

**SLOW FOOD'S PRESIDIA:
WHAT DO SMALL PRODUCERS DO WITH BIG RETAILERS?**

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Abstract

The paper deals with the transformation of local agrofood systems, in the context of the turn to “the economy of qualities” and the rural development paradigm. We will discuss a case study from Italy, specifically an agreement between Slow Food and Coop Italia concerning the Ark of Taste's Presidia, aiming at the protection of typical products and food traditions.

The agreement is analysed as a change of strategy, implying a transformation of the local agrofood system from "local production for local consumers" to "local production for distant consumers". The change is substantial and implies a restructuring of the entire local food network.

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SLOW FOOD'S PRESIDIA: WHAT DO SMALL PRODUCERS DO WITH BIG RETAILERS?

1. LOCAL QUALITY PRODUCTION AND THE GLOBAL FOOD SYSTEM

The theoretical questions dealt with in this paper relate to the transformation that local agrofood systems are undergoing in context of the turn to "the economy of qualities" (Callon *et al.* 2002, Goodman 2003) and the rural development paradigm (Marsden 2003).

In the "economy of qualities" the process of qualification-requalification of goods is the most important strategy of the economic agents and "one of the central issues in the dynamic organization of the markets" (Callon *et al.* 2002). In as much as qualities are the result of explicit, organised strategies, markets become "reflexive" i.e. "an explicit issue for multiple actors" (*ib.*).

Demand economists differentiate between subjective qualities (*attributes*), as perceived by the consumers, and objective qualities or *characteristics* of the good in question (Lancaster 1966). On the contrary, according to network sociology, all the product qualities (the material and immaterial ones) are relational characteristics, i.e. they derive from a process of qualification / re-qualification, which involve all actants, human and non-human, in the *network* built up by the product on its way from design to consumer. In this perspective, qualities are construed as a process of adjustment and interaction between demand and supply and their intermediaries (marketing professional, sale agents, etc.).

The local agrofood economy has recently attracted a growing interest among rural sociologists, economists and geographers². Marsden (2003) considers it to be so important, that it is able to substantiate a new model called "the rural development paradigm".

The concept of "paradigm" developed by the sociology of science (Kuhn 1970) and by the evolutionary economics (Dosi 1988) is very useful in order to differentiate between systems of thoughts or technologies organised around different basic principles. In this sense, with reference to the agrofood economy, Marsden (2003) speaks of a productivist, post-productivist and a rural development paradigm. While the productivist paradigm organises production around fordist economic principles, post-productivism calls into question the organisation of space in the industrial societies and exalts new functions and new values for nature and the countryside as *loci* of consumption. Rural development, in its turn, implies a re-qualification of local resources leading to a differentiation, rather than to a standardisation of the food economy.

² See for example the special issues of two important specialised reviews: *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 2003 and *Sociologia ruralis* 4 2000.

"Rural development" is conceived of as a way to allow local resources, that are in the territory, but are little known and ill utilised, to emerge as economic resources. Co-ordination of economic activities points to the importance of horizontal linkages, trust, independence, tacit knowledge, artisan / natural qualities of the product and the multifunctionality of the agricultural activity (Becattini 1987, van der Ploeg 1995, Sociologia Ruralis 2000; Hines 2000, Hinrichs 2000, Murdoch *et al.* 2000, Bessièrè 1998, Ilbery and Kneafsey 1999). In the rural development model, food production is organised as a short food supply chain (SFSC).

Marsden *et al.* (2000) argue that in the SFSC it is critical "the fact that the product reaches the consumer embedded with information", not the distance covered or the number of times a product is handled. I would rather say that what really matters in the local agrofood system is the embeddedness of the food network in the territorial context. The local food system is a production-consumption network of local agents, to whom "place" matters. "Local" has then a double meaning: geographical as well as a socio-economic proximity. The territory (geographical proximity) is the cement, the support of a common history and a common belonging, that is solidified in collective values, norms, regulations and in co-ordinated economic activities (socio-economic proximity).

Since the sixties, the crisis of the traditional societies brings out-migration and depopulation of the rural villages. Local agrofood systems are pressured to change against risk of extinction. One common feature of their contemporary transformation is the de-localisation of consumption. Through the analysis of the case-studies presented in this paper I will try to consider the implication of this change for the local agrofood network. I will look at the Slow Food Presidia as an attempt at re-qualifying traditional products so that they acquire value for the "distant consumer", i.e. a consumer that does not traditionally belong to the territorial social network. What does the coming of extra-territorial actors into the local development stage imply for the added value of the production network, its organisation and co-ordination mechanisms?

I will also call attention to a paradox in the literature on local rural development through territorial, quality schemes (Goodman 2004): while, on one side, the contribution of local production and SFSC is often circumscribed as "niche production", on the other side, when the possibility of extension of the model is considered, the *deflation effect* of its diffusion on quality products is stressed. "The logic of territorial valorisation governing AAFN³/SFSC development will produce 'label fatigue', that is a bewildering and counter-productive proliferation of competing quality schemes" (Goodman 2004: 10).

While the limited contribution of local quality production as "niche production" is stressed, at the same time a "scaling up" of the model seems uninteresting, for it would bring prices down. Quality production is squeezed between

³ Alternative Agro Food Networks

a marginal role as niche production, on one side, and a loss of economic significance for rural areas as it tends to grow, on the other.

We will discuss these questions through the analysis of a case study from Italy, specifically an agreement between Slow Food and a big retailing firm, Coop Italia, concerning the Slow Food initiative, the Ark of Taste's Presidia. The Slow Food Presidia case gives interesting hints for reflecting on the problem of transformation of the local production system.

Slow Food is an international movement created with the objective of fighting the imposition of the "fast food" cultural / culinary model and defending a model of food consumption and production that combines "knowledge and pleasure". Coop Italia, organised since the beginning as a co-operative⁴, is today the retailing firm with the biggest food market share in Italy.

The agreement they signed aims at "the safeguard of typical products and food traditions, consumers' health and well-being, the promotion of projects for the education of taste in schools, the awareness of the necessity to deeply transform agricultural policy strategies in Italy and the willingness to guarantee small producers the means to continue their work"⁵. It is based on a series of common initiatives, like the support for Slow Food's Presidia, co-operation for the promotion of typical products and an editorial production of six CD-Rom, called "Le vie consolari" (in English, The Consuls' Road)⁶.

The empirical work for this paper is based on qualitative interviews, carried out over the phone between March and June 2004, with a Slow Food manager responsible for the Slow Food - Coop Agreement; with a Coop Italia manager, responsible for the co-operatives co-ordination, and with the people responsible for the management of the Presidia here considered.

In the next section I will introduce the two actors (part 2) and the terms and conditions of the Agreement (part 3). Some considerations of the Agreement will follow (part 4). In the fifth part I will provide some data on the Presidia and the other Agreement initiatives, that will help to take into account the economic results of the Agreement; I conclude with a final discussion on the implications of the Agreement and its results.

⁴ From a legal perspective in Italy the status of co-operative imposes one main constraint: profits can not be redistributed between associates (if not in a small definite amount), but must be re-invested in the economic initiative.

⁵ Search with keyword "presidi" on the website www.Coop.it. Accessed on June, 8th 2004.

⁶ The Consuls' roads are ancient roman roads that connected Roma to the Italian provinces. These roads are still in use in Italy.

2. THE ACTORS

2.1. Slow Food's Ark of Taste and Presidia

Slow Food is by now, a well known association (Petrini 2001, Miele and Murdoch 2002). It relies on about eighty thousands members distributed in 45 countries and is articulated in four different administrative units: *Arcigola Slow Food Promotion Srl*, that is responsible for the big initiatives, like the biannual exhibition “Salone del Gusto” (The Hall of Taste); *Arcigola Slow Food Editore Srl*, that is in charge of the editorial program of the association; *Arcigola Slow Food Association*, in charge of recruitment and associates activities in Italy and *Slow Food International*, in charge of recruitment and associates activities abroad. Finally in 2003, *Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity* was founded, with the objective to "know, catalogue and safeguard small quality productions and to guarantee them an economic and commercial future". The Ark of Taste and Presidia initiatives, that we will consider in much more detail on the following pages, are carried out under its umbrella.

In 2004 Slow Food had 32.000 members in Italy, distributed in 400 local structures, called "territorial conducts". It operates for the safeguard of the Italian eno-gastronomic patrimony (biodiversity of cultivation and food artisan traditions), but also for the safeguard of the historic, artistic and environmental places of eno-gastronomic "pleasure and knowledge" (coffee shops, patisseries, restaurants, artisan laboratories), for the valorisation of typical products, for the promotion of agrofood quality and the consumers education to "taste". In autumn 2004 Slow Food launched the first European University of Gastronomy Science, with two campuses, in Piedmont (at Pollenzo) and in Emilia (at Colorno, near Parma).

According to the official history, the Ark of Taste was born in 1996 in Turin, in occasion of the first Salone del Gusto. There, José Esquinas Alcazar, the general secretary of FAO Plant Genetic Commission, speaking at the conference on biodiversity hosted by the Salone, "eschewed the expected academic material and told the story of poor farmers unwittingly engaged in the struggle to safeguard biodiversity. Thanks in part to Esquinas's contribution, the link between promoting *typical products* and the defence of *biodiversity* became increasingly obvious" (Slow Food, Ark and Presidia, p. 14).

