

CORASON
WP6 - LOCAL FOOD PRODUCTION COMPARATIVE REPORT

A LOCAL HABITATION AND A NAME
Local Food and Knowledge Dynamics in Sustainable Rural Development¹
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¹ 'a local habitation and a name' is a quotation from Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Act V, Scene1).

ABBREVIATIONS

Cz NR	Czech Republic National Report
Ge NR	Germany National Report
Gr NR	Greece National Report
Hu NR	Hungary National Report
Ir NR	Ireland National Report
NIIt NR	Northern Italy National Report
Nw NR	Norway National Report
Pl NR	Poland National Report
Pt NR	Portugal National Report
Sc NR	Scotland National Report
SIt NR	South of Italy National Report
Sp NR	Spain National Report
Sw NR	Sweden National Report

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1. Introduction

“Local food production” is an ambiguous expression. No doubt all food is produced locally. But in industrial and post-industrial economy, in most cases the place where food is produced is not really important. Transnational food supply chain managers may switch from one production site to another according to comparative and competitive advantages, especially in terms of labour costs, with no attention to the characteristics of the specific locality.

In the rural sociology literature the expression “local food production” is used to refer to the effort to “re-localise” and to “re-socialise” food production and consumptions, i.e. to food production systems where “place matters” in both its territorial, technical and social meanings (Marsden et al. 2000).

Place may matter because the specific chemical and physical characteristics of the territory and the climate are transmitted to the organoleptic properties of the food and/or because spatial proximity between producers and consumers facilitate interpersonal relations, leading to social and cultural proximity and cohesion and even to a common food culture. Characteristics of place, technical system of production and interpersonal social relations confer to “local food” a specific quality.

There is roughly a dual perspective of “local food production”. One perspective takes into account mainly grass root initiatives of re-localisation of the food system as “interpersonal world of production” (Morgan et al. 2006), starting often from a context of long-standing export-oriented agriculture and loss of food culture, where the only local food provision possibility is the supermarket and there is no outlet for the local agricultural production (“placeless foodscape”, according to Morgan et al. 2006 or “food deserts”² according to Reynolds 2005). We will call this the “*re-localisation perspective*”.

Since the nineties, especially in northern Europe and the United States, many initiatives arose, led by social movements representing groups of producers and consumers or by local institutions, with the objective to re-appropriate food at local level. Examples are the Community Supported Agriculture³ (CSA), the Farmers’ Markets movement (USA, UK, Ireland, Scotland), local food-buying groups, farm direct selling, the Kansas City Food Circle (Hendrickson and Heffernan 2002) the Toronto Food Policy Council (Friedman 2006), the Local Food Roadshow promoted in different countries by the International Society for Ecology and Culture (ISEC), as well as many other initiatives in North America and (especially Northern) Europe.

² In the late 1990s, deprived areas of British cities with poor access to the provision of healthy affordable food became known as “food deserts”. The metaphor was used in ministerial statements, defining ‘food deserts’ as areas lacking the appropriate food retail provision within roughly a 500m radius. Policy intervention were inspired by it, such as the Food Poverty Bill in 2001. Some authors contested the existence of food desert (Cummings and McIntyre 2002), but much empirical research was inspired by it (Wringley 2002 and 2005). Here the expression is used more in general to indicate an area with no access to local food.

³ It is an arrangement by which consumers pay an annual membership fee to farmers, to cover the production costs of farming. In exchange they receive a weekly box of fresh food (www.csacenter.org).

The second perspective repositions local food production in relation to values associated with territory, tradition and pre-industrial production practices. The classic reference here is the range of regional speciality products protected by the designation of origin in Europe; but those are only the “iceberg tip” of a much more vast and diffused universe, which comprises various forms of certified and not-certified local food, rooted in a pre-industrial tradition that was marginalised, but never completely extinct: we will call it “the origin-of-food perspective”. The initial economic context is different: the concerned territories, like the Mediterranean countries, were “late comers” to industrial development and never fully completed their “great transitions”. They have rather passed through a process of economic and social marginalisation (with depopulation as a marked phenomenon) that are trying now to reverse through strategies of territorial rural development, in which “traditional” agricultural techniques and products are recovered and valorised⁴.

The difference between the two perspectives may be profound. In the first, two objectives dominate: rural community social sustainability and environmental sustainability. Shortening the distance that food travels means sustaining local producers income and guarantying better quality food to local consumers (“*every consumer dollar goes towards the food, rather than ... going towards packaging, transport, irradiation, colouring, and advertising*”, Norberg-Hodge 2002). Reducing the miles food travels means also encouraging diversification of agriculture, reducing pollution and protecting the environment. It is also shortening the social distance created between local producers and local consumers and revitalising rural communities. The ideological component is very strong in this perspective, since initiatives are often promoted by actors belonging to or inspired by social movements.

In the second perspective the main objective is economic sustainability. We are dealing here with economic realities that have been marginalised by industrialisation and globalisation and seek a new direction of rural development trough access to quality differentiated markets. This means that, for some goods and in some cases, “food miles” are not shortened, but rather increased. The strategy of valorisation of the local product implies, in fact, that “protected” local food is proposed to a distant consumer or that the distant consumer travels towards the food produced locally. It is not that social / environmental sustainability does not matter. Rather, in a situation where economic marginalisation is pushing rural communities towards extinction, differentiated markets seem the more appropriate route to revitalize rural communities. More than social movements, institutional forces (local governments, collective associations of producers) are behind this perspective, which is also framed in a more general regulation, issued by national government before the 1990s and the European Union after 1992 (regulation 92/2081/CE on the protection of origin designation of food).

Both perspectives share a common final objective: the re-vitalisation of rural communities. One point to investigate is whether the two different routes are compatible or contradictory. In this report, we would like to

1. analyse the difference in the two perspectives in terms of different starting contexts, actors involved, strategies pursued
2. consider through empirical analysis of the case studies the implication of the two different approaches with respect to knowledge dynamics
3. consider their effectiveness in pursuing a new model of rural sustainable development based on increased local food sovereignty.

Like in any other Corason Working Package, this Comparative Report (CR) is based on the National Reports (NRs) and the field work carried out by each team in the selected study areas. A

⁴ Both perspectives have been criticised for being “unreflexive”: various authors argue that “local” is an uncritical category, that not necessarily means social just, environmental sound and economic viable (see the special issue of the Journal of Rural Studies 2003, 19 on “The quality ‘turn’ and alternative food practices” as well as DuPuis and Goodman 2005).

common approach to the national reports and field work was previously discussed through the Working Package 6 Input Paper (WP6 IP) “Local Food Production and Knowledge Dynamics in the Rural Sustainable Development”. The conceptual framework of the IP is integrated with contributions derived from the discussion in the various consortia meetings and through reflection on the empirical evidence from the case-studies.

This Comparative Report will be structured as follows: in section 2 the theoretical framework of the report will be provided. A broad distinction between two main perspectives of local food production will be suggested, according to which the case-studies will be grouped. Section 3 gives a comprehensive analysis of the case-studies, with a comparative perspective. The last two sections will address the case-studies comparative analysis (always following the suggested distinction between different perspectives) focusing on the two key-concepts of our research: expert and lay knowledge dynamics and sustainability. Finally, some conclusive remarks will be made.

In the course of the work, several references will be made to the specific content of the case-study analysis presented in each National report. To make these references clearer, a summary of each case-study is given in the Appendix.

2. The Theoretical Framework

The centre of interest of the Working Package 6 is on the locally oriented food production, according to the two perspectives we have underlined in the Introduction. In the next sections we will try to characterise the agrofood local production system with respect to each of two perspectives.

2.2. The re-localisation perspective: *from ‘food deserts’ to rural development*

In contradistinction to economic globalisation, there is a grass-roots movement that is about localising economic activity. It is about finding a balance between global trade and local production for local consumption.[...] They're realising that particularly when it comes to food: it doesn't make sense to ship food out and back in again. So what's happening is a conscious attempt to link farmers and consumers, to shorten the food miles, to shorten the distances that milk and butter and live animals are travelling. The wonderful thing about the local food movement is that it immediately brings benefits to both consumers and farmers. By shortening distances every consumer dollar goes towards the food, rather than - as it often does in the supermarket - going towards packaging, transport, irradiation, colouring, and advertising! 95% of the food dollar is going to things that have nothing to do with food! (Helena Norberg-Hodge 2002)

The “re-localisation perspective” supports food produced, retailed and consumed in a specific area, appealing primarily to social (empowering and re-vitalizing local communities) and environmental arguments (reducing pollution caused by the transportation of goods). Local food initiatives are promoted in opposition to the disempowering social and economic effect of globalisation. Reducing the physical distance between producers and consumers is thought to sort out the effect of re-vitalising the rural community, while benefiting local farmers, on one side, and consumers’ and environment health, on the other.

While in the 70es organic food was seen as the only alternative to conventional food, an increasing dissatisfaction with organic agriculture and organic certification grew, for two reasons.

First because of the so called “conventionalisation” of the commercial practices (Guthman, 2003, Buck *et al.* 1997), that occurred especially when the multinational retailing industry stepped in the organic production: “*The organic movement has been seduced by the supermarkets: they have dangled before it the prospect of a mass market*” (Blythman, 2005). Second, because certification is seen as “encouraging ‘non-local’ food consumption, raising costs for producers and prices for local consumers (Ir NR, 2006).

It seems, then, that the organic movement had dropped its alternative / environmental ideological baggage and has focussed exclusively on increasing sales, “economies of scale, imports, wholesaling and dealing with multiple retailers” (Moore, 2004: 5). Organic products are increasingly “aimed *specifically* at consumers with a high disposable income. These products, through distance travelling and plastic wrapping, disable part of the organic environmental discourse” (ib).

From the growing dissatisfaction with the organic movement, seeing as moving towards institutionalization, a new “movement” for localizing food production originated since the 1980s (starting from the United States). It may be considered a “post-organic” movement (Moore 2006) focusing on “local, chemical-free, direct/market sales to the consumer”⁵. The target of this movement is not so much *agriculture*, but rather the *distribution system* in the food chain. It is about tightening standards, so as to include not only chemical-free agriculture, but also less environmental pollution in the transformation, packaging and transport of food and social sustainability of the local community (more income for the local farmer and better food for the consumer).

The movement for the re-localisation of food is linked to a civic and ideological perspective: the environmental discourse is extended to the all food chain, while the localness of food is seen as both a way to re-spatialise and re-socialise food, establishing a direct contact between farmers and consumers, that generates a link of trust and reciprocal benefits between them. Consuming local food is the instrument through which community social life and social relationships are re-instated and re-enforced.

The context which originates the re-localisation movement is what, with a very effective image, has been called a “food desert”:

Are you living in a food desert? You do if... you live in an area where healthy food is either non-existent or too expensive. This is likely to be the case if your only ‘local’ food shopping option is a supermarket, and you have no good small independent local shops, farmers’ markets or box schemes serving your area. ...

There are food deserts all over Britain, in rural as well as urban areas. [...] For example, a recent study of Sandwell, West Bromwich, found that around 90 per cent of the households in the area were within 500 metres of shops that sold junk food and fizzy drinks; less than 20 per cent of the houses were within 500 metres of a shop selling fresh fruit and vegetables. This can be attributed largely to the steady increase in the number of supermarkets in Britain since the 1970s and the commensurate decline in the number of independent grocers. Around 80 per cent of food shopping is now done in supermarkets, compared with less than 50 per cent 25 years ago. (Reynolds, 2005)

⁵ In both version (local and regional food perspectives), re-localisation of food has been criticised for being a post-modernist perspective, ‘in which the boundaries of place (conceived either as identity or territory) are posted against the undifferentiated and homogeneous space of global networks’ (Hardt and Negri, p 44). The multiplication of contingent local identities and localized ‘place based’ movements and politics are the main, if not sole, form of resistance to global capitalism today. Hardt and Negri argue that such a simple counter-position of local and global easily slides into “a kind of primordialism that fixes and romanticizes social relations and identities” (p 44). According to them, “what appear as local identities are not autonomous or self-determining but actually feed into the support and development of the capitalist imperial machine.” (pp 45-46). This critique is reformulated by Goodman (2003) and DuPuis and Goodman (2005).

The re-localisation of food gives back the consumer the choices to escape such desert:

At my local greengrocer, (...), the seasons come and go vividly. A much higher proportion of what's on sale is British. In fact, there's been an explosion of labelling lately that underlines this virtue: 'Yorkshire-grown courgettes', raspberries 'grown near Blackpool', Norfolk asparagus, and so on. Should we ignore such produce because it isn't organic? Or does it make more sense in taste and environment terms to deviate from organic orthodoxy and buy conventionally grown, fresh English coxes from a greengrocer in September, in preference to organic New Zealand galas that have been stored in a modified atmosphere for six months before being sold in a supermarket? (Blythman 2005).

More than the organic agriculture, it seems that local food makes a contribution to the “three aspects of sustainability: invigorating local economies; sustaining diverse environments; and nourishing healthy communities” (www.localfood.org.uk).

2.3 Origin-of-Food perspective: *from marginalisation to rural development*

Individuals' behaviour towards OLPs (Origin labelled products) may be theorised via the concept of proximity. Highly proximate OLP consumers, it is proposed, have good knowledge and experience of the product, and share the territorial and cultural heritage of the producers. Low proximity consumers, by contrast, are those with little knowledge and direct experience of the product and with weak ties with the territory and culture surrounding the OLP. The degree of consumer proximity influences important factors such as perceived benefits of the OLP, level of involvement, type of stimuli used to make choices, frequency of purchases, usage occasion, etc. Different marketing and communication strategies are implied by this concept. (Sylvander, 2004)

In this perspective “locality” has a different meaning: it is not only the dimension of space, but also a dimension of time, then history. "Local" is geographical as well as socio-economic proximity. Proximity refer to a common place, but also to a common history, a common belonging that is solidified in collective norms and regulations. In the origin-of-food perspective, *localness* in food production is supported by the fact that raw materials, taste, dishes constitute a food tradition and culture, closely tied to the territorial identity (Bessi re 1998, Sylvander 2004).

We find here not only the search for *variety* and *trust* of the affluent / reflexive consumer, who is confronting an increasing perception of risk in the agrofood system of late modern society (Fonte 2002). There is also the quest for identity, belonging, meaning. According to anthropologists and sociologists, the symbolic and cultural relevance of cuisine makes of it a patrimony, that is as a legacy between past and present, tradition and change, an heritage that may signify belonging (identification) or exclusion (differentiation), marking the collective identity of a community or a group. “Deeply rooted in a particular soil as well in a particular space and time, the cooking traditions of a specific area reveal the character of a society” (Bessi re, 1997), they are an integral part of individual, collective and territorial identity construction. Food is contextualised in a community culture, in a territory, where is linked to specific religious or social occurrences and celebrations.

Both, geographical and social meaning, are present in the socio-economic concept of "*territory*", so important in this perspective (WP6 Input Paper). *The territory* is a different way of looking at the economic process, a way that gives importance to the contribution of local society and institutions

to the production of economic value and competitive advantages (Rullani 2003: 96). In the territory small firms and farms find the instruments that enable them to deal with the complexity of the economic process, lowering the barriers to entry. From the perspective of knowledge, it is the place where knowledges are accumulated and stratified, but also where they are reproduced, renewed, created, shared and exchanged. Not only a place for conservation, but also for innovation. In the economics of local systems, the territory is considered as a "connector" of the economic activities, that may be complementary or alternative to the other connectors: the market, the hierarchy, the extra-territorial network. It is a specific cognitive system, that "transform and multiplies knowledge accumulated by historical factors, but continuously reproduced and amplified by the innovations of people who inhabit it" (Rullani, 2003: 111).

Local specificity means, then, a link to the territory, as social, economic and cognitive system. Regional specificities are a common, a collective good: both valorisation and appropriation processes are a collective endeavour, in which local institutions and associations, as also extra-local institutions and experts, play an important role. Product is not only linked to a 'family business', but to collective practices, rules, norms, ways of preparing and consuming food. Local authorities, local producers and their representatives, local and extra-local experts are created and mobilised in the process, generating institutional innovation.

Contrary to the 're-localisation perspective', the "origin-of-food" approach seeks access to differentiated, not necessarily local, markets. In addition to local, also de-localised and de-territorialized consumption is conceived as a way of pursuing rural development. One of the main problems posed by this strategy is how to govern these processes so that territories and local communities are not dis-empowered and expropriated from the benefits generated by the specific qualities of the local production.

In order to provide rural areas with economic value, specificities of the territory and local food must become an economic resource, undergoing a (more or less complete) commoditisation process. Appropriation of the benefits generated by them poses problems of regulation and intellectual property that can not be faced only at local level (Moran 1993).

The possibility to valorise the rent deriving from the territorial and cultural identity of the product may be pursued through many ways. The main one is the construction of a provenance certification.

Especially for traditional products on the verge of extinction, certification may be a way to awaken attention to the product and gain access to differentiated markets. The positive effects of certification are stressed in the Southern Italy Report (p. 8):

"In a traditional local system of production, the certification of provenance may serve different ends:

1. to de-localise consumption (in a territorial and cultural meaning). Certified products keep their territorial identity, valorising it in the market. Consumers are at the same time protected against misleading information;
2. as a mechanism for the protection of the producers, the reputation of the product and the incorporated local knowledge, against risk of falsification and counterfeit;
3. as an instrument for strengthening the vertical and horizontal networks of local (and extra-local) actors mobilised by the certification process, with positive effects on the same local cultural identity, especially in the weakest local systems".

The success of this strategy is linked not only to local, but also extra-local factors (Ray 1998, Pacciani *et al.* 2003):

1. Local governance capacity, i.e. the capacity of local actors to create the institutional setting for the regulation of the resource utilisation and the benefits distribution;
2. The existence of exogenous institutions validating the certification scheme, in particular the attribution of property rights on the territorial rent, deriving from the reputation of a product or a territory;
3. The synergy of the forces operating at local and extra-local levels.

There are at least two ways in which the ‘localness’ is transcended: through the link to distant markets and the necessary national and supra-national policies governing intellectual property rights. To the local governance, the necessity of co-ordination among local actors in order to create institutional mechanisms able to regulate the utilisation of resources and distribution of benefits, an exogenous institutional framework must be added, able to govern and regulate at extra-territorial level the appropriation of the added value accruing to local specificities.

The “alternativeness” of these strategies lays not directly in the evoking of an alternative retailing system, but in the promotion of alternative agriculture and transformation techniques linked to a territorial identity. That link makes impossible mass production (and then also mass distribution). Since the quantity of each regional product is by definition limited by the extension of the specific area, diversification of production and differentiation of markets are the result of an eventual generalisation of this model.

3. Comparative Analysis

3.1. Models of agrofood industry and rural development

The tendency toward re-localisation of food is quite clearly stated and evident in all situations, in the policy guidelines promoted by the EU, the National States as well as the Regional development agencies; in the agrofood firms or agricultural producers strategies as well as in the initiatives of the citizens-consumers and civil society. In the comparative analysis of the Countries Reports, we will try to differentiate the various perspectives of re-localisation of food presented in the case studies, establishing a relation with the characteristics of the agrofood context in their research areas. Three different starting contexts emerge from the National Reports: export-oriented agro-industrial economies (Ireland, Scotland, Sweden, and (East) Germany); traditional agriculture in marginalised regions (Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Norway) and post-communist transition in the Central-Eastern European Countries (CEEC, namely Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic). With the due differences, in all the three contexts rural tourism is an important post-industrial connotation.

3.1.1 Export-oriented regions in transition toward rural development

These are areas where agriculture is since long export-oriented and a strong local food culture is lacking. The regional research areas of Ireland, Scotland, Sweden, and (East) Germany respond to this context typology.

Agrofood development in Tipperary (Ireland) belong to the “agro-industrial” model described by Marsden (2003). Farms are large by European standards (36 to 60 hectares), and productivity oriented. Production is mainly based on beef and dairy.

In the last two decades, with the reform of European Agricultural Policy and the orientation of the national Irish development policy, farming has become less viable. As a consequence, some smaller farmers left farming, while larger ones have taken up pluriactive types of development

(farm tourism, horse and deer farming etc) to secure their incomes. A post-productivist model is becoming more evident in South Tipperary, encouraged also by public policies.

Food local culture is not at all diffused. Most Irish people regard food as fuel, but still a split between urban and rural consumption patterns is persisting. Urban consumers are increasingly devoted to fast foods, ready-prepared meals and exotic food, whereas people from the countryside, particularly the aged ones, rely on a relatively traditional diet based on potatoes, meat and vegetables, bread, butter, milk and tea. Furthermore there is no local outlet for local production:

...in Cahir, Clonmel and other rural towns: fairs and markets have largely disappeared, corner shops are decreasing, and food supply is dominated by the expansion of national and international retail chains which have systematically displaced (although not entirely removed) other food outlets.

(...)

Most consumers in the town and surrounding countryside would do a 'big shop' once or twice a week at one of the supermarkets, and then buy daily necessities (mainly milk and bread) at a local shop as needed. A developing trend is the siting of shops at petrol stations in rural areas, usually along motorways or main routes; these shops are usually part of an international or national retail chain (e.g. Spar) and are 'mini-supermarkets', carrying a wide range of mass production food stocks, both basic staples and consumer-ready foods. They usually also carry a very small number of locally-sourced items, particularly bread and cakes (Ir NR: 25).

If Tipperary is a rural area in the heart of Irish mainland, Skye (Scotland) is a narrow and mountainous island in the north-west of Scotland. Agricultural activity is determined by this extreme geographical conditions. Like all Northwest Scotland, Skye is troubled by poor soils and an extremely difficult climate which is very wet, windy and which receives less sunlight than the lower regions. Traditionally, therefore, this part of the country focused predominantly on hill cattle and sheep farming. There are 23,300 agricultural holdings in the Highlands and Islands Enterprise area (HIE), representing 47% of all holdings in Scotland. The majority of these holdings are small-sized, linked to the history of crofting in the Scottish Highlands⁶. But still, for Skye and Lochalsh, agro-food (food, drink manufacturing and fishing) exports accounts for 58% of the whole export value (HIE, 2002).

Scotland in general does not have a strong culinary tradition, and traditional cuisine has been based around simple dishes cooked plainly, using meat, potatoes, fish and grains as staples. Despite this, the Scottish Executive is seeking to position Scotland as a key producer of high-end products, such as smoked salmon, seafood and good quality beef and game. With regard to food market, the role of supermarkets and mass retailers is a major one, also in small town and villages.

“Two local supermarkets get their supplies, not necessarily fresh produce, from central depots on the mainland, a local wholesaler gets it from a market in Glasgow (210 miles), consumers in turn depend on that wholesaler or other delivery services operated from Inverness (130 miles) and Fort William (120 miles). The obvious solution for this highly unsatisfactory situation - a local distribution system - could never get off the ground - so everybody thought - because of economies of scale: the large area of 2,700 sq km with a population of only 12,000 results in a very low

⁶ A croft is a fenced or enclosed area of land, usually small and arable with a crofter's dwelling thereon. A crofter is one who has tenure and use of the land. The word *croft* is West Germanic in etymology, and is now most familiar in Scotland, where many Highlands and Islands crofters have had their tenure protected by special legislation since 1886. Crofts were usually too small for families to subsist on or make a living from, so that the only means of paying rent to the landlord was to work harvesting kelp (a seaweed, used in soap and glass production). In the present day, crofters still work on their crofts part-time, and there is a strong tradition of pluri-activity.

population density of 4.4 (UK average 242.2) which seems to rule out a viable local distribution service.” (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Environment/SustainableDevelopment/7508>)

The agro-industrial strategy, while pursued by the national authorities (Scottish Executive) is nonetheless resisted at local level, by the *regional agencies*, like the Highland Council and Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise (SALE), that try to encourage local food production for local markets. SALE has played a key role in promoting Skye produce more generally, through the press, awards systems, and staging of festivals and events. In 2005, Skye hosted the annual congress of the Slow Food Movement. At the same time, since the 1990s, there is a growing trend towards re-localisation of food production and consumption. Farmers' markets are growing in all Scotland. In the study area there is a weekly farmers market in Portree. Furthermore, Skye and Lochalsh have a project called the "Food Link Van": a van picks up and distributes produce around Skye twice a week in the summer, and once a week in winter. This project has been vital in developing and maintaining a local market for produce.

In the time in which there is a public debate whether there should be any food production in Sweden (Royal Swedish Academy of Agriculture and Forestry 2004), a successful initiative of food re-localisation is developing in Jämtland. This is a rural area far off industrial and metropolitan centres and markets with a weak economy. At the same time, because of the peculiar natural and climate conditions, the proportion of agriculture used land is very small and farms (which have an average size of 21 hectares) are scattered in the territory with large distances between them. Even the population is dispersed over a large area. Anyway agriculture, agrofood processing and forestry, either for food production or for other uses, are of main importance for the regional economy and for rural development. Most farmers in Jämtland combine forestry and agriculture as part of a distinctive livelihood in the rural settlements. Pluri-activity is practiced often. The region has also a small community of Sami people, who continue their cultural traditional of reindeer herding in the mountain area at the borders between Norway, Sweden and Finland.

