from literature and adapted to the territorial context of reference and it is relatively weight. Detecting economic indicators carried out socio-economic assessment: variable costs, gross income, gross margin CAP subsidies. The collection of farm information is captured through interviews with farmers, business documents and maps, estimated data during farm visits.

### 2. MILAN CONSUMERS VS SMAP

The activities of research articulated in three years (2010-2012) and used quali-quantitative methodology: a) analysis of the existing data; b) 500 telephone interviews to Milanese citizens on the alimentary habits and relationships with the South Park, effected by Ipsos Data c) qualitative part with interviews in depth to fifteen farmers of the Park with questions about tradition, culture and economy. The results show that the farmers are interested in in-

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creasing the relations with the city of Milan, both developing commercial activity of their agricultural products and hosting the citizens in didactic farm.

#### RESULTS OF FARM'S ASSESSMENT

The result show that the analysed farms are managed in a barely sustainable with regard to economic aspects, but have quite a negative impact on the environment (fig.1). Only organic farms received positive values of environmental sustainability but reach the worst economic performance. The conventional and integrated farms have very negative values of environmental sustainability and better economic results of organic farms.

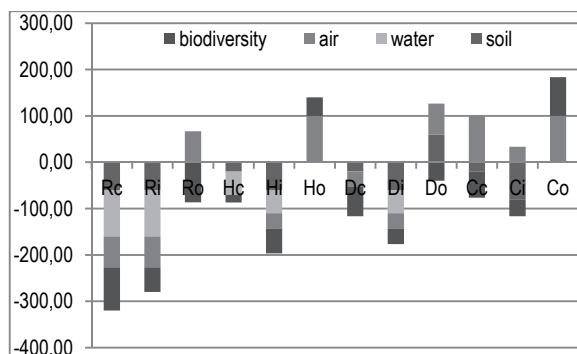


Figure 1. Sum of agro-environmental sustainability indicators in the three agricultural sectors (R: rice, H: horticultural, D: dairy, C: winter cereals) and the three management methods. C: conventional; I: integrated; O: organic.

Another focus of the study was on the bread supply chain localized in the SMAP. The main general consideration is that the strategy of wheat valorisation through vertical integration (from wheat production to bread selling) is effective for the remuneration of the farming activities (tab.1).

Table 1. Some economic data on the farms involved in the bread supply chain.

	Yield (t/ha)	Cost of production (€/kg)	Wheat price (€/kg)	Flour price (€/kg)
Conventional	4.5	0,2343	0,26	1,10
Integrated	3.6	0,2903	0,30	2,00
Organic	3.2	0,3256	0,33	1,80

#### RESULTS OF TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

The results of the quantitative research underline the complexity of the situation object of analysis, but also some positive aspects: i) it confirms the importance assumed by the food in the post-modern society, with the a large part of people that buy directly the food and prepare the meals (Counihan, Van Esterik 2006), with specific attention to the local tradition and the seasonality of the products; ii) the purchase of the groceries primarily happens in the cathedrals of the consumption, as the commercial centres, while only a small part buys from the local producers; iii) the dimension of the food sustainability is known in its fundamental principles, at least to elementary level, while the knowledge of the con-

crete experiences as the shops of proximity it is less diffused, for which the sustainability risks to stay an abstract concept; iii) the consumption of the meals out home, that was becoming a real habit for the Milanese has suffered the consequences of the economic crisis, with a revaluation of the domestic kitchen and even the self-production of foods, as fruit, vegetables, preserves. The data of the survey furnish useful indications to individualize some lines of action of the project Feeding Milan, to improve the goals: i) formation and sensitization of the Milanese citizens around the good practices of food and agricultural sustainability, so that the possibility of implementation is evident in the daily life, overcoming a superficial knowledge of the problems; ii) to favour the qualitative growth of the products of the South Park, stimulating the organic cultivations through the involvement of institutions and agricultural associations, promoting the economic sustainability of the organic agriculture, developing the relationships with the city, with diffusion of the Farmer's Markets (De Ploeg 2000); iii) to create greenways, that facilitates the visits as proposed alternative for the weekend.

Table 2. Level of knowledge about food in %.

Thematic	A lot	Enough	Almost	Very few	Not at all
Organic	11	34	33	14	8
GMO	7	18	28	25	22
Sustainable	8	16	20	24	32
Km0	7	17	16	14	46
Fair trade	6	23	14	17	40
Biodiversity	5	14	24	29	28
Local food	4	11	11	15	59
TOTAL	48	133	146	138	235

#### CONCLUSION

The project gives to the city a new infrastructural and services asset to create direct relations of exchange with the South Milan Agricultural Park. It defines an urban agri-food model of excellence, a true territorial monument to celebrate and represent the city, not only in function of Expo 2015.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# Locally grown food within cities: food function of Parisian associative gardens

Jeanne Pourias and Christine Aubry<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract – Urban dwellers show an increasing interest for growing food within or near the cities. Among the diversity of forms of urban agriculture, more and more associative gardens have been developing in Paris for ten years. However, very few studies investigate actual production and consumption levels in associative gardens. In 2011 and 2012, we conducted a study using the principles of citizen science to investigate the food function of Parisian garden. The first results of this study show a great variability in the quantitative and qualitative food function of the gardens according to gardeners and various levels of food self-reliance achieved through gardening.**

## THE RISE OF ASSOCIATIVE GARDENS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

In recent years, industrialized countries have experienced a considerable renewed interest for urban agriculture (Aubry and Pourias, 2013). In the Île-de-France region (the region of Paris), among the various forms of urban agriculture, associative gardens<sup>2</sup> is the most developed one so far. "Shared gardens" (*jardins partagés*) were born from citizen spontaneous initiatives and local government-supported projects and have been increasingly developing in Paris for ten years. Today, there are 84 of them within Paris. "Family gardens" (*jardins familiaux*) are the successors of the historical "workers gardens" (*jardins ouvriers*), that were created at the beginning of the 20th century and have experienced since then cycles of decline and renewal across the 20th century. Very few data is available regarding the exact number of associative gardens or their total area in the region of Paris. An inventory is in progress to give a more accurate view of the extent of associative gardens in the region. However, a first estimation allows us to think that the total area under cultivation by associative gardens might be close to the area under cultivation by professional market-gardeners.