The objective of The Ark of Taste is : "to save the small agrofood quality productions, menaced by the industrial standardisation, by bureaucratically hyper-hygienist laws, by the big retailing industry, by a modernity that satisfies, with less than thirty plant 95% of food needs in the world, by a policy that intends to brush away biodiversity and by environmental degradation. It means to save an extraordinary economic, social and cultural patrimony, not-written, but

rich and complex, made out of peasant and artisan heritage, old techniques and many competencies" (Arcigola, 1999. See also the Ark of Taste Manifesto in Appendix 1).

The Ark of Taste is organised with a Scientific Committee (Slow Food experts, academicians and journalists) in charge of defining the criteria for the selection of products deserving to be saved and to enter in the Ark (see Appendix 2). The Committee must also evaluate suggestions and collect information about the history, the transformation, cultivation and breeding techniques, the diffusion and the distribution and the commercial potential of selected products.

The Presidia was born from the success of the Ark of Taste project, as *an operative arm* of the Ark. While the Ark of Taste is fundamentally a database, Presidia promotes initiatives in order to save agrofood specialities on the verge of extinction. The intervention may vary according to the context, but it is always characterised as a small project, since Presidia deals with very small production niches. It may imply the organisation of a small pilot firm or laboratory, helping producers to find financial resources to buy technical means of production, searching for a new commercial channel with the involvement of local restaurants, or helping for the creation of micro-markets (like village markets) or any other promotional initiatives.

In 2000, at the Salone del Gusto, the first 91 Presidia were presented. In 2004 there were 198 (Milano *et al.* 2004; see also www.fondazione Slow Food.com/presidi).

2.2. Coop Italia

The Associazione Nazionale delle Cooperative di Consumo (or, in English, the National Association of Consumers Co-operatives) was born in 1957, in the aftermath of World War II. The objective was to guarantee consumers better value for their money through the practice of collective buying. Savings came mainly from a cut on the middlemen costs.

In the sixties, following the economic developments of those years, a re-organisation of the retailing sector in Italy sees the shutting down of many small retailing shops and the development of the "modern" distribution. In this context, even the National Association of Consumers Cooperatives started a process of acquisitions and concentration. A *National Consortium of Consumers Co-operatives*, named Coop Italia, was created in order to centralise buying and marketing policies, trade-mark management and personnel training activities for all the member co-operatives.

In 1980 the Coop - Italia No Food was constituted, as a new consortium. Just before the beginning of the new millennium, in 1999, the Food and the Not-Food Consortia were unified and re-organised according to the types of

retailing shops (hyper- or super- markets). Today the consumer co-operatives are organised in three territorial districts, based in Northern and Central Italy.

In 2004 Coop was the first retailing company in Italy for food and grocery distribution with sales of more than 11 billions euro. It associates more than 200 co-operatives, has about 6 million associated-consumers and holds 18% of the food market share⁷ (Coop Italia 2004). Its selling points are diffused in seventeen out of twenty Italian regions, but their presence in the South is very weak. There are not selling points abroad, except one in Croatia.

In the Italian agrofood sector Coop has a very important role. It is not only the most important retailer, but also an important private label (Coop private label represents 20% of the total sales). It is estimated that Coop brings to the market food for 2.7 billions of euro, amounting to 6% of Italian gross agricultural production. This role is possible thanks to the importance of the "fresh market" (meat, fruit and vegetables), which represents more than half of total sales. Coop has market relations with 315 agrofood firms and 13,200 farms, mostly, but not exclusively, Italian. (Coop Italia 2004).

According to the Coop manager we interviewed⁸, even if fully inserted into the market, Coop maintains its original objective, the *protection of consumers*, to which two new ones have been added: a much closer *relation with the producers* and an *ethical engagement*⁹.

With respect to producers, Coop looks for a "difficult equilibrium" between small producers needs and big firms demands. Coop's strategy in defence of its share of the market is articulated as a need to be "close to consumers and producers":

"Coop is not a small 'fair trade' shop. It needs both realities in order to grow: multinational firms, on one side, and small and medium producers, on the other. (...) But, in relation with big multinationals Coop is never passive, as the Del Monte case¹⁰, and many other small less known interventions, may show" (our interview with the Coop manager).

⁷ The second food retailing company, as for market share, is CONAD, with 8%. Third is Carrefour. Italian food market is considered "laggard" as for market concentration in the food sector: the first three operators have a combined share of 32% in 2002, as in Greece, and less than Spain (44%) and all the other EU countries, especially northern countries, for which the concentration ratio of the first three retailing firms reaches 80% and more (Dobson 2003).

⁸ Sergio Soavi, responsible for the co-operatives co-ordination.

⁹ Coop ethical engagement is expressed in many initiatives: adherence to fair trade, with a specific product line "Solidal Coop"; local international initiatives, as the involvement in a project for water provision in some African countries; national initiatives in defence of consumers, as the refusal of GMO or the recent initiatives against food prices inflation (after the introduction of the Euro, there has been in Italy, as in many other European countries, a steady increase in prices, mainly of primary products), directed especially to defend older peoples' income.

¹⁰ The Del Monte case is referred to a campaign started in 1999. An Italian NGO, Centro Nuovo Modello di Sviluppo, conducted an investigation on labour conditions in Del Monte pineapples plantations in Kenya, at that time belonging to the Cirio Group. The conditions were upsetting, for many aspects: hygiene, the use of very harmful chemical products, very low salaries and anti-union behaviour. Coop was then selling Del Monte pineapples with its own brand name, even if it had just obtained a SA 8000 certification (for social accountability). After some inspections in the plantations, Coop recognised the existence of an incompatibility of the labour conditions with the SA 8000 certification, so it was pressuring Del Monte Italia, in order to improve living and hygienic

Coop's relationship with multinational supply firms is very ambiguous. While, as the interviewed manager says, Coop needs big multinational firms, it does not like to be associated to their interests. For this reason, in 2004, it took the very controversial decision to omit information on suppliers from its private label products. In the Coop management mind, the Coop label should be enough of a guarantee for consumers. Consumers though did not like the initiative, that made food origin less transparent to them. A strong protest was started by the consumers associations, on the consequence of which Coop was convinced to give up its previous decision. This episode well illustrated the conflicts of interests between transformation and distribution agrofood companies and the last effort to constitute itself as the mediator of consumer interests.

In the aggregate, according to a Coop manager, quality production may compete with mass production. The market for quality products is still growing, even if the manager interviewed was unable to give us a percentage of sales (it is even difficult, he told us, their classification: how would you consider Parmigiano Reggiano?). The link to territory and culture is considered to be very important. The market for biological products is still deemed dynamic. Coop has its own line, "Natural organic", but offers also other firms' labels.

Finally, according to the Coop manager, the opposition between multinational and typical production, in the case of Coop, is a false one. "Thanks to its initiatives, Coop manages to save many small producers from the menace of multinational acquisitions and may help them with information and technical formation" (*ibidem*).

3. SLOW FOOD - COOP AGREEMENT

The Agreement concerned three areas of intervention: Presidia, typical products and an editorial initiative called "Le Vie Consolari" (the Consuls' Roads).

3.1 The Presidia initiative

With the Agreement signed in April 2001 Coop became a supporter of the Slow Food Presidia Project and officially "adopted" eleven¹¹ Presidia (tab.4), linking its commercial brand to their products. The Agreement will be illustrated next.

Coop acquired the right to use the promotional image of the whole project. (art. 2) and gained access to the information available to Slow Food, not only in relation to the adopted Presidia, but to all the Presidia presented at the Salone del Gusto, in 2000 and the ones that will be activated until July 2002 (art. 3).

Coop can also publish material containing information on the Presidia for its associated and consumers, but authorisation from Slow Food is required before printing the material (art. 4).

For each of the eleven adopted Presidia, plus twenty more (to be decided later) Slow Food will provide Coop with a file with all the relevant information for a commercial utilisation of the products. The file will have information on (art. 5):

- commodity analysis of the product
- organoleptic characteristics of the product
- ideal selling condition (as for seasonality or other product characteristics)
- seasonality characteristics and selling calendar
- quantities available for the market
- quantities that may be reserved
- territorial area of production
- a map of locations where products may be conferred
- production costs
- indications on buying prices.

Slow Food will co-operate with Coop in occasion of the promotional initiatives (tasting and selling event) concerning the products of the eleven adopted presidia, plus the twenty more indicated in the art. 5 (art. 6). It will also recognize Coop in the role of supporter in the Ark of Taste scientific - technical Committee (art. 7) and in a preferential

relation as partner in any initiative regarding the Presidia Project (art. 8). Finally, the Slow Food Presidia Office will strictly co-operate with Coop, in order to guarantee the best opportunities of communication, promotion and eventually commercialisation, that would emerge from the Presidia Project (art.9). In exchange for all that, Coop will pay Slow Food an agreed amount of money (art. 10).

3.2 Typical products

Co-operation on matters of a typical product is not seen as a pure marketing operation. The "high cultural, economic and social value" of the Agreement is stressed.

The objective of the co-operation is to bring in the Coop supermarket shelves a selection of local, traditional, typical products of high quality standards. Slow Food will provide Coop with a map of the best Italian typical production, while Coop, beyond selling them, will train its personnel, will furnish information and will organise taste assays, in order to "educate" consumers.

It will be Coop's decision whether to sell the selected products with a specific "quality logo".

Slow Food will carry out a census of the quality products and producers in Italy and will give the results of the study to Coop.