Jämtland does not show a peculiar quality, locally rooted food culture, but it is worth mentioning that it was one of the regions with a major influence of the *local development movements*, which became common in Sweden in the 1980s with the aim of re-building a local society based on traditional forms of rural economy and livelihood. This environment provides some pre-conditions for the establishment of initiatives aiming at developing a local quality food sector and at re-localising consumption.

Also the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern regions (East Germany) presents the typical features here described. The region has a long-established tradition of standardized export-oriented production. Collectivisation and industrialization characterises agriculture development under the communist regime:

After the second World War population increased to the double. Most of the new population were refugees from Eastern Prussia and Western Pomerania. The land reform in 1946 expropriated all farmers with more than 100 ha property. In the late fifties most of the arable land became collectivised and was managed by public production cooperatives... In the early 1970s the production of crops and animals was divided in separate units. Industrialisation of agriculture increased the use of fertilizers and pesticides. Irrigation and the complex drainage system were extended to secure regional and national self-supply and later on exports of meat (Ger NR: 7)

After Reunification, privatisation divided farming enterprises, but still while the number of enterprises increased, the average size of farms remained relatively large, with a high rate of leased

land. At the beginning further intensification was encouraged by the CAP, while food processing facilities were integrated into multinational companies.

Still nowadays, the features of the agricultural sector show a large average farm's size (about 258 ha, which is much beyond the average for Eastern European regions; 90% of the farm land is operated by farms larger than 100 ha and 45% by farms larger than 1000 ha), and an export oriented food industry, with the amount of food exports more than twice the imports. The case-study area, which broadly follows the main regional trends, has a competitive and profitable farming system with priorities in dairy production and market crops. The high specialisation resulted in an insufficient integration of agriculture within the rest of the regional economy. Several surveys mentioned the lack of manufacturing facilities and local distribution of agricultural products as a problem for the area. In the eastern counties of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern "*only a few producers have close contacts to processors, retailer and direct contacts to consumers are insignificant... Supply chains are quite long and anonymous, the origin of products is more or less meaningless, the quality aspects are in conflict with efficiency and competitive cost structures*" (Ger NR: 16).

One common feature of these exported oriented economies is the fact that food distribution is based on large retailers, that impede the establishment of a local market for local food. Small producers can not find an outlet for their products, while consumers can not find shops selling locally produced food.

In this context, many of the food initiatives analysed in the case-studies aim at re-establishing conditions for the distribution of food locally: that is the case of the Cahir Farmers' Market in Tipperary, Netzwek Vorpommern in Mecklenburg and Food Link Van in Skye. Other initiatives aim at re-establishing a local culture of food growing and processing, as it is the case with the Skye and Lochalsh Horticultural Development Association (SLHDA) in Scotland or the Eldrimmer initiative in Sweden.

3.1.2 Marginalised traditional agricultural with a persistence of a local food culture

As expected, the Southern European regions are characterised by a persistence of a more traditional agro-food system, with a strong presence of small-scale family farms⁷ and local food culture. Contrary to what happens in similar cases for other regions, this peculiarity is not regarded as "exceptional" in Southern European National Reports.

In Aspromonte, (Calabria, South of Italy) agricultural activities are traditionally based on the presence of small households farms. Production is marketed through local markets and partly self-consumed or exchanged in gift or barter relations. The fact that Aspromonte, like many other areas in the South of Italy, remained at the margin of industrial development, influenced the patterns of land property as well as the survival of local food traditional practices and consumption patterns. In general terms a local food culture has been preserved in rural areas of Italy, also because of the late entrance of Italian women into the working force and the low female activity rate. This is particularly true for the inland areas of Mezzogiorno.

In Aspromonte, as well as in the whole Calabria region, agriculture plays an important role, in terms of employment opportunities and contribution to the family income. About one fourth of the families in Calabria gains parts of his income from a farm. In general, Aspromontes' agriculture is

⁷ This is not to say that agro-industrial model has not pervaded Mediterranean countries. The Greek report stresses the co-presence of an agro-industrial system in the plains and of a traditional agriculture in the internal, hilly areas. In the Greek region of Karditsa, for example, the hegemony of the agro-industrial model in the most productive zone of the wider study area coexists with the presence of a defensive, marginal rural development model on the mountainous part of the region. This is true also of the other Mediterranean countries.

backward and marginalised, but here is where most of the traditional products are maintained. A relevant role is played by self-consumption. The small dimension and fragmented structure of the farms, the relative isolation of settlements and the strong familiar cohesion at the village level makes this practice a traditional pillar of everyday life, and one of the ways in which local food practices have been preserved until current times. According to a survey, carried out for the Socio-Economic Plan of the Aspromonte National Park (Parco Nazionale dell'Aspromonte 2001), about 74% of the families interviewed in the survey produce food for self-consumption and products are also given as gift to faraway relatives and close friends.

Similar features are present in other Mediterranean and Southern European countries. As mentioned in the Greek Report, in much of Southern Europe the association between territory, tradition and food quality is taken as self-evident. This is witnessed by two signals, which are contradictory only at a first sight: the large number of products with a EU and/or national certification of provenience in the Greek case-study regions, and the presence of many food products produced in small farms and on a cottage-industry basis, which are sold either to local consumers in local markets or in distant markets to customers, somehow linked to producers by personal relations.

In the Portuguese region of Lower Alentejo (where there are currently 14 products with protected names (9 of them enjoying European Union protection, while 5 enjoy national protection), products like bread, olive oil and wine, and a range of products of animal origin produced from the Alentejo breed pig, are traditional productions and at the same time pillars of consumption habits for local communities. Here too, a relevant feature is the presence of small farms. Actually the average farm's size in Lower Alentejo is not small, and much larger than the national average (62,2 hectares versus 9,8) but these data hidden a bimodal distribution: a large number of small farms occupy a small area, and a small number of large farms account for the vast majority of total farm area, while there are very few medium-sized farms.

With regard to Spain, the case-study region is more integrated with external networks and the agro-food production accounts for a relevant share of the whole local economy. In the Comunidad Valenciana the agro-food sector is characterised by high diversity of crops and by a dualism between an intensive irrigated agriculture (which is also highly polluting and characterised by a small-holding structure), and a dry-crops agriculture which is not-profitable and highly subsidised. In the Utiel-Requena area, wine-production, as well as meat production, have a long tradition. Butchering and meat consumption are deeply rooted in the area, as witnessed by the fact – mentioned in the Report - that kids use to get into butchers' shops to ask for small pieces of *fuet* (thin sausage) for free, and they get them as if these were caramels.

Both the Spanish and the Portuguese Reports deal with a case-study regarding pork meat transformation: in both areas the pig-slaughtering was an important cultural, social and economic event for the families and the communities. Nowadays the practice, though less important in economic terms, is still a cultural and anthropologic component of the rural society, involving the sharing of efforts and the fostering of solidarity within the community (this is true also in many Italian rural areas).

Besides the Mediterranean countries, other regions are characterised by a strong persistence of local food culture, both in the Eastern countries and in Northern Europe. It is important to mention, though, that they are regarded as exception, when compared to their surrounding regions and to the rest of the country.

In Valdres, Norway, typical food has a centuries long history. Two products are taken as case-studies: fermented trout and salami. Making half-fermented trout has been a food tradition since the 16th century or earlier, when people fished trout in local lakes to sell them to local consumers. Nowadays, Valdres is the areas where most of Norwegian half-fermented fish is produced. Similarly, cured and dried salami is a typical local production in the area. People use to make their

own salami with their family recipes, to eat it together with bread or with thin bread and beer. The varieties of practices and recipes is witnessed by the fact that Valdres salami can be made with elks, reindeers, sheep, goats and other meats, in different mixtures.

In a very different context, case-study regions with a strong food culture are found in the Central-Eastern countries, like Podhale in Poland and Hortobagy in Hungary. It is in particular the Podhale region which presents a strong heritage of local food culture preserved also under the communist regime, not least thanks to the traditional model of agriculture based on family farms. Because of the peculiarities of the post-communist transition (also shared, to some extent, with the Eastern Germany case) these contexts will be addressed in more detail in the next section.

3.1.3 The post-communist transition to rural development

As previously mentioned, post-communist countries present some peculiar features, with regard to local food, deserving special attention. In general they are characterised by the survival of a local food heritage, the main exception being Mecklenburg in Germany (already discussed as a context of export-oriented agro-industrial economy and “food desert”, but nonetheless characterised by a rich cultural and natural heritage).

Podhale in Poland and Hortobagy in Hungary, are reported to have strong local differentiation in food culture, although the combined effects of past communist planning and the present development of market economy, with its the rapid invasion of western lifestyles, threatens the survival of local differences. Both in the Polish and the Hungarian Report, a parallel is made between the effects of the communist planning on one side, and the rapid transition to capitalism and free market on the other. Under the communist regimes market channels were already centralised⁸. The shift to capitalism, in terms of standardization effect, only enhances this feature. As Gorlach (2005: 5) writes: *“collectivisation might be treated as an East European version of depeasantisation...major results of collectivisation have recalled the basic effects of farmerisation, namely: the declining labour force involved in agriculture as well as the declining number of farms as well as the rising average size of the farm”*.

The Polish NR for example states:

“This heritage of traditional and regional products was endangered in the communist period. In the realities of post-war shortages in food supplies, national authorities were promoting large scale production of cheap and accessible food. In the state controlled economy there was no place for the variety of local cuisine – the principle of socialist equality was valid also in the dimension of food” (PI NR: 4)

Despite the standardization promoted under communism, traditional family culinary culture and local food diversification survived. On this account, the transition to the market capitalism and, more generally, the “westernization” of life-styles appears as more “dangerous”:

“after the decades of isolation and empty shelves in the shops, the national market was flooded by the large amounts of foreign and relatively cheap food. The patterns of consumption in Polish society shifted towards the “western” victuals as it was a symbol of the new realities. The appearance of the international supermarkets chains that conquered the retail sector has additionally strengthened this trend. The rapid “westernization” of food habits turned into a negative influence on the local food production” (PI NR: 5).

⁸Poland, Hungary and the Czech republic are discussed by Gorlach (2005) as cases of three different models of collectivisation: the abandoned collectivisation (Poland), the Neo-Stalist model (Czechoslovakia) and Hungary as a special model by itself (quasi-market).

Food safety problems, increasing wealth and tourism are identified as important factors of change in the last few years. In this change, local food is becoming fashionable:

“almost in every Polish city there is a place when the local version of “peasant food” is being served. In general, the short food-supply chains are beginning to develop as more consumers are prepared to pay for the “original taste with local identity” (PI NR: 5).

In the Hungarian regions, transition to market economy set in motion similar processes. The Hungarian National Report, it is worth mentioning, underlines how the entrance of multinationals firms makes it difficult for small scale food producers and processors to survive in the market, even to establish local short supply chains.

“The input – output structure of agricultural production, in the context of marketing, has been changing quite slowly. The sales markets are still monopolized, as they were in the socialist area. Multinational firms replaced the state companies. The advent of multinational firms in Hungarian food purchase, supply and retail chains has not led to alternative changes” (Hu NR: 5).

Re-privatization led to a quite fragmented land ownership structure that hinders the evolution of an integrated local agro-food production system. Smaller farms, unable even to supply local food markets, produce for household consumption, while large farms (over 300 hectares) are oriented towards international, rather than local markets. Farm shop and short chains can usually be found only where tourist sectors creates a demand, like in Hortobágy, but not in Mezőtúr.

Production for self-consumption is widely diffused in the three countries. There is a sort of dualistic organisation: one or two commodities are produced for distant markets, while a wider range of goods are produced for self-consumption, enabling farmers to survive in periods of crisis. Self-consumption seem then to co-exist with a market dominated by big retailers, rather than small shops (like in Aspromonte, Italy or in the Plana de Utiel-Requena, Spain).

Furthermore all the Eastern countries, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, are experiencing a transition in the food consumption model. A first, important variable is price. The food price level, which used to be kept quite low under the communist regimes, increased after the transition, constantly and rapidly.

At the same time, the supply of diversified commodities increases in the food sector; cheaper products from other countries are imported and diets change with a decreasing consumption of animal derived food (meat, butter, milk) and increase of fresh vegetable and fruit.

With the economic growth and the development of tourism (and rural tourism), models of food consumption becomes more differentiated. The Hungarian Report emphasize the link between post-communist liberalization and the increasing demand for quality food occurred in the last 15 years. In the Polish Report it is stated that

“with the rise of wealth the society is spending more money on the more sophisticated forms of consumption. The shops with healthy, organic food and vegetarian restaurants are a good illustration of this tendency” (PI NR: 5).

Finally, it is important to notice that in the Czech and the Hungarian Reports emphasis has been put also on the role of self-subsistence farming (more than 1 million of households in the Czech Republic; 1,6 million households, 46-47 % of all households, in Hungary). Self consumption for

everyday diet⁹, is certainly due to economic reasons. Its consequences on the creation of local production-consumption chains cannot be undervalued, but it is important to note that they can act in two, to a certain extent contradictory, ways.

On the one side, the survival of self-consumption is the condition for the survival of local food habits, in terms of varieties and receipts, which could have been other ways abandoned in the decades of modernization. On the other, according to the Hungarian Report, it is exactly the tradition of self-consumption that hampered to a certain extent the creation of short food supply chains at the local level, as households produce on their own local products they need and rely upon supermarkets for external products, so that local markets become useless.

3.1.4 Post- industrial connotations in the transition to rural development

Rural tourism is important in the strengthening of local production, especially in the origin-of-food perspective. Here rural tourism becomes a complementary and synergic activity to the valorisation of regional product, while in Northern European regions it is considered more as a lever to encourage local community's interest on traditional food.

The interaction with tourists in hotels is a way for the promotion of the quality of local food in Skye:

“many of the hotels on Skye have both a national and international reputation (...) The Coordinator for SLHDA argues that the fact that the best restaurants on Skye use local produce encourages members of the public to do the same” (Sc NR: 10).

In the case of the Cahir Farmers' Market, there is a contrast of visions with regards to the role of tourism between local institutions (especially LEADER groups), on one side and local producers and social movements, on the other. While the formers believes that tourism may be beneficial, - since its main aim is to 'try to differentiate Tipperary foods' in order to capture the benefits for the local economy -, most of the Cahir stallholders, in contrast, aim at re-localising the food system even on the consumption side:

“they are not interested in selling to tourists or those passing through, but in building up a regular pattern of transactions with local residents and converting their “neighbours” to the idea that local food is better” (Ie NR: 28).

In the Po river delta area (Northern Italy) rural and agro-tourism, related to the typical environment of a large river delta (which is unique in Italy) and to bird-watching, is seen as an alternative source of income, not necessarily linked to the farming activity (rice production). The producers interest in this business is quite weak, although increasing. Some farmers are actually developing premises for agro-tourism in their farms, as a strategy of income differentiation; for others tourism activities are becoming their core-business, alongside or even before rice-growing. As argued in the Report:

“they organize the activities in a professional way, they widely modify the timetable of their work in order to combine the traditional tasks in the fields with guests accommodation “.

These can be considered as “pragmatic” and business-oriented farmers. There is also a group of farmers for whom agro-tourism acquires a more symbolic value. In these cases, through agro-tourism, farmers aim at highlighting the cultural value of their work within the agricultural milieu: agro-tourism hospitality is done without a great entrepreneurial effort and it is reserved more for friends, colleagues and special people.

⁹ In Hungary it is reported that about one third of population are ‘traditional’ food consumers. They eat traditional food made out of self-grown and self-produced goods. That obviously very different in socio-economical terms form the self-consumption as a leisure activity, witnessed in current times in the Czech case.

In the origin-of-food perspective, where economic sustainability is considered essential in order to guarantee the social sustainability of local community, tourism is an integral part of the strategy of rural development. Tourism is important both, for generating income to local food producers and for strengthening the synergies between local food production and other economic activities in the rural area.

Tourism is an important source of income for areas like Lake Plastiras in Greece, Podhale in Poland, Aspromonte in Southern Italy, Oppland in Norway and Utiel-Requena in Spain.

While not traditionally a tourist area, being on the way between Madrid and the Spanish east coast, Utiel and Requena have been places where passing travellers stopped, for the reputation of their cuisine. When the construction of a new highway, passing close by Requena, was started, local producers were preoccupied to lose their customers. In 1992, the Requena Sausage Fair was conceived exactly to contrast that threat.

In the last decade, Requena gained the designation as ‘Historical Monumental Site’, under state legislation. This brought to a change of the typology of tourists visiting the area. Now visitors are not only people passing by in their way to or from Madrid, but Spanish and foreigners who go specifically to the town and spend more days there, visiting the place.

Requena’s sausages Fair has been a valid tool for the generation of synergies in the local economy and the involvement of other local actors in the rural development strategy, at institutional and social level. Indeed, many different economic actors benefit from the flow of people to the Fair: bars and restaurants, shops, cellars. Among them, wine producers and sellers benefit most, since wine is a complementary product to the sausages, and then is largely consumed during the Fair.

Promoted by a specific association, the “Association of the Utiel-Requena D.O. Wine Route”, which includes more than 20 wine producers, public development agencies, restaurants, hotels and other accommodation premises, museums and artisan firms, the Utiel-Requena D.O. Wine Route, is an other project aiming at the valorisation of the wine culture existing in the area.

Valdres, in Norway, provides a different example of local food culture revalorisation, in which tourism is important. The main market for local food products is constituted by cottage-tourism. There are about 15 thousands cottages in Valdres, mainly owned by people from the area around the capital, Oslo. The Report underlines the interest of the cottage owners on local food:

“these people, which usually are quite well off, spend more and more time at their cottage. They are very conscious about local food and local food traditions” (Nw NR: 9).

The Sarimner fair and the Fermentend fish festival in Valdres are other examples of direct connections between food producers and entrepreneurs of the tourist sector.

In Southern Italy, the Qualiter wine cooperative producing Palizzi IGT wine, belong to a network of actors promoting trekking in Aspromonte (described in WP7). Trekkers arriving at the village may of course taste and buy Palizzi wine.

San Giorgio Olive Oil Firm is involved in various local fairs and events. The firm itself promotes the so-called “Extra virgin olive oil days”, where olive oil producers and consumers gathers to attend meetings, practical demonstrations of operations connected to olive cultivation and transformation and taste events. One day festival is also organised in the village of San Giorgio. The event gathers olive-oil representative associations, development agencies, the University of Reggio Calabria, technical associations, tourist and gastronomic entrepreneurs.

Other examples come from the Eastern countries’ Reports. Short supply chains based on tourism are well described in the Hungarian case, when the tourist area of Hortobágy is compared

with the non-tourist Mezőtúr. Usually farm shops and restaurants offering traditional dishes can be found only in Hortobágy, where tourism is important, but not in Mezőtúr.

In Podhale region, in Poland, the number of folk style restaurants serving regional cuisine has increased notably only after the tourism development of the area. The tourist demand for food with a strong local identity has created and strengthened short food supply chains in Podhale. Furthermore the Oscypek cheese case study, that will be analysed in a next section, is a good illustration of the economic possibilities opened up to local food by tourism development.

3.2. Alternative strategies for the re-localisation of food

In the analysis of the NR (National reports) we find three different pathways to re-localisation of food, each connected to a different initial context (Fig.1). Besides the two perspectives that we have delineated in the theoretical framework - the “re-localisation” and the “origin-of-food” perspectives - a third one emerges from the case-studies: the organic pathway.

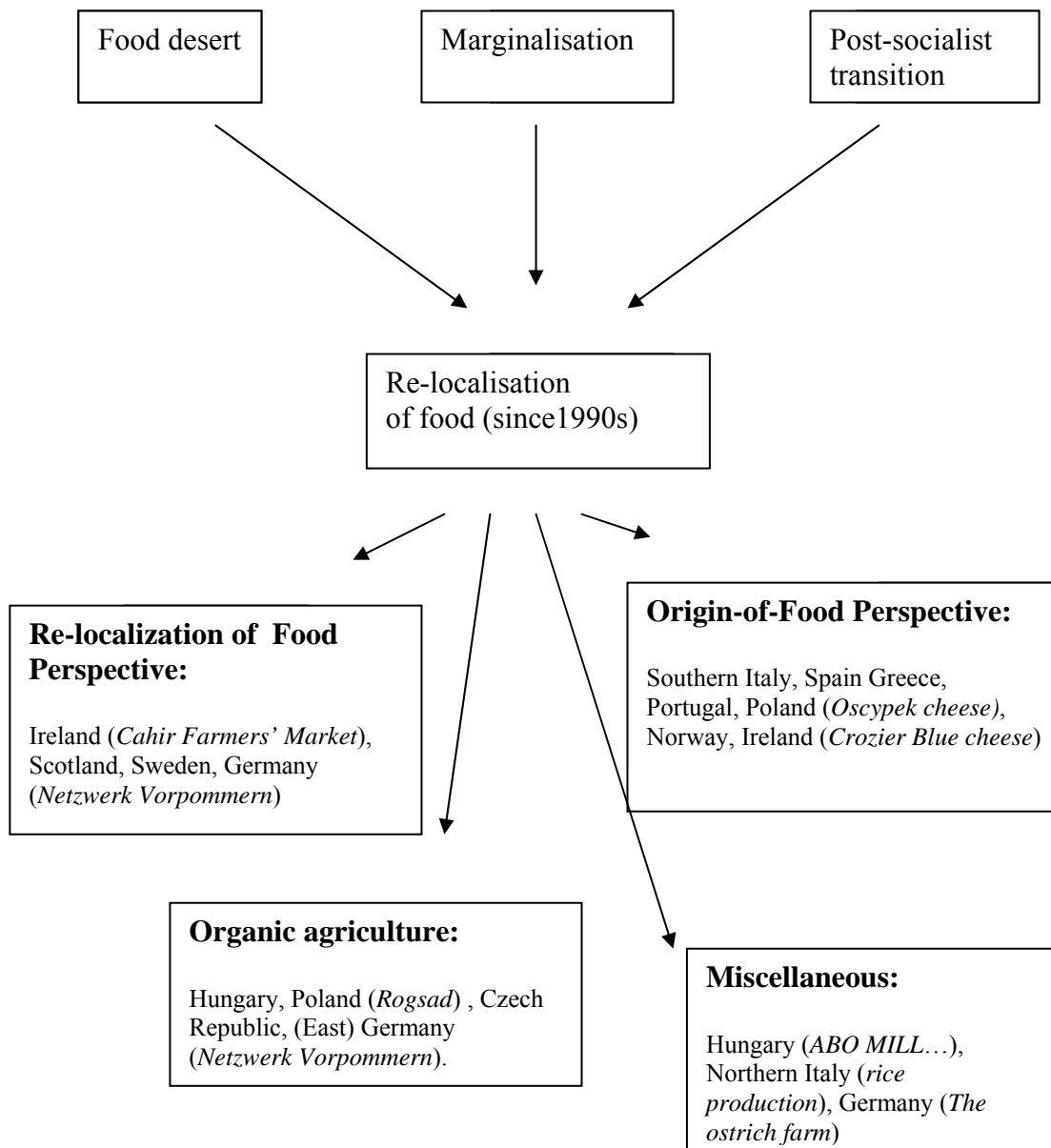
The ‘re-localisation’ perspective is best typified by the case-studies from Ireland, Scotland and Sweden, but also by the “Netzwerk Vorpommern” initiative in (East) Germany. These are the countries whose agrofood system and local food market have been characterised respectively as “export-oriented” and “food desert”.

The origin-of-food perspective is represented by the case studies of the Mediterranean countries (Spain, Portugal, Greece and (Southern) Italy), but also of Norway (all case studies) and Poland (the Oscypek cheese). In these countries or regions a local food culture has, for various and different reasons, persisted, in the context of a traditional / marginal agro-food system, characterised by the presence of small farms.

It is interesting to note that all CEECs WP6 National Reports have presented as case studies of local food production experiences of organic agriculture. That imposes us to insert this as a pathway to the re-localisation of food, even if we did not consider it in the theoretical framework. Actually, as we say in the second section, the re-localisation perspective has developed as a critique to the recent developments of the organic movement, that led many authors to speak of its ‘conventionalisation’ (Guthman 2003), i.e. the appropriation of its values and benefits by the conventional food system. The CEECs WP6 NRs contest the vision of conventionalisation and in their case studies give to organic farming an important meaning in the construction of an alternative food system in their countries.

The one presented in the next sections is, of course, a rough classification, since, as it will be evident, some cases respond to different strategies and not always one of them is dominating over the others. Some case studies are, indeed, quite peculiar and resist any effort of classification in any of the identified perspectives nor do they respond to any other kind of project for the re-localisation of food. We have grouped them as ‘miscellaneous’. In the next sections, each case study is located and illustrated in one of these pathways.