Associative gardens fulfill a high diversity of functions (Duchemin et al., 2008). Among those functions, the importance of productions in gardeners' food supply, and, beyond that, for the food security of the cities, is an interesting topic for scientific research and for city planners. Few studies investigate actual production and consumption levels in associative gardens. The on-going study presented here aims at quantifying and qualifying this food function.

## METHODOLOGY

As much as possible, we tried to incorporate citizen science principles into the project's design and data collection methods. Citizen Science attempts to make the knowledge-making process of a science more democratic by giving a community some degree of decision-making power over what is studied, how it is studied, the collection of data, and the conclusions drawn from the research (Gittleman et al., 2012).

In 2011 and 2012, we performed interviews among 43 gardeners in 10 associative gardens located in Paris and the close suburb. Gardeners were asked about the importance they gave to the food function among other functions of the garden, their cropping practices (use of fertilizers and/or pesticides, crop rotations, origin of their knowledge etc.) and how they chose their crops. Then, if they were willing to, they participated in evaluating the quantity of food produced in their garden. In 2012 and 2013, weighing scales and harvest notebooks were distributed to 24 gardeners out of the 43 interviewed in Paris. Furthermore, the plots of these gardeners were monitored monthly throughout the growing seasons, i.e. from March to October, in order to observe the cropping plans, the approximate dates of planting and harvesting, and the area covered by each crop (the 2013 campaign is in progress). A plan was drawn every month, following the description of the gardeners explaining which plants were planted or removed and why.

## RESULTS

### Diversity

More than 60 crops were counted in the 24 plots monitored throughout the growing season, with a high varietal diversity, especially among tomatoes, beans, lettuces, cabbages and squashes.

In some cases, the crops grown in the gardens were rare or exotic products that might be difficult to find

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<sup>2</sup> Under the word "associative garden", we include all forms of plots gardened by a group of people, may the site be gardened collectively or divided in individual plots, and theoretically accessible to everyone (which exclude school gardens, dedicated to children, and gardens that explicitly address a certain public: integration, therapeutic, prison, etc.). Associative gardens include for example community gardens in the USA, *jardins collectifs* and *jardins communautaires* in Québec, *jardins partagés* (shared gardens) and *jardins familiaux* (family gardens) in France etc.



in grocery stores that deliver mostly "standardized" products (Fig.1).



Fig. 1 (left) Coriander in a garden of the eastern suburb of Paris, mostly gardened by north-African women; (right) Portuguese cabbage in a Parisian shared garden

In many cases, the interviews showed that the origin of the seeds appears to be an important feature: many gardeners happen to bring back seeds from their home country or from holidays with the aim of planting them in their garden.

#### Quality

The quality of the produce was often mentioned by gardeners as a major asset of the garden: their taste and the fact that they are grown by themselves therefore with practices "that they know" were important features when they described the quality. Gardeners' cropping practices were not always "organic", but most of the time tend to be environmental-friendly (no or few chemicals, home-made products and compost etc.). Therefore, the 5 most popular crops (the 5 crops that we found more often in the plots we investigated) were mostly vegetables that are usually consumed raw, that are relatively costly in grocery stores and which taste better when they don't undergo transportation and when they are harvested at full ripeness: radishes, green beans, potatoes, strawberries, tomatoes.

Potatoes are the exception: they are quite cheap in grocery stores, they have to be consumed cooked and they can be stocked for a while. However, this crop has the advantage to give high yields and to be easy to grow, even in containers.

There is also a high variety of herbs in the gardens, produce which are usually quite expensive and that perish quickly. For gardeners who lived close to their garden, it was often a daily source of aromatic herbs. For gardeners living further (for whom accessing the garden means more than a few minutes walk), herbs may be grown on the balcony or in front of the windows, at home.

#### Quantity

The results (in progress) show a wide range of expectations regarding the food function of associative gardens from the point of view of gardeners (Pourias et al, 2012). In small intra-urban gardens, the goal is hardly ever to achieve self-sufficiency (Fig. 2, case 4). In suburban gardens, this can happen, but it's unusual.

When investigating the food function of the garden, the quantities produced should not be regarded as the only indicator. Evaluating the quantities harvested in the gardens is relevant to illustrate the various roles that the garden might play in the food supply of the gardeners, keeping in mind their per-

sonal history, expectations and strategy regarding their garden.

A theoretical framework might help to situate the gardeners when discussing the importance of garden produce for personal consumption:

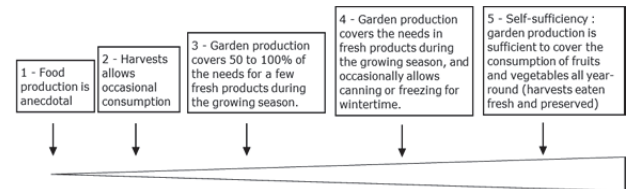


Fig. 2 Five possible cases regarding the quantitative food function of a garden

Among the gardeners interviewed, some reported that food production was neither a goal nor an outcome of their garden (Fig. 2, case 1). Others were able to eat a few products from time to time (Fig. 2, case 2). In that case produce are usually eaten raw, at the garden just after their harvesting. Most frequently though, gardeners explained that their production in the garden, if it did not cover their needs over a full year, allowed them to buy less or even not to buy vegetables at all during the "high season", i.e. in Paris from May to September, approximately (Fig.2 case 3 and 4).