For the different categories¹², Slow Food will:

1. identify products and producers
2. compile a file with data on the physical and organoleptic profile of each product; collect information on the history, transformation, cultivation or breeding techniques, on the accessibility and commercial potentiality of the product
3. collect information and data through field visits, with interviews to the producers, visits to the farms and product tasting.

The Census will be carried out under the supervision of an *ad hoc* Committee, created by Slow Food to this end.

Through regular visits, Slow Food will guarantee the quality of the products, ensuring that "volumes will not grow in a disproportionate manner with respect to the farms' / firms' capacity, to the availability of raw material and to the intrinsic nature of the products" (Programma sui Prodotti tipici: 3).

¹¹In 2001 one of these (the Zucchini Trombetta) was later dismantled, so the adopted Presidia became ten.

¹²Wine and distilled / oil, / bread, pasta, rice and oven products / meat / salamis / cheeses / fruit and vegetables / sweets and honey.

While Coop will have the right to decide whether to qualify these products with a "quality logo", the Slow Food logo will never appear in the selling places¹³. On the other side, if Coop chooses a quality logo for these products, to apply the logo to products not signalled by Slow Food will require authorisation from the Slow Food expert commission.

While Coop may inform, in its educational and promotional programs, that it is itself involved in a project for the identification of typical and traditional products and producers in co-operation with Slow Food, nonetheless it can not say that "farms and firms whose products are sold in the supermarket are selected by Slow Food".

3.3 The Consuls' Roads

Finally a co-operation agreement is signed for a project elaborated by the Coop, called "Le Vie Consolari" (The Consuls' Roads).

The initiative consists of the edition of six CD-Rom, one for each of the old Roman consuls' roads (Via Postumia, Via Cassia, Via Flaminia, Via Appia, Via Aurelia, Via Emilia), with a section devoted to eno-gastronomy. Slow Food will co-operate in the editing of the eno-gastronomic section, providing information about each road with regard to:

1. Presidia located in the area,
2. restaurants selected in Slow Food restaurants guide
3. typical recipes of the area under consideration
4. typical speciality products of the area.

Only Presidia and Slow Food restaurant will, anyway, be indicated with Slow Food logo in the guide.

¹³ Finally Coop decided not to adopt a quality logo for Presidia products, since the logo would hide the actual origin and the name of the producers.

4. THE AGREEMENT AS A "CHALLENGE": TO BRING TYPICAL PRODUCTS IN THE SUPERMARKETS

For the Slow Food manager interviewed¹⁴, the Agreement is a "challenge": "to bring quality ("true" quality) out of niches to mass consumption". To this end, Slow Food is ready to "overcome an historical taboo and will launch a challenge to the great retailing industry: to bring typical products in the supermarkets" (Programma sui prodotti tipici. Preambolo: p.1).

In this vision, quality production / mass consumption and, in the specific case, typicality / supermarkets are the antinomies that must be reconciled. That task needs:

1. *information and competencies about producers and products*, provided by Slow Food;
2. *information and education of consumers*, requiring the involvement of Coop.

While local consumers or tourists visiting the territory, where typical products come from, are best apt to "feel" the quality characteristics of the products, a *distant consumer* is not able to recognise the superior quality standards. For this reason, the main objective that the two partners must pursue is "*to re-create culturally, but also visually, in the selling point, the original territorial context from which products come*" (Ibidem: p.2).

As Marsden, Banks and Bristow (2000) acknowledge, "information embedded in the product" will be able to operate the transformation from a system based on "local production for local consumers" to a system of "local production for distant consumers" (Fonte 2002). We may think of this process as a dis-integration of the local production-consumption system, in which one phase of the *filière* is partially or totally de-localised. "To embed information in the product" is not a simple task; rather it requires a complete re-organisation of the production-consumption network, the calling in of new actors and new intermediaries, the transformation of the knowledge system, the re-qualification of the traditional, locally known product as a "certified" product.

"Local production for local consumer" is characterised by constraints of place and time, derived from a domestic form of co-ordination, which imply "the necessity of being personally in the presence of others" (Boltansky & Thévenot 1991). In a proximity market there is no need for certification, i.e. a set of objective, regulations and representation mechanisms permitting *to act at a distance* (Latour 1987). Local products are not entirely separated from people; they are essentially crafts, which recall the skill of the artisan. Personal relations are pervasive. Social roles, as well as

knowledge and relations, are not formalised. In the spatial context of the local territory, competencies are embedded in people, knowledge is tacit in form and trust remains very closely linked to personal relations.

The system is characterised by a short producers-consumers circuit. Physical proximity to production, direct or indirect knowledge of the production processes, common culture and habits give to local people a discriminatory capacity between different local agrofood products. Self-consumption is important and agricultural products are mainly final products. Consumption models and culinary culture co-evolve with the production system and are an integral part of the social community life. Typical products acquire special meanings as part of a meal linked to a social, religious or community occurrence. Being qualified by a local network of reputation and notoriety, local products require no formal system of certification (Thévenot 1995).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

These systems are more frequent in areas, that remained marginal during the industrial fordist period of development, characterised, still today, by a negative demographic trend. In as far as depopulation does not stop, they risk extinction. In this case, local varieties, techniques and knowledges will be irreversibly lost. The capacity of the local community to survive may depend on its ability to open its economy and to transform the local agrofood system.

The new rural development dynamic opens up new opportunities for these areas. The persistence of community social relationships, of specific and always rarer cultural forms, multifunctionality of agriculture represent an appeal for people to go back, or to go and live there or only to go and visit these places. The small scale of societies and economies in question makes "just little" to be enough to change a negative trend and create opportunities of income for local inhabitants.

One common way of transformation of the agrofood economy is the de-localisation of consumption. In the attempt to stimulate a supplementary demand, the distant consumer is mobilised.

As in the previous one, in the model of "local production for distant consumers" the specificity of the product and techniques derives from their link to a territory, a tradition, a culture and a community. Specificity though, as local attributes or characteristics, cannot be immediately recognised and evaluated in the global market, by non-local people.

¹⁴ Carlo Fanti, responsible for the Coop Agreement

These must learn how to value some characteristics they do not know. The certification system (as origin designation, geographical indication or traditional speciality) is the compromise, the "immutable mobiles", the intermediary between the local product and the distant consumer. Through the establishment of production regulations and procedures as well as the sensory characterisation of the product, it translates the specificity of products and techniques into general forms, that become meaningful not only to local but also to foreign consumers. The (territorial) network becomes longer, enrolling new actors (actants) human and not-human (experts, certification systems, new types of knowledge). The transformation implies a shift from a *domestic convention* based on face-to-face relations, to a civic / market convention, that necessitates "general forms", in order to communicate with *distant* people. It also implies a transformation of the territory (local system) as a "cognitive system", i.e. a codification of local knowledge and a re-definition of the mechanisms of replication, integration and creation of knowledge (Rullani, 2003). The translation of domestic, local, personal codes into "general form" is, in fact, a process of codification, that is transformation of *tacit* into *formal* knowledge.

The formalisation process concerns:

- *production techniques*: informal techniques are codified in the production regulation ("*disciplinare di produzione*"), that specify all the steps of the production process, starting from the characteristics of raw materials to agricultural practices and transformation techniques, all linked to the local territory, culture and traditions;
- *a certification system*, that, provides information on the product through a label and acts as a mediator between the local producer and the de-localised consumer (Sylvander 1995, Letablier and Delfosse 1995).

The formalisation of production techniques and the elaboration of a certification system is not something that can be done by the "traditional producer" alone, who, by definition, possess mainly "tacit knowledge". New, individual and collective, actors enter the network, bringing in the "formal knowledge": technicians, experts, local institutions, that all operates and are implicated in the creation of the new "quality system".

"Quality systems do not imply the simple re-evaluation of tradition as an economic resource. Tradition is re-interpreted, re-invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992) in the light of new scientific knowledge and finally translated into the *codes* of the modern rationality. Traditions, local networks and associations become *new* economic resources (social capital) in the quality economy. Certification systems extend the rural network to new social actors, specifically to the *experts on quality*: scientists and researchers who establish the norms of production, technicians and professionals who control and protect the quality of the products or the production process, nutritionists who establish the dietary

characteristics of food. Their function is one of mediation and translation between urban and rural culture; between scientific and empirical forms of knowledge; between local production and global markets" (Fonte 2002: 272-273).

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

In the specific case under consideration, Slow Food and Coop become the mediators / translators in the shift from a "domestic" to a "civic / industrial / market" convention, that will be objectified in the "certification" or label (a new *actant* in the network, as Callon and Latour would say). Slow Food mediates (translates, codifies) from the side of "the local producers" mobilising an army of experts that "collect" local information and translate it into formal codes; Coop, as a big retailing firm, mediates from the side of "the distant consumers", educating them and translating local values into market values. In fact, as specified in the Agreement, Slow Food will provide "*information and competencies about producers and products*"; Coop will work for the "*information and education of consumers*".

According to Slow Food, the new model implies a change in the logic of the big retailing firm, away from a mass market, towards a universe of niche markets, territorially defined. Slow Food will verify regularly that "products' quality will be constant, volumes of production will not increase in a disproportionate manner with respect to producers capacities, raw material availability and the intrinsic nature of the products" and that will respect the seasonality of production (Program on the typical products, p. 3).