Fig. 1 - Pathways to re-localisation of food



3.2.2. The ‘re-localisation’ perspective

TAB 1. Re-localisation of food Perspective (Promoting local production & local consumption / short supply chains)
Ireland <i>Cahir Farmers’ Market</i>
Scotland <i>Skye and Lochalsh Horticultural Development Association (SLHDA)</i> <i>Isle of Skye Seafood (IOSS)</i>
Sweden <i>Eldrimner (a rural network for small-scale refinement of agricultural products to support small scale food production locally and ecologically embedded).</i>
Germany <i>Netzwerk Vorpommern (Voluntary association of political active citizens-consumers of organic food aiming at establishing a local market for organic food)</i>
(No case-studies respond to this typology in Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Norway)

The analysis of this perspective of rural development is based on evidences recorded in four case-study, in particular the Cahir Farmers’ Market (Ireland), Skye and Lochalsh Horticultural Development Association (SLHDA, Scotland), Eldrimner¹⁰ (Sweden) and Netzwerk Vorpommern (Germany) (See the Appendix, for a synthesis of the cases) .

Regardless the internal differences, the main aim of the initiatives, in all the case studies here considered, is the promotion of re-localization of food production – consumption networks. More explicitly, all the projects aim at promoting the local consumption of locally produced food. This objective entails a re-construction of the local short supply chains on one side, and some peculiar knowledge dynamics (addressed on section 4), on the other.

In the following part we analyse some of the similarities of the case-studies under consideration, that clearly indicates a common path to re-localisation of food.

1. Relatively disadvantaged areas

As illustrated in the section 3.1.1, all the research areas share a context of agro-industrial model of development, with export-oriented agriculture and a local food market dominated by the supermarkets. They are also relatively disadvantaged areas (Skye, Mecklenburg, Jämtland) or are undertaking a process of agricultural re-structuring after a crisis (Tipperary), characterised by low

¹⁰ The name ”Eldrimner” is derived from old Nordic mythology: “Eldrimner” is the cooking pot in which the pig "Särimner" was prepared as food. Särimner had the special quality to resurrect every time it has been consumed. Therefore, the Asa-gods and the humans could always have food for a feast in Valhalla. The name eldrimner is used for the project, that of särimner for the annual fair that the project is organizing (Sw NR: footnote 1).

population density, and the presence of natural and landscape resources that is or may be the base for a local tourist sector. Land tenure patterns are generally marked by large average farms' size, with the partial exception of a mountain island like Skye.

2. *Social movements' and civil society's role*

The influence of *social movements* and the presence of civil society associations aiming at valorising the (often neglected) local dimension of development is very strong and important.

According to the Swedish report, the Eldrimner project has profited from and is inspired by the objectives and ideas of the new rural movements of the 1980s and 1990s. Since a long time, Jämtland has been characterized by a strong civil society. It is here that in the 1980s the *local development movements* became more influential: this movement (now represented by the so-called "Popular Movement Council") still plays a relevant role, although changed its organisational forms and, to a certain extent, its main aims in reaction to the opening of rural areas to global environments and to the accession to EU. What characterizes these movements is that "*they are more or less experimenting with pioneering forms of a new sustainable local economy and society as in projects of organic farming, eco-village movements or LETS-projects: the rural movements develop from traditional forms of rural economy and livelihood*" (Sw NR: 4).

Eldrimner project can be seen as a re-proposition of these movements, re-structured and re-oriented to specific purposes like "*networking, co-operation, mobilisation of local people, revitalisation of local and traditional knowledge and capacity building*" according to the new socio-economic context, but following the path of small scale and artisan food production and refinement.

Similarly Tipperary was one of the heartlands of the early co-operative movement (1890s to 1920s) in Ireland. This movement was primarily based around dairy farmers, and sought both to increase their market strength and to upgrade and modernize their production techniques. Again we face a region where traditions of local common action are recognizable, and are at the base of the social fabric upon which many local initiatives arise. After being set up under the auspices of the Irish Countrywomen's Association in the first half of last century, Country Markets used to be the most popular type of local markets, but they were never widely diffused in the territory. Since few years they are somewhat marginalised by the attention given to the burgeoning Farmers' Markets movement, to which Chair's Farmers' Market belongs. This movement, which came from an idea borrowed from Britain, started in the mid-1990s and has increased rapidly particularly since 2002. Today between 80 to 100 of these markets may be found across Ireland. The Cahir Development Association, which promoted the Cahir's Market, is also an example of civil society self-organization. The Association has been fundamental in finding a suitable site and in persuading the County Council to provide water and electricity.

In Skye, the Food Link Group (whose associated project is the Food Link Van) plays a key role in maintaining a local market for local produce. The Food Link Group (FLG) is a voluntary association with an interest in local produce (meat, fish, dairy, vegetables), including producers and consumers (local businesses, chefs, citizens). Skye is a very large and scarcely populated island so that many believed that a local market selling local products was impossible to organise, because of scale dis-economies. The idea for the Food Link Van was promoted by the Soil Association, the most representative organic farming association in the UK, starting from the observation that producers were too far from their local markets. Currently the Food Link Van is collecting and selling a wide range of local products. A number of the SLDHA members are also members of the Food Link Group and use the van to transport their produce. The van also collects scallops from

local fishing boats (who also sell part of their scallops to IOSS), offering them the possibility of a diversification of the market channels.

There is a similarity with the German case of Netzwerk Vorpommern. Also this network is a spin-off of the organic movement, as it was promoted by a group of highly committed organic consumers, willing to provide local market channels for the organic producers of the area.

3. Local institutions involvement

Alongside the presence of a vibrant civil society, (and probably linked to it), most of these cases show an early involvement of local institutions, that in many cases promoted and funded the initiatives, or at least gave support and advice to the civil society's promoters. This happens sometimes in contrast with the general national policies, like in Scotland, where national policy is more focused on productivity and efficiency.

In the case of SLDHA, in addition to the growers, the Highland Council and the local enterprise company (Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise or SALE) are involved in the local food initiative considered in the case study (SLHDA). As mentioned in the case-study description, initial funding came through SALE. The Highlands Council has been also important because its economic development officer played an important role in the establishment of the grower network.

The Tipperary County Council has been supportive to the project for establishing the Cahir Farmers' Market, supplying a waste collection and disposal system free of charge.

The Eldrimner project in Jämtland was supported both, by the national government, through the Swedish rural development program and the regional administration ("*Länsstyrelsen*") and the County Council ("*Jämtlands läns Landsting*"), who are responsible for the initiative.

4. Self-governance

These initiatives tend to be characterized by a high degree of decentralized governance, where formal and informal rules are managed by the stakeholders themselves.

A typical case is Cahir Market. Despite the involvement of the local County Council, once set up, the management responsibility for the initiative was left to a committee of stallholders, which is managing the market through some formal and informal rules. These rules are wide-ranging, establishing what can be sold, who can sell, and from what distance products can come to be included for sale. Notwithstanding these rules, a climate of informality and self-regulation is stressed

"Selling food 'locally' is also a way of disengaging from national and transnational state bureaucratic controls" (Ir NR:18).

Despite the existence of a stallholders' committee, a strong vein of informal self-regulation appears in the accounts of stallholders about how the market is organised: stallholders who are generally committed to the task of selling local products, can nonetheless decide to integrate them with extra-local items for certain kind of products or in certain period of the year.

Trading practices themselves appear quite informal: lists of prices are not displayed - if kept at all, they are for the convenience of the stallholders, in case one needs to stand in for another for a short period of time - and weights and measures are not always guaranteed.

SLDHA (Skye) is another example of self-managed organization: the network is predominantly led by the growers themselves, who serve on the committee, grow and sell their own produce, and drive forward new projects and ideas in order to secure further funding.

5. Localness

We have seen the importance of localness, as a character of the initiatives at various level: production, consumption, market). The case-studies stress the importance of “localness” and the perception that the stakeholders themselves have about this issue. There is a *more or less tacit understandings of what the market is for (to sell 'local' food, 'quality' food, to restore personal relations between producers and customers, etc.)*” (Ir NR: 10).

It is important to stress, though, that in this perspective the “local” character of food is not regarded as a *denomination* to put on a label, for the sake of promoting local food out of the region: it is a character of the whole supply chain.

Food re-localisation is a general aim of Farmers’ Markets, which are “*promoted as an easy and cheap way for small artisan business to get off ground, and indeed for producers/growers to cut out the middleman and regain power and control over their product. In contrast to the globalised food system, a trust oriented producer-consumer link is re-established, while seasonality, local production, quality and taste are prioritised. Food shopping as a pleasurable experience is also promoted*” (Moore 2004: 6-7)

Actually, the rules governing Cahir’s Market establish both “localness” of products and producers, and some degree of 'natural embeddedness' of the product, The regulation is quite detailed: products cannot travel more than 30 miles to get to the market, and producer must have some direct connection with the production process, either as grower or as a craft food processor.

Cahir stallholders are aware and committed to strengthen the “localness of their produce: *“what they are about is re-localising the food system, even if there is some ambiguity around what to define as 'local': they are not interested in selling to tourists or those passing through, but in building up a regular pattern of transactions with local residents and converting their 'neighbours' to the idea that local food is better food*” (Ir NR: 28)

Netzwerk Vorpommern in itself, and as component of a wider range of initiatives, aims at valorising the localness of products and of consumption, strengthening relationships between local producers and consumers by establishing a small local market for environmental-conscious consumers. The efforts of the network resulted in a few years in the creation of an organic food shop (*Keimblatt*), and of a green market with several other producers. Later on a direct distribution to consumer households completed the range of services.

In the SLHDA (Skye) and Eldrimmer cases, ‘localness’ is promoted from the supply side of the network: it is necessary to re-create or re-enforce a local expertise for a diversified provision of food in order to re-create the condition for a local food market / network.

In the Eldrimmer case, the promotion of courses for small scale refinement of local products, the establishment of dedicated premises and the advice support for local farmers are all actions strengthening the local food producers, in a ‘localness’ perspective

Similarly the *SLHDA* was set up to demonstrate that horticulture could work on Skye. Once established the growers association is inserted in a series of initiatives that aim at strengthening the re-localisation of food: the Food Link Group and the Food Link Van, which play a key role in maintaining a local market for local produce; as well as a project aiming at encouraging local schools to buy local food, and even to grow their own food, a project promoted by the same SLHDA committee. The SLHDA has also a stall in the Portree farmers market, staffed by the growers themselves.

6. Trust

The importance of trust between producers and consumers, built upon proximity and face-to-face interaction is emphasized in the National Reports, especially in the Cahir Farmers' Market and the SLDHA network. In both cases, the establishment of a local market and personal interaction between sellers and buyers create the conditions for a shared trust. The domestic convention arise as one of the most reliable mechanism of coordination for the stakeholders. Selling 'quality' food without certification (and the connected institutional controls) means that customers depend strongly on the trust in the seller, in order to believe that the food is in fact produced the way they say it is. *"If you trust me that I am doing, what I am saying, then buy the stuff, and if you don't then that is fine with me, that is your prerogative to do whatever you want to do"* (Stallholder at Cahir Market, Ir NR: 20)

As argued in the Scottish Report,

"by knowing which grower has produced certain foods, consumers are able to make their own decisions around the quality of certain varieties and the quality of certain growers. Quality is thus ensured within local markets through social interaction, rather than through regulation" (Sc NR: 11)

It is interesting that a number of Cahir's stallholders are "post-organic". This means that they use organic methods, have often learnt their production skills through organic networks and may even have been certified organic producers at an earlier stage, but they do not certified their products anymore. Also the Scottish Report argues that consumers in Skye consider the "local" more important than the "organic" as a quality product's attribute. In the Conventions Theory language, these producers and consumers moved from an industrial / civic (based on standards and institutional controls) to a domestic / civic convention (based on trust) as a common platform for their transactions.

The scarce interest on certification (which is, on the contrary, important in most of the initiatives belonging to the "origin-of-food perspective) is a trend whose importance goes beyond the cases in question, at least in Ireland:

"This is a growing phenomenon in Ireland; it appears to arise in part from an ideological rejection of certification itself, as something which encourages 'non-local' food consumption, and in part because the costs of maintaining certification are too high for direct sellers of food to sustain" (Ir NR: 18)

In this case, the certification is seen not only as less relevant than localness (personal interaction and trust), but somehow in contrast with it.

Even in the Netzwerk Vorpommern case-study, an initiative promoted by organic consumers as a local outlet for organic products, the "organic" is considered important, but not detached from the "local" character of the products. It is interesting to note that in the same area the creation of an alternative network promoted by the producers failed, despite a phase of intensive negotiations and coordination. The members had agreed on several questions regarding investment, management and logistics, price formation and quality control. Nevertheless, in the end the stronger partners felt that benefits were not enough to sign the contracts. *"Asymmetrical power relations in the network, distrust and the unwillingness to give away decision power were reasons for the failure of this initiative"* (Ger NR: 19).

7. *Social embeddedness of markets*

The Irish and Scottish case-studies reveal another aspect of the re-localization of the food chains, that is related and in some way complementary to the role of trust in the local markets.

Markets are socially embedded: are places where consumers can meet the producers, talk to them directly and exchange information, where it become possible to restore personal relations between producers and customers and to create a friendly, socially inclusive atmosphere.

An example of this emphasis is provided by a privileged witness: Jimmy, a vegetable grower and trader who is also a stallholder at the Cahir Farmer' Market, gives a personal feedback about this peculiar atmosphere that is worth quoting. He is aware that this friendly environment is not only valuable in itself, but also as a lever for further local development.

“ people were coming there and stopping and talking in little groups, and that's something that's totally missing when you go to supermarkets or anything like that (...) Nobody is in a hurry out there, they are all chatting away, you know that's something in a rural area that you need, and it's from, it's there that development begins” (Ir NR: 21)

When asked about the difference between buying food at Farmer's market and in large conventional retailers, customers emphasised the friendlier and more relaxed atmosphere of the market, underlining the fact that the producers take time to talk to them, to explain them the characteristics of the produce or to give cooking hints.

The SLHDA (Scotland) has a market stall in Portree, which is staffed by the growers themselves. This place has become a forum in which local people can discuss with growers about different varieties of horticultural products, about the quality of the produce, and the ways to cook them. The SLHDA coordinator underlines that at the market *“buying food becomes a social occasion, rather than a faceless interaction”* (Sc NR: 10).

Furthermore, at Cahir FM stallholders co-operate with each other, with little sense of competition. They share their experiences with other Farmers Markets (Kilkenny FM, in an adjacent county) and occasionally sell the produce of other smaller producers, without any charge. Sometimes they are repaid through a sort of barter relationship.

8. *Understandings of quality*

Some similar understandings of quality, if not a common one, can be found in the case-studies. Each initiative aims at valorising the quality of the food products as predominantly based on its “local” character. This happens in the SLHDA, the Cahir Farmer's Market, as well as for the products addressed by Eldrimner project.

As we have seen before, it is not so much the ecological content as certified by the usual labels that matters. Quality is perceived as freshness, taste and flavour, reliability, and the localness is a character that can guarantee these attributes. As argued by the stallholder Jimmy, in the Irish Report *“ your lettuces are fresher, your salad crops are fresher, your tomatoes (...) say the flavour of those tomatoes is very, very different to the flavours from the tomatoes you buy in the supermarket* (Ir NR: 19).

3.2.3. *The origin-of-food perspective*

TAB 2. Origin-of-Food Perspective (Regional speciality products, consumed or not locally)
Portugal <i>Barrancos Cured Ham PDO</i> certified <i>Barrancos Cured Ham</i> Not certified
Spain Utiel-Requena PDO wine <i>Requena sausages Protected Geographic Indication</i>
Greece <i>Mavro Messenikola wine production</i> “Quality Wine Produced in Specific Region” (VQPRD) <i>Nemea wine production</i> (VQPRD)
Italy – South The construction of the “ <i>Aspromonte National Park Product</i> ” certification Fratelli Fazari Olive Oil Firm Palizzi Wine IGT Canolo local economy
Poland: <i>Oscypek cheese</i>
Norway <i>Valdres rakfisk brand</i> (traditional fermented fish) <i>Kurv frå Valdres BA</i> (traditional salami)
Ireland <i>EU-certified Irish (IE.1916EC) Crozier Blue cheese</i> ¹¹
(No case-studies respond to this typology in Czech Republic, Hungary, Scotland, Sweden, Germany)

In many initiatives presented in the NRs, food re-localisation is analysed in the context of the origin-of-food perspective: not only in the Mediterranean countries, but also in Poland and Norway. ‘Place’ here matters not only as ‘space’: there is a *tradition* of local food, that goes behind in time, and, though it may be at different stage of dis-activation and marginalisation, was never completely extinct. Food is not only fuel, not only an occasion for sociability, but a strong element of local identity and culture.

¹¹ The Crozier Blue Cheese case, presented in the Irish Report is very peculiar: the valorisation of tradition clearly appears there a pretext, a marketing gloss. The family enterprise is not locally embedded and not part of a local food system. It has been set up by two brothers, nephews of the Grubb brothers, who in 1993 started the production of Cashel Blue cheese, the first blue cheese to be produced in Ireland. While Cashel Blue and Crozier Blue Cheese are marketed as ‘local’, i.e. Tipperary products, it is doubtful the extent to which the producers family use traditional knowledge (which they claim to do)” (Ir NR: 36-40). For all these reasons, we will not consider this case in the analysis of the ‘origin-of-food’ perspective. It would be interesting to consider this, as well some of the cases grouped as miscellaneous, as cases of ‘invention of a tradition’, but information available is not enough to conduct an analysis in this direction.

“*Preparing half-fermented trout has been a food tradition since the 16th century or earlier, where the producers fished trout in local lakes*” in Norway (Nw NR: 9).

“*[The Oscypek cheese] is an important part of shepherds tradition with a history going back to XV century*” (Pl NR:6).

“*The Utiel-Requena area has a long tradition in the production of wine that dates from the prehistoric times*” (Sp NR: 9).

“*The Alentejo-breed pig raised in an extensive montado – montanheira system has constituted the basic type of food for local people over the centuries due to the range of products supplied and the ease of preservation*” (Pt NR: 12).

The new European policies of rural development and valorisation of food quality, consolidated after the regulation 92/2081/CE (now regulation 2006/510), are seen as a chance for these resources. The valorisation of the regional food implies the strengthening of local markets and the access to distant markets, through the construction of a ‘culture economy’ (Ray 1998).

Cases may be analysed with reference to different variables. First of all the bio-characterisation of food is important. We deal here with product that need some transformation and elaboration: wine, cheese, ham and salami, olive oil and fermented fish (Tab 3). Not only agriculture, but also transformation techniques are at stake. Transformation makes agricultural products “durable” and “transportable” (Friedman 1993), then, in the past, apt to be kept and consumed all year long, and today able to ‘travel to distant markets’.

Tab. 3 – Origin-of-food case studies: products analysed

Products	Countries - Case-studies
<i>Wine</i>	Greece Spain Italy
<i>Oil</i>	Italy
<i>Cheese</i>	Poland Ireland
<i>Bacon / sausages / salami</i>	Spain Portugal: <i>Barrancos Cured Ham PDO</i> certified / not certified Norway
<i>Fish</i>	Norway
<i>Bread</i>	Italy
<i>Others</i>	‘Aspromonte National Park Product’ certification

Many factors are important in the construction of the origin-of-food perspective and need to be taken into account in the analysis: specificity of the resources, the role of institutions and key actors, definition of quality, access to markets, characteristics of the local market and relation to the extra-local markets, appropriation of the benefits and certification.

1. *Specificity of the resources*

The specificity of the resources is linked both, to their biological nature and the geographical context as well as to the community or society food culture rooted in a long historical tradition (i.e. “*particular geographical environment with its inherent natural and human factors*”, according to the regulation 92/2081, art.2). Materially, the specificity of the product is incorporated into the local varieties, species, the local practices and processes.

The Bobal, the Agiorgitiko, the Nerello grapes are local vines varieties distinctive of each cultivation area (Utiel-Requena, Nemea and Aspromonte). The same is true for Ottobratica and Sinopolese olive trees cultivars (Aspromonte). Alentejo-breed pig is specific to a region. At the same time, the ways in which the fermented fish in Valdres, the Oscypek cheese in Podhale or the Requena sausage are prepared rely on intangible specific resources, i.e. knowledge and practices of each area. The presence and valorisation of a peculiar variety or breed is always associated to the presence of traditional / tacit knowledge about its qualities and cultivation methods.

The case of the construction of “Aspromonte National Park product” certification (SIIt NR) is an empirical detailed illustration of the importance of resource specificities. Although there are also requirements regarding environment and ecological characteristics, the production protocols are focused on the “typical-ness”, based on “territoriality” (how much a product is exclusive of Aspromonte or it is shared with other areas, surrounding or distant) and “traditionality” (how far away in the past are the product/processes rooted). Attention is given to the safeguard of these products, monitoring whether they are largely diffused or rather on the verge of extinction.

2. *Role of institutions and key actors*

Key actors in these initiatives are linked to institutions, firms association or single entrepreneurs, rather than social movements.

Local institutions or development agencies-led projects are: “Kurv frå Valdres BA” and Valdres Rakfisk BA network in Norway, the first one promoted by Valdres Matforum and the other one by Valdres Næringsutvikling; the oscypek “neo-traditional” network in Poland, Requena sausages PGI in Spain, Mavro Messenikola and Nemea wine production VQPRD in Greece, Aspromonte National Park certification on Southern Italy. In all of them a territorial strategy of integrated rural development (mainly agriculture + tourism) is quite evident.

The Fazari Brothers olive oil firm (San Giorgio Morgeto, Italy) pursue a more business-oriented entrepreneurial strategies, even if the emphasis on the link to the territory as a factor of valorisation of the product is quite strong.

In the Barrancos *cured ham* PDO case, promoter of the initiative is an expert from the University of Evora. In the Utiel-Requena D.O. wine an important role is played by the experts of the “*Escuela de Viticultura y Enología de Requena*” (School of Viticulture and Oenology). In both cases the heavy influence of external actors leads to expropriation of control on the production process from local producers.

The only exception is the Palizzi IGT wine case, where the initiative is promoted by a local actor in someway linked to the social network of rural sustainable development associations.

Projects reflect the role of different actors: in general local government institutions and associations have a perspective of integrated territorial development and see the valorisation of local food as an opportunity for the area. A more sector or product-oriented strategy is evident in the valorisation of the extra-virgin olive oil, in Aspromonte, promoted by a private firm. But also in

this case, there is an effort toward building a network of local actors (universities, local government agencies) and involving local population through social initiative (the oil days).

Though in some cases the initial promoter maybe a single actor, the valorization of local specificity and tradition is a collective endeavor that needs co-ordination from many different actors, sometimes with different objective, different interests and values. Conflicts may always originate and the success of the initiatives may depend on the capacity to negotiate a solution to them.

3. *Quality*

Concept of quality is rooted on the provenance of the food, and on the link with the territory, being these attributes certified or not.

The fact that a certain food is perceived as ‘from the territory’ is regarded as the dominant character in most of the cases, like Oscypek cheese, the Barrancos ham, the Greek wines, the Spanish wines and sausages, Aspromonte certified products. ‘From the territory’ means something more than ‘local’: it is not only that it was produced in the same or in a nearby place, but that it belong to the tradition of that place. Tradition includes many elements and characteristics of the product and the process.

The importance of these elements is evident in many case-studies, but here we like to recall the emphasis given to codification of taste and flavour in the *Barrancos cured ham* PDO (Portugal):

“dried and matured naturally, not smoked. The colour of the carved meat varies from a characteristic pink to reddish-purple, with fat present in the flesh. Its meat has an agreeable, smooth or delicate taste, a slightly salty, somewhat spicy flavour, and the texture is not very fibrous, but very tender and succulent; the fat appears bright pearl-white and is aromatic” (Pt NR: 20)

Details regarding the hindquarters of the animal, the way in which they should be cut, and the final format, are also regulated. It is interesting to note that in a previous version of this regulation there was even major emphasis on the taste

“(...) a pleasant, sharp smell, sui generis, and a slightly salty, spicy flavour (...)”(Pt NR: 20)

In the origin-of-food perspective, specificities of *quality are negotiated* between actors: saltiness in the *Barrancos cured ham* PDO, paprika in the case of Requena sausages (Spain),

“Producers must explain in official tasting events that, for example, it is the high use of paprika, that tasters are criticising, what characterises these products” (Sp NR: 20).

Quality is negotiated in the Palizzi IGT wine (Italy), among experts and local producers, who do not agree on what is a good wine; in the production of extra-virgin olive oil, among the old and the new generation, who want to change techniques of production in order to be able to control the acidity of the product. Traditional knowledge, blocked in its development by the massification of production in the agro-industrial era, as the Greek National report argues, has to negotiate with scientific knowledge on variables such as acidity, temperature, days of fermentation, etc.

While there is an underlining interest in the ‘organic’ dimension of quality, this is given secondary importance relative to the ‘tradition’ dimension: in some cases it is a basic requirement,

more than a distinctive quality. In others it may be a not very important option. In the Utiel – Requena region (Spain), the demand for organic wine is not so high to justify the increased costs:

“consumers have an image of wine as a “respectful and traditional product”, and organic production is not regarded so much as a necessity as it could occur with other type of products or in other more polluted European areas” (Sp NR: 17).