Giving a share of the harvest is very common and is not related to the amount harvested. In fact, in many cases, gardeners grow more food than needed, in order to be able to give to their friends or relatives. The harvests then benefit to other people than the gardener himself. This supports other functions of the garden, e.g. giving a sense of self-satisfaction or creating social interactions.

#### DISCUSSION

Understanding and measuring production and consumption in associative gardens is important, as this might help to enlighten their role in terms of providing fresh produces to gardeners, especially in times of economic crisis. This issue is shared by other projects, e.g. in New York and Montreal, and by a French research project called JASSUR (2013-2015) which compares in 7 French cities the weight of this food function, the cropping practices in associative gardens and the evaluation by various stakeholders (gardeners, urban managers, scientists etc.) of the risks associated with urban pollution.

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# Proper name or Number Sequence? The Meanings and Changes of Naming Cows

Taija Kaarlenkaski and Kati Saarinen<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In this paper, we discuss the practices of giving names to dairy cows in Finland and the meanings that are related to it. Our aim is to find out how name giving affects human-animal relationships, and on what grounds cattle tenders give names to the animals. We use several types of data: written narratives, interviews and answers to a questionnaire. We suggest that the proper names of cows are strongly connected to the conceptions of animals as individuals. People may remember certain cows and their names and characters even decades after the death of these animals. Remembering the names of the animals is often connected to taking care of them individually and thus also to animal welfare. The names seem to remain significant on contemporary large dairy farms, although the EU identification numbers of the animals are also used in certain situations. However, the practices of giving names vary. While some people give their cows human names, others think that it is not appropriate. In other words, the barrier of species may be transgressed by the act of name giving.

## INTRODUCTION

For centuries it has been customary to give proper names to domesticated animals. It may be argued that a proper name brings the animal closer to human beings and emphasizes its special role. Moreover, people tend to become more attached to animals that have individual names (Phillips, 1994; Borkfelt, 2011). Although cattle are agricultural animals, in Finland at least dairy cows have been and usually still are given individual names. This may be related to the fact that herd sizes in Finland have been smaller than in other European Union countries. Compared to other Western European countries, Finland was an exceptionally agrarian society until the 1950's, but after that, the industrialization process has been remarkably rapid. Since the 1960s, the number of cattle farms has decreased fast in Finland, and at the same time the average size of the remaining farms has increased. The average dairy herd size in 2011 was 27.7 cows (Niemi, 2012).

In this paper, we discuss the practices of giving names to bovine animals and the meanings that are related to these procedures. Our aim is to find out how name giving affects the human-animal relationship, and on what grounds cattle tenders give names

to the animals. What happens to names when the sizes of cattle herds increase constantly?

## DATA AND METHODS

Different types of data are used in this paper: firstly, the texts that were sent to the writing competition about the cow, arranged in 2004 by the Finnish Literature Society and the Union of Rural Education and Culture. The material contains numerous different viewpoints on the cow, written from the perspectives of present-day and former cattle tenders, people who have spent their childhood on cattle farms and people who have only encountered cows occasionally. The material consists mostly of autobiographical narratives that cover the time frame between the 1930's and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A selection of 146 texts was used as research material in Kaarlenkaski's doctoral dissertation (2012) and analyzed by methods of narrative research.

Secondly, we utilize interviews that were conducted by Saarinen between 2006 and 2008 on Finnish dairy farms. The number of dairy cows on the farms ranged from 20 to 80. The third type of data consists of answers to a questionnaire directed to a random sample of 400 Finnish milk producers in 2010. The questionnaire was a part of the multidisciplinary research project "Maitotilan hyvä vointi" ("Welfare on dairy farms").

None of these materials was originally gathered for the purpose of investigating the practices concerning the names of the cows. However, the issue came up in all of them, which indicates that the names of the animals are important to cattle tenders.

## NAMES AND NUMBERS

There is a long tradition of naming cattle in Finland; examples of names from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and earlier times may be found in folklore materials and estate inventory deeds. The oldest names often refer to the appearance of the animal or were inspired by plants and flowers, for example. In 1957, the farms that had joined the milk recording associations were given a recommendation that all the calves born in the same year should have a name with the same initial letter. This recommendation has been complied with widely, although milk recording does not even require the cows to have names; the animals are identified by numbers in the registers (Vatanen, 1997).

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In the written narratives sent to the writing competition about the cow, most of the writers at least mention some cow names, and the proper names seem to be an essential part of the meanings related to the cows. Many writers reminisce certain cows and their names and characters even decades after the death of these animals. The practices of giving names vary, however. There are traditional names, such as Mansikki, Omena and Heluna, but inspiration for naming is also drawn from current celebrities and TV programmes. Some writers state that they do not give human names to cattle, but in general, cows and bulls with human names are common in the material. Also in the narratives situated on contemporary dairy farms, the narrators emphasize that their cows have proper names and that they are taken care of individually. Many narrators criticize contemporary large farms and suggest that it is impossible to remember the names and individual characters of more than 50 cows. Remembering the names is often associated with taking good care of the animals (see also Phillips, 1994).

The current legislation requires marking the animals so that every animal has a unique EU identification number consisting of up to 12 digits and an indication of the country of birth. It must be possible to identify unambiguously all the animals of a dairy farm practicing milk recording. In addition, every cow and heifer has a so-called ear number of up to four digits. These identification numbers are visible in the ear tags attached to each ear of the animal.