In the interview, the Coop manager stressed that the involvement in the Agreement responds to the firm ethical objectives of safeguarding biodiversity and traditional methods of production, as well as of promoting the Coop image as a firm interested in the quality of food. Economic return is excluded as an objective, even if there may be an economic return: "this agreement has already sold for more than 775.000 euro, but, of course, most of the economic return is re-invested in initiatives regarding commercialisation, information and valorisation of the Presidia products" (Interview to the Coop manager).

Slow Food is positive about the possibility of Coop to free itself from a big retailing industry logic, adopting strategies more keyed to a localised model of development. The Presidia initiative goes in this direction: Coop, in dealing with small producers has to "localise" provisioning and distribution, to limit supply in function of space and time.

Slow Food has provided Coop with important means to do so: a network of operators, know how, training capabilities, receiving in exchange financial support for its project. To Slow Food the Agreement has "cultural, economic, social value". It implies important changes for the same Association, which has to "overcome a taboo", learning to deal with a big firm, rather than with only small local producers and restaurants.

5. Presidia Agreement economic results

Following the Agreement, Coop has not only adopted ten Presidia, but is by now the main Slow Food partner in this initiative. It has financed the publication of a volume that identifies and provides information on the first 114 Presidia. It has organised eight events, for the presentation / promotion of about forty Presidia products, that have involved about sixty supermarkets and 200 employees. Coop quality experts have also been involved in the process of conforming the Presidia products to the UE hygienic regulation.

Slow Food provides Coop with a map of the best Italian typical products, while Coop trains its personnel on the characteristics of the "typicality", provides information, organises essays and events, "educates" consumers. Finally, the co-operation has led to the production of two series of CD-Rom: *Le vie consolari* and "Voyage to the origins of Taste".

The creation of an "economy of qualities" implies the reconfiguration of the social network and the territorial economy as cognitive system. Is this transformation effective in economic terms for the local economy?

To answer this question, we will first present the results of a study carried out in 2002 by Slow Food, Bocconi University and *Il Sole 24 Ore*¹⁵ on a large sample of Presidia (tables 1-3); then we will analyse the economic results of the ten Presidia adopted by Coop. Information were obtained in June 2004, by the interviews with people in charge of each Presidium (tables 4- 9; all tables are reported at the end of the text).

The survey carried out in 2002 (Antonioli Corigliano & Viganò 2002) considered a sample of 53 Presidia, representing, at that time, 56% of the total. They were representative of the territorial distribution and the different typologies of products (fish, salamis, bakery products, cheeses, animal breeds, fruit and vegetables). Most of the Presidia were founded in 2000.

In the two years, since the Presidia foundation, the number of producers increased only in some of the Presidia typologies (animal breeds and 'fruit, vegetables and pulses'); employees, quantities and prices increased more diffusely. Markets remain mainly local and regional, clients being local final consumers and local restaurants and shops. In many cases the constitution of a Presidium drew new attention to problems concerning the (organoleptic) quality of the

¹⁵ *Il Sole-24 Ore* is the most diffused Italian economic daily journal.

product, as in the case of aging in the cheese production. In at least one case producers have organised themselves in order to share a common store for this production phase.

Many producers stress the importance of the Presidia for "being recognised" and for the possibility to defend traditional production against industrial imitation, thanks to the establishment of a "production regulation". In the case of Salamis sector, a consortium existed before the constitution of the Presidium, but in the case of 'Cheeses' (as an aggregate), out of seven consortia, five have been constituted under the Presidia stimulus. In the 'Bakery' category, the Presidia have created an incentive to formalised relations between firms. The producers belonging to "Focaccia di Genova" Presidium participate in local markets, fairs and exhibitions collectively as a "Presidium".

In the case of Robiola di Roccaverano cheese, firms belonging to the Presidium produce the cheese utilising only raw goat milk. Thanks also to the involvement of the Comunità Montana (a local institution that represents mountainous villages in each Italian region), they managed to obtain a " production sub-regulation" inside the existing Consortium for the protection of the Robiola denomination of origin, (according to this regulation, instead, Robiola may be produced with cow milk up to 85% of the total). The diffusion of the knowledge of this cheese has brought a flux of tourists, looking for the special Robiola of Roccaverano. "Roccaverano was a "marginal" area and is involved now in a positive economic trend" (Antonioli Corigliano & Viganò 2002: p. 25)

In the case of fruit, vegetables and pulses, the creation of Presidia has brought to the market products first only destined to self-consumption, saving from extinction many local varieties. In this case, commercialisation is mediated by middlemen, which is considered negative for the "knowledge" of the product.

Coop initiatives, like tasting events in the supermarkets, have been very important for some of the products, like the Leonforte Peaches, from Sicily.

According to the results of our interviews with the people responsible for ten of the Presidia adopted by Coop (tabs. 4-9), the constitution of a Presidium did not bring a significant increase in the production. Production augmented only for the Leonforte late-harvest peaches (50% in six years, in which case Coop's role has been important), and especially for the Cinta Senese pig breed (in which case it seems that not only Coop, but the same Presidium is not very active). The producers of Cinta Senese instead created a Consortium by themselves in 2001 and are applying for the recognition of a PDO. In this case producers increased from 9 to 130 and production from 1 to 12 quintals (or from 35 to 500 sows). Prices, instead, increased for most of the ten presidia products from a minimum of 25% to a maximum of 189,5%,

except in three cases: the Fabriano Salami, the Val d'Ossola Mortadella (where prices have remained the same) and the Pistachio from Bronte. In this last case both quantities and prices declined, by 25 and 33,3% respectively.

As we see from the table 8, Presidia products are mostly sold directly by the producers in the local markets. Middlemen are important only in the case of fruits (the Bronte pistachios and the Leonforte peaches are entirely sold to middlemen), and we may think that the characteristics of the product (big quantities, perishable product in the case of peaches and industrial destination in the case of pistachios) is relevant here. Even when a small percentage of the product is directed to far away markets, personal links and sharing of experiences are important: it may be through emigrants or tourists that have visited the area and got acquainted with the product in the place of origin, as in the case of Cinta Senese or other products.

Only in three cases is the role of Coop reported as very important (tab. 9): Fabriano's Salami, Val d'Ossola Mortadella and Leonforte Peaches. In the first two, Coop had an important "communication" role; while with Leonforte Peaches there has been an involvement of Coop in the organisational matters of the co-operative, with regard to the quality standards. In other cases Coop has contributed by paying the expenses for the participation of the Presidium to the Salone del Gusto (the Hall of Taste) in 2000 and 2002, recognised as very important event by the Presidia.

Coop's and even Slow Food's role is contested by some of the people interviewed, for not adding too much to the local knowledge of the product. According to the Cinta Senese consortium, the Presidium has never started properly, even if there was a producers' interest on it, and there was no contact of any sort with Coop. Notwithstanding the consortium has done very well. Number of producers, production and prices increased notably and the breed was saved from extinction.

In some localities (Martinafranca Capocollo and Red Onion of Cannara) producers do not look for contact with Coop. They have their own market channels, thanks to fact that the product is locally appreciated, and can not expand at the moment their production.

6. DISCUSSION: THE TRAGEDY OF INDUSTRIAL FOOD AND THE COMEDY OF LOCAL PRODUCTION

In the last twenty years in Italy, as elsewhere in the UE, there has been an explosion of the "typicality". In 2001 it was estimated that Italians spent 2736 million euro for agro-food typical (protected denomination of origin, or PDO) products, with an increase of 5% with respect to 2000 (Ismea-Nielsen 2001). Many macro and micro variables have been indicated at the origin of the phenomenon: the crisis of the Fordist model of production and of the Common

Agriculture Policy (CAP), the conceptualisation of a European model of agriculture, that has inspired a new orientation of the CAP and specifically the 1992 regulations for the "protected denominations of origin", on one side; changes in the lifestyles and the emergence of a "reflexive consumer" (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994), on the other.

The Slow Food initiative of the Ark of Taste and the Presidia is particularly interesting because it is directed towards very small typical markets on the verge of extinction: for Slow Food stopping a typical product and its very last few producers from disappearing means saving an economic, technical, social and cultural patrimony, but also a local variety and then *agrobiodiversity*. The ecological objective of defending biodiversity is strictly linked to a rural development objective.

The marketing of typical products presents, nonetheless, a big problem. While global food makes consumers choice easier (a Coca Cola is a Coca Cola all over the world), local food is more demanding: consumers of local food must be either local - knowing about food because they belong to the same territorial and cultural context; or reflexive - i.e. knowledgeable about different local territories, culinary cultures, traditions and tastes. Paraphrasing Umberto Eco¹⁶, we can say that, like the tragedy, global food appeals to universal tastes, while, like the comedy, local food requires a consumer well educated in different local culinary cultures.

As local ties are weakened by the transformation of rural communities and the depopulation of rural villages, proximity markets undergo a profound crisis. Hence the necessity to extend the consumption-production network to the "distant consumer". In the attempt to enlarge markets for local products, Slow Food strategy for the Presidia initiative focus on certification and promotional communication directed to inform and educate the distant consumers.

Up to 2000 Slow Food focused on strengthening the proximity markets, i.e. the networks of local producers, local restaurants and local final consumers. Its annual Guide to the Italian Osterie was edited in the frame of this perspective. There is no need of formal certification and communication.

Certification and communication are, instead, needed in order to make the quality of the local product known to a distant consumer. Through certification local products (derived from local varieties and local techniques) adopt a formal, codified language meaningful to non-local people, who, through promotion and communication, must be convinced to pay more for some "local" characteristic they do not know directly, but must learn to value. An expert system is created and mobilised by these processes, acting as mediator between the territorial and extra-territorial context.