4. Markets, strategies of rural development and certification

Traditional food is first of all food that was *produced and consumed locally*, which gave origin to the specific local food culture. Today valorisation of local traditional food is seen as a possible strategy of rural development, especially for marginal areas. According to characterisation of consumers and markets we can differentiate among different strategies, as described / represented in the WP case studies (Tab. 4). Each of them may be complemented / accompanied by some of the others:

Tab. 4 – Consumers, market and strategies of rural development in the origin-of-food perspective

Consumers / Markets	<i>RD Strategy</i>	<i>Case-studies</i>
<i>Local / Local</i>	Territorial development through valorisation of regional food networks and integrated rural development strategies.	Canolo local economy (S. Italy) Palizzi IGT wine (S. Italy) Requena sausages (Spain) Not-certified Barrancos Cured Ham (Portugal) Not certified wine networks in Greece The Hungarian baker Highlanders’ Oscypek cheese (Poland) Aspromonte certification (S. Italy)
<i>Distant / Local</i>	Rural tourism, as an important component of an integrated strategy of RD	Oscypek cheese – 1 st and 3 rd networks (Poland) Palizzi IGT wine (S. Italy) Aspromonte certification (S. Italy) Requena Fair
<i>Local / Distant</i>	Migrants market (as an important component of the strengthening of local markets)	Mavro Messenikola VQPRD (Greece) Canolo bread (S. Italy) Utiel and Requena (Spain)
<i>Distant / Distant</i>	Product / Sectoral strategies of RD <i>Certification</i> as an instrument for the access to differentiated markets	Oscypek cheese – 2 st / 3 rd networks (Poland) Certified Barrancos Cured Ham (Portugal) Utiel-Requena D.O. wine (Spain) Mavro Messenikola VQPRD (Greece) Nemea VQPRD (Greece) Kurv frå Valdres BA (Norway) Valdres rakfisk brand (Norway) Extra-virgin olive oil (S. Italy)

Local food production networks are just there: they may be more or less dynamic, they may be marginal and residual, but they only need to be strengthened and valorised, not be re-built from nothing, like in the first perspective.

Not always the valorisation of local specificities implies the certification of provenance. Certification is not so important when products are sold to local consumers in local markets, as “highly proximate ... consumers ... have good knowledge and experience of the product and share the territorial and cultural heritage of the producers” (Sylvander 2004, quoted in sect. 2.3).

Not all the food products traditionally consumed by the people of the Lower Alentejo are currently certified and even those that have been certified are not always marketed as such. In the case of some products, the economic advantage that may result from certification is not guaranteed to producers, either because in the markets in which they are sold – local or even national markets – there is no requirement for such certification, or because markets for high-quality products are very small, leading to rapid saturation and exclusiveness, which impedes the development of the industry (Pt NR: 9).

While many rural communities are still menaced by depopulation, rural tourism is seen as a complementary resource to the valorisation of local food. Rural tourism is a particular way of enlarging local market, without the need for products to travel. It is rather the consumer-tourist who travels, gaining access to the local market and local culture. As in the ‘local food perspective’, the direct face-to-face interaction (in farmers’ markets, corner shops, local restaurants and agro-tourisms, direct on farm or on-the-road selling, festivals and fairs) with the tourist, a consumer that may be socially and culturally ‘distant’, is fundamental in creating a link with the local food culture.

Most of the research areas are interested by tourist flows, which constitute a relevant source of income for local communities. This is the case of Lake Plastiras in Greece, Hortobagy in Hungary¹², Podhale in Poland, Aspromonte in Southern Italy, Utiel-Requena in Spain and Oppland in Norway.

The history of the Requena Fair (Requena sausage case, in Sp NR) is a good illustration of how tourism can be used to strengthen a local traditional food production system (see also section 3.1.4). Valdres in Norway provides an other, different, example: 15 thousands cottages, mainly owned by people from the area around the capital, Oslo, offer a good outlet to local food. The Report underline the reflexive interest of cottage-tourists on local food:

“these people, which usually are quite well off, spend more and more time at their cottage. They are very conscious about local food and local food traditions” (Nw NR: 8).

In Southern Italy, the Qualiter wine cooperative is integrated in a trekking network that brings a stable flux of tourists in Palizzi, where the winery is established (described in WP7).

Two complementary effects are achieved in these cases: a virtuous circle is established between local food quality and the reputation of the territory; the tourist-consumers bring knowledge and memories of the product far away, where new markets may arise (see the Oscypek case, Poland, network 2).

A different form of extension of local markets is through migrants (‘local consumers in distant markets’). For them local products represent a link with their original culture. Canolo (Aspromonte, Italy) rye bread travels to Calabrian emigrants in the North of Italy, as also the Messenikola Greek wine:

“The informal networks of former migrants who come from the area (and often return for vacation, for pleasure or when they get their pension) seem to play an important role for the distribution and marketing of local food and wine products due to the fact that they are more “trustworthy” than the “unidentified” products bought at the supermarket. The migrants would like to taste their local food and thus retain, in a certain way, their links with their place of origin and/or place of reference /identity.” (Gr NR: 25)

¹² In the Hungarian cases (not belonging to this group) there is an interesting comparison between the two areas of Hortobagy and Mezőtúr. Short food chain are more present in the former (tourist) area than in the latter, where tourism is not relevant.

Utiel and Requena are places-symbol of a “traditional gastronomy” that the new urban citizens are longing for. Indeed these new urban citizens are former immigrants, who during the 1960s and 1970s left the rural areas for Madrid or Valencia. Now, in their displacements between Madrid and Valencia, stop in Utiel and Requena to enjoy or to buy the food they miss from their natal towns.

The first three strategies (tab. 4) are complementary among them: the focus is on the strengthening of local markets. In these cases, certification may or may not play a role. More than a role of information, certification may be part of a more general strategy of activating energies, mobilising actors creating synergies at local level (inward rural development). In other cases may respond to the aim of promoting the territory outward. The certified food becomes an ‘actant’ of the development network, or, to use Ray’s vocabulary, an element of a Culture Economy Project. Certifications like the Local Quality Convention for the Lake Plastiras area (a local agro-tourist quality certification arrangement promoted by a development agency), and the ‘Aspromonte National Park Product’ (promoted by the Aspromonte National Park, in its role agency for sustainable development) are examples of ‘certification projects’ with strong territorial emphasis.

The same it may be said for the promotion of certification of Oscypek cheese (third network). After the tourist boom in the Podhale region, local authorities adopted a strategy of actions to support local development. The Report explains how:

the oscypek cheese was chosen to become a central motive of this strategy [aiming at the development of the tourist sector]. The special event called “the festival of oscypek” has been introduced into the calendar of annual events organized in Zakopane by the local government. During this festival the audience can witness a traditional way of cheese making, listen to the folk music and of course buy the Oscypek cheese. Apart of that special show, the oscypek cheese is also an obligatory element of almost every larger public event in Podhale in the tourist season. ...

The famous smoked cheese is present on the postcards and other materials promoting Podhale region. It is without the doubt one of the most recognizable symbols of Tatra mountains and town of Zakopane (PI NR: 10).

In Valdres (Norway) the process of certification, in addition to reaching new markets, has led to a new status for the producers of fermented fish and has strengthened the local food culture and local identity in general. The effort and successful results has also been important for establishing new quality strategies for rural development in the valley.

Certification is, indeed, very important in a sectoral / product strategy aiming at gaining access to distant markets and distant consumers: the extra-virgin olive oil in Aspromonte (Italy), the fermented fish¹³ and cured salami in Norway, the Oscypek cheese in Poland, the Barrancos cured ham in Portugal, or, in general, quality wines.

The Utiel-Requena D.O. Regulating Council (D.O.R.C.), Spain, believes that its task is *the control and encouragement of quality wine production*, rather than territorial and rural development.

¹³ An important part of the certification process, in the case of fermented fish, is also the food safety aspect. Fermentation is a special conservation process well known by local people, but not by people outside the area (Nw NR).

“*The D.O. does not have to sell a territory, it must sell a product. Some consumers may like to know where the products come from, but other may be only interested in consuming a high quality product it doesn’t matter where it comes from*” (D.O.R.C. Representative) (Sp NR: 16).

This approach is, anyway, criticised by different actors, according to whom *the D.O. has not managed to market properly the linkages between wine and the local area, as it is the objective of a D.O. Hence this territorial added value is missed in the product, and consumers do not perceive the wine as a product coming from an important wine production area*¹⁴ (Sp NR: 16).

When distant markets / consumers become a complete substitute for local market / consumers then the local product is completely ‘globalised’ (Pl NR). A sort of “conventionalisation” of the origin-of-food systems has taken place and local food not necessarily is anymore able to guarantee local control over a sustainable rural development.

4.2.4 The Organic pathway

TAB. 5 - Organic
Czech Republic <i>Spojené farmy a.s.</i> (Joint Farms Inc.), producing organic beef.
Hungary 1. <i>The Hortobágy Nature and Gene Conservation Public Company</i> 2. <i>Household farm Organic and biodynamic.</i>
Poland <i>Rogsad</i> (a fruit growers association. Integrated pest management was introduced in 1996)
Germany <i>Netzwerk Vorpommern</i>

In the National Reports of the post-communist countries, especially Hungary, the Czech Republic and East Germany, local food issues are discussed mainly or exclusively through case studies relating to the production and retailing of organic food. Organic methods of production is the main characterisation of the *Spojené farmy a.s.* in the Czech republic, the *Hortobagy Co.* in Hungary and the *Rogsad* initiative in Poland. The same *Netzwerk Vorpommern* in Germany may be considered under this perspective, even if we underlined the aspects of the initiative that link organic method of production to a project of re-localisation of food (see section 3.2.1).

In many other cases that refer to organic methods in other contexts (the Aspromonte National Park certification in Italy, the Cahir Farmers’ Market in Ireland...), organic methods are understood as an added value to initiatives aiming at re-localisation of food consumption or the safeguard and valorisation of traditional products, rather than a strategy *per se*. Adopting a rather strict

¹⁴ The production of wine made exclusively from the Bobal variety is increasing though, and in this context, the territory turns in a fundamental element in the production and marketing strategy of the wine (*comment by the Spanish team*).

perspective, in the theoretical framework we didn't take organic methods of production *per se* to represent a strategy of re-localisation of food. Actually the so-called 'conventionalisation' of organic agriculture is criticised and contested by the 're-localisation of food' perspective.

Nevertheless, we can not ignore that, in the peculiar agrofood context of the post-communist countries where large supermarkets co-exist with a largely diffused production for self-consumption, organic production is presented as 'one of the most important direct link between producers ... and consumers' (Hu NR: 10).

The case studies analysed in the Hungary NR concern a big Public Company (Hortobágy Nature and Gene Conservation Public Company) located in the territory of the Hortobágy National Park and a small family farm (25 hectares). In both traditional methods are integrated with organic and biodynamic methods. In Hortobágy *'vegetables are both produced and processed, several types of purees and other food (for example, aubergine cream (vineta) or zakuszká, aubergine cream with paprika) are made. Hortobágy is also famous for the Hungarian Grey Cattle and the Racka Sheep'* (Hu NR: 10).

The Company supplies *'a famous meat processor near Szeged. Szeged is a big city about two hundred kilometres (away). This small company is producing salami from the meat produced by the Hortobágy Co. and the product is later sold under the trademark of the National Park. It is a quality product characterized by a special quality related to both the processing and the territory'* Hu NR: 13).

However, lacking managerial knowledge, the marketing of the product is not very good, despite the fact that the name "Hortobágy" is well known among organic products consumers and sales methods are very similar to that of the conventional or multinational food producers.

In the Czech republic a very interesting case is presented: the production of bio-meat, along a chain that goes from the stock company *Spojené farmy a.s.* (Joint Farms Inc.) to the slaughterhouse to consumers. What makes this case interesting is the attention given to animal welfare, to measures that help reducing the stress of the animal, improving also the quality of the product. Implementation of 'bio working conditions' (mainly through an informal regulation), helps *"to cope with the rough conditions that the job in a slaughterhouse certainly brings in"*, especially considering the gender aspect of this particular case, where the Director of the slaughterhouse is a woman.

Feedlot are kept right next to the bio-slaughterhouse, so that suitable bulls and calves literally walk from pasture to the slaughterhouse. Furthermore, the cowpunchers instead of using electric truncheons rather attract animals to a green leaf or a hay, and the butchers are supposed to do their work calmly and treat each piece of meat appropriately, which means not to throw it or to knock it about – as it usually happens.

The organic farming in the Czech Republic is formally acknowledged as a way of sustainable development. But there is no ideological motivation in the management of the *Spojené farmy a.s.* company or the farmers to the "organic values". In the farm, which supplies the bio-slaughterhouse, adherence to organic farming values tends to be minimal, in the sense that managements follow all the required rules of organic farming, but without any personal engagement (or belief) in the set of values usually expressed by the organic movement. Formal rules of the organic way of farming are followed, but at the same time it is undermined the notion of personal engagement (or belief) in the set of values once derived from the organic movement.

They motivated their production methods, not *‘because they would disagree with methods and consequences of the conventional agriculture, but because the extensive way farming has become (paradoxically) the most efficient way of farming in that particular area. For them the organic agriculture represented an effect of the state’s effort to rationalize the primary sector production by its extensification and allocation in less suitable areas, which can benefit from it’* (Cz NR: 12).

While the hypothesis of conventionalization (Buck et al. 1998), is refused, for example in the Cz NR, *‘because the Czech organic farming have been developing differently, in a different historical context’* (Cz NR: 12), distribution channels always comprises large supermarkets (for the largest part of the product: 65% of the organic products in the Czech Republic) and small specialty urban shops, as well as local restaurant and hotels. The industrial justification for the adoption of the organic method in the Czech *Spojené farmy a.s.* may be the ultimate proof of the *conventionalization* of the organic discourse, even if not necessarily we have to give a negative connotation to this process.

Rogsad, the Polish fruit growers association established in 1996, became a member of the Integrated Fruit Production programme, established in Poland in the first half of the 1990`s. This case seems to incorporate some of the ‘ecological’ and some of the ‘local’ contents of the perspectives on food production. It may well be classified in the next groups of more heterogeneous cases.

4.2.5 Others

TAB. 6 – Miscellaneous
Hungary The Mezőtúr area: <i>ABOMILL, The baker, the confectionary owner</i>
Italy North <i>Rice production in Po river delta</i>
Germany The ostrich farm Gut Owstin

This last group gathers case-studies whose characters are too hybrid, or too peculiar, to be meaningfully gathered in one of the previously underlined perspectives. A common feature is the low reliance upon ‘place’ as a distinctive character of the production, in both meaning as ‘localness’ and as ‘origin’. Definition of quality here has more to do with freshness, safety, taste, with no particular link to a specific territory.

In the Po Delta (Italy) rice cultivation is a very old practice in the delta of river Po, but, as argued by the Report:

“There is not a strong and diffuse tradition of self production and cooking. The Consortium has started a campaign for appreciating the gastronomic qualities of local rice; but it is still in its infancy and culinary traditions risk to be an invention rather than a resurgence” (NIt CR: 9).

Although partially detached from the territory, rice cultivation originates initiatives which may valorise the territory, like the agro-tourism organized by the rice growers. Agro-tourism in the Po

river delta area is related to the typical environment of a large river delta (which is quite unique in Italy) and to birdwatching. The general interest in this business is still weak, but some rice growers are increasingly involved in these activities, with different approaches.

Some are actually developing premises for agro-tourism in their farms, in order to differentiate their source of income, while others are becoming more and more interested in the development of tourist activity, which is becoming their core-business, with rice-growing as a secondary activity.

Two groups of farmers are differentiated in this strategy . The “pragmatic” and business-oriented farmers, on one side, farmers for which agro-tourism acquires a more symbolic value, on the other. In this case, farmers seem to highlight the cultural value of their work within the agricultural milieu. *“They are proud of their origin and want to highlight the cultural value of their profession within the agriculture milieu (...) In that case agro-tourism or bland forms of tourists hospitality is done without a great entrepreneurial effort; it seems reserved for friends, colleagues and special people”*.

The case of the ostrich farm Gut Owstin (Germany) is peculiar because of the unusual species bred. Ostrich are, obviously, completely detached from any rural tradition in Mecklenburg, as well as in the whole Europe. The links of the farm with its surrounding environment are weak, and its networks are largely connecting the farm to the world of ostrich breeders more than to other regional actors.

Nevertheless, like in the rice cultivation, NR recognizes a contribution to local development of this initiative: the restoration of the old manor house and the organization of guided farm visits with direct selling in a farm-shop. Further investments are going to be made to refurbish the old village school, where a restaurant will be created. Links with the regional administration and with other local initiatives have also been established.

Abomill and the confectionary owner (Hungary) are examples of strong detachment from the territory for a larger (Abo-mill) and a small size (confectionary) business.

Abomill acts in a very market-oriented approach, looking for the best conditions regardless the localness of the partners. It has neither a constant suppliers’ network, nor a stable group of customers. The sector in which Abomill works is also encouraging this strategy, as *“the outputs and inputs of flour market do not make participation in short food chain or local agro-food production system necessary”* (Hu NR: 18).

Another interesting example of this weak relation with the territory is the confectionary owner. When he started working he used Hungarian raw material, ice-cream powder and Hungarian ice-cream machine. After a few years he changed its local orientation and he is using now Italian machinery, raw materials and know-how. Only sugar and milk are from Hungary, usually from a hypermarket. The owner does not have any special contact with neighbouring producers or traders. He knows the well-known Hungarian pastries; he sells them, but does not produce them. As stated in the Report *“This small business could be anywhere in the country or the world”* (Hu NR: 19).

The confectionary acts like a mediator between multinational articles and goods and local people. A part for the small size of the case-study, it is meaningful since this kind of actors are *“very characteristic of the present Hungarian situation”* (Hu NR: 19).

4. Expert / lay knowledge dynamics in the re-localisation of food

4.1 Expert / lay knowledge dynamics in the ‘re-localisation perspective’

Agro-industrial development and specialisation has led to what has been called the ‘food desert’. In this context, knowledge about how to prepare and taste food on the consumers side and agricultural skills for particular production on the producers side have been lost:

Artisan production and processing of food has existed before, but modernization of agriculture during the past century led to an “intellectual expropriation” of the local producers and farmers and their tacit knowledge about agriculture and food production (Sw NR: 14)

Local knowledge and skills in food production have widely vanished also among rural populations. (Sw NR: 18)

Many years of engaging only in livestock rearing had meant that a lot of the tacit knowledge around growing fruit and vegetables had been lost, and it was a key aim of the SLHDA to restore that knowledge (Sc NR: 16)

For artisan, small producers in these networks, knowledge is first of all about production techniques: learning how to grow food.

Learning how to grow or produce artisan foods is taken seriously, by the artisan producers in Ireland (Ie NR: 33).

The initiatives considered in the Scottish and Sweden NRs have as their first objective to teach agricultural and agrofood practices. The *Skye and Lochalsh Horticultural Development Association (SLHDA, Scotland)* aims at “teaching horticultural skills that have gradually been lost” (Sc NR: 8). In Skye, SLDHA producers are taught how to grow vegetables mainly through two agencies that, alongside the classic expert knowledge, also provided what might be considered “local knowledge”. If SALE (Skye and Lochlath Enterprise) provided training around preparing produce for market and business, SAC (Scottish Agricultural College) gave suggestions around the varieties that might be grown on Skye, soil and plant treatments, and how to use technology. The SAC continue to provide such advice as and when it is needed, although the network prefers to make use of local expertise, as local growers now have considerable knowledge around “what works” on Skye. As argued in the Report, knowledge provided by the SAC was not always appropriate to the specific local conditions’ and it was used as a base to be adapted to suit local needs.

Eldrimner initiative in Sweden is acting as a resource centre for the transfer of applied and practical knowledge in small-scale production and refinement of food that follows from a tradition of local economy and handicraft (Sc NR: 8). Eldrimner provide courses where methods to improve quality are taught: small-scale refinement techniques, such as cheese making, pork butchering, the refining of berries and vegetables, but also marketing and legislation. Besides the courses, Eldrimner provides assistance with the procedures involved in starting and managing small enterprises,

To re-vitalise local knowledge various ways have been followed: in Jämtland, Sweden, knowledge is compiled from the elderly people in the local communities, as well as “*from many other sources, through contacts with local producers in other countries, in literature as well in archives, and through the information and networking in the project which often resulted in new members joining the project that had special knowledge*” (Sw NR: 18).

For the small producers of Cahir FM, that have been in the organic movement, this movement is still an important source of knowledge. But of course knowledge is a complex matter and is acquired in different forms: informally, from other local and non-local producers, from their own

experience and common sense; formally, from books, attending courses, through networks and contacts with ‘experts’.

It is clear, anyway, that scientific, general and theoretical perspectives are not relevant to these experiences: the best ‘experts’ are not scientists from universities or bureaucratic-managerial experts from government development agencies. They are the ones with expertise and trained capacity in specific traditional and artisan modes of food production.

An important dimension of local knowledge is tacit lay-knowledge: that is why knowledge transfer may be done only through combining and sharing of experiences from different localities, also from different context in different countries.

Even in Skye, where knowledge around plant varieties suitable for horticultural development was first sourced from outside, from the Scottish Agricultural College, it became clear that this expert knowledge was not wholly appropriate to either the scale of production or to the specific and very difficult growing conditions.

The expert knowledge from SAC was, therefore, combined with the small pool of tacit knowledge on Skye – the ‘expert’ provided some advice on varieties and treatments, while a local person was recruited as a mentor to new growers to advise on how to best prepare the land, and how to adapt expert advice to local conditions.

In this way, new combinations of tacit and codified knowledge were produced, and local growers, over time, came to be recognised as ‘experts’.

This new knowledge was then shared with other local growers through word of mouth, through mentoring schemes, and through printed materials such as SLDHA newsletters. (Sc NR: 16)

4.2 Expert / lay knowledge dynamics in the origin-of-food networks

Knowledge dynamics and the certification process

In the case studies classified under the origin-of-food perspective, local knowledge is first of all ‘traditional knowledge’, strictly linked to the biomaterial characteristics of the products.

Traditional knowledge was undervalued during the agro-industrial era by the technocratic structure of national and local development agencies. By consequence, a bifurcation was originated between traditional knowledge and scientific / expert knowledges, so that the former, even if blocked in its evolution, was only and best maintained by farmers in marginal areas.

Nowadays, when markets and policies (in Europe) demand quality and regional diversification of food, traditional knowledge attracts new interest from experts and developments agents. Certification has become one of the dominant route for recovering, codifying and valorising it on the market.

Two case studies give a very interesting and detailed account of these processes: the *Barrancos Cured Ham* in Portugal and the construction of the ‘Aspromonte National Park Product’ certification in Southern Italy.

The case of *Barrancos cured ham* is so instructive with respect to knowledge dynamic that it is worthy reporting this case extensively:

By the late 1980s, when the University of Évora began to study Barrancos cured ham, the number of cottage-industry artisans had dropped and the number of cured hams produced was small.

An initiative to set up the Barrancos Cured Ham Network was launched with the work of the University of Évora. A lecturer at the Department of Zootechny chose Barrancos cured ham as the subject of his PhD thesis. ...

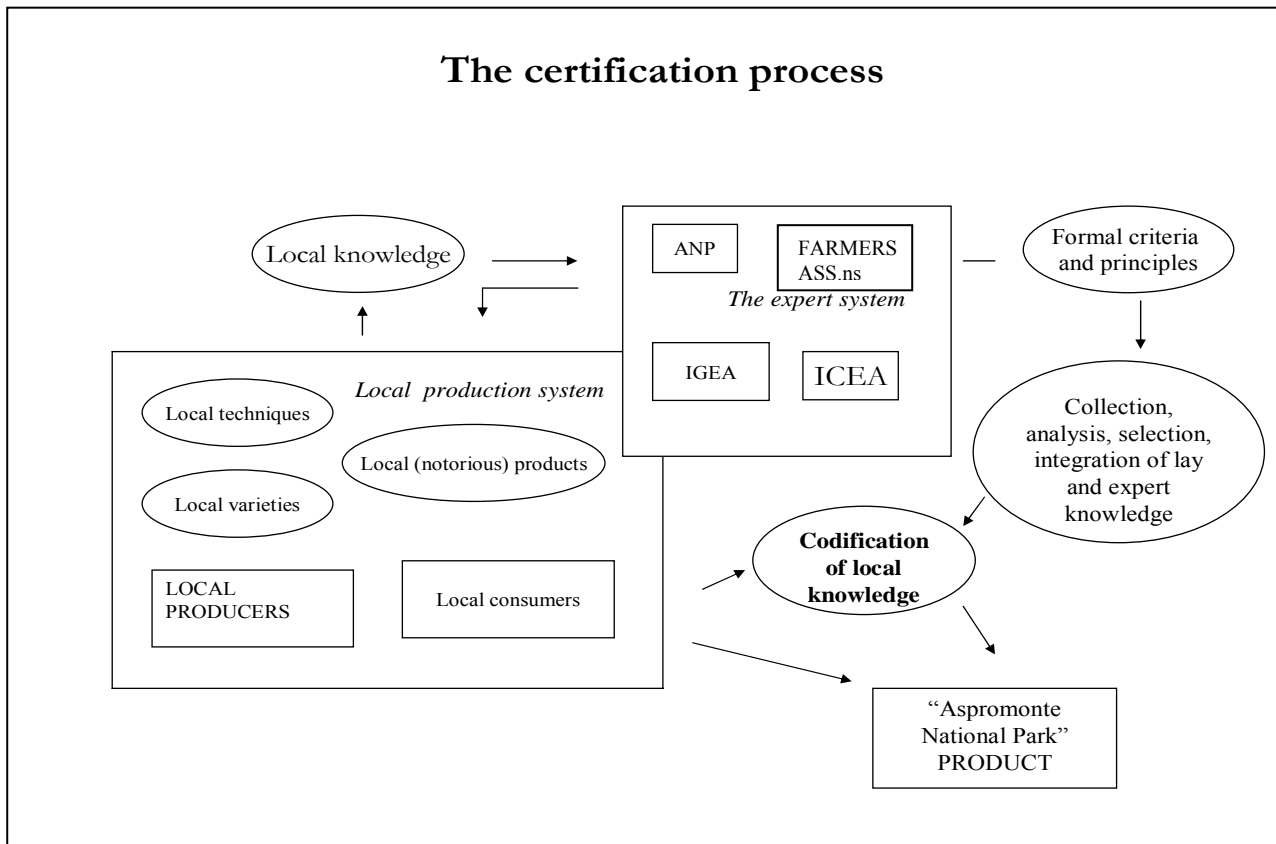
Research work began with the selection of a local cured ham manufacturer to take part in the study from among three producers indicated by the Mayor of Barrancos. The selection took into account the kind of seasoning used in the manufacture of the ham that endowed it with the traditional high quality recognized in the local area. In the first year, 1989/90, Alentejo-breed pigs and cross-breed pigs were purchased by the University of Évora and fattened on the montado of the University in Évora. The animals were later slaughtered in Barrancos and cured hams produced by the local manufacturer at its plant. The academic merely recorded the various stages of manufacture and unexpected events occurring, not getting involved in the technological matrix ...