It is worth considering the significance of the fact that the information and identification of the animals are increasingly recorded by numbers in different registers and documents. With the increase of technology, numeric identification is also used more and more on farms as well as in conversations between the cattle tenders. At first glance it would seem that the use of identification numbers alienates the keepers from the individual treatment of the animals. A closer examination, however, shows that the issue is neither unambiguous nor should it be removed from its context. Although identification by numbers makes it possible to identify the animal individually in cattle tending as well as in different registers, it turned out in the interviews, that the keepers also increasingly use the name and the identification number of the animal side by side in everyday routines.

In the interviews, many farmers state that they still give proper names to their cows and, in some cases, issues related to name giving could make the relationship to a certain cow more emotional. Some cows became "favourite cows" that often had nicknames. It has also been suggested that addressing the animal by name and treating it as an individual influence the milk production of the cow. The cows called by name and given individual treatment and attention milk more than cows getting less attention and individual treatment (Bertenshaw & Rowlinson, 2009).

As regards the third type of data, over a half of the milk producers who answered the questionnaire

consider it important to know the cows by name. The results also show that the farms where no attention is given to the names of the cows have a slightly lower animal welfare index (Kymäläinen, 2011).

#### CONCLUSION

The materials we have discussed indicate that the proper names of bovine animals have been and still are meaningful to cattle tenders in Finland. Remembering the names and calling the animals by name seem to be important although the sizes of dairy farms have increased remarkably. Moreover, it may be suggested that cattle tenders and dairy cows construct a sort of "multispecies work community" that is consolidated by the use of individual names. On the other hand, giving names and individualizing the cows is contradictory, because as agricultural animals even the favourite cows end up in the slaughterhouse. This ambivalence is a predominant feature in the relationships between human beings and cows, and it manifests itself in a variety of ways, also in name giving (Wilkie, 2010; Kaarlenkaski, 2012). Our discussion demonstrates that the proper names of domesticated animals are important to farmers and should be investigated as part of human-animal relationships.

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# Danish social food movements on Facebook

Hannibal Hoff<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – In 1996 La Via Campesina launched the concept of 'food sovereignty' as a response to an increased appropriation by agribusiness interest of the concept of 'food security'. In itself the launching of food sovereignty showed the power of discourse and the concept helped activate peasant movements all over the world working for more community and regional control of agriculture as a practical response to the neoliberal transformation of the global food system. But social movements concerned with food issues have also emerged in less organized ways. This short paper presents the first step towards a genealogy of the desires and beliefs that spreads through the Danish social food movements. By applying an ethnographic Facebook-study of various social food movements in Denmark the short paper shows three stages of control as shared desires by the movements and argues that this overall desire to control is characteristic of social food movements.

I will initially present a brief review of the traditions within social movement theory. Following this, I will account for the applied ethnographic method and finally I will present and discuss the results of the study.

## SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Two overall traditions have shaped the study of social movements. One tradition, influenced by the works of Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow among others, argues that the "act that lies at the base of all social movements (...) is *contentious collective action*" (Tarrow 1994: 2, italic as in original). Tilly depicted this *collective action* as a function of interests, organization, mobilization (of resources) and opportunities (Tilly 1978 in Goodwin & Jasper XXXX: 615) and understood *contentious* in the sense that "social movements involve collective making of claims that, if realized, would conflict with someone else's interest" (Tilly 2004: 3). This structuralist tradition, represented by Tilly and Tarrow and sometimes named 'resource mobilization theory', is dealing with "instrumental analysis, identifying resources, political opportunities, and strategic framing" (Starr 2010: 480).

The second overall tradition/direction has been heavily influenced by the works of Alberto Melucci and emphasizes identity, culture, meaning, space and more long-term considerations of social conflicts being able to change the "cosmology" of society – social changes in other words, are believed to happen because of slow long-term shifts in beliefs and values. Echoing newer social theory, this tradition "examines the power of discourse, the collocation of subjection and agentic subjectivity, the structuring and subversive pathways of feelings and desire, and the phenomena of excess, identity, heterogeneity,

information, and the body" (Starr 2010: 480-1, Nash 2010: 91).

To some extent the differences between these two traditions derive from two different starting points in how to understand social movements: from the outside in or from the inside out.

Others advocate bridge building between these traditions on the basis of empirical case-studies (Meyer, Whittier & Robnett 2002) and some combine the traditions by focusing on a shared collective identity. For instance, Mario Diani finds that social movements are "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani 1992: 13 in Nash 2010: 122).

## Food and social movements

Historically, food (the question of the bread) has been at the centre of many (or most) social uprisings, movements and revolutions. This has been the case when a shortage of food has threatened the livelihood of people in different societies and many of these movements have in a traditional sense been labelled social movements. In most Western societies however, accessibility to (industrialised) food is no longer the most urgent problem. As an effect of the large-scale industrialisation, food has never been produced at such low cost and in such great quantities, as today. What is being problematized by a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations today concerns, to a large extent, the consequences of this industrialised food system. These consequences can be seen in all stages of food production and also includes more subjective elements of quality, taste, health etc.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to characterise Danish social movements engaged in food issues it has been necessary initially to investigate the discourse of the relevant actors and to clarify how they position themselves in order to identify and register constitutive common denominators.

The purpose of this study is thus twofold. For one I will identify and register characteristic features of the Danish (social) food movements and thus contribute to the social movement literature. The second purpose is to prepare for a genealogy that aims at understanding the beliefs and values that spreads through the Danish food movements and investigate the formation or origin - *Entstehung* or *Herkunft* following Foucault and Nietzsche - of these (Foucault



2001:62). In social theory, Foucault has often been linked to structuralism although he on many occasions explicitly denied this linkage. Instead he claimed, that he devoted most of his career investigating, through archaeology and genealogy, different ways by which human beings are made subjects in our culture, being both 'internal' and 'external' ways (Foucault 1994: 326-7). In the genealogy that will follow I have off course been inspired by this Foucaultian sense of history.