The Agreement with Coop represents a change of strategy, a "challenge" as we have been told.

¹⁶ I refer myself here to a journal article by Umberto Eco in which he was explaining the differences between the tragedy and the comedy.

Introducing in the arena of typicality the "distant consumer" calls into the play a "big actor": Coop is needed because, as an operator at the consumer end of the food supply chain, it offers the opportunity to communicate with many (reflexive) consumers, who may be "close" to some typical products and "distant" from others, expanding their knowledge of typicalities.

For the big actor, his involvement in the alternative food supply chain may respond to different strategies. It may position himself in a growing segment of a saturated food sector. Even if the absolute income it may obtain from alternative and typical food is small, nonetheless it may capture the entire market consumption share (alternative and not alternative) of the "hybrid" consumer (i.e. that one who shops both, in the quality and in the mass market), at the expense of other competing retailing firms.

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

At micro level, both, traditional producer and big actor benefit from this involvement. But the transformation of "proximity" or local markets, in order to enlarge the network to distant consumers, it is not without consequences for the local agro-food system.

Local agro-food systems may be conceived as a *territorially co-ordinated production consumption network*. They are based on family farms, express local knowledge learned through tradition and shared in the community, are variable as for local varieties, cultivation and transformation techniques. Production is often limited in space (the territory) and time (seasonal) and controlled by local producers; products are known by experience in the area (Angelini 2004). The territory is not only a very important resource - its natural (geomorphologic, chemical, biophysical, etc.) characteristics constituting an important element of the product's "typicality". As in the industrial local production system, it is also the "connector" of the economic activities, that is the context in which information is stored, as relationships, institutions, governance structures and knowledge is replicated, integrated, created and openly exchanged (Rullani 2003).

The de-localisation of consumption corresponds to a dis-integration of the local agrofood consumption-production network. For some functions (consumption), the territory ceases to be the only connector and is complemented by the market. The complexity of the system increases, for the necessity to deal with different mechanisms of co-ordination. The risk for the territory (and its inhabitants) to be relegated in a second order as the "connector" also increases.

When local production is extended to a distant market, a supplementary demand is stimulated. Nonetheless supply of the "typical" product remains limited by the nature of the technological process and the characteristics of the territory. So, for each single typical product supply may be expanded only in some cases, and in any case only progressively and by a limited amount.

The proportionality of demand growth to the supply capacity poses a limit to the marketing communication, beyond which the same basis of local, typical production (biodiversity and local knowledge; local control of local resources) is eroded (Angelini 2004). If, for example, the necessity to satisfy demand that is too large is delegated to big players, uniformity is encouraged and local control of production may be lost. The formalisation process that leads to certification, furthermore, brings in to the network the experts on quality, scientists and researchers who may be able to work together with local producers, or, alternatively, may expropriate their tacit knowledge and their control of the production process (biopiracy / agropiracy). The same certification system may represent a risk for small, local producers. The cost of certification may drive them away from the markets, while an excessive increase in the product price may discourage local consumers. The market would then entirely substitute for a personal interaction between producers and consumers and the production-consumption link would not be co-ordinated by the territory anymore.

Local culinary culture is an important element of the territorial specificity of local food systems, that makes them different from other sectors' territorial production systems. In many instances, de-localisation of consumption may be necessary in order to save local production and agro-biodiversity, but as we have seen in the case of Presidia, the link to a distant consumer should be thought, where possible, as a complement, not a substitute for the embeddedness of the quality product in the local territory and the proximity market. Rural development policies should be then elaborated not only to accompany the opening of the territorial food production system, but also to strengthen and revitalise, local communities and their food culture, where possible.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Slow Food Presidia are a very interesting and successful initiative in the local rural development. Even in such a small niche we find a great variability of situations. Most of them are still struggling to survive and exit from isolation; others are experimenting a constant growth.

As testified by many producers' complaints, Coop's role is only generically promotional, rather than specifically or directly involved in the organisation of the markets. Its strategy is targeted to gain a competitive edge versus its big competitors, attracting in its stores the "hybrid" consumers, more than to sell Presidia products. At the same time, its role as mediator between the local culture and the distant consumer is justified by the transformation of the local agrofood economy.

The wide promotion and diffusion of typical agrofood products, in recent years, is a consequence of the re-qualification of the local agrofood system, from a "local production for local consumers" to a "local production for distant consumers". Territory ceases to be the only "connector" of the economic activities and is complemented by the market. The local agro-food system is dis-integrated: that is, the production functions (the *core business*) remain concentrated in the territory, but consumption functions are de-localised. This process implies the spatial extension of the production-consumption network and a new combination of tacit and formal knowledges. The territorial dimension of the agrofood network is circumscribed and the re-qualification of the local food becomes an explicit issue of the new extra-territorial and old territorially embedded economic agents, in the new reflexive markets for quality food.

Acknowledgements

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APPENDIX 1

ARK OF TASTE MANIFESTO

(www.slowfood.com)

To protect the small purveyors of fine food from the deluge of industrial standardization; to ensure the survival of endangered animal breeds, cheeses, cold cuts, edible herbs - both spontaneous and cultivated - cereals and fruit; to promulgate taste education; to make a stand against obsessive worrying about hygienic matters, which kills the specific character of many kinds of production; to protect the right to pleasure.

As spokesmen for culture, the food and wine industry, scientific research, journalism, politics and the institutions, we hope to persuade like-minded people to join us in the pursuit of these objectives. By way of a response to the alarm raised by Slow Food, we are launching:

An Ark of Taste to Save the Universe of Flavors

The Ark of Taste is the result of an idea conceived by Slow Food. Today, thanks to support from representatives of the world of culture, scientific research, the food and wine industry, journalism and politics, this idea has turned into a project aimed at safeguarding and promoting small-scale fine food purveyors who are threatened by extinction. The project embraces both the scientific and the promotional sides of the issue.

From the scientific viewpoint we undertake to:

- define methods and criteria for research - in particular, outlining the very notion of gastronomic asset, typicality, tradition and endangered products
- provide an ethno-botanical and historical characterization of cultivars, local breeds and products as a measure for the recognition of what is typical and/or traditional
- promote scientific training of experts in the field at a national level
- set up a networked data bank managed by a central body for collecting the data progressively obtained on cultivars, breeds, products, research, recipes, producers, restaurants and so on.

From a promotional viewpoint we undertake to:

- draw up and circulate a list of endangered products - known by the public at large and steeped in symbolic value - so that the struggle to defend them becomes as encompassing as possible
- analyse these products from an organoleptic viewpoint, providing the names and addresses of the remaining producers, and advertise them through the mass-media and specialist publications so that the concept of protection goes hand in hand with that of economic return
- invite consumers to purchase and eat these products, convinced as we are that extinction can be avoided only if they are fully reintroduced into the commercial/food circuit
- identify within each region a series of inns or taverns - to be awarded special recognition - that will become active regional promoters of the Ark products, using them on a daily basis in the preparation of their dishes
- invite major restaurants to select a specific Ark product as their "pet product", protecting and introducing it in certain dishes
- launch a campaign throughout Italy so that each municipality "adopts" an endangered product, thus promoting its production and consumption
- implement in the near future a pilot project on a regional or sub-regional scale with a view to verifying and adjusting methods, schedules and procedures for the realization of the overall project
- promote projects aimed at teaching taste to young people right from school age, with a view to developing people's organoleptic faculties so that they can recognize quality products and draw the utmost pleasure from them
- prod national institutions into considering the safeguarding of these products - gastronomic assets in general, and not just those in danger - as a major goal for the economy and integral part of Italy's cultural identity
- associate with similar projects throughout Europe, convinced as we are that protecting typical and/or traditional quality food and agricultural products must become a transnational operation, given the fact that markets and strategies are growing increasingly globalized and standardized.

APPENDIX 2

CRITERIA FOR ARK PRODUCTS SELECTION

(www.slowfood.com)

- I. Products must be of outstanding quality in terms of taste. 'Taste quality' is defined in the context of local traditions and uses.
- II. The product must be linked to the memory and identity of a group, and can be a vegetable species, variety, ecotype or animal population that is well acclimatized over a medium-long period in a specific territory (defined in relation to the history of the territory). The primary material of the foodstuff must be locally sourced unless it comes from an area outside the region of production, in which case it must be traditional to use materials from that specific area. Any complementary materials used in the production of the product (spices, condiments, etc.) may be from any source, and their use must be part of the traditional production process.
- III. Products must be linked environmentally, socio-economically and historically to a specific area.
- IV. Products must be produced in limited quantities, by farms or by small-scale processing companies.
- V. Products must be threatened with either real or potential extinction.

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Documents:

1. Agreement of co-operation between Slow Food Presidia and Coop- Italia (in Italian) (April 6, 2001)
2. Programs on typical products (in Italian)
3. Co-operation contract for the Consul Roads publications (in Italian)
4. Phone interview with the Slow Food responsible for the Slow Food - Coop Agreement, Dr. Carlo Fanti. (May 2004)
5. Phone interview with the Coop manager Sergio Soavi, responsible for the co-operatives co-ordination (May 2004)
6. Interviews with the people in charge of the Presidia adopted by Coop Italia.