In the second year, 1990-91, a technological register and a list of all of the problems which might occur having been drawn up, a manufacturing unit was set up in Évora to evaluate whether or not the climatic conditions of Barrancos had an influence on the characteristics of the ham. By the end of the second year the study had concluded that the question of pig-breed was important, the Alentejo breed enabling ham of better quality to be produced, and that climatic conditions (a local microclimate in the vicinity of the Serra Morena hills) did influence the characteristics of the ham. There were, however, still problems to be resolved. How could pests be controlled? And how could the quantities produced be increased?

In the third year, 1991-92, an answer was sought to these questions. Hams were no longer produced at the factory of the local manufacturer and were now produced at special premises provided by Barrancos Municipal Council. Despite the new premises ensuring better conditions of hygiene, the question of pests was not resolved. Local manufacturers resolved the problem by increasing salting time, making the flavour saltier, which did not please non-local consumers. There was even a proposal to freeze the ham in order to resolve the problem but finally the decision was taken to merely monitor conditions of storage. By the end of the third year, the study had obtained results which enabled an application to be made to official bodies for certification of the ham, the specification book having been practically completed with the records made by the academic investigator, and also local manufacturers to be encouraged to increase production. (Pt NR: 13-14).

A similar process was started in Aspromonte, with the construction of the “Aspromonte National Park Product” certification (even if this last process had much less economic and social consequences in the area and is still today not yet completed). The National Park here aims at proposing certification schemes for all typical food in its territory. By consequence, a census of all such typical products is carried out by the IGEA (an inspection agency operating with organic agriculture and low environmental impact agro-food production), according to ‘localness’ (all the production cycle must take place in the Park or pre-Park area) and ‘traditional-ness’. Like in the case of *Barrancos Cured Ham*, after a *negotiation* with the main farmers associations, some exemplary farms are selected; production practices are then ‘*observed*’ and production protocols compiled (*codification*).

Figure 2 - Interaction between local and expert knowledge system in the construction of the ‘Aspromonte National Park Product’ certification



Source: SIt NR

Creating a common production protocol for a specific product may originate conflicts, problems: in the case of the oscypek cheese (Poland) resistance is reported from the herdsmen. Each of them has its own recipe, based on years of experience and any standardization was very problematic.

It may also lead to the exclusion of oral traditional knowledge from the new knowledge dynamic, especially when the process is not controlled by local actors:

Barrancos Cured Ham is today distinct from the cured ham produced by traditional manufacturers. The oral tradition of knowledge has now been recorded, a process that took some years, and this knowledge has been used by new actors in the market. The technological innovations introduced are not radical in nature, and are limited to the control of temperature, humidity and ventilation at certain stages in the production process, but are still important in terms of the emergence of new quality parameters (salty taste, mould) which are more in tune with the requirements of consumers in outside markets. The recording of the oral knowledge has also enabled the “industrialization” of ham, that is, it can now be produced in large quantities rather than just on a cottage-industry basis: the currently level of production is around 8.000 hams per year, while BARRANCARNES has the capacity for producing 50.000 hams per year.

The different types of knowledge about cured ham-producing are distinct in nature and associated with different sets of actors. The oral tradition of knowledge still belongs to local cottage-industry artisans who produce a traditional ham which is not certified (and uncertifiable): a local product for the local market. Scientific knowledge has been acquired by the University of Évora and combined with business knowledge at BARRANCARNES and later at Boleta Barranquenha.

Certified Barrancos Cured Ham has the distinct characteristics of home-cured ham and is targeted at outside markets.

There is no dynamic relationship between the oral tradition of knowledge on the one hand and business know-how and scientific knowledge on the other hand (although there is such a relationship between the second and the third, as evidenced by the partnership entered into by the University of Évora and BARRANCARNES), and the respective learning processes are also distinct. At the beginning of the process of recording the oral tradition, the knowledge itself and the participation of a local manufacturer were essential factors, but from the third year these were no longer so important. With the setting up of BARRANCARNES, the scientific knowledge meanwhile acquired was combined with business know-how, thanks to the involvement of the academic investigator, the partnership involving the University of Évora, and the experience and local knowledge of some partners in the business. (Pt NR: 21)

Wine and oil: the protection and valorisation of local varieties and the limits of traditional knowledge

Wine and olive oil are products object of case studies in Greece, Spain and South of Italy. Cultivars adapted to the specific locations of the vineyard in the course of centuries are the base of a strong specificity of the product. Local varieties are *Mavro Messenikola* in the Lake Plastiras area and *Agiorgitiko* in the Nemea area in Greece; *Bobal* in Utiel-Requena, Spain; *Nerello Mascarese* and *Nerello Cappuccio* in Palizzi, Aspromonte, Italy.

Autochthonous varieties of grapes are the result of a centuries-long collective work of domestication and adaptation of the plant to the geographical micro-habitat. They incorporate both, characteristics of the geographical places and of the empirical knowledge of generation of farmers.

Tacit knowledge incorporated in the grapes is the at the base of the valorisation of the local resource in all cases reported, except than in Spain. Here *Bobal* variety was considered not apt to the elaboration of quality wine and was at first substituted by other Spanish variety, *Tempranillo* and *Garnacha*, and later, after the 1990s, by ‘other internationally recognised varieties, such as cabernet-sauvignon, merlot and chardonnay’. Only very recently the production of wine from *Bobal* variety is increasing, making of it a fundamental element in the production and marketing of wine (see footnote 11).

Traditional knowledge seems though blocked or insufficient with respect to the transformation methods of wine making.

“Traditionally wine was produced for self-consumption and for local market: it responded to different functions and tastes compared with the actual ones. Mainly it was an energetic drink, destined for the consumption within the year, rather than ageing. Only new techniques can create the conditions to keep and even improve wine characteristics during ageing” (SIIt NR: 20).

The Spanish reports attributes the limits of traditional (tacit) knowledge with respect to quality wine to the fact that the area had a different specialisation: the production of ‘double paste’ wine, used for adding colour to other wines (Sp NR: 14). Furthermore, since the 1960s, wine making was progressively professionalized. With the creation of oenology schools, technical and expert knowledge took the lead in the making of wine.

In the Greek report, the diffusion of an agro-industrial and productivist logic, with its stress on great yields and increased quantities, has meant the loss of local and/or traditional knowledge for vineyard cultivation and wine making. “In the past, vineyard yields were smaller and wine quality much better, while not only wine, but other joint products were elaborated with the remains of grapes (i.e. tsipouro)” (23)

“The former tacit knowledge becomes disembedded from its local social and economic context due to farmers’ adaptation to the need of the highly mobile large wine companies...” (Gr NR: 24).

The expert is a scientist, a technician (not the one *with experience*, as in the precious perspective), who knows how to control the process of fermentation of wine, the chemical composition of olive oil, as well as the process of ageing of the bacon.

A dialogue may be instituted between experts and lay-local actors, but this seems very much dependent on the objectives of the promoters / implementers of the initiatives.

Notably in the case of the San Giorgio olive oil firm (Aspromonte), Domenico Fazari is able to involve university scientists in its projects of valorisation of the local cultivars. Not so with the Utiel-Requena or the Greek wines, where the promoters are local institutions.

The Qualiter cooperative, instead, promoted by an actor with some involvement in the local movement for the rural local development, tries to establish a dynamic between local and expert knowledge, following an original ways.

Every vine-dresser living in the South of Italy is sure to make the best wine in the world; criticizing their techniques can offend their pride and be perceived as a lack of respect:

“If I had told them [that their wine is not of a good quality] I would have appeared as one who lacked respect for them...I would never attempt to desecrate their work. A third person was necessary”.

In order to disseminate new knowledge, the cooperative Qualiter invites a famous enologist from Tuscany, Roberto Bruchi¹⁵, for a two-day stay in Palizzi to discuss with producers on local techniques. First, Bruchi is an extra-local actor and, second, he has got enough leadership to desecrate local techniques and traditions. A tasting event of local wine is arranged in which, without reserve, the famous enologist says that the quality of the local wine was very bad and that local producers needed to make an u-turn, if they wanted to make a good wine (SIIt NR: 21-22).

In other cases external expert advice is rejected, as described in the Kurv frå Valdres case (Norway). In 2003, a consultant, who was a sausage producer educated in science of nutrition, was asked by Valdres Matforum to give a course. In this course, joined by about 25 local salami producers, he recommended producers to use cultures of bacteria as starter for the fermentation process. In this way, producers could obtain a more standardised and even quality. Producers in Valdres choose to go on in the traditional way, since they thought it was important to ‘keep the distinctiveness and differentiate each other producer product’ (Nw NR: 12).). This decision was mainly based on experience with the “successful” development of Valdres Rakfisk BA.

4.3 Expert / lay knowledge dynamics in the organic networks

The organic agriculture is based on international farming practices established by the IFOAM association. This means that organic farm need support and advice from expert bodies, about inputs and practices compatible with such standards. As stated in the Czech Report:

“The food in bio quality would not have existed without scientists and their studies about the food quality.” (Cz Nr: 15)

The three case-studies are characterized by a relevant role played by the organic experts, namely KEZ - Kontrola ekologického zemedelstvi – for the Czech Republic, and Biokontroll Hungária Kht for the Hungarian case. Rogsad has a wide network of expert knowledge holders’ institutions, providing advice, technical support, field trips and courses to the associates fruit growers.

¹⁵ He has compiled the production protocol for the Morellino di Scansano wine, a famous Tuscany wine.

In the *Spojené farmy a.s.* case (Czech Republic) the producer-consumer link is deemed important in the transmission of knowledge about how to prepare the bio-beef. Information on the bio-beef and organic agriculture is published in popular magazines, newspaper and on the official web site of the producer. Consumers are mobilized and helped/encouraged to recognize the bio-beef as a quality food. In the “Friendly Recipes” producer gives customers a lot of information on how to prepare the bio-beef, trying to undermine a common belief that the “cooking from beef meat is too demanding – on time and on skills”.

We can try to synthesize the analysis of the knowledge dynamics for the three perspectives in the Tab. 7

TAB. 7 – Knowledges and knowledge dynamics in the re-localisation of food.

KNOWLEDGES	Local food	Origin-of-food	Organic
<i>Production</i>	Local production knowledge is lost: farmers need to learn how to grow...	Local knowledge is traditional knowledge, kept by marginal farmers, lost by the technocratic structure	Local knowledge, also as traditional knowl., is re-elaborated and diffused by the organic movement and integrated with expert organic practices
<i>Managerial/commercial</i>	Is diffused among farmers: their trading and selling skills are regarded as part of their larger repertoire of skills in social interaction, not needing to be formally taught	Not diffused among farmers: it is a limit to the valorisation of traditional products. It is crucial for establishing cooperation among producers and accomplishing certification process	Lack of such knowledge among farmers: provided by the expert of the organic movement / certification bodies.
<i>Technical (hygiene and safety)</i>	It belongs to the technocratic structure	It belongs to the technocratic structure	It belongs to the technocratic conventional and organic institutions.
KNOWLEDGES DYNAMICS			
<i>Local – lay knowledge and tacit dimension</i>	Local-lay knowledge is rebuilt through experience and exchanges with local knowledges in other (national and international) regions	Traditional knowledge needs to interact with expert-scientific knowledge to overcome its limits, especially for the most elaborated products (wine, oil, fermented fish).	Tacit dimension is relevant when there is a deep commitment to organic values (as in the bio-slaughterhouse), less in the other cases. Tacit knowl. about local environmental conditions is important
<i>Experts</i>	It is not the scientific expert, but ‘somebody who has already done it’ (practical hands-on expertise)	Experts are the scientists and technicians (wine, oil) or the experts on regulations and certifications schemes. Interaction with them is important.	Experts from organic advice and control bodies have a role on assessing the actual organic character of the produce and on giving specific technical advice.
<i>Scientific knowledge</i>	Not important. It may a starting point (Skye), but it need to be adapted, integrated.	Interaction with scientific knowledge is important in many cases (wine, oil, ham, fermented fish). Local knowledge may stimulate new research (Oil, SI). Scientific knowledge may appropriates local / oral knowledge (ham, wine)	It is important (even if underdeveloped) in order to find out the interaction of the agrofood system with the natural environment and to stress the supposed superior quality of organic food.
<i>Transfer</i>	Through shared experiences (Sc, Sw), from conversation and observation (Ir)	Through ‘observation’ and then compilation of new knowledge. Certification as a “translator” of knowledge.	More easily shared in the organic movement (Ireland)

5. The three dimensions of sustainability in the re-localisation of food

Considerations on the issue of sustainability are very important with respect to the food re-localisation movement and strategies. The main critique to them points, in fact, to contest the fact that ‘local’ is un-reflexively conflated with “social just, environmental sound and economic viable” (Hinrichs 2003, Allen et al. 2003).

5.1 Social sustainability in the ‘local’ food networks

Of the three dimension of sustainability, the social is the more explicit in this perspective. It is worthy remembering that a tradition of strong community development and culture characterises the areas interested by this typology and that actors are often linked or have been linked to a social movement.

Eldrimner (Sweden) has among its “institutional aims” the issue of social inclusion. Among the Eldrimner’s good practices the Report mentions

“strong community involvement (through “bottom up”-processes), and the active participation of women in the project”
and, further,
“networking, co-operation, mobilisation of local people, revitalisation of local and traditional knowledge and capacity building”.

The Cahir Farmers’ Market (Ireland) was first established with a “*focus on bringing people into town on Saturdays because the town of Cahir every Saturday was practically deserted*” (Ie NR: 10)

Having a market where consumers can meet the producers, talk to them and exchange information is underlined in Irish Report as an element of social inclusion and friendly atmosphere.

Jimmy, a vegetable grower and trader and a stallholder at the Cahir Farmers’ Market, gives a personal feedback about this atmosphere, that may also function as a favourable environment to further local development:

“ people were coming there and stopping and talking in little groups, and that's something that's totally missing when you go to supermarkets or anything like that (...) Nobody is in a hurry out there, they are all chatting away, you know that's something in a rural area that you need, and it's from, it's there that development begins”

When asked about the comparison between buying food at Farmer’s market and in large conventional retailers, Cahir FM customers emphasised the friendlier and more relaxed atmosphere of the market. Further they underlined the fact that the producers took time to talk to them, to explain about the produce or give cooking hints¹⁶.

Also the Skye and Lochalsh Horticulture Development Association (Scotland) market stall in Portree has become a forum in which local people can discuss with growers about different varieties of horticultural products, the quality of the produce and the ways to cook it. The SLHDA

¹⁶ It is worth noting that in Southern European rural areas people would not probably emphasise the possibility of talking to the retailers as something unusual.

coordinator argues that at the market “*buying food becomes a social occasion, rather than a faceless interaction*” (Sc NR: 10).

The *Netzwerk Vorpommern* initiative, in the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern region (East Germany), may be seen as an example of socially sustainable rural development practice. It is a bottom-up project based on open membership and direct explicitly aims at strengthening social ties and networks at the local and regional level.

In an area like Mecklenburg, traditionally characterized by export-led production and weak local ties, these actors have the capacity to look for new market niches as well as for new distribution markets. The relevance of this network for social sustainability are underlined in the NR:

“they are more important for regional identity, empowering self-learning capacities and social capital than for employment” (Ger NR: 15).

Little social conflict is reported around these initiatives. Only one incidence of conflict is reported in the case of Cahir FM, when a large organic meat distributor (Ballybrado) wanted to take a stall in the market. The stallholders' committee refused, arguing officially that they already had plenty of organic meat supplies which were selling well; but in reality because Ballybrado was importing meat from Germany and other countries, while the FM objective was to give local suppliers the possibility of marketing their produce (Ir NR: 13).

In the SLHDA initiative (Skye), instead, it is felt that crofters are not involved in the project, more due to a technical reason (crofters have traditionally been involved in livestock rearing on a part-time basis, while horticulture is a very time-intensive activity), than to a willingness to do so.

Economic and environmental dimensions of sustainability

Economic viability for small farmers is of course also important, in the ‘local food’ perspective. First of all Farmers’ Markets offer small farmers a more convenient way to increase their income, without being out-competed by large farms and big retailers. A large retailer has been refused a permit to set a stall in the FM. But the FM is not enough to make a full living, even if someone makes that calculation:

The way we are set up in Cahir now I don't think it would give a full livelihood to anyone, though the man who shares the stall with me has 20 acres of land and he hopes he can develop about to 6 acres of vegetables annually with that, and that would be sustainable for him as he would make sufficient income from that, he thinks anyway, to survive and have a reasonable livelihood from it
(Jimmy, vegetable stallholder Ir NR: 13).

Limit to the economic viability of the FM initiative is in its same success: the setting of new FMs in the nearby region may affect sales in Cahir and undermine the economic sustainability of each market.

It is interesting to note that *environmental sustainability* is mostly not explicitly stressed in the case studies analysed. Only in the Eldrimner initiative environmental protection is one of its main explicit objectives of the actors involved. The opportunity for local producers to enhance small-scale production is rooted in local needs and environmental conditions. The national environmental aims are fulfilled with the focus on local production, organic production and strong community involvement, hence establishing a local production with environmental concern. Environmental

sustainability is in some way ‘overcame’ in the objectives of Cahir Farmers’ Market, where many stall holders came from the organic movement (and are inspired by the post-organic movement).

Finally, even if the environmental dimension of sustainability is central in the perspectives of the re-localisation movement, the social dimension seems as the most urgently felt in our case-studies.

5.2 Economic sustainability as a base for social and environmental sustainability in the origin-of-food networks

The issue of the relation between the three dimensions of sustainability is much more complex in the origin-of-food case studies.

The dominant dimension is the economic one. Economic viability is pursued through the valorisation of the local specificity, incorporated in one or more products and in the territory. It is important to underline that this is an innovative strategy of integrated development, that incorporates territories and communities marginalised during the agro-industrial phase of rural development.

There are many different pathways through which the valorisation of territorial specificity may be pursued. In the tab. 4 we have illustrated four main typologies, according to the spatial / cultural characteristics of the consumers and the market. Two of them are oriented toward the re-activation of local markets through strategies of rural development ‘inward oriented’ (Ray 1998), aiming at strengthening social cohesion and local links or ‘outward-oriented’, aiming at selling the territory through strategies of rural tourism. In the third typology migrant markets become important in the maintaining of local production; in the last one access to differentiated distant markets and consumers, through certification, is pursued.

The economic dimension of sustainability is related with to the other two dimensions in various and sometimes contradictory ways, that we try to illustrate in the next paragraphs.

Regional production, agro-biodiversity and rural landscape

At the origin of a local traditional food there is often a local variety. Protecting, valorising typical food implies by consequence saving from extinction a local eco-type (This is why the Slow Food Presidia initiative is under the umbrella of the Slow Food Biodiversity Foundation, Fonte 2006). A positive relation is established between valorisation of local traditional food and valorisation of agro-biodiversity.

Local cultivars are valorised in all the origin-of-food case studies except for Utiel-Requena DO wine, where the local variety of grape (Bobal) was substituted by other internationally recognised varieties considered more apt to produce a quality wine (Cabernet-Sauvignon, Merlot and Chardonnay). Even in this case, though, since the 1990s there is an effort to experiment with quality wine produced exclusively from the local variety, as a differentiation strategy.

A specially illustrative case of the protection of animal biodiversity is that concerning the Alentejo pig breed (Portugal). This breed had been abandoned and substituted with a cross-breed pig by the local farmers, because of the changing taste of consumers, hygiene regulation and the outbreak of a disease. ‘By the late 1980s, when the University of Évora began to study Barrancos cured ham, the number of cottage-industry artisans had dropped and the number of cured hams produced was small’ (Pt NR:13).

The new interest of scientists from Évora university to set up the Barrancos Cured Ham Network brought them to devote energies and efforts in order to find out how to solve some hygiene and sanitary problems linked to traditional techniques: in fact, pests appear easily since ham is not smoked but dried and matured naturally.

The revival of the Alentejo breed in the 1990s, on the basis of the extensive pastoral system, brought benefits in terms of the conservation of the *montado* ecosystem, the protection of the landscape and, in the last analysis, environmental conservation. The agrosilvopastoral system has regained viability without need for the direct support of the Common Agricultural Policy A balance has therefore been reached between Alentejo-breed pig-raising involving the production of the raw material for meat processing on the one hand and the maintenance of the typical regional forest type on the other hand, leading to the ecological, economic and social sustainability of the forest. (Pt NR:23).

While the agro-industrial logic of production based on a logic of homogenisation and standardisation brings to the extinction many local species and varieties, the regional perspective implies sometimes a compromise among the market and the traditional logic: of the many local cultivars survived in the abandoned vineyard of traditional peasant in Palizzi (Aspromonte, Italy) only two are cultivated for the production of Palizzi IGT wine by the Qualiter co-operative. The San Giorgio olive oil firm (Aspromonte, Italy) must change the landscape of the ‘old and stately trees’, pruning or substituting them with younger, smaller trees, in order to improve the quality of the oil.

On the other side, the ‘Aspromonte National Park Product’ certification is aiming at combining requisites that relate to the three dimensions: environmental (organic production), social and economic. Among the requirements for the certification, traditional practices must combine with environmentally friendly methods and landscape preservation.

Regional quality valorisation and social cohesion

Strategies of valorisation of traditional food not only gives new chances of development to rural communities and traditional farmers, but also work as an activator of mechanism of social coordination and social cohesion in the community.

Being territorial identity a collective good, a collective effort is necessary for its valorisation: collective institutions are generated and networked, territorial links are strengthened, a reflexivity over its own identity is stimulated.

Different social effects may be sorted out by the different strategies. Sometimes, development initiatives in rural areas may create new forms of social exclusion, (Shucksmith 1998), especially when led by external actors or responding to a top-down strategy.

Several case-studies report about the generation of such mechanisms. The strongest negative effects on social sustainability are reported in cases where scientific knowledge and extra-local actors take the lead in the process of valorisation of the local product, like in the *PDO Barrancos Cured Ham* in Portugal and the D.O. Utiel-Requena wine in Spain.

In the former, local cottage-industry manufacturers have been marginalized from the economic process in the social process of the *PDO Barrancos Cured Ham* construction, led by the university scientists.

Over a period of several years, the only company in Barrancos recognized by the Producers’ Group was BARRANCARNES, which produced ham on a monopoly basis ... while other local manufacturers were marginalized from the process (Pt NR: 19).

“They [local manufacturers] suffer the negative consequences of the existence of the network, because they cannot use the Barrancos Cured Ham brand name, and their relations with raw-material producers have become more strained (they have suffered a loss of negotiating power)... and they are therefore forced to buy at lower prices cross-

breed or Alentejo-breed pigs which do not meet requirements in terms of weight or feeding for supply to the processing industry.. (Pt NR: 17).

Local manufacturers are pushed toward the black market: they produce hams, illegally, on an informal basis, for the local market and by order for customers in neighbouring districts. The consequences in economic terms for the cottage pig raisers are heavy: their ham is now less valuable, because it is sold without certification.

A similar situation is represented in the D.O. Utiel-Requena wine, where the lead for the construction of the DO is taken up by the Requena School of Viticulture and Oenology, and the Utiel-Requena Origin Designation (D.O.) Regulating Committee:

The D.O. is incapable to generate cohesion among producers and municipalities being included under a common label. Individualisms persist over common interests, for example, when going to product's fairs; as the Director of the Requena tourist office puts it,

When we go to fairs each has its own stand, and we are not under a common area strategy. For example, in a wine fair, the D.O. has its own stand, but also Requena (council) has got one with Requena wines, and Utiel do so also, even when both villages are included in the D.O. (Sp NR: 17).