#### *Farm-to-table Facebook ethnography*

Initially I identified the most important actors and social sectors in the Danish food debate on Facebook. This group is made up by a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations: food networks/communities, NGO's, farm-shops, co-op gardening projects, box-schemes, chefs, experts, food companies, retailers, interest groups and professional organisations. I studied how they articulate and emphasize the different stages in the food system:

1. Production
2. Processing
3. Distribution
4. Consumption
5. Disposal

From this I was able to see how they differ from each other and more specifically to identify certain characteristics of a Danish social food movement.

#### SOCIAL FOOD MOVEMENTS IN DENMARK

The social movements in Denmark dealing with food can be classified into two groups. One is primarily focusing on the distribution and consumption part of the food system. They focus on how to distribute and consume food in ways alternative to the conventional distribution and consumption line. Their Facebook pages consist primarily of updates on how and where to buy (locally grown) organic food; via food communities, farm shops, farmers markets etc. The second group is focusing more on production in terms of self-reliance. They write updates and share articles on how to grow your own food, urban gardening, off the grid-living etc. What combines these two groups and what can be seen as a common denominator for social food movements is a consistent desire for control and activism. Both groups emphasize controlling the production of food and doing so by taking action; either acting collectively through co-ops, networks, communities or acting individually and trying to inspire and mobilize others to act the same way.

What is characteristic, in other words, for the social movements dealing with food is the desire for controlling the food. This desire manifests itself in different ways. From wanting to monitor parts of the food production to more radical desires to govern all stages from production to consumption.

The genealogy that will follow from this first step will then search for the formation or origin of this desire. This search will consist of upholding what happened in the struggle between different desires

and what is characteristic of that struggle. I will in other words, search for the coincidences, the deviations, the mistakes and errors, which resulted in the desires that have prevailed and are superior today (Foucault 2001b: 63).

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# When global goes sweet, locals turn sour: case study of a Swiss wine

Melaine Laesslé<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – The Swiss wine sector has been subject to profound transformations over the past thirty years, the most important of which being the introduction of the geographical indications (GI) policy at the beginning of the 1990's, followed by the liberalization of the wine market in 2000, in the trend of economic globalization. By the same time, wine consumption dropped, putting national producers under increased pressure from abroad. These changes have generated new collective strategies at the local level, where wine producers have organized to resist and regain control over a product that does not only yield income, but also retains strong *sensitive* (taste related) and *symbolic* (identity) forms of values, which are being threatened by an increased mass retail of more standardized and sweeter wines. Developing a neo-institutional resource framework and applying it to a local Swiss wine, this paper documents dynamics of food sovereignty that bring actors to express unexpected forms of institutional creativity, around or beyond existing regulation, in the aim of excluding new threatening competitors and maintaining local producers' revenue and identity.

## INTRODUCTION

In some regions of Switzerland, wine production is of a long tradition, using local varieties of grape, and representing a very important part of the added value of agriculture. The landscapes of terraced vineyards, in part protected by UNESCO, reveal the cultural dimension of a costly production, dominated by handiwork.

Production is focused on domestic consumption and there is an important share of independent producers<sup>2</sup>, who typically run a family business.

The reform of the Swiss agricultural policy (1996) introduced geographical indications (GI)<sup>3</sup>, with the aim of protecting typical local products, including wine, partly anticipating the liberalization of production. About ten years after the full opening of the Swiss wine market however, national consumption declined and the pressure on local producers increased: imported wines are cheaper and their taste sweeter, a dynamic that has tended to impose a taste standard that disqualifies local wine diversity and its characteristics. How, then, have local producers responded to this trend in their

wine cellar: within, without or beyond formal regulation?

Barham (2002), followed more recently by others, considers that GI express Polanyi's concept (2001) of socially (re)embedded production in reaction to free market liberalism and issues of taste standardization faced by local agricultural products. Guthman (2007) argues on the contrary that such labels are nothing more than an extension of market logic.

We assume however that local wine producers *do* try to re-embed their activity, in a logic of food sovereignty that "put those who produce, distribute and consume at the heart of the food system" (Nyéléni, 2007), but through *institutional creativity* that goes beyond GI or sometimes bypasses regulation.

## CONCEPTS AND METHOD

Adopting a neo-institutional perspective (Ostrom, 1990), we consider local wine production as a common resource resulting from a regulated interaction - directed towards the differentiation of the product - between know-how, infrastructure and reception dispositions of consumers. The resource "local wine" yields three forms of values: *symbolic* (e.g. designation reputation, cultural landscape, identity bottle), *sensitive* (e.g. terroir expression, specific aroma, sweetness) and, of course, *monetary*. Actors of the wine sector compete to secure or increase their access to some of these values.

The types of values produced, their distribution and the contribution needed to insure resource formation are stabilized through an institutional *regulatory arrangement* (RA) that displays three functions: 1. definition of legitimate users and values distribution, 2. contribution obligations and exclusions mechanisms and, 3. conflict resolution.

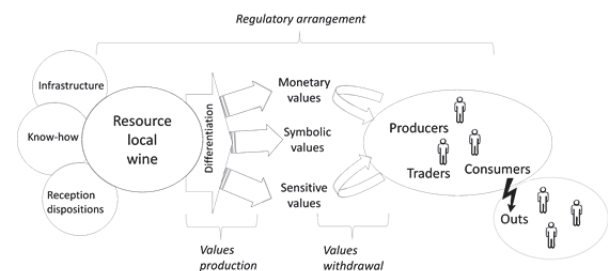


Figure 1. RA spanning resource, values and actors

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<sup>2</sup> Who make wine with their own grape production, with domains usually not exceeding 10 ha.