Links

www.slowfood.it (in Italian)

www.slowfood.com (in English)

www.fondazioneSlowFood.it

www.Coop.it

Fig. 1 - Local production for local consumption

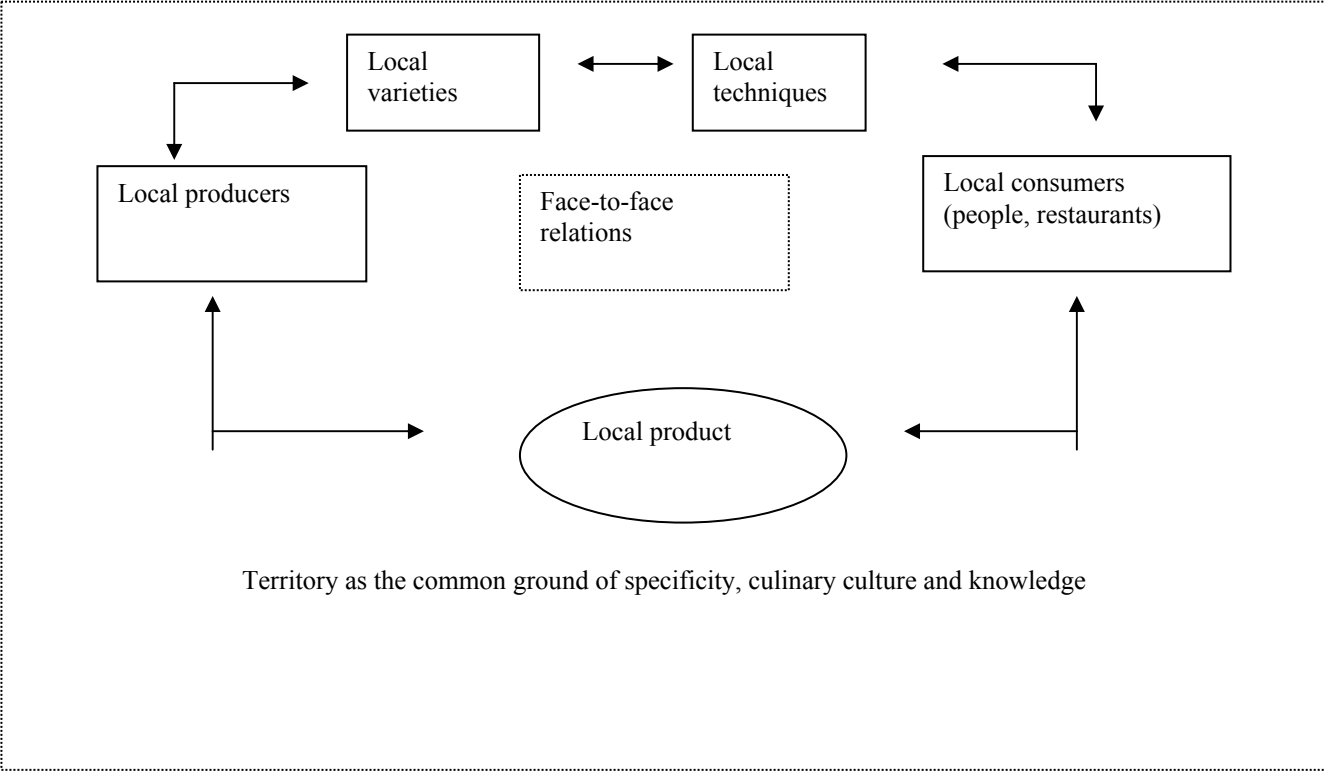


Fig. 2 - Local production for a distant consumer, according to the Slow Food - Coop agreement