The fact that the D.O. includes under the same forum a variety of producers having different structures (e.g. big cooperatives, small cooperatives, enterprises, limited societies, small artisan enterprises, familiar cellars, etc.), strategies and objectives may not help.

Finally, we must mention that the D.O. is not only a technical structure but also political, and we find a power game among distinct types of actors within. Decisions made by the D.O. are very linked to political decisions and this translates into important internal disputes (Sp NR: 16).

Strictly, the DORC (Utiel-Requena D.O. Regulating Council)¹⁷ does not establish special environmentally friendly or sustainability conditions for winegrowers and winemakers, however the introduction of Integrated Production measures, promoted by the regional Dep. of Agriculture, are widely diffused. According to one producer, “organic production is not regarded currently as an option because very important investments would be required and the demand for organic wine is not so high”. Consumers have an image of wine as a “respectful and traditional product” *per se* and organic production is not regarded as essential.

Also in the Greek case of Mesenikola zone, local wine producers were not able to profit of the opportunities provided by the emergence of a quality certified wine production. Small local producers remain locked in the agro-industrial logic, based on yields and quantities, protected by the paternalistic / welfare role played by the Union Wine Cooperative, whose tasks were mainly interpreted as to guarantee rural livelihoods. Small farmers lost any wine-making skill and it is difficult, now

“to acquire the motivation and social capital role for taking advantage of quality wine as a territorial identity and participate in the local construction of VQPRD Mesenikola’ (Gr NR: 23).

¹⁷ The Utiel-Requena D.O. Regulating Council (D.O.R.C.) is an organism integrated in the Regional Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. The first council was created in 1976. Its members are representatives of the whole wine-producing sector: wine-producers, agrarian groups, cooperatives' members, private firms and the regional administration.

On the contrary to what described in the case of Barrancos Cured Ham, beneficial effects from the certification of the Requena sausages accrue also to not-certified producers. In this case, the construction of label was undertaken by a group of local producers and led by their ‘experiential knowledge’, acquired through years of experience (Pt NR: 20).

Only 11 out of 40 producers produce certify their Requena sausage. Not all the butchers are interested on having the label. Nonetheless they profit from the existence of the IGP denomination and from the initiatives related to the IGP network, like the annual Fair:

“Relations between IGP members and non-members are quite tense since the latter benefit with not extra cost from the formers’ work and promotion campaigns. During the local Fair that takes place during the weekend non-members also open their businesses while the members have a stand within the Fair. Moreover, some non-members have even sold sausages as being under the IGP when in reality they were not.” (Sp NR: 21)

Despite these problems, the Fair has constituted a very valid instrument for the generation of synergies in the local economy and the involvement of other local actors in the project. This implication has taken place at different levels; firstly, at the institutional level as we have seen; secondly, there has been a participation of other economic actors that have benefited from the affluence of people to the Fair, i.e. bars and restaurants, shops selling local products, cellars. Among the economic actors, wine producers and sellers the one who profit most since, being a complementary product of the sausages, wine is consumed abundantly in the Fair.

Finally, local inhabitants actively participate in the fair. The producers interviewed recalled that this Fair generates important benefits for the whole *comarca* and not only to the village of Requena. However, the Fair is exclusively open to Requena producers and they would not admit, for example, producers from the neighbour village of Utiel, because they feel that they must be very strict to maintain the high level of quality of the products.

Also in Valdres (Norway) the establishment of Valdres rakfisk BA has been very positive for most actors at local level. Also the fermented fish producers outside the cooperative have experienced a growing demand for their products and a positive development, since the demand for fermented fish has increased beyond the level of supply. The development of Valdres Rakfisk BA had a positive effect on the whole Valdres society in many ways. Starting from the success of the Valdres Rakfisk experience, the local authorities wanted to set up initiatives in favour of the family farms, before excluded from the development efforts at local (and also at national) level, while the quality strategy is extended also to other industries, like tourism.

To the contrary, in the Polish case-study of Oscypek cheese both, small highlander producers of the true oscypek and small producers of the false one, risk social and economic exclusion with the implementation of the certification. Herdsmen from the highland, the traditional producers of the real Oscypek, find difficult to adequate their working conditions to the hygiene norms. Certification, on the other side, will make impossible the co-existence of the three networks and the existence of the false Oscypek network is under a real threat under this project

5.3 Sustainability in the Organic perspective of the post-communist countries

With the exception of the peculiar bio-working conditions in the bio-slaughterhouse, it seems that there is a tendency to consider organic farming from a strictly pragmatic point of view. Organic farming is seen as a way to qualify the product more than as an outcome of a broader approach to the relation about men and nature and to the concern for a sustainable way of producing and consuming food. Organic farming, though, seems as an appropriate route here to build the quality, the distinctiveness, the ‘alterity’ ((Kirwan 2004) of food and the food supply chain.

Of course, beyond the actors’ stated objectives, the diffusion of organic farming entails some important consequences for a sustainable rural development.

As for the environmental dimension, the reduction of chemicals in the agricultural practices is particularly important for areas that would otherwise probably be fully devoted to industrialized, mass agriculture.

As for the social dimension, organic farmers are usually more active in rural development initiatives. Jointly with other rural actors they may be promoters of other development practices (Ploeg & others, 2000), like agro-tourism and folk cultural events, able to construct locally based alternatives to further standardization of land use in the context of a trend toward globalisation of production and consumption, as envisaged in the CEECs reports.

The organic movement is anyway on the background of many other initiatives analysed in different countries: the Food Link Van in Skye, the Netzwerk Vorpommern in Germany, the Cahir’s Farmers Market (Ireland), the Aspromonte National Park (Italy) certification project.

All these cases show that the organic movement, even if contested today, has played and still plays an important role in the re-localisation of food and the sustainable development of rural communities.

6. Conclusions

Resisting massification and standardisation, different actors in the European Union are fighting to preserve or give back the food we eat ‘a local habitation and a name’ .

Preserving or re-establishing food identity is pursued in different ways, according to the national and regional starting context. Building a close trust link between producers and consumers through a local market for local food seems the best way in many Northern European countries to reverse direction, from ‘foodless landscape’ toward rural sustainable development. Social re-embedding of food production and exchange in a local food culture is felt as an important component of community life strengthening.

The valorisation of the origin of food is pursued in the Mediterranean countries, but also in Norway and Poland, as one of the main roads to re-vitalise rural economies marginalised by industrialization, opening them the possibility to be important actors in the construction of a new sustainable rural development.

The Central-Eastern European Countries, in transition towards market economy and post-communist institutions, seem to have a less definite route to the construction of food localness. More than a preservation/valorisation/re-invention of the local food culture, that is though evidenced in the case of Poland, the organic method is reported as the most diffused way pursued to give distinctiveness to food production.

Knowledge dynamics are very different in the analysed perspectives. In both, the ‘re-localisation’ and the ‘origin-of-food’ perspectives, knowledge about food is truncated: in the first technical knowledge of how to grow food is lacking and experience and practical hands-on expertise is looked for; in the latter traditional local knowledge is maintained mainly by farmers, but it is lost by the technocratic structure and is blocked at pre-industrial times: managerial knowledge and an ‘embedded’ scientific knowledge is needed. In the organic perspective, technical, scientific and managerial knowledge are more easily reconnected in the dynamics between farmers and organic agencies experts, but the sustainability discourse seems limited to agriculture and the transformation process (rather than extended to the whole food supply chain) and in many cases subordinated to economic rationality.

Each perspective may be analysed as a contextual movement of resistance to globalisation through the construction / valorisation of the local identity of food, the food supply chain and, with them, of rural people. The final question we want to ask here relates to the role this process may play in the sustainable rural development. We may formulate the question following Kirwan (2004): to which extent the construction of local food is directed towards *the incorporation of “social, environmental (and) equity ...issues into the production and consumption of food ... in order to more broadly address the issue of sustainable food production?”*

In many of the case studies we have analysed, from each of the three perspectives, there are elements of ‘alterity’, that is an “intent on creating an alternative system of food production and distribution that is not based exclusively on the commodity relationship and profit maximisation” (Kirwan 2004).

The social dimension is pre-eminent in the ‘re-localisation perspective’, where the urgency of reconstructing through local food a local sustainable community life, based on trust and face-to-face-interaction, is explicitly expressed. In the ‘origin-of-food perspective’ the economic dimension (not necessarily the ‘economic rationality’) is dominant: marginalised rural communities need new sources of income to survive, strengthening their identity and autonomy. Organic farming is in some cases pursued as a way to re-embed food in nature and local social relationships in the CEEC.

Social movements, local institutions, private businesses and the ‘expert system’ (Giddens 1991) are playing an important role in the local food project, but also EU policies and support ‘through funding and market incentives’ (WP9 Comparative Report) have been important in its consolidation.

Different actors bring in different interests. In some cases this may lead to a conflictive struggle for the appropriation of the ‘local food project’: local institutions, LEADER and other development agencies may be more interested to the *valorisation* of local food system as contributing to rural development; social movement to the construction of an *alternative project* to the conventional food system (Ir NR); experts, in association with business capital, to the “*appropriation* of commercial profit emerging from niche markets” (Kirwan 2004). In other cases (and there are many of these) a negotiation process may be set in motion among the different actors, bringing to the definition of common objectives for a local sustainable development.

We can not simplify and conclude that the participation of experts in the ‘local food projects’ always leads to expropriation of local knowledge and production control from local people, neither that the presence of economic objectives necessarily undermines social, environmental and equity concerns. Appropriation¹⁸, leading to the subordination of social, environmental and equity issues to economic rationality, is well analysed in the case study of the Barrancos cured ham, in the Aletejo region of Portugal. The process of formalisation of local knowledge led by experts bring to the

¹⁸ Referring to “the manner in which those actors operating at the globalised level extract commercial value from systems that were originally set up to circumvent their domination of food production and consumption” (Kirwan 2004)

exclusion of local actors from the valorisation of *their* traditional product. In other cases, though, the valorisation of local production (the Requena Sausage, the Palizzi wine, the Aspromonte National Park certification project, the fermented fish and the salami from the Valdres county in Norway...) or the construction of a local food culture, both on the supplier and the consumers side, (the Cahir Farmers' Market, the SLHDA in Skye, the Eldrimmer project in Sweden, the Netzwerk Vorpommern in East Germany) brings to the mobilisation of local actors (even experts), each with their specific knowledge, and to their more active participation in the construction of sustainable rural development alternatives.

It may be that 'resistance to globalisation' is the main common trait of the different perspectives, but still resistance is bringing to a search for sustainable alternatives of local food production in which the three dimension of sustainability emerge, even if not always connected at the same time, with the same strength in the same initiative. In the search for alternatives new subjectivities are created. It is from them that the construction of a common project for a sustainable food system may finally emerge. It is then at these initiatives that a policy oriented toward sustainability must look at.

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Appendix: WP6 Case studies summary report by country

Czech Republic

Spojené farmy

The case-study is focused on a stock company, *Spojené farmy a.s.* (Joint Farms Inc.) producing organic beef. The company bonds together farms located in northern and northwestern part of the Czech republic. The focus of the field work is on a specific farm (a bio-feedlot), which plays a peculiar role in the network, as it is located next to the slaughterhouse where the cattle are processed cooled, matured and packaged. . The biggest advantage comes from the fact that it is not necessary to transport the bio-bull-calves from the farm to the bio-slaughterhouse. This fact significantly reduces the stress of animals. The key place for the bio-beef production is the bio-slaughterhouse where many important mediators are gathered, and where a set of unwritten rules is working that are likely to positively influence the working conditions as well as the final quality of the product.

A basic aspect of the production network is the separation between different stages of cattle growth. Calves, usually born during the first months of a year, are kept with their mothers for suckling. They stay together on pasture until they weight about 300 kg, then cows destined to renewing the herd are moved to a separated feedlot.

The bio-feedlot is basically another farm, which manages large areas of perennial grassland in organic-agriculture system. At this place the bio-bull-calves are fed until they gain their slaughter weight. The bio-feedlot neighbors the bio-slaughterhouse where cattle slaughtering, and then meat maturing, cutting and packaging take place. Its capacity is about 6 bio-animals per day.

With regard to the passage from feedlot to slaughterhouse, it is worth mentioning three relevant aspects:

1. processing the meat in a bio-slaughterhouse is a necessary requirement of the organic certification.
2. because of its closeness to the slaughterhouse, cattle walk to the premise, without being transported. This significantly reduces their stress before being slaughtered.
3. the bio-slaughterhouse is really a key actor, since it is in that structure that many mediators gather and the actual bio-quality of the beef is constructed. In the bio-slaughterhouse workers use to follow a set of unwritten rules that enhance the quality of the beef beyond the strict organic requirements. For example cowpunchers attract animals to a green leaf or a hay instead of using electric truncheons, and the butchers are supposed to do their work calmly and treat each piece of meat appropriately. The Director is a woman.

Following the supply chain, we move to the market channels. The bio-beef is available in selected supermarkets mostly in large towns and cities, and in a few organic-shops that are located in Prague, and that sell the bio-beef only occasionally (3 days in a week). The bio-beef has been also available in international supermarkets since the year 2000. Each piece of beef carries a label containing a lot of information about its organic origin, gender, age and date of slaughtering of the animal, recommended use for each kind of cut, and so on. A link to the company's website is also suggested, where further information are available.

Adherence to organic farming values in the *Spojené farmy a.s.* is minimal, in the sense that managements follow all the requirements of organic farming, but without any personal engagement (or belief) in the set of values usually expressed by the organic movement.

There is not a special emphasis on the "local" as a dimension of quality. According to the research "*to call it a local product makes sense in the semantic opposition with some of the imported beef-meat products (for instance from Ireland), which compete them*". In more practical terms, the label shows a generic information about the fact that "The Bio-beef is typical of a traditional way of cattle breeding". In the website more information is available about the beef's origins.

Poland

1. *Oscypek cheese*

The first Polish case-study deals with the production of a traditional cheese from Podhale region, in a tourist area at the foot of the Tatra Mountains.

The case of the Oscypek cheese, from Poland, is particularly instructive and complex. It is the story of construction of a national product out of a local traditional product. Oscypek is not only the best example of regional food in Poland; it is the symbol of Tatra mountains and, as it belongs to the shepherds' tradition, has a great cultural value. The transformation of the product is linked to the transformation of the economy and the society.

The Oscypek smoked cheese used to be produced by shepherds, with non-pasteurized sheep milk, for self and local consumption. It is an important part of shepherds' tradition (in particular of the so-called "Highlanders") with a history going back to XV century. Through hundreds of years it was produced in the mountains by local shepherds. What is important, cheese should be hand made of non-pasteurized milk in mountain shed. Recipe is passed on from generation to generation in unwritten form what makes the final product unique for each herdsman who made it.

Important social and economic changes occurred after the end of communist regime: shepherds were affected by a deep crisis provoked by declining prices, while Podhale became attractive for tourists, and a growing demand for the famous oscypek cheese grew. Traditional Oscypek becomes an economic resource to be valorised in the market, so a true process of "commercialisation of tradition" starts.

The transformation is so complex to generate not one, but three new Oscypek networks. Two are arising from private actors, producers following different paths to develop their business; the last one is a project network, where local authorities play a dominant role.

The first network, "oscypek as a souvenir for the mass tourism", arises from the reaction of local producers who try to sell their cheese to tourists and visitors. It is a case of 'agopiracy': oscypek becomes a mass product for the tourist in the black economy. The original product is counterfeited: made out of cow milk in dairy farms, smoked in few hours "steeping the cheese in tea-bags". It is a producers-driven short chain of *local food for the local market*: but for non-local consumers, who purchase the cheese while visiting the region. Producers sell "false Oscypek" on roadside stalls, that change the rural landscape. The links between producers and consumer are weak, based in a single transaction. The cheaper "false oscypek" largely out-competes the original one and sells larger quantities (being produced with cow milk it can be produced in larger quantities and all year round, not only in summer as it is the case with sheep's milk). According to estimations, only about 10% of cheese being sold under the name oscypek in Podhale region is made of sheep milk, in line with traditional technique. Tourists are cheated but they do not seem to complain as long as commodity is affordable and do not threaten their health.

The second network is a "local production for distant markets": Thousands of tourists visiting Podhale region and tasting oscypek created demand for this cheese in the whole country. Many people were simply willing to eat oscypek after they returned from the holidays. The main strategy of this network is to satisfy the new demand. Oscypek becomes now a supermarket product, made out with machines, vacuum packed, targeting mass distant consumers, who, having known Oscypek in their travel to Podhale region, want to consume it at home. Power in the chain is shared between regional private enterprises and non-local retailers. This network is criticised by the Highlanders who claim that local businessmen have no right to use the name oscypek for the cheese from dairy factory. They call it "stolen tradition". The issue of name is crucial as it gives the cheese in the shop all the charm of mountain food.

A second variant of this network produces a "luxury" Oscypek, more consistent with the traditional product, made out of non-pasteurized milk (thanks to the "Kalinowsky decree", that allowed the use of non-pasteurized milk for several traditional dairy products) under the observance of strict hygiene regulation. Since this regulation is very difficult to be implemented by the shepherds in the highland, only an elite of shepherd can enter this network. The chain has a decentralised character, since it is based on individual contracts between producers and retailers. Traditional Polish cuisine restaurants and organic food shops are the main outlets for this version of oscypek.

The third network ("neo-traditional oscypek in EU realities") is pursuing the *certification* of the "real oscypek": Its form is directly linked to the phenomenon of certification of traditional local food and to the role of oscypek as a symbol of regional tourism. Unlike the others it is actively promoted by local authorities and collective representation of breeders in a context of territorial marketing. The pre-condition of these initiatives is the tourist flow to the area, alongside with the entrance of Poland into the EU with the opportunity to market oscypek cheese overseas. An active strategy of promotion is established, in which a key role is played by the oscypek cheese. Events like the "oscypek festival" in Zakopane, when visitors can see the traditional cheese making while listening to folk music, or the establishment of the "oscypek route", are examples of this strategy, as well as the presence of the cheese in postcards and other promotional materials of Podhale region.

Conflicts arise about the related requirements (also due to the fact that "each herdsman has his own recipe"). The result is a kind of 'return to the origins', i.e. to the traditional shepherd practices, in a neo-traditional, modernised form,

that is made compatible to EU hygienic requirements. Conflicts arise also because the certification of the products makes impossible the co-existence of the three networks, especially the first one.

2. Rogsad association

Rogsad is a fruit growers association which was established in 1996 by a group of growers of in the Lodzkie region, in Rogów, an area where fruit growing is traditionally the most important farming activity.

A short historical account can explain the context in which Rogsad was created. The first fruit-grower cooperative in the region had been established in 1961, mainly in order to train farmers. After a golden period in the 60s and 70s, it fell into crisis in the 80s. A state agency (the centre for agricultural advice) tried to convince farmers to common initiatives and activities following the European tradition of co-operative movements, after the trauma of communism. They stressed that the main idea of such producer groups lies not in the common efforts in production (as it was in collective farming under communism) but in joint efforts to sell the produce grown by individual members of the group. Rogsad was the first association established, in 1996, and other smaller associations followed.

The association aims at improving the activities related to the growing, preserving and processing of fruits. Among the various activities, it aims at supporting research and techniques dissemination, participation to exhibitions, trainings and seminars as well as at providing trade, transport and marketing services.

To achieve these tasks, Rogsad largely relies upon expert knowledge provided by institutions like the Regional Centre of Extension Service, the Institute for Fruits and Vegetables, and the Regional Inspection for the Protection of Plants and Seeds. These institutions are put in contact with growers thanks to Rogsad.

These members were anyway endowed with knowledge and links. In fact Rogsad was organized by particularly pro-active local inhabitants, mainly activists and members of local council and other local organizations. Further, its leader is known as a strong personality, being at the same time president of the local council and of the hunter association, as well as a former activist of the fruit-grower cooperative during the communist period. He had the knowledge required to grow fruits as well as to sell them. Moreover he was a kind of strong and leading personality.

The members of Rogsad sell their products through a wide range of channels. They supply the trade centre in Łódź, and shops in other towns in the regions, they have their own shops, where they have a direct contact with consumers, but also provide fruits to wholesale facilities in other Polish regions. Finally, a significant portion of production is exported in other countries, mainly in neighbouring ones.

Hungary

1. Hortobágy Co

The Hortobágy Nature and Gene Conservation Public Company has been established in Hortobágy by the National Park Directorate. It organically farms more than 15000 hectares within the Park. The company uses the traditional grazing system, using traditional knowledge that has almost vanished in the past fifty years. In fact, after using “modern” farming methods while being a state farm (until the beginning of the 90es), the Hortobágy Co. recovered traditional methods, integrated them with more modern techniques and applied this “modernized tradition”.

Their main products are wheat, oil reps, oil pumpkin, mustard, barley and they own more than 15000 hectares of meadows and grasslands. The head of livestock is around 3000 (9000 Hungarian Grey Cattle, 50 thousand racka sheep and 350 horses) [An error in the data?]. Similarly to conventional farmers, they sell their products to wholesale companies abroad, as well as in Hungary.

The Company has also an agreement with a meat processor near Szeged, a big city about two hundred kilometres from the case-study area. This company produces salami from the meat produced by Hortobágy Co., and the product is later sold under the trademark of the National Park. Its characterizations in terms of quality depends both on the territory and on the processing methods. Despite the fact that the name “Hortobágy” is well known among organic products consumers, the marketing of the product is not very good.

In its activity the Hortobágy Co. uses expert knowledge - although sausage making is traditional in the region, the salami itself is not produced here. In this case mostly the lack of managerial knowledge explains marketing difficulties. The company uses similar sales methods as conventional or multinational food producers.

2. The organic farmer

The second example from the Hortobágy area is a self-made family farm, which started in 1981 as a small family business. Now the family has 25 hectares of land and some grasslands as well. Their main products are vegetables and since 2003 they are also process the produce. They also raise a variety of animals. The family emphasizes the special farming method (organic, but also biodynamic) they use and the special quality of products attached to it.

Their products (ready made food) can be found in the largest supermarkets, but the market of organic products in Budapest is also a very important marketing possibility for them. The farmer and his wife both participate in producing and also marketing their goods. Their work is based on traditional knowledge forms, but not only local traditional knowledge. They are using traditional Transylvanian recipes for their ready made food products. The family is very active in the region and also in the country. The husband is a well-known figure of the Hungarian organic scene; he is frequently invited to talk about organic farming and give interviews on the subject.

3. The Mezőtur area

Household farm producing wheat, barley, sunflower seeds, and corn. The farmer’s parents were poor farmers. He gradually moved to the introduction of machinery and technology, but he still relies upon local knowledge. They are participating to the program of KITE, one of the largest vertically integrated agriculture company.

With regard to market channels, they sell most of products to three wholesalers. They do not prefer the local mills and processors: instead they opt for the best price and conditions, although they think that working with the local mill makes their life more comfortable. So, although their production is local, their consumers and buyers are outside the region, and they do not know what happens to their products once they are sold. They feel that it is very hard to plan the future since they are at the mercy of the wholesalers, of the public policies (they also rely on the intervention of SAPARD and of the State) as well as of other powerful actors.

In the management of the farm, the wife is responsible for the financial issues, as it happens quite often in the Hungarian countryside. The man is defying the generally used agricultural method: the crop rotation, the timing of sowing, where to seed a specific plant, when to start the plant protection, and so on.

4. Abo-Mill

Another example of production detached from the territory is Abomill. The Abomill is a big company, belonging to the mill-industry. It has a mill in the county centre of Mezőtúr. The owner, the Szabolcs Gabona Holding is a big mill industry complex that covers thirty to thirty-five percent of the Hungarian flour market. The ABOMILL is autonomous

in making decisions regarding production, while marketing, accounting and financial management is controlled by the central office of the company.

The Mill purchases grain directly from the producers. Strong quality requirements are set for the producers and the Mill does not have a constant suppliers' network. They grade and rank the grain when it is in the producers' store and the Mill never gets pre-contract. The Mill purchases corn from a 150 km circle in the region, but two years ago they had to buy corn in Trans-Danubia, because the gluten content was not acceptably high enough. Sometimes the Mill makes integrator contracts and provides some financial assistance to farmers, but ABOMILL does not strive to develop an integrated network.

The production is not sold locally. The thirty percent of the flour is sold outside the region, but not for constant partners, while the remaining seventy percent goes to the nationwide market. The concentration of production is intensifying, but the outputs and inputs of flour market do not make participation in short food chain or local agro-food production system necessary.

4 and 5. The baker, the confectionary owner

The last two case-studies regard two small familiar firms, which are considered representative of the weak territorial embeddedness of food supply chains in Mezőtúr.

The first one is a baker, who runs two shops in the area. The activity started in 1998, with the hiring of a small bakery. Nowadays they bake 300 kilograms of bread per day. One of the shops is near a thirty year old shopping centre and the bakery itself is just next to the shop, there is only a window between them, so anybody can have a look at the people at work.