<sup>3</sup> An intellectual property right over a product name (Bordeaux wine, or Parma ham), owned by the State and granted to producers compiling with specific criteria in a defined geographical area.



A (qualitative) case study analyzes the collective organization of producers around a Swiss local wine designation (Fully AOC Valais). The institutional features of the RA are identified through data from national and regional law (agriculture, wine production, competition policy) and property rights definition; from formal and informal agreements and semi-directed interviews with civil servants, producers and traders at the (local) case level.

### RESULTS

The name "Fully" is used as a designation (GI) for wines produced with at least 85% of grapes from that municipality and the variety's name can also be displayed if it is used in that same percentage. This region of Switzerland has multiple "traditional" local varieties, which benefit from a strong reputation, *Petite Arvine* (PA) being its most popular. The 25 independent local producers have organized in view of associating this variety, and most of all its original taste profile (dry with its typical salty ending) to Fully. Indeed, mass retailers do sell this variety as well, but with a much greater amount of residual sugar (sweetness), in an international trend that makes wine easier to drink, and to sell.

To do so, local producers first defined a formal regulation for the production of a "Fully Grand cru", setting criteria for a first quality PA wine within the GI designation. According to this regulation, mass retailers do however still have the possibility to produce such a Grand cru, potentially with more sugar and without the taste characteristics expected for the PA.

Producers then organized for the promotion<sup>4</sup> of a "100% authentic" Fully PA wine, using a distinctive bottle and only that grape variety. Two annual events were created to ensure promotion. The first of these concentrates on a comparative wine tasting of PA from local producers and from other regional producers. The aim is to show consumers the specific "true" taste of a Fully PA. The second event consists of usual local wine tasting on Fully's impressive terraced vineyards. In addition to these events, the local producers have also adopted more informal regulations. First, they have signed a common agreement for the use of the distinctive bottle for all Fully wines (and not only the Grand cru ones) and minimum sell prices on these wines (which goes against competition policy). This *de facto* excludes mass retail from the distribution channels. Second, producers meet regularly for tastings, to coordinate wine making practices for a specific taste profile of local varieties and reduction of residual sugar and sweetness (for example by excluding second fermentation). Further projects, such as local yeast selection, are also developed, all directed towards a specific sensitive profile that corresponds to local terroir and the differentiation of Fully's designation from dominant trend on the wine market.

### DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In institutional terms, the local organization of actors displays a very creative and extended regulatory agreement developed to protect and sustain the resource. The comparative tasting event, winemaking coordination and additional bottle and prices agreements not only define who can have access to the resource's values and who is "out", but also set clear contribution obligations (both monetary and through production prescriptions), while conflicts are settled informally between producers.

These elements of the RA allow a precise articulation between restrictive uses of infrastructures (an exclusive bottle, no variety blending), the sharing of know-how (full sugar transformation during fermentation, coordination of wine-making processes), and coining of consumers' reception dispositions (Fully's authentic PA wine is dry, has a distinctive salty note, is not to be found in mass retail). This articulation shapes the resource to yield values such as *terroir expression, designation reputation, typical aromas, dry taste, and income for local producers*, i.e. values that would otherwise be vanishing in market trends.

This case study reveals that collective action which creatively complements formal regulation (GI policy) can lead to successful food sovereignty. Indeed, wine, like food, is not just a commodity: its taste is a key issue, often underestimated in the literature. By making sensitive aspects an object of regulation, local actors can regain control over an important part of the food system, their income and their identity. The resource framework proposed in this contribution shows how important local institutions, such as informal rules, are if we want to understand how rural actors respond to liberalization and product standardization trends. Provisory data from further case studies also points towards institutional creativity that pursues identical aims (taste preservation and differentiation of local wine) with different levels of coordination between local actors.

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<sup>4</sup> One half of the budget comes from producers, the other from municipal subsidies.





# Conventional farmers' attitudes to agricultural multifunctionality: practices from the Finnish context

Fulvio Rizzo<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** - Recent events at the global level – including the global increase in demand for food, the development of biofuels, the rise in food prices, the climate change influencing agriculture worldwide, and an increasing public awareness for the preservation of the environment and the countryside – have raised the importance of the multifunctionality of agriculture at different spatial scales. This paper investigates farmers' attitudes on multifunctionality in relation to both farming practices, and policy-making. The analyzed data extracted from semi-structured interviews suggest that farmers are not independent agents in their decision-making; in contrast to the principles of food sovereignty, they are severely constrained by homogenous and homogenizing policy-making structures at the national and international level. Further, geographically contingent conditions (location and/or regional characteristics) represent both a challenge, and an opportunity for farmers to support their income beyond the production of food and fibre.

## INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades, a variety of theoretical debates about the nature, changes, and future trajectories of agricultural and rural systems has emerged; such debates include economic, social, political, and environmental points of view (Wilson 2009). On the one hand, some scholars have argued that the end of conventional agriculture is approaching; on the other hand, a new multifunctional regime may be taking place: according to the OECD's (2001) working definition, the key elements of multifunctionality are the existence of multiple commodity and non-commodity outputs jointly produced by agriculture.

At the same time, rural development is characterized by two contrasting views. One view sees it as a process that will result in the removal of peasants, as economic progress marches on. The other view instead, conceives rural development as a process whereas "...the European countryside may be interpreted as different expressions of re-peasantization, which is a modern expression indicating the fight for autonomy and survival in a context of deprivation and dependency" (Van Der Ploeg 2008, xvi-7).

This research paper focuses on conventional farmers' attitudes to agricultural multifunctionality, in relation to both farming practices, and policy-making. Potential economic activities which may support farmers' incomes within the farm are discussed. Attention is given to organic farming, local food, bio-energy production, and agri-tourism. In relation to policy-making, two issues are addressed. Firstly, it is investigated the role of the Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners (*MTK*) in supporting farmers' interests and economic opportunities. Secondly, farmers' attitudes to the support schemes of the Common Agricultural Policy are examined.