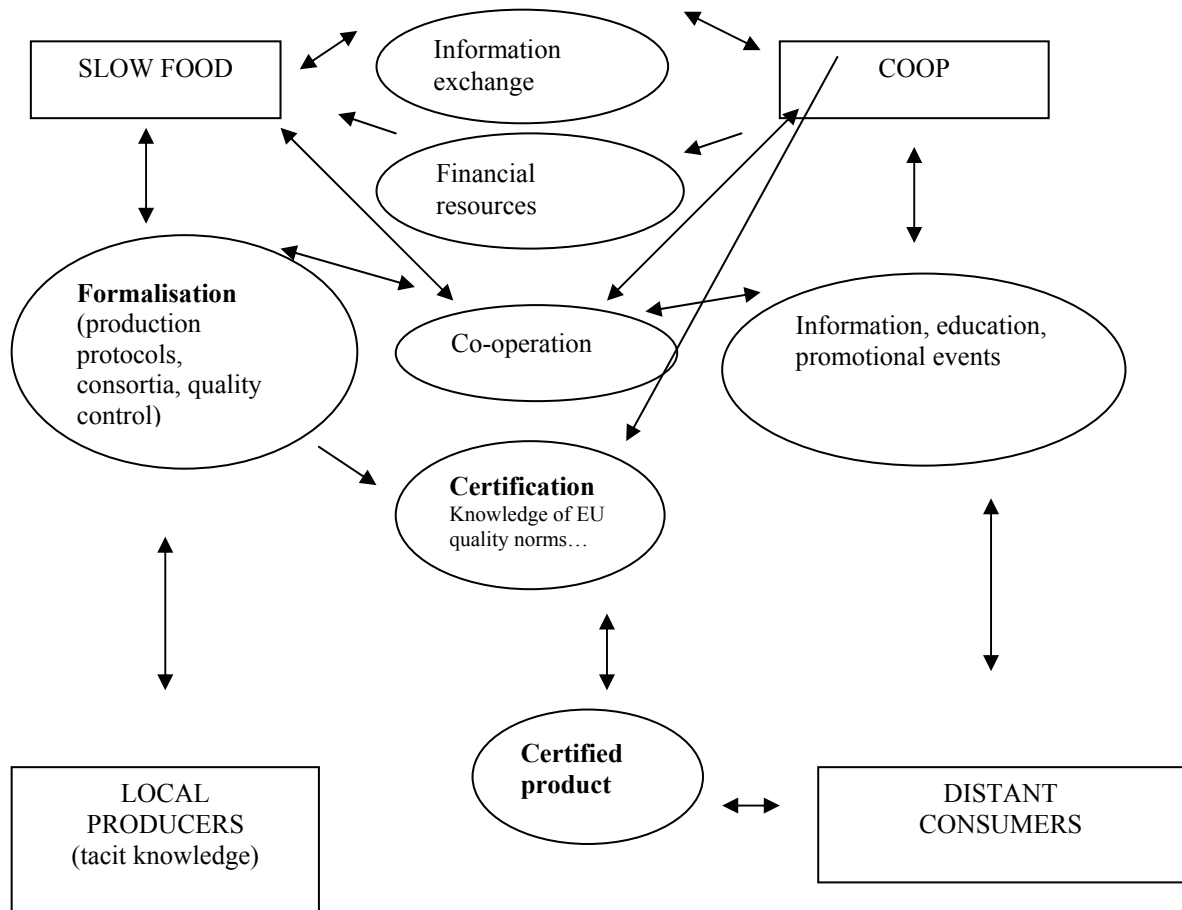


Fig. 3: The space for hybrid consumption

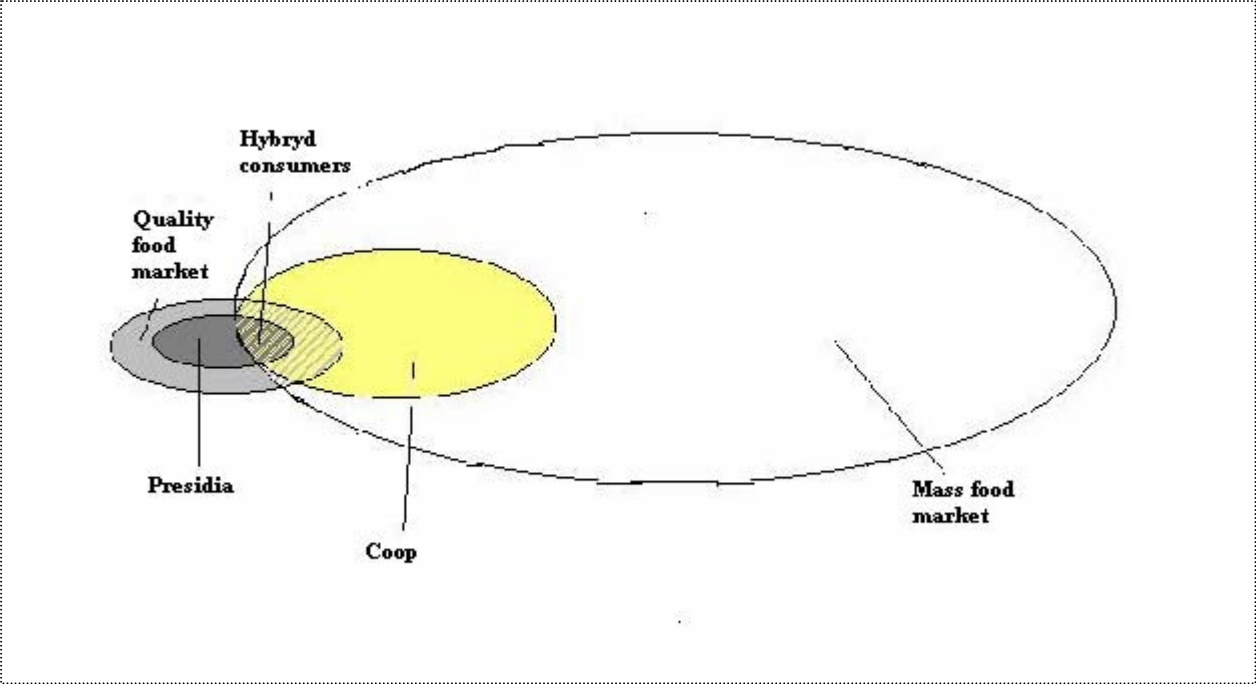
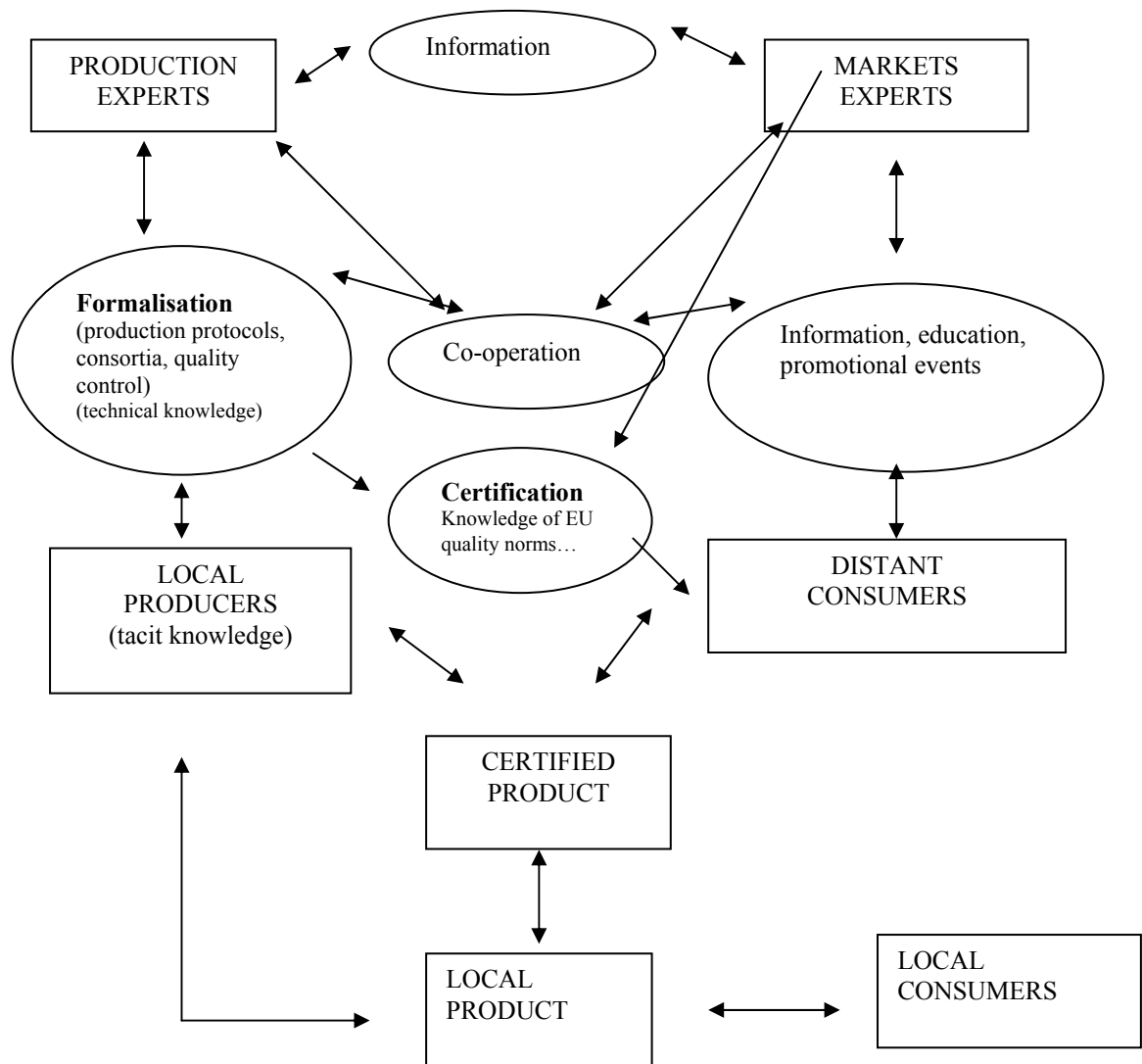


Fig. 4 - The glocal food production-consumption network



TABLES

TABS 1 - 3: Economic results of the Presidia, according to Antonioli Corigliano and Viganò survey (2002)

TABS 4 - 9: Data on the Presidia adopted by Coop, according to the interviews carried out in June 2004.

Tab. 1 - Number of farms/firms and employees

PRESIDIA	Year of birth	no. of firms / farms		employees	
		1° year	2002	1° year	2002
<i>Fish</i> (4 presidia)	2000		No changes		No changes
<i>Salami</i> (7 presidia)	2000		No changes (except for two of them, Mantovano e Birolodo)	86	96
<i>Bakery Products</i> (5 presidia)	2000	27	27	120	128
<i>Cheeses</i> (12 presidia)	2000		No changes		No changes
<i>Animal Breeds</i> (9 presidia)	2000	124	254	273	675
<i>Fruits, vegetables and pulses</i> (16 presidia)	2000	174	237	255	305

Tab. 2 - Variation in quantities sold and prices (2000 - 2002)

PRESIDIA	Variation in Q %	Variation in P %
<i>Fish</i>	Little changes	+39,3%
<i>Salamis</i>	+53%	+20%
<i>Bakery Products</i>	+36%	+21,5%
<i>Cheeses</i>	Big change	+28% (peak +80%)
<i>Animal Breeds</i>	+5% → + 1100%	+19%
<i>Fruits, vegetables and pulses</i>	+80%	No changes

Tab. 3 - Markets and market channels

PRESIDIA Categories	Market Channels		Markets			
	<i>Direct Sales</i>	<i>Middlemen</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Regional</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Export</i>
<i>Fish</i>	Mainly	Only for the anchovies (20%)	Almost exclusively in the firm	Little	Anchovies (15%) Grey mullet roe (30%)	Grey mullet roe (10%)
<i>Salamis</i>	Mainly	No	Yes	Yes	15/33	4/33
<i>Bakery Products</i>	Mainly	Yes	Yes	Yes	Only for Lonzino (50%)	Only for Lonzino (25%)
<i>Cheeses</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (mainly)	Yes	No
<i>Animal Breeds</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Fruits, vegetables and pulses</i>	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Tabs 4- The Presidia adopted by Coop*

PRESIDIUM	Description
Orbetello Grey Mullet Roe (Tuscany)	<p>In Orbetello, the art of preserving fish was probably introduced by the Spanish. As early as the 16th century, they use to smoke eels and dress fish with escabece, a vinegar sauce. Still today a typical production of Orbetello is the <i>anguilla scavecciata</i> (eel in vinegar) and the <i>anguilla sfumata</i> (smoked eel). Bottarga (from the Arab <i>botarikh</i>, meaning salted fish roe) has always been produced, too. Tender and amber in colour, it is excellent sliced finely with a veil of extra-virgin olive oil and a squeeze of lemon.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000. <i>Responsible for the Presidium is Massimo Bernacchini (interviewed on June 11th, 2004)</i></p>
Cinta Senese (Tuscany)	<p>Long snout, black coat with a white band round the thorax; hence the name (<i>cinta</i> means 'sash' in Italian). The only Tuscan pig breed to avoid extinction. Thanks to breeding in the natural or semi-natural state, the meat is evenly veined with fat, hence its outstanding flavor and aroma. A whole range of cured meats are made with the various parts of the animal: <i>lardo</i>, <i>rigatino</i>, <i>gotino</i> (or <i>guanciale</i>), <i>prosciutto</i>, <i>salame</i>, <i>capocollo</i>, and so on.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2001. <i>Responsible for the Presidium is Paolo Montemerani (interviewed on June 4th, 2004)</i></p>
Salama for sugo (Emilia Romagna)	<p>The <i>salama da sugo</i>, or <i>salamina</i>, as the Ferraresi call it, is a refined cured meat with something of an exotic flavor. It combines the potent aromas of the spices used with the sapidity of the pork and the fruitiness of the red wine. When it is ready for cooking, it is boiled on a string and wrapped in linen to prevent it touching the sides of the pan. A sumptuous old-fashioned speciality. To set off its strong almost pungent taste, it is served on a bed of mashed potatoes or pumpkin.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000. <i>Responsible for the Presidium is Alberto Fabbri (interviewed on June 10th, 2004)</i></p>
Fabriano Salami (Marche)	<p>A noble salami made by chopping the most prized part of the pig: <i>prosciutto</i>. Covered with a light dark brown mold, <i>salame di Fabriano</i> is hard and coarse. The meat is firm and flavoursome, deep red in color and dotted with white lardons. When sliced, it is beautifully scented, without any hints of meat. In some cases, slightly smoked perfumes emerge. In the mouth it is sweet with a persistent flavour with vanilla nuances.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000. <i>Responsible for the Presidium is Domenico Battistoni (interview on June 8th, 2004)</i></p>
Martinafranca Capocollo (Puglia)	<p>The best cured meats in Puglia have traditionally come from Martinafranca. The pick of the bunch is <i>capocollo</i>, the name used in the South of Italy to refer to cured neck of pig. To counter the climatic conditions of the area of origin - unsuitable for meat curing - a practice has developed whereby the meat is slightly smoked, marinated at length in brine and soaked in mulled wine. The procedure, which serves to preserve the meat tasty and wholesome, also gives it an extra rich flavor.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000. <i>Responsible for the Presidium is Michele Bruno (interviewed on June 7th, 2004)</i></p>