The baker has problems with main supply chains: he cannot supply local supermarkets, because he cannot comply with their requirements, and because of the presence of a big bakery working at lower prices than him. Further, supermarkets use to buy bakery products from other regions. He tries to cope with this problem by selling other quality products alongside bread (home-made cookies) and the system seems to be working, as consumers also buy the more expensive bread when they enter the shop to buy cookies.

The second case is a confectionary owner, who also runs two shops in the area. The roots of his activity can be found in the family: his grandmother used to bake for special event, as it was common in Hungarian countryside.

Nonetheless he does not rely upon familiar or anyway local knowledge. Nowadays He buys the cakes form a bigger confectionary. He produces by himself only the ice creams. Fifteen years ago, when he started working as a confectioner in the county centre, he used Hungarian raw material, ice-cream powder and Hungarian ice-cream machine. After a few years he began to use the well-known Italian know-how of Caprigiani. He bought machines and raw material from Italy, only the sugar and milk (water) are from Hungary – usually from a hypermarket. He has international connections and travels often to North-Italy for training. He does not have any special contact with neighbouring producers or traders and very few links to the surrounding area.

He also sells Hungarian pastries, but he does not produce them. He has no traditional, only professional knowledge. Further, he does not really use it. This business, it is argued in the report, could be anywhere in the country or the world.

Germany

1. Netzwerk Vorpommern

In the context of an area where agriculture has “a weak local embeddedness, only few relations and low impacts on local economy”, and where “sectoral specialization resulted in an insufficient integration of agriculture within the regional economy” (WP pag 11-12), the first case study aims at re-establishing the links between production/consumption chain and the territory.

“Netzwerk Vorpommern” is a voluntary associations promoted in 1995 by some active citizens gathered by the fact of being organic products consumers. They founded at the beginning a food-coop association, with the original aim of establishing a regional network for environmental-conscious consumers, promoting the creation of local market channels for organic products and strengthening the relations between organic producers and consumers. Then the initiative gradually grew, with various activities supporting new projects for a sustainable local and regional development

It is worth underlying that this initiative was promoted and led by a group of particularly committed consumers. On the other side of the supply chain, a the creation of an alternative producers’ network has failed, after an intense negotiation. The failure of this initiative has been probably due to “asymmetrical power relations in the network, distrust and the unwillingness to give away decision power” (WP page 16).

Netzwerk Vorpommern achieved some relevant results. The first project realized was the centralised supply of the public for regional and biological food. Then In 1998 the organic food shop *Keimblatt* arose from the food-coop, and a green market with several other producers was organised. Later on a direct distribution to consumer households completed the range of services. The organic food shop has been outsourced from the association as an economically independent enterprise.

Beyond these activities, the association is active in local and regional politics. At the municipal level there are intensive contacts to other retailers in order to arrange activities for the development of the municipality and the tourist attraction. Further, political lobbying is done at the government to enhance governments support for organic farmers and organic food supply chains

The effects of the Netzwerk Vorpommern activity, were both economic and social. It directly employs 9 persons (4 of them with full-time jobs) through the organic shop. Indirect effects range from the creation of new market opportunities for both producers (who can gain higher trade margins) and consumers (in particular for the quality and health oriented ones) to the empowerment of local actors, from the creation of new networks embedded in the territory to the promotion of local and environmentally friendly products, to the enhancement of local cooperation among local actors.

2. Gut Owstin

The ostrich farm Gut Owstin was established 2001 at an old manor estate. The estate was purchased two years before by an external investor initially aiming at breeding racehorses. Being not trained in ostrich breeding, the investor and the farm manager acquired their knowledge by visiting several farms, reviewing scientific literature and by learning through a trial-and error procedure.

After a start with only 5 ostrich pairs, the business grew, farms’ productive capacity was enlarged and in-farm processing facilities were established. Nowadays about 400 animals are bred on 50 ha of land.

There is a clear strategy with a focus on quality aspects

- health dimension of ostrich meat
- freshness determined by regional processing and short transport
- natural outdoor breeding in pens
- transparent production

The main issue communicating quality is the fat- free meat quality of ostrich compared to other species, the special taste and the freshness. The last issue is a competitive advantage to imported meat from South-Africa or Poland, which has lower production costs and a cheaper market price.

Gut Owstin’s influence on local development could be limited by only some aspects of the initiative, as the farm is relatively small, the kind of animal bred are unusual for the area, and only the farm manager was indigenous. Nevertheless, some noticeable contributions to local rural development can be mentioned, like the restoration of the old manor house and some other buildings in the near village, organization of guided farm visits with direct selling in a farm-shop, setting up of new production facilities. Further investments are going to be made to refurbish the old village school, where a restaurant will be created.

More enlarged networks connect the farm with the ostrich breeding farms also beyond the region. In particular, its experience on breeding ostrich under those peculiar condition of soil and climate are shared with other similar farms.

Because of the pro-active attitude of the farmer, friendly relations with the regional administration and with other local initiatives have also been established. The initiatives has not been supported by public support schemes.

Ireland

1. Cahir Farmers' Market

Farmers' Markets are markets ruled by groups of farmers or by single individuals, sometimes with the involvement of local authorities. In Ireland the movement started in the mid-1990s, then Farmers' Markets increased rapidly particularly since 2002. Nowadays they amount to a number from 80 to 100 all around the country.

Cahir Farmer Market was established by the Cahir Development Association, a civil society organisation, with the aim of attracting people in the village of Cahir during the Saturdays, and to promote the sell of a wide range of local products. The Development Association advised stallholders and received a good feedback, so that the market was established in 2001. It is settled in the car-park of an old grain store converted into a craft shop and it is run by the stallholders themselves, gathered in a committee. There is also an involvement of local city council (which also provided water and electricity for the premise), as it happens in some (but not all of the) kinds of markets.

Despite the presence of the committee and the role played by local authorities, the market is regulated by a set of rules that are largely informal and quite flexible. This happens with regards to the kind of products to be sold: they are supposed to be mostly locally produced, but exceptions are possible.

It is worth noting that at least in one case no exception was made when a large organic meat distributor tried to take a stall in the market. The stallholders refused, arguing that they thought that the distributor was importing low quality meat from Germany, and that the Market was supposed to give to local farmers the opportunity to sell their products.

For the rest, there appears to have been little conflict around the establishment of Cahir Farmers' Market. Local shopkeepers were brought into the Development Association at an early stage of the planning, and are reportedly benefitting from the new influx of custom in the town on Saturday mornings; the County Council has also been supportive and has been supplying a waste collection and disposal system for the market free of charge.

The market has now expanded to 11 stalls (the committee have set themselves a maximum of 12). There are 2 bakers, 'the fish man', a savouries confectioner and a sweets confectioner, 'the apple man' (see below), a specialty bread stall, a pate stall, a meats and poultry stall, and 2 vegetable stalls. All are selling their own produce, although sometimes they carry products from other, more or less local, producers as well. For the 12th stall, they are looking for someone who would sell prepared foods, such as soups and sausages.

Most of the stallholders come from the area surrounding Cahir within 10 miles. They are charged 150 euros per annum by the local authorities to hold a stall (or around 4 euros for each market day, compared to up to 60 euros per day in the privately-run markets); this does not fully cover the costs of developing the market, and they have received some grant support from LEADER. Stallholders also must pay insurance in case of accidents around their stalls, and they also pay 7 euros a week into a market development fund, which is used for occasional advertising in the local newspapers, or to pay entertainers (face-painters, musicians, a juggler) for special occasions such as the Christmas, Easter and St. Valentine's Day markets.

Three case-studies of singular stallholders are also provided. These are:

1. Jimmy, a vegetable grower and trader. He sells almost all its production at the Cahir Market. He has got a degree in agriculture and a diploma in rural sociology. He is more focused on the Cahir Farmers' Market and less embedded in wider networks, in comparison to the other producers, Con and Peter.
2. Con holds an Apple Far, established by his Dutch parents in 1967. Since 1995 he also produces apple juice. Further, he sells products for other producers in his own farm shop, and he processes apples, using their own juicing plant, for some other small producers who want to direct-sell it themselves. Con holds a Master in Horticulture from a university in Dublin.
3. Peter in an organic meat producer, after working for 11 years in the meat processing industry. The farm mainly produces beef, but also sheep, pigs 'from time to time', and geese for the Christmas market. It supports Peter, his wife, and one part-time employee.

2. Crozier Blue Cheese

Crozier Blue cheese is an EU-certified farmhouse sheep's cheese, made by two brothers. The enterprise at present provides employment for 4 people - a local girl who works as a farmhand, a person employed in the cheese making, and the two brothers themselves; the wife of one, and their parents, also 'help out' with the work. If the cheese is the firm's main product, there is also a pilot production of a pro-biotic yoghurt.

The two brothers are nephews of another couple of brothers who produce another blue cheese, the "Cashel Blue", which has achieved international success since the middle of the 90s. The cheese is still produced, it is to a certain extent a competitor of the Crozier, but not completely, as the latter's price is more than twice the Cashel's one. Further, Crozier profited of the previous Cashel's reputation as a quality cheese.

The cheese is sold through personal contacts with shops (up-market food retail outlets), a few "high-quality" supermarket chains, hotels and restaurants, and through wholesalers. Most of these wholesalers are overseas: in the UK, Australia, the USA and Japan, where they then sell the cheese to supermarket chains, catering trade and health food shops.

The producers promote the cheese by entering it in international cheese competitions, where they have been very successful, winning gold medals at the British Cheese Awards and World Cheese Awards competitions in 2003, and the Food Writers Guild's Guaranteed Irish Good Food Award in 2005. Like Cashel Blue, it is strongly marketed as a "local" product from Tipperary: "Cashel Blue" refers to the Rock of Cashel, a central feature on most tourist trails in Ireland, which has on its summit a medieval abbey, whereas the name "Crozier Blue" refers to the staff, or crozier, of the Bishop of Cashel.

Scotland

1. Skye and Lochalsh Horticultural Development Association

The Skye and Lochalsh Horticultural Development Association (SLHDA) is a loose network of actors committed to supporting horticulture on Skye, and teaching horticultural skills that have gradually been lost.

The SLHDA was set up in 1995 by an economic development officer at Highland Council, who was interested in promoting horticulture on Skye. After meeting with a local grower who shared her views, a public meeting was set up to establish if there was an interest among local actors. Hence the network was created, and started its activity aiming at promoting horticulture.

This was not an easy task, since horticulture was considered an odd activity: in a region characterized by poor soils and harsh climate, agricultural sector was traditionally focused on lamb and cattle. As a result, the first phase of activity was focused on demonstrating the potential for horticulture on Skye, by recruiting four growers to cultivated land with the advice provided by a horticultural specialist from the Scottish Agricultural College and by an established local grower.

With regard to resources, the initial funding came through the Highland Council and by Skye and Lochalsh Enterprise (SALE), the local enterprise company. After the start-up phase, the project does not have permanent funding other than membership subscriptions, so that it has to seek support on a project by project basis from other agencies. SALE has been a major player not only in terms of providing funding, but also by training growers on how to produce for market, and by promoting the use and benefits of local food more generally. On the contrary, at the national level, support for local food productions is fairly weak.

Nowadays the network, predominantly led by the growers, has more than sixty members, who pay an annual subscription to remain part of it. The business generated by the network led in 2002 to the creation of a trading company, which deals with bulk order buying, and with the weekly market stall the SLHDA holds in the city of Portree, through which growers sell their produce to the public.

What is particularly interesting is that, for consumers, the fact that produce is organic is not as important a measure of quality as the fact that the produce is local. As such, the organic producers have no real quality advantage over any of the other growers. Quality is recognised by various elements: the fact that food is locally produced and that the best restaurants on Skye use local produce, but also by a personal knowledge of the producers, due to the limited size of the island, that created a shred trust among producers and consumers.

Among the other activities, it is worth mentioning a the project aiming at encouraging local food consumption (and also production) at the schools, funded under the LEADER program.

2. Isle of Skye Seafood

The Isle of Skye Seafood (IOSS) was set up in 1993, and is a small, private business, which supplies locally caught fish and shellfish. The business, run by a former fisherman, does not own its own boats, but buys produce from local fishermen and divers. In 1998, the businesses started its own smokehouse to produce naturally smoked, un-dyed produce.

The business started thanks to the owner's passion for local food. He felt that very little local product was available, and he started the activity. The original aim was to market just one product, squat lobsters, to the major hotels in the area, and to do so through meeting with local chefs taking samples of his product. SALE advised that, in order to improve its viability, the business had expand its range to include other shellfish and fish. The business is still supported, at the regional level, by SALE, which provided some training for the owner around running and managing a business.

With a staff of eight persons, IOSS cleans, prepares and slices the fish. The owner provides training for staff in order for them to gain the qualifications needed to process the product, but staff turnover is very high due to competition from internationally owned companies paying higher wages (although offering only seasonal jobs). The produce is then sold locally, but also nationally and internationally through email and telephone mail orders (a service which was set up in 2000). The international market is restricted to smoked products, as un-smoked fish needs to be delivered within 24 hours. IOSS also supplies fish to local people and hotels, but its more famous clients include Harrod's in London.

It is worth underlying the role of another projects which has played a relevant role in the development of local food chains. It has been said that IOSS sells its product also locally. This happens through its on-site shop, but also through the Food Link Van. The Food Link Van is a project promoted by Highland Council and SALE. It has been vital in developing and maintaining a local market for produce. In its first year (2000), the van moved £6810 of produce. Now it moves over £80,000, a significant increase in the amount of food staying in the local economy.

Norway

1. Valdres Næringsutvikling

Before presenting the two case-studies, there is another initiative deserving to be mentioned here, since although it is not a proper case-study, it can be considered an explicit project aiming at re-localising food production at the local level.

The public regional development company Valdres Næringsutvikling (VN) was established in 1990, with the aim of revitalizing and increasing the local agricultural sector, and of connecting it with the tourist sector (in particular with the cottage tourism, which is an important economic activity for the area).

Among the various activities realized (or, at least, promoted) by the VN, it is worth mentioning the following:

- a. Norsk Rakfiskfestival, a commercial festival that attracts a lot of people both from Valdres and outside, and where local food is used as a tool/totem in developing the region.
- b. Valdresgildet is an arrangement firstly organized in 2001, whose main objectives are to spread knowledge about local food culture and to develop cooperation between agriculture and the traveling industry.
- c. Valdres Matforum BA is a cooperative society whose establishment (in 2002) was promoted by the VN. It gathers local food producers and actors of the tourist sector. Its main objectives are the development of production, processing and sales of food from Valdres through quality production based on distinctiveness and local traditions, and the development of the area of niche food, through various activities like, for example, the establishments of quality norms and branding.

2. Valdres rakfisk brand

The Norwegian tradition of fermenting fish is known all over the world. Although there are differences between producers and areas, usually the fish is first cleaned and salted, sometimes with some sugar added, then placed in a bucket and covered with a marinade for 6 to 12 weeks, at a degree ranging from 0 to 8 °C.

Valdres is the area in Norway where most of the production of half-fermented fish is produced. In the area fermented trout (fished in local lakes) has been a food tradition since the 16th century or earlier, and nowadays Valdres rakfisk (rakfisk is the Norwegian name of the product) is very popular in the country.

Before the foundation of Valdres Rakfisk BA (a co-operative society with six fermented fish producers), most of the rakfisk producers in Valdres were organized through a union called Authentic Valdres Fermented Trout (Ekte Valdres Rakørret), and certified in accordance with the requirements of Good Norwegian (Godt Norsk). Every producer had its own logo and there were no strong union related obligations

Valdres Næringsutvikling (VN) saw the potential in cooperation among the rakfisk producers in Valdres. VN connected Valdres Rakfisk to Matforsk (an R&D organization in the field of food) that initiated and established one-year network cooperation between six producers.

The project began with a scientific study on the health aspects of fish fermentation, (chemical research studies on bacteria produced by the fermentation, adoption of modern technology) also because the idea was to valorise this ancient tradition, but at the same time meeting all the modern hygienic and safety requirements. The project aimed at creating a common branding for the Valdres rakfish (a certification called "Spesialitet" - Speciality), also because some competitors started to import trout from Denmark, then selling them as Valdres rakfish. Despite the fact that each of the six producers involved have developed peculiar recipes for the fish processing, agreements have been found about common routines and standards to be adopted.

In the procedure also other scientific and institutional actors were involved. Among them the Matmerk, a foundation grounded by different actors of the national food sector, which owns the classification for quality food and also administers the national classification system according to European Union regulation 2081/92 and 2092/92.

Nowadays common brand, logo, and design have been established, whereas each of the six producers takes care of its own sale and marketing through different channels (farm shops, small retailer specialised in local food, export to other regions and southern Norway).

3. Kurv frå Valdres BA

The last case-study is to some extent similar to the former. There is a traditional production, which is salami, which is made by local people according to various recipes for both self-consumption and for selling to small and big retailers.

In this case too, there is a wide variety of local recipes. Local people still make their own salami from own recipes for own use. At the same time a lot of producers produce for sale, both small and larger producers. There is a great variety of meat to use for the salami: elk, reindeer, sheep, goat, storf, and different mixtures are used. All parts of the animal can be used. The salami is used as a present or people eat the salami at bread or together with thin bread and beer.

In 2003 Valdres Matforum BA started the process of establishing a cooperation between the salami producers and, at the end of the starting phase, 15 producers are now gathered in the cooperative society “Kurv frå Valdres BA” (Kurv mean “salami”).

The main goals of the initiative are commercial: enlarging production, widening markets, getting higher prices. These tasks were pursued by establishing a common branding and logo, by creating a common distribution system, by improving production techniques. With regard to this point, it is interesting to note that the external advice of an expert in science of nutrition (suggesting the use of bacteria to start the fermentation process) was refused by local producers, who argued that this would have transformed the local salami in an industrialized product.

The main goal of the cooperation is the creation of a Protected Designation of Origin, for which is acceptable to use raw materials from outside the district in small quantity, but the main ingredients have to come from the region. The process for establishing cooperation and develop a common name and brand is supported by Innovation Norway. The local Food Security Office has agreed on supporting the producers in the process of establishing cooperation.

A peculiar character of the cooperative, from an organizational point of view, is that out of the fifteen members three are bigger than the others, and that all members agree that in case of conflicts and disagreements the bigger producers have to decide for the whole group.

Sweden

Eldrimner

Eldrimner is a rural network for small-scale refinement of agricultural products with a centre in Rösta, in the municipality of Äs, in Jämtland.

The project is targeted to meet the needs of local small-scale food producers, farmers and entrepreneurs in the food-refinement business and aims at creating better conditions for small-scale production and distribution in the region. In order to achieve this task, Eldrimner has developed manifold activities to support the production, processing and marketing of products as different dairy products like cheese, meat products (sausages), vegetables and berries, fish.

The project helps the start of new enterprises and gives support to small-scale food-refinement at the regional level. It does not have defined project membership for the target groups, but acts as a facilitator within the region for all persons interested in small-scale refinement.

Another aim of the project is to blend local tradition with new input, ideas and technologies from other rural regions and countries. Hence, a co-operation with small-scale food-producers in France as well as Germany has been started.

The main objectives of the project can be summarized as follows:

- to provide a forum and meeting place, locations and premises for small-scale food-producers;
- to facilitate the start of new businesses and to support existing producers;
- to mediate applied and practical knowledge between small-scale producers within the region as well as knowledge adapted from other regions;
- to support small-scale production as one rooted in the local community and the local ecological conditions;

The objectives are pursued in courses for small-scale refinement such as cheese making, pork butchering, and the refining of berries and vegetables. The courses even include marketing, economics and legislation on food-production.

Besides the courses, Eldrimner provides help with the procedures involved in starting and managing small enterprises, and an inventory of techniques for small-scale refinement of rural products is made. The project helps rural people with interest in small-scale refinement to find an opportunity to try themselves production processes and the possibilities to sell the products on the market. Eldrimner provides several locations for production that are offered to interested small-scale producers.

The adoption of new technology is supported in various ways. A production facility for pork butchering and other refinement is being built adjacent to the dairy, and here the producers will be able to attend courses and experiment with their own ideas. Further, a mobile production-unit with approved equipment for all kinds of refinement (dairy, pork butchering and refinement of berries and vegetables) is for rent at a weekly basis at a low price

Finally, an important fair called Särinner is organised to support the marketing of products and give producers and other actors an opportunity to meet and to communicate. The fair includes exhibitions, assessment of quality, seminars and discussions concerning the future of locally produced small-scale food-businesses.

The initiatives of Eldrimner are not only focused on the economic results: the main purpose of the project is actually that of demonstrating that and how sustainable rural development can become possible by co-operation, networking, capacity building and mobilisation of local people and the use of local knowledge. Hence, important aspects of the project are also a strong community involvement through the favour for bottom up-processes and the active participation of women in the project – the last point is of importance as it is also a main objective of all Swedish public policies to support women. A special emphasis is given to the support of ecologically grown and produced food that does not involve substitutes.

The authority responsible for Eldrimner (which is funded by the EU structural funds for Objective 1 and by the Swedish RDP) are the regional administration and the County Council in Jämtland. A board consisting of 7 representatives of local producers, 2 representatives of the regional administration and the structural funds-officer, as well as the project manager controls the project. Despite this involvement of institutional actors, it is considered as fundamental the fact that local producers have a majority in deciding about eldrimners activities and the issues to be prioritised. The participation and engagement of local stakeholders is vital for the project, as also their active participation in the board.

After the success of Eldrimner's activity in the field of knowledge dissemination, Eldrimner project developed from a regional into a *national resource centre* for small scale food production and refinement, together with two other regional centres. There has been some competition and lobbying also for other centres, but the fact that Eldrimner

finally succeeded underlines again its pioneering role and its strength as an example of good practices. Thus it can be said, the basic ideas and forms of work and knowledge dissemination that have characterized Eldrimner's prior development have resulted in its success to become a national resource centre. This has not changed Eldrimner's practices, but led to more extended knowledge transfer and dissemination, in order to spread knowledge in other areas.

Spain

1. *Utiel-Requena D.O.*

The first case-study relates to wine production in the Utiel-Requena area. The report describes the whole sector, which has a long tradition and is still relevant in social and economical terms, with many familiar cellars, some big firms and a web of cooperatives which are deeply grounded in the territory and particularly important in the wine sector.

Since centuries various grapes were grown in the area. Bobal is an autochthonous variety of grape being totally adapted to the area's climate and soil. It is the most important in terms of production, followed by the Tempranillo and Garnacha varieties that were introduced more recently. With Bobal a peculiar kind of wine, called "double past" used to be produced. The double past was traditionally marketed in Catalunya and France to become a component of other wines, because of its capacity to give them a strong colour, without altering the original flavour and taste. The dark colour wine obtained from bobal is very difficult to be obtained from other varieties, so this is a much appreciated product in this particular niche market. Alongside this production, some other varieties of low quality wine for everyday local consumption were also realized.

A higher quality production never developed until recent decades, when some initiatives were taken to improve the wine quality, mostly relying upon the expert knowledge and advice provided by some technical agencies, like the "Escuela de Capataces Bodegueros y Viticultores" (School of Wine-producers and Wine-makers)", which was later converted into the "Escuela de Viticultura y Enología de Requena" (School of Viticulture and Oenology). The D.O. (*Denominación de Origen*: Origin's Denomination) has been an important pillar of this strategy of improvement. Its creation and implementation has created a wide network of local actors.

In the more general context of the local wine production sector, the D.O. network has been chosen as a specific case-study because it integrates most producers in the area, and it concentrates a formalised and standardised technical knowledge that is equally applied to all firms being under the D.O. in order to achieve a specific level of quality. This network includes over 100 producers, and some local and regional public institutions and has a registration of almost 40,000 Has where different varieties of red and white grapes are cultivated. The D.O. includes all wine producers existing in the area (108), with the exception of one cellar that prefers to sell its product under its own family label.

The Utiel-Requena D.O. was created in the 1970's as a consequence of a national law that establish each wine production area in Spain should have a D.O. However, it was in the 1980's when Utiel-Requena D.O. really became fully operative, hence this is a quite young D.O. if compared with others in Spain and especially with the worldwide famous Rioja and Ribera del Duero. Utiel-Requena D.O. gathers a territory of nine municipalities (Requena, Utiel, Caudete de las Fuentes, Camporrobles, Fuenterrubles, Siete Aguas, Sinarcas, Venta del Moro, and Villagordo del Cabriel), and has a registration of almost 40,000 Has where different varieties of red and white grapes are cultivated. The D.O. includes all wine producers existing in the area (108), with the exception of one cellar that prefers to sell its product under its own family label.

The peculiar development path followed by wine production in the area (due to the specific character of the double past) has interesting effects on the knowledge dynamics in the process of local wine valorization. Contrarily to what occurs with other products, such as sausages, the role of traditional know-how for wine production acquired through years of experiences has not been in the base of current production of quality wine. Hence, in the last decades wine producers in Utiel Requena have needed to learn how to produce quality wine. It was the introduction of technician oenologists in cellars, firms and cooperatives, and the presence of small innovative cellars that betted for quality and encouraged the rest (especially big cooperatives) to also do so, what motivated the elaboration of quality wine in the area. It has been necessary to modify some cropping and manipulation patterns and habits traditionally implemented by some farmers in order to improve quality.