On the basis of farmers' attitudes and behavioural intentions, the paper provides evidence to what extent farmers' decision-making is affected by structural contingencies; as well, it enriches the inter-disciplinary debate within rural and agricultural geography as well as rural sociology in relation to the conceptualization of farmers' role and empowerment within the food chain.

## METHODS

The core of the empirical data is given by qualitative semi-structured interviews, and newspaper's articles from the Finnish newspaper *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*. The target of the semi-structured interviews – which amount to ten – is conventional farmers; most of them are regional and national board representatives of *MTK*. The focus is on *MTK* board representatives because of their assumed familiarity with policy-making issues.

Since "most agricultural processes are strongly rooted in a specific locality based on their dependence on a geographically well-defined land base of production" (Wilson 2009, 271), the interviews have been collected in all the three categories of rural areas defined by the Finnish Rural Policy Committee: remote rural areas, rural heartland areas, and urban-adjacent rural areas. The specific geographic locations include the Uusimaa region and Eastern Finland (in the latter case, North Savo and North Karelia). Based on such intrinsic geographical diversity (agricultural systems in the two selected regions have very different characteristics) the goal is to collect the widest possible array of farmers' perspectives.

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The data is analysed through thematic, and interdiscursive analysis. While thematic analysis is based on the devising of macro-propositions and the coding of key words, inter-discursive analysis has the goal of abstracting the 'overarching themes' of the empirical data in order to link them to the theoretical framework of the dualism productivism/post-productivism (inter-discursive analysis).

### RESULTS

Farmers' engagement in other economic activities beyond the production of food and fibre depend in part on the spatial context, and in part on economic, and policy factors. Nowadays, organic farming discourses are very popular at the research, societal, and policy-making level; however, such farming practice is not always applicable. For instance, the interviewees from the remote rural areas of North Savo (Eastern Finland) have all argued that, even if they wanted to, they cannot shift their production to organic because of the lack of suitable arable land. Organic harvest requires much more space than conventional agriculture does (see Seufert et al., 2012). The lack of suitable terrain often pushes farmers to rent agricultural land as far as 40, 50 km away from their farm. Other factors that deal with the spatial context may cause challenges to organic production. In Uusimaa (Southern Finland), two of the farmers interviewed have stated that they do not shift to organic production for the presence of weed in their farm.

Another example that shows how difficult is to shift to other economic activities within the farm is given by agri-tourism; agri-tourism is feasible only in areas served by good transportation links, and above all, where there are water bodies such as lakes and rivers, which can attract tourists. As for local food, farmers would like to see more local production for schools for instance, but it is often the case that cheaper food is bought from abroad. Renewable energy production offers economic potential (especially cow waste), and it is at the same time used for heating purposes within the farm.

Most farmers are not satisfied by the support system typical of the Common Agricultural Policy; the most important reason for that is the impossibility of long-term planning and investments, which should be vital traits of farming enterprises. On the one hand expenses grow all the time, such as gasoline and food for animals; on the other hand incomes from production do not, and every year the profitability becomes smaller and smaller. Many farmers have turned into "virtual farming"; this means that they are just trying to maximize the subsidies, and every year they think what would be the best crop to plant. Since income does not come straight from farmers' own work, it is easier for them to quit farming whenever some other better work opportunity is available. Within this context, the most important role of the Central Union of

Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners (MTK) is to lobby for getting the best prices for farmers' products.

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of Wilson (2009), the local level, particularly the farm level, represents an important scale for any investigation of agricultural processes, including multifunctionality. Upon the analysis of the research data, it emerges that regardless of the geographical context (remote rural areas, rural heartland areas, and urban-adjacent rural areas) farmers' attitudes to agricultural multifunctionality within farming practices, and policy-making, present common traits, which are given by both geographically contingent conditions (location and/or regional characteristics), as well as external factors. The data shows that in spite of increasing multifunctionality discourses at the policy-making level, farmers still retain to a large degree a productivist mindset.

As well, in contrast to the principles of food sovereignty, farmers are not independent agents in their decision-making; rather, they are severely constrained by homogenous and homogenizing policy-making structures at the national and international level. What is more, the investigated data support the perspective that, from a human geography point of view, agricultural multifunctionality is not a mere concept which describe agricultural change (from productivism to post-productivism) but also and above all is a normative process that explains what is happening in a specific spatial context (see Wilson 2009).

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# Metagovernance as catalyst for sustainable change in rural areas

Louis Meuleman<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** – Metagovernance can be a design and management approach which allows combining and switching between different strands/styles of governance adapted to a specific situation, but it only under certain conditions. In this paper I argue that sustainable development of rural areas requires rather a metagovernance approach than any of the existing 'one-size-fits-all' governance frameworks, taking an example of metagovernance *avant-la-lettre* in the Green Heart of the Netherlands.

## INTRODUCTION

Long before I dedicated my dissertation (2008) to the quest for metagovernance, I discovered in 1995 the need for, or maybe rather the existence of such a concept when I was a rural areas policy manager in a national Ministry, in charge of protecting the 1500 km<sup>2</sup> non-urban 'Green Heart' area between Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht in the Netherlands against urbanisation.

The 'Green Heart of Holland', surrounded by four big cities with in total 6 million inhabitants, consists to a large extent of agricultural land, mainly used as pasture. In the area there are 70 local municipalities, of which 43 fall completely within its boundaries (Fazal et al. 2012). The Green Heart has around 500 inhabitants/km, which is a figure that should put the definition of 'rural' into perspective.