Val d'Ossola Mortadella (Piedmont)	<p>The name 'Mortadella' means 'meat crushed or minced in a mortar'. It is made of raw pork and a small amount of pig's liver. The pig's liver and the addition of <i>vin brulé</i> (mulled wine) give it its distinctive flavour. It is aged for about two months and eaten sliced with the local Coimo black bread.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 1998 (the name is of 1949).</p> <p><i>Responsible for the Presidium is Giovanni Sartoretti (interviewed on June 4th, 2004)</i></p>
Marzolina (Lazio)	<p>This is a small cheese that was once produced only in March, when the goats had just started to give milk. That is why the cheese is named 'marzolina' - after 'marzo', the Italian word for March. The production of Marzolina was once on the brink of disappearance, but fortunately a cheese-maker passed her recipe on to other producers. Marzolina is shaped like a long cylinder. It can be eaten fresh, but tradition calls for a few days of aging. During aging, the cheese is rested on a wooden grate. The cheese can also be aged in oil in glass jars.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000.</p> <p><i>Responsible for the Presidium is Matteo Ruggia (interviewed on June 7th, 2004)</i></p>
The Red Onion of Cannara (Umbria)	<p>Roundish with a bright red skin and coppery white pulp. The Cannara red onion plays a part in many of the region's most traditional recipes, from soup to <i>cipollata</i> (a rustic antipasto of onions, eggs and tomatoes). Sweet and easy to digest, excellent eaten raw in salads with olive oil and salt, and a fine accompaniment for meat and game. Thanks to its extraordinary sweetness, it is particularly good with liver, lamb offal and foie gras.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000.</p> <p><i>Responsible for the Presidium is Noé Pasqualoni (interviewed on June 9th, 2004)</i></p>
Bronte pistacchio (Sicily)	<p>This variety grows only on the hilly, volcanic soil of Bronte. Emerald green in colour with an intense, unctuous and resinous aroma. Harvested by hand in small quantities. Albeit superior in quality, the Bronte pistachio is struggling to withstand competition from less flavoured but also less expensive nuts from Iran, Turkey and America.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 2000.</p> <p><i>Responsible for the Presidium is Nunzio Cagullo (interviewed on June 4th, 2004)</i></p>
Late-harvest Leonforte Peaches (Sicily)	<p>Leonforte peaches ripen in September, October and even as late as November. Wrapped in paper bags, they are protected from the wind and parasites and harvested only when perfectly ripe. Protected inside the bags, they ripen late and take on a bright yellow colour with red streaks. Beautifully scented, the flesh is sweet with a distinctive, slightly caramelised flavour.</p> <p>The Presidium was founded in 1998.</p> <p><i>Responsible for the Presidium is Pippo Privitera (& Dr. Manna del Serv. Ass. Tecn. Reg. Sicilia) (interviewed on June 8th, 2004)</i></p>
Zucchina Trombetta (Liguria)	<p>It is not anymore a Presidium since 2001.</p>

* Presidia characterisation data are available on the site www.fondazione Slow Food.it/eng/presidi/.

Tab. 5 - Numbers of producers and employees

PRESIDIA	Year of birth	Producers - no.		Employees per family farm/firm (average)	
		1° year	2004	1° year	2004
Orbetello Grey Mullet Roe	2000	80	69 (1 co-operative)	1	1
Cinta Senese	2001	9	130	2/4	2/4
Salama for sugo	2000	3	2	3 stable+ 4 seasonal	3 stable+ 4 seasonal
Fabriano Salami	2000	4	4	2	2
Martinafranca Capocollo	2000	1	5 (butchers)	3	3
Val d'Ossola Mortadella	1998	1	1	2	2
Marzolina (The decrease of producers is caused by the menace of the wolves, who live in the nearby Abruzzo National Park)	2000	3	1 (100 goats)	2	1 stable + 3 seasonal
The Red Onion of Cannara (a farmers' co-operative is in the process to be constituted)	2000	5	5 (25 Ha)	5	5
Bronte Pistachio	2000	1	3	2	6
Late-harvest Leonforte Peaches	1998	70	80 (11 Cooperatives) (150 Ha)	3 + 3 seasonal	3 + 3 seasonal

Tab. 6 - Quantities of product sold

PRESIDIA	In the 1st year of presidium birth (q)	2004 (q)	Variation In %
Orbetello Grey Mullet Roe¹⁷	5/12	5/12	0%
Cinta Senese	1 (35 sows)	12 (500 sows)	+1100%
Salama for sugo (the main increase has been realised in 2002, in occasion of the Salone del Gusto)	16	16	0%
Fabriano Salami (seasonal product)	36	36	0%
Martinafranca Capocollo	2.5	5.5	+120%
Val d'Ossola Mortadella	5	4.5	-10%
Marzolina	10	6	-40%
The Red Onion of Cannara	1000	1500	+50%
Bronte Pistachio (the decrease in production is due to the competition of the Turkish and Iranian pistachios)	40,000	30,000	-25%
Late-harvest Leonforte Peaches	4,000	6,000	+50%

¹⁷ The high variability is due to the characteristics of the product.

Tab. 7 - Prices

PRESIDIA	In the 1st year of the presidium (€ per Kg)	2004 (€ per Kg)	Variation In %
Orbetello Grey Mullet Roe	150	250	+66.7%
Cinta Senese	-	-	Prices are 5/6 times above the average for a similar product
Salama for sugo (there is not a real selling price. The product is usually reserved by)	15	20	+33.3%
Fabriano Salami	16.50	16.50	0%
Martinafranca Capocollo	12.50	20	+60%
Val d'Ossola Mortadella	16.50	16.50	0%
Marzolina	7.5	10	+25%
The Red Onion of Cannara	0.50	1 (loose) (1,50: woven)	+100%
Bronte Pistachio (Pistachios are sold hulled, but not salted)	21	14	-33,3%
Late-harvest Leonforte Peaches	0.95	2.75	+189.5%

Tab. 8 - Markets and market channels

PRESIDIA	MARKET CHANNELS		MARKETS			
	Direct sales	Middlemen	Local	Regional	National	Export
Orbetello Grey Mullet Roe	80%	20%	50%	30%	20%	0%
Cinta Senese (The Consortium operates only for certification. The export is directed to Germany and Japan - the link was established through tourism in the area)			80%	15%	4% (to some Northern Italian cities)	1%
Salama for sugo	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Fabriano Salami (The national market is located mainly in the chief towns of Sicily, Lombardy, Piedmont and Lazio)	100%	0%	75%	22%	3%	0%
Martinafranca Capocollo	100%	0%	70%	20%	10% (several regions)	0%
Val d'Ossola Mortadella (Regional and national market were reached thank to a presentation event organised by Coop. The export to Switzerland is limited by the high duties)	100%	0%	55%	30%	10%	5%
Marzolina	95%	5%	93%	5%	2%	0%
The Red Onion of Cannara (National markets: Rome general markets and only a small percentage to Verona through direct contact. Export to Monaco in Germany)	95%	5% (wholesale store)	60%	25%	12%	3%
Bronte Pistachio (A co-operative is active for transformation. National markets are mainly in some central/northern towns. The export is directed to Switzerland, France and Germany)	0%	100%	10%	40%	35%	15%
Late-harvest Leonforte Peaches National markets have expanded thanks to Coop and Esselunga campaigns	0%	100%	34%	45%	20%	1%

Tab. 9 - Coop role in the adopted Presidia

PRESIDIA	Presidia's and Coop's role in the local production system
Orbetello Grey Mullet Roe	A co-operative existed before the constitution of the Presidium. Coop was supporting the costs of the presidium at the beginning, not anymore. The co-operative is looking for contacts with other big retailers. The objective of the co-operative is to improve the product's image and to respond to consumer's demand.
Cinta Senese	The presidium has never been functioning properly. It is a failure, in spite of producers' availability. In 2001, producers created a consortium for the protection of the breed and are in the process of obtaining the PDO certification for the meat products. No direct contact with Coop exist.
Salama for sugo	Coop's role is not deemed important by producers, since production is only available in small quantities for local markets. The local product is a "rarity", but it not dying out.
Fabriano Salami	The presidium exists only on paper. Recently a production regulation has been signed. Relationship with Coop is good: it promotes the product, even if the product is already known.
Martinafranca Capocollo	Butchers do not look for contacts with Coop, because they control their own market and want to differentiate their product from the circuit of big retailing firms. A production regulation is in the process of being approved.
Val d'Ossola Mortadella	Coop has been very important in the promotion of the product, at regional and national level.
Marzolina	No benefits from Coop, not even a financial help for the participation to the 2002 Salone del Gusto.
The Red Onion of Cannara	Coop has promoted the product in several cities, but its role is not so important, since the product has its own market. The Presidium has several difficulties in co-ordinating the producers.
Bronte Pistachio	No benefit from Coop. Only once Coop bought the product. Coop demands salted pistachio, while Bronte Pistachios are only hull.
Late-harvest Leonforte Peaches	Few years ago, two producers' co-operatives existed, but their quality strategies were considered dubious by Coop, who interrupted any relationships with them. Today the best farms have formed a new co-operative, that aims at quality and good relationship with Coop. There are contacts also with Esselunga and others big retailing firms: they require high quality and reliability in order to charge high prices and to gain benefits. However, the role of Slow Food and the Presidium is highly appreciated by the producers.