2. *Requena sausages Protected Geographic Indication*

Also the second case-study is related to a traditional production in the area, which used to have an economic impact but even more a social and cultural value.

La *matanza* has been a traditional practice in the inland rural areas of Spain, and still persist in some parts of the country. This is the process in which a pork (or several) are killed and during the whole day full families prepare the meat, sausages and other products to be consumed during the rest of the year. This practice has been a key component of the rural family economy in the times when this was mainly a subsistence economy, and it is in the origin of current production of sausages in the village of Requena.

The introduction of new sanitary controls, but especially the changes in personal habits and lifestyles have reduced this practice in the family context, and it has become a more professionalized process. Nevertheless there is still an authentic culture of meat consumption, so that in Requena there are 40 butchers.

The evolution of the sausages' artisan manufacturing in the last years has been marked by three main events: the organisation of the Requena's Sausages Fair, the adoption of a label for the product, (*embutido de Requena* - Requena's sausages), and the acquisition of the quality distinction: Protected Geographic Identity (IGP). All of them involved the mobilisation and combination of different actors and knowledges.

The idea of organising a fair and creating a label emerged in 1992, when a group of local producers found this way to exploit the construction of a new highway close to the village. The fair then became an important event for the village, gathering local actors beyond the food production sector.

The *Protected Geographic Identification* (IGP) for Requena sausages is joined by 11 out of the 40 butchers in Requena. It is regulated by the *Institute of Agri-Food Quality*, belonging to the Regional Government. The products must meet various quality requirements to get the certification, but these are quite flexible, leaving room for a range of differences which characterize each farm's production. It is important to stress that the IGP does not protect the origin of the raw material (so pigs do not necessarily come from the area), but "only" the elaboration process that results in a final consumption product. At the moment a debate is taking place among stakeholder on the possibility of applying for a D.O.

The role of local knowledge in this case is different from the wine's one. Given the initial situation special efforts have not been made to adopt new knowledge in order to improve the product, but only to adopt some measures aiming at consolidating the product in the market as a "quality product" and to meet the necessary food and quality regulations. Despite the introduction of new practices and instruments that have facilitated the elaboration process while ensuring that the necessary standards of hygiene and health are met, producers insist that the process keeps being highly artisan. The codification of recipes made by the IGP take this artisanal dimension into account, also when it gives a high flexibility to the amount of ingredients that each producers can use in the sausage-making.

Portugal

Barrancos Cured Ham

The case-study is referred to the production of the Barrancos Cured Ham, produced from a local breed of pig, the Alentejo-breed pig. Barrancos ham is very distinct from other hams produced in Portuguese and Spanish (Andalusia and Estremadura) regions because is cured in the open air, rather smoked (that characteristic makes the product easily subject to pests).

The Alentejo-breed pig, raised in an extensive montado system (holms-oak and cork-oak forests typical of Alentejo), has constituted the basic type of food for local people over the centuries due to the range of products supplied and the ease of preservation, enabling consumption throughout the year.

Nevertheless, after the end of 1950s, the African Swine Plague (*Peste Suína Africana*) and changes in consumer preferences led to the replacement of the Alentejo_breed by both cross-breed pigs, more resistant to disease and less fat, and other animal species: cattle, sheep and goats. Further, the introduction of new food hygiene and safety rules led to the banning of family pig-slaughtering. As a result, only few exemplars remained and the Alentejo breed was on the verge of extinction.

The main products of this agro-food chain, Barrancos cured ham (which received the PDO certification in 1995) and sausages, were still produced by some large farms and small cottage farms, using the traditional breed, but only in small quantities for local consumption.

The situation changed when, at the end of the 80s, the African Swine Plague was eradicated and the University of Évora started a research project over the raising the slaughtering and the processing of this pig.

Research work began with the selection of a local cured ham manufacturer to take part in the study from among three producers indicated by the Mayor of Barrancos. Alentejo-breed pigs and cross-breed pigs were purchased by the University of Évora and fattened on the montado of the University in Évora. The animals were later slaughtered in Barrancos and cured hams produced by the local manufacturer at its plant. For a full year, traditional knowledge was recorded by the researchers and the relations between the local environmental conditions and the characteristics of the ham were studied. Further, traditional knowledge was integrated by experts in order to face some problems affecting traditional techniques, concerning hygiene and pest management. .

In the second year, 1990-91, a manufacturing unit was set up in Évora to evaluate whether or not the climatic conditions of Barrancos had an influence on the characteristics of the ham. By the end of the second year the study had concluded that the question of pig-breed was important, the Alentejo breed enabling ham of better quality to be produced, and that climatic conditions did influence the characteristics of the ham.

In the third year, 1991-92, the hams were no longer produced at the factory of the local manufacturer and were now produced at special premises provided by Barrancos Municipal Council. Despite the new premises ensuring better

conditions of hygiene, the question of pests was not resolved. There was even a proposal to freeze the ham in order to resolve the problem but in the event the decision was taken to merely monitor the conditions of storage. By the end of the third year, the study had obtained results which enabled to apply for certification of the ham.

In the early 1990s, under the initiative of the university scientists, a pig raisers network was gradually setting-up, on the basis of the two main groups of large-scale raisers, both represented by the UNIAPRA (Union of Associations of Alentejo Pig-raisers). According to the University of Évora researcher, UNIAPRA was created in order to avoid the proliferation of small raisers' associations and to provide an administrative body responsible for the Alentejo Breed Section of the Portuguese Pig Genealogic Book.

At the same time (1992) eleven partners, among whom there was the University of Évora researcher and a butcher from another settlement in the Lower Alentejo, set up in Barrancos a limited company, BARRANCARNES – Transformação Artesanal Lda. Only two of the eleven partners resided in Barrancos, but they were not cured ham manufacturers. Among other activities (like the establishment of extra-regional market channels and investments for new premises), the company entered into a partnership agreement with the University of Évora to continue the research work.

During the 90s the process of certification also preceeded. In 1992 The name “Barrancos Cured Ham” was first officially protected by national law as a “collective brand with indication of origin, and, later, in 1995, Barrancos Cured Ham was granted designation of origin status within the legal framework established by Reg. (EEC) no. 2081/92, which was integrated into Portuguese legislation in 1993.

In 2001 the BARRACARNES was sold to a large Portuguese group, Amorin Group, that took full control over the company and carried out a new series of investments to increase the productive capacity.

A further step in the network creation was made in 2004, when the APRA (Inter-professional Association for the Protection of the Alentejo Breed Pig) was set up, bringing together processing units, especially Barrancarnes, individual Alentejo breed pig-raisers, the confrarias (gastronomic interest groups) and the National Consumer Protection Association. The Alentejo pig-raisers' associations did not join the APRA, considering this association an instrument of Barrancarnes to control the supply chain.

Nowadays Barrancarnes controls the whole network, succeeding in creating an identification between the PDO cured ham and its own brand. During these processes the University of Évora academic continued to bring an influence to bear on the organization of production and processing. Barrancarnes is practically the only company that produces and markets Barrancos Cured Ham PDO. It is able to sell the PDO certified ham at a price which is more than twice the price achieved by the informally produced cured ham made by cottage artisans and still sold in local markets. In late 2005, the Amorim Group sold its majority shareholding in BARRANCARNES to two Spanish groups, a commercial group and a financial group, so that the production of PDO Barrancos cured ham is now produced by Spanish capital.

Cottage-industry artisans still produce cured ham in Barrancos: those who rejected the proposal made by the University of Évora academic that they should set up a cooperative society. How many there are is unknown: they produce hams, illegally, on an informal basis, for the local market and by order for customers in neighbouring districts. The impact of the certification process on local cottage-industry manufacturers is negative: their ham is now worth less, and they are therefore forced to buy at lower prices cross-breed or Alentejo-breed pigs which do not meet requirements in terms of weight or feeding for supply to the processing industry.

With regard to quality issues, Barrancos Cured Ham is today distinct from the cured ham produced by traditional manufacturers. The oral tradition of knowledge has now been recorded, a process that took some years, and this knowledge has been used by new actors in the market. The technological innovations introduced are not radical in nature, and are limited to the control of temperature, humidity and ventilation at certain stages in the production process, but are still important in terms of the emergence of new quality parameters (salty taste, mould) which are more in tune with the requirements of consumers in outside markets. The recording of the oral knowledge has also enabled the “industrialization” of ham, that is, it can now be produced in large quantities rather than just on a cottage-industry basis

The different types of knowledge about cured ham-producing are distinct in nature and associated with different sets of actors. The oral tradition of knowledge still belongs to local cottage-industry artisans who produce a traditional ham which is not certified (and uncertifiable): a local product for the local market. Scientific knowledge has been acquired by the University of Évora and combined with business knowledge at BARRANCARNES and later at Boleta Barranquenha. Certified Barrancos Cured Ham has the distinct characteristics of home-cured ham and is targeted at outside markets.

The research reveals that there is no dynamic relationship between the oral tradition of knowledge on the one hand and business know-how and scientific knowledge on the other hand (although there is such a relationship between the second and the third, as evidenced by the partnership entered into by the University of Évora and BARRANCARNES), and the respective learning processes are also distinct.

Greece

Two “Quality Wine Produced in Specific Region” (VQPRD) networks are analysed.

1. Mavro Messenikola wine production

The first is the VQPRD Mavro Messenikola, in the Lake Plastiras area, in the Prefecture of Karditsa. This is a short and locally bounded network. Despite its relatively long existence, the VQPRD Messenikola has only recently become known outside its area due to the better marketing of the produce. . The Messenikola wine zone located in the steep hills and slopes of the southern Pindos mountainous zone is a traditional wine growing area since the Byzantine period.

There are only two wineries in the network. The first is the winery of the Karditsa Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, which has a long history but produces VQPRD wine with no remarkable quality. The second one is a private winery (Karamitros Winery S.A.), organized on a family basis and at a small-scale (it produces around 80 tons yearly), which has been built and modernized through a local investment plan (through LEADER II funding). This private winery has its own vineyard and buys only limited produce from other farmers. Thus, only two wineries are active in the Messenikola wine zone and both of them are formally liable to the organoleptic control carried out by the local Agricultural Department of the Prefecture.

These two actors have established two different supply chains in the network. The Cooperative winery, which supplies only the local and the regional market, mostly aims at the cheap local wine market. The private winery supplies the local market, other local markets in the country, but also exports a small proportion of its production. It aims at supplying the local tourist market with its quality wine.

An important local social actor in this network is the local development agency (ANKA) which is the body in charge for the LEADER program. ANKA seems to have played a role for establishing and/or strengthening the links between VQPRD Messenikola and the territorial development of the wine appellation. The investment plan of the private winery (Karamitros Winery) is also a result of a local policy implemented by ANKA. Further, the agency is in charge for the implementation of LQC (Local Quality Convention), a local agro.tourist quality certification which aims at upgrading and sustaining the quality of products and of services offered in the Lake Plastiras area.

Messenikola wine producers are in their majority small-medium farmers producing as much as possible in order to increase their returns. Most of them have the right to make wine, but they trade it either in plastic bottles or by putting it in medium size containers (5lt). Their customers are either the local people or those who live in other areas of the country but who originate from the wider area of Karditsa and they have tasted the Messenikola wine. The informal networks of former migrants who come from the area (and often return for vacation, for pleasure or retirement) seem to play an important role for the distribution and marketing of local food and wine products due to the fact that they are more “trustworthy” than the “unidentified” products bought at the supermarket.

Notwithstanding the quality certification, the quality wine production network is not effective and the supply chain is dominated by the more powerful conventional actors, the large wine companies, which buy wine from the local producers in order to produce cheap, conventional wine for the wider, mass market. There seem to be no explicit negotiation of quality issues in the network. There is no attempt by the consumers to improve wine quality, and the ordinary local consumers do not have particularly high quality requirements since they are mostly concerned about getting wine at a low price. Only the private winery raises the quality standards for the wine in the area. But then this quality standard can only be paid when the product is sold abroad or in niche markets

2. Nemea wine production

The VQPRD Nemea, in the Nemea area (north-eastern part of Peloponnese) is obtained from 100% of the local cultivar Agiorgitiko. The quality wine production network is here relatively more developed when compared to the one in the Lake Plastiras area. It can be considered as a consumers-driven network since the wineries have relocated to this area in order to meet the expanding demand for quality wine.

There are more than twenty-eight (28) wineries which produce VQPRD Nemea. The majority of those were established during the 1990s and some of them in the last five years. Some of the wineries belong to locals early activated in the area, while others claim that they have their origins from the area. A good proportion of the winery owners are themselves enologists or they have acquired formal technical knowledge. The oldest winery in the area is the Cooperative Winery of Nemea, which currently accounts for nearly half of the whole production.

Most of the produce is exported to the international market: Europe (Germany in particular), Northern America, Asia and Australia. What is more problematic for Nemea wineries is to establish marketing networks in the domestic market. This is due to the high competition with the large wine companies and with wine imports from other countries.

In more detail, it is possible to distinguish three types of private wineries, linked to three different kinds of supply chains. Firstly, there are the small wineries which have recently upgraded their product by using their own label. Those wineries aim primarily at the local/regional market as well as the national market. Secondly, there are the larger local wineries which have become known either in the national or in the international market. Some of them have established good marketing links and are actually export-oriented. Others have established better links in the national market and they have become renowned for their product.

Thirdly, there are wineries which have built a winery in Nemea, while having also wineries elsewhere. They already had their own marketing schemes and they have simply differentiated their products by adding another dynamic – in their view – wine (or set of wines) to their wine portfolio. Many of them were already export-oriented, while others aimed at the national market through their supermarket deals.

Recently due to the financing and consulting provided by an INTERREG IIIB programme entitled “COHESION”, a wide-ranging network of local economic actors has been established, centred on the local wine sector. Three significant social actors: the Nemea Wine Cooperative, the private wine makers (the majority of them) and the Municipality of Nemea found a common basis for action in the face of *Agiorgitiko* and in favour of the areas’ agro-tourist development.

Further, on April 2005, a new local interprofessional wine network was established called “Union of Wine Makers and Viticulturists of Nemea” (ENOAN). ENOAN is a part of the regional organisation (ENOAP), which works at the regional level, for the promotion and improvement of the image of wines of the Peloponnesus and the tourist exploitation of the Peloponnesian vineyards.

The quality wine production network in Nemea pays more attention to quality than in the Messenikola case. This is mainly due to the export-orientation of the majority of the quality wine produce. Quality in this case is heavily linked to identity and to the recognition (having to do with taste and knowledge of the product) of the wine. Thus, the wineries have made every endeavour to familiarize consumers abroad with Greek wines and especially the *Agiorgitiko* which is easily identified with Nemea. In order to establish a reputation for this type of wine, wineries begin to produce high quality wine made of well-known French or other more marketable varieties and then shift to marketing Greek quality wines.

Italy

Northern Italian case-study

1. Rice production in Po river delta

Rice cultivation is a very old practice in the delta of river Po, because of the presence of extended marsh lands and brackish waters. After a long period of intensive transformations of the delta landscape through land reclaims, land reform and European Union agriculture policy, the rice cultivation is again common in the area. The main producers are big farmers, which use conventional agronomic techniques. A minority of them is trying to introduce or re-introduce “softer” techniques, like the organic farming. A procedure for achieving a PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) certification has been started by the local association of rice growers.

The analysis is concentrated in the Venetian part of Po delta (the area is splitted between two Regions: Veneto in the north and Emilia-Romagna in the south). The Venetian part has been recently interested by a quite rapid development of this production. In total a very few number of farms are involved on rice cultivation: 37, 25 of which are in the territory of Porto Tolle municipality. Such farms are quite large; only 4 of them cultivate half of the total area devoted to rice cultivation in the Province. Usually they have employees with a minimal internal stratification (i.e. one technical manager, 2-3 stable workers and a variable number of seasonal ones).

Almost all the producers sell their rough produce to mediators. There is no local plants for rice husking, so the refinement of rice takes place outside the area. There is anyway a difference between large and small farmers. The big ones usually have a drying machine inside the farm; thus they can harvest the rice with more elasticity and store it for a longer period, waiting for better prices. In such case they show more autonomy than the small farmers who have to sell their product immediately and they have to accept the price proposed by the mediators or by the drying plant owner.

The relationship with the rice refineries is crucial for understanding how the filiere works, with a kind of relationship that concerns all the Italian agriculture. Farmers usually accuse the agro-industry to impose low prices and bad conditions for the retirement of the products. Moreover, they suppose agro-industry is ready to buy foodstuff abroad at lower prices and to sell it as an Italian product. In the rice sector there is the same tension.

In terms of social background, rice growers are generally well educated people (with a high school or an University degree). Most of them live outside the area. They are members of the big national farmer association (Confagricoltura). Only few of them have a public role in local institutions

The case-study is focused on the formation of two collective organisms. One is the Association of rice cultivators of Po delta (Associazione dei Risicoltori del Delta del Po), which is going to be definitely established in 2006. Its function is the cultural promotion of the product and the technical support for the achievement of the Protected Geographical Indication-PGI certification. The Association collects (unusually) the main rice producers of both Rovigo (in Veneto region) e and Ferrara (Emilia-Romagna) provinces, together with the two Chambers of Commerce, some coops of Ferrara side and the Provincial Administration of Ferrara.

The second collective body is the Consortium of Polesine's rice cultivators (Consorzio dei Risicoltori Polesani), established in 2004. Its function is strictly commercial, aiming at collecting, refining and selling the rice collectively and under the same brand. In this case the organization is formed of only 10 members. Farmers belonging to this organization come only from the Venetian part of Delta and are generally big-sized.

With regard to knowledge dynamics for rice cultivation, the Venetian side of the delta is in a peculiar situation: its tradition had been interrupted, and now it regards only a very small portion of the land farm. That caused the absence of a local industry of transformation and the absence of centres of research. The knowledge is for the most part imported from outside or accumulated only recently. The memory of cultivation is given to very few persons quite old. The risk to invent a tradition is then high, slipping to the pure marketing operation. In any case, the rice cultivation has surely increased the reasons for supporting a stronger local identity.

Southern Italian case-studies

1. The construction of the "Aspromonte National Park Product" certification

The project of certification for quality food products from Aspromonte aims at creating a certification system for typical agro-food products the area, to mark them with a specific logo and to promote them in regional and national markets.

The promoter is the ANP itself, with the objective to add value to agri-food, artisan products and rural services (like excursions, hospitality) produced in its area and to give consumer awareness that products were obtained through methods that guarantee the respect of environment, and landscape of the area, satisfying the objectives pursued by the Park as an institution.

.ANP is the final responsible for the definition of the protocols for each product and allows the producer to apply the logo. The central role played by ANP is based on the national Law 394/91, which establishes the Park (together with many others all over the country) and the guidelines for their activity. According to the Law a National Park "may licence (...) the use of its name and logo to local services and products which respond to the required quality criteria and satisfy the Park objectives".

The project design can be summarized as follows:

1. field work to gather information about typical products in Aspromonte;
2. analysis of each product and a classification according to an array of characters;
3. classification of the products in a limited number of filières;
4. identification of some exemplary farms to take as example of production, to be taken as a base for the realization of the protocols;
5. definition of production protocols for each product;
6. public call for any producer of the area willing to obtain the logo after meeting the requirements for their productions;
7. controls and permission for the certification.

In the elaboration process of the technical specifications, the Park involves the experts of IGEA (Institute of controls for ecological certification in agro-food processes), an inspection agency operating with organic agriculture and low environmental impact agro-food production.

The first step in the certification process, accomplished by IGEA experts, was to collect information on local production systems, on typical products and their characteristics. Local and national publications (cuisine guides play an important role) were revised, agriculture professional organizations were consulted, local farmers were interviewed, while observing and keeping a direct contact with the territory and its firms.

After this work, 45 typical products have been identified. For each one of them, a report has hence been produced indicating all the relevant characteristics: production areas and calendar, production and transformation techniques, consumption traditions, territorial peculiarities, historical facts. However, the Guide Lines for the definition of the specifications go beyond these criteria and indicate three dimensions of quality, that must be considered:

- the characteristics of the production process and of the product;

- environment preservation;
- social responsibility.

The Guide Lines provides for a progressive application of the three dimensions. An immediate implementation of some characteristics, especially those related to social responsibility, is considered more difficult to be achieved, though their presence in the Guide Lines aims at putting in agenda the problems related to these characteristics.

The redaction of the technical production protocol has involved not only the IGEA experts, but also the main actors of Aspromonte agriculture sector, the agricultural unions and the professional organisations operating in the territory, whom were consulted in the process. The final text of the production protocol were redacted after two formal meetings with the professional agriculture associations, dealing with a close examination of the product chain involved and the requisites of the specifications.

This process has also important unintended effects on the local food system:

- activates a mechanism of coordination, through the requirement of suppliers qualification;
- strengthens territorial relations in the chain through the requirement of locally produced inputs;
- stimulates the reflexivity of the system, through the requirement of planning, control of the production chain and self control.

2. Three stories of local food production in Aspromonte.

Alongside the construction of the certification “Aspromonte National Park Product”, three local experiences are presented, which illustrate the transformation of Aspromonte local traditional food systems, trough access to differentiated quality markets and strategies of rural sustainable development.

a. Fazari brothers' olive oil farm

The first story discusses the case of an *olive oil firm (Fazari brothers) in the village of San Giorgio Morgeto*. From the 40s to the 90s, the firm was devoted to the production of the so-called “lampante” oil. This is a low quality olive oil, produced with olives picked up from the ground, when they, at an advanced state of ripeness, fall from the trees. The firm used to sell its product to the local big traders, who are dominant in this supply chain, without worrying about its final destination.

In the 90es, Domenico Fazari, the founder's grandson, in face of a crisis in the low quality oil market, decided the firm should gain visibility and power in the supply chain. This objective was pursued through a strategy of quality differentiation and certification. Pursuing quality in this case implied primarily changing “traditional” production techniques. The decision created a fight between generations. Ancient, big olive trees were replaced with new ones, adapt to the mechanization of harvest, the production chain was extended to the bottling. It is interesting to note that local cultivars (*Sinopolese* and *Ottobratica*) were not changed. Actually in the process of developing an oil of superior quality from the local cultivars, the entrepreneur involved the expert knowledge of researchers from the University of Reggio Calabria and new research was stimulated. Low environmental impact and organic methods of production have been introduced in the land located within the Park territory, with the aim of obtaining the licence to use the Park logo and certification as a “Aspromonte National Park Product”. The farm supplies now about 300 top level restaurants in Northern and Central Italy.

b. The wine cooperative Qualiter

Led by Nino Inuso, the *cooperative Qualiter* pursues more directly the valorisation of territorial quality. It is a new cooperative, started-up by people working in other fields. From the beginning, the initiative is driven by the passion for the territory and a civil commitment for its development.

Palizzi wine has the possibility to gain a origin certification according to Italian law on wine in force since 1972, as Palizzi is recognized as a IGT area (Indicazione Geografica Tipica, or, in English, Typical Geographical Indication area). However, the availability of the certification hadn't triggered a process of product valorisation for thirty years. Before Qualiter initiative started, the indication Palizzi IGT had been risking to disappear, as it hadn't been used.

Qualiter considers product valorisation as a community process of revision of traditional knowledge. Traditional knowledge stopped evolving in the agro-industrial period and is not more able to adapt to the new quality criteria of the market. How can farmers be made conscious of that and induced to re-activate a process of change, re-adapting traditional techniques and tacit knowledge? The dialogue with the “out-sider”, the expert coming from outside the territory, is considered to be fundamental and - though it's quite early to affirm that – it seems to have trigger an imitation mechanism, especially in the young.

c. Canolo, the rye bread production and the local food economy

Canolo is a marginal area where no exemplary firms, started-up by local private operators, can be detected. Local economy is shaped by a persisting basket of traditional product, generated by few people who do not feel to have the requisites of “mobility” which are necessary to leave their own land. But, the young who do have those requisites, keep on leaving the town, that risks to be abandoned.

Canolo is a town in the mountains that has low physical capital and no infrastructures, but it is rich of natural resources. The mayor is convinced that building an image of Canolo as an “eco-sustainable” town could reinforce its chances of rural development. Therefore he is addressing his commitment to the valorisation of the forests and water springs and to the production of renewable energy sources.

The rye bread of Canolo, is a traditional famous product, that is only produced here in small quantities.

The culture of cereals is widespread in the uplands surrounding the village, especially the farming of local ecotypes of rye. These are bought and used by the Stilo bakery, the only one in town. The bakery buys all the rye produced in Canolo, stores it and takes to the mill only the amount currently needed, so as the flour is always fresh.

Together with the population living on the coast, the bakery also supplies a local supermarket in Cittanova (a bigger town on the west coast). The amount produced is small and sold only in the local market. The eventual consumption of the product in the North of Italy is always due to a personal and cultural relation with consumers. A relevant outlet is represented by the truckers of the area, who transport Calabria’s traditional food to the North of Italy, to the towns and cities where Calabria’s emigrants live (in Genova there’s a large community of people from Canolo).