In the 1990s the area was slowly degrading economically, socially and environmentally. Change was needed as response but local vested interests, including the farmers' association, resisted. The farmers, the municipalities as well as the involved Ministries clung to the rules and positions of the past; on all sides the main governance style was hierarchy, combined with a corporatist form of network governance. In an approach that was later coined by Jessop (1997) as metagovernance, ideas were introduced from other governance styles in order to get things moving: we used a marketing approach to introduce 'new economic carriers' in the area like combined farming and tourism and we helped establishing several networks supporting unorganised interests, such as local cultural history groups and small tourism companies.

This short paper is a first attempt, after almost

20 years, to understand what has been the outcome of this metagovernance approach *avant-la-lettre*.

## GOVERNANCE AND METAGOVERNANCE

Governance is at the heart of decision-making. It is about how decisions are made and encompasses more than the need to exhibit transparency, efficiency, and public participation in decision-making. Governance determines also if and when there are opportunities for developers, regulatory authorities and the public to interact in a balanced and respectful way. Broadly speaking, governance covers the way problems are tackled and opportunities created: it is about *how*, not *what* or *why*. There is no pre-set governance approach for any particular problem: each case must be tailored to its situation.

Some political-administrative traditions tend towards a legislative approach, while others favour efficiency as the key driver; still others believe in a consensual approach. These three approaches represent the three main styles of governance: hierarchical, market-driven and network-oriented. They usually occur in combinations. Three problems should be acknowledged: all styles have their typical weaknesses and perversions; the characteristics of the governance styles can be incompatible when combined; and the strong logic of each of the styles turns them into belief systems and panaceas.

The concept of *metagovernance* is defined to help design and manage governance combinations (Meuleman 2008). Metagovernance strategies include combining styles, switching between styles and maintenance of style combinations. For example, if one governance style dominates, it should be considered to introduce tools typical for another style, as this can bring about a more rounded approach: Dialogues need some sort of structure, efficiency is useless without effectiveness, and authority erodes without trust. It is important to stress that any actor can take a metagovernance perspective: the concept is not reserved for public managers (Meuleman 2011). Moreover, we need an understanding of key mechanisms in our societies; this is addressed by the concept of *transgovernance* (Meuleman 2012).

## METAGOVERNANCE OF THE GREEN HEART

One of the most typical characteristics of Dutch spatial planning tradition is the clear division between town and country. The iconic Green Heart has been for many decades the most constant planning

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concept in national spatial planning and policy in the Netherlands, although it has always been under pressure: project developers and ambitious local politicians were eager to urbanise this 'unused land'.

The 'Green Heart Talks' process in 1995, initiated by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, was a *success by accident*. The original purpose was to establish broad public support for the existing policy to keep the rural character of the area intact against various urbanisation trends. It started therefore as a communication process, and the resulting policy change was an unplanned by-product. We had not analysed in advance the many tensions within the multi-level governance context that had emerged in the area. However, this policy confusion resulted in a regrouping of the responsibilities of the actors in the multi-level game, with a much weaker role for national government and a stronger role for stakeholder groups like farmers, other businesses, NGOs and local authorities. The outcome included the adoption of a reform programme combining top-down and bottom-up and strengthening old and new 'green' functions of the area, governed by a board consisting of all administrative levels and key stakeholders.

The pro-green 'Green Heart Talks' were carried out in the heat of one of the most fierce urbanisation discussions. Metagovernance *occurred* rather than it was designed, maybe because the process team was open for all types of institutional and process arrangements without any preference, as long as they contributed to the goal of keeping the area green, open and economically and socially vital. This openness to unplanned developments is important, as policy-making is seldom a rational process but looks often more like problems finding solutions and the other way around (garbage can theory). The occurrence rather than design of metagovernance is in line with other observations on metagovernance (Meuleman 2008).

#### DISCUSSION

Many lessons can be learned from this example, most of them coming down to the importance of good process management, reflexivity and flexibility, a listening and at the same time pro-active attitude, and a decent management of expectations. Another lesson in terms of multi-level governance is that 'tiering downwards' (the classical hierarchical approach) should be accompanied by 'tiering upwards'.

From the Green Heart case we can learn that metagovernance approaches may be designed, but often also emerge spontaneously when key actors put aside their preferred governance style and are at the same time outcome-driven.

The Green Heart Talks were a turning point in the governance history of the area, as they resulted in better cooperation between parties (network governance), more private initiatives that amplify the economic potential (market governance), completed with a legal institutional framework that gave some protection against the wildest urbanisation plans. The metagovernance approach was inspired by the

Environment Ministry but built on existing and emerging economic and social initiatives, which contributed to a sustainable development of the area.

Recent studies show, however, that this may have delayed further attacks on the area's character, but the 'salami-slicing' continues. One of the reasons could be that the area is not regarded as a spatial unity, but is felt as a negative urban form, and the protection of the Green Heart is argued to lack a full understanding of the interactions and flows between urban and non-urban activities (Fazal et al. 2012).

The Green Heart as an example of multi-level rural governance was not designed as a rational-choice approach, which may have contributed to its initial success. However, we may have missed one key factor, namely power. Introducing 'soft' governance structures like a multi-actor steering group, may have triggered us closing the eyes for strong economic powers from within and from outside.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Green Heart Talks of 1995 were an example of multilevel governance that focused not only on vertical but also on horizontal relations. A revision of the informal metagovernance approach of the 1995 Green Heart Talks would be useful, with a view also to success and failure of other examples.

In order not to miss essential drivers, metagovernance for rural sustainable development should begin with an in-depth (transgovernance) analysis of how a specific area functions (also in relation to other scales), what the core values and traditions of the people are and how people organise themselves formally and informally, whilst taking into consideration the vested interests and the powers connected to them, before starting the search for the best situational governance mix. It seems that only under these conditions metagovernance can become a real catalyst for sustainable change.

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